

Cujus in has humilo confusus imagines lyncis,
Emaciem hanc sæclo, Halliday ira, sonas:
Effigiet hunc Bostena parens: Oxonia nutrix
Eruditi Scripsêre Martyres ecclesiæ.

Acts and Monuments
OF
MATTERS
MOST
Special and Memorable,
Happening in the
CHURCH:
WITH AN
Universal HISTORY
Of the same.

Wherein is set forth at Large, the whole Race and Course of the CHURCH, from the Primitive Age to these later Times of Ours, with the Bloody Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions against the true MARTYRS of Christ,

Sought and Wrought as well by Heathen Emperors, as now lately practised by *Romish* Prelates, especially in this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*.

Now again, as it was Recognized, Perused, and Recommended to the Studious Reader, by the Author,

Mr. JOHN FOX.

Whereunto are annexed certain Additions of like PERSECUTIONS which have happened in these Later Times.

To which also is added the LIFE of the AUTHOR both in *Latine* and *English*.

The Ninth Edition.

Apoc. 7. *Salus sedenti super Thronum & Agno.*

LONDON:
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			January hath 31. days. *The Moon XXX.*	Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
3	A	1	Circumcision.		
	b	2	*John Wickliff, Preacher, Martyr.*		1387
11	c	3	John Aron, Confessor.		1382
	d	4	William Sawtry, Priest, martyr.		1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a Priest, martyr.		
8	f	6	Epiphany.		
	g	7	*Sir Roger Acton, Knight, Martyr.*		1401
16	A	8	John Brown, Gentleman, martyr.		1413
5	b	9	John Beverly, Preacher, martyr.		1413
	c	10	Richard Silbeck, martyr.	14	1413
13	d	11	John Castellane, Doctor, martyr.	12	1521
2	e	12	Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr.	27	1525
	f	13	Bartlet Green, Gentleman, martyr.	27	1556
10	g	14	John Tudson, martyr.	27	1556
	A	15	Thomas Went, martyr.	27	1556
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27	1556
7	c	17	Isabel Foster, martyr.	27	1556
	d	18	Joan Warne, alias Lashford, martyr.	27	1556
15	e	19	John Lomas, martyr.	31	1556
4	f	20	Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.	31	1556
	g	21	Joan Catmer, martyr.		
12	A	22	Agnes Snoth, martyr.	31	1556
	b	23	Joan Sole, martyr.	31	1556
1	c	24	Will. Waterer, martyr.		
9	d	25	Conversion of Paul.		
	e	26	Stephen Kemp, martyr.		
			William Pay, martyr.	15	1556
			Thomas Hudson, martyr.	15	1557
17	f	27	William Lowicke, martyr.	15	1557
	g	28	Will. Browting, martyr.	15	1557
			Nicholas Finall, martyr.	15	1557
6	A	29	Matthew Bradbridge, martyr.	15	1557
14	b	30	*John Philpot, Martyr.*	16	1557
3	c	31	Thomas Stevens, martyr.	17	1557

			February hath 28. days. *The Moon XXIX.*	Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
	d	1	William Thorpe, Priest, Confessor.		1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Lady.		
19	f	3	John Phaddon, martyr.		1413
8	g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.		1413
			Zisca, a Confessor.		1416
	A	5	*Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.*		1418
16	b	6	Richard Hoveden, martyr.		1430
5	c	7	Thomas Bagley, Priest, martyr.		1431
	d	8	Paul Crawes, martyr.		1431
13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon, martyr.		1437
2	f	10	Rainold Pecocke, Bishop, Confessor.		1437
	g	11	*Sir Roger Oneley, Priest, Martyr.*		1 4
10	A	12	Elenor Cobham, Gentlewoman, Confessor.		
	b	13	Mother of the Lady Yong, martyr.		1490
18	c	14	Thomas Norice, martyr.		1507
7	d	15	Thomas Eckles, martyr.		1510
	e	16	Thomas Bungay, martyr.		1511
15	f	17	*D. Martin Luther, Confessor.*	18	1546
4	g	18			
	A	19	Pope of Cay, martyr.		1512
12	b	20	Peake, martyr.		1512
1	c	21	George Carpenter, martyr.	8	1527
	d	22	*John Rogers, Preacher, Martyr.*	4	1555
9	e	23	*Lawrence Sanders, Preacher, Martyr.*	8	1555
	f	24	*John Hooper, Bishop, Martyr.*	9	1555
17	g	25	Matthias Apostle.		
6	A	26	*Rowland Taylor, Doctor, Martyr.*	9	1555
	b	27	*Robert Farrar, Bishop, Martyr.*	22	1555
			Agnes Potten, martyr.	19	1556
14	c	28	Trunchfields wife, martyr.	19	1557

March hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
3	d	1	William Taylor, martyr. John Wickelianus, a Doctor, martyr.	2	1422 1479
	e	2	Doctor Wickelius, alias Basilius, Confessor.		1490
11	f	3	Henry Sutphen, martyr.		1524
	g	4	John Hougley, martyr.		1526
19	A	5	Petrus Flettedius, martyr.		1528
8	b	6	Adolphus Clabachius, martyr.		1528
	c	7	Patrike Hamelton, martyr.		1528
16	d	8	Thomas Hitton, martyr.		1530
5	e	9	*Thomas Bilney, Martyr.*		1531
	f	10	Davy Foster, martyr.		1531
13	g	11	Edward Freese, Confessor.		1531
2	A	12	Valentine Freese, and his wife, martyrs.		1531
	b	13	Father Bate, Confessor.		1555
			Rawling White, martyr.	5	1555
10	c	14	Thomas Tomkins, martyr.	15	1555
18	d	15	Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, martyr.	25	1555
	e	16	Thomas Cawdon, Gentleman, martyr.	25	1555
7	f	17	William Hunter, martyr.	25	1555
	g	18	William Pyget, martyr.	28	1555
15	A	19	Stephen Knight, martyr.	28	1555
4	b	20	John Laurence, Minister, Martyr.	29	1555
	c	21	*Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr.*	21	1556
12	d	22			
1	e	23	Robert Spicer, martyr.	24	1556
	f	24			
9	g	25	Annunciation of our Lady.		
	A	26	William Coverley, martyr.	24	1556
17	b	27	Saundyell, martyr.	24	1556
6	c	28	Richard Crashfield, martyr.	15	1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, martyr.	28	1558
14	e	30	Hugh For, martyr.	28	1558
3	f	31	John Devonish, martyr.	28	1558

April hath 30. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
	g	1	Robert Hatches, martyr.	4	1519
	A	2	Archer, martyr. Hawkins, martyr. Thomas Bound, martyr.	4	1519
	b	3	Wrigtham, martyr.	4	1519
19	c	4	Lansdale, martyr.	4	1519
8	d	5	Pittrils Smith, Widow, martyr.	4	1519
16	e	6	James Bainham, Gentleman, martyr.	30	1532
5	f	7	Jo. Awocke, Confessor.	2	1555
	g	8	George Marsh, Preacher, martyr.	24	1555
13	A	9	William Flower, Minister, martyr.	24	1555
2	b	10	Robert Dyakes, Minister, martyr.	24	1556
	c	11	Thomas Tyms, martyr. Richard Spurge, martyr.	24	1556 1556
10	d	12	Thomas Spurge, martyr. John Cavill, martyr.	24	1556
	e	13	George Ambrose, martyr. John Harpole, martyr.	24	1556
18	f	14	Joan Beech, martyr.	1	1556
7	g	15	John Hullier, Minister, martyr.	2	1556
	A	16	Christopher Lister, Minister, martyr.	28	1556
15	b	17	John Mace, martyr. John Spencer, martyr.	28	1556 1556
4	c	18	Simon Joyne, martyr.		
	d	19	Richard Nichol, martyr.	28	1556
12	e	20	John Hamond, martyr.	28	1556
1	f	21	St. George, Martyr.		
	g	22	Thomas Loseby, martyr.	12	1556
9	A	23	Mark Evangelist.		
	b	24	Henry Ramsey, martyr.	12	1557
17	c	25	Thomas Thystle, martyr.	12	
6	d	26	Margaret Hyde, martyr.	12	1557
	e	27	Agnes Stanley, martyr.	12	1557
14	f	28			
4	g	29	William Nicholl, martyr.		1557
		30			1557

May hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
11	b	1	Philip and Jacob, Apostles.	11	
	c	2	*John Hus, Martyr.*		1415
19	d	3	*Hieronymus Savonarola, Martyr.*	23	1599
8	e	4	Dominick, Martyr.	23	1499
	f	5	Sylvester, Martyr.	23	1499
16	g	6	Frier Roy, Martyr.		1531
5	A	7	Robert King, Martyr.		1532
	b	8	Robert Debnam, Martyr.		1532
13	c	9	Nicholas Marsh, Martyr.		1532
2	d	10	*John Cardmaker*, alias *Taylor*, *Preacher, Martyr.*	31	1555
	e	11	John Warne, Martyr.	31	1555
10	f	12	Margaret Ellis, Confessor.	13	1556
	g	13	Hugh Laverocke, Martyr.	15	1556
18	A	14	John Appree, Martyr.	15	1556
7	b	15	Katharine Hut, Widow, Martyr.	16	1556
	c	16	Elizabeth Thacknel, Martyr.	16	1556
15	d	17	Joan Hoynes, martyr.	16	1556
4	e	18	A blind Boy, and another with him, martyrs.	5	1556
	f	19	Thomas Spicer, martyr.	21	1556
12	g	20	John Denny, martyr.	21	1556
1	A	21	William Poole, martyr.	21	1556
	b	22	John Sleth, Confessor.	30	1556
9	c	23	William Nozant, martyr.	29	1557
	d	24	Stephen Gatwike, martyr.	29	1557
17	e	25	John Thurstone, Confessor.		1557
6	f	26	William Seaman, martyr.	19	1558
	g	27	Thomas Carman, martyr.	19	1558
14	A	28	Thomas Hudson, martyr.	19	1558
3	b	29	William Harris, martyr.	26	1558
	c	30	Richard Day, martyr.	26	1558
11	d	31	Christian George, martyr.	26	1558

June hath 30. days.

The Moon XXIX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
	e	1	*Hierome of Prague, Martyr.*	1	1516
19	f	2	Anne Askew, martyr. John Laceis, Gent. martyr.		1546
8	g	3	Nicholas Belman, martyr. Thomas Hawkes, martyr. Thomas Watts, martyr.	10	1555
16	A	4	John Simpson, martyr. John Ardley, martyr. Nich. Chamberlain, mart. Thomas Holmond, martyr.	14	1555
5	b	5	Will. Bamford, martyr. Thomas Parland, martyr.	15	1555
	c	6	John Dimard, martyr. Thomas Read, martyr.	6	1556
13	d	7	Thomas Abington, martyr. Thomas Wood, Minister, martyr.	20	
2	e	8	Thomas Willes, martyr.		
	f	9	William Adherall, Minister, Confessor.	23	
10	g	10	John Clement, Confessor. Henry Adington, martyr.	25 26	1556
	A	11	Law. Perman, martyr. Henry Wice, martyr.	27	
18	b	12	William Hallivell, martyr. Thomas Bowyer, martyr. George Serle, martyr.	27	1556
7	c	13	Edmund Hurst, martyr. Lion Cawch.	27	
	d	14	Ralph Jackson, martyr. John Derkall, martyr.	27	
15	e	15	John Roth, martyr. Elizabeth Pepper, martyr.	27	
4	f	16	Agnes George, martyr. Thomas Parret, Confessor.	27	1556
	g	17	Hunt and Ambrose, Conf.		
	c	16	John Bozice, Confessor.	28	
12	A	18	Roger Bernard, martyr.		
15	d	17	Joan Foster, martyr.	29	
4	e	18	A blind Boy, and another with him, martyrs.	5	1556
1	b	19	Robert Lawson, martyr. Walter Apley, and Petronell his wife, martyrs.	30	1557
	c	20	Edmund Allen, and Katharine his wife, martyrs.	18	
9	d	21	John Bradbridge, martyr.		
	e	22	John Spanning, martyr. Eliz. a blind Maid, martyr.	18	1557
	b	22	Thomas Hoze, martyr.		
	f	23	Nichol. Chilpite, martyr.		
17			Nichol. Pardue, martyr.	19	1557
6	g	24	John Filhcocke, martyr. Barbara Finall, martyr.		
	A	25	Bradbridges Maid, martyr. Bendens wife and Willons wife, martyrs.	19	1557
14	b	26	Rich. Woodman, martyr. Nat. of *S.* John Baptist.		
			G. Stephens, Will. Maynard, martyrs.	22	1557
3	c	27	Margery Bozice, James Bozice Son, Dennys Burges, Andrewes wife, Gowes wife, martyrs.	22	1557
	d	28	Henry Pond, martyr. Richard Estand, martyr.		
11	e	29	Robert Southam, martyr. Matthew Kicarby, martyr. Peter and Paul.	27	1557
			John Lyon, martyr. John Holiday, martyr.		
	f	30	Roger Holland, martyr.	27	1557

July hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
15	g	1	Henry Clos, martyr. John Eich, martyr.	1	1522
8	A	2	*John Frith, Martyr.*	4	1523
	b	3	Andrew Hewet, martyr. Anthony Person, martyr. Robert Testwood martyr.	18	1543
16	c	4	Henry Filmore, martyr.		
5	d	5	*John Bradford, Preacher, Martyr.*	1	1555
	e	6	John Leafe, martyr.		
13	f	7	John Pelley, martyr.		
2	g	8	William Ming, minister, martyr.	2	1555
	A	9	Richard Hook, martyr.		
10	b	10	John Wland Preacher, martyr.	12	1555
	c	11	John Frank, martyr.		
18	d	12	Humfrey Middleton, martyr.	12	1555
7	e	13	Rich. Sheterden, martyr.	12	1555
	f	14	William Dighel, martyr.		
15	g	15	Dirike Carver, martyr. John Launder, martyr. Thomas Iveson, martyr.	12	1555
4	A	16	Nicholas Hall, martyr. John Alewoth, Confessor. John Careles, Confessor.	13	1555
	b	17	John Guin, martyr.	1	1556
12	c	18	Julius Palmer, a School master, and Askine, martyrs.	16	1556 1556
1	d	19	Katharine Cauches, and Perotine Wally, with her Child not one hour old, and Guillemme Gilbert, martyrs.	17	1556
	e	20			
9	f	21			
	g	22	Thomas Dungate, martyr.		
17	A	23	John Foxeman, martyr.	18	1556
6	b	24	Simon Miller, martyr.		
	c	25	Elizabeth Cooper martyr.	13	1556
			Mary Magdalene.		
14	d	26	Richard Yeoman, minister, martyr.	10	1558
3	e	27	William Pikes, martyr.	14	1558
			James Apostle.		
	f	28	Stephen Cotton, martyr.	14	1558
			John Slade, martyr.	14	1558
1	g	29	Stephen Wight, martyr.	14	1558
			Robert Willes, martyr.	14	1558
	A	30	Robert Dines, martyr.	14	1558
19	b	31	Thomas Bendrick, Gentleman, martyr.	14	1558

August hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
8	c	1	Leonard Keyfar, martyr.	16	1527
16	d	2	James Abbes, martyr.		1555
5	e	3	John Denley, Gentleman, martyr.	8	1555
	f	4	John Newman, martyr.	28	1555
13	g	5	Patricke Patingham, martyr.	28	1555
2	A	6	William Coker, martyr.	23	1555
	b	7	William Hopper, martyr.	23	1555
10	c	8	Henry Laurence, martyr.	23	1555
	d	9	Richard Collier, martyr.	23	1555
18	e	10	William Steere, martyr.	23	1555
7	f	11	Richard Wright, martyr.	23	1555
	g	12	Elizabeth Warne, martyr.		
15	A	13	George Tankerfield, martyr.	26	1555
4	b	14	Richard Smith, martyr.	8	1555
	c	15	Stephen Harwood, martyr.	30	1555
2	d	16	Thomas Fuke, martyr.	30	1555
1	e	17	William Haile, martyr.	31	1555
	f	18	Robert Samuel, Preacher, martyr.	31	1555
9	g	19	Joan Waste, martyr.	1	1556
	A	20	William Bongeo, martyr.	2	1557
17	b	21	Robert Purcas, martyr.	2	1557
6	c	22	Thomas Fennald, martyr.	2	1557
	d	23	Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, martyr.	2	1557
14	e	24	Bartholomew, Apostle.		
			Ellen Ewring, martyr.	2	1157
3	f	25	Elizabeth Folks, Paid, martyr.	2	1557
	g	26	William Munt, martyr.	2	1557
11	A	27	Alice Munt, martyr.	2	1557
19	b	28	Rose Allin, Paid, martyr.	2	1557
	c	29	John Johnson, martyr.	2	1557
8	d	30	George Eagles, martyr.	2	1557
	e	31	One Frier, and the said George Eagles Sister, martyrs.	2	1557

September hath 30. days.

The Moon XXIX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
16	f	1	Father Abraham, martyr.		1428
5	g	2	William Wright, Priest, martyr.		1428
			John Wlandon, Priest, martyr.		1428
	A	3	William Gardiner, martyr.		1552
13	b	4	William Allen, martyr.		1555
			Thomas Cob, martyr.		1555
			Thomas Coo, martyr.		1555
2	c	5	William Andrew, Confessor.		
10	d	6	Thomas King, Confessor.		
18	e	7	Thomas Leis, Confessor.	5	1555
	f	8	George Catmer, martyr.	6	1555
7	g	9	Robert Streater, martyr.		1555
	A	10	Anthony Burward, martyr.		1555
	b	11	George Bradbridge, martyr. James Cutry, martyr.	6	
15	c	12	Thomas Hayward, martyr.		1555
			John Goreway, martyr.		1555
			Robert Glover, martyr.	20	1555
4	d	13	Cornelius Bungay, martyr.	8	1556
	e	14	Edward Sharpe, martyr.		
			John Hart, martyr.	24	1556
12	f	15	Thomas Rabendale, a Shoomaker or a Currier, martyr.	25	1556
1	g	16	John Hone and another Woman, martyrs.	20	1556
	A	17	John Kurd, martyr.	23	1557
	b	18	Cicelie Ormes, martyr.		
			Joyce Lewis, martyr.	10	1557
9	c	17	Ralph Allerton, martyr.	17	1557
17	d	20	Richard Roth, martyr.		
6	e	21	Matthew Apostle.		
			James Autto and Margery his Wife, martyrs.	17	1557
	f	22	Agnes Bongeo, martyr.	17	1557
14	g	23	Par. Thurstone, martyr.		
3	A	24	John Warne, martyr.		1557
	b	25	Christian Glover, martyr.		
11	c	26	Thomas Acboth, martyr.		
19	d	27	John Athdone, martyr.		1557
	e	28	Thomas Spurdaunce, martyr.		1557
8	f	29	Michael Archangel.		
	g	30	John Fortune, martyr.		1557

October hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
6	A	1	Bartholet Millon, martyr.		1534
	b	2	John de Burge, a rich merchant, martyr.		1534
3	c	3	The Receiver of Maunts, martyr.		1534
2	d	4	Henry Polle, martyr. Catelie, a School-Mistris, martyr.		1534
	e	5	Stephen de la Foarge, a Merchant, martyr.		1534
10	f	6	*William Tyndall, Martyr.*		1534
	g	7	William Leyton, martyr.		1536
8	A	8	Puttedew, martyr.		1537
7	b	9	John Lambert, alias Nicolson, martyr.		1537
	c	10	Collins, martyr.		1538
			Cowbridge, martyr.		1538
15	d	11	Peter, a Germain, martyr.		1539
4	e	12	Lancelat, martyr.		1539
			John a Painter, martyr.		1539
	f	13	Giles Germane, martyr.		
12	g	14	Robert Barnes, martyr.		1539
			Thomas Garrard, martyr.		1539
1	A	15	William Hierome, martyr.		1541
	b	16	William Wolfey, martyr.	4	1555
9	c	17	Robert Pygot, martyr.	4	1555
	d	18	Luke Evangelist.		
17	e	19	*Nicholas Ridley, Bishop, Martyr.*	16	1555
6	f	20	*Hugh Latimer, Bishop, Martyr.*		1555
	g	21	John Web, Gent. martyr.	31	1555
			George Roper, martyr.		
14	A	22	Gregory Packe, martyr.		
3	b	23	Adam Walles, martyr.	12	1551
			Mark Burges, martyr.		
	c	24	William Pooker, martyr.		1556
11	d	25	Simson, Priest, Beverech Frier, Keyler black Frier, Davy Straton, Gentleman, Norman Gosley, Vicar of Dolo, Black Canon, with four other martyrs.		
19	e	26			
	f	27			
8	g	28	Simon and Jude.		
	A	29	Three died in prison at Cicester, Confessors.	18	1556
16	b	30	Mother Seaman, Confessor.		1556
5	c	31	Mother Bennet, Confessor.		1556

November hath 30. days.

The Moon XXIX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
	D	1	The Feast of all Saints.		
13	e	2	Richard Mekings, martyr.		1541
2	f	3	Richard Spenser, martyr.		1541
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, martyr.		1541
10	A	5	John Potter, Confessor.		1542
	b	6	Thomas Bernard, martyr.		1542
18	c	7	James Poxton, martyr.		1542
7	d	8	George Wilsehart, Gentleman, martyr.		1546
	e	9	John Kerby, martyr.		1546
25	f	10	Roger Clarke, martyr.		1546
4	g	11	Richard Bayfield, alias Somerham, martyr.	20	1531
	A	12	John Clarke, Confessor.		1556
12	b	13	Dunstane Chittenden, Confessor.		1556
1	c	14	William Foster, martyr.		1556
	d	15	Alice Potkins, Confessor.		1556
			John Archer, Confessor.		1556
9	e	16	Hooke, martyr.		1556
	f	17	Jo. Hallingdale, martyr.	18	1557
17	g	18	William Sparrow, martyr.	18	1557
6	A	19	Richard Gibson, Gentleman, martyr.	18	1557
14	b	20	Sander Gouch, martyr.	4	1558
	c	21	Elizabeth Dyber, martyr.	4	1558
3	d	22	Phil. Humfrey, martyr.	5	1558
	e	23	John Davy, martyr.	5	1558
21	f	24	Henry Davy, martyr.	5	
19	g	25	John Cornforth, martyr.	5	1558
	A	26	Christopher Brown, martyr.	10	1558
8	b	27	John Yerl, martyr.	10	1558
	c	28	Alice Snoth, martyr.	10	1558
10	d	29	Katherine Knight, martyr.	10	1558
5	e	30	Andrew Apostle.		

December hath 31. days.

The Moon XXX.

				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
	f	1	William Tracy, Esquire, Confessor.		1534
					1545
13	g	2	Peter Sapience, martyr.		
2	A	3	George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, martyr.		
	b	4	An old man of Buckinghamshire, martyr.		1532
	c	5	Two grey Friers martyrs.		1581
10	d	6	John Hilton Confessor.		1513
	e	7	John Coignes, Confessor.		1517
18	f	8	Robert Ward, Confessor.		1517
7	g	9	A Scholar of Abbeville, martyr.		1522
	A	10	A Jew, martyr.		1528
	b	11	Richard Hunne, martyr.	4	1515
15	c	12	John Tewkesbury, martyr.	20	1531
4	d	13	James Goze, Confessor.	7	1555
	e	14	William Wiseman, Confessor.	13	1555
12	f	15	John Philpot, Preacher, martyr.	18	1557
	g	16	John Rough, Preacher, martyr.	22	1557
1	A	17	Margaret Spering, martyr.		1558
	b	18	Thomas Tyler, Confessor.		1558
9	c	19	Matthew Withers, Confessor.		1558
17	d	20	Dale Confessor.		1550
6	e	21	Thomas Apostle.		
	f	22	William Plaine.		
	g	23	Elizabeth Lawson, Confessor.		1550
14	A	24	John Glover, Confessor.		
			Nicholas Burton, martyr.	22	1562
3	b	25	Nativity of our Lord.		
11			Stephen, Martyr.		
			John Evangelist.		
			Childermass.		
19	c	26	Thomas Rhedonensis, an Earl, martyr.		1336
	d	27	Picus Mirandula, Confessor.		1497
8	e	28	Erasmus Roterodamus, Confessor.		1513
16	f	29	Martin Bucer, Confessor.		1549
			Paul. Phagius, Confessor.		1551
			Philip Melanchton, Confessor.		1559
5	g	30	Peter Martyr, Confessor.		1462
5	A	31	*King Edward the Sixth, Confessor.*		1553

AD

DOMINUM

Jesum Christum

SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

Eucharisticon

JOHANNIS FOXI.

COnfecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspiciis ac voluntate aggressus (summe & adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime) inchoavi, quodq; demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: supereſt itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votiva tabula, gratias, ſi non quantas debeat (utinam enim id poſſit) at quantas queat maxime, munificentiſſimæ tuæ perſolvat Majeſtati; quæ tam miſerum homuncionem, vel ſyphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantiſque iſtis, qui vel aſellum quemvis ἀχθοφόρον poſſent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno ſucceſſu ac ſolatio tam clementer ſuſtulerit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic cauſari attinet, quæ vix æſtimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majeſtas, hujus, qualecunque ſit, negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, moleſtiis conſtitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri eſſemus, niſi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affulſiſſet, ac ſeſe quodam modo admiſciſſet operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac teſter ingenuè, quod re ipſa experti ſumus? Perſenſimus enim, peneque oculis ipſis conſpeximus, ſingularem excellæ dextræ tuæ ὑπερβολὴν non modo in ſucceſſu negotii provehendo, ſed in vita etiam ſpirituque inter labores conſervando. Tui igitur muneris eſt (clementiſſime Jeſu) quòd opus tuis ſuſceptum auſpiciis huc uſque provectum ſit. Nos viciſſim, quod noſtri ſit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum noſtro privatim, tum publico quodammodo Eccleſiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti cauſam Martyrum tuorum æſtimes, quando eorum illuſtrando nomini tantâ faveas propenſione. Quanquam verò ſi nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non poſſent non omnibus modis eſſe illuſtriſſimi, quorum ſint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inſcripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majeſtas, nobiſque innoteſcere hominibus, quàm honorificum ſit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo ſic vindicas, ſic cauſam tueris, ſic dignitatem illuſtras, ut eandem cum gloriæ ſcenore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm ſi ipſi nunquam alioqui perdidiſſent. Habet ſiquidem peculiare hoc ſibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diverſum, quod in caſtris tuis militantes ſive vivant, ſive moriantur, multò clareſcant à funere fœlicius, quam ſi vixiſſent maximè.

Davidium Christo in sanctificando hoc opere.

Sic *Cranmerum* videmus, *Ridleum*, *Latimerum*, *Johannem Hooperum*, *Bradfordum*, cæteróſque ejuſdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuiſſe cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quam ſi, relicta ſtatione in qua erant collocati, ſaluti ipſi ſuæ cauſam tuam poſtpoſuiſſent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetuſtas, quæ hominum poſteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoſcet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis *Wicleuum* unquam, aut *Cobhamum* natum fuiſſe exiſtimaſſet, niſi tua in cauſa tam egiſſent ſtrenuè? Quanto honori illud *Huſſio Bohemenſi*, noſtróque *Tindalo* fuit, quòd vitam in Evangelii tui cauſa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipſi retinere maluerint? Speſtemus è diverſa parte adverſarios tuos, quorum tam multas eſſe conſtat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adverſus tuos, multaq; item occultè & ſceleſtè ab iiſdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam ſperabant fore palam: & tamen quid unquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis eſt deſignatum tam occultè adverſus Eccleſiam, quod non in apricum produxit tua providentia? Atq; ita produxit, ut unde ipſi laudis ſibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde ſummum ſibiipſis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis *Guiſos*, *Boneros*, *Storios*, *Gardineros*, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterebit dies, aut ſepeliet memoria? Etquid hos in tanta multitudine hoſtium tuorum recenſeo? Cui unquam proſperè ceſſit tuo rebellare numini, aut hoſtium ſe Eccleſiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & glorioſum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probroſius? Cardinalitium faſtigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multáq; proſequi reverentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum Collegia ſuum quondam habebant plauſum apud plebem ſimplicem & credulam. At poſtquam ſpreta veritate tua cœperunt graſſari contra te, tuorúmque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem ſunt prolapſi (exceptis paucis

Fulin ac plerisque pro Christo martyrii ſpe potiti.

Papæ nomen tunc probrosum. Cardinalitium Monachorum, Nonnarum nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.

paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua sex nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominia relicta videatur.

Hæc nimirum (sanctissime Domine ac Deus noster) justissimi judicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum Regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine merito à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul & habetur, benitati. Primùm, quòd in Ecclesiæ tuæ causa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis majorem adversus parricidas Papistas submini-strasti. Deinde quòd & nobis in illorum defudantibus historia propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur & hoc privatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantum tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammas & cineres adegerit perversitas, causam & innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiámque Ecclesiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sit. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo judicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum ad amussim excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hic quoque in Ecclesia tua, causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Dolentatis nostrorum historiis & temporum.

Sed hic rursus (dulcissime Jesu) opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii Martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari convenitebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine relinquerunt, libertatem: Qua etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperanter, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò Martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim interfit discriminis, quamque prorsus disconvenit ordine toto nostra Consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis & Disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perspicit Majestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque, adeoque seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminentia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? Ac illi quam præclarè secum actum putassent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui *Mariæ* Reginæ facultates & possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, Sacerdotis, censuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non ut vivamus solùm, verùm ut sublimes vivamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patentia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta constantia, qua animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam, omnem Deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum dejicere, nec minæ frangere, non fudibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla consternere, nec delinire blanditia potuerunt.

Quanta desiderantia nostrorum nunc hominum ab exemplis fortissimorum Martyrum.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipitates ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miscemus, mariaque turbamus ab imo? ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tua causa subituri, si quando res Martyrum flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut Martyrum quidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, ut qui largitus sit ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires; sicque Ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, nec ubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinenda Evangelii tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda ærenui, videamur. Postremò quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studiúmque posuimus, quo facta gestáque sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Jesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum Ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui & opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroq; cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes Ecclesias tribuat personetque. Amen.

Necessaria Præsatio.

TO

TO THE

RIGHT VERTUOUS,

Most Excellent and Noble Princess,

Queen ELIZABETH,

OUR

Dread Lady, By the Grace of God, Queen of *England, France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of *Christs* Faith and Gospel, and Principal Governor both of the Realm, and also over the said Church of *England* and *Ireland*, under *Christ* the Supream Head of the same, *&c.* JOHN FOX, Her humble Subject, wisheth daily increase of GODS Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace to Govern His Flock committed to Her Charge; To the Example of all good Princes, The Comfort of his Church, And Glory of his blessed Name.

CHRIST the Prince of all Princes, *who hath placed you in your Throne of Majesty, under Him to Govern the Church and Realm of* England, *give your Royal Highness long to sit, and many years to Reign over Us, in all flourishing Felicity, to his gracious Pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your Subjects.* Amen.

When I first presented these Acts and Monuments *unto your Majesty (most dear Sovereign, Queen* ELIZABETH *our peaceable* Salome*) which your Majesties rare Clemency received in such gentle part; I well hoped that these my Travels in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my Studies again to other purposes after mine own desire, more fit than to write Histories, especially in the* English*-Tongue. But certain evil disposed Persons, of intemperate Tongues, Adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable Exclamations at the first appearing of the Book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again, and that* Herod, *with all the City of* Jerusalem *had been in an uproar. Such blustring and striving was then against that poor Book through all Quarters of* England, *even to the Gates of* Lovain, *so that no* English *Papist almost in all the Realm thought himself a perfect Catholick, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that Book a blow.*

Whereupon, considering with my self what should move them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In searching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not so much in the Book it self (to say the truth) as in another certain privy mystery and working of some; of whom Joan. Avent. *shall tell us in his own words, and shew us who they be,* Quibus (inquit) audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est; nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur, *&c. Who, being ashamed belike to hear their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it* per brachium seculare, *by publick Authority (the Lord of Heaven long preserve your Noble Majesty) they renewed again an old wonted practise of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the holy Bible in the days of your renowned Father of famous Memory, King* Henry *the Eighth; who when they neither by manifest reason could gain-say the matter contained in the Book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they by a subtil devised train to deprave the Translation, Notes, and Prologues thereof, bearing the King in hand, and all the people, that there were in it a thousand lyes, and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lyes in very deed; but that the coming of that Book should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make Exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like as* Phormio *did in the old Comedy, who, being in all the faults his self, began first to quarrel with* Demipho, *when* Demipho *rather had good right to lay* Phormio *by the heels.*

With like facing brags these Catholick Phormiones *think now to dash out all good Books, and amongst others also these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the Acts of them being known might bring perhaps their wicked Acts and cruel Murthers to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this Book of Histories, with all kind of Contumelies and Uproars, railing and wondering upon it; much like as I have heard of a Company of Thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highways-side, when they had found a piece of Gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marveling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.*

Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole Church of Christ with feigned Fables, lying Miracles, false Visions, and miserable Errors contained in their Missals, Portuses, Breviars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saints Lives and Festivals, as now also no great truths in our Lovanian *Books, &c. Yet notwithstanding,*

as

as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great Verity; and as though there were no Histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this History of Acts and Monuments, *with Tragical Voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases to make it appear as full of lyes as lines,* &c. *Much after the like sort of impudency as Sophisters use sometimes in their Sophisms to do (and sometimes is used also in Rhetorick) that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragical admiration, whereby to dash the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the Schools.*

With like sophistration these also fare with me, who when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same, which they hear, to be true, for three or four escapes in the Book committed (and yet some of them in the Book amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, inveigh and malign so perversly the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my Accusers I do not so excuse my self, nor defend my Book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my Labours in traveling out this story again; doing herein as Penelope *did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: Or as Builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this History I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any pains taking I might pacifie the stomachs, or to satisfie the judgments of these importune Quarrelers: which nevertheless I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing* Hydra *will never be cut off, though I were as strong as* Hercules. *And if* Apelles *the skilful Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good Artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controuling* Sutor, *which took upon him* ultra crepidam, *much more may I look for the like in these controuling days.*

Ne sutor ultra crepidam.

Nevertheless committing the success thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the Church, and have spent not only my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and present the same unto your Princely Majesty, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart; first for this liberty of peace and time which through your peaceable Government he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like Books, Tractations and Monuments requisite to the behoof of his Church, which hitherto by iniquity of time could not be contrived in any Kings Reign since the Conquest, before these Halcyon *days of yours.*

Secondly, As we are all bound with publick Voices to magnifie our God for this happy preservation of your Royal Estate; so privately for my own part, I also acknowledge my self bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath let me time, both to finish this Work, and also to offer the second Dedication thereof to your Majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthiness of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story being written in the Popular-Tongue serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned; yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant Flock of Christ committed to your Government in this Realm of England. *Who as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindness for lack especially of Gods Word, and partly also for wanting the light of History, I thought pity but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the Flock of Christ, and your Subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear Souls to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance where knowledge lacketh, both I considered and experience daily teacheth.*

And therefore bearing of the vertuous Inclination of your Majesty, what a provident zeal full of solicitude you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all Quarters and Countries of this your Realm with the Voice of Christs Gospel, and faithful preaching of his Word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoyn unto this your godly proceedings, and to the Office of the Ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiastical History, which in my mind ought not to be separate from the same; that like as by the one the people may learn the Rules and Precepts of Doctrine, so by the other they may have Examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their Faith, and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the Church by Histories in old times set forth of the Judges, Kings, Maccabees, *and the Acts of the Apostles after Christs time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the Church, to know the Acts of Christs Martyrs now since the time of the Apostles.*

Profit to be taken by Examples of Christian Martyrs.

Gods Works to be observed in Histories.

What use cometh by reading of Histories.

Besides other manifold Examples and Experiments of Gods great Mercies and Judgments in preserving his Church, in overthrowing Tyrants, in confounding Pride, in altering States and Kingdoms, in conserving Religion against Errors and Dissensions, in relieving the Godly, in bridling the Wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the Disturber of Common-weals, in punishing Transgressions, as well against the first Table as the second; wherein is to be seen Idolatry punished, Blasphemy plagued, Contempt of Gods holy Name and Religion revenged, Murther with Murther rewarded, Adulterers and Wedlock-breakers destroyed, Perjuries, Extortions, covetous Oppression, and fraudulent Counsels come to nought, with other excellent Works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in Histories minister to the Readers thereof wholsome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his Works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Son of God for their Salvation, and in his Faith only to find that they seek for, and in no other means. The continuance and constancy of which Faith the Lord of his Grace and goodness grant to your Noble Majesty, and to his whole beloved Church, and all the Members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

Ad

Ad Doctum Lectorem

JOHANNES FOXUS.

Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosæ res aleæ sit, emittere nunc aliquid *in* publicum, quod in manus oculósque multo cum subeat, his præsertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibúsque, ubi tot hominum difficilis, tot fluxilis puritum, tot morosis captibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum fannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspecte scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbenè profectò feliciéque videntur ii, quibus eum vitæ curfum tenere licuit, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, fic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in Theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nihil interim ipsis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò nescio quo pacto, longè diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam felicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos suaviter foveri video, nec otii amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror quam semper contempsi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ii tantum vel prodesse vel placere caeteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatim aretarunt incommoditatesque. Nunc ad meæ infelicitatis curas alias accedit in super, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter hujusmodi rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ insamenitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitroem recipiat orationis, eò porro Autorem ipsum redigit Angustiæ, ut neque falsa narrare fine injuria Historiæ, nec verum dicere fine magna fua invidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo Historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modò temporum res gestas altéque repetitas pertineat, fed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, noftræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præsentes, vivósque sic attingat, sic perficet, sic defigneat, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere neceffariò faciendum fuit: queso, quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum fit, nifi poftquam fruftra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos pecciderim, ipsum acciverim, corpus exhauserim demum ut poft hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, fibilis, invidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot itiis afperitatibus cum nihil me tutum præftare poterit, non *Cæsar*, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non ulla hujus mundi præfidia, præter folam Divini numinis protentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutiffimum afylum me recepi, huic me librúmque commendavi & commendo. Tum vero inſuper in eodem Domino tuum illum eandorem (docte piéque Lector) eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis ftudiifque te ſcio præditum, quo noftris his ſudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut ſi approbationem non mereamur, ſaltem ne favoris defit benignitas: cui ſi approbatum iri hanc Hiſtoriæ noſtræ farraginem ſenſerimus, cæterorum judicia obtrectatorum, levius ferremus.

Nam aliquòi non defuturos ſat ſcio qui variis modis nobis faceſſent moleſtiam. Habebit hîc Momus ſuos morſus, Sycophanta ſuos ſibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori ſua lingua & aculeus, quem intigat. Hic ſidem detrahet Hiſtoriæ; ille artificium in trancando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium deliderabit. Illi forſan operis diſpliceat moles, vel minus diſpoſita ſervatáque temporum ratio. Et ſi nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta Religionis pugna, in tanta judiciorum, capitum, ſenſuum varietate, ubi ſuæ quiſque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabre, aut circumſpectè enarrari poteſt, quod placeat univerſis? Quin & jam nunc muſſitari etjam audio a nonnullis qui longa ſefe tenere dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem *Legenda noſtra*, ut appellant, *Aurea* evulganda fit: qui ſi noſtram patriam in ea tandiutem reprehenſam velint, ne ego ſuaves illos hominum viciſſim rogatos velim, ut ipſi primùm videndis ſuis ſe præbeant expeditos, quam alienam inceſſant lentitudinem.

Deinde, ſi tardius exeat ipſorum opinione volumen, meminerit, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam eſſe feſtinationem oportere; & bos dicitur laſſus fortiùs pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili noſtra; Egimus ſpero & pro officio, ſi non fatis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus ſupra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipſorum venia adjicere liceat, egiſſe nos maturiùs quàm ipſis forſan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque poſtulabat, cùm à nobis vix integros datos eſſe menſes octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendiſque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectiandis codicibus, refcribendis his quæ ſcripto mandata erant, caſtigandis formulis, concinnandæ Hiſtoriæ, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. noverint ii qui teſtes adfuerint, & temporis conſcii, & laboris ſocii. Quod ſi autem *Aureæ ſuæ Legendæ* titulum hunc eò accommodant, quod illius exemplo hanc ſimiliter fabuloſam putent Hiſtoriam, hincque odioſo vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his reſpondeam aliud quam quòd ingenuè fuam ipſi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipſos tandem aliquando *Legendæ ſuæ legendæ* podeat tam fabuloſæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit munduin tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, ſi qui *Legendæ illæ*; hoc eſt, mendaciſſimis illorum nugis auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis eſſe poſſit impium, quàm ſacroſanctam Eccleſiæ fidem fabulamentis hujuſmodi confictiſque præterea omnem veri fidem delituis contumaciare; tamen inepti ſſimi illi nugatores, ex ſuo ingenio cæteros quoſque ſcriptores metientes, nec ipſi verum adferre fatagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet ſuis aureis ſomniis ſimilia exiſtimantes? Quin apage cum *Aurea tua Legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum ſcimus, nec ipſe ignoras prodigioſis mendaciorum portentis & vaniſſimis undique commentis ſcatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abeſt ut cum veræ ſerias gravibúsque Eccleſiæ Hiſtoriis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia Papiſtis illis tuis & impuris Monachis ſic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum ſuorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem Hiſtoriæ authoritatem putas in Eccleſia admittendam? Quin eorum tam lege & de *Paſchali* Eccleſiaſtica, & tripartita *Sozomeni* & *Socratis* cæterorúmque Hiſtoriis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de ſanctis & Divis conſcripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut *Legendæ illæ Papiſticæ* annumerentur, etiam quæ ſuſpectiſſimæ ſunt fidei. Quanquam de ſcriptoribus cæteris mea nihil intereſt cenſuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò noſtram ἀκρίβειαν ἱστορικὴν, attinet, teſtatum id velim univerſis, datam eſſe à nobis operam ſeduló ne quid uſquam ineſſet operi fabuloſum, aut ejuſmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legendæ illæ Aureæ* (magis dicam plumbeæ) tam undique foret diſſimillimum. Id quod res ipſa & nativa Hiſtoriæ facies teſtari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipſis Epiſcoporum Archivis atque Regiſtris, partimque ex propriis Martyrum ipſorum literis hauſta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua Hiſtoria etſi neque id exigam ut ſingula hîc pro oraculis habeantur; si ad dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut ſi non plenè aſſequeremus, accederemur tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam Hiſtoriæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas Hiſtoriæ peſtes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet & aſſentationem; quarum altera ſæpe minus dicit, altera ſemper plus addit, quàm par eſt, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipſo magis opere, quam ex meo commendatione aſtrui honeſtius eſt. Habet enim veritas ipſa ſimplicem ſuam & nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non inuccoſis naribus lectori, ex ipſo vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aſpectu, ſive aliis circumſtantiarum notis deprehendere

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hendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitiosque describendis mendacia, ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cæteræ ejusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in Ecclesia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, Divinæ curandum providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatéque Historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ utinam ne tam vera quidem certáque esset, quam isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, confimilique huic, quam dicunt, *Aureæ ipsorum Legendæ*, aut Viris patrum, aut Festivali, aut Dormi-secure, cæteríque Papisticis istis τοῦτ τῶν λοιπῶν λήρων foret. Nunc verò Martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, fed inflicta à vobis fupplicia, atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant hiſtoriam, plurésque fuæ veritatis teſtes habent quam vellemus ipſi qui hiſtoriam ſcripſimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ *de Calendario* fortaſſis objicietur. Audio enim & hîc mihi obtrepere non tacitas modò ſententias, ſed apertas Papiſtarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explofis veteris Eccleſiæ Divis, Martyribus, Confeſſoribus, Virginibuſque, novos eorum loco Martyres ac Confeſſores inſuſciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum Divorum hoc facto præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter Divos à me referuntur iſti, quòd inferuntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam conſidenter ſumpſit *Gregorius* nonus. Porro, neque eò ſpectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam Eccleſiæ; tum multò minus cultum ſancti alicujus inſtituo. Feſtorum dierum jam plus ſatis erat in mundo. Utinam Dominicum ſolum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par eſt, tranſigeremus. Habeant per me ſuum Papiſtæ Calendarium. Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modo quàm ſint veteſti tàm veré etiam ſancti ſint.

Verùm enimvero cum non dubitavit ſua etiam ætate *Hieronymus* multos exiſtimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi paſſim pro ſanctis haberent in Eccleſia; quid hîc tum diceret *Hieronymus*, ſi modo ſuperſtes Papiſticam hanc ſanctorum colluviem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Epiſcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi ut *pro indice* duntaxat, ſuum cujuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad privatum Lectoris ſeviret uſum. Et tamen ſi in Templis etiam ſas ſit ſingulorum Menſium dies propriis ſanctorum nomenclaturis conſignare, qui minus liceat id mihi in veris iſtis facere Martyribus, quod ipſi in ſuis pſeudomartyribus, tanta ſibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiſerunt? Si non perms, ſed cau. Martyrem faciat, cur non unum *Cranmerum* ſexcentis *Becketis Cantuarienſibus* non conferam, ſed prætulerim? Quid in *Nicolao Ridleo* videtur cum quovis divo *Nicolao* non conferendum? Qua in re *Latimerus*, *Hiperus*, *Marſhæus*, *Simpſonus*, cæteríque Chriſtiani Martyrii Candidati, inferiores ſummis maximiſque illis Papiſtici Calendarii Divis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni ſanctíque viri (modò qui verè ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calendarium, trieminerit, non in Templis collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed miſſis hiſce adverſariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te inſtituta eſt Epiſtola) tempus eſt ut recurrat Oratio, cujus in his rebus judicium ut pluris æſtimo, ita ego magis hîc quoque Patrocinio. Scio enim, in vaſta hac congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ merito corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facile potuit, præſertim in tanta operis præcipitatione, ut cuncta ad amuſſim atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex laſſitudine dormitaret ſcriptor, vel per incuriam excideret Authori aliquid, vel ex feſtinatione eveniret, quod cani ſolet in proverbiis nimium præ ſtudio properanti, Cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam cenſura imploranda eſt. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte ſimul & humaniſſime Lector, ante operis ingreſſum libuit *σωγγνώμην* ut ſi quid inter evolvendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad *Ciceronis* lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquiſitum Theologorum acumen expreſſum, aut minus alicqui acutiſſimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data eſſe, ſed meis; hoc eſt, craſſioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam judicantur. Aut ſi ne id quidem graviſſimæ tuæ ſententiæ fecerit ſatis, liceat illa mihi uti lege, qua ſemper permiſſum eſt, opere in magno, ſcriptori obrepere ſomnum. Quod ſi verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obtrepant, Græci memor Proverbii, cujus & ipſos commeminiſſe velim, *μωμόσονται πόλυκαιον ἢ μωμήσονται.*

To

To the True and Faithful Congregation of CHRISTS Univerſal CHURCH, with all and ſingular the Members thereof, whereſoever congregated or diſperſed through the Realm of *England*, a Proteſtation or Petition of the *Author*, wiſhing to the ſame abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the ſpeedy coming of CHRIST the Spouſe, to make an end of all Mortal Miſery.

SOLOMON *the peaceable Prince of* Iſrael, *as we read in the third of* Kings, *after he had finiſhed the Building of the Lords* Temple *(which he had ſeven years in hand) made his Petition to the Lord for all that ſhould pray in the ſaid* Temple, *or turn their face toward it; and his Requeſt was granted, the Lord anſwering him, as we read in the ſaid Book, Chap.* 6. I have heard *(ſaith he)* thy Prayer, and have ſanctified this Place, *&c. Albeit the infinite Majeſty of God is not to be compaſſed in any material Walls, yet it ſo pleaſed his Goodneſs to reſpect this Prayer of the King, that not only he promiſed to hear them which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with his own Glory. For ſo we read again in the Book aforeſaid,* Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulam, quia replevit Gloria Domini domum Domini, 3 *Reg.* 7.

Upon the like truſt in Gods gracious goodneſs if I ſinful Wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeal of the Builder, might either be ſo bold to aſk, or ſo happy to ſpeed, after my ſeven years travel about this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I would moſt humbly crave of Almighty God to beſtow his bleſſing upon the ſame; that as the Prayers of them which prayed in the outward Temple *were heard, ſo all true diſpoſed minds which ſhall reſort to the reading of this preſent Hiſtory, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their Life, Faith, and Doctrine, receive ſome ſuch ſpiritual fruit to their Soule, through the operation of his Grace, that it may be to the advancement of his Glory, and profit of his Church, through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.* Amen.

But as it happened in that Temple *of* Solomon, *that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee News, other to talk and walk, ſome to buy and ſell, ſome to carp and find fault, and finally ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy and pull down, as they did indeed; (For what is in this World ſo ſtrong, but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be contraried? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wrangling* Theon *will not ſet in his tooth?) Even ſo neither do I look for any other in this preſent Hiſtory, but that amongſt many well diſpoſed Readers, ſome Waſpes Neſt or other will be ſtirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now adays to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man muſt offend the Godly, or by true ſpeaking procure hatred of the Wicked. Of ſuch ſtinging Waſpes and buzzing Drones I had ſufficient trial in my former Edition before; who if they had found in my Book any juſt cauſe to carp, or upon any true zeal of truth had proceeded againſt the untruths of my ſtory, and had brought juſt proofs for the ſame, I could right well have abide it. For God forbid but that faults, whereſoever they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therefore Accuſers in a Commonwealth, after my mind, do ſerve to no ſmall ſtead.*

But then ſuch Accuſers muſt beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero *in his Oration ſpeaketh, which being ſent in* Capitolio *to fray away Thieves by night, left the Thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiſs. But to carp where no cauſe is; to ſpie in other ſtraws, and leap over their own blocks, to ſwallow Camels, and to ſtrain at Gnats; to oppreſs truth with lyes, and to ſet up lyes for truth; to blaſpheme the dear Martyrs of Chriſt, and to Canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good Subjects; that is intolerable. Such barking Currs, if they were well ſerved, would be made a while to ſtoop. But with theſe brawling ſpirits I intend not at this time much to wraſtle.*

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leiſure ſerve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought in the mean ſeaſon, by way of Proteſtation or Petition, to write unto you, both in general and particular, the true Members and faithful Congregation of Chriſts Church, whereſoever either congregated together, or diſperſed through the whole Realm of England, *that forſomuch as all the ſeeking of theſe Adverſaries is to do what they can, by diſcrediting of this Hiſtory with ſlanders and ſiniſter ſurmiſes, to withdraw the Readers from it: this therefore ſhall be in few words to premoniſh and deſire of all and ſingular of you (all well minded Lovers and Partakers of Chriſts Goſpel) not to ſuffer your ſelves to be deceived with the big Brags, and Hyperbolical Speeches of thoſe ſlandering Tongues, whatſoever they have or ſhall hereafter exclaim againſt the ſame; but indifferently ſtaying your judgment till truth be tried, you will firſt peruſe, and then refuſe; meaſuring the untruths of this Hiſtory, not by the ſcoring up of their hundreds and thouſands of lyes which they give out, but wiſely weighing the purpoſe of their doings according as you find, and ſo to judge of the matter.*

To read my Books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he feeth cauſe, ſo let him like as he liſteth. If any ſhall think his labour too much in reading this ſtory, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof ſhall recompence the Readers

travel, then would I wish no man so light eared, to be carried away for any sinister clamor of Adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults because they would deprave. As for me and my History, as my will was to profit all and displease none; so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple, and certes the cause no less urgent also, which moved me to take this Enterprise in hand.

The partial dealing of Story-writers.

For first to see the simple Flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of History, not knowing the course of Times, and true descent of the Church, it pitied me that part of diligence so long to have been unsupplied in this my Country Church of England. *Again, considering the multitude of Chronicles and Story-Writers, both in* England, *and out of* England, *of whom the most part have been either Monks or Clients to the See of* Rome, *it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painful travel albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known, nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principal Points, which chiefly concerned the state of Christs Church, and were most necessary of all Christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the Church of* Rome, *or else to the favour of their own Sect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their Writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but only that Church which here flourished in this World in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same persuasion, to think no other Church to have stood in all the Earth but only the Church of* Rome.

In the number of this sort of Writers, besides our Monks of England *(for every Monastery almost had his Chronicler) I might also also recite both* Italian *and other Country Authors, as* Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antonius, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Polyd. Virgilius, *with many more, who taking upon them to entermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they express some truth in matters concerning the Bishops and See of* Rome; *yet in suppressing another part they play with us, as* Ananias *and* Saphyra *did with their money, or as* Apelles *did in* Pliny, *who, painting the one half of* Venus *coming out of the Sea, left the other half unperfect. So these Writers, while they shew us one half of the Bishop of* Rome, *the other half of him they leave unperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out on the one part glistering in Wealth and Glory, in shewing what succession the Popes had from the Chair of Saint* Peter, *when they first began and how long they sate, what Churches, and what famous Buildings they erected, how far their Possessions reached, what Laws they made, what Councils they called, what Honour they received of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countries they brought under their Authority, with other like stratagems of great Pomp and Royalty; so on the other side, what Vices these Popes brought with them to their Seat, what Abominations they practised, what Superstition they maintained, what Idolatry they procured, what wicked Doctrine they defended contrary to the express Word of God, what Heresies they fell, into what division of Sects they cut the unity of Christian Religion, how some practised by Simony, some by Necromancy and Sorcery, some by poysoning, some indenting with the Devil to come by their Papacy, what Hypocrisie was in their Lives, what Corruption in their Doctrine, what Wars they raised, what Bloodshed they caused, what Treachery they traversed against their Lords and Emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other under their Feet, also in beheading some, as they did with* Fredericus *and* Conradinus, *the Heirs and Off-spring of the House of* Fredericus Barbarossa, *in the Year,* 1269. *Furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their Wars never prospered against the* Turk, *how the judgments of the godly learned from time to time have ever repugned against their Errors, &c. Of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under* Benedicite, *in auricular Confession.*

This partial dealing and corrupt handling of Histories when I considered, I thought with my self nothing more lacking in the Church than a full and a compleat story, which, being faithfully collected out of all our Monastical Writers, and written Monuments, should contain neither every vain written Fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but with a moderate discretion taking the best of every one should both ease the labour of the Reader from turning over such a number of Writers, and also should open the plain truth of Times lying long hid in obscure darkness of Antiquity. Whereby all studious Readers, beholding as in a Glass the stay, course, and alteration of Religion, decay of Doctrine, and the Controversies of the Church, might discern the better between Antiquity and Novelty. For if the things which be first (after the Rule of Tertullian) *are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of Histories much necessary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause* Historia, *in old Authors, is called the* Witness of Times, *the* Light of Verity, *the* Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, *and* Shewer of Antiquity, &c. *Without the knowledge whereof many life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later Times of the Church, when as the Bishops of* Rome *under colour of Antiquity have turned Truth into Heresie, and brought such new-found Devises of strange Doctrine and Religion, as in the former Age of the Church were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of Times, and for lack of true History.*

Primum quodque verissimum est. Tertul.

For to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote Histories had without partiality gone upright between God and Baal, *halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this Catholick corruption intruded into the Church by the Bishops of* Rome, *as Transubstantiation, Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, forced Vows of Priests not to marry, Veneration of Images, private and satisfactory Masses, the Order of* Gregories *Mass now used, the usurped Authority and* Summa potestas *of the See of* Rome, *with all the rout of*

of their Ceremonies and Weeds of Superstition overgrowing now the Church; all these (I say) to be New-nothings lately coined in the Mint of Rome, *without any stamp of Antiquity, as by reading of this present History shall sufficiently (I trust) appear. Which History therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other Story-Writers heretofore have employed their travel to magnifie the Church of* Rome, *so in this History might appear to all Christian Readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poor oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ. Which persecuted Church though it hath been of long season trodden under foot by Enemies, neglected in the World, not regarded in Histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extream Distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithful Ministers, by whom always have been kept some sparks of his true Doctrine and Religion.*

Image of both Churches.

Now forasmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with some other Church or Chappel of the Devil to deface and malign the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right Church to be described from the Apostles time. Which hitherto in most part of Histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not discern rightly between the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome *to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a Port, to carry such a Train and Multitude, and to stand in such high Authority, supposed the same to be the only right Catholick Mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christ. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right Church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of Truth; so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the Members and Partakers thereof. And therefore they, which require that Gods holy Church should be evident and visible to the whole World, seem to define the great Synagogue of the World, rather than the true Spiritual Church of God.*

The descent of Christs Church from the Apostles time described.

Shew the true Church of Christ is visible and not visible

In Christs time who would have thought but the Congregations and Councils of the Pharisees *had been the right Church? and yet had Christ another Church in Earth besides that; which albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the World, yet was it the only true Church in the sight of God. Of this Church meant Christ, speaking of the Temple which he would raise again the third day. And yet after that the Lord was risen, he shewed not himself to the World, but only to his Elect, which were but few. The same Church after that encreased and multiplied mightily among the* Jews, *yet had not the* Jews *eyes to see Gods Church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole Nation was destroyed.*

After the Jews, *then came the* Heathen *Emperors of* Rome, *who, having the whole Power of the World in their hands, did what the World could do, to extinguish the Name and Church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred years. All which while the true Church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the World, but rather was abhorred every where, and ye notwithstanding the same small silly Flock so despised in the World, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preserved. For although many then of the Christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither loss to them, nor detriment to the Church, but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.*

In the time of these Emperors God raised up then in this Realm of Britain *divers worthy Preachers and Witnesses, as* Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, *and other more. In whose time the Doctrine of Faith without mens traditions was sincerely preached. After their death and Martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his Church, whereby the number of his Flock began more to encrease.*

The Antiquity of the Church here in England, with the descent of the same.

In this Age then followed here in the said Land of Britain, Fastidius, Nivianus, Patricius, Bachiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elnodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Nivius, *and a great fort more, which governed the Church of* Britain *by Christian Doctrine a long season; albeit the Civil Governors for the time were then dissolute and careless, as* Gildas *very sharply doth lay to their Charge, and so at length were subdued by the* Saxons.

All this while about the space of four hundred years Religion remained in Britain *uncorrupt, and the Word of Christ truly preached, till about the coming of* Augustine *and of his Companions from* Rome, *many of the said* Britain-*Preachers were slain by the* Saxons. *After that began Christian Faith to enter and spring among the* Saxons, *after a certain* Romish *sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly Teachers which then lived amongst them, as* Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman *Archbishop of* York, Beda, John of Beverly, Alcuinus, Noetus, Huchurius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtedus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus, *and such other; who though they erred in some few things, yet neither so grossly, nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet all this while the Error of Transubstantiation and Elevation, with Auricular Confession, was not crept in for a publick Doctrine in Christs Church, as by their own* Saxon *Sermon made by* Ælfricus, *and set out in the second Volume of this present History may appear. During the which mean time, although the Bishops of* Rome *were had here in some reverence with the Clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making Laws touching matters of the Church of* England; *but that only appertained to the Kings and Governors of the Land, as is in this story to be seen.*

Transubstantiation not yet received for a publick Doctrine.

The Church began to fall from God.

Æneas Sylvius saith, That *Matilda* made the Pope Heir of those Lands which are called the *Patrimony* of Saint Peter. *Ex Aven. lib. 6.*

And thus the Church of Rome, *albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet during all this while it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said Bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good Princes, and especially of* Mathilda *a noble Dutchess of* Italy, *who at her death made the Pope Heir of all her Lands, and endued his See with great Revenues. Then Riches begat Ambition, Ambition destroyed Religion, so that all came to ruine. Out of this Corruption sprang forth here in* England *(as did in other places more) another* Romish *kind of Monkery, worse than the other before, being much more drowned in Superstition and Ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord,* 980. *Of this Swarm was* Egbertus, Aigelbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede, Agathon, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Ofwold, Athelwold, Althelwine *Duke of* Eastangles, Lanfrac, Anselme, *and such other.*

Monkery when it began to reign in *England.*

And yet in this time also, through Gods Providence, the Church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkness of those days. For although King Edgar *with* Edward *his base Son, being seduced by* Dunstan, Ofwold, *and other Monkish Clerks, was then a great Author and Fautor of much Superstition, erecting as many Monasteries as were Sundays in the year; yet notwithstanding, this continued not long. For eftsoons after the death of* Edgar *came King* Ethelrede *and Queen* Elfthred *his Mother, with* Alferus *Duke of* Merceland, *and other Peers and Nobles of the Realm, who displaced the Monks again, and restored the married Priests to their old Possessions and Livings. Moreover, after that followed also the Danes, which overthrew those Monkish Foundations as fast as* King Edgar *had set them up before.*

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true Church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of Pope Hildebrand *called* Gregory *the Seventh, which was near about the year One thousand and eighty, and of* Pope Innocentius *the Third, in the year One thousand two hundred and fifteen. By whom all together was turned upside down, all Order broken, Discipline dissolved, true Doctrine defaced, Christian Faith extinguished. In stead whereof was set up preaching of mens Decrees, Dreams and idle Traditions. And whereas before Truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now Liberty was turned into Law, Argument into Authority. Whatsoever the Bishop of* Rome *denounced, that stood for an Oracle of all men to be received without Opposition or Contradiction; whatsoever was contrary ipso facto it was Heresie, to be punished with Faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere Faith of this* English *Church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the clear Sunshine of Gods Word overshadowed with Mists and Darkness, appearing like Sackcloth to the people, which neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true Visible Church began now to shrink and keep in for fear: So up start a new sort of Players, to furnish the Stage, as School-Doctors, Canonists, and four Orders of Friers. Besides other Monastical Sects and Fraternities of infinite variety. Which ever since have kept such a stir in the Church, that none for them almost durst rout, neither Cæsar, King, nor Subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was Catholick; what they condemned, was Heresie; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these hitherto continued or reigned rather in the Church, the space now of 400 years and odd. During which space the true Church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, oppressed by Tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, but by the Providence of the Lord some Remnant always remained from time to time, which not only shewed secret good affection to sincere Doctrine, but also stood in open defence of Truth against the disordered Church of* Rome.

The true Church when it began first to decay.

The true Church continueth in the midst of their Enemies.

In which Catalogue, first, to pretermit Bertramus *and* Berengarius, *which were before Pope* Innocent *the Third, a learned multitude of sufficient Witnesses here might be produced, whose Names neither are obscure nor Doctrine unknown; as* Joachim *Abbot of* Calabria, Almericus *a learned Bishop, who was judged an Heretick for holding against Images in the time of the said* Innocentius. *Besides the Martyrs of* Alsatia, *of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said* Innocentius *in one day, as writeth* Hermanus Mucius. *Add likewise to these the* Waldenses *or* Albingenses, *which to a great number segregated themselves from the Church of* Rome. *To this number also belonged* Reymondus de Tholouse, Marsilius Patavius, * Gulielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, *besides divers other Preachers in* Suevia *standing against the Pope. One thousand four hundred and forty. Ex* Crantz. Laurentius Anglicus, *a Master of* Paris, Anno, *One thousand two hundred and sixty.* Petrus Johannes *a Minorite, who was burned after his death* Anno, *One thousand two hundred and ninety.* Robertus Gallus *a Dominick Frier,* Anno, *One thousand two hundred ninety one.* Robert Grosthead *Bishop of* Lincoln, *which was called* Malleus Romanorum, Anno, *One thousand two hundred and fifty. Lord* Peter de Cugneriis, Anno, *One thousand three hundred twenty nine. To these we may add moreover,* Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratius Bergomensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudensis, Ulricus Hangenor *Treasurer to the Emperor,* Johannes de Ganduno; Anno, *One thousand three hundred and thirty mentioned in the Extravagants,* Andreas de Castro, Buridianus, Euda, *Duke of* Burgundy, *who counselled the* French *King not to receive the new-found Constitutions, and Extravagants of the Pope into his Realm,* Dantes Alligerius, *an* Italian, *who wrote against the Pope, Monks, and Friers, and against the Donation of* Constantine, Anno, *Thirteen hundred and thirty.* Taulerus a German *Preacher,* * Conradus Hager, *imprisoned for preaching against the Mass,* Anno, *Thirteen hundred thirty nine, The Author of the Book called* Poenitentiarius Asini, *compiled about the year, Thirteen hundred forty three,* Michael Cesenas, *a Gray Frier,* Petrus de Corbaria, *with* Johannes de Poliaco, *mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the Pope,* Johannes de Castilione, *with* Franciscus de Arcatara, *who were burned about the year of our Lord,* 1322. † Johannes Rochtaylada, *otherwise called* Hayhalus, *with another Frier martyred about the year,* 1346. Franciscus Petrarcha, *who called* Rome *the* Whore of Babylon, &c.

* *Extravagant. Non sine malis. Ex Nitol. Emerico, lib. inquisitionum.*

† *Ex 3a. Acentis, lib. 7. Extravagant. cap. Licet Infra de Atriam. Ex bullis quibusdam Orbinis Epist. Hieronymi Senis. Extravagant. Joan. 22. Ex Joan. Profurd. Volum. 1. fol. 211.*

Anno,

Anno, *One thousand three hundred and fifty,* * Georgius Ariminensis, Anno, *One thousand three hundred and fifty,* Joannes de Rupe Scissa, *imprisoned for certain Prophesies against the Pope,* Anno, *One thousand three hundred and forty,* Gerhardus Ridder, *who also wrote against Monks and Friers, a Book called* Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ, Anno, *One thousand three hundred and fifty,* Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardini, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, *Preacher,* Anno, *One thousand three hundred sixty four,* Militzius *a* Bohemian, *who then preached, That Antichrist was come, and was excommunicate for the same,* Anno, *One thousand three hundred sixty six,* Jacobus Misnensis, * Matthias Parisiensis *a* Bohemian *born, and a Writer against the Pope,* Anno, *One thousand three hundred and seventy,* Joannes Montziger, *Rector of the University of* Ulm, Anno 1384. Nilus *Archbishop of* Thessalonica, Henricus de Jota, Henricus de Hassia, &c.

Ex Trithemo. Ex Bulla *Gregorii,* cap. 11. Ex Illyrico.

I do but recite the principal Writers and Preachers in those days. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, *that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one* * Brulhius, *that six and thirty Citizens of* Maguntia *were burned,* Anno, *One thousand three hundred and ninety. Who, following the Doctrine of the* Waldenses, *affirmed the Pope to be the* Great Antichrist. *Also* Massæus *recordeth of one hundred and forty, which in the Province of* Narbon *were put to the fire, for not receiving the Decretals of* Rome, *besides them that suffered at* Paris *to the number of four and twenty at one time,* Anno 1210. *and the next year after were four hundred burnt under the name of* Hereticks; *besides also a certain good* Heremit, *an* Englishman, *of whom mention is made in* John Bacon, Dist. 2. Quæst. 1. *who was committed for disputing in* Pauls Church *against certain Sacraments of the Church of* Rome, Anno 1306.

Ex Brusilio. Ex Christiano Massæo. Ex Joan. Bacon. Dist. 2. Quæst. 1.

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the Descent of the Church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful Witnesses in the time of John Wickliff, *as* Ocliff, Wickliff, Anno 1379. William Thorp, White, Purvey, Fatfhal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, Will. Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, *about the year,* 1400. John Badby, *Anno* 1410. Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, *with an Anchoresse called* Mathilde *in the City of* Leicester, *Lord* Cobham, *Sir* Roger Acton *Knight,* John Beverley *Preacher,* John Husse, Jerome *of* Prague, *a Schoolmaster, with a number of faithful* Bohemians, *and* Thaborites *not to be told; with whom I might also adjoyn* Laurentius Valla, *and* Joannes Picus, *the learned Earl of* Mirandula. *But what do I stand upon recital of Names, which almost are infinite?*

Whereforе, if any be so far beguiled in his Opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of Rome *(as it now standeth) to be of such Antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of* Luther *and* Zuinglius *now of late, let them read these Histories: or if he think, the said History not to be of sufficient credit to alter his Perswasion, let him peruse the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, passed in this Realm of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may find and read,* Anno 5. Regis Richardi 2. *in the year of our Lord,* 1380. *of a great number (which there be called evil persons)* going about from Town to Town in Freeze Gowns, preaching unto the people, &c. *Which Preachers although the words of the Statute do term there to be dissembling persons, preaching divers Sermons containing Heresies and notorious Errors, to the enablishment of Christian Faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding every true Christian Reader may conceive of those Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, than now they bear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach against the Bishop of* Rome, *and the corrupt Heresies of his Church.*

Statut. in An. 5 Rich. 2. Anno Dom. 1380

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in Statut. Anno 2 Hen. 4. cap. 15. *in the year of our Lord,* 1402. *another like company of good Preachers and faithful Defenders of true Doctrine against blind Heresie and Error. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsly term to be* false and perverse Preachers, under dissembled Holiness, teaching in those days openly and privily new Doctrines and heretical Opinions, contrary to the Faith and determination of holy Church, &c. *yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth Histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false Teachers, but faithful Witnesses of the Truth, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church; but rather shall find that Church to be unholy which they preached against, teaching rather it self heretical Opinions, contrary both to Antiquity, and Verity of Christs true Catholick Church.*

Ex Stat. In Anno 2 H. 4. cap. 15. Anno Dom. 1402

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful Favourers and Followers of Gods holy Word, we find in the year, 1422. *specified in a Letter sent from* Henry Chichelly *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *to Pope* Martin *the Fifth, in the fifth year of his Popedom, where mention is made of* some many here *in England* infected *(as he said)* with the Heresies of *Wickliff* and *Husse,* that without force of an Army they could not be suppressed, &c. *Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals to the Archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the Chamber Apostolik; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of Chalices, Candlesticks, and other Implements of the Church, &c.*

Ex literis Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. 5. Anno Dom. 1422

What shall need then any more Witnesses to prove this matter, when you see so many years ago whole Armies and Multitudes thus standing against the Pope? who though they be termed here for Heresticks and Schismaticks, yet in that which they call Heresie served they the living Lord within the Ark of his true Spiritual and visible Church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the Papists, which make so much of their painted sheath, and would weeds bear us down, that this Government of the Church of Rome, *which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from the Primitive Antiquity, and that never was any other Church demonstrable here in Earth for men to follow, besides the said only Catholick Mother Church of* Rome? *when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the Church*

till

till this present time, that the said Church, after the Doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but even the old continued Church, by the providence and promise of Christ still standing, which albeit it hath been of late years repressed by the tyranny of Roman *Bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his Gospel, against Heresies and Errors of the Church of* Rome, *as in this History more at full is to be seen.*

Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the Church unto the 1501 *year.*

Bloody Marks of Christs Passion seen on mens garments in Germany. *An.* 1501.

In which year the Lord began to shew in the parts of Germany *wonderful Tokens, and bloody Marks of his Passion, as the bloody-Cross, his Nails, Spear, and Crown of Thornes, which fell from Heaven upon the Garments and Caps of Men, and Rocks of Women, as you may further read in this Book. By the which Tokens Almighty God, no doubt, presignified, what grievous Afflictions and bloody Persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his Church for his Gospel-sake, according as in this History is described; wherein is to be seen what Christian-blood hath been spilt, what Persecutions raised, what Tyranny exercised, what Torments devised, what Treachery used against the poor Flock and Church of Christ; in such sort as since Christs time greater hath not been seen.*

Seventy years of Captivity well near expired.

And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of 1501, *to the year now present* 1570. *In which the full seventy years of the* Babylonish-*Captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody Marks above mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of* Luther *and his Persecution, then lacketh yet sixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked World, or what rest he will give to his Church after these long Sorrows, he is our Father in Heaven, his Will be done in Earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.*

Exhortation to the Church of England.

In the mean time let us for our parts with all patient Obedience wait upon his Graces leisure, and glorifie his holy Name, and edifie one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good Will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutual humanity. They that be in Error let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater Talents of Knowledge committed, instruct in simplicity them that be simple. No man liveth in that Commonwealth where nothing is amiss; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen *here in one Commonwealth, also in one Church, as in one Ship together; let us not wrangle or divide the Ship, which being divided perisheth; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his Order, wherein he is called. They that sit at the Helm keep well the point of the Needle, to know how the Ship goeth, and whither it should. Whatsoever weather betideth, the Needle well touched with the Stone of Gods Word, will never fail. Such as labour at the Oars start for no Tempest, but do what they can to keep from the Rocks. Likewise they which be in inferior Rooms take heed they move no Sedition nor Disturbance against the Rowers and Mariners. No Storm so dangerous to a Ship on the Sea, as is discord and disorder in a Weal publick. What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Towns and Houses discord hath dissolved, in Stories is manifest; I need not spend time in rehearsing Examples. The God of Peace, who hath Power both of Land and Sea, reach forth his merciful hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these Winds and surging Seas of Discord and Contention among us; that we professing one Christ, may in one Unity of Doctrine gather our selves into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing stedfast in Faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyful Port of our desired landing-place, by his heavenly Grace. To whom both in Heaven and Earth, be all Power and Glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.*

The

The Utility of this STORY.

Multitude of Books lamented.

THe World being replenished with such an infinite multitude of Books of all kind of matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needless, at this present to set out such Volumes, especially of Histories, considering now adays the World is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other Treatises, so that Books now seem rather to lack Readers, than Readers to lack Books. In the which multitude of Books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail this insatiable boldness of many now adays both in Writing and Printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashness I have attempted this Enterprise, as one being not only doubtful, but also both bashful and fearful within my self for setting the same abroad. And why? First, I perceived how learned this Age of ours is in reading of Books, neither could I tell what the secret judgments of Readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty Enterprise, not sufficiently furnished with such Ornaments able to satisfie the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the Utility of the Studious, and the delight of the Learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the less I durst be bold to become a Writer.

But again on the other side, when I weighed with my self what memorable Acts and famous Doings this later Age of the Church hath ministred to us by the patient Sufferings of the worthy Martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in Books, should be buried by my default, under darkness of Oblivion. Me thought somewhat was to be said of them for their well deserving, and something again of our parts for benefit by them received. But above all other things, nothing did so stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and special regard of the common Utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of those Monuments or Martyrology; which History as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the *English*-Church, so have I framed it in that Tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now if men commonly delight so much in other Chronicles which entreat only upon matters of Policy, and rejoyce to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the Stratagems of valiant Captains, the terror of foughten Fields, the facking of Cities, the hurlyburlies of Realms and People; And if men think it such a gay thing in a Commonwealth to commit to History such old Antiquities of things prophane, and bestow all their Ornaments of Wit and Eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the Lives, Acts, and Doings, not of bloody Warriors, but of mild and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godliness? As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of *Atheists*, and all the whole Nest of *Epicures*. For like as one said of *Harpalus* in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so contrariwise in these men we have a much more assured and plain witness of God, both in whose Lives and Deaths appeared such manifest Declarations of Gods divine working, whiles in such sharpness of Torments we behold in them strength so constant above mans reach, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, chearfulness, so couragious in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Ghost, which they in their Lives so plentifully tasted in their Afflictions, as in reading of their Letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this the mild deaths of the Saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good Conscience, to learn the contempt of the World, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm Faith, encrease Godliness, abate Pride in Prosperity, and in Adversity do open an hope of heavenly Comfort. For what man reading the misery of these godly persons may not therein, as in a Glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For if God give Adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And as by reading of prophane stories we are made perhaps more skilful in Warlike affairs; so by reading this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto the like Conflicts, (if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter) more wise by their Doctrine, and more stedfast by their Example.

Comparison between worldly Souldiers and the Souldiers of Christ.

To be short, they declare to the World what true Christian Fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the Resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinks I have good cause to wish, that like as other Subjects, even so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delight in Heroical Stories, would diligently peruse such Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their Walls, Cups, Rings, and Gates. For doubtless such as these are more worthy of honour than an hundred

hundred *Alexanders*, *Hectors*, *Scipio's*, and War-like *Julies*. And though the World judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are to be reputed in deed; not that kill one another with a Weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods Cause do retain an invincible constancy against the Threats of Tyrants, and Violence of Tormentors. Such as these are indeed the true Conquerors of the World, by whom we learn true Manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the World. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the Tribe of *Juda* first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable Fortitude we hear this Prophetical admiration, *Who is this* (saith he) *which walketh so in the multitude of his strength*; Forsooth the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the World, and yet conquering the World after the same manner he was conquered. Isa. 63.

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient Antiquity of the Church did attribute so much honour, as never King or Emperor could purchase in this World with all their Images, Pillars, high Spires, Triumphs, Temples, and all their solemn Feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the Memory but also the Reliques of those goods Martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We have also for witness the learned Hymns and Songs of *Prudentius* and *Nazianzen*, wherewith *Pindarus* did never so much set out his Triumphs of *Olympia* and *Nemea*. I need not here rehearse the learned Orations of Eloquent *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Jerome*, who never shewed their Eloquence more, than when they fell into the Commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs; with what Gratulation, Rejoyce, Mirth, and common Joy the Afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs Quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much she was beholding to their benefits, by whose death she understood her Treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserve any less Commendation, than the other in the Primitive Church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their Torments, or their constancy in dying, or also confider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of Posterity, and increase of the Gospel. They did water with their Blood the Truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being so decayed and fain down. They standing in the foreward of the battel, did receive the first Incounter and Violence of their Enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such Tyranny; these with like courage again, like old beaten Souldiers, did win the field in the rereward of the battel. They like famous Husbandmen of the World did sow the Fields of the Church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with fatness of their Blood did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the Fruit might be speedily gathered into the Barn, which only remaineth behind to come.

Comparison between the Martyrs of the Primitive Church, and of the later Church.

Now, if we ascribe such Reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently Preach the Gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of Persecution; how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their Lives for the defence of the same? All these premisses duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous Martyrs in this our Age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them, than the Writers of the Primitive Church were unto theirs. And though we repute not their Ashes, Chains, and Swords in stead of Relicks; yet let us yield thus much unto their Commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their Lives at the least with like Innocency. They offered their Bodies willingly to the rough handling of the Tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortifie our Flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the Riches and Glory of the World for the love of Christ, but also their Lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this World? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts blood gushed out of their Bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor Brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their Persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the Posterity and Children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but being admonished, by their Examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any. And if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our Hands from shedding of Blood, but our Tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by Martyrdom, or loss of Life, according to their Example, to yield up the same in the defence of the Lords Flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the World than now is. And thus much touching the Utility and Fruit to be taken of this History.

To all the Professed FRIENDS and FOLLOWERS of the POPES Proceedings.

Four Questions Propounded.

Four demands or questions put forth to the Papists.

TO you all and singular which profess the Doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy Father, and of your Mother-Church of *Rome*, pretending the Name of *Catholicks*, commonly termed *Papists*, wheresoever abiding in the Realm of *England*, these four Questions or Problems hereunder following I would move, desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

The first Question.

The first question.

FIRST, Forsomuch as Mount Sion (which God called by the Prophet Isaiah the Hill of his Holiness) beareth in the Scripture an undoubted Type of the Spiritual Church of Christ; and forsomuch as the said Isaiah, Chapter eleventh, and sixty fifth, prophesying of the said Mount Sion, saith in these words, Non nocebunt, neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus, &c. That is, They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy Hill, saith the Lord, &c. And again in the same Chapters thus we read, Habitabit Lupus cum Agno, & Pardus cum Hædo accubabit, Vitulus & Leo & Ovis una commorabuntur, & puellus parvulus ducet eos, &c. That is, The Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard with the Kid; the Calf, the Lion, and the Sheep shall feed together, and a young Child shall rule them. The Cow also and the Bear shall abide together with their young Ones, and the Lion shall eat Chaff and Fodder like the Ox, &c. *Isa.* 11. 65.

Upon these premisses note followeth my question; Why the Church of Rome can be answerable to this Hill of Sion, seeing in the same Church of Rome is and hath been now so many years such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of Christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as in reading these Histories may to all the World appear? Objection.

To this if they answer, and expound these words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church-Triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand, forasmuch as the Prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy Mountain without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the Earth, and sheweth also the cause of that godly peace. Because (saith he) the Earth is replenished with Knowledge and Science of the Lord, &c. Ibid. And furthermore the Prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, adderh, saying, In that day the Root of *Jesse* shall stand for a sign to the people, for the *Gentiles* to be converted, and to seek unto him, &c. Which day in no wise can be applied to the Church in Heaven Triumphant, but only here Militant in Earth. Reflexion.

Touching which place of Isaiah further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount Sion (which compasseneth both the Seares, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal) is not restrained the publick penalty of good Laws needful to be executed upon publick Malefactors, but here is restrained the fierceness, revenge, cruelty, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, though grace and working of the Gospel they are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition, from stoutness to softness, from violence to sufferance, from fierceness to foybearing, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compassion, from wilfulness to simplicity, from solemn singularity to humanity and meekness. Which vertues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, Which willeth men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekness, &c. *Rom.* 15. *Gal.* 6.) I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long History as this, of the suffering of so many Martyrs. Publick execution of Laws not forbidden in Scripture. The Conditions and Properties of the true Church of Christ. *Rom.* 15. *Gal.* 6.

The second Question.

The second question. The deadly hatred of the Papists against the Protestants grounded upon no just cause or deserving.

MY second Question is this, To demand of you Catholick Professors of the Popes Sect, which so deadly malign and persecute the Protestants professing the Gospel of Christ: What just or reasonable cause have you to allege for this your extream hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you your selves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer them to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or Infidels, or in their Doctrine were any idolatrous Impiety, or detestable Iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly Destruction, or privy Conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you: then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their Doctrine ye have neither Blasphemy, Idolatry, Superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them; seeing they are baptized in the same Belief, and believe the same Articles of the Creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same Baptism, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of Christian Doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture; how then riseth this mortal malice of you against them? If you think them to be Hereticks, then bring forth, if ye can, any one Sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient Doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confess the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They serve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his Law, as men may do: and though they be Transgressors towards him, as other men are, yet toward you what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

Malice and cruelty of Papists against the Country of Merindol and Cabriers.

What offended the poor Inhabitants of Merindoll and Cabriers, when the Bishop of Aix, the Cardinal of Turon, and other Bishops of France, wresting from Francis the French King a Commission, sent Minerius with his Captain John de Gray, to destroy their Country, Anno 1530. who driving the poor people there into a Barn full of straw, set the Barn on fire, and burned up Men, Women, and Children? And likewise in a Church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand Young and Old, Women, Children, and young Infants, besides seven whole Towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said Country of Provence.

Malice of Papists against the Citizens of *Tholouse* in *France.*

Also before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouse and Avinion, when Pope Gregory the Ninth set Lewis the French King to War against them, and against Raymundus their Earl, without cause; where also the said King died at the Siege.

Malice and cruelty of Papists against the Protestants of the Town of *Vaffy.*

Do to speak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor Protestants in the Town of Vaffy, who, being peaceably at a Sermon, were miserably slain and cut, Men, Women, and Children, by the Duke of Guise and his armed Soudiers & Besides other infinite Examples almost not to be numbred of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other Countries more.

Clemency and mercy shewed to Papists in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.*

But to let other Countries pass, let us turn now to the peaceable Government in this Realm of England, under this our so mild and gracious Queen now prosperly reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are dealt with, how quietly you live. What lack you that you should have, having suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you should have, having almost the best Rooms and Offices in all the Realm, not only without any loss of life, but also without any fear of death & And though a few of your Arch-Clerks be in custody, yet in that custody is thewnly are they but there, that many a good Protestant in the Realm would be glad with all their hearts to change Rooms and Diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have slipt over the Seas; if their courage to see Countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them & For this is certain, no dread there was of death that drave them. For what Papist have you seen in all this Land to lose either life or limb for Papistry, during all these twelve years bitherto since this Queens Reign & And yet all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and murmer, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but pray for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open Rebellion against your Prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your Governour.

The traitorious murdering of the Lord *Iames* Regent of *Scotland*, Martyr.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering most traiterously the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in fearing the Queens life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own;) to with like fury, by your Rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquility of this Realm of England, if ye might have your wills. Which the merciful Grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Sons sake our Lord, prosebend and utterly disappoint. Amen.

The chief cause of all these later Perfecutions in the Church, is only the private quarrel of the Bishop of Rome.

Wherefore these premisses conswered, my question is to ask of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortal and deadly hatred, fury and malice you bear against these your even-Christens, of these your Tumults, Conjurations, Saping and Doping, Rebellions, Sputterings, and Murders wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole World & Of all which mischiefs if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtless to be none other but only the private cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

The Plantation of the Popes Supremacy proved not to be of God.

Touching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them to answer this question. In the mean time, this so a brief note shall suffice; that it standeth not with Scripture, but contrary to Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome should so revenge his own private cause. If this Title and Plantation be good and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it though the whole World fain No. If it be otherwise, it will fail and be rooted out, though all the World should so labour to prop it. If it be otherwise, it will fail and be rooted out, though all the World hath so much Power to do the Works of the first Beast before his face, as he & no who but he alone & which Power to do the works of the Beast before his sight. *Apoc.* 13. said Yea. Yea the greatest argument to prove this Plantation of the Popes Supremacy not to be of God, is, only the Glory and Will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, pater meus est qui glorificat me, &c. *John* 8. That is, If I glorify my self, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. *John* 8. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not so waistle for his glory, as he doth: Nor so slowly as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low, ye. *Luke* 18. Luke 18.

The third Question.

The third Question. *Apoc.* 13. The two Beasts in the Book of *Revelation* described. The second Beast with horns like a Lamb.

My third question I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the Book of Revelation, Which Book as it containeth a Prophetical History of the Church, so likewise it requireth by Histories to be opened. In this History mention is made, first of a certain Beast coming out of the Sea, having seven Heads and ten Horns, with ten Diadems of Blasphemy: Unto the which Beast the Dragon the Devil gave his strength, and great Power to fight against his Saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty two months; of the which Beast one of his heads was wounded as largely to death, &c.

After this, immediately in the same Chapter, mention followeth of another Beast rising out of the Land, having two Horns like a Lamb, and did all the Power of the former Beast before having two Horns like a Lamb, and spake like a Dragon, and did all the Power of the former Beast before him, and caused all dwellers of the Earth to Worship the first Beast, whose Head was wounded and slain. Who his face, and caused all dwellers of the Earth to Worship the first Beast, whose Head was wounded and slain. Who also had put Power to give Spirit and life to the said former Beast, to make the Image of the Beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the Beast in their Hands and Foreheads; and whosoever worshipped not the Image of the Beast, should be killed, &c.

Upon this description of these two Beasts risen my question; wherein I desire all Papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to consider with themselves, what the Spirit of the Prophesie meaneth by the said two Beasts. Neither is the mystery of this Prophesie so obscure, but being Historical by Histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papists, as men expert in Histories, my question is this, That seeing the Prophesie of these two Beasts must needs presigure some People or Dominion in the World, of some high estate and power; they will now declare unto us, what people or domination this should be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the said two Beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven of force inevitable to grant and confess, the same to agree only to the City and Empire of Rome, and to no other; which by these Reasons following of necessity must needs be concluded.

The mystery of this first Beast rising out of the Sea, applied.

First, The Beast which came out of the Sea, having the Strength, the Seat and Power of the great Dragon (the Devil, called the Prince of this World) committed to him, who also had Power given over all Tribes, Nations, Languages, People and Countries in the Earth, must needs be an Empire or Monarchy of great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the Empire of Rome and none other.

The Image of the Beast reflected to the Monarchy of *Rome*, before.

Secondly, In that the Beast had seven heads and ten horns, with ten Diadems full of blasphemy upon them; those seven heads being expounded in the same Book, Chap. 17. to seven Hills, not obscurely importing the City of Rome, wherein were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, being there expounded

pounded for ten Kings (signifying belike the ten Provinces and Kingdoms of the world, subdued to the Roman Empire) with ten Crowns of Blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the City of Rome.

Of these forty two months, and the exposition thereof read after.

Thirdly, Where the said Beast had Power to make 42 months, and to fight against the Saints, and to overcome them, &c. Thereby must manifestly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the Heathen persecuting Emperors, which had Power given the space of so many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, 294 years) to persecute Christs Church, as in the Table of the Primitive Church hereafter following is discovered more at large.

The wounded head of the Beast in the Revelation, was at the first beginning of the Empire, and after recovered. The second Beast rising out of the Land, presending the like horns of a Lamb, what head was wounded and cured again.

Fourthly, Where the Prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the Beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again: by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the City of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchy, was subdued by the Goths, Vandals, and the Lombards, and the City of Rome thrice sackt and taken, between the Reigu of Honorius Emperor of Rome, and the time of Justinian Emperor of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the Dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the sequel of this Prophesie declareth. For to it followeth in the aforesaid Chapter of the Revelation; And after this I saw (saith he) another Beast rising out of the Land, having two horns like the Lamb, and spake like the Dragon. Who practised all the Power of the first Beast before his face, and caused all the Inhabitants of the Earth to worship the first Beast, whose head was wounded and cured again, &c. And to him it was given to give life to the Image of the Beast, and to make it speak: and also to make all them that will not worship the Image of the Beast, to be slain, and caused all from the most to the least, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the Beast in their right hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy or sell, unless he had the Beasts mark about him, &c.

The description of this second Beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be applied to *Apoc.* 13. the Bishop of Rome, and to none other; as by Pistory, and other of times is evident to be proved. For who else experienteth the powers of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World, but only he & Who pretendeth with the voice of the Dragon to pound us in the Faith of Christ. That is, of the old Testament. The voice of the Dragon is the voice of the Devil. What is the Kingdom of the Earth, but only the World was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it, &c. And doth not this false boyned Lamb, speaking in the same voice of the Dragon, say by the mouth of P. Greg. 7. That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were his, and that he had Power in Earth to loose, and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would, &c. *Ex Plat. in Vit. Gregor.* 7.

The mystery of the three-headed Monarchy reversed by the Bishop of Rome.

Furthermore, at what time the declining State of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under subjection of the Lombards, then the Pope stirred up Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that Monarchy to his former State. And therefore who is the woundes head of this Beast again, but only he & Who gave life and Speech to the Image of the Beast, but he & who, after that by the help of the French Kings he had subdued those Lombards with other Aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, he to repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor, have been glad to send and seek to Rome, yea Kings, Emperors, Queens and Dukes have been glad to kiss that Bishops feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the Majesty of Rome, in the old Heathen Emperors days was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to persecute and overcome Gods Saints, than this false Lamb-like Bishops of Rome hath, and hath exercised these 600 years in Christendom. And therefore who is like to all the World to worship the first Beast before his face, as he & no who but he alone & which Power to do the works of the Beast before his sight. *Apoc.* 13. forcerly both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the Seal, and to become loyal to the City and See of Rome; so that whosoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to bold of the Church of Rome, Beast before shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in all Christendom.

Now if any Papists whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this prophetical mystery of these two Beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfie this doubt of his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, for this stand by a Conclusion, that the Bishop of Rome by this description must be that second Beast prophesied to come in the later time of the Church under a false pretended Lamb, to restore again the old Persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole Church of Christ, as this day to truly it is come to pass.

The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like prophetical place of Scripture, no less evident against the Bishop of Rome, taken out of the second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the Son of Perdition, sitting in the Temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c. Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid; yet notwithstanding to let this pass, I turn my question to ask this of you; Whether the Religion of Christ be more spiritual, or else corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old Religion of the Jews, consisting in outward Rites, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies of the Law; then shew if ye can, what any one outward action or observation is required in Christian Religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a Christian man for remission of sins and Salvation, save only the two Sacramental Ceremonies of outward Baptism, and of the Lords Supper? Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporal; that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but only are visible shews of invisible and spiritual Benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be Spiritual; how can his Religion and Service be Corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in Spirit and Verity, &c. *John* 4.

Religion of Christ spiritual, and not corporal.

Now if you grant (as ye must needs) this our Christian Religion to be spiritual, and not a corporal Religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point of all these things, which ye bribe you to much with us, to be spiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and Ceremonial Observations, nothing conducing to any spiritual purpose, as your outward succession of Bishops, Garments, Gestures, Gestures, Colours, choice of Meats, difference of days, times and places, hearing, saying, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of Beads, gilding and worshipping of Images, building of Monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in Cloysters, abstaining from fleh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Embre-days, hearing Mass and Divine Service, saying and singing Psalms, the Body in form of Bread, receiving holy-Water and holy-Bread, creeping to the Cross, carrying Palms, taking Ashes, bearing Candles, Pilgrimage going, confing, kneeling, knocking, Altars, super-Altars, Candlesticks, Thurbows; In Dyners, crossing, anointing, having, forswearing Marriage; In Baptism, crossing, talking, spetling, exorcising, washing of hands; at Easter, ear-confession, Penance-doing, satisfaction: And in receiving, with Beards new shaven, to imagine a Body where they see no Body; and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of it self, without Faith conducent no more than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days to carry Banners, to follow the Cross, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At Hollomas to march in the Church, to lay a Bridge, and make Commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay Pethes truly, to give to the high Altar. And if a man

The Pope towards the spiritual Religion of Christ to a corporal Religion.

The whole sum of the Popes Catholick Religion set forth in these

will be a Priest, to say Mass and Mattens, to serve the Saints of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sickness to be annealed, to take his Rites; after his death to have Funerals, and Dirges said for him, and to be rung for at his Funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. And moreover to these the outward Sacrifice of the Mass, with opus operatum sine bono motu utentis, &c.

A man may be a Catholick by the Popes Religion, without any working of the Holy Ghost. The nature of true Christian Religion described.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the Popes Catholick Religion; so are they all corporal exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholick Christian, then it may be said, that men may be make perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of Faith, or of the Holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the Holy Ghost did worke

But now the order of our Religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporal or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spiritual gifts, which do far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and only main cause that saveth man, and remitteth sins, is his Faith in Christ. Which Faith I thus define; for a man to believe by the bloodshedding of Jesus the Son of God, his sins to be forgiven, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all Accusations that can be laid unto him, &c. And though the Papists make a light matter of this, to believe in Christ; and when they hear us say, That Faith only justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be saved, if Faith only justifieth us; yet notwithstanding this Faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereunto, unless Gods holy Spirit from above do draw him.

Salvation of mankind only by Faith in Christ. Faith in Christ no light matter to flesh and blood. Many things incident to salvation besides Faith; but not as causes thereof.

Moreover, besides this Faith, many other things are incident also to the Doctrine of our Salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as Sacraments and Seals of Faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same. So Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord be as testimonies and proofs, that by our Faith only in Christ we are justified, that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so by the blood of Christ our sins be purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Works of Sanctification, how they come and follow Faith.

Upon the same Faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also as fruits and effects do follow after Faith, as peace of Conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, Invocation, Patience, Charity, Mercy, Judgment, and Sanctification. For God for our Faith in Christ his Son therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of Peace and Sanctification, whereby mans heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to love him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all Adversities and Persecutions, to love him, and for his sake also to love our Brethren, to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break Bread to them if they be hungry, and if they be turbaned to cast them, to cloath them if they be naked, to harbour them if they be houseless. Matthew the five and twentieth, with such other spiritual exercises of Piety and Sanctification as these. Which therefore I call spiritual, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and Law of God, which is spiritual.

Esay 58. Mat. 25.

And thus have ye a Catholick Christian defined, first after the Rules of Rome, and also after the Rule of the Gospel. Now confer these Antitheses together, and see whether of these is the true Christian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the spiritual man with his Faith and other spiritual Fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye will them both together, spiritual things with your corporal Ceremonies, to the end I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins, and salvation, they ought in no manner, to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins, and salvation, they ought in no case to be joyned together, because that the main causes of all our Salvation and Remission is only spiritual, and constituth in Faith and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the Religion of Christ be a meer spiritual Religion; and whether in the Religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only meer corporal things required, to make a Catholick man. And thus I leave you unto your answer.

IN turning over the first leaf of this Book, thou shalt find, gentle Reader, the Arguments of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue, That forsomuch as Christ must needs have a Catholick Church ever continuing here in Earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort; and seeing no other Church hath indured continually from the Apostles, visible here in Earth, but only the Church of Rome; they conclude therefore, the Church of Rome only to be the right Catholick Church of Christ, &c.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said, that forsomuch as the medius terminus of this Argument, both in the Major and Minor constituth only in the word (visible and unknown) if they mean by this word (visible) in the Major, that Christs Church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word (visible) in the Minor, that no other Church hath been seen and known to any, but only the Church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For the true Church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but only they which have spiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again, but such as be Gods Elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot do so, &c. Wherein I read more in the Protestation above prefixed to the Church of England.

Four Considerations given out to Christian Protestants, Professors of the Gospel, With a brief Exhortation inducing to reformation of Life.

The first Consideration.

AS in the Page before four Questions were moved to the Catholick Papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here to the Christian Gospellers four Considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient.

The first Consideration is this, That every good man well weigh with himself the long Tranquillity, the great Plenty, the peaceable Liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this Land during all the Reign hitherto of this our Sovereign and most happy Queen *Elizabeth*, in such sort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies is not to be seen in any Nation about us; so as we may well sing with the *Psalm* in the Church, *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes gloriæ suæ non manifestavit eis*. First in having the true Light of Gods Gospel so shining among us, so publickly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having withall a Prince so vertuous, a Queen so gracious given unto us, of our own native Country; bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long lent unto us, in such Peace obtaining us against such as would else devour us; briefly, what could we have more at Gods hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not Grace to use that well which we have?

The second Consideration.

AS these things first are to be considered concerning our selves, so secondly let us consider likewise the state and times of other our Countrymen and blessed Martyrs aforepast; what storms of Persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what Enemies they were matched, with what crosses prefsed, under what Princes, under what Prelates they lived, or rather died, in the days of King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, King *Henry* the Seventh, King *Henry* the Eighth, Queen *Mary*, &c. under *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Cholmley*, *Story*, Bishop *Arundel*, *Stokesley*, *Courtney*, *Warham*. At what time Children were caused to set fire to their Fathers; the Father adjured to accuse the Son, the Wife to accuse the Husband, the Husband the Wife, Brother the Sister, Sister the Brother, Examples whereof are plenty in this Book to be seen.

The third Consideration.

THirdly, Let us call to mind, considering thus with our selves, These good men and worthy Martyrs in those dangerous days tasting as they did the heavy hand of Gods sharp Correction, beginning commonly with his own House first; if they were alive now in these Halcyon-days, under the Protection of such a peaceable Prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themselves having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life? Or if in case we our selves had been in those times of theirs, to trouble and distresfed as they were, spoiled of Goods, hated of the World, cited in Consistories, pinched in Prisons, sequestred from House, Wife, and Children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtless than we do now; God grant we may do better, for worse I think we cannot if we would. *John Wicklif*, *W. Swinderby*, *Thorpe*, *Sawtry*, with a number of godly men more, being then glad in Friese-Gowns, going bare-foot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these days, when mans would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the Gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for Promotions or Dignities of the Church? Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, with divers worshipful Gentlemen a great number, if they being in our state might enjoy with us their Houses and Lands, with the good favour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their Rents and Fines to the undoing of their poor Tenants? Likewise in the time of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the Nobility and Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, if they might have had half this Tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of Gods Word and true use of the Sacraments without molestation of *Romish* Prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranking up themselves, as we *Englishmen* in these Reformed-days walk now, more like Players on a Stage, than Gods Children in his Church?

The fourth Consideration.

WHerefore, welbeloved, these things being so, let us call our selves to mind, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many Enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his Indignation. If it be his Truth and Gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his Truth, and keep our selves within the compass of his Gospel. What the Gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? and yet who followeth that he knoweth? If St. *Paul* willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus; and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his Kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that Kingdom so spiritual, and our conditions so worldly, match well together? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all mens eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous Apparel, our carnal desires and unchaste demeanors without fear of God, our careless security without conscience, as though there were no judgment to come, our studies so upon this World, as though there were no other Heaven? What pride and idleness of life, double dissembling in word and deed without simplicity, avarice unstatiable, little regard to hear Gods Word, less to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly Wealth and Promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of Rents and Fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable? What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divitions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same. Such were the times once of the Church before the horrible Persecution of *Diocletian*; for so we read, such hatred and disdain through much Peace and Prosperity of the Church to creep in amongst the Church-men.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim our selves while time doth serve. If we find the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse but better. It is a lewd Child that will not learn without beating. A well-minding man will be good, not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As Adversity if it come, ought not to dismay us; so Prosperity now present ought not to puff us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow, as *Plato* well writeth, *Summæ atque effrenatæ libertatis servitutem plerumq; assecutam esse*. Of immoderate liberty and two much security, followeth most commonly extream servitude. And as *Hippocrates* saith, *Disposition of Bodies when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness*, &c. Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the Children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like Children of Disobedience, God hath his Rods to scourge us; if we will needs be Rebels, he hath his *Pharaohs* and *Nabuchodonosors* to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his Dog-strikers to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruine here of late seen among us may portend nothing against us, as I trust there is no cause for us to fear, but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his Obedience, and amend that which is amiss amongst us. *Amen.*

The Grace of our Lord Jesus bless thee gentle Reader, that long thou maist read, and much thou maist profit. *Amen.*

Pax Prædicantibus, Gracia Audientibus, Gloria Jesu Christo. Amen.

In Martyrologium *Joan. Foxi, Laurentius Humfredus.*

TRistes Iliadas docti miramur *Homeri*,
Quas scitè studuit texere πολυϊδρις.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis spectant mœsta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, fed Vatum somnia multa
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,
Quam ftabulum Augeæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem ſanctorum narrat, ut errat?
Ut pingit, fingit Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, nova, vera Legenda;
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris hiſtoria.
Authorem commendat opus, ſic rurſus adornat
Author opus; ſimul hæc utraque felle carent.
Authorem ſpecta; pius eſt, & terſus, & amplus,
Judicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem conſideres, caſus, cædeſque bonorum
Tractat, & immeritæ ſtigmata ſæva crucis.
Illudant alii, carpant, at Zoïlus olim
Dum perit, quid ſit rodere, iam docuit.
Hic diſcas Lector, quam ſit furioſa Tyrannis
Romana caulæ corrigerſque gregis;
Ut Lupus innocuos ſemper graſſetur in Agnos;
Ut fremat, atque avidis faucibus oſſa voret.
Nonne fatis fuerat Chriſti pia membra cremare?
Et vivos flammis perdere, nonne fatis?
Nonne fatis damnaſſe fenes, pueroſque, viroſque,
Fœmellas, omni ex ordine, nonne fatis?
Cur juvat, heu, Manes ſcriptis lacerare jacentes,
Et Divos *Foxi* dicere ſtercoreos?
Ah miſer, ah Chriſti teneros compungis ocellos.
Pupillam tangis, quiſquis es ergo, lape.
Hæc eſt progenies cujus ſtola, tota cruore
Agni, per Chriſtum candida tota nitet.
Illa ſub altari queruſtatur, Chriſte, quouſque?
Chriſte veni properè, Chriſte quouſque feres?
Apoc. 6. Extra tela tua eſt, & prædicat illa Tonantem;
Mors pretioſa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabioſe Satan? quid ſpicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniáſque pios?
Fruſtra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, faceſque;
In cœlo regnant membra caputque ſimul.
Corpora ſanctorum mundus conſumpſit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina *Foxus* habet.
Ad Chriſtum præcatio. Nomina *Foxus* habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina jam nullo conſumenda die.
Nam cum Martyribus *Foxus*, cum numine vivent
Nomina, cumque ſuo ſtirps generoſa Deo.
Monſtra, Chriſte, tuis portum, compeſcito fluxus,
Jactatæ navi ſit ſua, Chriſte, quies.
Sanguine fraterno poſſihæc ne terra madeſcat;
Ne pergat *Foxus* ſcribere Martyria.
Perdita decuries ſceleratæ tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus tranſeat iſte calix.
Sit finis, veniatque tuum, pater optime, regnum;
Sit tibi, ſit Chriſto, Spiritui que decus.

In Sanct. Martyrum hiſtoriam, *Abrah. Hartvelus.*

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non *Μάσσηρος* ipſi
Sed nos, non cœlum, *Foxe*, ſed orbis eget,
Illorum creviſſe malis lætheque putatum eſt
Quos nunc ipſe vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, hiſtoria velut ignibus antè
Caltiet quod nunc friget Evangellium.
Certabitque ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
Fortia facta leget, fortia facta ſequi.
Et eſtamo ſervata tuo tot ſtagna, tot ignes,
Fumera tot, lachrymas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollit, non qui malus intulit hoſtis;
Non quamvis omni cum Phlegetonte velit.
Non remente Deo, quondam, qui ſæviit hoſtis.
Non, remente Deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat; innocuo rapietur cum grege Paſtor,
Grex cadet & paſtor, ſpeſque futura gregis.
Nullus reſtabit laceris in ovilibus agnus,
Nulla, Deus, recta ſimplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus; alma
Simplicitas fuco, perfidiæque fides:
Injuſto, falſo, ſcelerato, ſanguineoque,
Virtutum facer Evangelidumque chorus.
Quid facient diſce ex factis; ventura probantur
Præteritis;
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cujus
Tolluntur digito parva, ſuperba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, invicte, triumphans;
Sic, ut in *Ægypto* vel *Babylone*, veni.
Non tanti *Babylone* Draco Beluſque fuere,
Cultuſque infani, & fœda ſuperſtitio.
Et licet *Ægypti* crudelia facta legentur,
Ægyptus non tam ſæva minaxque fuit.
Utraque, nec fatis eſt, monſtrum concrevit in unum,
Et ſi qua ambabus tertior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, ſtylive Magiſter?
Docte quid poterunt verſipellque Scholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus ſanguiſſuſque liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui vivos undique telles,
Factores vivos, & modò geſta canit?
Scilicet ut monſtret ſanctorum Eccleſia qualis,
Colleƈti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Ut doceat, firmet, ſoletur corda piorum;
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietvè malos.
Ut tibi parta, Deus, ſtet ſemper gloria, nati
Ut poſſit tecum gloria ſtare tui;
Sanguinis ut ſacri non occultanda trophæa,
Utraque poſteritas, ſanƈta, maligna, ſciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæſita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noƈtibus exantlata tot, & ſudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obnitura malos.
Chriſti, non hominum, laudes ſparſurq; per orbem
Factaque (credo) ætas qualia vara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobiſque ſecundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuumque decus.
Invideat Satanas, & Zoïlus ilia rumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cura grege *Roma* ſuo.

In idem Argumentum, Rob. R.

EN iterum in magnos nova commentaria vates;
Auƈtius & plus eſt, quàm fuit antè, decus.
Sanƈtorum hiſtorias, & noſtri perfida ſeƈli
Tempora lector habes, terrificumque ſcelus.
Dignum certè opus eſt, quamvis ſit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat, poſteritaſque probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) majus; numeroſa ſophorum eſt
Littera, ſed ſimilis pondere & arte ſtylus.
Crede mihi hiſtoriam hanc quondam lƈtura vetuſtas
Suſpiciet genium (*Foxe* diſerte) tuum.
Non tamen infani finit hæc clementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doƈtos ſert patituve viros.
Hiſtrio, ſcurra, dicax, paraſitus, hypocrita, mimus.
Vappa mage aridenti, leno, Papiſta placent.
Neſcis adulari, nec verum (*Foxe*) filere;
Scriptaque miraris non placuiſſe tua?

Ejuſdem.

QUiſque bonus te (*Foxe*) colit, tua ſcripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc ſtudii tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doƈtorum concio laudat,
Unde ergo in libros invidia iſta tuos?
Unde Papizantis ſubita hæc converſio ſeƈtæ?
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud paduit.
Unde tot Harpiæ, nempe Hardymphæe, Copæque?
Unde hæc *Locustæ* garrula turba Scholæ?
Cauſa patet; furiæ muſas, nec ſacra Papiſmus,
Nec Chriſte athletas raſa larina probat.
Nec te adeò oderunt puto, fed verumque fidemque,
Heu bene nulla poteſt lingua maligna loqui.

In

In acta Martyrum, Carmen Thom. Drant.

Papa. EGone ſic Papa potuit vox improba juſſu
Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulaſſe rogis, cineres fine honore Sepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? Quæve hunc tam barbara morem,
Permittit gens ulla, pios fine lege necari,
Totque ſimul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabieſque furorque,
Corpora tam diris ſanƈtorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miſcere homini, tot plecƈere cives,
Vaſtare & toto diviſos orbe *Britannos*?
Dic quid noſtrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima paſſis
Vix pars ulla manet terræ qua panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata eſt fraufque doluſq;
Et πολυφραγμοσύνη & amor ſceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem ſonat; ergo
Rite putabamus Papam cacodemone natum?
An quod cum Chriſto nos conſpirare dolebas?
Quod te cum Chriſto non conſpirare videmus?
Quod te *Romanam* crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, ut ſceleris magni vitiique miniſtrum?
Hinc illud quod ſe verſat diriſq; miniſque,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus uſſit.
Sis miſer & nulli cuiquam miſerabilis. Hujus
Enumer. Tu cladis tantæ pars magna *Romere* fuiſti;
Maƈtator pecudum Chriſti, diſperſor ovilis,
Triſte malum ſtabulis, & nil niſi peſſima clades.
Vos quoque, vos omnes Ihovæ tetigiſſe Prophetas,
Et calcaſſe pios, numen ſpreviſſe benignum
Quèis localare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Jam fatis eſt (proh) plus fatis eſt, reſipiſcite fetò,
Sera nimis non ulla dies, nunc diſcite tandem,
Diſcite vel tandem monitis non temnere Chriſtum.
Oſcula libertis gnato, ne ſæviat ultor,
Ad Martyres. Et male vos ſparſos deturbit tramite vitæ,
At vos qui lƈti quidvis ſuperaſtis acerbum,
Cœlicolæ, quibus æternum licet eſſe beatis,
Dulce decuſque Dei, Chriſtum quia morte decora
Omaſtis clari ſuperi, cœtuſque triumphans,
Non caro, non mundus, non vos Turcæ, Papa, Dæmon,
Non Phœbe pernox vexabit, ſolvè diurnus.
Et vos ô cunƈti, ſcanſo qui culmine cœli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicƈa;
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes, tormenta cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tela, quid ignes?
Scilicet ut fulvum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum;
Si vos maƈtarunt ſpectata holocaumata Chriſto,
Interitus veſter Domini pretioſus ocellis.
Horum (*Foxe*) pils dum tu ſic nomina ſcriptis,
Et mortem & mores longum diffundis in ævum.
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipſo.
Ergo tu doƈtis pergis palleſcere chartis,
Noƈturna verſando manu, verſando diuma,
Arbilas clarorum gnavus gnaruſque laborum.
Et ſtudiis dum magna cohors ſua commoda captans
(Auſpice non Chriſto) mundi venatur honores,
Vel tu *Romano*, vel tu Sermone *Britanno*
Scribito præteriti vel produe temporis aƈta,
Patre Deo monſtrante viam, data fata ſecutus;
Omne feres punƈtum ſi miſces utile dulci.
Ad dum laudandi hiſtorias poeſin. Magne Deus cœlique ſator, mundique Monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempeſtatumque potentem
Credimus, & ſolum firmus venerabile numen,
Aſpicis inſano vexari cunƈta tumultu,
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volvi?
Parce gregi parvo, pacem te poſcimus omnes.
Sis bonus (o) Fœlixque tuis, vel parcito Chriſto,
Cujus membra nimis jam mundus lædit & odit,
Per tibi dilecƈam ſponſam promiſſaque pacta,
Per paſſum Chriſtum, per dulcia pignora paſſi,
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papiſtas Incendiarios.

SI fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuique eſt,
Papicolis cœli maxima porta patet.

J. F.

In idem argumentum Ægidius Fletcher Cantabrigienſis.

JAm tua ter magnum ſpatiis emenſa laborem
Æquora luſtravit puppis, ter littora vidit,
Foxe.
Dumque fugas, enſeſq; canis, conſumptaq; flammis
Corpora conſumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, fed utilior nobis tibi noxia ſoli
Indefeſſa manet virtus. Quin otia carpas
Mollia, jam ſolare tuos (divine) labores.
Non potes, & ſemper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatque novas in pƈtore vires.
Ergo age, quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis ſacro properans indulge labori.
Jam veniet magni ſeriem dum colligit evi
Poſteritas, quam longa tenet cuſtodia famæ,
Dumque tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimóſque duces, mediocſque petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura ſimul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum ſacras imitabitur æmula laudes,
Scilicet ætherеas ardentia pƈtora flammas,
Non ignes alii non ipſa potentia regnum,
Nec vis ulla domat ferri, non tela, nec enſes.
Qualis ubi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cineréſque ſuæ; paternos,
Dumq; rogum, flammaſq; parat ſibi, major ab igne
Egreditur, quaque illa novis volitaverit alis,
Indigenæ voluces leto clamore ſequuntur:
Fœlices animæ vobis ſuper alta beatis
Sydera calcantur, quicquid mortalia tangit
Pƈtora, nec jam noſter honor, nec præmia curæ;
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus invida tellus,
Ecce tamen, quales poterit; perſolvet honores
Poſteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur; plauſuq; fidem ſuper aſtra ſequetur
Vicƈricem (hoc ſiquid debeat) mortalibus) ipſi
Sanƈtorum cineres tibi ſe debere fatentur,
Foxe.
Tempus erit, cum tu poſt fata, pioſq; labores,
Auƈturus ſuperos fœlix ſuper alta videbis
Sydera jam quorum tranſcribis nomina famæ,
Infignes heroas, & ipſe videberis illis.
Jamque patres ſuperans mundo labente ſequetur
Progenies, cœlo fecIatior exeret alto
Religio, humani generis decus, optima cuſtos
Imperii, quam ſanƈta fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum lætis creſcet pax aurea terris:
Tum quoque divini paſſim monumenta laboris,
Et ſacrum florebit opus, fruƈtíque beabit
Et populum, & populi per ſecula longa nepotes.

In idem Argumentum Thom. Ridley Cantabrigenſis.

COrpora quæ quondam juſto caruere Sepulchro
Oſſaque per campos undique ſparſa pia,
Collegit magna cum ſedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in unum conglomeravit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna, Papiſtæ,
Fruſtra tam ſanƈtum perſequerentur opus:
Auxit, & ex uno idem bina volumina fecit,
Obſtruxitque ſuis hoſtibus ora pius.
Nec ſic contentus, rurſus limavit, & auƈtum
Arƈtavit, populi commoditate ſui:
Nequaquam veritus ſtolidæ convitia linguæ,
Dum veſtra ô ſanƈti fortia ſaƈta ſonet.
O vos fœlices animæ, quæ ſanguine veſtro
Cœleſtes nobis teſtificaſtis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoraſti funere ſanƈas
Reliquias, peragens triſte miniſterium:

Sed tibi præclarum, nobis nec inutile, ut iſtis
Exemplis fortes poſſumus eſſe fide.

M. M. S.

PErlege, quæ faſtis ſignata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Anglig̃nûm & ſervida fata virûm.
Admiranda tibi gemini ſpectacula cœtus,
Pugnamſéque ſuo diſpare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbens ſævo ferus impete Satan
Tartareas præfert in ſua regna faces.
Illinc rex ſuperûm, trans flammas, tranſque cruentas
Mille neces, Chriſtus ſternit ad aſtra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lachrymæ, jejunia Templis,
Juſſus honos ſummi juſſáque ſacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, triſti pectora ſenta ſitu.
Miſſa volat flammis, & ſanguinis ebria rivis
Ante, gradum retrò *Roma* maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat *Foxus* certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit:
Interea veri vis ſtat ſata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato jam Phlegetonte ſuper.
Poſt alios fortus, alios poſt deinde labores
Hæc extrema ſubit vindicis ira manus;
Tertiaque iſta patri ſuſpendimus arma Quirino,
Parva prius, jam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis jam tum miracula ſaxi
Prodidit *Aſſyria* regius exul humo.

Exiguus lapis hic, ſed qui ſe attollere in auras
Juſſus Atlantæos æquiparare ſinus.
Nunc quoque qui implevit imoſo fragmine mundum
Ætherеoque ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipſe tonans flagranti diſtulit axe
Imperia, & vertit regna ſuperba ſolo.
Sæva Silex quid nam ſtantmantibus incita fundis
Urbium & elatis pernicioſa minis?
Cœtilibus muris *Romana Semiramis* audax,
Proſpice, jam *Babylon* jam ruit illa tua.
Saxea jam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas ſtrages miſeris horrida Romulidis?
Ultimus hic labor eſt montis ſapientis avari
Puppicolaſque Papas papicolaſque popas.
At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces;
Aligeræque acies, cives ſtellantis Olympi,
Plaudite: *Roma* ſitit *Babela*, Papa ſuit.

In ſanguiſugas Papiſtas, Phil. Stubbes.

QUi ſacrum Chriſti ſatagit convellere verbum,
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic ſtimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compreſſa eſt pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta ſuis.
Auricomanſque crocus quo calcatur magis exit
Hoc magis, excelſit, floret eóque magis.
Sic' *Ευαγγελιον* quantumvis turba Papalis
Conſpuat, exurat, crefcit ubique tamen.

In *Jo. Foxum* Theologum Celeberrimum, cum Chriſto exultantem.

IN quiet peace thou ſleepeſt now at reſt,
O learned Fox, *the Phœnix of our age;*
Moſt happy thou with Crown of Glory bleſt,
For ever freed from perſecuting rage:
With comfort great thou gained haſt the ſhore,
And ſtormy tempeſt now needſt fear no more.

Thy Life not ſtain'd with ſpot of ſoul defame,
Thy Learning great, who dare the ſame deny?
Thy worthy Works abroad do ſound thy name,
And ſhall for ever to Poſterity.
So long as Learning, and the Learned live,
Thy Works to thee Immortal Praiſe will give.

Thy famous Work of thoſe that witneſs bare
To Chriſt his Truth, and ſeal'd it with their Blood,
That with Alcides *Labours may compare,*
Shall witneſs ſtill thy zeal for Churches good:
Shall witneſs ſtill to Ages yet to come,
Thy hatred juſt againſt that Whore of Rome.

Thy hand was always ſtretched out to give,
Thy eye from Poor was never turn'd aſide:
What one of thee might not have learn'd to live?
Who in thy life ſo many ways waſt tride:
And yet the Fame diddſt always ſtill endure,
No change thy Heart to change could once procure.

Th' afflicted Soul by thee did comfort find,
The Conſcience weak by thee did ſtrength attain;
Thy Sermons ſweet vail'd up the feeble mind,
And many a Soul from Hell to Chriſt did gain:
Such care thou hadſt Gods Mercies ſtill to Preach,
Such Grace thou hadſt the Truth of Chriſt to Teach.

Thy Tongue and Pen the Truth did ſtill defend,
Thou banishment for Chriſt didſt gladly bide;
In him thou liv'dſt, in him thou mad'ſt thy end,
Moſt happy thou that hadſt ſo good a Guide.
Moſt happy thou while life thou didſt retain,
Moſt happy now, that doſt with Chriſt remain.

Jo. Hopkins.

THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. John Fox,

Tranſlated out of the Latine.

TO THE

READER.

HAving been often and earneſtly requeſted by many, to gratifie Poſterity, with the Hiſtory of my Fathers life, which I had written above thirty years ſince; and finding that no new matter had faln out, for which (though I were ſilent) I ſhould diſtruſt the judgment of after Ages, concerning a man ſo well known; but that many things to this Purpoſe neceſſary, were now out of my power, by the death of thoſe, upon whoſe Teſtimony the truth of each Particular depended; I made no queſtion, but both eaſily with all men, to find Pardon for my firſt refuſal; and if ſtill I ſhould continue in the ſame mind, as eaſily to keep my ſelf in the right I have to uſe my liberty herein. But when I perceived, that ſome, who were meer ſtrangers to him, and utterly ignorant of his Converſation, had taken upon them, to write his Life; of which they could learn nothing, but by Hear-ſays, and flying Reports; whereby it fell out, that many of his actions were amplified above the truth; many things otherwiſe related than performed; and much paſſed over, that came not to their knowledge; having my ſelf when I was a young man, been always Converſant with him in his later days, and when

when I was absent from him, had better Intelligence of any remarkable passage in his life; I thought it but my duty, to preserve his Memory from wrong; and if I could add nothing to it, at least to place it in its true and proper light. Neither feared I, but that I should be able to justifie this to the Readers, that being his Son I published my Fathers life, though in respect of my nearness to him, I may be suspected. For first, that so memorable a man should be unknown to Posterity, even the injury done him, by those who had ill handled his Story, would not suffer: neither was it safe, that any but his own Friends should undertake to right him; and what reason is there, that his Sons credit should be more suspected, than the force of their anger and grief, who desire that no Memory of him might at all remain? Thus long I have forborn, till being in equal danger, of the offence that may be taken, by the adverse Party, and those that desired his Story, I chose at length to satisfie their Minds, who not without some vehemence requested it of me. At whose importunity, I have consented to set forth this Book, written at first to no other intent, than to preserve by me the Image of my Fathers life; and now, in so confirmed a Fame of him, rather thought necessary by others, than so judged by my self.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. John Fox.

JOHN FOX was born in *Boston*, an ancient Town in the County of *Lincoln*, *Anno* 1517. his Father and Mother being of the Commonalty of that Town, well reputed of, and of good state. While he was very young, his Father dying, and his Mother being married again, he came into the Tutelage of his Father in law, with whom he dwelt during his Childhood: which he had scarce passed over, when his Friends well approving his good inclination and towardness to Learning, sent him to study at *Oxford*. The first Nurse of his more serious Studies, was *Brasen-Nose* Colledge, where he was Chamber-Fellow with Doctor *Nowell* so famous a man in this City afterward, and Dean of *Pauls*, That no great marvail it was, if their manners were so like in the course of their lives, whose Education, and Nurture in Youth was the same. The native excellence, and sharpness of his wit, were well seconded by the fitness of the place; where the emulation of Equals was frequent; and where each Students Proficiency was narrowly sought into: Neither was Industry wanting, which as it seldom accompanieth the greatest Wits, so where it is conjoyned is most available. By which Vertues, when in a short space he had won the admiration of all, and the love of many, in reward of his Learning, and good behaviour he was chosen Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge; which being accounted a Principal Honour in the University, and usually due to the Students of that House, was seldom, and not unless in regard of singular Deserts, bestowed upon any others. It should seem he designed the first over-branching of any early wit, to the exercises of Poetry, and wrote divers *Latine* Comedies yet to be seen, in a copious, and graceful Stile, but somewhat lofty, which fault of writing, (in all things else so grave and temperate) he left not altogether in his elder years, though age, and experience did not a little mitigate it. But even then he began to give earnest of what he afterward proved, for that neither those first flourishes of his Youth were spent, but in holy Histories of the *Bible*: nor followed he that vein long. He betook himself to the study of Divinity with somewhat more fervency, than circumspection, and discovered himself in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the Cause, or were of ability to protect the Maintainers of it: whence grew his first Troubles. This was the time when King *Henry* the Eighth uncertain what course to take, being at Variance with the Pope, and unresolved in himself, thinking the affairs of the Church (then grown to an infinite height of Power and Pride) neither in all respects tolerable, nor that it was necessary wholly to alter them, while he desired to shew moderation in both, prevailed in neither, obscuring an Act, than which none was of more Glory since the World began, by an unprofitable indifferency. Never before were the people in more distraction, or less security of their Lives, and Estates, there being in the Laws such contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with safety, or what to avoid. For although the Popes Supremacy had been renounced, yet was Doctrine still retained. The first News of the abolishing the Popes Supremacy was as prosperous as welcome to the Reformers; and divers joyned themselves to them out of love to the Truth, being further assured of the Kings Intentions, by the punishment taken on some of the contrary part, and especially when the Abbies were dissolved; nor was their hope a little increased, when they perceived the Noblemen more or less to rise in the good Opinion and Favour of the King, as any of them most opposed the Popes Dominion. In the mean while the Act of the six Articles was still in force, and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that as long as the King held the middle way between his own Genius, and the advice of his Counsellors, feeding them with Favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear and hope, equally prevailed.

But when the Protectors themselves, and Pillars of the Reformed Religion, were taken away. The Duke of *Suffolk* by untimely death, the Lord *Cromwel* by the Sword, the Archbishop *Cranmer* and his Friends born down by those of the contrary side; and that neither in the Laws, nor the Protection of the Peers, there was any, the least help remaining; then began all things to hasten back again headlong to their former abuses, and that with so much the more violence, because the conquest seemed a kind of revenge.

In

In the Universities and Schools there was yet no open change, or innovation: I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be Followers.

This was the estate of the Church-affairs, when Master *Fox* began attentively to seek into the substance of the Controversie, then in agitation.

He found the Contention to have been of great Antiquity, and no Age to have been free from some debate in the Church. But those first quarrels were rather for Dominion, and increase of Territory. The *Romans* endeavouring by subtil Practises, and pretext of Religion to retain under the Jurisdiction of a High Priest, the ancient honour of their City, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no sooner could any shew himself to differ from them in point of Faith, but the hastening of his punishment prevented any infection that might spread it self among others.

Thus by their Cruelty, and the patience of Princes, who suffered it, the greatest part of these Dissensions were appeased: neither hitherto were all tracts of the old *Roman* vertue quite worn out, at leastwise some resemblances of vertue remained among many things that were perverted, and by long time utterly defaced.

Afterward the Pope grown bolder by good success, began to draw to himself all Power and Authority, nor contented to have weakned the estate of the *Roman* Empire alone, now, longed to be fingring the Scepters of other Princes; and to compass his design, spared not to violate any Humane, or Divine Right: Mean while the Clergy little weighed with how great damage to Religion, men of spotted life and conversation were sometimes chosen to the Papacy, by whose example the strictness of life, used by their Forefathers, was drawn into scorn, and their poverty into exprobration; The industry of the Priesthood languished, and on the contrary side Ambition, Riot, and Avarice began to reign among them. Then at length were the Practises of the Churchmen brought to light, and their Delusions laid open. It was then known why the Ceremonies and Rites in the Church, had been brought to that excessive multitude, to wit, that the number of the Clergy might be increased to perform them: These of necessity were to be maintained; and to that end were such Opinions broached, as seemed most likely to draw money from all places: Of the dignity of Works; Of Purgatory; Of the power of Absolution, and the Popes Indulgences: All which being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and subtil invention of the Popes infallibility in matters of Faith.

By this handsome connexure, and linking one Opinion to another, the credulity of the Christians was easily insnared; all this while the new forg'd Opinions yielding plentiful increase, and great sums of money, by a hundred devises screwed out of the Clergy, and common people, came daily to the Pope, and Court of *Rome*.

I have often heard Master *Fox* affirm, That the first matter which occasioned his search into the Popish Doctrine, was, that he saw divers things in their own natures, most repugnant to one another, thrust upon men at one time to be both believed: as that the same man might in matters of Faith be Superior, and yet in his life and manners inferior to all the World besides. Upon this beginning, his resolution and intended obedience to that Church, were somewhat shaken, and by little and little followed some dislike to the rest.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern History of the Church: to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increase; by what Arts it flourished, and by what Errors it began to decline; to consider the causes of all those Controversies which in the mean space had sprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either side was produced sound or infirm.

This he performed with such heat of study, and in so short a time; that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the *Greek* or *Latine* Fathers had left in their writings; the Schoolmen in their Disputations; the Councils in their Acts; or the Consistory in their Decrees; and acquired no mean skill in the *Hebrew* Language.

By report of some who were Fellow-Students with him, he used over and above his days exercise, to bestow whole nights at his Study, or not till it were very late to betake himself to rest. Near to the Colledge was a Grove, wherein for the pleasantness of the place, the Students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had Master *Fox* chosen, with the horror of solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind; which as a fresh-water-Souldier trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

How many nights he watched in these solitary Walks; what combats and wrastlings he suffered within himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forthwith his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be spared from this Discourse, than touched with opinion of Ostentation: But therefore of necessity, was it to be remembred, because from hence sprang the first suspition of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but that the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worst sense. At length those with whom he was intimate, being drawn into suspition of him; there were some employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions; and there wanted not others, who comparing his customs formerly used, with the present course he now took, did with more bitterness aggravate the fact. Why should he not come to Church, so often as in former times he had accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his Equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some suddain alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better, would he conceal it.

Being

Being thus reported of, surrounded with Treacheries, and by every one accused; when the matter came to more severe scanning, and that he could neither hide his resolution longer, nor being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuse himself by forging a lye; by the judgment of the Colledge, he was convicted, condemned as an Heretick, and removed the house. Nevertheless his Adversaries affirmed he was favourably dealt with by that sentence, and might have been questioned for his life, if they had not rather use clemency towards him than extremity. But this Wound raged worse than was thought it would; his Friends upon the report of this accident being sorely displeased, and especially his Father in law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against him for this cause, or pretending himself agrieved, that he might now with more justice, at least with more security withhold from Master *Fox* his own Fathers estate. For he both knew it could not be safe for one publickly hated, and in danger of the Law, to seek remedy by it; and that Master *Fox* was by nature so ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much ado confess himself wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability of revenge.

When he was thus forsaken by his own Friends, and left naked of all humane assistance, GODS Providence began to shew it self, procuring him a safe Refuge in the house of a worshipful Knight of *Warwickshire*, called Sir *Thomas Lucy*, to whom he was sent for, to instruct his Children: In which house he afterwards married a Wife, and there continued till the Children coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a Tutor. But the fear of the Popish Inquisitions hastned his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the Laws, were not contented to pursue publick offences, but began also to break into the secrets of private Families.

Oft would Master *Fox* in the later times of his life, with much vehemence of mind, in discourse with his Friends, detest the wretched condition of that departing; and say, That all other mischances he had pretty well indured; but in this case the misery was so much the greater; because to have born it patiently, would have seemed unnatural; having brought his faithful Consort, who entirely loved him, from her Friends and Kindred, whose grief and tears were with all officious piety to be comforted. It behoved him therefore, either to find some speedy remedy, or in assurance of his love to weep with her. For in vain should he shew an example of his constancy, where she might rather suspect her grief unregarded, than his mind unconquered with so great Calamities. He consulted therefore with himself what was best to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himself from further inconvenience, long debated, whether he might with most safety, make choice of; either to go to his Wives Father, or his Father in law by marriage of his Mother.

His Wives Father dwelt neareſt, being a Citizen of *Coventry*, nor yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be entreated for his Daughters sake. His Father in law was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his Wives Father, and in the mean while by Letters to try, whether his Father in law would receive him or not. His Father in laws answer was, That it seemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his house, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a Capital Offence: neither was he ignorant, what hazard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless that he would shew himself a Kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as himself desired: but if he could not be perswaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his Mother into hazard of their Fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his sake.

Master *Fox* his estate was at that pass, that he thought no condition to be refused: Besides he was underhand advised by his Mother to come, and not fear his Father in laws severity; For that (perchance) it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions. The truth is, he had better entertainment with both of them, than he any way hoped for: but so his business required, that he should rely long upon neither; and therefore by often going to and fro, from the one to the other, (which carried with it some shew of business) he both deceived their diligence, who enquired after him, and effected, that neither grew weary of his company.

But howsoever he by this means kept himself concealed; yet certain it is, that no time of his life passed more unknown to Posterity than that; whether that while he did but little, which is scarce credible: or whether it more concerned them who knew what he did, that it should be shut up in silence, than published abroad. For his own part he always forbare with particular regard, to speak of that story; left where he had deserved so much, he might by extolling a small courtesie, seem rather to upbraid the slendernes of the requital, than to shew himself thankful by remembring it. Afterward he took his journey towards *London*; but upon what motives is uncertain; unless we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither; which being full of all sorts of company, both Inhabitants and Strangers from all places might assure him sufficient occasions, whether he should choose to conceal himself, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with those of alike inclination.

By computation of times, I should think the chief cause of his going thither to have been, that about that time Religion began at length a little to recover it self, and gather strength, especially about the City. For he came not to Town till within a few years before King *Henry* departed this life: Who (as I said before) though the Kingdom were divided into Factions, yet as long as his youth and strength remained, so ordered the matter, that sometimes the power of each party being equalled, and sometimes one or other prevailing, by his authority both were

retained

retained in their Obedience: But when he grew into years, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far off; he then began to conſider with himſelf which ſide was moſt truſty, and which moſt to be doubted; and at what age he ſhould expoſe his Son, to the raging hatred of the Papiſts, who was yet by reaſon of his youth unfit to govern, and brought up in the Diſcipline of a Religion which they oppoſed.

He therefore at laſt reſolved upon that, which in reaſon ſeemed moſt wholſome, and in the end proved moſt fortunate; and having put the Papiſt-Officers from their authority, by his Will he appointed his Son ſuch Tutors, whoſe love to himſelf he had always found readieſt, and by long trial of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the ſame to his Succeſſor. This ſet Religion again in ſafety: But howſoever the Profeſſors thereof, were thereby ſecured of their lives; yet hence no publick benefit or profit was afforded them: So that Mr. *Fox* was ſtill in as much want as before, having already ſpent, what either his Friends had beſtowed on him, or his own daily induſtry had acquired.

I ſhould forbear to ſpeak of a marvelous accident, and great example of Gods mercy, were not the matter ſo well known abroad, that it would be to no purpoſe for modeſty ſake to be ſilent.

As Maſter *Fox* one day, ſate in *Pauls* Church, ſpent with long faſting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the gaſtful manner of dying-men; every one ſhunning a Spectacle of ſo much horror, There came to him one whom he never remembred to have ſeen before, who ſitting by him, and ſaluting him with much familiarity, thruſt an untold ſum of money into his hand; bidding him be of good chear; adding withall, that he knew not how great the miſfortunes were which oppreſſed him, but might ſuſpect it was no light Calamity: That he ſhould therefore accept in good part that ſmall gift from his Countryman, which common courteſie had enforced him to offer; that he ſhould go, and make much of himſelf, and take all occaſions to prolong his life; in the mean time let him know, that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of Livelihood. Never could Maſter *Fox* learn who that man ſhould be, by whoſe ſo ſeaſonable bounty, in that extream neceſſity, he had been relieved; though he earneſtly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that Propheſie, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was ſent by ſome others, who by all means deſired Maſter *Foxes* ſafety; and that it might (perchance) be through the Servants negligence, that he ſuffered the extreameſt of all miſeries, before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days ſpace, the iſſue ſeemed to make good the Preſage, there being ſome ſent from the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, who upon fair terms did invite him into her Service. It had ſo faln out not long before, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the famous Warrior, and moſt renowned General of his time, together with his Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, a man as far as may be imagined of ſincere meaning, and ſharp underſtanding, was committed to Cuſtody in the *Tower* of *London*; for what Crimes is uncertain: While they were in priſon, the Earls Children were ſent to the foreſaid Dutcheſs their Aunt, to be brought up, and educated: *Thomas* who ſucceeded in the Dukedom, *Henry* who was after Earl of *Northampton*, and *Jane* afterwards Counteſs of *Weſtmerland*.

To theſe young Lords was Maſter *Fox* appointed Tutor, to inſtruct them both in Manners and Learning: In which charge he deceived not the expectation which the Dutcheſs, a Woman of great Wiſdom, had of him.

For the two Sons grew to that height of Proficiency in their Behaviour and Scholarſhip; that building in their riper years, upon this foundation, The elder *Thomas* ſeemed to deſerve more than the Kingdom could beſtow upon him; and the younger *Henry* came to that happineſs, that he was able to meaſure his Fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own faciety.

The young Lady *Jane*, profited ſo wonderouſly in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues; that ſhe might well ſtand in competition with the moſt learned men of that time, for the praiſe of Elegancy in both kinds.

There he dwelt during thoſe golden days of Felicity (not ſeen long time before) in the laſt years of King *Henries* Reign, and through the five years Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth (a young Prince incomparably hopeful, and hope by perfecting the Work begun by his Father, paſſed all the Acts of his Predeceſſors) till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Sovereignty; who coming to the Crown, and turning the ſtream of Religion, all things again yielded to the Papiſts Authority; whence not long after, that cruel Tempeſt proceeded, the noiſe whereof hath come alſo to the ears of our Age; many who ſuffered in that common Shipwrack, ſwimming out to theſe peaceful times, as to ſafe Harbours of everlaſting Tranquillity.

Among theſe Maſter *Fox* made one, at that time ſheltred by the Protection of the Duke his Sholar; yet not without the eyes of many, who for hatred, or envy looked askew on him, and ſecretly laid wait for, by Doctor *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who both ſaw ſomething in him, which he greatly feared, and alſo diſdained much, that the Heir of one of the chiefeſt Families in the Kingdom, and neareſt joyned to himſelf in Friendſhip, ſhould by his company be depraved.

Of this man becauſe he was Maſter *Foxes* greateſt enemy, it will not be from our purpoſe to ſpeak ſomething further; that both their natures may the better be known.

The Biſhop of *Winchester* was a man famous in his Youth (for of his Birth or Parentage, I have no certainty:) one that ſtood in the midway, between good and bad; and always as he grew

grew elder, growing worſe. Induſtry, Wit, and Eloquence, Nature had beſtowed on him: his Pride, Craftineſs, and deſire of bearing Sway, he learned of the Cardinal.

Hence were his abilities fit for any Imployments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new Honours; and having obtained them, he then put on Boldneſs inſtead of Induſtry, Flattery for Obedience; and inſtead of Fidelity, Deceit and Complements, and ſuch like frivolous faſhions of the Court. He was in bearing thoſe Honours which his Vertue won to him cruel and proud: in regaining any that he loſt, able to weary any man with ſubmiſſion and humility. For in his Fortunes alſo appeared as great diverſity, as in his conditions. Some while he he was pleaſing to King *Henry*, and high in his favour; having by his Pen maintained the Kings Authority againſt the Pope: Afterwards, when his prevaricating therein was underſtood, he was by the King ſlighted, and that he might be the leſs able to do hurt, ſtript out of his Dignity. Under *Edward* the Sixth he was not only neglected, but impriſoned, and abid the reproach of a mean eſtate. At length in Queen *Maries* Reign he was ſet at liberty, and being again reſtored to his former Honors, he exerciſed not ſo much command as tyranny: till even ſick with envy, that Cardinal *Pool* in Dignity out-ſhined him, and with height of Honors overſhadowed his glory, having often, but ſtill in vain tried to cure his Malady with a Cardinalſhip, anger at length exaſperating his Diſeaſe, he pined away.

After this manner began, and ended that man, commended for many excellencies of mind, while he lead a private life; but in his Honors unbrideled, and of no moderation: Well might one ſay, Nature had made him a worthy man, and Fortune corrupted him.

Now Maſter *Fox* although he was cheriſhed in the boſome of a moſt loving Duke; yet after he ſaw all ſorts of men troubled for their Religions ſake, ſome impriſoned, and others burnt; in brief nothing on all ſides, but Flight, Slaughter, and Gibbets; and that the Biſhop of *Winchester* was the principle Incendiary of all this, who for private reſpects was already his enemy; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of ſome ſpeedy way for his departure thence. As ſoon as the Duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulneſs, he uſed many words to perſwade him to leave all thought of going away; affirming it neither agreeable to honour or modeſty, for him to ſuffer his Tutor, ſo well deſerving at his hands, at any time of his life, to be taken from him: but that it ſhould then be done, was not beſeeming for him that deſired it. Let him but think with himſelf, how great a burthen of hatred his Scholar muſt needs bear, among thoſe who were ignorant, whether he forſook him of his own accord, or were forſaken by him: yet that he intreated not to be excuſed from any hatred, which might light upon him, if at leaſt he might do it with Maſter *Foxes* commodity: But in flying, what miſery would be wanting? Baniſhment, Poverty, Contempt, and among thoſe which knew him not, the reproach of a Runagate. That he acknowledged all this leſs evil than death; but that it was not yet come to ſuch extremity; neither would he ſuffer it ſhould: That he had yet Wealth, and Favour, and Friends, and the Fortune of his houſe: if the miſchance prevailed further, himſelf would partake of the danger, and make the deſtruction common: That he remembred, with what Precepts he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his Inſtructions, than he would with conſtancy put them in practice; only let him be of good courage, and ſo avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his Friends company: That this he ſpake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him: but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the courſe he intended.

There was in the Dukes Speech the more credit, becauſe it was known to proceed from the inbred ſincerity of his heart, and a moſt tender good will towards him: and he grew now aſhamed, not ſo much of that he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his requeſt might have been granted: But his modeſty excuſed him: His anſwer being, That the ſame care Tutor from any injury; but his own part, to have a care, leſt for his ſafety, the Duke might incur apparent danger, or perpetual trouble: neither that his fear wanted all excuſe. For though he well knew the Duke could not be drawn from his promiſe and good intentions towards him; yet was he not ignorant, that by ſome wile or other, he might be circumvented and deceived.

For even at that time was the Biſhop of *Winchester* very intimate with the Duke, relying upon the ancient Obſervance he had always uſed to that Family, by whoſe credit he had increaſed his Dignity. Thither he often reſorted, to preſent his Service to the Duke; and at ſeveral times deſired of him, that he might ſee his old Tutor. At firſt the Duke denied his requeſt, one while alledging his abſence, another while that he was ill at eaſe; ſtill after faining ſeveral delays, to put him off. At length it chanced, that Maſter *Fox* (not knowing the Biſhop was within the houſe) entred the room where the Duke and he were in diſcourſe; and ſeeing the Biſhop, with a ſhew of baſtfulneſs withdrew himſelf. The Biſhop asking who that was; the Duke anſwered, His Phyſitian, who was ſomewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the Univerſity. I like his counteance and aſpect very well replied the Biſhop, and when occaſion ſhall be, will make uſe of him. The Duke ſtraight underſtood that ſpeech, as the Meſſenger of ſome approaching danger; and now he himſelf thought it high time for Maſter *Fox* no longer to remain within the ſame City, or within the ſame See, againſt the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver; but by all means, the Biſhops being ſick, muſt be prevented. From that time he cauſed all things neceſſary for his flight, with the leaſt noiſe that might be, to be provided; ſending one of his Servants before to *Ipſwich*-Haven, to hire a Bark, and make ready all things needful for the Voyage: and becauſe it ſeemed ſcarce ſafe for Maſter *Fox* to ſtay in

any City, or place of resort, he chose out the house of one of his Servants a Farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a fair Wind to put to Sea. Thither Master *Fox* went as secretly as he could, taking his Wife as companion in his Travels, then great with child, but resolved to go with him, nor yielding to the intreaty of those, who perswaded her to the contrary; and as soon as it was told him, his company expected him, he made hast to the Port, and went abroad.

Scarce had they weighed Anchor, when suddenly a rough Wind rising from the contrary shore, troubled the Sea with so great violence of Waves, that the stoutest Mariners began to tremble: Then followed a dark night, with continual showres, and a great multitude of Clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail, both hindred the Sea-mens work, and took away all possibility by the Compass any longer to direct their course. That night with much ado, they lay at Anchor, and as soon as the day appeared when the Tempest seemed not like to cease, they began to cast about, and make back again to the shore: so that the Tide a little favouring them, at length with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the same Haven again, from whence they had loosed the day before. In the mean while that Master *Fox* had been at Sea, a Pursevant from the Bishop of *Winchester* had broke open the Farmers house with Warrant to apprehend him, wheresoever he might be found, and bring him back Prisoner to the City; but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him even to the Port, and there found that the Ship he was embarqued in, was yet scarce out of sight, had returned back without his arrant. Master *Fox*, as soon as he came ashore, hearing by report of the people what had passed, although the News somewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himself, presently took horse, and made as if he would have left the Town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the Master of the Ship to set sail again with the first convenience of the Winds; telling him that so his business required, nor did he much care what shore he landed at; only desiring him to go forward, and not doubt but that God would prosper so pious a Work. Whether for reward or pieties sake, the Pilate took upon him this venturous task, and performed it accordingly. For loosing thence in the nights silence, as soon as the Tide turned, though the Sea were rough, and the weather blustring, within two days space he landed Master *Fox* and his company in safety at *Newport*-Haven on the other side the Sea.

Whosoever shall read this story, needeth not a more evident argument, to force him to acknowledge, either the certain course of Providence, or the uncertainty of all humane forecasts; when he may see the subtilest deliberations of the wisest heads, oftentimes by errors come to no effect; often overthrown by suddain accidents; and now and then thwarted by contrary Counsels: and that all this is done to teach men so to use their authority, as that the more power Fortune hath conferr'd upon them, so much the less they should know they are able to do of themselves, and not despise those that are of meaner condition. For that God regardeth all men alike, having made them in nature equal, and differenced them by degrees, not to swell the one sort, or shame the other, but to exercise both their modesties, or his own Justice, if they neglect their duty.

Master *Fox* when he had spent some few days at *Newport*, in refreshing himself and his company, went to *Antwerp*, and from thence by small Journeys to *Basil*.

This City was at that time much spoken of for the great friendship and courtesie shewed to those of the *English* Nation: for which cause many famous men withdrawing themselves from the cruelty of the Times, had escaped out of *England* thither. Of these were many, but of slender estate, who some one way, and some another, but the most part maintained their Livelihood, by reviewing and correcting the escapes of the Press; this place for careful Printing, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that Profession, then surpassing all the Cities of *Germany*; and preferring the industry of our men, in that Employment, before any of their own Countrymen.

To these men Master *Fox* joyned himself, so much the better liked of, because having been always inured to hardiness, and in his Youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to indure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to suffer want, to fit up late, and keep hard diet; were to him but the sports of Fortune. This (perhaps) may seem strange to many, who remember Master *Fox* to have been all his life long but a slender bodied man, and in his elder years somewhat sickly: But let no man compare his old age, worn out, and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of Nature ruinous, with the flourishing prime of his Youth; which by so many his works appeareth to have been most healthful: whether it be, that in those of indifferent size, an upright shape of the Limbs and Members may sufficiently serve for health: or that the mind enflamed with desire of vertuous actions, being content with its own abilities to pursue those things it affecteth, needeth the less help from the Body.

His Industry may be from hence abundantly testified, That being so full of employment at *Basil*, there nevertheless he began to write his History of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*: a Work by the Title alone seeming beyond mans belief.

At first it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments, or as it were to fasten the Warp to the Loom: the whole body of the History he added and interwove it, after he returned into his own Country. First, he wrote it in *Latine*, and sent the Copy to *Basil* to be printed; where the Work is still in great estimation, as also in divers other foreign Nations, among our own men hardly known, whilst we seek after, and admire strangers only; either through carelessness, or envy neglecting our

our Country-men. Shortly after to gratifie the Unlearned, he wrote it in his Mother Tongue.

In the mean while the Reformed Religion began again to flourish in *England*, and the Papist Faction much to decline, by the death of Queen *Mary*; a Woman, while she followed her own inclination, every way excellent, and well worthy so Royal Parentage; but while she denied not any thing to some wicked Counsellors, getting this, that she both wanted that praise she had otherwise deserved; and if she be not ill spoken of, it may be accounted the modesty of the succeeding Age, whose custom it is either to commend, or at least to tolerate all the actions of Princes.

I dare neither affirm, that Mr. *Fox* foresaw this suddain change of the Publick Affairs; nor yet (which by no other I would do) will I take from him the testimony of the Reverend and famous Divine, Doctor *Elmare*, sometimes Bishop of *London*; who in presence of many yet living, was wont to say, That he was himself at a Sermon, wherein Master *Fox*, among many things which he preached, to comfort the banished *English*, did with confidence tell them, That now was the time come for their return into *England*, and that he brought them that News by Commandment from God. For which words he was then sharply reproved by the graver Divines there present; but excused afterwards by the event; when by comparing of times it was found, that Queen *Mary* died but the day before Master *Fox* had thus presaged.

The whole Christian World straight felt some benefit by this Change of the *English* Government.

The neighbouring-Nations, now disburdened of the exil'd *Englishmen*, rejoyced for the good Fortune of their Guests, as for their own. But at home what could be devised, to assure their Safety, or relieve their Distresses, which they did not sooner enjoy than presume to hope for? They who had forsaken their Houses, were now called home: They who had suffered Imprisonment, were now released: They who by loss of Goods were decayed, were now by Gifts repaired: They who had been thrust from Places of Honour, were now restored to their former Dignities: The unjust Laws were in the mean while abrogated, and the wholsome Laws established in their places: Their Minds were at quiet: Their Conscience at liberty: All degrees at peace among themselves, and every mans Goods without danger. For in such sort did Queen *Elizabeth*, even in the Infancy of Her Reign, dispose the Affairs of the Commonwealth, that whatsoever the long and prosperous Government of other Princes, doth hardly produce in many years, at her very first Entrance, all at once brake forth, beyond the peoples wish, as if some Deity had diffused it self, and poured forth Felicity upon the World. Of which incomparable, and since Mans creation, most glorious Queen, to have made mention upon any occasion, and not from thence taken cause of some further digression, let it be counted for a Capital Crime among all Writers of History.

She was born of the Lady *Anna Bolen*, whom King *Henry* the Eighth, after his Divorce from his first Marriage, took to Wife. From her she received, as a Princely Dowry, a true Zeal to Religion. As she grew elder in years, so she increased in Manners, Wit and Beauty, which as well make, as beseem a Princess. So that both Nature seemed to have boasted in her, the Masterpiece, of her most absolute Workmanship; and Fortune to have raised her, to as high a degree, as Hope could ever aspire to.

It made her the more capable of so great a Fortune, that she had first learned to obey; then to command, and to use that Honour first to others, which was shortly after to be used by others to her: having in a private life had experience of the hatred, fatal to the Successors of great Empires, yet of a more noble spirit, than to return the like upon those who were to succeed her. As soon as she came to the Kingdom, her several Vertues appeared at once in their brightest lustre; esteeming all Vices, as well as all Men beneath her. Her mind therefore descended not to an overnice care of her Body. The Principles of her new Sovereignty were, to acquaint her self with the publick Reasons of State; To seek fit men to bear part of her Cares; To strengthen all parts of the Kingdom, with faithful Ministers; To know the Natures and Abilities of those about her; and to search into the Strength, Councils and Attempts of foreign Princes: But all these Qualities, if not well tempered, might have had (perhaps) no long continuance. Such therefore was her Gravity, as nothing more pleasing: Such her Severity, as nothing more gentle; and such her Frugality, as nothing more bountiful. Only she knew no measure, in those Excellencies, whose glory is founded, not in the even ballancing of differing Vertues; but as it were in the throng of illustrious Actions. So was the Nobility of her Birth, heaped with desire of Glory: Her Religion (though most sincere) seconded with Zeal to a holy Life; and her Beauty (though of it self unparalled) enchanted by a Resolution of perpetual Chastity. But when all these Vertues brake forth into Actions: (good God) what days of Happiness we then enjoyed? What ever more chearful, more secure or wealthy did *England* see, than that four and forty years of Peace? For never voluntarily did she provoke any with War, and always preferred the justice of the Quarrel before the Victory: To the *Irish*-War, Honour, and shame to have lost a Province, enforced her: To the *French*, Piety, and pity of her Neighbours danger: To the *Spanish*, her own Safety, and necessity comprehending in it self the force of all other Causes, compelled her.

In the Progress of this War we heard of, and saw that which (perchance) never happened in any before. For other Nations, though they fought with never so mortal hatred each to other, yet were their Battels restrained to some certain Fields and Places; but this War was so scattered over all places, and managed with such haughtiness of Courage on both sides, that

through all Seas and Havens from East to West, the Sun might still behold the *English* and *Spanish* Navies fighting for their Lives, Honours or Estates. Never till then had that Sea, which was accustomed to no other command but ours, frothed with strokes of foreign Oars. Nor would a large Volume contain the discourse, if I should relate the number and statelines of Ships, the strength of Sea and Land Forces, the multitude of Munition, Engins, Weapons, Guns, and provision of Victuals belonging to that Navy, which *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, with intention to raze out the *English* name, sent hither in the year of our Redemption, 1588. Let this suffice, That never was any preparation by Sea comparable to this Fleet, made by any the most powerful Princes or States to be shewed in all the Records of Antiquity: Yet that so huge and threatning *Armada*, swelling with self-confidence, and a presumed hope of Victory, was by the Fortune of this invincible Princess, even in a moment utterly defeated.

The Navies met together, for number and strength unequal: But the manner of the fight was to the *Spaniards* disadvantage, because the *English* Vessels being for bulk much less, and lower built afore, could with more ease cast about for the Wind, and immediately having discharged, retire to open Sea; thereby deluding the sluggish and unweildy Ships of their Enemies, and by levelling at the broad-sides of the *Spanish* Gallions, bestowing their shot with a more certain and successful aim. To this, our Captains in the skill of Sea-fight, and knowledge of the Tides, far excelled the *Spanish* Commanders, who now taught by the former days experience, that they could no way, but in a set fight bear the *English* Encounters, casting their Anchors near *Callice*, there expected new Forces out of *Flanders*, and by the goodness of their Ordnance defended themselves. This laid them open to the *English* for the Victory. For having filled some Ships with Tow, Pitch, Brimstone, and all sorts of materials suddenly combustible, and setting them on fire, with a favourable Tide, they drove them directly upon the Enemies; who were by this action so exceedingly terrified, that the whole Fleet, cutting their Cables as fast as they could, betook themselves headlong to flight. In which flight some of their Ships were burnt, some sunk, some forced to run themselves on shore, some split upon the Rocks, and some for haste falling foul on their Fellows, and so torn and bruised, were taken by our Souldiers. Those that scaped best, not daring to go back the same way they came thither, with long travail both by Sea and Land, returned at length into *Spain*, by the Coasts of *Scotland*, and the Islands of the *Orcades*, through those Seas, which in no age had been sailed on, but by such as were very good at flying.

Where so great Vertues and Victories met together in one person, of necessity Envy would be an Attendant, followed by hatred and treacheries; which could not, by this most innocent Queen, be so avoided, but that her safety (upon whom the safety of almost all Nations in *Europe* depended) was through all her life daily indangered. Which maketh me the rather wonder, what rare Doctrine of our Adversaries this may be, for pieties sake which they pretend, persecuting even vertue it self, whereas (not only in no Heathen, but in none the most barbarous Nation, which doth at all acknowledge any Deity) it was never thought just to take revenge upon Vertue (which certainly cometh neareſt to the Nature of God) even in their Enemies: unless it be so that the indulgence of the Christian Religion may be so far extended, that although we are commanded to forgive our Enemies, either they must not be vertuous, or they must not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in humane affairs, the desires of men are often employed to one end, and the Will of God to another. By him was Queen *Elizabeth* protected always, from the Injuries and wicked Enterprises of her Enemies, and brought full of years to that Honour, as to carry with her that glory unspotted to Heaven, which the wan upon Earth, Envy now in vain barking at her after death, whose cause all Posterity doth Patronage.

Now let us return to our Story.

Master *Fox*, when by his Friends he understood the happy News in *England*, That Queen *Elizabeth* reigned, and that the state of Religion was sure, and so like to continue, about the end of that year, in which this was in hand, came back to his Country: So much space he had taken to bethink himself, lest (if by any inconstancy of the people, they should grow weary of their present estate) he should again be forced, to seek his Fortunes abroad: besides (his Family being then increased with two Children) he was fain to stay, till money might from home be sent him, to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that some hard Speeches had passed of him, as if through Pride he had delayed to come, thereby seeking a shorter and more speedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he should be sent for: This he knew to be a cast of their cunning, who themselves with all earnestness striving for Honours, feared Master *Fox*, as a man deserving, and like (if he would) to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuse for such a Crime, as would of it self come to nothing: but equally despising Injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himself wholly in his Study.

As in our Bodies it is commonly seen, that those men are more healthful, which use moderate diet and exercise, than those which exceed in either: So I suppose doth the case stand with our Minds, that he, who if Fortune hath given him no rule, prescribeth none to himself, can hardly persist in the soundness of his duty; whereas he who useth modesty in his Fortunes, is always more fresh and vigorous for any illustrious undertakings. For Master *Fox*, being

being for his Abilities famous and supported (as I before shewed) with the Friendship of great Personages, might with ease have attained to whatsoever his desires had inclined him: but affecting neither Riches nor Authority, the wishes of happy men, (though his deserts were equal with any) yet was he well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and that Rewards should remain in the Possession of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his Commendation, nor yet find fault with, as many have done: Let us at least favour good men so far, as to allow Vertue, to choose what degree of Fortune it listeth to shine in; or if we will needs restrain it within certain limits, let us do it to those who are good with hope of reward; as for them who are so for no design, if their glory overwhelm us not, we shall not need to fear their multitude.

I shall write of a life, bearing continually true and solids fruits, but not such whereon the Readers senses may surfeit; where neither the rare stratagems of War or Peace shall be related, nor any such discourses as Writers use, when they intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to speak of a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continence, charity, contempt of the World, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I have shewed before, that Mr. *Fox* first applied himself to write the History of the Church, whilst he was at *Basil*; and that the cause he did not there finish it, was, that he might afterwards use the Testimony of more Witnesses. This Work, not a little, vexed the minds of the Papists. For well they saw that, in vain, they had spilt so much blood, and to no effect, been guilty of so great cruelty, if an account of these proceedings must be rendred to succeeding Ages: and that the Work it self could not be taken out of mens hands, they well understood. There was therefore no other hope left, but by charging the Author with falshood, and feigning some Cavils against him, so to lessen his credit and authority; which whilst Mr. *Fox* endeavoured to remove, and take away from himself, he could not avoid it, but must needs pass much the lawful bounds of an History, by a new heap of matters and testimonies. And let us but by this judge of the industry of our Author, that he not only gathered together so many several things, as the materials of his Work, from all distances of times or places, and through all Shires of the Kingdom, collected the Acts of both Courts, and the Records of matters judged, but also alone by a most distracted kind of diligence searched out, examined, freed even from motheating, and afterward reduced into convenient order those things themselves, being partly as it were rusty, and eaten out by Antiquity, partly by hatred or flattery of Authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and short form of old writing. I find by the Authors own Notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finished; and very probable it is, that Work shall live, which was so long in bringing forth: Neither in all that time, used he the help of any Servant about his writing or other business: So much doth industry employed to one purpose, and gathered into it self, afford more useful assistance, than being scattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath never so many helping hands. I have often begun to consider with my self, of those two sorts of toylings, which men esteem an Honour to undertake, which may be the more painful or more grievous, warfare or studying. Many things seem to make for both sides, but not in shew alike persuasive. For the miseries of War being grievous, not only to those who endure them, but even to those that but hear them reported, as they give scope enough to the Relator, so they make no light impression in the judgment of the sense it self: whereas the labour of studying is chiefly considerable in the silent testimony of that, whereby life is maintained, and whereof only the Intellect can determine. Thus is the question transferred to the Mind, and the Body, that of these two, that may be thought to have the better cause, whose evils do in greatness outweigh the others. I will neither take to my self authority to decide so weighty a Controversie; nor yet will I conceal what I know many wisemen to have thought concerning that matter; which is this, That those evils which happen to the Body, though they may be excessively raging and displeasant, yet they use always to determine in one of these three, weariness, pain or death; whereof the two first are curable by time, and asswaged by remedies, and the last valiant men use also to despise. Now the mind when it is overstrained, though it produceth in some sort the same mischiefs, yet it stoppeth not at weariness or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruine of that whereon even the life of man dependeth. For that in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his Work for a while, or abating some part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former strength; nor overcome the discommodities he shall thereby endure, though with never so great abundance of other contentments. They do therefore conclude, that there is as much more misery in this sober, than in that glorious kind of warfare, as there is more danger in losing an appetite to meat or drink, than in having the meat or drink it self taken away; or to lie long sick of a lingring Consumption, than to endure the smarting of a wound for the present; in sum, that in War, a man loseth more of his pleasures, but in eagerness of studying, more of himself.

The truth of this was, by Mr. *Foxes* example confirmed, who when he had, for many years, left no time free from thought of his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what Nature required, was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither his Friends nor Kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of Body, in which many afterward saw him, never again returning to that pleasing and chearful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be perswaded to lessen his accustomed Labours, or lay aside his study,

to recreate himself, the cause of his hurt not being removed, the signs thereof did likewise remain.

From this time Master *Fox* began to be much spoken of, for a good Historian; the other Vertues of his Mind, as they were less known abroad, so being by that which was known over-shadowed. Shortly after, he began also for other Endowments, to wax famous, not only as a man learned, but as one for his friendliness useful, and no less by art, than a natural inclination made to be helpful to others. But modesty will not allow me, by way of *Journal*, to rehearse the voluntary pains he took upon him: in general to say something of it will not be amiss; and how, either by good Advice, comfortable Perswasions, or a charitable Hand, he either relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons; whereupon no mans house was in those times thronged with more Clients than his. There repaired to him both Citizens and Strangers, Noblemen, and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause; To seek some Salve for a wounded Conscience. At length, some who were likewise sick in Body, would needs be carried to him; but this, to stop rumours, he would not suffer to be used. For, because they were brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

Thus spending the day at home in such like Duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those, who were not able to come themselves to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesie of his own disposition was injoyned him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, which the Office of his Ministery had imposed upon him. That little time which his Friends, either called away by other occasions, or ashamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own disposure, he bestowed not in sleeping, or taking his pleasure, but in prayer and studying; in both which, he always retired himself into some private place apart, or made use of the nights silence for secrecy, unless by chance sometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his Prayers, being heard by some that were near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his Devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his Labours ended; but often hath the next mornings light seen the last of his nights care dispatched.

Now although these things be true, yet well I know there are many who will find fault, that I have so slightly passed them over; and demand, why I produce not the matters themselves, as witnesses of his actions, or at leastwise some particular example in each kind, that they may with more security give credit to the rest. But many things there are which hinder me from so doing. First, that common civility forbiddeth us, to publish abroad that, which the Conscience of another hath committed to our secrecy; and a very ill example should he give, who should not rather by all means conceal, than make known to the World, the secrets of private Houses, the jarrings of Friends, and such privy slips in mens lives, whereof it may either ashame, or repent them: Next, that the matters themselves, which used in the greatest privacy that might be, to be dispatched, could by no means come to our knowledge; or if by suspition somewhat were gathered, and that I should instance in one or two Particulars; yet what great assurance in the rest, could I draw from hence.

I will now bring the last Argument, I know not whither I should say, of his Ability or Industry; that he, who so wholly had given himself to pleasure his Friends, that he had set apart no time, for his other occasions, yet wrote so much, as it might well have been believed, he had done nothing else.

I have here for their sakes, who may desire it, set down the Titles of those Books he wrote; which are these, *Comœdiarum libri 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Justitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

We are now come so far, as to be able from hence, to give the Readers a full sight at once, of the rest of Master *Foxes* life; which ought (I suppose) in like manner to please them, as we see those that travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough Forests, and come at length into the plain and Champion-Countries, are with the very change of soil not a little delighted and refreshed.

In this (as it were) draught of his conditions, we shall first observe that which might well be thought the chiefest of his Vertues; to wit, a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things, which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of Pleasures: which mind of his, whether inbred by Nature, acquired by Discipline, or infused by God, did of necessity give him great ability to perform with commendation in whatsoever he lifted to take in hand; there being nothing which can mislead the mind into errors, which would otherwise of it self hold the right way, but what proceedeth from some pleasure or other; lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But so did Master *Fox* hold play with these Enemies, as one who desired not to save himself by flying, or shelter himself in some secret place of retire; but by often skirmishing, and experience in the manner of fight, to encrease his own strength, and give to others an example of fortitude; using to say, That they did no great matter, who forsook business and employments in the World, lest they should suffer themselves to be allured and deceived by them. For, that the things were in themselves innocent, and then first of all grew hurtful, when they were overvalued and pursued with avaritious desire; which he that can beat back when it assaileth him, and striveth to break in upon him, is deservedly called temperate; but that he who was never in any temptation, may rather seem to have been good through want of occasion to be otherwise, than by his own Vertue.

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He never therefore declined the Friendship of Illustrious Personages; not to gain honour to himself, that thereby he saw his commendation would be more effectual, when he should desire favour on the behalf of others. The money, which sometime rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the Poor. He likewise frequented the Tables of his Friends, not for his pleasure-sake, being of a spare diet; but both in courtesie to keep them company, and left any should imagine, he either feared, or fled from the wrastling, and striving with voluptuous Encounters, or that he thought himself, by being absent, better defended against the pleasures incident to eating and drinking, than by the guard of his own moderation. In a word, so did Mr. *Fox* behave himself in those things which are followed by delights, that certain it is, none of those who were always in his company, can remember any speech or action of his, which might bewray the least shew of a desire to them; and so far was he from thirsting after Honour, Riches, Applause, or any outward good; that he would at no time suffer the care of his private Estate to enter his mind, much less that it should by taking thought for his Houshold-affairs, be overcome or drawn aside: which either security of his, or as some called it, Slothfulness in his own Fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilst I consider the cause wherefore he thought all other things so much contemptible, especially since that could not be imagined to arise from any obstinate disdainfulness, much less from a sleepiness or sluggishness of mind; I assure my self, it was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the World, of which he was not otherwise incapable; and devoting himself wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable Treasure, he bent his eyes and his mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires: Whereby (as in such a case must needs happen) it so fell out, that they who observed his mind so stedfastly fixed upon God, and that he both spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of some divine Inspiration; and now some began, not as a good man to honour him, but as one sent from Heaven, even to adore him, through the folly of mankind, madly doting upon any thing, whatsoever their own will hath set up to be worshipped.

I will neither mince the truth of any story, nor will I with additions flatter Report. Many things did Master *Fox* foretel, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn, to which the event proved after answerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what constancy, whilst he remained at *Basil* among his banished Country-men, he signified the times of their return. It is likewise well known, what Answer he gave concerning that noble and vertuous Woman, the Lady *Anne Hennage*, who lying sick of a violent Feaver, when the Disease had so far increased, that the Physitians had pronounced it deadly, Master *Fox* was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of, in matters appertaining to her Souls health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading Prayers, and comforting the sick Woman, with such perswasions as seemed good to him; Well have you done (said he) and according to your duty, to prepare your self for all events; but know this from me, That of this sickness you shall not die. By chance, among those who stood by, was Sir *Moyle Finch*, a well known and honourable Knight, the Ladies Son in law, who either moved with so unusual a Speech, or desirous to get somewhat more out of him, as soon as Master *Fox* was a little withdrawn from the rest of the company, began seemingly to chide with him; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artists, he being an unskilful man, should presume to determine the end of the Disease, and by so doing bring the sick Woman, by condition of her Sex, wavering, yet hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life: if his Mother in law might be likely to live, that no man had more cause of joy than himself; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man less to dissemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her Soul: that he did therefore, for the friendship he bare him, much fear, lest, by that untimely word, he had lost a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modesty. To this Master *Fox*, smiling, made answer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him as he pleased; but concerning the sick Lady, it had so seemed good unto God, that she should recover of that Disease; and that he had said no more than was commanded him. The Lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no less true was that story of Mistriss *Honiwood*, an honourable Gentlewoman, who had almost twenty years lain sick of a Consumption through Melancholy, neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient against the force of so mischievous a Disease, though she had already consulted with the gravest Divines, and the best Physitians, and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perswading were accounted to excel the rest. At length she sent also for Mr. *Fox*. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy or afflicted house. There sate by the sick Woman to attend her, her Friends, Kinsfolk, Children and Servants, some upon Seats, and some on the Chamber-floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament, but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, nor answering those who asked any question, as if that also became their mourning; you might have guest them so

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many ſtatues of Mourners in humane likeneſs. The ſick Woman lay upon her Bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent ſighs, faintly breathing forth ſome few words, the effect whereof was, That ſhe deſired to end her days. Maſter *Fox* when he had ſo many Patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief ſo violent would make ſtrong reſiſtance, to attempt any thing in vain, left, in not being by reaſon overcome, they might ſeem to have had reaſon on their ſides, left all other means of conſolation, and what he thought neceſſary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his Prayers; ſo that within a few days, they who were thought impoſſible, by mans help to be cured, did now ſeem, of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himſelf, he then told her, That ſhe ſhould not only grow well of that Conſumption, but alſo live to an exceeding great age. At which words the ſick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earneſtly beholding Maſter *Fox*: As well might you have ſaid (quoth ſhe) that if I ſhould throw this Glaſs againſt the Wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a Glaſs in her hand, out of which ſhe had newly drunk, ſhe threw it forth; neither did the Glaſs, firſt by chance lighting on a little Cheſt ſtanding by the Bed-ſide, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threeſcore years of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, ſeldom ſeen in the Off-ſpring of any Family, being able, before the 90 year of her age, (for ſhe lived longer) to reckon three hundred and threeſcore of her Childrens * Children and Grandchildren.

* Among which at this day, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1641. In which this Book is ſet forth, there liveth Mrs. Grace Hemegraphe Daughter of the ſaid Miſtriſs Hemmaud, a Gentlewoman of great worth, and the Widow of an honourable Gentleman, Maſter Alchorn Newnam, who affirmeth that ſhe was preſent at the ſame time this was done, being a witneſs of more integrity, and more ſincere than that her Teſtimony ſhould without great wrong be doubted of.

I could here relate many ſtories of like nature, but they, for the moſt part, being dead, who might juſtifie the Particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deſerve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it ſhould need to be confirmed by Witneſſes.

Maſter *Fox* went one day, in duty, as his cuſtom was, to ſee the Earl of *Arundel*, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Father to this Right Honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his courteſie, when he was going away, brought him to the Water-ſide, at the lower end of his Garden; but obſerving the River very rough by the ſuddain riſing of the Winds, he counſelled Maſter *Fox* not to truſt himſelf in ſo boiſterous a Tempeſt upon the Waters: But he continuing in his reſolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let theſe waters deal with me, as I have in truth and ſincerity delivered to you all that I have ſpoken: and with that entring into the Boat, before they could put off from the Bridge, the Wind ceaſed, and the River began to run with a ſmoother ſtream.

Being often asked by his familiar Friends, why he had no more regard to the ſtraightneſs of his own Eſtate, it being the firſt precept of Charity to begin at home; his anſwer was, That God by his Covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to beſtow it; and ſince he had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifeſt ingratitude?

Theſe and ſuch like things, although by all men much wondred at, yet dare I not preſume to affirm, what that was in all theſe actions, which did principally tend to Maſter *Foxes* commendation: whether it be, that the mind by how much the purer and more ſublime it is, ſeeth ſo much the farther: or whether there be ſome hidden cauſe, why God may be pleaſed ſometimes to declare his purpoſes, by men, not ſpeaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved.

We muſt make haſte now to other matters, in which there was nothing that ſo much wan to Maſter *Fox* the love of people, as the pity he uſually ſhewed to all ſorts of men in diſtreſs; and ſome you may find, who affirm, that Maſter *Fox* not only gave away to the poor his Money, but his Cloaths and Houſhold-ſtuff alſo, without his Wives privity; which modeſty forbiddeth me to maintain for truth. For ſince I know well enough, that many things, concerning the reſt of his behaviour, have been either feigned, or amplified by the affections of men, I ought not a little to ſuſpect, leſt in this they have done the like. True it is, that Maſter *Fox* gave largely to the Poor, and therein exceeded the meaſure of his own ſubſtance, but that his bounty ever proceeded to the diſfurniſhing of his houſe, I neither have any Author worth the credit, who avoucheth it; nor is it likely that he ſhould deſcend to ſuch extream courſes, who by the liberality of others that ſupplied him with money to that purpoſe, wanted not ſufficient means to ſhew his Charity.

All theſe Vertues of his were fenced about, as with a Bulwark, by a ſingular modeſty and integrity of life; which ſuffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was firſt with much diligence ſearched into and examined, whether it might beſeem him or not; which alſo having always before him, if at any time (by the condition of mans frailty) ought within began to be ſhaken, yet was proviſion quickly made, before the matter proceeded to any great breach in his manners, by forſaking all commerce with any kind of Vices, againſt which the ſhame to do evil, and the regard he had to his own credit, kept a continual watch and ward.

Yet for all this there want not ſome, who accuſe Maſter *Fox* of Injuſtice, in the higheſt degree; which injury, becauſe many are intereſſed in, I ſhall further inquire into.

Maſter *Fox* in that part of his Hiſtory, wherein he deſcribeth the lamentable Troubles in the five years Reign of Queen *Mary*, hath by name mentioned not only the Authors of thoſe Executions, but alſo many, who were but Miniſters and Aſſiſtants, among whom were ſome perſons of great note. This, ſome of their Poſterity complain to have been done unjuſtly by Maſter

Maſter *Fox*, and that the fatal neceſſity of thoſe times, their modeſty in obeying, or the publick Offices impoſed upon them, ought not to be a ſcandal to them, or their Poſterity. Now though I might juſtly anſwer theſe men, that the ſame excuſe of neceſſity, which they alledge for their Anceſtors, ought to ſuffice on Maſter *Foxes* behalf, ſince he could no way leave the Miniſters nameleſs, but he ſhould leave his Adverſaries occaſion of cavilling at his ſtory: yet willingly would I give them further ſatisfaction, than they can in juſtice challenge; deſiring, that what hath been done might poſſibly have been done otherwiſe, and intreating them, not to ſuppoſe that done with a thought of hurting, which was only the Fortune of thoſe who were hurt; in the mean while (notwithſtanding) I adviſe them, that they joyn not their grief, with the anger of thoſe men, who are offended with Maſter *Fox* for a far different cauſe, and under colour of the perſons, ſtrike at a matter of another condition, there being two ſorts of men, who in this reſpect complain they are injured, the one out of Nature, the other out of Faction. To the firſt, as their due, I willingly grant all benefit that courteſie can afford them. Though they are angry, they are ſtill Subjects, and in their Obedience: neither would I make ſo light of the grief, though unjuſtly taken by any good Subject, as not rather to loſe a part of my right, than that he ſhould relinquiſh any part of his Loyalty. To the laſt, I have ſomewhat elſe to ſay, as to men, who had the Fortune to fall out firſt with their Country, and to have that as the true and principal Cauſe of their hatred: than to grow angry with Maſter *Fox*, whom they hate not, but for their Countries ſake. To theſe men I am ſo far from thinking any ſatisfaction due, as that I cannot afford them the favour of reaſoning with them, which is granted even to Enemies. For the ſafety of civil entercourſe, and all hope of reconcilement they have taken away, and broken all ties of humane ſociety: And what can I hope he ſhould ever after do, either like an underſtanding man, or like a man at all, who could forſake his duty to his Country? which alone ſo draweth into it ſelf the power and right of all duties, that according as any man ſheweth more or leſs love towards it, ſo may the moſt infallible judgment be given, how he ſtandeth affected towards God. But if they ſay, their Country hath failed in its duty: Firſt, that will be a queſtion, whether it hath failed or not and how far it hath failed; but it is without all Controverſie their duty to let paſs any diſcontent for their Countries ſake: Next, how bold a face muſt he have, who being himſelf a party to an Action, of which God only can determine, ſhould preſume to make himſelf his own Judge, and (not content to have ſet at nought that Authority, which amongſt men is moſt weighty) neither grant to his Country ſpace of appealing, nor awaite the Judgment of Almighty God, but as if he had already won the day, ſeize all things before hand by foul and ſtubborn attempts, and rather gratifie an Enemy with his diſloyalty, than perform his duty to his Country ſo well, deſerving it? So that if it ſhould happen at any time, that this famous Kingdom (which is not impoſſible in this ſtate of humane weakneſs) ſhould err in any part of duty towards God, yet might moſt dangerous examples of treachery be given, if when any man ſhall have a deſire to his Countries deſtruction, he may by excuſe of his Countries Crime, not only ſeem to have quitted himſelf of ſo hainous a fault, but alſo to have done what his duty required.

This I have ſpoken of the more largely, becauſe I underſtand that many of our own Party think fit, that ſome Anſwer ſhould be made to the Papiſts, concerning the evil Speeches they have uſed againſt Maſter *Fox*. To ſatisfie whoſe deſire in a few words, let us firſt ſee what thoſe evil Speeches are: That he is a lying Author: It is therefore a lye, that Maſter *Rogers*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Hooper*, Biſhop *Ridley*, Biſhop *Latimer*, and other moſt holy and innocent men of the ſame train were burned for their Religion. But if this, even by their own confeſſion, be true, what (I marvel) may thoſe matters be, by whoſe fallhood the reſt of the whole work hath incurred the infamous Title of a lye, as they do make their Followers believe? Some things they alledge miſtaken in the names or number of ſuch as ſuffer, or in the time of their ſuffering, which were either recalled in the following Editions, or by the Author ſo well defended, that as long as he lived no man exclaimed any more. Somethings they likewiſe urge in the Hiſtory of former Ages, contradicted by the Hiſtoriographers themſelves, which they might eaſily do, in ſo great contention of differing Opinions, that whatſoever Author a man ſhould follow, he muſt ſtill fall into the ſame inconvenience. Yet all they can ſay is of ſuch a nature, as neither we much care if it were true, nor they if it be falſe. But let us (if you will) grant them ſomewhat, and be liberal of Maſter *Fox* his right: If I ſhall take quite out of the Hiſtory, all that they have ſaid to be falſe, will they then promiſe me to ſuffer their Followers with freedom to read the reſt? They will no more yield to this condition, than they will be contented to be quiet: What ſhall a man do to ſuch men, as are never ſatisfied, whether you grant that they plead for, or deny it them? And how great a frowardneſs it were to expect from any Author, that in the whole courſe of ſo long a ſtory, whilſt one man doth with his own only labours handle ſo many ſeveral matters, he ſhould never ſo much as miſtake any thing? As well might they tax that moſt accompliſhed Writer *Julius Cæſar* with telling a lye, if where he deſcribeth our Ille of *Great Britain*, he ſhould by chance in the circuit of any Iſland, or paſſage from one place to another, differ by a few miles from later accompt, who (indeed) wrote the Hiſtory of his Wars and Expeditions, with that truth he ought to do, but in the reſt followed the common report, and believed the Relations of others, not willing to be over curious in things of no great importance.

And thus much it ſeemed good to me to anſwer, rather out of the opinion of ſome of our own ſide, than that my ſelf thought it neceſſary: But if our Adverſaries themſelves require a further Anſwer, I will deal with them upon other terms: Let them firſt return to their Obedience,

dience, make satisfaction to their Country, and then prosecute their private displeasures, when they are clear of all publick Offences: But if they will needs run on still in this heat, and after they have neither any hope nor credit left, think to frighten us with railing, I shall (for my part) be well content to let them gain as much commendation for their good pleading, as they have reaped fruit in that course of life they have heretofore used; and to allow them this double glory, neither in evil-doing, nor in evil-speaking to have any Fellows: If this condition seemeth over hard, yet (at least) let them equal the dignity of that History they so much carp at. Let them be Authors of equal credit. So would the fight be more honourable, if they might with as much damage to themselves be overcome, as they should with advantage get the Victory. If otherwise it be their desire to purchase to themselves some blast of fame, by cavilling at this lasting Work, in their Pamphlets and under-hand Invectives, not such as the judgments of understanding men, but the fancies of some easier Women; is there any man so senseless, as by opposing them, to make those Writings of longer continuance, which would, by being countenanced, in a short time be quite forgotten?

Now further, that they may understand how much their ill Language hath made more for Master *Fox* his honour than reproach; I will speak a word or two of his moderation towards them. I could produce Letters of his, wherein he perswadeth the Lords and others, who then held the places of chiefest Authority, not to suffer *Edmund Campian*, and his fellow Conspirators to be put to death, nor to let that custom continue longer in the Kingdom, that death rather than some other punishment should be inflicted on the Papist Offendors. And lest he might seem only out of the goodness of his Nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind to have so spoken, he there endeavoureth to prove by many reasons, how much it was to the weakning of the cause, rather to follow the example of their Adversaries, in appointing punishments, than their own mildness; and that they much rather ought to strive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already in the justice of their cause got the upper hand. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity to intreat for them. Whereas on the other side the Lords gave him to understand; That this was a matter of State, not of Controversie; That the Kings life, the publick Liberty, and the assurance of the Kindgom rested on this Point; That Subjects ought by their own peril to be warned, how they grow too prodigal of their Countries blessings; That such was the estate of the Kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more secure, if the Subjects, only would consent, to keep their abilities to their Countries use, nor had it further failed of that felicity, than it had been hindred by the revolts and conspiracies of our own men. Yet for all this did Master *Fox* continue in his opinion, and though he could by intreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many sighs testifie his sorrow, as often as he heard, that any of them were put to death.

And thus having seen his moderations to the persons, it will not be out of the way to add in general what he thought of the Churches of *Rome*, and the Bishop thereof, as far as they may be gathered out of his Speeches, when being of ripe years, he had strengthened his judgment with much experience.

The Heads of his Opinions were these:

That among the Christian-Churches, the *Roman* had been in dignity always chiefest, and of most Antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many Ages after, by little and little growing to greater Authority, not by consent of people, or by any right to that Claim, but by reason of a certain inclination and custom among men, that where any chance far to excel others, they first begin to be powerful among the rest, and at length to exercise command over them. That the greatest Honour and Authority it had, was among these Western Kingdoms, which, as every one most affected the Christian Religion, so were they by the diligence and piety of the *Romans* most assisted, in which respect it had not ill deserved to be called the Mother of those Churches. That the occasion of so great an increase was, that the City of *Rome* being of so ancient Renown, and as it were by destiny appointed Monarch of the World, in all Ages abounding with men of great courage and vertue, being well peopled, wealthy, usefully seated, and always under the Emperors sight, easily afforded this convenience. That at the first the Christians could no where meet together with less trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more safely be concealed, or, when need was, die with more constancy; all which made Posterity so much to admire and honour them. That the Church at first flourished rather in good Discipline, and the approved holiness of the Professors, than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looseness, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the Clergy, and Money, Servants, Lands, Jewels, and such like goods, altogether unknown to them; in fine, all things so restrained, either by modesty in using what they had, or contentedness in wanting what they had not, as that in *Rome* only, seemed to be the Seat of Christian Religion. That all this was with most strictness observed in the times neareſt to the Churches Infancy; but in process of time, by little and little began to be neglected and corrupted, after the same manner as Rivers, whose streams near their head being smallest and cleareſt, the farther they proceed, run in a larger Channel, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixture with the Sea, they grow also unwholsome; and though in no one place, we can perceive where they are, any jot changed from their first purity; yet may we easily enough find a great difference, if we compare the extreams together. For that in the Church it so fell out, that having brought all Nations to the Christian Faith, after they once began to think it for the Honour of the Empire, that the Priests should no longer (as they had formerly accustomed) endure

endure Poverty, but live in a more plentiful way, to which purpose the Emperors granted many things to the Church-men, both as an Ornament and Reward to them; then also the Priests began, first to be taken with the love of Riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through abundance, and not care how little pains they took, after (as always the succeeding Age addeth to the Vices of the former) they affected Power also, which when they had once obtained, and by the Emperors Gift, received the Command of the Church, they gave not over, till (having cast down the Emperors, by whose bounty they had so prevailed) they both invaded the Priviledges of the Empire, and now laid Claim to both Spiritual and Temporal Government; in the mean while neglecting those Rules of Religion which their Predecessors had prescribed them, neither themselves much searching the Scriptures, nor permitting others to do it; and esteeming the Worship of God to consist rather in outward Devotion, and Pomp of Ceremonies, than in the Obedience of Faith. That by this means it so came to pass, that the Church of *Rome* (as all other immoderate Empires) not only fell from that high degree it once held, but also subverted in it self the very substance and state of a Church: nor that this ought to seem strange, if as the most healthful Bodies fall into sickness with most danger, so it befalleth, that the prime of all Churches should have no mean, but either remain in the perfection of health, or become the most dangerous Enemy to it; and that for this cause the Pope now seemed to be Antichrist. That notwithstanding the case was so plain, yet neither part ought to lend too much belief to Arguments, not be too earnest in hindering it, if by any moderation of men the matter might be brought to soundness and agreement. That it was not (perchance) in our Power to take from *Rome* her ancient Honour, and the opinion of her Religion so fixed already in the minds of men. That the Church of *Rome* had fallen by her own covetousness, ambition, and prevarication; but that never any man had gone so far in sinning, as that Repentance had not pierced as far. That therefore it were fit to allow them, as a returning to Repentance, so some convenient means to move them to it, and sufficient space to repent in. That it might be the Author disliked them, because a *German* or *French man*, and not an *Italian* of their own Nation had told them of their Errors. That there might one day among their own men be found some, by whose Authority they should not be ashamed to amend their faults, and with more willingness part with their own power, to procure the peace of the whole World. That there was at least this hope left, it might so fall out, that they had no further erred in the Articles of Faith, than that they would not suffer too much to be known. That the conditions of agreement would be, first, That the Pope should forsake all those Tenents, by which he gained so great sums of money; there being nothing, whereto the people might with more difficulty be perswaded, than that Christ, the Saviour of the World, had instructed his Church in the ways of money, and setting Scriptures to sale. Next that he should renounce all Secular Jurisdiction, and not suppose himself to have Title, or any thing to do with the right of Princes. That on the other side his Opposers should not refuse, that some one man may have the principal place of Counsel and Government in the Church-affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with security; neither that the *Roman*-Church had once fallen, ought to make against it, nor that it had first flourished, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other, but that all this was to be left to the discretion of a General-Council of the Christians, which might be so equitable, as that neither the Power or Favour of any one should be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of Voices to promise it self any advantage to the injury of the rest. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and speediness of setling all Controversies, if hereafter on both sides they would give such Instructions, as might cause in each Party a better hope and opinion of the other, especially that they ought to leave off that stubborn conceit, whereby each of them, presuming it self to be the only true Church, supposeth the other excluded. For that it were not only wicked, but also highly to the dishonour of God, to think that he had so given his Commandments to Mankind, as that they should be turned to the destruction of those that obey them; which must of necessity come to pass, if when all men will not consent in the same opinion, they who understand most shall refuse to admit of the rest; Was therefore the Kingdom of Heaven reserved only for the more understanding sort, and those that know most? Where should then the Fools of the World be; where should little Children be, whom Christ had set apart for himself? How much better should we serve God, by following that which was evident, than by interpreting that which was doubtful? How much more probable were it, that Gods mercy was so abundant, as when men were once agreed in point of general Obedience, there should nothing else be laid to their charge? For, that the force of Obedience was before God so great, as thereby only all other inequalities might be made even; but if all were not in equal condition, that certainly with God they were best esteemed, who judged with most modesty of others.

From Master *Fox* his Enemies, I will now pass to his Friends, among which I have already shewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the Duke of *Norfolk*, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and after his death, by the Pension he bestowed on him, which his Son, the Right Honourable Earl of *Suffolk*, to whom those Revenews descended, out of his liberality, confirmed.

His Fortunes were encreased by the Lord *William Cecill*, then Lord Treasurer, a man beyond expression excellent, whom it as much availed Queen *Elizabeth*, to have for her Minister, as it availed the Kingdom, to have *Elizabeth* for their Queen; and without doubt most deserving, that in himself, and his Posterity, he should flourish in that Kingdom, which he had by his wisdom and advice made most flourishing. He of the Queens Gift obtained for Mr. *Fox* the Rectory of *Shipton*, upon no other inducement but his publick Desert, and when Mr. *Fox* delayed, and after his manner entreated leave to excuse himself, the Lord *Cecill* politickly overcame his bashfulness, by telling him, That he neither accepted that for an answer, nor had he deserved that the blame of Mr. *Foxes* refusing the Queens Gift, should be laid upon him, as if he had been his hindrance.

To the Earls of *Bedford* and of *Warwick*, he was very acceptable, and approved by them for the likeness of his inclination. He

He was very intimate with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deservedly was the first that advanced the Power of the Secretariship.

The two Brethren, Sir *Thomas Hennage* and Master *Michael Hennage*, he entirely affected, the first for the sweetness of his Behaviour, the other for his solid Learning and singular modesty of Life, and though they were each of them in their kind most accomplished Gentlemen, yet was he wont to say, that Sir *Thomas Hennage* had as much as was requisite any way to a compleat Courtier, but that Master *Michael Hennage* had both all his Brother in himself, and that besides of his own, which the Court had not corrupted.

To Sir *Drue Drury* he bare (likewise) singular affection, as to a man of sincere intentions, and of great constancy in all Fortunes and (perchance) the only man in the Court, who continued his favour, without loss of his Freedom.

Among the Prelates he principally reverenced Doctor *Grindal* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Elmar* Bishop of *London*, Doctor *Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, who were his Partners in banishment at *Basil*.

Among the Writers of his time, he preferred before the rest, Doctor *Humphrey*, Doctor *Whitetaker*, and Doctor *Fulk*, with whose Learning he was wondrously delighted, and esteemed it no small benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, than with Master *John Crowly*, and Master *Baldwine Collins*, whose counsel he made use of in all his affairs, especially of Master *Collins*, concerning whom he was wont to say, That he knew not which had greatest share in him, excellence of knowledge, or modesty of mind.

Among military men, Sir *Francis Drake* was much delighted with his Familiarity; whom to commend near the times, he lived in, were needless, but to commend him to Posterity, according to his desert, many Volumes would scarce suffice.

Among the Citizens of *London*, he always found great good will; especially with Sir *Thomas Gresham*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Alderman *Bacchus*, Master *Smith*, Master *Dale*, and Master *Sherington*, who had him in great account and estimation, being part of them such as had born the highest places of Honour in the City, and part of them Merchants of great substance.

I pass by many, who (perhance) had as great share in Master *Fox* his Friendship, as any of these; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not, or remembred not at all: But this I ought not to slip, (as being the chiefest cause why I thought fit to mention the forenamed worthy men) That these were they, from whom, I before said, Master *Fox* received such large sums of money to divide among the poor: which although they did with so much privacy, as that they trusted not to Messengers in delivering it, not regarding any outward praise, their well doing might procure them, knowing the conscience thereof to be as much as they needed to desire; Yet was it not fitting for me in Master *Fox* his History to dissemble it, or to give any man occasion to suppose the truth not opened by Master *Fox*, though they themselves thought good to neglect the fruit of so great Liberality, especiall since it may abundantly serve for commendation of both him and them, that they should be known by their own actions, and he by none but his own.

He used always among his Friends a pleasant kind of familiarity, wherewith he seasoned the gravity and severity of his other behaviour.

Being once asked at a Friends Table, what Dish he desired to be set up to him, to begin his meal with, he answered, the last; which word was pleasantly taken, as if he had meant some choicer Dish, such as usually are brought for the second Course; whereas he rather signified the desire he had to see dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad (by chance) he met a Woman that he knew, who pulling a Book from under her arm, and saying, See you not that I am going to a Sermon; Master *Fox* replied, But if you will be ruled by me, go home rather, for to day you will do but little good at Church; and when she asked, At what time therefore he would counsel her to go; Then (answered he) when you tell no body before hand.

It hâppened at his own Table, that a Gentleman there spake somewhat too freely against the Earl of *Leicester*, which when Master *Fox* heard, he commanded a Bowl filled with Wine to be brought him, which being done: This Bowl (quoth he) was given me by the Earl of *Leicester*, so stopping the Gentleman in his intemperate Speeches without reprehending him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had in presence of many, said, That he could conceive no reason, in the reading of the old Authors, why men should so greatly admire them. No marvel indeed, (quoth Master *Fox*) For if you could conceive the reason, you would then admire them your self.

I could speak of many stories of this kind, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length having in such actions, and such behaviour spent out his Age, being now full of years, and stored with Friends, ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known Disease, but through much Age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure, nor would suffer his Sons (which notwithstanding he entirely loved) to be present at his death, but forbad the one at any hand to be sent for, and sent the other on a Journey three days before he died, then calling both of them unto him, when he well knew, though they made never so great haste, they should come too late; whether he thought them unable to bear so heavy a Spectacle, or would not have his own mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my Brother was the most grievous of all chances, that thereby we could neither come to close his eyes, to receive his last Blessing and Exhortations, nor satisfie our minds with that last sight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to see the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have lost in him so good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death the whole City lamented, honouring the small Funeral which was made for him, with the concourse of a great multitude of people, and in no other fashion of mourning, than as if among so many, each man had buried his own Father, or his own Brother.

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LECTOREM.

COntendentibus a me multis, idque sæpenumero, ut Patris mei vitam, ante triginta annos a me conscriptam posteritati donarem; cum nulla nova res accideret, propter quam (vel me tacente) judicio posterorum de clarissimo viro diffiderem; multa autem me nunc necessaria huic instituto deficerent, excessu eorum, in quorum testimonio fides rerum continebatur: non dubitavi quin & prioris recusationis meæ veniam apud cunctos consequi, & si in recusando perseverarem, hujus quoque libertatis jus tenere facile potuissem. Sed cum viderem homines alienos, & consuetudinis ejus prorsus ignaros, hoc suum negotium feciſſe, ut de vita ejus scriberent; de qua nihil nisi per vagas, & fortuitas auditiones doceri potuerunt; eoque fieri, ut multa de eo supra quam facta sunt, extulerint; multa secus quam facta sunt narrarint; plurima ignoratione præterierint; qui adolescens supremis ejus vitæ temporibus perpetuus interfui, & cum abessem propiores causas cognoscendi quicquid attentius gessisset semper habui; adductus sum officio, ut memoriam ejus illæsam esse vellem; & si luce eam donare non possem, at eam in vero, & suo lumine collocarem. Neque veritus sum, ut hoc factum meum legentibus probare possim, quod filius Patris mei vitam composuerim, exemplo propter propinquitatem suspecto: Nam primum celari posteros memorabilem virum, nec injuria eorum qui perperam de eo scripserunt sinebat: defendi autem eum aliter quam ab suis, tutum non erat: neque est, cur in filio magis suspecta sit fides sua, quam in iis qui nullam de eo memoriam extare volunt vis doloris, & iracundiæ suæ. Hactenus sustinui, donec æquato periculo offensionis inter infensos, & cupidos, vicit tandem ratio parendi eis, qui hoc meum studium, etiam cum expostulatione, flagitabant; quorum importunitate consensi in opus emittendum, initio non alio destinatum, quam ut imaginem Paternæ consuetudinis apud me servarem, & nunc, in tanta hominis fama, aliorum magis opinione, quam judicio meo necessarium.

JOHANNIS FOXII VITA.

JOhannes Foxius *Bostona antiquo oppido conventus* Lincolnienſis *ortus*, Anno 1517. *utroque genere plebeio, ſed honeſto inter ſuos, & copioſo fuit : Patrem parvulus admodum amiſit : cujus morte poſtquam mater demnpſerat, in domum vitrici conceſſit ; ibique puerilium exegit ; qua vix dum egreſſus, probatuſque ſuis ob bonitatem, vigoremque indolis,* Oxonium *ad artes capeſſendas miſſus eſt. Prima literarum elementa in Collegio* Aenei *naſi hauſit, datus in contubernium* Alexandro Noello, *ſummo poſtea hujus civitatis viro, & Decano* Paulinæ Eccleſiæ ; *ut non mirum ſit, quorum educatio par, idemque puerilis cultus fuit, inter eos ſimilitudinem quoque morum ad extremam ſenectam duraviſſe. Egregium, acremque ad ſtudia animum incendit locus, ferax æmulationum, & excitor profectus ſui in ſingulis ; adeoque induſtria, quæ raro excellentibus ingeniis comes, ubi ea quoque adſumitur, tum demum efficaciſſima eſt : Ob quas dotes cum intra breve tempus admirationem ſui apud cunctos, charitatem apud plurimos peperiſſet, eruditionis, morumque nomine, delectæ eſt in numerum ſodalium* Magdalenenſium, *qui honor inter præcipuos Academiæ habitus, & Alumnis Collegii debitus, paucis externis, nec niſi in præmium ſingularis virtutis concedi ſolet. Apparet prima exuberantis ingenii* Germina *Poetices ſtudioſe profuſiſſe : Extant Comœdiæ ab ipſo conſcriptæ, ſtilo uberi, & ornato, ſed* Paulo *tumentiore, quod vitium Orationis, & ſi ætas, & experientia multum mitigavit, cum ipſo tamen magna ex parte conſennit, cum in aliis rebus eſſet ſedatiſſimus : Sed & tum ſpecimen dedit, quem in virum evaſurus eſſet ; cum illi ipſi luſus efferoſcentis adoleſcentiæ, non niſi Argumentis ſacræ Hiſtoriæ inſtruerentur : matureque coercuit. Ad Theologiæ ſtudium acrior, quam prudentior tranſivit ; deſcenditque in profeſſionem Reformationis tum inceptæ ; prius quam ibi noſceretur, qui vel cauſam ipſam foverent vel fautores protegere poſſent: Id illi initium moleſtiarum fuit. Hoc fuit illud tempus quo* Henricus *octavus Rex, ambiguus propoſiti, ſibique & Papæ diſcors,* Eccleſiæ *res in immenſum potentiæ, ſuperbiæque auctas, neque tolerandas ex toto, neque mutandas ducens, cum in utroque modum cuperet, in neutro valuit ; factumque poſt homines natos glorioſiſſimum, inutili temperamento fœdavit : Non alias diſtractior populus, neque magis anxius ſalutis ſuæ, fortunarumque fuit ; ignoto per legum contrarietatem, quid ſequi, quid fugere tutum eſſet ; abolito Papatu, & retento tamen dogmate. Initia tamen exacti Papatus ut læta, ita ſecunda magis Reformatoribus fuerunt ; plurimique mortales conſenſum intulere, conſcientia recti & illigato Regis animo per ſupplicia adverſantium, & demolitis maxime Monaſteriis : additidque fiduciam, quod ex Proceribus ut quiſque Papali faſtigio inſeſtior erat, ita magis Regis gratia, amicitiaque floruit. Interim vigebat ſtatutum ſex Articulorum, ſonteque plectebantur. Ita ſparſus ex æquo terror, & ſpes quamdiu Rex inter ingenium ſuum, & conſilia ſuorum medius, ſeveritate illud, hos diſcordi indulgentia pavit : Mox protritis Reformantium ducibus ; poſtquam* Suffolcius *morte,* Cromwellus *ferro cecidiſſet, intractaque per æmulorum audaciam* Cranmeri *Archiepiſcopi potentia, nihil vel in legibus, vel in Proceribus præſidii ſupereſſet, cunctа in antiquas ſordes, licentiamque ruere cæperunt ; tantoque impetnoſius, quod vindictæ ſpecies erat viciſſe. At in Academiis, Scholiſque nihil mutatum, innovatumque niſi occulto ; dubium an metu, an ambitione, ne ſequi viderentur. In quo ſtatu rerum, Religioniſque,* Foxius *ad controverſiæ tum gliſcentis conditionem cognoſcendam attentius animum convertit : Vetus dimicatio erat, neque ullum ſeculum prorſus expers diſſidiorum in Eccleſia fuit : ſed prima illa contentiones queſtionibus de Regno, & jure ſuminm magis complicabantur ; nitentibus* Romanis, *ut veterem urbis amplitudinem, quam armis nequibant, artibus & obtentu Religionis ſub ſummi Pontificis jure retinerent : Tum ſi qui ab ipſis de fide diſſenſerant, eorum feſtinatus exitus contactum in reliquos antevertit. Ita vel crudelitate, vel principum patientia pleraque turbarum compoſita ſunt ; manentibus etiamnum* Romæ *veſtigiis primævæ virtutis, aut ſaltem imitamentis virtutum inter pleraque inverſa, vel vetuſtate obliterata. At poſtquam coalita ex ſucceſſu audacia, ſecutum Pontificis fuit omnium rerum jus, poteſtatemque ad ſe trahere ; & concuſſis Imperii opibus, reliquorum Regum ſceptra attrectare libido eſſet ; ejuſque cauſa fas omne divinum, & humanum miſcere ; interim Clerus ipſe nihil penſi haberet quanta Religionis factura homines interdum maculoſe in Papatum ſublegerentur, quorum exemplo vetus illa parentum ſeveritas, & ſanctimonia deriſui, paupertas probo eſſe, ſacerdotum induſtria torpere, contra furere luxus, & avaritia, & ambitio cæpit : tum demum intellectæ ſunt Eccleſiaſticorum artes, cognitumque ludibrium : Idcirco nimirum multiplicatos ritus numerumque Cæremoniarum, quo Cleri numerus faciendis ſacris augeretur : Hos ali neceſſe : Ad horum ſumptum inductas opiniones cogendis pecuniis potentiſſimas, de dignitate operum, de Purgatorio, de poteſtate abſolutionis, & indultorum Papalium : quas omnes ſua natura falſas, & fluxas eſſe ; verum conſtabiliri novo illo omnimque vaſerrimo cæmento : Papam in fide errare non poſſe. Sic decoro opinionum nexu, compageque vinctam Chriſtianorum credulitatem : interius opinionum proventus, pecuniarumque, quæ tum ab Clero, tum ab populo extorqueretur, immenſam vim ad Papam, curiamque Papalem ſub infinitis nominibus, pervenire. Sæpe audivi* Foxium *narrantem, eam ſibi primam cauſam fuiſſe inquirendi in Doctrinam Pontificiorum, quod res Natura pugnantiſſimas ſimul offerri credentibus vidiſſet : Eumdem ſcilicet Hominem & fidei ſummum, & tamen vita, moribuſque ultimum mortalium eſſe poſſe. Tali autem principio cum animus, obſequiumque ejus primo mutaviſſet, diſſenſio in*

in reliquis ſenſim ſecuta eſt. Prima illi diligentia fuit Eccleſiæ Hiſtoriam omnem tum veterem, tum novam evolvere, cognoſcere quis Eccleſiæ exortus, quæ incrementa, quibus artibus floruerit, quo errore declinaverit, expendere controverſiarum quæ intervenerant cauſas, vim, & quid in utraque parte ſanum, quid egrum eſſet : quo in conatu ſic exarſit ſtudium, & celeritas ejus ut ante trigeſimum Ætatis ſuæ annum, quicquid Patres Latini, Græcive in ſcriptis, quicquid Schola in concluſionibus, quicquid Concilia in Actis, Curia in Decretis reliquerat, id omne, modo obvium eſſet, legendo percurrerit ; in Hebræorum *quoque literis peritiam non vulgarem aſſecutus ſit. Retulerunt æquales ipſius ſolitum illi fuiſſe, ſuper diurnum laborem ; pernoctare quoque in ſtudiis, aut non niſi multa admodum nocte ad quietem ſe recipere. Lucus eſt extra Collegium amœnitate loci, ſtudentium otio, & ambulationibus dicatus : Eum locum, noctemque delegerat, ubi tyronem animum pavidum conſcientia novæ cogitationis, adverſus metum, ipſo terrore ſolitudinis, & tenebrarum firmaret. Quas ibi vigilatas nocteſ, quos fluctus, æſtuſque animi perpeſſus ſit ; quantum ſingultuum, gemitus, lacrymarum precibus apud Deum interfuderit, malim ſilentio tranſiiti, quam in ſpeciem oſtentationis memorari: Sed ideo tradi oportuit, quod hinc prima indicia alienatæ voluntatis eruperunt. Quippe evulgata fama nocturnorum ſeceſſuum, cum ſuſpicaciſſimus quiſque ſuopte ingenio, cæteri ut quiſque ab eo alienior, ita pronior in ſiniſtram interpretationem penderet, tandem familares quoque ejus trahebantur ; immiſſisque qui ſpecie monitionis digreſſus ejus ſermones, actus ſingulos accuratius ſpecularentur. Et erant, qui comparatione priſtinæ conſuetudinis facta atrocius urgerent : Cur infrequentius rem divinam faceret quam ſoleret ? cur vitaret congreſſus æqualium ? Cur ſolatia conjuta dimitteret ? qua mente iſta faceret niſi mutata ? neque occulturum ſi in melius mutaretur. Igitur appetitus rumore, inſidiis, inſimulatione omnium, queſtione ſeverius habita, cum ultra celare conſilium ſuum non poſſet, neqꝫ in mendacio perfugium quærendum putaret, homo ſimpliciſſimi inſtituti, Collegiali judicio convictus, damnatuſque de hereſi, motuſque collegio eſt. Ea ſententia moliſſime cum eo agi dicebant adverſarii, & potuiſſe capitis appellari niſi clementiam maluiſſent. Sed vulnus illud longe ſevius quam pro opinione erat, offenſis eo nuncio neceſſariorum quoq; animis & præſertim vitrici, quem implacabilem ſibi reddiderat ſeu vero odio, ſeu fictо, quo honeſtius ſibi aliquid, jam ſaltem ſecurius in bonis* Foxii *paternis detinendis poſſet policeri. Nam neque lege agere hominem publice invitum, legibuſq; obnoxium tuto poſſe ſciebat ; & Foxius natura vindictæ adeo neſcius fuit, ut ſe læſam aliquando, cum ulciſci poſſet, vix agnoſceret. Deſertum ab ſuis, nudatumq; omni ope humana, divinus favor ſtatim excepit, receptumq; oſtendit in domo optimi, & ampliſſimi viri,* Tho. Lucii, *Equitis* Warwicenſis ; *ad quem accitus eſt liberorum educandorum cauſa : In qua domo uxorem poſtea duxit, aliique permanſit, quoad pueris adultior jam ætas præceptoris neceſſitatem excerat. Sed maturavit diſceſſum ejus major metus inquiſitionum Papalium, quæ favore jam legum ſubnixæ non modo publice delictа venari ſed privatarum quoq; domum ſecreta perrumpere cæperunt. Profectionis illius miſerrimam ſpeciem ſolebat* Foxius *ſupremi vitæ temporibus, multa apud amicos cum animi ſermoniſq; vehementia detеſtari ; cum diceret, alios quidem caſus ſe utcunq; tuliſſe, in hoc id inſuper calamitatis acceſſiſſe, ut eo inhumanior videretur ſe toleraviſſet : Abductam domo & Penatibus conjugem fidei & amoris rariſſimi, cujus luctum & lacrymas, omni pietatis officio ſolari oporteret : Aut medendum igitur ſtatim dolori, aut in fidem amoris ſociandas lacrymas. Nam fruſtra conſtantiæ exemplum dari, ubi ea ſpretam potius ab viro mœſtitiam ſuam, quam non victum tanto malo animum ejus interpretaretur. Conſultanti ſecum quid factu opus eſſet, duæ omnino viæ expediendi incommodi oſtendebantur ; quarum utram eligeret diu incertus animi fuit: ad ſocerumne, an ad vitricum proficiſceretur. Ille loco propinquior, utpote qui civis & proxima civitate* Coventriæ *erat, nondum odio ſui imbutus, & filiæ charitate placabilior : Alter notior erat ſed ſuſpectior. Placuit primum adiri ſocerum : Interim per literas explorari vitrici animum, an reciperetur. Reſponſum ab vitrico eſt : duram conditionem ſibi videri petere, ut is in domum receperetur, quem capitalis admiſſi compertum, damnatumq; ſciebat ? neqꝫ neſcire ſe quanto id cum capitis ſui periculo factурus ſit : verumtamen ſe neceſſitudini omnia tribuere, cujus cauſa pericula ſua ſe negleсturum docebat : veniret ea lege ut ſi mentem mutandum cenſeret eam quam ipſe cuperet apud ſe manendi copiam fore intelligeret : ſin id facere non poſſet eo breviore mora contentus eſſet ; neq; matrem & ſe omnia ſua cauſa parere paratos in diſcrimen fortunarum adduceret. Erant res* Foxii *eo loco, ut nullam conditionem beneficii rejiciendam putaret ; ſimul mater occulti mandatie, ut veniret monuerat ; neq; vitrici ſeveritatem pertimeſceret : ſibi fortaſſe ſcripto opus fuiſſe, cum occaſio eſſet dicta factæ compenſaturum. Benignius ab utroq; tum ſene cero, tum vitrico quam ſperaverat acceptus eſt : ſed poſtulabat res ut neutri loco diu fideret. Crebris hinc inde commeatibus, & æquato inter utrumq; onere id conſecutus eſt, ut tum inquirentium curam negotii ſpecie falleret, & ſatietatem ſui apud utrumq; mitueret. Utcunq; latuit, certum eſt nullum vitæ ejus tempus obſcuriore in poſteros fama fuiſſe quam illud : ſive otio tranſiit, quod vix credibile eſt : ſive eorum qui cognitionem habebant magis intereat ſileri illud poſtea quam noſci. Nam ipſe ſemper eum ſermonem, etiam cum cura vitaverat, ne in maximo merito modicum beneficium prædicando exilitatem potius objectaviſſe, quam ſervaviſſe memoriam videretur. Neq; vero conſtat cujus rei potiſſimum impulſu* Londinum *ſe poſtea tranſtulit ; niſi ſuſpicari libeat illuſtrem loci opportunitate id feciſſe ; utpote qui incolarum, convenarumq; omnis generis abundantiſſimus facultatem ſummam præbebat, ſive occultare ſe mallet, ſive ingenium ſuum proferre, & apud ſimiles ſui noteſcere. Supputatione temporis facta, exiſtimaverim præcipuam ei cauſam adeundi urbem fuiſſe, quod Religionis res tum demum recreari parumper, & revaleſcere iterum apud urbem præſertim cæperunt. Paucis enim annis prius venit, quam* Henricus *Rex humanis exceſſit. Is, uti dictum eſt, quam diu vires & ætatis robur ſuppetebant, ſciſſum in ſtudia regnum ita tamen moderabatur, ut modo æquata partium potentia, modo prævaleſcente altera, utramq; in officio authoritate ſua contineret. Sed poſtquam jam ſenior factus minui indies valetudinem, & finem imminere intellexit ; reputans ſecum quid in partibus fidum ſibi maxime, quid ſuſpectum eſſet, quaq; ætate filium nondum habilem Regno, & innutritum contrariis diſciplinis ſtagrantibus Pontificiorum odiis committeret ; flexit ad id conſilium, quod ratio ſaluberrimum, exitus felicisſimum comprobavit : dejectiſq; de dignitate & de Adminiſtratione Pontificiis, eos filio tutores Teſtamento dedit, quorum voluntatem erga ſe ſemper*

promptissimam fuisse perspexit, eandemque successori mansuram, multa fidelitatis experientia judicavit. Ea res Religioni salutem attulit. Verum ut salus eorum qui Religionem sectabantur magis in securo constituta est; nondum tamen quicquam publici emolumenti, utilitatisque ad ipsos pervenit: unde Foxio stituta est; nondum tamen quicquam publici emolumenti, utilitatisque ad ipsos pervenit: unde Foxio
eadem egestas quæ antea fuit; consumpto quicquid vel necessariis ipsius erogaverant, vel ipse quotidiana industria quæsiverat. Rem miram, & Divinæ miserationis documento insignem superfederem referre; nisi modestiam silentii fama rei celebris frustra faceret. Sedebat quodam die Foxius in Ædæ Paulinæ, inedia longa victus, vultuque, & oculis in supremam morientium torvitatem excæsuatis. Cæteris autem vitantibus tam deformem aspectum; accessit ad eum homo quidam facie incognitus; qui postquam juxta assedisset, familiariterq; salutasset, prehensa ejus dextera incertæ pecuniæ summam illi in manum inseruit; jubens bonum animum haberet, & subjiciens: non quidem se scire quantus infortunii modus esset quo constrictaretur, verum suspicari debere haud levem esse: proinde non gravaretur id abs se populari suo munusculi accipere, quod vel communis humanitatis ratio expresserat: iret, refocillaret animum & vivendi causas reciperet: interim sciret haud multorum dierum intervallo adesse spes novas, & subsidia vitæ certiora. Quis ille mortalium fuerit, cujus opportuna liberalitate ultima illa necessitas depulsa sit, rescirri postea nunquam potuit, quamvis multum admitente Foxio ut detegeretur. Credidere qui vaticinii exitum altius attendebant, hunc non suo, sed aliorum studio missum, qui Foxium omnino salvum esse cupiebant: nam quod extrema prius adierit, quam subventum ipsi esset, in eo fortasse ministri negligentia erratum. Certe eo triduo nondum exacto, præsagii fides impleri visa est; missis ad eum ab Ducissa Richmondensi qui sub honestissimis conditionibus eum in familiam suam perlicerent. Acciderat per eos dies ut Dux Norfolcius, is quem inclytum Militia & Imperatoriis artibus celeberrimum illa ætas vidit, unaque cum eo filius, Comes Surriæ, vir in quantum dici potest vecordissime mentis, acerrimiq; ingenii, incertum quibus criminibus, in custodiam Arci Londinensi traderentur. Dum hi in vinculis erant, liberi Comitis apud amitam præfatam Ducissam educabantur, Thomas qui in Ducatu successit, Henricus postea Comes Northamptonæ, & Jana postea Comitissa Westmerlandiæ. Horum puerilitæ Foxius admotus est, ut & mores eorum regeret & literas doceret. In quo munere prudentissime fœminæ de se judicium minimè fefellit. Nam Thomas & Henricus eos morum, & scientiæ profectus fecerunt, quibus substructa eorum grandior ætas, illum ad id opinionis extulit, ut plus meruisse quam regnum ei conferre posset videretur: hunc ad id felicitatis, ut constet modum fortunæ suæ eum non in hominum judicio, sed in satietate sua habuisse: & Jana græcis latinisque literis in miraculum exculta, doctissimis illius temporis viris de utraq; elegantia concertavit. Interim pertransierunt tempora illa non alias visæ felicitatis, ab supremis Henrici annis, per quinquennium Edvardi sexti, (incomparabilis spei juvenis, & perfecto patris opere omnium Regum opera prætervecti,) ad initia principatus Reginæ Mariæ: qua vetabatur, ex conspectu abisse cernerent, delusi præda reverterentur. Id Foxius simulatque navi egressus est, vulgi Sermonibus edoctus, quanquam multum animo conturbaretur, colligit tamen se, consensitq; propere jumentis, simulat se oppido abire; sed eadem nocte clam reversus, pacisceitur cum naviculario, ut primas ventorum remissiones ad navigandum arripiat: Docet id res suas poscere, neque sua referre, quo continentis littore ejiceretur: pergeret modo, neque dubitaret affuturum pio operi Deum. Sive merces, sive pietas valuit, suscepit homo audacissimi conatus rem, & perfecit. Solvens enim antelucano silentio, favore recursantium æstuum, quamvis sævo adhuc mari, & truculento cælo, Foxium cum suis eo biduo in adversi littoris portu Nauporto salvum exponit. Non illustriore documento qui ista legerit agnoscat, quam certa divinæ providentiæ ratio sit: quam incerta humanæ; cum videat accuratissimas prudentium deliberationes sæpe erroribus everti; interpellari casibus, aut contrariis consiliis superari: idq; fieri ut homines pro disciplina habeant, sic Imperio uti, ut quo plus ex fortuna possunt, tanto se minus ex se posse sciant, neq; impotentes desperent: Deum enim utramq; fortunam ex æquo respicere, hominesq; ortu pares honoribus distingui, non in superbiam, contumeliamve, sed ut utrisq; locus modestiæ pateat, vel adversus utrumq; ultioni.

Jam Foxius, ubi dies aliquot Nauporti, reficiendis ab Nausea corporibus consumpsisset. Antuerpium proficiscitur: inde modicis itineribus Basileam contendit. Ea urbs comitatis atque officii erga nostros singularem tum famam obtinebat: Ob quam causam multi ex Anglia celebres viri sævitiæ temporum se subducentes eo confluxerant: ex quibus qui tenuiori fortuna erant, alius aliter, sed longe major pars recensendis librariorum tipis, preliq; vitiis captigandis vitam tolerabant: quod ea urbs Typographicæ cura, copiaque diligentissimorum, ditissimorumque in ea facultate hominum reliquas Germaniæ urbes id temporis antecedebat, qui nostrorum hominum in ea re studium suorum diligentiæ anteponebant. His se Foxius adjunxit, eo acceptior quod durissima olim disciplina habitus, exercitaque per omnem adolescentiam patientia labores perferre didicerat, quæque aliis miseria videbantur: egestatem, vigilias, inediam perferre; ea illi pro ludo fortunæ erant. Id multis fortasse mirum videri potest, qui Foxium per omnem ætatem gracili admodum corpore, & per senectam tenuissima semper valetudine fuisse meminerunt: sed nemo illius extremam vitæ ætatem attritam, depasta quæ curis, & tum naturæ vitio fatiscentem cum vigore integræ juventutis comparaverit, quam ex tot ejus operibus firmissimam ei fuisse constat, sive in modica structura, erecta artuum membrorumq; compages ad firmitatem sufficiat, sive animus ipse, accensa desiderio honestarum actionum, seipso contentus sit, ad exequendum ea quæ vult, minima corporis administratione adjutus.

Industriæ autem ejus fidem abunde fecerit, quod inter tantas occupationes Historiam suam Actorum Ecclesiæ Basiliæ nihilominus inchoaverit, opus vel ipsius tituli professione mensuram humanæ fiduciæ ferme egressum. Et primo adumbravisse tantum contentus est, tanquam lineas vel stamina duceret, corpus & subtegmen Historiæ postea adjecit reversus in patriam, vulgavitq; primum latino Sermone (mox & plebi gratificaretur,) opusq; ipsum imprimendum Basileam misit, ubi etiamnum in honore est, legiturq; passim per exteras nationes, nostris hominibus fere incognitum, dum externa tantum miramur nostra, vel incuria, vel invidia tramittimus.

tanquam authoritate impetraturum: æternum si id impetrare non posset, provisurum etiam in ea quæ destinavisset. Inerat orationi Ducis eo plus fidei quod ea ab innato animi ejus candore attentissimaq; voluntate proficisci noscebatur, pudutque Foxium non tam facti sui, quam quod fieri id potuisse crediderat. Sed modestia defendebatur. Non enim eadem utrumque decere, & dominum & servum: Duci quidem in gloriam conducere, præceptorem suum inviolatum ab injuria servare: suas partes esse ne incolumitas sua Duci vel perniciem, vel perpetuam sollicitudinem afferret: neque timorem sunm defensione carere: scire se Ducem de fide & benevolentia deduci non posse; circumduci & decipi dolis eum posse non se ignorare. Etenim Wintonienfis etiam tum Norfolcio valde charus habebatur, veteri domus observantia nixus, cujus potentia florneratur. Is officii causa ad Norfolcium ventitare crebro solebat, petereque ab eo, ut Præceptoris sui videndi copiam faceret. Id Norfolcius primo abnuere, excusare ejus absentiam, vel valetudinem, postea prolatare, & eludere. Demum accidit ut dum simul in colloquio essent, Foxius, ignarus Wintonienfem in domo esse, in occursum iis se daret, & viso Wintonienfi, tanquam per verecundiam se subduceret. Percunctanti Wintonienfi quisnam is esset è responsit Dux, medicum suum esse, hominem è Schola rudem: Intulit Wintonienfis placere sibi hominis aspectum, & cum occasio daretur, usurum. Intellecta statim est vox nuntia appropinquantis periculi: neque jam ipse Norfolcius manendum Foxio in ea urbe vel intra idem mare putabat contra vim veteratoriæ astuti & tam manifesti, præveniendam omni modo Wintonienfis egritudinem. Exin necessaria fuga quanto potuit fieri silentio adornantur. Præmissus ad portum Ipsuicensem servus, qui navigium conduceret, & apta itineri compararet: & quoniam in oppidis, locisque publicis morandi parum tuta ratio videbatur, delecta est domus cujusdam ex Ducis famulitio, villici, ubi Foxius commodum mare, & navigandi signum opperiretur. Eo clam Foxius proficiscitur, suscepta comite uxore tum gravida, sed eundi certa, & retinentium precibus invicta; & postquam nuntiatum est expectari illum à comitibus, expeditur ad portum defertur, navemque conscendit. Vix altum tenuerant, cum subito effusus ab contrario littore ventus mare turbavit, tanta fluxus violentia, ut ab firmissimis etiam nautis trepiderarur: tum nox continuis imbribus fœda, nubiumque globus in densissimum nimbum convolutus, & administrationem omnem nauticam impederat, cœlestis calculi rationem ademerat. Ea nocte anchoris vix hærere: ubi illuxit postquam tempestas nihil remittere visa est, conversa in littus prora, vetro adigere navem cæperunt, paulum jam secundante æstu, & tandem superata difficultate sub vesperam postride dici quo solverant, in eundem portum invecti sunt. Interea dum Foxius ad mare esset, lictores à Wintonienfi missi domum villici irruperant. Is mandata habebant, ut Foxium ubicunque capi posset, vincirent, vinctumque ad urbem retraherent. Sed cognito illum discessisse, postquam etiam ad portum usq; insecuti, vix navem qua

propere jumentis, simulat se oppido abire; sed eadem nocte clam reversus, pacisceitur cum naviculario, ut primas ventorum remissiones ad navigandum arripiat: Docet id res suas poscere, neque sua referre, quo continentis littore ejiceretur: pergeret modo, neque dubitaret affuturum pio operi Deum. Sive merces, sive pietas valuit, suscepit homo audacissimi conatus rem, & perfecit. Solvens enim antelucano silentio, favore recursantium æstuum, quamvis sævo adhuc mari, & truculento cælo, Foxium cum suis eo biduo in adversi littoris portu Nauporto salvum exponit. Non illustriore documento qui ista legerit agnoscat, quam certa divinæ providentiæ ratio sit: quam incerta humanæ; cum videat accuratissimas prudentium deliberationes sæpe erroribus everti; interpellari casibus, aut contrariis consiliis superari: idq; fieri ut homines pro disciplina habeant, sic Imperio uti, ut quo plus ex fortuna possunt, tanto se minus ex se posse sciant, neq; impotentes desperent: Deum enim utramq; fortunam ex æquo respicere, hominesq; ortu pares honoribus distingui, non in superbiam, contumeliamve, sed ut utrisq; locus modestiæ pateat, vel adversus utrumq; ultioni.

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Interim in Anglia *fortuna Religioni tandem vicem reddiderat, magnisque momentis res Pontificiorum inclinare denuo cœperunt excessu Reginæ* Mariæ, *fœminæ dum suis moribus ageret egregiæ, tantoque Patre dignæ, sed dum pessimis nihil negat, id consecutæ, ut laude quam meruit careat, quod infamia careat, id insequentium temporum modestiæ debeatur : quibus moris est omnia Principum acta vel laudare, vel certe tolerare. Commutationem fortunæ publicæ præsensisse* Foxium *non affirmaverim, neq; tamen, quod in alio non facerem, fraudabor eum testimonio amplissimi clarissimiq; viri,* Jo. Elmari, *nuper Præsulis hujus civitatis. Is multis qui adhuc superstant præsentibus narrare solitus est se concioni interfuisse qua* Foxius *inter alia quæ consolandi causa apud exules* Anglos *pronunciaret ausus est dicere : Adesse tempus quo Patriæ redderentur, idque se Dei monitu ipsis afferre : Eumque de ea re à grandioribus natu valde reprehensum ; sed excusatum postea exitu prædictionis, postquam collatione temporum repertum est,* Mariam pridiè vita migrasse quam Foxius *ita fore prædixerat. Sensit statim orbis Christianus beneficium immutati in* Anglia *principatus. Deoneratæ exulibus circumvicinæ nationes de hostilium restitutione tanquam in sua fortuna gratulabantur. Domi vero, quid est quod ad salutem, vel solatium quisquam excogitare possit quo homines non prius frui quam sperare inciperent ? Qui domo profugerant revocati : qui carceribus abditi liberati : qui bona amiserant donati : qui dignitate exuti restituti sunt. Leges interim iniquæ abrogatæ : latæ salubres. Pax mentibus, conscientiæ libertas, concordia ordinibus, securitas bonis redierat, ita initia Regni temperante* Elizabetha, *ut quæ sub aliis Principibus, vix longa regnantium felicitas solet producere, ea cuncta sub hujus introitu, tanquam explicante exporrigenteq; se numine superius omnium voto expedirentur. Cujus præcellentissimæ, & post homines ; conditos fulgentissimæ fœminæ mentionem ex quacunq; occasione fecisse, flagitium Scriptoris fuerit, ut non major semper ex se præbita occasio videatur, cur ultra dicatur. Ea matre* Anna Bolena *genita est, quam* Henricus *Rex repudiata priore consorte fecundis nuptiis uxorem duxit. Ab ea in dotem principalis fortunæ Religionis amorem accepit. Adolevit moribus, ingenio, forma, quæ Principem non magis decerent quam facerent ; ut in eadem & absolutissimi operis exemplum Natura, & Fortuna fastigium summæ spei collocasse viderentur. Capaciorem tantæ fortunæ fecit, quod parere prius quam imperare didicerat ; id aliis fucere docta quod ipsi mox alii facerent ; expertaque est in privata vita odium fatale successoribus magnorum Imperiorum, major animo, quam ut satis reponderet. Ut Regnum attigit effulsere simul virtutes ; tamque omnia vitia infra se statim quam homines habuit. Itaque non illi animus ad studium corporis per mollitiem abjectus est. Rationes Regni publicas novisse, adjutores in partem curarum conquirere, Regni partes optimis ministeriis firmare, suorum ingenia callere, externorum Principum copias, consilia, conatus explorare, ea illi rudimenta novi Principatus fuerunt. Possent ista esse minus disturna nisi temperarentur. Nihil illa gravitate amœnius, nihil illa severitate placabilius, nihil illa frugalitate effusius unquam fuit. In iis tantum bonis modum non novit, quorum dignitas non ex contraintentium virtutum libramine, sed in ipsa celsissimarum actionum congerie spectatur. Sic Nobilitatem generis studio gloriæ, Religionem quamvis rectissimam studio sanctitatis, Formam corporis quamvis incomparabilem castitatis perpetuæ proposito cumulavit. Ut mores ad facta transtulit Deus summe quanta tum temporum felicitate fructi sumus ? Quid illa* 44. *annorum pace serenius, vel securius, vel opulentius intra se* Anglia *unquam vidit ? Nam bello neque quemquam sponte lacessivit, & bellandi justas causas potiores semper victoria habuit. Ad* Hibernicum, *dignitas, & recuperandæ Provinciæ pudor, ad* Gallicum *pietas, & miseratio vicini periculi ; ad* Hispanienſe *salus sua, & omnium causarum vim complexa necessitas rapiebat. In hoc bello nobis audivisse, & vidisse contigit quod in nullo alio forsan usu venit. Nam aliæ nationes, quamvis attrocissimis inter se odiis contenderint, certis tamen sedibus locisque dimicaverunt. Hoc bellum tam diffusum, tot in locis, tantisque animis gestum est, ut ubicunque Sol exurgeret, occideretve, ibi* Anglorum, Hispanorumque *acies, per omnia maria, portusque deprehenderet, de vita, de facultatibus, aut de dignitate decernentes. Tum primum mare istud nostrorum Imperio fuetum, externarum navium proris inalbuit. Numerum, speciemq; navigiorum, copiarum terrestrium, navalium q; vim ; munitionis, machinarum, telorum, tormentorum, commeatusq; reliqui modum, quibus illa classis constabat, quam* Philippus *Secundus* Hispaniæ *Rex, extinguendi hujus nominis causa, misit* Anno *sal. hum.* M. D. L. XXXVIII. *vix justi operis volumen reciperet. Sufficerit dixisse, nullum ullo pian maritimum apparatum ab quoquam Regum, Populorumq; potentiſſimorum factum comparandum huic ex omni antiquitatis delectu monstrari posse. Hanc tamen classem tam immanem, tam formidabilem fiducia sui, & præsumpta victoriæ spe tumentem, fortuna invictissimi Principis momento temporis disjecit. Concurrere Classes numero, viribusq; impares. Sed genus pugnæ adversum* Hispanis *fecit, quòd nostræ naves minores & humiliore rostro ædificatæ facilius in ventum circumagi atq; eluctari poterant : quo facto promptum illis fuit* Hispanas *tardiores, & ad insequendum inhabiles, vel vedendo illudere, vel in patentes alveos pugnando certiori ictu vulnerare. Accedebat quòd nostri Duces omnis maritimi officii peritia & notitia æstuum* Hispanos *longè antecedebant. Contra* Hispani *edocti superiorum dierum usu, se nisi stabili pugna nostros sustinere non posse, jactis ante* Caletum *anchoris, ibi & auxilia* Flandrorum *expectabant, & præstantia tormentorum se defendebant. Id nobis rationem victoriæ primùm aperuit. Naves stupa, pice, sulphure, omnisq; generis arida materia infarcire incensaq; prono æstu in hostium classem impellebantur ; tantumq; consternationis ea res improvisa attulit, ut universæ naves sectis properè funibus, in fugam præcipitarentur. Qua in fuga pars navium flamma, pars fluctu hausta est, pars littoribus, scopulisve impacta, pars victibus, aut concursu fugientium lacera, in potestatem nostrorum venerunt. Validiores regredi non ausæ, per* Scotiæ Orcadumq; *extremam oram, & nisi gravitet fugientibus intentatum ullo seculo aequor, immenso marium, terrarumq; circuitu in* Hispaniam *tandem reverterunt. In tanto virtutum victoriarumq; cursu, proximum fuit invideri, ab invidia proximum odio, atq; insidiis peti, quæ, licet integerrima omnium Princeps, sic effugere nequivit, quin salus sua per omnem fere vitam infesta fuerit, in cujus vita omnium fere* Europæ *gentium salus fundata est. Quo magis subit animum mirari, quæ ista præclara adversariorum*

sariorum disciplina sit, pietas quam obtendunt cura virtutes ipsas infectantium ? Quod in nulla non dicam Ethnica sed ne barbara natione usu venit, ut qui modo numen esse scirent virtutem, quæ certe Deo proxima est, vel in hostibus ulciscendam putarent : nisi nobis Religio Christiana ita omnia indulgeat, ut cum inimicis ignoscere præceptum sit, iis aut bonis esse non liceat, aut liceat non esse ignotis. Sed manifestum est alio fine in humanis rebus voluntatem divinam, alio cupiditates hominum versari. Ea Elizabetham *ab inimicorum scelere atque injuria semper prohibuit, eòque perduxit Saturam jam annis, ut quam apud homines gloriam adepta est, eam illibatam cœlo inferret, fraterq; quoque in mortuam grassante invidia, cujus ultor omnis Posteritas est. Nunc ordo operi restituatur.*

Foxius *ubi in* Anglia *letas res, regnare* Elizabetham, *fidumque, & mansurum Religioni statum esse, ex amicorum literis edoctus est, fine ejus anni quo ista gerebantur in Patriam regreditur. Id tempus ad deliberandum sumpserat : ne si qua hominum inconstantia præsentis conditionis pertæsum esset, in casum rursus se dare cogeretur. Sed & tum quoq; familiam trahebat duobus liberis auctus, ut in itineris sumptum necesse esset pecuniam ab domo afferri interim expectari. Ibi cognovit, sinistros de se Sermones jactos esse, tanquam per superbiam tardavisset, in eoq; compendium sibi ad honorem quæsivisset, tanquàm debitum si accivetur. Id intelligebat eorum artificio fieri, qui cum ipsi omni vi ad honores contenderent* Foxium *ut dignum, & si vellet antecessurum metuebant. Neq; ille purgare se tanto crimine, quod iniquitate sua casurum erat, operæpretium sibi esse duxit : Sed juxta injuriarum atq; juris sui negligens se totum in studia abdidit. Quod corporibus nostris contingit, ut ea firmiore valetudine utantur quæ intra modum cibantur excerenturve, quam quæ excedunt, id animis quoq; opinor nostris contingere, ut difficillimè quid in sanitate officiorum perseverare possit, qui si fortuna sui modum non fecit, ipse sibi non fecerit ; contra, qui fortunam per modestiam habuere, ii habitiores & vegetiores ad egregia studia semper fuerint.* Nam Foxio *integrum fuit quàcunq; animus inclinavit ea emergere, multa ingenii fama & præclaris, uti dictum est, amicitiis fultus. Ille non opes neque potentiam, felicium hominum vota, affectavit : sed cum pari cum cæteris virtute esset, conscientiam penes se, præmia penes alios esse libenter tulit. Quod ego factum neque inter laudes ejus prorsus recipio, neque tamen arguo quod multi fecerunt. Concedatur sane bonis viris, ut virtus quemlibet fortunæ locum legat, ubi eniteat : aut si finibus ea arctanda sit, quin ad eos convertere, qui propter spem aliquam boni esse volunt : nam qui gratuitò tales sunt, si eorum gloria non obruare, numerum non reformides. Commemoraturus sum vitam continuam fructibus, non iis quibus legentium sensus hauriuntur, sed solidis veriſque. Non hic bellorum aut pacis illustria facinora narrantur, aut si quæ alia Scriptorum spatia sunt, per quæ captivas hominum aures ducunt. Nobis vita sine strepitu acta, intus, foriſque pudor, continentia, charitas, rerum humanarum contemptus, divinarum ardor, indefessa studia, cuncta in exemplum, vel utilitatem proximi composita dicenda sunt. Demonstratum paulo ante est,* Foxium *dum* Basilææ *esset Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ scribendæ mentem adjecisse ; quod ultimam manum non imposuerat causam fuisse, quo testatius aliquando scribere posset. Id opus Pontificiorum animos varie anxit. Frustra enim tantum ab se effusum sanguinis, frustra susceptam tantæ crudelitatis conscientiam videbant, si horum omnium reddenda posteris ratio esset. Et opus ipsum ex hominum manibus tolli non posse intelligebant. Relinquebatur si salstitatis coargui, & confictis ad id calumniis extenuari fides ejus, atque authoritas posset. Quibus amoliendis, depellendisque ab se dum* Foxius *annititur, evitari non potuit, quin ex tot rerum, testimoniorumq; novo aggestu, legitimum Historiæ limitem multum excederet. Indeque æstimetur diligentia nostri scriptoris, qua non modo tot res ceu materiem operis sui, ex omni temporum, locorumque distantia comportaverit, & utriusque fori acta, tabulasque rerum judicatarum per omnes Regni Jurisdictiones congesserit, sed etiam eas ipsas res partim vetustate tanquam rubigine adrosas, partim eorum qui scripserunt odio vel assentatione depravatas, partim in informi truncaque veterum scriptura latentes, ipse solus, distractissimo conatus genere, primum eruerit, examinarit, ab situ vindicarit, deinde in convenientem structuram redegerit. Undeceimo quam scribi cœptum est anno finitum opus fuisse ex commentariis authoris reperio, ut credibile sit vicinum opus, cujus tam prolixa fuerat fuit. Quo tamen tempore, neq; ipse Amanuensis unquam opera ad scribendum, neq; servi ad alia vitæ ministeria usus est. Tanto plus in se efficacis subsidii industria habet uni tantum rei inserviens, & in se unam collecta, quam extra se licet multis adminiculantibus, si modo ipse in plura dividerit.*

Sæpe apud animum meum instituti inquirere, ex duobus ærumnæ generibus, quæ maxime subire homines dignitatis suæ esse arbitrantur, quodnam usu gravius, atq; asperius reperiatur, militiæne, an studiorum. Pro utroq; multa facere videntur, sed non utraq; juxta in speciem valida. Nam bellandi incommodo non modo iis qui ea præsentur, sed audientibus etiam gravia, ut liberum narrandi egressum, ita pronum in ipsius sensus æstimatione patrocinium habent. Contra meditandi labor, & exercitatio tantummodo in principiorum vitæ tacitis suffragiis vim suam retinet, quorum judex intellectus est. Ita quæstio ad animum corpusq; transfertur, ut ex his duobus, cujus mala alterius malis magnitudine præponderant, id potiorem causam habere existimetur. Mihi neq; definiendæ tantæ litis arbitrium adsumitur, neq; tamen reticebo quid sapientes viros de ea re sensisse intelligo. Id ita se habet. Quæ enim corpori contingunt, etsi ea sæva & acerba vehementer esse possint, eorum tamen extremum semper consuevisse esse, vel defatigationem, vel dolorem, vel denig; mortem, quorum illa altera ad tempus sunt, & remediis eadem ; hanc viri fortes etiam contemnere solent. Jam animus ubi intenditur, etsi paria his genere mala infert, non tamen ultimum illud habet, ut homo defatigetur, vel doleat, sed potius illud quod cum eorum unde homo exisit ruina conjungitur. In his enim malis fieri, ut neq; vacationibus, remissionibusq; laborum fatigatus denuo instauretur, neq; ex copia commodi incommodum arceatur. Ita concludunt, quanto pernicioſius esse, appetentiam somni, cibique, quam somnum ipsum, cibumve auferri, & ex tabe, quam ex vulnere decumbere, tanto plus miseriarum in hoc sobrio, quam in illo luculento militæ genere inesse : in altero nimirum plus voluptatis, in altero plus hominis homini ademptum esse.

Confirmavit

Confirmavit rem ita esse Foxius, *qui cum per tot annos nullum omnino tempus ab cogitationibus scribendi vacuum feciſſet, plurimumque sibi in iis quæ naturæ debentur vel denegaviſſet, vel intempeſtive conceſſiſſet, eo ſe tandem redegerat, ut conſumpto quod corpori inerat naturaliter floridi, ſuccilentique, non ab amicis, non ab propinquis noſci potuerit. Hoc enim initio cæpit primum in eam corporis maciem areſcere, qua multi eum fuiſſe viderunt: neque rediit unquam priſtini vultus decor, aut ſtos, ſed manentibus noxæ cauſis, cum nullo modo dimittendam ſibi conſuetudinem ſuam, aut laxandum ab curis animum putaret, etiam indicium noxæ permanſit. Multus igitur debinc* Foxius *in ore hominum fuit Hiſtorici nomine: Nam reliqua quæ animum ejus incolebant bona, ut minus nota in vulgus, ita notorum magnitudine obterebantur. Mox aliis quoq; artibus cæpit clarescere: neq; modo literis bonus videri, ſed & officiis commodus, & ad juvandum alios non minus arte, quam naturali quadam anxietate comparatus. Sed inſtituta induſtriæ ejus per modum Diariorum componere vetat modeſtia operis: per genera noſci non indecens erit, ut ille conſolando, conſilio, manu infinitorum hominum, aut inopiam ſublevarit, aut deſideria implerit. Hinc nullius domus conſulentium cætibus ; frequentior ea tempeſtate quam* Foxii *fuit. Adiere eum cives, pariter atq; Advenæ ; illuſtres, atq; plebei ; etiam infimæ conditionis homines. Una fere omnibus adeundi cauſa ; conſcientia vulnera: His medela quærebatur. Tandem ægri quoq; corpore portari cæpti. Id fieri vetuit ut rumoribus occurreret: nam quia duci, etiam ſanari dicebantur. Cum autem per talia officia domi diem eximeret, tum foris etiam frequentiſſime prædicando, adeundoq; eos ab quibus ipſe adiri non poterat, & quod humanitatis ſuæ erat implevit, & quod paſtoris munus erat non intermiſit. Reliquum tempus quod ſibi amicorum vel digreſſus, vel pudor fecit, non amenitati, aut ſommo, ſed vel orationi, vel ſtudiis addixit, & utriſque ſecretum adhibuit loci, vel noctis, niſi qua crumpentes pectore gemitus ex propinquo audiſti orantis impetum prodebant: Nam nocturnæ curæ finem nemo unquam ; lux nova ſæpè deprehendit. Cum hæc ita ſint, ſcio tamen futurum, ut multi hæc à me tanquam nimis aridè decurſa reprehendant, poſtulentq; res ipſas, teſtes officiorum produci, aut ſaltem in unoquoq; genere ſingulare aliquod factum proferri quo fides de reliquis ſecurior ſit. Id vero ne facere poſſem multis prohibeor. Primum quod conſcientiæ depoſita efferri in vulgus vel ipſa humanitatis ratio vetat: peſſimoq; exemplo fecerit, qui arcana domuum, neceſſariorum controverſias, clandeſtinos hominum lapſus, cujuſque quemq; in vita vel pudet, vel pœnitet, non omni modo celanda potius, quam enarranda exiſtimet. Deinde quod hæc ipſæ res, quæ ſecretiſſimis colloquiis tranſigi conſueverunt ad noſtram cognitionem pervenire nullo pacto potuerunt, aut ſiquæ ſuſpitionibus emanarunt, unumq; aut alterum tale exemplum prodatur, at quota id pars diſſolvendæ fidei fuerit? Jam ultimum illud induſtriæne, an ingenii dicam argumentum profuratur? Hunc virum qui ſe adeo totum amicorum uſibus condonaſſet, ut nihil ſibi ad eam curam reliqui faceret, ſic tamen interim ſcripſiſſe tanquam nihil aliud facere videretur. Libros quos ſcripſit eorum cauſa quibus id gratum erit adjungere hoc loco viſum eſt: Ii ſic circumferuntur: Comœdiarum lib. 2. Syllogiſticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Chriſto gratis juſtificante. De Chriſto Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Oſorium de Juſtitia. Meditationes ſuprà Apocalypſim. Rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum Comentari Latine. Alterum & Monumentorum Eccleſiæ Anglicè.*

Perventum jam eſt ad id, unde ſimul in totam reliquam Foxii *vitam proſpectus datur. Id vero legentibus (opinor) pergratum accidere debet, perinde atq; in itinere hominibus ſuſvenire videmus, ut qui ſe multum locis aſperè, ſaltuoſiſq; fatigaverint, ii poſtquam campos, & planitiem aperuerint, ipſa variantis ſoli ſpecie refici, & tanquam renovari videantur. In hoc veluti tractu morum occurrit primum quod facile primum in virtutibus* Foxii *fuit: Omnium ſcilicet rerum quæ hominibus maxime in pretio ſunt, voluptatumq; imprimis deliberata contemptio. Quod illi ſive ab Natura ingenitum, ſive ab diſciplina hauſtum, ſive divinitùs datum, neceſſe fuit, ut magnam ei facultatem afferret, præclare quicquid vellet faciendi: cum nihil ſit quod animum per ſe rectæ iturum in prava detorqueat quin id ab aliqua voluptatum tanquam inſidiatore, ſpeculatoreq; itineris noſtri proficiſcatur. Cum hoc tamen hoſte rem ſic habuit* Foxius, *ut qui non fuga aut latebra incolumis eſſe vellet ; ſed qui potiſſimum cuperet uſu congrediendi, & notitia certaminum, tum vobur ſibi augeri, tum aliis exemplum reſiſtendi dari: ſolituſq; eſt dicere, nihil eos magnum facere, qui res, & negotia eo ſine deſererent, ne capi ſe, aut deliniri ab iis paterentur: Res enim ipſas natura innocentes eſſe: nocere tum incipere, cum nimium æſtimentur, cupiunturq; quam cupiditatem qui irrumpentem, inferentemq; ſe propellere poſſet, eum uberito temperantem eſſe ; qui in nullo unquam periculo fuerit, cum non tam propria virtute quam occaſionis defectu bonum videri. Itaq; neque ille illuſtres amicitias unquam recuſavit: non quo ſibi honori eſſent, ſed quod in iis magnum uſum commendationis ſuæ, quoties aliquem ab ſe adjutum vellet fore intellexit. Pecunias ab divitibus oblatas accepit, ſed quas in pauperes refunderet. Etiam eonvivia amicorum multoties celebravit: non animi cauſa, cum cibi pareiſſimus eſſet: Interveſſe voluit cum urbanitatis cauſa, tum ne quis exiſtimaret ſe luctam, & certamen voluptarii congreſſus reformidare, vel refugere, aut adverſus epularem laſciviam abſentiæ, quam moderationis ſuæ præſidio munitiorem ſibi videri. Breviter dicam: In his rebus ad quas voluptas conſequitur* Foxium *ſic eſſe verſatum, ut conſtet neminem eorum qui una ſemper adſuimus meminiſſe poſſe ejus vel vocis, vel factì, quo ille, vel leviſſimam cupiditatem prodiderit: adeoque non honoris, non pecuniæ, non laudis, aut cujuſpiam externi boni aut avidum, aut appetentem fuiſſe. ut ne rei quidem familiaris curam intrare animum ejus ullo tempore, nedum vinci eum aut abduci domeſticis cogitationibus patueret. Quam ego ejus ſive ſecuritatem, ſive, ut alii appellarunt, in propriis fortunis ſocordiam, unde profecta ſit, alio loco demonſtrabo.*

Interim, dum mecum cauſas conſidero, propter quas ille vir reliquia omnia tantopere ſpernenda cenſeret, cum præſertim id neque ab parva ambitione, multoque minùs ab ſomno, aut torpore animi profectum exiſtimari poſſit ; compertum habeo: unum amorem divinum fuiſſe, quo perfuſus, atque impletus animus ejus, non locum non affectum ad reliquas voluptates relinqueret, ultroq; ipſe ſe ſeculo tanquam

tanquam abrumperet, alioqui ſeculi non incapacem. In hanc ille curam abſorptus, tanquam qui ingentis gazæ theſaurum reperiſſet, ac zelo retinendi quæ repererat hunc unum oculis, atq; animo obſervare, nihil præter hunc in ſpe, atq; expectatione habere, hanc metam omnium votorum cupiditatumq; facere inſtituerat. Quo factò id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere neceſſe fuit, ut qui animum ejus ſic penitus deſixum in Deo contuebantur, multaq; eum & facere, & loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem egrederentur, non illum afflatus Divini expertem eſſe crederent, neq; jam ut pio honorem, ſed ut cæleſti viro venerationem, vitio hominum ad ſponte culta inſanientium attribuerent. Non ſubtraham quicquam juſtæ fidei, neq; ſublandiar famæ. Multa per occaſionem conſolandi, aut terrendi monuit Foxius, *non vano exitu. In multis etiam forsiſſe falſus eſt: Demonſtratum antea eſt, quæ conſtantia Sermonis* Baſilææ *dum eſſet apud extorres* Anglos, *de reditu ipſorum pronunciavit. Circumfertur illud de* Anna Hennagia, *lectiſſima, nobiliſſimaq; fœmina reſponſum ejus celebre. Decumbebat ea febre rapidiſſima, jamque eo malum creverat, ut medici exitiale eſſe pronunciarent. Vocatus ad ſuprema ejus* Foxius, *cujus ad animæ regimen conſilio, & fide plurimum utebatur. Poſtquam quæ viſa ſunt ad conſolationem ægræ expoſuiſſet, peraſtaque; cujus cauſa veneret re Divina? Tu inquit recte, atq; ex officio feciſti, quæ te in omnem exitum compoſueris: ſed ſcito, me interruncio, te ex hoc morbo minime eſſe interviturum. Inter aſtantes forte tum erat genere* Hennagiæ Moyleus Finchius, *eques ampliſſimus atq; clariſſimus hodie vivens. Is dicti novitate permotus, ſive ſtudio plura eliciendi, digreſſum paululum ab turba* Foxium *filò jurgio adoritur: Mirari ſe dicens, qua mente feciſſet, ut contra quam res, & periti artis judicabant, imperitus ipſe, de ægritudinis ſine ſtatuendum putaret, eoq; facto mulierem, ſexu ipſo mobilem, adhuc tamen interritam, ad impatientiam moriendi, ſpe, atq; expectatione vitæ converteret: ſi inter vivos referri ſocrus ſua poſſet, nullius latitiæ juſtiores eſſe cauſas quam ſuæ ; ſin moriendum illi ſit, nulli minus conveniſſe, id diſſimulare, quam ei qui in animum conſuleret. Vehementer igitur ſe pro amicitia vereri, ne ille magnam partem opinionis, quam de fide, atq; modeſtia ejus homines habebant eo intempeſtivo dicto deperdidiſſet. Ad quæ renidens* Foxius *reſpondit: per ſe non ſiare quo minus quiſq; quod ei collibitum eſſet, de ſe ſentiret: ſed de ægra ſic viſum Deo, ut eo morbo non extingueretur: idq; ſe demandato dicere. Convaluit fœmina, neq; mendacio locus eſt, viventibus etiamnum qui poſſent arguere. Simile huic erat illud de* Maria Honivoda, *illuſtri imprimis matrona, neq; minus fidum. Ea viginti jam prope annos tabe melancholica laboraverat, neq; contra vim terrimi morbi ſatis in quoquam conſilii, animive ſupereſſe videbatur ; quanquam adhibitis melioribus, quiq; aliquam præ cæteris vel artis, vel facundiæ commendationem habebant. Placuit tandem* Foxium *quoq; acciri. Qui una ierant retulerunt ſe mœſtiorem illa, afflictioremque domum nunquam introiviſſe. Aſſidebant quotidie per officium ægræ familiares, propinqui, liberi, ſervi, pars ſedilibus affixa, pars humi ſuſa, non ſtentes, gementeſque, quod vulgo fit ; ſed conſumptis lacrymis, contumaci ſilentio: ſub ſpecie humana tot ſimulachra mœrentium diceres ; itaque non aſſurgere venientibus, non interrogati reſpondere, tanquam id quoque luctum deceret: Ipſa ægra, projecta ſpe vitæ jacebat in lectulo, inter denſa ſuſpiria, obſcurum quid pectore expromens, cujus ſumma erat, quod exoluſ ſe cuperet. Cum tantum egrorum præ manibus* Foxius *haberet, neque contra violentiſſimum doloris renixum quicquam fruſtra tentari placeret ; ne rationem quoque habere videretur qui ratione vicit non eſſent, reliqua omnia demulcendi doloris remedia dimiſit: ſi quid ad ſanandas eorum mentes pertinebat, id precibus diligenter immiſcuit. Ita conſuetudine paucorum dierum effecit, ut qui humana ope ſanari ſe poſſe diffiderent ultro ſanescere viderentur: Cum tandem charior factus pronunciaret coram plurimis, futurum, non modo, ut ægra ex ea tabe convaleſceret, ſed ut quam exteniſſimam in ſenectam vita ejus protolleretur: Quo Sermone audito, ægra paululùm excitata, &* Foxium *acriter intuita: Qua eadem inquit ratione, ſe ego vitrum hoc in parietem adegero, confidam fore, ut non frangatur: Tenebat autem in manu ciathum vitreum, ex quo biberat, projecitque: neque vas caſu impactum primo in ciſtellam lecto attiguam, & poſtea ſolo illapſum, ulla ex parte commimutum eſt. Acceſſitque omini fides: Reſtituta enim valetudini paulò poſt mulier, tum ſexagenaria, duravit in exemplum rariſſime in ſobole ſalicitatis, qua ante nonageſimum ætatis ſuæ annum (nam diutius vixit) ſexageſimum ſupra trecenteſimum nepotem, abnepotemve numeravit, ex liberis quos genuerat *.*

* In quibus hodie. Antonio alnivirum ſalut: humi. ſa fci. quo hæc edito tumori, ſuperfit filia dicta Mercelia ſima ſemina ſtratio Hennagiæ vidua nuptiſſima, atque clariſſimi viri a Michaelis Hennagiæ, quæ & hæreditate nata ſuperſtite nomorata red gethy, teſtis familiaris, atque incorruptior quam ut de fide ejus fatis dubitare.

Hujus generis alia complura referri poſſent, ſed defunctis ferme quorum conſcientia fulcimur, non precabor fidem quam nequeo obligare. Quæ ſequuntur vulgatiora fama ſunt, quam ut teſtimonii egeant. Ierat Foxius *per conſuetudinem veteris officii, ad* Arundelium *comitem filium* Norfolcii, *hujus excellentiſſimi viri patrem: Eum digredientem ab ſe* Arundelius, *qua erat comitate, ad ripam horti ſui deduxit: cum animadverteret ſtumem, coorto repente vento fluctibus intumeſcere hortatus* Foxium *eſt, ne ſe tam infeſtis aquis committeret. Ille inſtitutum itineris ſequens. Ita (inquit) Comes, mihi ab iſtis aquis eveniat, ut ego tibi omnia vera, & ſincera quæ dixi tradidi: ingreſſuſq; cimbam eſt, neq; prius ab ponte ſolverant, quam ventus remittere, ſtumenq; placidius fluere cæpit. Interrogatus ſæpè ab amicis cur ad familiares anguſtias tandem non reſpiceret, quod primum charitatis præceptum eſſet, ut ſuas res quam aliorum magis curatas commendataſq; haberet: reſpondit, curatorem ſe habere rerum ſuarum ex pacto Deum: Illi notum quid ſibi, aut quando conduceret: Haſtenus non ſeſellisſe: quando inciperet dubitare ut non ſimul ingratus eſſe inciperet? Hæc atq; alia, cum homines vulgo mirarentur, quid tamen in his illud ſit quod* Foxio *propriè in laudem hæreat non præſumpſerim affirmare: ſive animus ipſe, quanto purior, delicatiorq; eſt, tanto longius proſpectat, ſive aliqua alia occultior cauſa ſit, propter quam Deus patefacere conſilia ſua per homines aliquando dignetur neſcios, ſed loqui coactos. Feſtinandum ad alia eſt ; in quibus nihil erat quod magis ſtudia hominum in* Foxium *vertit, quam ea qua in pauperes, & egenos omnis generis uſus eſt miſericordia ; reperiaſq; qui affirment: Foxium non pecuniam modo, ſed & veſtem, & ſupellectilem, ipſumq; domus ſuæ inſtrumentum clam uxore pauperibus dilargiri ſolitum. Quod ego ne pro vero tradam verecundia teneor. Nam quod multa in reliquis* Foxii *moribus ſtudio hominum vel ficta, vel in majus exaggerata compererim, ne id quoque in hac parte contigerit vehementer debeo ſuſpicari. Donavit quidem* Foxius *pauperibus largi-*

ter,

ter, in eaque re fuarum ipse virium modum egressus est: sed neque quod ad dissipationem domus suæ liberalitas ejus unquam progressa est, ullum dignum authorem habeo: neq; convenit, qua ipse aliorum liberalitate adjutus est, qui pecuniam illi Eleemosinæ nomine copiosissime subministrabant, illum ad tam extraordinaria subsidia dilapsum. Quas omnes virtutes tanquam vallo clausit insignis vitæ modestia, atque integritas, ut nihil alienum in mores ingredi, nihil foras in facta prodire posset, misi summa diligentia excussum, examinatumque an deceret. Cujus etiam objectu, si quid intus, per humanæ imbecillitatis sortem, vacillare contingeret; ne tamen id in magnum morum detrimentum abiret providebatur, sublato undiq; corruptelarum omnis generis commercio, contra quas perpetuis stationibus, atq; custodiis pudor peccandi & decoris sui cura excubabant. Interim tamen non defunt qui Foxium summe in se iniquitatis incusent: id autem quale sit, quoniam ad plures ea injuria pertinere videtur altius investigabimus.

Foxius in ea parte Historiæ, qua luctuosum illud quinquennii Reginæ Mariæ incendium describit, multos nominaverat, non authores modo cladium, sed etiam ministros, adjutoresque; inter quos etiam aliquos illustri loco viros. Id horum posteri Foxium injuste fecisse queruntur: neq; debuisse necessitatem illam fatalem temporum, modestiam parendi, aut imposita publice ministeria, aut ipsis, aut posteris ipsorum ignominiæ esse. Quibus tametsi justissime respondetur eandem quam ipsi pro majorum facto afferunt necessitatis excusationem, pro Foxio quoq; valere debere; aliter enim calumniæ locum relinqui, si ministri non ederentur: his tamen ego longe aliter quam pro jure satisfactum velim: Cupere enim, ut quod factum sit, id ita fieri omnino necesse non fuisset: petere etiam, ne quod fortuna lesorum factum est, id animo ledendi factum arbitrentur: monere tamen interim, ne dolorem suum cum eorum iracundia misere velint, qui Foxio longe alia de causa succenseant, & sub personarum invidia aliam rem proscindunt. Duplex enim genus animadvertas eorum, qui nomine posterorum se lesos ferunt: altorum natura: factione alterum. Illis uti dixi humanitatis fructus debetur, atq; conceditur: irati sint, sed interim cives, atq; in officio sint: Neque ego cujuspiam boni civis, quamvis injustum dolorem, ita contemnerem, ut non potius quam ille de fide, ego de jure meo decederem: Cum his alteris longe alia res est: quibus nimirum contigit, patriæ prius iratis, quam Foxio, illamq; primam, & veram causam odii habere, hunc non nisi patriæ causa odisse. Quibus ego non modo satisfactionis ullam, sed ne quod hostibus conceditur, vel expostulationis gratiam deberi existimo. Sustulerunt ipsi fidem commercii, spem reconciliationis; societatis, humanitatis, fœdera omnia diremerunt. Quid enim eum vel pro sano, vel pro homine posthæ facturum sperem, qui patriæ charitatem potuit deponere? Ea una sic omnium officiorum vim, atque jus in se trahit, ut nullum gravius judicium sit, quo quisq; animo in Deum affectus sit, quam quanta in patriam charitate exciterit. At patria ipsa desciit. Primum id in controversia est, desciverint, & quantum desciverit: extra controversiam est, debere eos omnem suum dolorem patriæ dimittere. Deinde quam duri illud oris est, cujus nimirum litis cognitionem solus Deus potest suscipere, ejus litis litigatorum, judicem se facere, neq; modo eam quæ inter homines gravissima est authoritatem non sequi, sed neq; vel patriæ provocandi, neq; ipsi Deo spacium determinandi velle concedere; sed omnia sædis, proterviisque factis ante capere, tanquam vitæ causa, & potius hostibus scelus suum commodare, quam optimæ patriæ præstare officium? ut si contingeret prælariissimam hanc patriam (quod tamen humana conditio facile recipit) contra Deum ulla in parte delinquere: at pernicioissima exempla perfidiæ monstraverint, si quotusquisq; animum perdentæ patriæ sumpsit, is excusatione patrii delicti non modo liberasse se scelere, sed id quod juris sui est feciisse videatur. Quæ eo pluribus quoniam intelligo in nostris etiam multos esse, qui reprehendendum Pontificiis de maledictis in Foxium censent: Quibus ut paucis obsequar. Primum quid illud maledicti est quod jaciunt? Mendacem scriptorem esse: Igitur mendacium est Rogerium, Cranmerum, Hoperum, Ridleyum, Latimerum, alios q; ejusdem porticus sanctissimos atq; innocentissimos viros Religionis causa esse exustos. Sin illa, vel ipsorum confessione, vera sunt, quænam tandem illa sint quorum vitio totum reliquum opus in mendacii infamiam abierit, quod suis perfuadent? Nonnulla affirmunt in nominibus, in temporibus, in numeris errata; quæ partim in sequentibus editionibus retractata sunt, partim ab ipso authore ita defensa, ut eo vivo nemo amplius oblatraret. Nonnulla etiam afferunt in superioris seculi Historia ab Historicis ipsis contradicta, quod facilimum fuit, in tanta discordantium Authorum pugna, ut quemcunque Authorem secutus sit in eundem scopulum impingeres. Ejusmodi tamen omnia afferunt, quæ neque si vera, nobis valde curæ sint, neque illis si falsa. Demus tamen illis aliquid, si placet; simus liberales in Foxii jure: Si ego ista falsa quæ faciunt de Historia penitus excerpsero, pelliceanturne mihi passures se reliquum opus in suorum manibus libere versari? Non magis ferant conditionem quam pacem. Quid his hominibus faciat, qui neque datis neque negatis acquiescunt? Jam illud quoque quantæ proteruiæ est, exigere ab ullo Scriptore, ut in cursu longi operis, dum innumerabiles res unius homines labore persequitur, nusquam vel hallucinetur? ut si Cæsarem contingat, quo in loco Britanniam nostram describit, de circuitu, vel trajectu insularum paucis milliaribus dissentire ab eo quod hodierna dimensio reperit, idcirco absolutissimus Scriptor mendacii postuletur. Scripsit ille bella, expeditiones q; suas, quod institutum operis fuit, ea fide qua debuit: in reliquis secutus est famam; credidit renunciantibus; noluit in re non nimis necessaria esse accuratus. Atq; hæc ex nostrorum potius hominum opinione, quam quod id faciendum putavi responsum est. Quod si illi ipsi respondendum sibi postulent, alia cum illis conditione agam. Redeant ad obsequium, Satisfaciant patriæ, Discedant ab hostibus: cum nullum publicum crimen illis adhæreat, sum privatas offensiones prosequantur. Sin perseverare adhuc in studio volunt, deinde post quam omnem spem, famamq; consumpserint, maledictis terrere incipiant; næ ego facile concedam, ut quem anteactæ vitæ fructum ceperint, eam orationis quoq; laudem habeant: ita utrumq; decus obtineant, ut neq; maleficio, neq; convitiis quisquam cum iis possit contendere. Si ista durior conditio videatur: Æquent saltem dignitatem inviso operis. Sint Authores pari fama: Honestius certamen fuerit, si quanto suo compendio vicerint, tanto suo detrimento vinci possint. Quodsi per libellos, & furtivas declamationes obtrectando æterno operi, eo pacto nomen suum famæ studeant inserere, neque virorum, sed mulierculorum animis per convitia adrepant, quis ita demens est, ut quæ scripta contemnendo perire statim faciat, ea oppugnando faciat diuturniora?

Jam

Jam porrò, ut ipsi intelligant quantum Foxio ad dignitatem potius, quam ad contumeliam illa eorum virulentia contulerit, panca contrà de æquitate ejus erga ipsos dicam. Epistolas ejus proferre possum, quibus persuadet Proceribus, iisque qui tum summam in regno authoritatem habebant, ne Ed. Campianum, reliquosque ejus conjurationis socios capitis condemnari permitterent, neve invesregascere in Regno consuetudinem illam sinerent, ut Pontificii morte potius, quam aliquo alio supplicii genere plectrentur. Et ne videretur ipsud ex naturæ suæ tantum bonitate, & non judicio animi deceret, multis rationibus apud eos probare contendit, quantum illud ad diminutionem causæ suæ pertinebat, si in constituendis suppliciis judicium potius adversariorum, quam suam clementiam sequerentur. Multo enim magis debere eos conniti, ut quos justitia vicissent, eos mansuetudine quoque & misericordia vincerent. Hæcque sæpius inculcabat, etiam ad offensionis periculum ausus deprecari; cum illi contra ostenderent: Majestatis esse rem, non controversiæ. Verti in eo exemplo vitam Principis, publicam libertatem, possessionem Regni: debere subditos periculo suo moneri, ne patrias facultates prodigere condiscant: eam Regni rationem esse, ut si sua bona intra se servare consenserit, nihil illo sublimius aut securius esse possit: quantum enim ab ea felicitate defecerit, id nostrorum hominum transfugiis, & conjurationibus esse decussum. Perstitit tamen in sententia Foxius, & cum nihil precibus proficeret, dolorem tamen suum multo gemitu testari solitus est, quoties quempiam ex iis morte affectum esse audiebat. Visa æquitate ejus in homines non alienum fuerit adjungere quid Foxius in universum de Romana Ecclesia, ejusque Pontifice senserit, quatenus id ex ejus sermonibus elici potuit, cum jam maturus annis judicium suum multo rerum usu roborasset. Ejus sententiæ capita hæc sunt.

Romanæ Ecclesiæ primam, antiquissimamque inter Christianos dignitatem semper fuisse: Eam ei dignitatem opinionemque multis postea seculis manssse; authoritatem paulatim accrevisse, non consensu, vel jure, sed inclinatione, & consuetudine quadam serendi, ut quos multum aliis præstare contingit, ii plurimum quoque apud eosdem valere, iisque tandem imperare incipiant: præcipua autem tum dignitate, tum authoritate apud hæc Occidentis Regna valuisse; quorum ut unumquodque Religionem Christianam maxime appetebat, ita in eo studio Romanorum potissimùm pietate & labore sublevabantur: unde neque male earundem Ecclesiarum matrem dici meruisse: Occasionem tanto incremento dedisse urbem Romam veteri gloria, & fato quodam imperandi monstratam terris; quæ etiam cum ipsa omni tempestate ingentis animi, atq; virtutis viris abundarit, tum frequentia, & opibus, & opportunitate loci, & quod Imperatorum occulis subjecta erat, facile contulerit, ut initio Christiani neque Congregari usquam facilius, neq; sustentari copiosius, neque latere tutius, neq; cum opus esset mori constantius reperirentur: unde illis admirationem, & gloriam in posteros accessisse. Sed initia Ecclesiæ rectissimis potius disciplinis, & sanctitate spectata hominum, quam divitiis floruisse. Nihil in Ecclesiasticorum moribus dissolutum, nihil fastus, ambitionisve. Pecuniam, servos, villam, gemmas ignota ipsis bona. Omnia vel pudore, vel carendo coercita: ut non aliud quam Romæ Christianæ fidei domicilium esse videretur: Atq; hæc quo magis finitima principiis essent, eo magis curæ fuisse: recessu paulatim diffluere, & corrumpi cæpisse, more fluminum, quæ prope fontem minora sed limpidiora, quanto longius progrediuntur, tanto conspectiore alveo, sed turbidioribus aquis fluunt, donec recepto tandem mari, insalubres quoq; ea reddantur, & cum nullo in loco momenta primi discriminis deprehendas, extremorum tamen comparatione diversissimas esse statim perspicias. Ita enim Ecclesiæ usu venisse, ut postquam traduxis ad fidem Christianam nationibus, ex dignitate Imperii visum esset sacerdotes, quod in veteri Religione consueverant, non inopem, sed liberalem vitam ducere, ejusque causa multa ab Imperatoribus tum in ornamentum, tum in præmium Ecclesiasticis concederentur, eo initio Sacerdotes pecuniam primo adamare cæperint, tum paulatim ex copia lascivire, & laborem aspernari, ex hoc (ut prioribus vitiis semper, addit, pejor Posteritas) potentiam cupere, cujus potitos, & Imperatorum munere principatum Ecclesiæ adeptos, non prius destitisse, quam dejectis quorum beneficio creverant Imperatoribus, & Imperii jura invaderent, & utrumq; humani generis regimen expostularent: Interim Religionis quam majores ipsis tradiderant normam omittere; Scripturas neq; multum ipsi scrutari, neq; aliis ut id facerent permittere; cultumq; divinum non in Obedientiam fidei, sed in externis devotionibus, & magnificentia sacrorum habere.

Quibus ex rebus factum esse, ut Ecclesia Romana, ut cuncta alia immoderata imperia, non solum de gradu, & fastigio dignitatis cecidorit, sed & vim ipsam, statumq; Ecclesiæ in seipsa labefactarit: neq; id mirum videri debere, si ut nulla corpora contingit lethalius ægrotare, quam quæ sunt sanissima, ita contigerit principi Ecclesiæ, ut nihil medium ei conveniret, quin aut in absolutissima sanitate maneret, aut in pernicioissimum hostem evaderet; unde etiam Papam Antichristum videri.

Utcunq; in tam manifesto negotio, debere tamen utramque partem non nimium Argumentis fiduciæ suæ tribuere; neq; nimio studio impedire, si qua hominum æquitate, res ad sanitatem, atq; concordiam deduci possit. Non nostrarum fortasse virium fuisse, Romæ antiquum decus, & confirmatam in hominum mentibus Religionis opinionem eripere. Romanam Ecclesiam sua avaritia, ambitione, prævaricatione concidisse. Sed neminem unquam in delinquendo eo progressum, quo pœnitentia non penetravisset. Debere dari ut regressum ad pœnitendum, ita modus, & spatia pœnitendi: fortasse etiam authorem disciplicisse quod Germanus, aut Gallus, & non è natione sua Italus erratorum admonuisset. Exoriri aliquando inter ipsos posse, cujus authoritate non pudeat ad sanitatem reverti, jacturamque potentiæ suæ pacì terrarum condonare: Id modo quantulumcumq; spei relinqui ita fore, quod in Capitibus ipsis fidei non ultra peccaverint quam quod ea non nimium nosci patiantur. Conditiones concordiæ esse, Si Pontifex Rom. omnes eas opiniones velit deserere, ex quibus pecunia sit: nihil egrius populo persuaderi, quam Christum servatorem Ecclesiæ suæ, pecuniæ artes, & mundinationem sacrorum præcepisse. Si abrenunciet seculo, neque sibi aut juris, aut negotii quicquam in alienis Regnis esse existimet. Si contra adversarii ejus non recusent aliquem esse, qui in re Religionis principem consilijs & administrationis locum inter Christianos obtineat: eam rem postquam metus abfuerit, multas secum utilitates afferre: neque contra Ecclesiam Rom. quin ea præseratur, debere magis valere, quod aliquando ceciderit, quam pro ea facere, quod prima floruerit. Hæc autem quo rectius fiant Concilio Christianorum permitti debere, cujus ea æquitas sit, ut neq; ex loco in quem conveniatur, neq; ex numero suffragiorum, cujuspiam unius potentia, aut gratia quicquam sibi in reliquorum injuria possit pollicari.

Inte-

Interim dum hæc fiant pertinere multum ad famam celeritatemq; componendi; sic hominum mentes deinceps informari, ut utring; de alteris melius & sperare & sentire incipiant: Præcipue autem debere homines ejus pertinaciæ oblivisci, qua utraq; pars, dum se solam Ecclesiam esse vendicat, excludit alteram: id enim non impium modo, sed & contumeliosum summe in Deum esse, existimare, eum sic mandata sua hominibus dedisse, ut obtemperantibus in perniciem vertantur: quod necessario futurum, si cum omnes homines idem sentire nolint, qui plus aliis intelligendo dissenserint, ab iis reliqui arceantur: An igitur solis intelligentibus, & magna rerum scientia præditis cælum servari? Ubi igitur fatuos seculi futuros, ubi pueros, quos Christus sibi se posse fuit? quanto, rectius Deum coli, exequendo ea quæ manifesta sunt, quam interpretando quæ sunt ambigua? quanto, probabilius esse tantam videri Dei misericordiam, ut convenientibus de summa obsequendi nihil aliud fraudi esse possit? eam vim obedientiæ esse, ut ea sola omnes inæqualitates apud Deum exæquet: quod si par omnium ratio non sit, sanè apud Deum longe potiores eos esse, qui modestius judicarint.

Ab inimicis ad amicitias Foxii *transeo; inter quas dictum est, quanto semper studio ab Duce* Norfolcio *dilectus est, cujus & opibus vivi, & pensionibus mortui alebatur, quas nimirum ratas fecit liberalitas Filii ejus, Illustrissimi Comitis* Suffolciensis, *ad quem ii reditus pertinebant. Auxit fortunam ejus* Wilhelmus Cecilius, *Thesaurius Regni, vir omni oratione major, quem tanti* Elizabethæ *intererat, ministrum sibi habere, quanti Regni interest, Elizabetham habere Principem, certe q; dignissimus, qui in ea patria, & sua & posterorum fortuna floreret, quam is omnium florentissimam sapientia & consilio suo effecerat. Is Rectoriam Shipmiensem, ab Regina, donum* Foxio *impetravit, nulla alia re adductus, nisi publicum ob meritum: cumq;* Foxius *cunctaretur, & more suo veniam recusationis ab eo peteret, modestiam viri solertia sua expugnavit: neq; accipere se repulsum dixit, neq; meruisse, ut rejecti ab eo beneficii Regii, tanquam ab se pugnavit: neq; accipere se repulsum dixit, neq; meruisse, ut rejecti ab eo beneficii Regii, tanquam ab se aversi, culpa penes se esset. Comitibus* Bedfordiensi, & Warwicensi *perquam gratus fuit, ob similitudinem morum ipsis commendatus.* Francisco Walsingamio, *Secretario Regni intimus fuit, impigerrimo, sapientissimoq; viro, meritoq; qui Secretariatus vim primus intenderet.* Hennagios *fratres summe dilexit,* Thomam & Michaelem, *sed illum elegantia morum ejus electus, hunc ob solidæ fidei, & singularem vitæ modestiam, ambo amplissimos, & in suo genere absolutissimos viros, de quibus dicere solebat, in* Thoma *fuisse, quicquid Aula requirere possit, in* Michaele *totum fratrem, & præterea quicquid Aula non corruperat. Drumum Drurium quoq; multo studio coluit, virum integerrimum proposuit, & in omni fortuna constantissimum, & fortasse solum in ea Aula, qui & gratiam retinuit, neq; libertatem dimiserat: Inter Præsules,* Ed. Grindallum *Archiepiscopum* Cantuariensem. Elmarum *Episcopum* Londinensem, Pilkintonum Dunelmensem, Noelkum *Decanum* Paulinæ *Ecclesiæ, observavit,* Basilienses *exilii comites. Inter scriptores,* Laurentium Humfridum, Whitakerum, Fulkium *prætulit, quorum ingeniis mire delectatus est, locoq; beneficii habuit, se ab illis invicem amari. Sed nulla arctius consuetudine tenebatur quam* Jo. Crowlii, & Bolduini Collini: *Hos omnibus consiliis suis, curisq; adhibuit;* Collinum *præcipue, de cujus viri possessione, nec ire se dixit, uter justius contenderet, an prudentissimus animus, an summa scientia. Inter militares viros,* Fran. Drakum *consuetudine sua mire devinxerat, quem virum prope ea tempora laudari quibus vixit superstum fuerit, commendari posteris, vel multis voluminibus vix suffecerit. Præclarissima civium* Londinensium *voluntate usus est; inter quos apud* Tho. Gresham, Roum, Baccusium, Smitheum, Dalum, Sherintonum *magnam authoritatem, opinionemq; habere visus est, viros partim amplissimis honoribus in civitate usos, partim copiosissimos negotiatores. Prætereo multos, quos fortasse contigit eundem in* Foxii *amicitia locum habuisse, neq; id mihi vitio verti debet, si omnium vel meminisse, vel notitiam consequi minus potuerim. Illud præterire non debeo, cujus etiam præcipue causa præfatos summos viros memorari volui; hos fuisse, ab quibus demonstratum est, pecunias Elemosinæ nomine* Foxio *largissime suppeditatas fuisse pauperibus dispensandas: Quod cum illi ita clam facerent, ut nec internunciis viderent, neq; in eo beneficii gratiam respicerent, cujus conscientiam sufficere sibi intelligebant; non tamen id mihi in* Foxii *Historia dissimulandum fuit, aut committendum, ut si illi tantæ liberalitatis fructum negligendum sibi existimarent, at non ab* Foxio *veritatem facti proditam esse quisquam argua, præsertim cum utrisque alundi ad laudem sit, ut illi fuit, hic non nisi fuit facti nosceatur.*

Multa deniq; comitate inter amicos fuit. Id severitate gravitatisq; condimentum sibi indulserat. Rogatus quondam in Convivio, quondam afferri sibi ferculum juberet, unde prandium inciperet: respondit ultimum. Acceptaq; comiter vox est, tanquam lectiores dapes, quæ ultimo fere poni solent immisset; cum ille ad finem convivii & ad abeundi voluntatem adhuderet. Forte habuit in via obviam mulierem quandam, satis sibi cognitam. Ea prolato quem gestabant libro, cum dixisset. Vides quo profectura sum, nempe ad Concionem: respondit, At ut Sacer domum abi, hodie enim apud Deum nihil effecerit: & cum illa quereret, quando igitur ire me jubes; cum (inquit) nemini dixerit. Accidit in mensa sua, ut quidam de Leycestrio *Comiti liberius obloqueretur: Id cum* Foxius *audivisset, statim pateram quandam, quam inunerat impleri vino, & afferri sibi jussit, qua allata, Hæc inquit patera mihi ab* Leycestrio *dono missa est: cohibuit q; hominis intemperantiam, neq; reprehendit. Ingratum hominem mari comparabat, quod cuncta ingesta voraret, neq; signum relinqueret. Adolescenti cuidam audaculo, qui multis astantibus, dixisset, se nihil in antiquorum lectione percipere, quod homines adeo mirarentur: Nihil inquit mirum est, nam si percipere miraveris. Infinita mihi hujus generis memorandi copia est: sed nolo formam operis excedere.*

Cum autem per talia facta, atq; mores Foxius *ætatem exegisset, plenus annorum, amicorumq; nondum exacto septuagesimo cursus sui anno excessit, nulla nota valetudine oppressus, sed multum ob senium. Præsensit tamen tempus exitus sui, neq; filios suos, quos ardentissime tamen dilexit, interesse supremis suis voluit: sed alterum acciri prorsus vetuit; alterum nudiustertius dici quo mortuus est ab se dimisit; & utrumq; revocavit cum vel festinantes parum in tempore adfuturos sciret: sive impares eos acerbissimo spectaculo fore credidit: sive animum suum turbari domesticis desideriis nolebat: Quod fratri meo mihiq; ominum miserrimum contigit, ut neque oculos componere, neque supremæ ejus mandata excipere, neque satiari ultimo ejus aspectu nobis liceret: quietiore fortasse animo deficientis momenta toleraviss mus, quam morientis exemplum in eo amisimus. Ad famam mortui indoluit civitas, clatumque permodico fumere nigenti multitudinis suæ concursu honoravit: neque alia lugentium specie, quam si in tanto populo parentem, aut fratrem suum singuli sepelissent.*

A TABLE OF TABLES,

Shewing to a whole Alphabet of sundry sorts of Readers; To each kind a particular Catalogue of Instances: Giving him an account, wherein the reading of this great Book of MARTYRS may abundantly give contentment to his vein of Study, and recompence his pains.

The References of which Table let the Reader thus understand,

{ v. volume. p. page. c. column. } { ch. chapter. ver. verse. }

UNderstand, *studious Reader (what is not considered by most) that this large Book of* MARTYRS, *is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-heap of worthless rubbish; but* Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum, *A Library of learning and learned mens Works, making this Book, for the prime and choice Subject thereof, justly to be esteemed (as the learned confess) the next of all human penn'd Books to the sacred Bible; as may appear in regard either of the* Form *or* Matter *thereof.*

For *Form*, it is:
- Methodical; keeping time, as so great a variety of Story would permit, in the Histories of many Kingdoms belides our own.
- Certain in the proof; from eye-witnesses intent upon the things in the doing; and ancient Records, legally drawn, safely preserved, and faithfully produced.
- Well qualified for stile and expression; keeping *in medio dicendi genere*, a middle strain, yet varying the phrase of speech to the matter in hand. When this Book speaks otherwise, it speaks the words of another man, either relating or acting the matter of that Story. And then what is wanting in our best phrase, is recompensed there with certainty, patheticalness, and pleasure of hearing the Dialects of plain and ancient times and men.
- Rich in variety; ever and anon, after a more serious narration, fetching the Readers spirits fresh again (like the witty Comedian) with a sudden winding in, not impertinently, of some chearful discourse.

For *Matter*, As a Library it abounds with Treatises, each Page mostly being as a several Book; yea, one Leaf many times as a Shelf of Authors, for most points and persons: We will give but a taste in some few particulars, in an Alphabetical order.

A.

Antiquaries may here read
- A Description of true *Antiquity* out of *Irenæus*. Volume 3. Page 34. Column 2.
- Ancient Records of Words,
  - Proper names,
    - The divers writing of the Names of the Ancient *Saxon* Kings of *England*, Vol. 1. p. 121, 122.
    - The acceptions of ancient names of places, as *Dorobernia* and *Canterbury* are taken for one. Vol. 1. p. 195. c. 2. with many like.
    - The Names of all that were at the Conquest of *England*. Vol. 1. p. 204, 205.
  - Common Names,
    - The different Names of Reproach given to true Christians in divers Countries: As about *Lyons* they are called *The poor People of* Lyons; In the borders of *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, and these *Northern* Parts, they have been called *Lollards*; In *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Turrelupins*: In *Dolphin*, *Chagnards*; but most commonly *Waldoys*. Volume 2. Page 147. col. 2.

Antiquaries may here read of Ancient Records

- Words,
  - Sermons in ancient old *English* words. Vol. 1. pag. 453. 622.
  - Judiciary terms: As,
    - *Forbonizatum.* Vol. 2. pag. 412. c. 1.
    - *Jus fisci.* Vol. 1. pag. 409. c. 2405. c. 2.
    - *Clericus* is expounded how it is taken in Law-Books. Vol. 2. p. 411. c. 1.
- Persons,
  - Ecclesiastial
    - A note of all ancient Religious Order. Vol. 1. p. 294.
    - Catalogues of Popes. Vol. 1. p. 595. c.1. and p. 177.
    - A note of the Archbishops of *Cant.* Vol. 1. p.149. c. 1. p. 191, 449, 747. c.2.
  - Secular,
    - A Table of *Roman* Kings of *England.* Vol.1. p.119. c.2.
    - Of *Britain* Kings of *England.* Vol. 1. p. 121. c.1.
    - Of *Saxon* Kings of *England.* Vol.1. p.121, 122, &c.
    - Of *Danish* Invaders. Vol.1.p. 179. c. 1.

    Of Secular persons entring into Religious Orders, as Kings, Monks. Vol. 1.p.149.c.1. Iin. 55. Queens Nuns. Vol.1. p. 147. c. 2. l. 63, &c.
- Things,
  - Writings,
    - The form and copy of a Popes Bull. Vol. 2. p. 537.
    - 18. Ancient Evidences affording many Antiquities. Vol. 1. p. 423, to 425.
    - Writs and Instruments. Vol. 1. p. 425.
  - Old Monuments of Abbeys, Monasteries, and Nunneries. Vol. 1. p. 147. c. 2.
  - Practises,
    - The form of right appealing. V.1. p.249.c.2.
    - When a Law was made first against Priests Marriage. Vol.2. p.402. c. 2.
    - When Reliques were brought into the Church. Vol.3. p.10. c.2.

Artists may here see divers of their Arts well used.
- Logick in Syllogistical Disputations. Vol. 2. in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edw.* 6.
- Natural Philosophy in reasoning about Comets. *Ibid.*
- Arithmetick in Sacred computations upon *Daniel*, Vol. 1. pag. 547, *Revel.* V. 570, c. 1. p. 571,111. c. 1.
- Besides Rhetorick and other Arts expressly used in this Book.

B.

Barons may read in this Book much History concerning the degree of Nobility, Vol. 1. pag. 120. c. 1. pag. 381, 382.

Bishops to the number of thirty four are here so renowned for those praises and patterns they have left to future ages, that this Book seems not altogether unworthy the consideration of that Function, herein to behold
- Humble *Gregory* the First, Bishop of *Rome*, opposing the Title and Arrogancy of Universal Bishop, Vol. 1. p. 14, 15.
- Liberal *Aedanus* a *Scottish* Bishop, giving away his brave trapped Horse to relieve the poor and needy, Vol. 1. p. 136. c. 1.
- Learned *Armachanus* Archbishop of *Ireland*, stoutly disputing before Pope *Innocent* the sixth and his Cardinals, against the Order of Begging Friers, Vol. 1. p. 464. c.2.
- Martyr *Evaristus*, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 2.
- Martyr *Alexander*, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1. And others more Bishops of *Rome*, to the number of twenty six courageously losing their Blood for Christ and his Truth. Vol. 1. p. 641. c.1.
- Martyr *Cranmer*, Archbishop, Vol. 3. p. 36, and 37. Vol. 3. p.562.
- Martyr *Ridley*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 50. c. 1. Vol. 3. p.360. c.1.
- Martyr *Latimer*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 65, c. 1. p.360. c.1.
- Martyr *Hooper*, Bishop, Vol. 3. pag.96. c.2. 120, to 128.
- Martyr *Farrar*, Bishop of Saint *David's* in *Wales*, Vol. 3. p.166. to 178.

Disputing and dying in *England* for Christ.

C.

Casuists may here find many cases discussed; As,
- How far one is bound to accuse himself or another, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1. Vol. 1. p. 438. col. 2.
- Whether the *Papists* challenge in *Campian* his words, *Quo tempore, quibus modis, quotis vicibus*, the Church of *Rome* should revolt, may not clearly be answered. See a learned Treatise for this, Vol. 1. p. 2. to 32.
- When and how Oaths are lawful, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1.
- Whether sweating upon a Book be to sware by a Creature, Vol. 1. p. 613. c. 1.
- Whether Kings do well to become Monks, Vol. 1. 127. c.1.
- Whether persecuted Martyrs may lawfully stand upon their own defence. Vol. 2. p. 165. c. 1. p. 166.c.1.

Criticks may find here
- Writers judiciously censured; As,
  - That the story of *Abdias* is to be suspected, Vol. 1. p.39. c. 2.
  - That *P. Anacletus* his third Epistle is supposed to be forged, Vol. 1. p. 11.
  - That the Decretals and Ordinances fathered upon the Bishops of *Rome* in the first 300 years after Christ, under the Ten Persecutions, are for the most part feigned. See every particular Persecution. And look their names in the *Index* at the end. How those things came to be fathered falsly upon them. See Vol. 1. p.64. c.1.
  - That a place of *Fabian* is to be corrected, Vol. 1. p. 386. c.2.
  - The story of *Vincentius* suspected, Vol. 1. p. 50. c.2.
  - A place of *Epiphanius* found faulty, Vol. 1. p.55. c.1.
  - What is to be thought of the *Latin* Translation of *Eusebius*, Vol. 1. 71.c.2.
  - That the more ancient Writers are of more credit; the later Writers under the thousand years since Christ more to be suspected in some things. Vol. 1. p.486. c.2.
  - Of what esteem *Rodulphus Agricola* is to be reputed, Vol. 1. p.829.
- *Criticisms* upon words, as *Praecurrere*, Vol. 1. p. 15. c. 1. *Solus*, Vol. 1. p.24. c.2.

Chronologers may here observe (besides that the whole History is *Chronological*) many material cautions touching computations of years, dashing the false, setting right the wrong, and discovering where variety of Authors vary. For Example, this Book shews
- The variety of computations of Authors touching the time of *Paul's* and *Peter's* suffering, Vol. 1. p.39. c.2.
- The difference among Writers touching the suffering time of the Martyrs of the Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1.
- How the Churches condition is to be distinguished into, and considered in five diversities of times, according to four Trecenturies, and one 400 years space, Vol. 1. p.1.
- A *Chronology* of the years of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, Vol. 1. page 875.
- Abundance of Quotations of the Judgments and Sentences of Multitudes of *Chronologers*, Writers of Annals, &c. in most Folio's of this Book.

D.

Divines may meet with here
- Great reading of Ecclesiastical Histories.
  - *Eusebius* is very oft cited. See most Pages of the Ten Persecutions.
  - *Dorotheus. Synops. Joan. de Monte Regali. Hieron.* his *Catal. Script Isiodor.*
  - With infinite more in the Ten Persecutions, and throughout the Book.
- Many practices of Councils; As,
  - Against the Popes Supremacy. Vol. 3. p.468.
  - For Priests Marriage. Vol.2. p.390. c.1.
  - A Catalogue of them gathered from time to time without the Pope. Vol.1. p. 768.
  - That at *Brixia*, his acts against *Hildebrand.* Vol. 1. p.204. c.2.
  - That at *Constance*, his acts against the *Bohemians.* Vol.1. p. 732.
  - The Acts of the Council of
    - *Lateran.* Vol. 1. p.287. c. 2.
    - *Rome.* Vol. 1. p.213. c.1. 201.c. 1.
    - *Wormes.* Vol.1.201.c.1.
    - *Antioch.* Vol. 1. p. 83. c.2.
    - *Trecae.* Vol. 1. p.221.c.2.
    - *Constantinople.* Vol.1. p.144.c.2.
- Variety of reading of very many of the Fathers:
  - Thirteen Fathers alledged copiously against Transubstantiation. in *Ed.* 6.
  - Many Fathers alledged for Priests Marriage. Vol.2. p.390.
  - Twelve Fathers sundry times alledged for their judgments on these words, *This is my Body.* In *Edw.* 6th's Reign.
- Observations and Expositions
  - Of the Glos. Volume 1. Page 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362.
- School Divinity,
  - Vol.1. p.28, 29, 30, 31.
  - *Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, &c.* of *Opus Operatum*, Vol.1. p.31.c.1.
  - *Aquinas* his founding Purgatory. Vol.1. p.31.c.2.

Divines may here meet with

- Polemical Divinity,
  - In choice Disputations, In the first Convocation in Queen *Maries* time. Vol.3. p.16.c.1.
  - In pithy Discourses, stating Questions touching
    - The Six Articles in K. *Henry* the 8th's days. V.2. p.372, to 418.
    - Faith and Justification. Vol.1.p.27.c.1.
    - Works and the Law. Vol.1.p.28. c.1.
    - Sin. Vol.1.p.30.c.1.
    - Penance and Repentance. Vol.1. ib.
    - The difference between the Law and the Gospel. Vol.1.ib.
    - Free-will. Vol.1.p.30.c.2.
    - Invocation and Adoration of Saints, Angels, &c. Vol.1.p.30.c.2.
    - The Sacraments. Vol. 1. p.31.c.1. With infinite more.
- Positive Orthodox Divinity, delivered in Treatises and Theorems, as touching
  - The Law. Vol.2.p.183.
  - The Gospel. Vol.2.p.183, to 185.
  - Works, A Tract. Vol. 1.p.28.c.1.
  - The Heads of Religion in twenty Principles. Vol. 1. p.26.c.2.
  - The sum of *Paul's* Doctrine in nineteen Positions. Vol.1.p.22.c.2.

  } Of divers other Points in some Pages.
- Textuary Divinity, in clear Expositions of Scriptures, as we will instance in some more special in this Table,

GENESIS.

Chapter 3. Verse 15. Vol.1. p.26. c.2.
Chap.4. ver.4. Vol.1.p.415.
Chap.8. ver.20. Vol.1.p.404,407. c.2.
Chap.12. ver.23. Vol. 1. p.26.c.2.
Chap.14. of *Melchisedek*. Vol.1.p.407.c.2.
Chap. 21. Notes of a Sermon touching the spiritual meaning of *Sarah* and *Hagar*. Vol.2. p.441.c.1.

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Chap. 20. Sundry Propositions opening the Ten Commandments. Vol. 2. p. 180.
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1 KINGS.

Chap.15. Vol.2.p.292.

2 KINGS.

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1 CHRON.

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2 CHRON.

Chap.30.ver.31. compared with *Luke* 1.

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HOSEA.

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1 TIM.

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2 TIM.

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TITUS.
Chap.3. ver.5. Vol.2.p.506.c.1.Compare Mr. *Tindal's* poſitions. ib.

PHILEMON.
Of *Philemon's* ſervant *Oneſimus* his running away. Vol.2. 342. c.1.

HEBREWS.
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Cha.13. ver.16. Vol.2.112. c.2.

JAMES.
Chap.1.ver.27. Vol.2. 342. c.1.
Ch.2. ver. 19. Upon which is ſhewed, in two poſitions, how many things a man may believe,and yet have no true ſaving Faith. Vol.2. p.506. c.2.
Ver.26. Whence is diſcuſſed what that Faith is that hath no works, and how far a true faith worketh.Vol.2.ib.

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1 PETER.
Chap.2.ver.9. Vol.1.p.409.c.1. compare 416.
ver.13. Vol.1. p.7.
ver.25. Vol.1.p.17. c.1.

2 PETER.
Chap.3. ver.16. Vol.1.p.358.

1 Ep. JOH.
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Chap. 3. ver.3. *He that hath this hope in himſelf, purgeth himſelf as he is pure.* Vol.2. p.506. c.2. Compare the poſitions grounded on the ſame. ib.

REVEL.
Chap.3,4. ver.6. Vol.1. p.360.
Chap.6. The Horſes and the Seals are expounded largely. Vol.1.p.627.
Chap.11,12. The Myſtical Numbers there ſpoken of expounded. Vol.1. p.111.c.1. Vol.1. p.548.
Chap.13. Vol.452.c.1.
Chap.11. *Rome* ſpiritually is *Babylon*.Vol.1.p.569. c.1.
Chap.20. Vol.1.p.452.c.1.

IF thou canſt not (Chriſtian Reader) remember the Quotations of Book, Chapter and Verſe of ſome places whoſe Expoſition thou wouldſt find, but canſt remember the words; then have recourſe to the Index or Table at the later end of the Book, where in the Alphabet of the more principal words of ſentences, thou ſhalt find divers places of more ſpecial controverſie and difficulty noted, where their Expoſitions may be found in this Book of Martyrs.

E.

Eccleſiaſtical perſons may read Hiſtory in this Book, not only of
- *Eccleſiaſtical* Officers of moſt kinds throughout the Book;
- *Eccleſiaſtical* Acts of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in ſundry Dioceſſes:
- But alſo a moſt ample and pithy diſcuſſing of the bounds of *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority in a Parliament of *France*. Vol.1. p.402.c.1.

F.

Farmers may here meet with wholeſome Country Divinity, in a ſtile ſuitable to their place, in the beginning of the Firſt and Third Volumes; and in particular, in the Complaint or Prayer of the *Plough-man*. Vol.1. pag. 453. col. 1.

G.

Geographers may here
- Read deſcriptions of *Englands*:
  - Monarchy, Vol.1. p.119.c.2.
  - Octarchy, An Heptarchy of ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, Vol.1, p. 121.
  - One Kingdom of *Britiſh* Kings. Vol.3. p.125. c.1.
- Of many other Kingdoms. As Vol.1.p. 837, to 852.
- View Tables of the Countries,Provinces and Kingdoms of
  - *Aſia* the leſs, Vol.1. p.863.
  - *Europe*, Vol.1.p.864.
  - *Africa*, Vol.1.p.864.
- Peruſe a Map of the *Saxoniſh* Heptarchy of this Kingdom in former times, Vol.1. p.120.

H.

Heraulds may here find not only the Hiſtory, but alſo the Genealogy of
- Nineteen *Saxon* Monarchs, Vol.1.p.150.
- Of *Edward* the fourth, Vol.1.p.809,810.
- And of many more Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Earls, Barons,throughout the firſt Volume.

Hiſtorians

Hiſtorians may in this Hiſtory read many ſeveral Hiſtories,and that ſomewhat largely: As,

Hiſtories
- Aſian — Vol. 1. pag. 864.
- Babyloniſh — Vol. 1. p. 864.
- Britiſh — Vol. p. 125. c. 1.
- Cicilian — Vol. 1. p. 864.
- Daniſh — Vol. 1. p. 151, 180, 222.
- Engliſh — Thorough the Book.
- French — Of *French* Martyrs, Vol. 2. p. 104, *&c.* Other Martyrs of the Commonwealth and Kingdom of *France*; Vol. 1. p. 384, 386, 477.
- German — Of *German* Martyrs, Vol. 2. p. 94. Of the *German* Empire, V. 1. p. 425. Vol. 1. p. 831.
- Greek — Vol. 1. p. 863.
- Hungarian — Vol. 1. p. 864.
- Jewiſh — Vol. 1. p. 34, 863.
- Iriſh — Vol. 1. p. 256.
- Italian — Vol. 2. p. 139.
- Kentiſh, Saxon, beginning the Heptarchie. — Vol. 1. p. 121.
- Low-Country — Vol. 2. p. 39.c.2.
- Laodicean — Vol. 1. p. 863. See the Margent.
- Myſian — Vol.1. p.864.
- Superiour, Minor — Vol. 1. p. 863.
- Major — Vol. 1. p. 863.
- Natolia — Vol. 1. p. 863.
- Norman — Vol. 1. p. 180, 184, 282.
- Orleance — Vol. 2. p. 550. c.1.
- Perſian — Vol. 1. p. 108, 864.
- Quinque Eccleſiæ — Vol. 1. p. 864. Vol. 1. p. 849.
- Roman — Of the Church, its Biſhops and their See. Vol. 1. p. 3, to 32. Of the Commonwealth, the Empire and Emperors. Vol. 1. p.33, to 293.
- Saracen — Vol. 1. p. 335, 383, 399.
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- Venetian — Vol. 1. p. 418.
- Wallachian — vol. 1. p. 86.
- Xanthus — Vol. 1. p. 8. 3.
- York-Daniſh — Vol. 1. p. 156.
- Zacynthus — Vol. 1. p. 864.

I.

Juſtices have here
- A multitude of Legal Preſidents and proceedings ſet before their eyes to very good purpoſe, in the ſecond and third Volume.
- Excellent Exhortations of *Edward* the Sixth, to them to help in Reformation of Religion, Volume 2.

K.

Kings of divers ages and times, do here ſo ſhine with their Diadems of excellent Government and Crowns of due praiſe, that they allure the eyes of ſucceſſors in future ages to look hitherward to behold to them: *Vic.*
- Learned King *Alured*, alias *Alfred*, vol. 1. p. 157. c. 2.
- Prudent King *Henry* the Second, choſen Arbiter between Kings. Vol.1. p.252. c.2.
- Warlike King *Henry* the Fifth. V. 1. p. 635. c.1.
- Anti-Pope King *Henry* the Eighth. v. 2. p. 2, &c.
- Chriſtian King *Lucius*. V. 1. p. 194. c. 1.
- Preaching King *Oſwald*. V. 1. p. 135. c. 1.
- Pious and devout King *Edward* the Sixth. Vol. 1. p. 748.

L.

Lawyers may read here Common Law,
- A parallel between *Jews* and other Kingdoms Judicial Laws. Vol. 1. pag. 597. See the Margent.
- Summaries of ſeveral Kings Statute-Laws, and Notes of their Parliaments. *Hen.* 4. Vol. 1. p. 634. *Rich.* 2. v. 1. p. 584.
- When there was no Law to burn men for opinions. v. 1. p. 502. c. 2.
- The riſe of the Statute *ex Officio*. V. 1. p. 596. c. 1.
- The riſe of the Statute for burning for opinions examined. Vol. 1. p. 503. c.1.

Some

Lawyers may read here,
- Common Law,
  - Some cases disputed. See in the *Casuist*.
  - Articles of *Magna Charta*, and touching *Charta Foresta*. Vol. 1. p. 398. c. 1.
- Civil Law. Vol. 1. 409. c. 1. 417. c. 1.
- Ecclesiastical Laws in sundry Propositions, vol. 1. p. 166.
- Eight Kings Ecclesiastical Laws whereby the Church was governed before the Conquest. vol. 1. 883, 884.
- Canon Law, delivered in
  - The Apostles Canons, as they call them, vol. 1. p. 12. 17. c. 1.
  - Popes Canons, a censure of them, vol. 2. p. 349. c. 2.

Linguists shall meet with in this History, for their studies,
- *French* Quotations, vol. 2. p. 336, c. 2. with others of like kind.
- *Hebrew* derivations, מסה. Deut. 16. 10.
- and observations, מנחות. Levit. 6. 15.
- from ת. What it signifies, vol. 2. p. 380.
- *Dutch* Etymologies, vol. 3. p. 1. c. 2.
- *Greek* readings, vol. 1. p. 18. c. 2. Διὰ το βασιλεῦσιν τῶν ἀθλητικῶν· vol. 1. p. 12. ἀεῖ ῥᾳθύμοις πραξικοπεῖν; with abundant more in that Page, &c.
- Writings in
  - *Saxon*, vol. 2. p. 376, 378.
  - *Persian* Tongue, vol. 1. p. 874. c. 2.

M.

Merchants may here find a rare example of one that was a Martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godliness as gain, for goodness as well as goods, in that Mirrour of Piety and Patience, *William Gardiner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in *Portugal*. In *Edw.* the 6th. reign.

N.

Nobility in
- Duke *Humfry*, vol. 1. p. 801, &c.
- Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*, vol. 2. p. 419.
- Lord *Cobham*, vol. 1. 732. and others.

} in this History shines to their future posterity.

O.

Old age may here with its dim eyes see plain patterns to lead him in the plain way; and encourage him, seeing he is so nigh his end, rather to be dissolved (if he be called unto it) in flames of fire to be with Christ, then in this last period of his life to deny him, and by and by at his death be denied Christ, Heaven, and any thing else but only Hell and damnation.

- One lively example is, vol. 3. p. 38. col. 1. Compare p. 359. col. 2. p. 375. c. 2.
- Another, vol. 1. 829. c. 2.
- More, vol. 3. p. 587. c. 2.
- *Photinus* a very old man suffers for Christ, vol. 1. 52. c. 1.
- *Polycarpus*, who coming to the place of Martyrdom to die for Christ, and being perswaded to turn, and he should be discharged; answered, *Eighty six years have I been Christs servant, and he never yet hurt me, how then may I now speak evil of him which hath thus preserved me?* vol. 1. p. 47.

P.

Politicians may be hence furnished with many observations touching matters of State and Government of Commonweals, not only laid down in the rule, but proved in the practises; For example,
- Thirty two Emperors lives and deaths exemplifie the issue of too much severity and cruelty in Government. vol. 1. 34, 35. Count the Margent.
- Decay of Religion decays a Commonwealth. vol. 1. p. 113. c. 2. overthrows the Government, as may be seen in *Richard* the Second. vol. 1. p. 580. c. 2. Compare p. 585. c. 1.
- Greatness of a State without true Empire of Government is a weakness to the same, as is plain in the *Turkish* Dominions, by the story of them.
- The mischief of several factions in a State, exemplified in *Henry* the Eight his Government. vol. 2. throughout. A particular instance, see vol. 2. pag. 474.
- Dissention in a Kingdom opens the door to foreign invasion; see in the example of Christians thus letting in the *Turk*, vol. 1. 827. c. 1.
- The *Roman* Empire, and
- The *Jewish* Nation
} ruined by refusing Christ, vol. 1. pag. 34. c. 2. 35. c. 1.
- The many changes of State, and the causes of them may be seen in this story more than in most; as in the coming in of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Scots*, *Picts*; as also in *Richard* the Second his Reign, *Henry* the Sixth, &c.

Q.

Queen *Katharine*, Vol. 2. p. 491. c. 1. 493.
Queen *Jane*, Vol. 3. p. 11. c. 1.
Queen *Elizabeth*, Vol. 3. p. 32. c. 2. p. 83. c. 2. p. 792.

} Make this story worthy to be read of the Royal eyes of that Sex.

Registers

R.

Registers of ancient Records may here meet with abundance of those throughout the History.

S.

Souldiers may here behold the fights
- Of the *Turks* at *Constantinople*. Vol. 1. p. 838. c. 2.
- Of the *French* against the Pope, vol. 1. p. 830. c. 1.
- Of the *Germans*
  - *Zisca*, vol. 1. 733. c. 2.
  - *Procopius*, vol. 1. 736. c. 1.
  - *Capistranus*, vol. 1. 818. c. 2.
- Of the *English* throughout the History, with *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Scots*, *Picts*, *Normans*, &c.
- Of the *Grecian Scanderbeius* against the *Turk*, vol. 1. p. 840. c. 1. vol. 1. p. 844. c. 2.

} In all which see notable
- Stratagems:
- Valour.

T.

Tradesmen of most sorts shall find here rare patterns of piety of life, and patience in suffering death for Christ in men of their own calling, throughout the third Volume.

V.

Virgins may behold here for their instruction mirrours
- Of valour in the Maid that defended *Lesbos* against the *Turks*, when the men had even given over defending it, Vol. 1. p. 863. c. 2.
- Of patience and meekness, in *Rose Allen* a Maid, quietly suffering her hand to be burned for Christ, vol. 3. p. 698.
- Of courageous dying for Christ, in the admirable example of *Blandina*, vol. 1. p. 52. c. 2.

W.

Women have here rare Examples
- Of Chastity in that Noblemans Wife of *Rome*, who would rather die than be defiled with lustful *Maxentius*, Vol. 1. p. 93. c. 2.
- Of Martyrdom, in *Symphorissa* and her seven Children, cruelly martyred for Christ, vol. 1. p. 45. c. 1. Of *Sophia* and her three Children martyred, vol. 1. 45. c. 1.
- In many more women, sometimes mother and daughter embracing flames for Christ, in the third Volum.

Y.

Young-men may here learn to *know the God of their Fathers*, to *remember their Creator*, yea Redeemer *in the days of their youth*, and in their youth to suffer for him that suffered for them in the flower of his age.

In the example of
- That famous young man, Martyr *Germanicus*, vol. 1. p. 48. c. 2.
- Of *Origen* a youth, that vehemently desired Martyrdom, vol. 1. p. 59. c. 2.
- Of *Pontieus*, of but fifteen years old, admirably suffering for Christ, Volum. 1. p. 53. c. 1:
- A child Martyr, vol. 1. p. 99. c. 2.

¶ THUS of multitudes of instances we have given but a very few, wherein this University of godly Learning may profit any ingenious Reader; no such can come amiss, but that he may go away the better from this Book after his reading it, if himself be not in fault.

Here is in this Book
- To settle the judgment in the truth, thousands that have subscribed to it in blood.
- To win the affections, the most pathetical speeches of dying Saints.
- To encourage practise
  - Here are files and ranks of Christian Soldiers to muster thee in Christs battel.
  - Here is zeal burning till it be in flames of fire.
  - Here is godliness, which when it is scoffed reviles not, when it is burned cries not.
  - Here is Devotion praying sweetly,
    - In *Constantine* Emperour.
    - *Luther*.
    - Lady *Jane*, and many others.

A Chro-

A

CHRONOLOGY

OF

Master FOX his Martyrology.

An Advertisement to the Reader,

THAT here is presented unto him a compendious Chronological Table of the most remarkable things contained in the whole Book of Martyrs, (according as they are set down after Master *Fox* his Method and Computation) digesting them into several Columes; The

First and smaller Colume making report of time.

Four next larger of persons.

Sixth and largest of matters, concisely anatomizing the whole body of the story into the master veins, arteries and sinews.

Seventh, last and least, pointing to the place in the large Volumes, where the Contents of all the other Columes are to be found, and filled up with flesh, bloud and spirits of larger Discourses.

To which we have added this brief Chronological Digest, that it may serve the studious Reader, either as a perspective, whereby to view what ground he is to travel, and where the several turnings are, before he begins to read; or as a Register or Note-book, whereby to recollect his thoughts and observations after so long a travel in reading so voluminous a Work: And at all times to be both as a Map of the limits, a Sceleton of the limbs, and Pourtraiture of the face of so rare a Story and a right Martyr; as also a Methodical Index to find and fetch in the main bulk of any special piece of the Story (out of the heap of prolix circumstances wherein it is covered) when it is to be remembred or perused. In all which thus projected, and with extraordinary care and pains effected, if any Reader from his knowledge of other Histories, conceive that many touches of additions or alterations of things, names or times, would have done well; let him remember that Master *Fox* his Book of Martyrs was the Copy set before the Pen to write after, both for matter and method. As also, that the scope of the Pen-man was, to make this Model a Key to the same; so that if we had any ways set this and the great Volume at difference and odds, we had set the Son against the Father, many references of this to that would have misreported things, and the whole Project had been ruined. This Child then, though a tender little weak one, comes abroad under the Parents Wing; and is modestly bold to speak and go on this way, because in its word it doth (as we speak) say after the Father; *Sequiturque patrem quamvis non passibus equis*, and follows the Fathers footsteps, though it cannot stride so wide. The hope is that that Nail will not score this Paper with dislike, whose Finger never felt the pains of carrying the Pen through so troublesome a business; and that the exercised hand in penning things of this nature will be merciful in censuring this *Chronographizing* of Master *Fox* his Story; whose parts, though belonging to the same time, are oft so far dispersed, and the same things at sundry times so frequently repeated, that it could not but be a great labour to gather them into times Method.

Farewel.

First,

Anno Christi	Emper. of *Rome*, *Greece*, *France*, and *Germany*.	Bishops and Popes of *Rome*.	Kings of *England*	Archbishops of *Canterbury*.

First, *The Author premiseth.* Vol. 1. Page

A *Preface* declaring the difference of *Rome* from *Rome*; that Church being now revolted from what she was, in

First, Life and Conversation, in

four evils,
1. Prophaneness: As, simony, murthers, poisonings of each other. 3. c. 1.
2. Omission of ministerial duties, as of preaching, &c.
3. Schisms and factions, to the number of eighteen since Pope *Damascen.*
4. Covetous injustice to get mony, by fifteen unlawful practices, *Viz.*

for
1. Annats and vacancies of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, and spiritual places.
2. Retaining of other livings, besides that the incumbent now pays for.
3. New Annats upon change of the incumbents.
4. Preventions of Benefices before the fall.
5. Resignations upon favour.
6. Commendams.
7. Compositions with them that are non-resident, attending at Court.
8. Dispensations for any condition or sin.
9. Exemptions and Priviledges, and the continuations of them.
10. Mandats to the Ordinaries.
11. Penitentiaries and Absolutions from the Pope.
12. Pardons and Indulgences.
13. Making Notaries and Protonotaries, &c.
14. Bulls and Commissions for new foundations.
15. Giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected.

Secondly, Jurisdiction and Power, in

5 particulars.
1. Elections of Bishops and such Offices. For whereas in the Apostles days, the Apostles with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers: as *James* was made Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles, &c. as may be seen in the 4th Page of this Volume. After in the increase of the Church, the Elections of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and thus it continued till *Constantine* the fourth Emperor, and after: But when *Alexander* the second came, he was chosen without the Emperor, and after him *Hildebrand* and his followers ordered the matter, that first the Empetor, secondly the Lay-People, lastly, the Clergy, for the most part were excluded. 4. c. 1.
2. Judiciary Power. For whereas in the Primitive times the Bishops debated all causes of Faith only by Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical Discipline by the Canons of ancient Councils: Now Scriptures and Councils are set aside, and all things are determined by the Popes new Decretals in his Canon Law. 5.
3. In Collation of all Ecclesiastical Promotions. For whereas anciently, according to sacred Councils, the holy Fathers, and the common Law, Bishops, Doctors, Patrons, &c. might bestow the Benefices, &c. in their own Precinct, now the *Romish* Church encroacheth upon, and getteth all into her own hands and power.
4. Binding and loosing. In which what the Scripture gives generally to all the Church, *Rome* arrogates to her self, and she only will alone have the Keys. Whereas again, the Scriptures give authority to no Church in some things, there *Rome* will enlarge her self, and fit the wards of her Keys, so as she will unlock and lock those things which never came into Gods mind to allow. As, to loose and discharge Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince; and any man from Perjury for Money; and to bind with Excommunication persons for petty matters, as breaking Parks, not ringing Bells, &c.
5. Secular power over Emperors, Kings and Civil Magistracy whatsoever, to excommunicate depose, &c. and put in others; making all subject to him. Whereas it was not so from the beginning, no not of later times; but *Gregorius Magnus* was subject to *Mauricius*, and to *Phocas* though a wicked Emperor.

3. The Titles and Stile of the Bishops of *Rome*. Anciently the word Pope was common to all Bishops (as it is common in signification, coming of παππας, that is, Father.) Saint *Austin* being called Pope of the Council of *Africk*; *Jerome* so called of *Boniface*, and *Cyprian* of others. And the highest Bishops anciently were not called more than Patriarchs (as were four so called) or Archbishops and Metropolitans; but now the Pope will have the 7. 10. 9.

name

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page.
					name Pope peculiar to himself; with addition of the high Titles of Vicar-General, Vicar of Christ, Universal Bishop, Head of the Universal Church, Prince of Priests, Bishop of the World, A Neither-God-nor-man, but a thing between both: Against which arrogancy is,	
					1. The ancient title of the Bishop of *Rome*.	10.
					2. The Act of the *Nicene* Council against carrying causes to *Rome*, and their five reasons.	11.
					3. Act of the Synod of *Milevitan*, against Appeals to *Rome*.	12.
					4. The Exposition of the name head-Bishop.	
					5. How the name Universal Bishop did rise and stand at *Constantinople*.	13.
					shew'd 6. The name Bishop of Bishops forbidden by *Cyprian*.	
					7. *Gregory* his refusal of the name Universal Bishop.	14.
					8. Objections for the name Universal Bishop, answered.	
					9. Arguments proving the equality of the Apostles.	15.
					10. Answer to arguments for *Peters* Supremacy over the Apostles.	16.
					11. Certain demands, which answered, overthrow *Peters* Supremacy.	19.
					12. Thirteen causes of the *Roman* Bishops coming to this height.	20.
					4. Doctrine. For *Paul* the Apostle, and *Peters* Successor flatly differ in nineteen summary points, *viz.* touching Justification, Merit, strength of nature, and mans will, distinguishing of Law and Gospel, distinguishing the righteousness of God and of us, Traditions, subtil speculations, mans being in the first and second *Adam*, imputation of the first and second *Adams* condition to man, the glory of a mans condition in Christ, difference of days, difference of meats, limitation of marriage, sacrifice for sin, the holy Communion, the number of the Sacraments, what language to be used in the Church, obedience to Kings, the armour of the Church. In all which whosoever knows Saint *Pauls* judgment, let him suppose the clean contrary opinion, and that is the tenet of the Church of *Rome*; the several differences may be couched into this one; *Paul* advanceth Christ, and casteth down man: The Church of *Rome* casteth down Christ, and advanceth man.	22. 23.
1. 27.	Augustus Cæsar.	Cunobellinus, *alias* Cimbellinus.			Secondly, The Author of this History comes to the *Body of the Story*, That Christ is rejected, and crucified by the *Jews*, choosing *Cæsar* for their King in the seventeenth year of that *Tiberius*.	33.
33.		Gulderius			Gods judgment on the *Jews* for it.	
	Tiberius Cæsar.				*Tiberius Cæsar* hearing of Christs Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension, moves the Senate to receive and adore Christ as God.	
34.					The Senate of *Rome* refuseth to receive Christ for God, because contrary to the Law of the *Romans* (as they said) he was received for God, before the *Romans* decreed the same. This *Tiberius* lived six years after Christs Passion.	
					Gods judgment on the City of *Rome* for refusal of Christ, their Emperors turning extreme Tyrants against them, almost to their utter subvertion.	
					And for three hundred years after Christ, in which time were thirty two Emperors, was there scarce one Emperor but came to an ill end.	
					Tiberius and his Tyranny described. By whom he was executed.	35.
					Gods judgment on *Pilate* that condemned Christ; which *Pilate* was deposed from his place, banished, and at length he slew himself.	
35.					The stoning of *Stephen* the Proto-martyr, at which *Paul* was a persecuting agent. This day (saith *Dorotheus*) suffered also *Nicanor* one of the seven Deacons, with 2000 Christians more.	35.
39.	Caius Cæsar. Caligula.				*Paul* is Converted.	
					Tiberius Cæsar having reigned twenty three years dies, after whom succeedeth C. *Cæsar Caligula*: commanding his Image to be set up in the Temple of *Hierusalem*; which was the beginning of *The abomination of desolation to stand in the Holy place*. He took the *Romans* wives violently from them; and having deflowred three of his own sisters, banished them. By this C. *Cæsar Caligula*,	
					Herod that mocked Christ, and murthered *John* the *Baptist*, was banished, and dies miserably.	
					Caiaphas also was deposed by the said *Caligula*.	
43.	Claudius Nero.		Aviragus		*Caligula* being slain, leaves in his Study two Bills or Notes of them whom he did mean to persecute and kill, which Notes he called the Sword and Dagger; which were used for cruelty by him that followed, *viz.*	
					Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years a grievous Tyrant.	
					James the Apostle, the Son of *Zebedee*, martyred.	
					Simon and *Parmenas*, two of the seven Deacons, martyred.	
					Thomas the Apostle, preaching to the *Medes*, *Persians* and *Parthians*, *Germans*, &c. was slain with a Dart.	
					Simon Zelotes preaching in *Africk*, and *Britany*, was Crucified.	
					Andrew the Apostle preaching at *Patræ* in *Achaia*, was by *Egeas* the Governour Crucified.	
					Matthew the Apostle wrote his Gospel to the *Jews* in the *Hebrew* Tongue. He is martyred with a Spear.	36.
					Matthias the Apostle preaching to the *Jews*, was stoned.	
62.					*Philip* the Apostle having much laboured among the Barbarous Nations in preaching, was crucified and stoned to death at *Hierapolis*.	
					James	

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					James the younger, the Son of *Alphæus*, the brother of the Lord, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, was thrown down from the battlements of a Church, and afterward stoned, and so martyred to death.	
					With *James* many more were stoned, as may be collected out of *Joseph.* *l.6.* 20. &c.	37.
					Mark the Evangelist martyred at *Alexandria*, as *Reusner* affirmeth.	
63			Claudius the Emperor falls into Britain, and subdued part of it to the Empire.		The description in general of the Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, under the *Roman* Emperors: Wherein, first, the wonderful many kinds of torments of the Christians are described by *Rabanus*: Secondly, the admirable patience of the tormented declared by S. *August.* Thirdly, the infinite number of those patient tormented ones, set forth by S. *Hierome* and *Helodorus*.	
67	Domitius Nero.				Under this Emperor was the first of the ten Persecutions, by which (as *Eusebius* reports) whose Cities were filled with the dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and sorts.	
					This *Nero* was so wicked, that St. *Hierome* upon *Daniel* saith, he was thought to be Antichrist. For so prodigious a monster was he, more like a beast, or rather a Devil than a man, that he caused his Mother, his Brother-in-Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, and his Instructors, *Seneca* and *Lucan*, with divers more of his own kin to be put to death. He fired *Rome* in twelve places, and sang the while the verses of *Homer*.	
69					His end, after he had reigned fourteen years, was by the Senate proclaimed an enemy to all mankind, condemning him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death, for fear whereof he fled and flew himself.	34.
					Under him suffered *Peter* and *Paul* for Christ, about the later end of his reign.	
73					A question moved whether St. *Peter* were ever at *Rome*.	
			Marius.		Another question concerning *Paul*, whether he wrote the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and that to *Laodicea*.	
					Paul declares the sum of that Doctrine which he preached.	
81		Anacletus *alias* Cletus.			*Vespasian* was the quiet Prince that put the distinction between the first and second persecution; in that he did not proclaim Persecution against the Christians. Howbeit he with *Titus* destroyed the *Jews* for their rebelling, killing many above 11000, selling into slavery 17000, and leading 2000 in triumph, to be torn with wild beasts, and cruelly to be slain.	39.
91						
96		Clemens.				34.
					Domitian, Brother of *Titus*, beginning his reign mildly, turned a blasphemous Idolater against God (commanding men to worship him) and a cruel tyrant against Christians; for by him was moved the 2d Persecution.	
					Simeon, Bishop of *Hierusalem* was Crucified.	
					John the Evangelist is banished into *Patmos*. But after the death of *Domitian*, he was released under *Perstinax* the Emperor, living to the time of *Trajanus*, governing the Churches of *Asia*, and penning his Gospel. He converted a thief. And dies out of a Bath, because wicked *Cerinthus* was there. St. *John* could not (as the Papists say) be the Virgin *Maries* Confessor, seeing according to them, she was without sin.	
		Domitianus.			*Domitianus* fearing the coming of Christ, commanded all that could be found of the stock of *David* in *Jewry* to be slain. Another cause inciting Persecution, was false accusation of the Christians. But however the inquisition was this, *Swear the truth, whether thou art indeed a Christian.* If they confessed they were, the Law condemned them for that alone.	
			Evaristus.		This Bishop of *Rome* was a martyr, and flourished as *Reusner* counts, *Anno Christi* 102.	
			Alexander.		This Bishop of *Rome* was also martyr, see in the reign of *Adrian* Emperor.	
					Traditions of holy water, &c. are falsly fathered on him, he flourished as *Reusner* will, in the year 110, in the later end of *Trajans* reign.	42. 43.
100	Nerva.				*Saphira* and *Sabina*, martyrs.	
	Trajanus.				*Nerva* with his quietness put a period of peace for one year between the second and third Persecution.—*Trajanus* caused the third Persecution.	
					Pliny writes to *Trajan* to stop the Persecution.	
					Trajan feels not and puts to death the stock of *David*.	
					Certain Sectaries of the *Jewish* Nation accuse *Simeon* Son of *Mary Cleophas*, that he was of the line of *David*, and a Christian; whereupon he was crucified; but the accusers escaped not being condemned for being (as the Emperor supposed) of the stock of *David*.	
					Phocas B. of *Pontus*, mar.	*Sulpitius*, *Servilianus*, *Euphrosius*, *Theodora*, Mart.
111					*Nereus* and *Achilleus*, Martyrs.	*Ignatius* Mart. being devoured of wild beasts.
	Adrian, or Hadrian.				*Publius*, Bishop of *Athens*, Martyr.	45.
					Under him suffered *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons.	
					Zenon, a Nobleman of *Rome*, 10260 more slain for Christ.	
					Achaicus, *Heliades*, *Theodorus Carcerius*, prime Martyrs.	
					Eustachius, with his Wife and Children, Martyrs.	
					Calocerius seeing the patience of *Faustinus* and *Jobita* suffering the cruel torments, cried out with these words, *Vere magnus Deus Christianorum*, *i.e.* Great is the God of the Christians, whereupon he was presently apprehended, brought to the place of their execution, and was made partaker of their Martyrdom.	
					Eleutherius with his Mother *Anthia*, Martyrs.	
					Fustus & *Pastor*, Brethren, Mart.	*Symphorissa* with her 7 Children, Martyrs.
					Sophia with her three Children, Martyrs.	
					Apologies made to the Emperor by { *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*: *Aristides* a Philosopher. } of the Christians	
					Emperor in behalf of { *Serenus Granius* a Nobleman. }	

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					The succes was that the Emperor writeth and flacketh the Perfecution, charging that none be perfecuted barely for Chriſtianity. Hereby then began to come in the reſpite of peace between the third and fourth Perfecution.	
					Howbeit this *Adrian* underſtanding of the *Jews* rebelling, ſent *Julius Severus* againſt them, who overthrew fifty two Caſtles in *Jewry*, burnt and demoliſhed 9080 Villages, and ſlew fifty thouſand of the *Jews*.	46.
					After this *Adrian* the Emperor repaired *Hieruſalem*, calling it *Heliopolis*.	
124.	Aurelius				*Adrian* dies by bleeding at the noſe, as he had ſhed Chriſtians blood.	
140.	Antonius Pius.		Collus.		This Emperor *Antoninus* reigned twenty three years, continuing that peace with the Chriſtians he found begun in *Adrians* laſt days; for which he had the name of *Pius*. Yet by the peoples tumult, without the Emperors conſent, ſome were martyred.	
					His ſaying was, He had rather ſave one Citizen, than deſtroy a 1000 of his adverſaries.	
					He writes in behalf of the Chriſtians, to the Perſecutors, notable arguments to ſtay perſecution, as being conquered by the patience of the Chriſtians.	
					An Edict of peace for the Chriſtians is proclaimed at *Epheſus*.	
162.	M. Antonius Verus, who joyned with him in the Government of the Empire M. Aurelius Commodus.				This quiet Emperor in life, of all other Emperors of thoſe times, died the moſt quiet death.	
					This *Antoninus* was ſtudious of Philoſophy, but ſevere againſt the Chriſtians, moving the fourth perſecution.	
					He moveth much perſecution. { In *France*, ſee *pag.* 50. In *Aſia*, where *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna* was Mart.	
					In this perſecution, Chriſtians were whipped until their veins, arteries and bowels did appear.	46.
					Germanicus, a famous Martyr for patience.	
					Quintus a Phrygian, being raſhly hardy, ſuffers for it.	
					Polycarp at firſt by perſwalion, did fly perſecution, at laſt offered himſelf willingly to thoſe that beſet the houſe to ſeek him, and was martyred.	
					Twelve Martyrs at *Smyrna*. Of *Polycarps* Epiſtle to the *Philippians*.	
					Irenæus was converſant with *Polycarp*, and *Polycarp* with the Apoſtles.	48.
					Difference of Ceremonies brake not amity in the Primitive Church.	
					Socrates deceived in his Tripartite ſtory.	*Metrodorus* Martyr.
					Corpus, *Papilus*, *Agathonica*, Martyr.	
					Felicitas with her ſeven Children, *viz.*	*Januarius*, *Felix*, *Philippus*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis* — Martyrs at *Rome*.
					Juſtinus Martyr, learned in Philoſophy, and godly in practiſe.	
					Creſcens a Philoſopher, procurer of *Juſtins* death.	
					Praxedis and *Potentiana* two godly Virgins, bury the bodies of the dead Martyrs, and ſpend their Patrimonies to relieve the living.	49.
					Ptolomeus and *Lucius*, Martyrs at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.	
					A place in *Gratianus* ſuſpected.	50.
					Concordus, Martyr; ſpitteth in the face of the Idol.	
					Vincentius his ſtory ſuſpected.	
					In *France* were many Martyrs, at *Lions*, and *Vienna*, whoſe Hiſtory is ſet forth under the hands of the brethren of *France*, in their Letter to the brethren in *Aſia*.	51.
					Vetius Epagathus, a young man, is a couragious Martyr, unto wonderment.	
					Ten Chriſtians as weak as he was ſtrong, fainting, to the great ſorrow of the ſtronger.	
					The Chriſtians are accuſed of keeping the Feaſt of *Thyeſtes*, and Inceſt of *Oedipus*.	
					Blandina, martyr, is ſo patient in ſuffering all manner of torments, that ſhe wearies her tormentors.	
					Sanctus, Martyr, was ſo able patiently to bear all manner of torments, that none could make him anſwer to many queſtions put to him, but only this in *Latin* to each of them, *I am a Chriſtian*. His firſt torments making him ſo ſwollen and ſcorched, that his members had loſt their ſhape and uſe; the ſecond contrary to his enemies intent reſtored his limbs in regard of both.	51.
					Biblides, a woman Martyr, having denied Chriſt, returns and confeſſeth Chriſt in the midſt of thoſe torments which were inflicted to make her blaſpheme Chriſt.	
					Divers Martyrs ſtrangled.	
					Martyrs die in priſon.	
					Pbotinus a Deacon, eighty years old, Martyr.	
					A deſcription of the comfort of confeſſing, and the diſcomfort of denying Chriſt.	
					Maturus and *Attalus* martyred in a red hot Iron-chair, could not be made by ſetting them in it, to confeſs any thing, but what they had willingly before.	52.
					Deniers of Chriſt return and become Confeſſors.	
					Alexander a *Phrygian*, beckoning at the Bar to the Chriſtians to ſtand to the Confeſſion of Chriſt, is queſtioned, confeſſeth Chriſt, and is martyred.	
					Blandina, a woman, and *Ponticus* a youth of fifteen years old, Martyrs, could not be forced to ſwear, with all the witty cruelty of the tormentors.	53.

Juſti-

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					Juſtinus a deep Philoſopher, a godly man, an Apologizer for the Chriſtians, and a Martyr.	
					Grounds of crediting the Prophets. The profit of reading them.	53.
					Epiphanius found in a fault.	
					Moſt worthy Martyrs pronounce themſelves unworthy of the name of Martyrs.	55.
					Alcibiades rebuked for over-ſtrict faſting.	
					Apollinaris and *Melito* exhibit Apologies to the Emperor in behalf of the Chriſtians.	55.
					The Books of the Old Teſtament anciently received for Authentick.	
					Chriſtian Soldiers get rain by prayer in a time of their great want of water in the army: for which the Emperor favours them, writing Letters in behalf of all the Chriſtians, to the aſſwaging of the Perſecution.	
175.	*Lucius Antoninus Commodus.*				This *Commodus* was (though incommodious to the Senators of *Rome*) commodious to the Church; giving ſome peace univerſally throughout the ſame. Mean while the Goſpel ſpreads, and many Noble families in *Rome* adjoyn themſelves to the Chriſtians.	
					Notwithſtanding there was ſome perſecuted in his time, for although there was a Law made by the Emperor, that none ſhould falſly accuſe the Chriſtians upon pain of death, yet in caſe any Chriſtian were once accuſed, the ancient Law was that none that were arraigned for profeſſion of Chriſt ſhould be releaſed without recantation of his opinion. Hereupon it followed, that	
					Apollonius a Noble Senator of *Rome* being accuſed of his ſervant, the ſervant by the Law againſt accuſers, was executed, and had his legs broken; and *Apollonius* himſelf by the Law of not diſmiſſing accuſed Chriſtians without recantation, was beheaded; becauſe inſtead of making a recantation, he made an Apology of Chriſtian belief.	
					This Emperor, *Antonius Commodus* was very skilful in caſting Darts, and took great pride to be called *Hercules*, and to wear oft times a Lions ſkin, in both intimating what a Protector he was to the City, and chiefrain over the people; *Hercules* being a Giant, and a Lion the King of Beaſts.	
					This Emperor on his birth-day, clothed in his Lions skin, and ſacrificing to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, commanding alſo the people to do the like, *Vincentius*, *Peregrinus*, *Euſebius*, *Potentianus*, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, diſſwaded them: for which cauſe, and for that they would not ſacrifice to Idols at the command of the Emperor, were with ſundry devices tormented, and at laſt with the preſſure of leaden weights, were martyred to death.	
					Julius with his family are baptized, and after martyred.	
		Xiſtus I. alias *Sixtus* I.			This *Xiſtus* or *Sixtus* Biſhop of *Rome* is counted the ſixth, Biſhop after *Peter*. The Epiſtles, and in them the Ordinances fathered upon him, very probably are falſly put upon him. He ſat in his Seat about nine or ten years.	
129.		*Teleſphorus.*			This *Teleſphorus* ſat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. Many Ordinances touching *Gloria in Excelſis*, Lent-faſt, not permitting of Laymen to accuſe the Clergy, are falſly fathered upon him.	
140.		*Higinus.*			This *Higinus* died a Martyr. The Ordinances of Cream, of one Godfather and Godmother, of Dedications of Churches, *&c.* are falſly put upon him.	
		Pius.			The inflicting penance forty days upon the Prieſt, for letting fall one crum of the Lords-Supper: and if a drop did fall, that it ſhould be licked up, or elſe the place waſhed or pared, *&c.* all which, put on this Biſhop *Pius* by *Platina*, found as unlikely as they are in themſelves trivial. He made a Decree of changing *Eaſter-day* from the wonted day, *viz.* the fourteenth day of the Moon in the firſt Month, to the Sunday after.	
159.		*Aniectus*			This *Aniectus* ſat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. He determined the ſame about *Eaſter-day*, as *Pius* his Predeceſſor had.	
		Soter.			This *Soter* ſat in the Seat eight years: He alſo concludes the ſame order touching *Eaſter*, as *Pius* and *Aniectus* had.	
178.		*Eleutherius.*			He ſat Biſhop of *Rome* fifteen years. His determination touching *Eaſter* is the ſame with his three Predeceſſors. See more in *p.* 37. in the *Hiſt. of Victor.*	
			Lucius.		Divers Writers report that this Biſhop of *Rome* ſent *Damianus* and *Fugatius* at the requeſt of King *Lucius*, King of *England*, to him into *England*, by whom the ſaid King ſhould be converted and baptized. But as they vary in time, ſome making this ſending to be a year or two under 180, and others as much over: ſo is there a juſt difference between them, whether theſe were the firſt that tranſported the Chriſtian Faith into *England*, ſome of them avouching the coming of *Simon Zelotes* into *England*, others the coming of *Joſeph of Arimathea* firſt founding Chriſtian Religion in this Iſle. Whoever was firſt, *Petrus Clunicenſis*, *Origen* and *Tertullian* do witneſs that Chriſtianity was much more ancient than *Eleutherius*, yea and then the converſion of the ſaid King *Lucius*.	
					Beſides thoſe mentioned above, were theſe learned men, confounding the Perſecutors by writing, in the time of this preſent Emperor *Commodus*.	
					Seraphion Biſhop of *Antioch*.	
					Egeſippus a Writer of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory from Chriſts Paſſion to his own time. None of his Books remain ſave only five. *De Excidio Hieroſol.* And thoſe are not mentioned by *Hierom*.	
					Euſebius or *Miltiades*, who notwithſtanding make mention of the man himſelf.	
					Miltiades wrote an Apology for the Chriſtians.	

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					Heraclius about this time began to write his Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament.	
					Theophilus an Ecclesiastical writer, Bishop of *Cesaria*.	
					Dionysius Bishop of *Corinth*, famous for learning, writes divers Epistles to several Churches. He writes to one *Penitus* a Bishop, *Ne grave ferxandæ castitatis onus*, &c. *i.e.* That he laid no yoke of necessity of keeping Chastity upon his Brethren.	
					This *Dionysius* writes an Epistle of *Dionysius Areopagita*, declaring (as it is storied in the *Acts*) his Conversion by *Paul*, but speaks not a word of his Book *De Hierarchia*; yet doth he speak more of him touching his being first Bishop of *Athens*. This *Dionysius* of *Corinth* doth shew us that it was the custom in his time, that the Epistles that were sent unto Congregations by learned men, should be read in the Churches in the audience of the Assemblies.	
					Clemens Alexandrinus also wrote in the time of this Emperor *Commodus*, whose Books some are yet extant, declaring the order and number of the Books of the New Testament.	59.
					A man of these times too, was *Pantenus*, the first publick professor in Schools in *Alexandria*, occasioning by his example Christian Universities. This *Pantenus* for his great Learning, was sent for by *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to preach to the *Indians*, where he finding St. *Matthews* Gospel in *Hebrew*, left there by St. *Bartholomew*, brought it from thence to the Library of *Alexandria*.	
					Whiles the Christians had any respites of peace in this *Commodus* his time, they jangled about the celebration of *Easter*. Yet differing in this Ceremony, they brake not off Charity. The difference of their *Easter*-days.	
					He reigned but a few months Emperor.	
195.	*Pertinax Severus.*	This same *Severus* extended his Empire over *Britain* at this time.			This *Severus* raised the fifth *Persecution*, of the eighteen years of his reign, the first ten were favourable to the Christians, the other eight through false accusations of the malignant, by Proclamation drew blood upon the Christians, see *Euseb. Lib.* 6. about the year 205.	
					The accusers branded them with sedition, murther, *&c.* with worshipping of an Ass his head, because they believed the story of *Samplons* slaughtering the *Philistims* with a Jaw-bone: and with worshipping the Sun: because before Sun-rising they met and sung Psalms, praying towards the East: But the true quarrel was their not worshipping the *Roman* Idols.	
					The Captains and Officers in this Persecution were *Hilerianus, Vigelius, Claudius, Hormianus.*	
					The places of this Persecution were *Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia*, and *Carthage*.	
					The persons persecuted and martyred were,	
					Leonides Father of *Origen* beheaded, with whom his son *Origen*, being then of seventeen years, would have suffered Martyrdom, but that his Mother by force hindred him.	
					Origen encouageth his Father to Martyrdom, saying, *Cave tibi ne quid propter nos*, &c. that is, *Take heed you turn not your purpose of Martyrdom for our sakes.* His Father being slain, and his goods confiscate to the Emperor, he maintained himself, and mother, and her children; being in great poverty, by teaching School. He was very learned, conferring the *Hebrew* with the Translation of the Septuagint; and finding out the common Translations of *Aquila Symmachus* and *Theodotion*; adjoyning to them four other Translations. His Books he penned, were by St. *Hieroms* account, 7000 Volumes, which he sold for a little above three pence a piece for his relief.	
					Plutarch, a Scholar of *Origens*, martyr.	
					Serenus his Brother, a hearer also of *Origen*, martyr, burned.	
					Heraclides, another hearer of *Origen*, martyr, beheaded.	
					Heron, *Origens* scholar, martyred by beheading.	
					Serenus a frith of *Origens* scholars, martyred by beheading.	60.
					Rhais and *Pontamiena* were tormented with pitch poured upon them, and so martyred.	
					Marcella, mother of *Pontamiena*, martyred with fire.	
					Basilides, an Officer that saw execution done upon *Pontamiena*, afterwards denied to give an Oath in a matter whereunto he was called, because he was to swear by the Idols, professing himself also to be turned Christian, by means of *Pontamiena*, who said as the went to martyrdom that she would pray that God would have mercy on him, after which she had seen a Crown put upon his head, whereupon he was *martyred* by beheading.	
					Alexander by his great strength of body and grace, surviving many great torments inflicted on him for Religion, was by the repute thereof, adjoined Bishop of *Jerusalem* to *Narcissus* the former Bishop of that seat being 163 years old, and unwieldy to govern alone.	
					Three malicious false witnesses acculing this *Narcissus*, confirmed it with imprecations of burning, deaths sickness, and losing both the eyes to themselves if their false accusations were not true: which being false, those several imprecations were truly executed upon them by the Lord, to each his own wish.	
					Andoclus sent by *Polycarp* into *France* for his spreading the Gospel there, was beaten with staves and bats, and beheaded, and so martyred.	
					Asclepiades a persecuted Confessor, Bishop of *Antioch*.	
					Irenæus, Bishop of *Lions*, Martyr; commended by *Tertullian* to be *the greatest searcher of all kind of Learning.*	

He

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					He as his name signifies, a man of peace, compoling by his great Learning many differences, and suppressing many errors wherewith the Church in his time did swarm.	
					Not long after this *Irenæus*, flourished *Tertullian*, an Ecclesiastical writer, commended by *Vincentius Lirinensis*, to be the *Flower of all Latine Writers*, and one that *by his eloquence of stile compelled assent*, having in it *as many sentences as words, and as many victories as sentences.* This *Tertullian* made a singular Apology for the Christians, touching every particular false accusation, shewing the impossibility and improbability of any truth in them.	60
				victor.	This *Victor* is reported (though *Platina* saith the contrary) by *Damasus*, and the followers of the common Chronicles, to die a Martyr. But he moved some stir about the time of *Easter*, which the Apostles had left as indifferent, who by reason of their intentiveness of Preaching, gave no heed to times and days; nor did they bind the Church to any Ceremonies saving of strangled things, and blood. Which of blood seemeth to be given to the Church, to prevent the scandal the heathen Gentiles laid upon the Christians eating blood, and so to continue only whiles the Persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Also *Pius, Anicetus, Soter*, and *Eleutherius*, having changed *Easter-day*, from the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, to the next Sunday after, and being opposed by *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Egesippus* and *Polycarp*, sent by the brethren of *Asia* to *Rome* to *Anicetus*, to confer with him about it, and not agreeing in opinion, the learned Men of those Times, with those now named, keeping Charity, left the time of *Easter*, as *Adiaphorom*, a thing indifferent in the Church till the time of this *Victor*. Now this *Victor* was so violently set upon upholding the *Romish* determination of his former Predecessors, as a necessary: that he would Excommunicate all the Bishops and Churches of *Asia* as Hereticks, unless they would be of his Opinion, had not *Irenæus* restrained him. Yet was *Irenæus*, also *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Cesarea, Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem, Palmas* of *Pontus, Bacchillus* of *Corinth*, &c. of the judgment of *Victor*, touching keeping *Easter* upon the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon in the first month, for these two Reasons: First, because they would differ as much as might be from the Jews; Secondly, because the Resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day. On the contrary opinion were divers Bishops in *Asia*, chiefly *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, alledging Scripture, the example of some of the Apostles, and custom of other Fathers. But *Irenæus* still took off the edge of sharp Contentions; and so the Controversie remained free till the time of the *Nicene* Council. And other Doctors of Christian liberty were free till *Victors* time, about *Anno* 200.	62
203			Zephirus.		The two Epistles in the first Tome of the Councils, fathered upon this *Zephirus* Bishop, may justly be suspected to be fained. And that those and other ordinances spoken of before, were invented by some to advance the Papacy, and naming them with the names of those Fathers. The same we may think of the patins of Glass ascribed to the said *Zephirus*. For that time of his sitting Bishop, some Writers make it 8, some 16, some 17 years. The most agree between 17 and 18.	
		Bassianus.			This *Severus* invades *England*, he casts up a Ditch of 130 miles, from Sea to Sea, beginning at *Tine*, and reaching to the *Scottish Sea*.	62
			This same Bassianus extends his Empire over England.		He removing thence to *York*, was there by the Northern men and Scots besieged and slain.	
214					*Severus* leaving behind him two Sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*, *Bassianus* slays *Geta*, and governs the Empire alone about six years, and then was slain of his next Successors.	
		Macrinus with his son Diadumenus.			These two, *Mac.* and *Diad.* having Reigned one year, were slain of their own people.	
219		Varius Heliogabalus.			This *Heliogabalus* affected pomp in his life exceedingly; burning balm for oyl in his Lamps, filling his Fish-ponds with rose-water, wearing apparel of gold, and most costly silks, those set with precious stones, feeding himself with variety of dishes every second day, furnished with whatsoever was rarest and dearest; He affected too a pompous death, providing (in case his wicked life should make his enemies besiege him) swords of gold, silken ropes, cups of Jacinths to hold poyson, pavements of precious stones, wherewith to stab, hang, poyson and brain himself. He affected Luft as well as Pride, having 600 chariots of bauds and harlots to attend him in his progress. He was slain of his Souldiers, being an enemy to all honesty, and advancer only of base ones.	63
224		Aurel. Alex. Severus.			This *Severus* was adopted by *Heliogabalus*, being without Issue. He was learned, and in his actions constantly advised by his Senate; he so hated bribed Judges, that he would vomit when he saw them; and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. He dismissed all idle and needless servants from his Court. He favored the Christians, saying of a place where they did meet for good Duties, which the Cooks and Tiplers would have taken from them, It was fitter for Gods service, than the use of Scullians, and so restored it to the Christians. Observe hence, that as yet there were no Christian Churches in *Rome*.	
					He put to death *Turinus* with smoke, for taking mony of People, to get for them the Emperors favor, which he, lying, boasted he had at command; The Cryer proclaiming at his execution, *Smoke he sold, and smoke he is punished with.*	63

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					His mother *Mammea* hearing of *Origens* fame, sent for him from *Alexandria*, to hear him, who came to her and the Emperor her son.	
					Though he favored the Christians, yet some were martyred in his time, as Historians affirm, giving this reason; That by him no Proclamation was set forth for the safety of the Christians.	
		Calixtus.			The persons persecuted under him they reckon to be,	
					Calixtus martyred. Many Ordinances of the Fast of *Ember-week*, of not accusing Bishops, *&c.* fally put upon him.	
227		Urbanus.			*Urbanus* Martyred. His Epistle decretal of Church-goods, Confirmations, *&c.* may justly be thought to be feigned.	64
					Tiburtius and *Valerianus*, Converts of *Urbanus*, and Noble men of *Rome*, Martyred.	
					Cecilia, wife of *Valerianus*, a great confirmer of him and his brother *Tiburtius*, and a means of the Baptizing of 400 persons (as the story reports) Martyred.	
					Agapetus of fifteen years, who could neither be made to sacrifice to Idols, nor be killed with whips, hot water poured upon him, or wild Beasts, was by Beheading Martyred.	
236		Pontianus.			The Executioner of this *Agapetus*, named *Antiochus*, in the executing of this Martyr, fell down from his Seat, crying, That his inward Bowels burned within him, and so dyed.	
					Many more (as Authors affirm) as well of the Senate and chief of *Rome*, as others were martyred under this Emperor, and their Heads were hanged over the City gates, to terrifie others from the profession of Christ.	
					Albeit, as touching the time of these fore-named Martyrs, I suppose they suffered rather under *Maximinus* or *Decius*, than under *Alexander*.	
237	Maximinus.				This Emperor *Maximinus*, was chosen Emperor rather by the wilfulness of the Souldiers, than the will of the Senate. He caused the sixth Persecution, especially against the Teachers, hoping that when they were smitten, the Sheep would soon be scattered. And therefore it is the more likely that *Urbanus*, and the rest above-named in the former persecution, suffered rather under this *Maximinus*, than under that *Alexander*.	
					Origen, under this Emperor, wrote his Book *De Martyrio*.	
					Pontianus the Bishop of *Rome* banished.	
240	Gordianus.				This *Gordianus* was a learned and quiet Prince, and governed with much peace.	65
					Pontianus the Bishop of *Rome* dyes. His Epistles decretal, touching the hyperbolical dignifying of the Clergy, probably are feigned.	
					At this time were raised in the Church other famous Fathers, as,	
					Philetus Bishop of *Antioch*. *Zebenus* Bishop of *Antioch*.	
					Ammonius the School-master of *Origen*, who wrote divers Books in defence of Christian Religion: and continued himself in the Profession thereof.	
					Julius Africanus, who was (as *Nicephorus* writes) a Scholar of *Origen*, and a great Writer of Histories.	
					Natalius, who had suffered as a good Confessor, much persecution, but being hired with preferment of being a Bishop, and by many, *viz.* 150 pieces of Silver every month, he turned to be of the Sect of *Theodocus*. But being much afflicted by the Lord, he repenting, returned to the Christian Congregation, and was received.	
		Anterius.			*Eusebius* saith, That because this Bishop of *Rome*, *Anterius* did cause the lives and deaths of Martyrs to be written, that he himself was Martyred by *Maximinus* the Judge.	
					Hippolytus a Bishop, a great Writer, *Eusebius* and *Hierome* mentioning his Books, and a Martyr, by being drawn with wild Horses through the Thickets.	
					Gordianus Emperor, is slain; *Philip* Emperor, after him.	
246	Philippus the first Christian Emperor.				This *Philippus* Emperor, took to himself his Son *Philip* assistant in governing. This *Philippus*, with his Son and all his Family, being converted by *Fabianus* and *Origen*, were Baptized: And howsoever *Pompinius Letus* writes, he was a dissembling Prince; this is certain, that for Religions sake, he and his Son were slain by *Decius* one of his Captains.	
250	Decius				This *Decius* Emperor, moves the seventh Persecution, which was a most terrible one, because, besides *Philippus* his Christianity, he had committed his Treasure to *Fabian* the Bishop.	
		Fabianus.			This Bishop *Fabian* was a married Man, and chosen Bishop, as *Eusebius* reports, by the lighting of a Dove upon his head, as he stood among the Assembly met to choose a Bishop of *Rome*. He was Martyred by *Decius*.	
					The Ordinances of burning the old oyl, and consecrating new once a year; of not Marrying within the fifth Degree, *&c.* may justly be suspected of feigning.	
					To this *Fabian* wrote *Origen de Orthodoxia fidei suæ*, that is, Of the righteousness of his Faith.	
					Origen living to this *Decius*, suffered under him many bands, torments, rackings, &c. for Religion. After all which, being brought by the Officers to the Altar, whereon lay an *Ethiop*, and commanded to Sacrifice to the Idol, or else he should have his Body defiled by the *Ethiop*; he chose rather to Sacrifice, for which he was Excommunicated of the Church; and for his calling upon the Christians to carry those Boughs which he had in his hand, in honor to Christ, which the Heathen used to honor their gods withal, was by the Church of *Alexandria* removed from their Communion, and so departed thence for shame to *Jewry*. Where being im-	

portuned

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					portuned by the Congregation to make some exhortation to the people, after long denial, he stood up and read the Verse of the fifth Psalm, and so sat down and wept. What became of him at last, is not known, but only that, as *Suidas* saith, he dyed and was buried at *Tyrus*, and ended his life, as *Eusebius* saith, in great misery and poverty.	
					This *Origen* Usher in the School at *Alexandria*, was one *Heraclas*; who for his excellent parts was Master of that School, and afterward Bishop of *Alexandria*, next after *Demetrius*.	
					After *Heraclas* succeeded *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, as he succeeded him before in the School. This *Dionysius* writes of *Heraclas* thus, *Hunc ego, &c.* that is, *This Canon I received from blessed* Heraclas *our Pope*. Yet observes, that this *Heraclas* was no Bishop of *Rome*.	
					Nicephorus saith of this Persecution, that it was as easie to number the sands, as the Martyrs under this *Decius*. The more famous were these,	
					Asclepiades Bishop of *Antioch*, a persecuted Confessor under *Severus*, dyes a Martyr under *Decius*.	
					Babylas Bishop of *Antioch*, for not suffering the Emperor, having committed a Murder, to enter into the Christians Temple, was martyred. Being buryed in the Temple of *Apollo*; he causeth the Oracle that was there to cease. Whereupon his Body was taken up again.	
					Babylas Bishop of *Nicomedia*, Martyr.	
					Forty Virgins in the City of *Antioch*.	
					Martyrs in *Phrygia*.	
					Confessors at *Babylon* carryed to *Spain* to be Martyred.	
					Divers Martyred in *Cappadocia*.	
					Divers Martyred in *Perside*.	
					Many Martyred at *Alexandria*.	
					A Sooth-sayer was a great stirrer up of this Persecution (being a great friend to Idolatry) by whose means the multitude was so inraged against them that would not sacrifice to their Idols, that they stone *Metra* a Christian Priest, and dragged *Quinta* a godly Woman through the streets, and killed her. They went into Christians Houses, and took away their goods of price, and burned the rest in the Market-place.	
					Apollonia a Martyr, had her teeth dasht out. And being threatned with a fire made before her to burn her, unless she would commit Idolatry, she voluntarily leaped into the fire.	
					Dissention among the Persecutors, turned Persecution for a time from the Christians upon themselves.	
					Revolters being perswaded to Sacrifice to the Idols, come trembling, as if they themselves should be Sacrificed.	
					A Souldier taking part with the Christians against them that rail at them, is Martyred for the same.	
					Ammonarian was tormented for telling the Judge she would not yield to his wicked commands for any torments he would inflict. Which the accordingly performed; and the Judge was ashamed to be overcome of a Woman.	68
					Knights and Warriers standing by the Tribunal, where the Martyrs were condemned, made signs to the fearful, imboldning them to Confession and Martyrdom. They being espied, and about to be questioned, pressed in to the Bench, professed Christ, and were Martyred.	
					Chæremon a married Bishop, fled with his Wife in this Persecution in the Mountain of *Arabia*, and was never seen more.	
					Dionysius charged by *Germanus* Bishop, for flying in Persecution, cleareth himself, calling God to witness, that he regarded not his life, but the Souldiers that kept him, leaving him through a fear, by the shreeking of some not far off, he was left alone, and escaped.	
					Christophorus, of twelve cubits high, as Writers report, was martyred in this Persecution; whether he be that *Christopher* of whom the speech goes, he carryed Christ, *&c.* it is uncertain.	69
					Abundance in this Persecution wandred in Mountains, and were *starved*, or *devoured of Beasts*.	
					A Souldier out-facing all threats to draw him to Idolatry, is by the Pretor put into a soft bed in a pleasant Garden of Lillies and Roses, and a beautiful Harlot sent in to him with Inbracements, inticing him to Adultery. But he bites off his tongue whiles she was kissing him, and spit it in her face, and rejected her wicked offers.	
					Theodora Virgin, for refusing to sacrifice to Idols, was adjudged to the stews. A Christian Souldier going thither, as if (as the people hoped) he would have been one of them that would have abused her, changed his habit for hers, he sending her to escape, and staying there himself to dye in her stead; who being condemned, *Theodora* to release him, declares her self to be the right party. The Pretor cutting off their hands, burns both him and her.	
					Nichomachus in his torments renouncing his Christianity, and offering Sacrifice to the Idols, was, when he was released, taken estoons with a wicked Spirit, thrown on the ground, that he bit off his tongue, and so died. Many more examples there were in this Persecution of Gods Judgments on revolters.	71
					Upon these revolters rose first the Heresie of *Novatus*, *viz.* that revolters for fear of Torments, might not be reconciled nor admitted to the Church, though they repented. This *Novatus* makes three Bishops drunk, that they might Ordain him Bishop of *Rome* against *Cornelius* the then lawful Bishop of that See.	71

Upon

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					Upon these two Bishops of *Rome* set up together, doth *Cyprian* so much write of Unity and one Bishop, and not otherwise is he to be understood as any way to speak for a Pope.	
255		Cornelius.			A Synod is held at *Rome* against this upstart Bishop, *Novatus*.	
					This *Cornelius* is highly commended of *Cyprian* for his worthiness, of *Hierome* for his eloquence, and of others for his *Martyrdom*. Hence conceive all the trivial Decretals to be fained.	
					This most Tyrannical *Decius* having reigned a very short time, *viz.* between two or three years, was slain of the *Barbarians*.	
	Gallus and Volusianus his son reign together.				After *Decius* his death God sent a Pestilence on the Empire of ten years continuance. In it the Christians visited each other, though Infection did kill the Visiters next in short space. But the Gentiles being cruelly uncharitable, neglected their Brethren, being sick, and cast out their dead Bodies to the dogs.	72. 73.
					Upon this Pestilence, *Cyprian* wrote his Book, *De Mortalitate*.	
					Gallus and *Volusianus* succeed by Treason next to *Decius*, and reign but a short time for their persecuting. *Gallus* setting forth Decrees for Persecution, banishing many Bishops and Pastors from their Flocks, condemning others to the Mettal-mines.	
					To this time I refer the banishment of *Cyprian*, he being then Bishop of *Carthage*. Who in his absence from his Flock by this Exilement, made supply by his many excellent Letters, which are yet in a great part extant.	
256		Lucius.			This *Lucius* was also banished under these two Co-Emperors. This *Lucius* is said to Ordain, That two Priests, with three Deacons, should always be with a Bishop to witness his conversation; which Order may be very good and useful. But it seems not to agree to *Lucius* his time, wherein there was not such Greatness of Bishops to retain and maintain such Retinue; nor such freedom from Persecution, as that they durst be seen openly abroad. Other Ordinances put upon him are suspected of faining.	73.
		Stephanus.			This Bishop is said by many Authors to dye a Martyr. Many Decrees fathered upon him: but they are feigned.	
					These two *Roman* Emperors reigning covertly together, were very courteous to the Christians, by reason whereof, and the greatness of the Pestilence in the Empire, Persecution was extinguished for some two or three years, insomuch that the Emperors Court was full of Christians. But after *Valerian* having an *Egyptian* a chief Ruler of the heathen Synagogue, and chief of the Inchanters, being hindered by the Christians Prayers from his feats and charms, complaining and incensing thereupon the Emperor, the said *Valerian* was moved by him to move the eighth persecution.	
259	Valerianus and his son Galienus.				*Cyprian* adds in his fourth Book, and fourth Epistle, certain causes on the Christians part of this Persecution; *viz.* The sins and dissentions of the Christians.	
					Finally, That wicked Accusers caused this Persecution, by accusing the Christians of being the causes of the evils of Famine, Pestilence, *&c.* on the Empire.	75.
					Against all these *Cyprian* writes an eloquent Apology, entituled, *Contra Demetrianum*, as *Tertullian* had done before, *Contra Scapulam*.	
					In the time of this Persecution was *Cyprian* Martyred, whose name was *alias Statius*, whose Country was *Carthage* in *Africa*. Who was made first a Priest, then the Bishop of *Carthage*. He was very careful of the afflicted Brethren, a great reader of *Tertullian*, and a man that had many godly Visions, as of future Persecutions, *&c.* At last, refusing to offer to Idols, this Persecution took off his Head, and crowned him with Martyrdom. For the excellent Sentences penned by him, his Books tell the World of them sufficiently. He had his blemishes, as other Fathers were not free (though the Papists fault is to make too much of every thing.) *Origin* had something that the Church now holds not. *Polycarp*, observed *Easter* after the Jews custom. *Ignatius* makes fasting on the Sabbath as bad as killing Christ. *Irenæus* held that man was not made perfect in the beginning, and seems to defend Free-will. *Tertullian* is noted for a *Chiliast*, and a *Montanian*. *Justin* seems to incline to *Chiliasm*, to the opinion of Angels falling by concupiscence of Women, and to the Doctrine of Free-will. And this *Cyprian* held contrary to the Church, Re-baptizing of Infants Baptized by Hereticks; whereupon fell great contention between him and *Stephanus* Bishop of *Rome*.	76. 77. 78.
					Besides this *Cyprian*, there was a second, who of an Idolater, and a practiser of Magick, was converted to a Christian, made a Priest and Bishop of *Antioch*, of which he was a native Citizen, and after was Martyred under *Diocletian*. Lastly, a third *Cyprian*, long after both these, there was in the time of the Emperor *Julius Apostata*.	
					This Bishop of *Rome* is in this Persecution Martyred with six Christians, for being Christians.	
		Xistus the second, alias, Sixtus the second.			*Laurence*, in this Persecution was Martyred, between whom and *Xistus* the Bishop, was love and words, as between the dearest Father and Son, especially when he saw *Xistus* going to Martyrdom. This *Laurence* was a vertuous Levite, a Minister of the Sacraments, and a Disturber of the Churches riches. Whereupon the covetous Emperor demanding where he had bestowed the same, after three days respite gotten of the Emperor for answer, he brings the poor, saying, These are the precious Treachery of the Church. The Emperor conceiving himself mocked in this Answer,	79.

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					swer, commands *Laurence* to be tormented to death, by pinching him with fiery Tonges, girding him with burning Plates, laying him on the iron Grate or Grid-iron red hot, rosting, broiling, toffing and turning him. In the suffering of all which, this is all that *Laurence* said,	
					This side is now rosted enough, turn up, O Tyrant great. And see whether rosted or raw thou think'st the better meat.	
					By this suffering of *Laurence*, thus patiently suffering death in so great torments, a *Roman* Soldier was converted, desiring to be baptised; thereupon he was martyred.	
					Dyonisius Bishop of *Alexandria*, with certain brethren, was banished in this Persecution to *Cephro*, for not worshipping the Heathen Gods, and proving that there was one only true God whom they ought to worship.	80
					In this Persecution were Martyred, Men, old and young, Women, Wives and Maids, and young simple innocents.	
					Eusebius the Deacon, notwithstanding his many persecutions, lived, ministring to the living fettered Confessors, and burying the dead Martyrs, and after was made Bishop of *Laodicea*, and after died in peace, about the year 268.	
					In *Cesarea Palestine* suffered Martyrdom, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, who became Martyrs by seeing the Christian courage of others Martyred.	
					In the City of *Carthage* at this time were martyred 300.	
					In *Simela* of *Italy Pontius* was Martyred by being first hanged on the Rack, then cast to the wild Beasts, then these not hurting him, was cast too into the fire, of which, as *Vincentius* saith, being not hurt, he was laft of all beheaded and cast into the flood: His tormentors were so vexed after with spirits, that they bit off their tongues and died.	80
					Bergonensis is here to be reproved, for writing in his 8th Book in the story of this Emperor *Valerianus*, that *Philippus* was Bishop of *Alexandria*, and beheaded under the same *Valerian*, which is clean contrary to approved Authors, and the course of time.	
					At this time was one *Philippus* made President of *Alexandria*, who had a Daughter named *Eugenia*, of rare beauty, who to avoid Marriage with a Pagan and Heathen Persecutor, fled from her Father, going in Mans Apparel, calling her self *Eugenius*, and for her parts was made Head of a Society of Christians, where a lustful Matron being enamoured with her beauty, supposing her to be a man, laboured to draw her to incleanness with her; but *Eugenia* not consenting, this Matron accuseth *Eugenia* to have laboured to deflower her; whereupon the matter was brought before *Philippus* the President, who according to allegations, being about to condemn her to death, *Eugenia*, seeing no other evidences would serve, discovered her self to *Philippus*, to be an innocent, a Woman, and his Daughter, and so was restored and received of *Philippus* as an innocent and a Daughter, who not long after converted her Father to Christianity, who after died also a Martyr, and after his death *Eugenia* returning to *Rome* was also martyred.	
					In the 6th year of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* were *Victor* and *Victorinus*, having been imprisoned three years, martyred.	82
262					*Fructuosus* Bishop of *Tarracona* in *Spain*, with his two Deacons, *Argurius*, and *Eulogius* were martyred at this time in the fire, for calling Idols dumb gods of stocks, and professing his worship, and opinion of the true God. It is reported by some that a Soldier saw the Heavens opened over them as they were in the fire, receiving them, a Soldier and the persecuting Presidents Daughter beholding the same.	
					This Emperor *Valerian* having thus persecuted the Church, two of the seven years that he had reigned, he was taken in War by the King of *Persia*, and made his block to take Horse to his dying day.	
					Claudius his persecuting President was so vexed with the Devil, that he bit off his tongue and died.	
					Galienus the son of *Valerian*, for his part in persecuting, had many Earthquakes, and 30 Rebellions moved in his Empire. Whereupon he mitigated Persecution, yet some were somewhat troubled. His Father reigned seven years together with him; and he reigned nine alone, somewhat more quietly.	82
266		Dionysius.			The Ordinances put on that *Dionysius* are feigned. Some say he was Bishop 9 years, others 6 years and 2 Months.	
272	Claudius Quintillianus. Aurelianus.				This *Claudius* was also a quiet Emperor. He reigned about two years.	
					This Emperor was also quiet. He continued but seventeen days.	
					This *Aurelianus* begins mildly, but anon after moves the ninth Persecution.	83
					In his mild time there was a Council of Christians at *Antioch*, he seeming not to be against it or them.	
					In the beginning of his Tyranny, he makes his entrance into bloud with the death of his Sisters Son.	
					As he was about to seal an Edict for Persecution, he was so terrified with Thunder and Lightning, that it stopped his Tyranny. About the fifth or sixth year of his Reign he was slain.	
278	Pub. An. Tacitus. Florianus.				his Emperor *Tacitus* reigned but six Months.	
					his *Florian* reigned but sixty days.	

In

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280	*Mar. Au.*	*Felix*			In the first year of this *Probus* was *Felix* Bishop, who died a Martyr.	
281	*Probus.*	*Eutichianus.*			This Emperor *Probus* was a quiet Prince, and an enemy to idle soldiers; keeping his soldiers to diligent labour; whereupon his soldiers slew him, having reigned about six years.	
284	*Carus* with his two sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus.*				This *Carus* warring against the *Persians* was slain with lightning. *Numerianus* immoderately lamenting for his Father, by much weeping made his eyes sore, whereby he being constrained to keep within doors, was slain of *Aper* his Father-in-law, which *Aper* would answer, when any asked for *Numerian*, that he kept private because of his sore eyes. Thus was he justly slain by *Aper*, who had slain godly *Cyrillus* for refusing to admit him an Idolater into the Christians Temple.	84
285	*Aper* usurps the Empire.	*Caius* who was martyred in the 10th Persecution.			These two *Car.* and *Num.* being slain in the *East* parts; *Carinus* the other Son reigned alone in *Italy*, with much wickedness. At last the Army set up *Diocletian* to be Emperor, and the Tribune slays *Carinus*, whose Wife *Carinus* had defiled. Thus these three *Car. Num.* and *Carin.* reigned not above three years.	
289					Thus the Church had much peace all this while, till the 19th year of *Diocletian:* For	
290			*Carausius alias Carausius.*		The Church being in peace with the Heathens, dissents within her self, and lying still, gathers corruption; anon therefore to quiet and purge her in her self, Gods just wisdom sends them more Persecution, the tenth time.	
	Diocletian he chooseth *Maximianus* fellow Emperor with him.				This *Diocletian* being nominated (as we said) to be Emperor, and being told by *Druas* his Concubine, he must slay a Bore before he could be Emperor, he runs with his sword upon *Aper*, for that, as he said, he had unjustly slain *Numerian*, and so slays him, and comes fully to the Crown.	
296			*Alectus.*		As *Diocletian* for the troublousness of the Empire had joyned to him *Maximian*; so these two chose to them	
					Galerius and *Constantius* } *Cesars* under them.	
304			*Asclepiodatus. Coilus.*			
		Marcellinus who was cited up, made to appear, and condemned by the Council of *Sinuess*, Martyr. *Marcellus* Martyr. *Eusebius* Martyr. *Miltiades* Martyr.			About the nineteenth year of this *Diocletian*, doth he begin the tenth Persecution, which lasted ten years together, exceeding the rest in length and sharpness. His first act in this Tragedy (after the abovesaid peaceable preface) was to pull down the Christian Churches to the ground, to burn the Scriptures, and displace all Magistrates that would not abjure Christianity.	85
					The second Act was to affay by all possible torments, to make Bishops and Elders to sacrifice to Idols.	
					In the third act he comes to the common Christians; but first begins in his Camp, where many of his soldiers valiantly and voluntarily died to be soldiers of Christ, under the colours of Martyrdom. An infinite number of others were martyred. Nay, the very places and torments where and wherewith they were martyred, arise to a mighty multitude.	86
					At *Nicomedia*, a Christian, a Nobleman born, seeing the Edict of the Emperor set up for Persecution, takes it down, and tears it, the two Emperors being in the City, for which he was miserably tormented.	
					Diocletian tyrannizeth in the East, and *Maximinus* in the West.	
					Serena, the Wife of *Diocletian* the Emperor, is martyred for Christianity.	86
					20000 Martyrs burned together in one Church.	
					Martyrs in *Phrygia* are burnt with the whole City.	
					Divers in this Persecution were martyred in *France*, in *Spain*, *Britany*, so that in these Countries some Rivers were coloured with the bloud of Christians.	87
					Eusebius an eye-witness of torment-Martyrdom executed on divers in *Thebaid*, and of tormentors wearied with exercising cruelty on the invincible patience of Christians, singing Psalms in torment to the last gasp.	
					Marcellinus revolts, anon he repents, and dyes a Martyr.	88
					An hundred Martyrs slain at once in one day, of men, women and children.	
					17000 Martyrs in one month slain.	
					300 Martyred at one time in *Alexandria*.	
					Mauritius the Captain, with 6666 of his soldiers martyred.	
					Victor with 360 martyred.	
					Christians increase in persecution.	88
305					*Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, tyred with persecuting, give up their Empire, and lead a private life, having reigned about one and twenty years, or near upon.	
					These two, *Maximinus* and *Constantius* before *Cesars*, now become Emperors; *Maximinus* in the East, and *Constantius* in the West.	
	Maximinus and *Constantius.*		This *Constantius* extends his Empire over *England.*		*Maximinus* chooseth his Sons *Maximinus* and *Severus Cesars* under him.	
					Constantius chooseth *Constantinus* his Son *Cesar* under him.	
309	*Maxentius* set up by the soldiers.				Against this *Maxentius* thus set up by the soldiers, *Maximinus* sent his Son *Severus*, which *Severus* being slain; he chose *Licinius Cesar* in his room.	
					These thus set up, come to be Emperors, *viz. Maximinus, Constantius, Maxentius*, and the rest as *Cesars*, continued the decennal Persecution, after *Diocletian* and his Partner had given over. Saving that *Constantius*, and especially his Son *Constantinus* were kind to the Christians.	

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311		*Silvester the First.*			*Constantius* seeming to be willing to most advance those that at a certain appointed solemnity, would most readily offer Sacrifice, and thereby according to his desire, discovering who were Heathenish Idolaters, and who Christians, he commending the Christian refusers and deriders of that idolatry, chose them for his Court, banished the others from him, as unfit for his service, that were Traitors to God.	90
					Contrariwise, *Maximinus* was very wicked in idolatry and cruelty; where God struck him with a swelling and Fistula in the belly and secret parts; which putrifying, brake out with swarms of Lice, with such a stink, that his Physician could not endure the same; wherefore he was slain of this *Maximinus*. But by anguish of his Disease, he slacked Persecution, as being conscious, and accordingly making confession that his persecuting had brought this upon him; and so acknowledging his offences to God.	
					The Infidels themselves extol the only true God of the Christians.	
					Anon, by the wicked device of *Theotechnus* an Inchanter, bringing the Christians out of credit with the Emperor, and of *Præfectus Castrorum*, who got certain Women to say in writing, that once they were Christians, and what lascivious acts they knew the Christians did upon the Sundays; the Emperor was incensed to set up Decrees of fresh persecution, in brass, whereby many Bishops and others were martyred.	91
					Upon this followed great Famine and Pestilence on the Heathen; to whom the Christians then shewed great relief, when the Heathens forsook each other.	92
					By this some peace came again to the Church; *Maximinus* revoking his brazen Decrees, and punishing his Enchanters that incensed him against the Christians.	93
					Maximianus pretending to ask aid of *Constantinus*, to depose wicked *Maxentius* his Son, set up by the Soldiers to be Emperor (as we said) but intending indeed to slay *Constantius* (for *Maximianus* would have fain resumed the Empire) was slain by *Constantine*'s Officers. Hanged as some say.	
					Maxentius this whiles goes on his wicked tyrannical reign, at *Rome*, murthering Husbands to be naught with their Wives: so that one Gentlewoman, her Husband being slain, slew her self to avoid his ravishing of her.	93
			This *Constantinus* is created Emperor also over *Britain.*		*Constantinus*, intreated of the *Romans*, came against *Maxentius* for his wickedness, warring upon him; and upon a Bridge made of Boats over *Tibur* (which *Maxentius* made to intrap and drown *Constantine*) was *Maxentius* intrapped *and drowned.*	94
	Constantine the *Great*, and *Licinius*, of *Cesars* are made Emperors				*Constantine* sets forth Decrees of favour to the Christians.	
					Licinius feignedly joyns with *Constantine* in that act; for at the first there was great familiarity between them, *Licinius* marrying *Constantine*'s Sister. But all *Licinius* his love was feigned, who, as he was an enemy to learning, calling it poyson; and an enemy, to honesty, loving all base vices; so he was an enemy to *Constantine* secretly (plotting against his person) and to the Christians, because he said that they prayed for *Constantine*, and not for him. And so he banished some Christians from his Court, and as covertly as he could, for *Constantine* persecuted divers Bishops and other Christians, very sorely, for about six years.	96
		Marcus.			For these things, at last, *Constantine* and he joyn Battel, and after many Battels, wherein still *Licinius* was beaten, at last was slain. *Anno* 324.	
					Constantius the good Emperor, the Father of *Constantine* died a natural death, and was buried at *York.*	
		Julius.			*Diocletian* died (as some write) by his own poison. Others say with sorrow of *Constantine*'s prospering.	
331					About the time of this Persecution was St. *Alban*, who was the first that I find that suffered Martyrdom in this Kingdom.	98
					Romanus, a rare Martyr, suffered at this time, who said, that so many wounds as he had, so many mouths he had to praise God.	
					A very young Child is a Confessor of Christs God-head, and is martyred, the Mother rejoycing in the same.	99
					Menas, a famous Martyr, in the midst of great torments, cried out, that there was nothing to be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven.	100
					Martyrs put in a cold Pond all a Winters night.	
					A Schoolmaster martyred by his Scholars. The story is in Verse.	101
					Eulalia, a singular Martyr, in the midst of her torment praiseth God.	102
					A place of *Platina* confirmed.	103
					Great Persecution there was in *Persia*, where were slain sixteen thousand Martyrs.	109
					Constantinus writes to the King of *Persia* in behalf of the Christians.	
					Also he sets forth Edicts in his own Kingdom, of all peace and liberty (the Persecutors being now vanquished) and sets up Schools, prescribes Prayers, establisheth Religion, *&c.* in his Empire; conferring many privileges upon the Clergy.	

Thus

Anno Christi.	Emper. of Greece or Constantinople.	Bishops of Rome.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Thus the Ten PERSECUTIONS (having lasted three hundred years) end, and a general PEACE begins in the Church, in the whole Roman Empire, in Constantine's good Government.	Vol. I. Page.
337			Octavius. Maximianus. Gratianus. Constantinus the second.			
348		Liberius.	Kings of Britain.		In the time of this *Vortiger*, the *Picts* and *Scots* so spoiled this Land, that *Vortiger* was feign to crave aid of the *Saxons*; which *Saxons*, at last growing strong, began to subdue the Land to themselves. Whereupon the *Britains* complained to *Vortigern* against the repairing of so many *Saxons*. But he not hearkning to them, was after seven years reign depoſed by them, and *Vortimer* his Son is chosen King in his room, as followeth in the Table.	121
447			Saxon Kings begin to Invade, and prepare for the setting up in England their Saxonish Heptarchy. Vortigernus. alias Vortigerm.			
454			Vortimerus.		This *Vortimer* in some good measure suppresseth the *Saxons*. At length he was poisoned of his stepmother, having reigned six years.	
456			Vortigernus alias Vortigerm.		Then the said *Vortigern*, before depoſed, having again obtained this Kingdom, *Hengistus* enters it with abundance of *Saxons*. And when he saw the *Britains* too strong for him, he concluded peace with them; and under that covert, works Treason, slaying the Barons at *Salsbury* Plain; and thereby took the King Prisoner: And so in this Kingdom of *England* began the Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, until they came to seven Kingdoms, all *Saxonish*. Yet so, as though the *Britains* were thus deceived of their Land by the *Saxons*, the *Britains* were not utterly driven out, but that a certain Kingdom remained amongst them in some part of the Land; namely, about *Cornwal* and the parts of *Cambria*, which is divided into two parts, *viz. South-Wales*, called *Demetia*; and *North-Wales*, called *Venedocea*. Yea, many time the *Britains* did win upon the *Saxons*, till the time of *Carecius*; at which time the *Britains* were utterly vanquished out of *Britain* to *Wales* by *Gormundus*, whom they themselves sent for out of *Ireland* for their help.	
462			Now the Heptarchy, or seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, Picts, Kent, then South-Saxe, *West-Saxe*, Northumberland, *Mercia*, *East-Saxe*, *East Angles*, begin every one in his order: Kent. South Saxe. West Saxe. Northumberland. Mercia. East Saxe. East Angles.	The Britain Kings are driven to corners, their Kingdom now extending commonly but to part of *Cornwal* and *Cambria*.		
			Kent. In *Kent* reigned *Hengistus* 31 years. *Eda* or *Ise* 24. *Octa Ossa Emericus* 26. *Ethelbertus* 56. *Edbaldus* 24. *Erconbertus* 24. *Egebertus* 9. *Lothavius* 12. *Eadricus* 6. *Nitredus & Wilnardus* 7. *Withredus* 31. *Esert* 23. *Ethelbert* 11. *Alricus* 34. *Pedhertus* 2. *Eadbredus* 18. *Balredus* 18.	*Aurelius Ambrosius.*		
			Southsax.			
* 478			* Over *Southsexons* Reigned *Elle* 31 years. *Cissa*. *Nancanleus*. *Porth*. *Ethelwulfus*. *Redwallus*. *Candebertus*. *Ethelredus*. *Adelwold*. *Adilbrich* 5. *Adhunus*.	*Uter Pendragon.* *Arthur.*		

Anno Christi	Emper. of Greece	Kings of England. Romans Bishops. Kent.	South-Sax.	West-Sax.	Northumb.	Mercia.	East-Sax.	East Angles.	Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Page.
*522				* Over *West-Saxons* reigned *Cradocus* 17. *Kenricus* 26. *Cheolwus* 30. *Ceiricus* 5. *Ceinwulfus* 18. *Kingilfus & Scinilthmus*. 32. *Kenewalchus* 21.				Constantine.		
* 547				*Sexburga* 1. *Escwinus* 2. *Centwinus*, *Ceolwalfus* 3. *Ina* 36. *Edelardus* 14. *Cuthredus* 16. *Sigebert* 1. *Kinulfus* 31. *Brithricus* 13. *Egbertus*.	* Over *Northumberland* reigned *Ida* 12 years. After *Ida* this Kingdom was divided into the two Provinces, VIZ. *Deira*. *Bernicia*. Æthelric reigned *Deira*. Adda reigned *Bernicia*. Alle Adda 30. 7. Ailfrithus 5. Edwinus. Northumb. 17. Offi-Eanfucus. Osfridus. Oswald Northumb. Osfricus Northumb. Oswinus & Oswin reign together in *Deira*. 7. Egfridus North. 15. Alfridus, North. 20. Ofredus, North. 11. Kenredus, North. 1. Osricus, North. 10. Celulfus 9. Egbertus 21. Oslafius 1. Mollo 11. Alfredus 10 Ethelbert 5. Alfwaldus 11. Ethelbert North. 16. After this King, this Kingdom ceased for 26 years, till *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, subdued it, as he did other Saxons, to his Dominions. After which *Egbert*, K. of the *West-Saxons* succeeded in Northumberland over which reigned these *West-Saxon* Kings:					
* 561						* Over *Mercia* reigned Crida 25. Wibba 20. Ceorlus 10.					

was the first Christened King of *Sussex*. This shortest Kingdom of the seven, passed into other Kingdoms in the days of *Ina* King of *West-Saxons*. This Kingdom indured about 112 years.

Of the Kings of *West-Saxons* (their Kingdom containing *Somersetshire*, *Barkeshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal*) *Kinigilsus* was the first Christened King of this Kingdom of *West-saxe*: He was after a Monk. —*Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there was Christened and died. —*Ina* went to *Rome*, and was made Monk. —*Sigebert* slew a good Counsellor for giving him good advice. He was depoſed of his people, and slain of that Counsellors Swine-herd. —*Egbert* subdued the other Kingdoms to him, began the Monarchy, and turned the name *Britain* into *Anglia*. This longest continuing Kingdom lasted till *W.* Conqueror's coming. This Kingdom lasted 554 years.

Of the Kings of *Northumberland*. *Ida* had six Children by his Wife, and six by his Concubine. — After *Adda* some Chronicles put in *Bernicia*, King *Glappa*, *Theonulfus*, *Frithulfus*, *Theodericus*. — *Ethelfrid* slew the Monks of *Bangor*, being twenty two hundred, because they prayed for the good success of the *Britains*. — *Edwin*, the first Christened converted King of this Kingdom. —*Osric* and *Eanfrid* are not reckoned in the Race of Kings, because they revolted from Christianity, and were slain. —*Oswald* with a small number conquered *Penda* his great Army through Prayer. He sent for *Aedanus* into *Scotland* to preach, which as he did in *Scottish*, the King expounded into *English*. He gave much alms —*Oswius* fighting against *Penda*, vowed to make his Daughter a Nun, giving with her twelve Lordships to build twelve Monasteries. — *Oswius* slays his partner *Oswinus*, and chooseth another. —*Egfred* married *Etheldrida*, who after twelve years could not be allured to ly with him, getting licence of him to be made a Nun, and after an Abbess. She made but one Meal a day, and never wore linen. —*Alfrid* (as *Beda* saith) was exactly seen in the Scriptures. —*Osred* began his Reign at eight years old. *Celulfe*, after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him *Beda* wrote his History. —*Mollo* was made away with by *Alfredus* his subtil Train: Which *Alfredus* also after ten years was expulsed of his own people. *Ethelbert* was also expulsed. —The two last Kings were slain. This Kingdom lasted 409 years.

Of the Kings of *Mercia*. *Penda* was a great conqueror of others, *viz.* of *Edwin* and *Oswald* Kings of *Northumberland*. Also of *Sigebert*, *Edrike*

Anno Christi.	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	The Kings of England. Kent.	Suthsexens.	Westsexens.	Northumb.	Mercia.	Eastsax.	Eastangles.	Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page
						Westsax Kings. Ethelwolfus, Ethelbertus, Ethelbaldus. Ethelredus.	Penda 30. Peda. Ulfurus 29. Adelred 20. Kenred 5. Ceolred. Ethelbaldus, 41. Beträred 1. Offa 39. Egfred 1. Kenulphus 16 or 20. Kenelm. Ceolwulfus 1 or 3. Bernulphus 3. Ludecanus 2. Wilafus 12. He and his Successors VIZ. Berthulfe 12. Buthredus 20. Celulfus 1. Elfredus 1. Under whom were put two under-Kings, whom the Danes subdued, and reigned themselves, VIZ. Erberbertus, Richa, Egebert, Gurthred, Gurbred. After these Danes, Northumberland came to the Westsaxons, in the time of Athelstan, and his Brother Edmund.	After Alfrid this Kingdom was translated to the Westsax This Kingdom of Mercia contained Huntington, Hertford, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Lichfield, Coventry, Chester, Derbishire, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Oxfordshire, Buck. Dorc. Linc. Leicest.	*Over the Eastsaxons reigned Erchenwinus 35. Sledda 17. Sebertus 14. Sexredus. Sigebertus 23. Sibertus Swithelmus 14. Sigheretus Sibbi Sigchardus 8. Offa 5. Sitredus 38. Swithredus who was subdued to Egbert K. of Westsax. The Metropolitan See of this Essex was London, where Ethelbert King of Kent built Pauls, others joyning.	*Over Eastangles reigned Offa 30. Titulus. 13. Redwaldus 12. Erpwaldus 38. Sigebert 3. Egricus 3. Anna 3. Adelbert 2. Adelwoldus 9. Adulphus 25. Elmoldus 12. Beorna 26. Ethelbrdus 32. Etelbirtus 5. S. Edmund Martyr 16.	Vortipirius. Malgo. Carreticus.	Augustine.	drike and Anna, Kings of Eastangles: and Kenwalkins K. of Westsax.—Under Penda Christ was receiv'd in this Kingdom.—Ulfurus had 3 daughters holy Virgins. Adelred was made Monk, and had two Sisters holy Virgins.—Under Ceoled was Cuthlake Hermit of Crowland, called St. Cuthlake. Under Ethelbald died Beda. Ethelbald gave that all Churches should be free from exactions.—Bernred for his pride was depos'd of his own people. —Offa consenting to the death of Ethelbert, King of the Eastangles, for his repentance caused Peter-pence first to be given to Rome. —Kenelm began to reign at seven years old; and after six months was slain. —Ludecane was after two years reigning slain of Egbert King of Westsaxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were subdued. This Kingdom lasted 250 years.	123
* 561												Of the Kings of the Kingdom of Eastsax. (which began An. 561. as did that of Mercia:) Sebertus was the first of them that was Christned in this Kingdom. —Sexredus and his Brother Sewardus reigning together, expelled Melitus the B. becaufe he would not administer the bread of the Sacrament to them unbaptised. —Sibert was baptised, and Ministers were sent into his Country to preach, and to baptise. —Sibbi and Offa become Monks. This Kingdom lasted to Egbert K. of Westsax.	124
* 561												Of the Kings of Eastangles (which Kingdom began 561.) Offa his name occasioned the people of Northfolk to be called Uskins.—Keldwaldus joyns Idolatry with Christianity, by the counsel of his wicked Wife. —Erpwaldus began and continued entire in the Christian Religion. —Sigebert became Monk. —Ethelbred for his holiness was counted for a Saint. He coming to Offa, King of Mercia, to marry his Daughter, was innocently slain of him. —After Ethelbrit this Kingdom was under divers of the other Kings, tyrannizing over it, till Saint Edmund. This Kingdom continued 377 years.	
578												Gregory opposed the setting up of an universal Bishop at Constantinople. He brought in the stile of the Roman Bishops, Servus Servorum.	128
580												In the days of Pelagius Bishop of Rome, one Gregory seeing fair children sold in the Market-place of Rome, and understanding they were Heathens of England, lamented the misery of such Angelical persons; and enquiring out that they were of the Province of Dairа (whence Deirhain is named) These people, saith he, are to be delivered, de Dei ira. Lastly, knowing their King to be called Alle, he saith, That Alleluia ought there to be sung to the living God. But Pelagius	
588		Pelagius 2.											
589		Gregorius Magnus.											

Anno Christi.	Emperors of Greece.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England. Kent.	Westsexens.	Northumberland.	Mercia.	East Angles.	East Saxons.	Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page.
											gius would not permit this Gregory to effect these allusions, but after, being Bishop next to Pelagius, he sent over Austin, with other Preachers about the number of forty. Austin sends to the said Gregory, to be resolved of divers doubts about the behaviour of Bishops, Marriage of Priests, &c. which Gregory answers, granting Wives to the Priests that could not contain.	131
600										Austin, of a Monk, by Gregory his Pall made Archbishop of Canterbury: After he had baptized a great part of Kent, he made two Archbishops by the command of the said Gregory, viz. the Archbishop of London, and the Archbishop of York. This Austin chargeth the said Bishops to assist in preaching to the English men, and that Reformation should be made in the Scottish and British Churches, in divers things; particularly, to change their time of Easter, to the custom of Rome: But the Scots and Britains utterly refused to change their custom. Austin was so proud, that he would not bow to seven Bishops, and one Archbishop, coming to a Council at his command; whereupon the said Bishops and Archbishop was so perverse, that they denied to assist him to convert the Idolatrous Saxons. A great fault on both sides.	132
604										2. Laurentius.	Austin baptized (as Authors say) 10000 in one day, viz. the Feast of Christs Nativity. Observe, Fonts were not then in use; nor were there many Trinkets used about Baptism, as now at Rome; else Austin could not have baptised so many in one day. Austin sate some fifteen years Archbishop. He ordained Laurence Archbishop. See also Page 173 of the great Volume.	
610		Sabinianus.									About this time departed Gregory Bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, he was the basest of all his Predecessors, and the best of all his successors. About this time died David, Archbishop of Cairleon. About this time was Job. Patriarch of Alexandria: who of a hard sparing man became bountiful in Hospitality to the poor. He would twice a Week sit all the day at his Door, to take up matters, and make unity where was any variance. He lamented much one day becaufe none came that day to him, as having done no good. But his Deacon perswaded him rather to joy, that he had brought the City into that good order, that there needed no reconcilement. He was a malicious detractor of Gregory and his works. He continued scarce two years. See Page 173 of the great Volume.	133
		Bonifacius the third.								3. Mellitus.	He did more hurt in his one year being Bishop, than Gregory could do good in many. He obtained of Phocas the wicked Emperor, that he and his successors in that See should have an universal head-ship over all the Churches in Christendom.	
		Bonifacе 4.									This Bonifacе the Fifth sent Letters and Presents to K. Edwin of Northumberland, a Pagan, to win him to the faith.	134
										4. Justus.	Justus ordained Paulinus Archbishop of York. Of him see also Page 173 of the great Volume.	134
627											K. Edwin being wounded by Treason with a Sword, was thereupon moved to cause that his Daughter should be baptized, and twelve more of his Family, in token that he also would be christened, as he promised to Christ, if he should give him Victory in Battel over the King of the Westsaxons. But when he had the Victory, he neglected his promise, excusing himself, that he might not clearly deny his old Law which his Forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and advice of his Council. But by preaching of Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, he left his Mahometry. At last by Peculinus his earnest prayers to God, and pressing the King with his promise, he received the faith, and was baptized with many of his Subjects with him. After this the said Paulinus baptized daily many multitudes. And great peace was throughout the Kingdom, so that a Woman laden with Gold might have gone quietly.	
634										5. Honorius.	Of Honorius Archbishop, see Page 173 of the great Volume. Six years after Edwin's Baptism (who brought in the faith in the North parts) was he slain in Battel by Cedwalla the British King and by wicked Penda King of the Mercians, in the Field called Hatfield. Edwin being dead, and Cedwalla with his Britains and wicked Penda with his idolatrous Mercians, spoiling the Country, Paulinus, with the Queen Edelburg, was fain to fly by water into Kent, where Paulinus was Bishop of Rochester nineteen years: No Bishop being in Northumberland for thirty years after. But Paulinus had left James, a godly Deacon, who preached and baptized many, till peace and the former condition of that Country returned. By means of Edwin, Erpwaldus King of the East-angles, was reduced to Christs Faith.	135

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
636		*Honorius* 1.			After *Edwin* and his Son, slain both in Battel, *Osricus* and *Enfridus* reigned there, the one in *Deira*, the other in *Bernicia*. These two being first Christened in *Scotland*, after being Kings returned to their Idolatry, and so the year following were both slain by *Cedwalla* and *Penda*.	
					After whom succeeded *Oswaldus*, ruling both Provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*; whom when *Cedwalla* and *Penda* thought to slay also, he being smaller in number, cried to God in prayer, to help him, for the salvation of his people, against those two enemies, and so in the field called *Denesburg*, he conquered *Cedwalla* and *Penda*.	
					This *Oswald* disdained not to expound and preach the Gospel to his people.	
					By this *Oswald*'s means, *Kinigilsus*, King of *Westsaxons* was converted, through the preaching of *Berinus*, who was sent by Pope *Honorius* into *England* to preach; which *Berinus* was made Bishop of *Dorchester*, by whom *Kinigilsus* was baptised.	135
					Kinigilsus made the same day, the same *Oswaldus* to be both his Godfather and his Son-in-law.	
643					*Oswald*, having reigned nine years is slain by *Penda*.	
					Penda is slain by *Oswie* the Brother of *Oswald*, King after him in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. He married his Daughter to *Wenda*, Son of *Penda*, and made him King of *South-Mercia*, upon condition he should become a Christian, which when *Penda* his Father was dead, he performed.	
					Wolferus his Brother succeeded, who was christened, and is counted the first christened K. of *Mercia*.	
					Aidanus a *Scottish* Bishop, having a stately and princely Horse given him with Trappers, by K. *Oswine* of *Deira*, to the end that he might not so much travel on foot: meeting a poor man asking alms of him as he rode, and having nothing else to give him, gave him his Horse trapped as he was. The K. rebuking him for parting with that choice Horse, when other meaner might have served the Begger; the Bishop replied, *Dost thou, O King, set more by an Horse, the foal of an Horse, than by the Son of* Mary, *yea, the Son of God?* At which words the King fell at his feet, promising never after to gainsay any charity he should shew.	
651		*Vitellianus* alias *Vitalianus*.			*Benedict* or *Benet*, simamed *B.* (who brought up *Bede* from seven years old, all his life in learning) a Nobleman, and in great favour with King *Oswie*, left all honour and preferment to serve Christ; and furnished the Kingdom with good Books fetched from *Rome*. He also brought in Glasing into *England*.	
664				*Adeodatus* alias *Deus dedit*.	*Cuthertus*, Bishop, is said to live about this time, with divers other godly Bishops. But the said *Cuthert* is not by Writers said to be Archbishop of *Canterbury* till after *Anno* 735. See after that year.	
					A Synod about this time is held of divers Bishops, wherein many held against the *Britains* and *Scottish* Bishops for the observing of *Easter*. For *Colman*, Archbishop of *York*, and the *Britains*, according to *Aidanus Finianus*, and the other Bishops their Predecessors had held, and as the *Scottish* Bishops then did hold, did observe contrary to the use among the *Romans* and *Saxons*, the time of *Easter* from the fourteenth day of the first month, till the eight and twentieth of the same Month; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as *Wilfrid* the Priest, who spake for the rest, as *Agilbert*, *&c.* held that according to the custom of *Rome*, *Italy*, *France*, *Asia*, *Affrick*, *Egypt* and *Greece*, *Easter* should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unless it were Sabbath; but to be respited to the next Sabbath between the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alledged for their Tenet, Saint *John* the Evangelists example. This latter alledged St. *Peter*'s. The King concluded thus. For so much as St. *Peter* is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainsay him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the Gates of Heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yielded. But *Colman* in displeasure left the Realm, and went into *Scotland*.	136
					Wolferus converting the *Southsaxons* that they had received Baptism, presently they had Rain, which they had wanted three years, causing a great Famine, insomuch that the people would go forty together upon the Rocks, and take hands, and throw themselves down into the Sea.	137
666					*Wilfrid* taught the *Southsaxons* the art of fishing with Nets.	
					About this time the detestable Sect of *Mahumet*, began to take strength and place. Of *Mahumet* came the Kingdom of *Agarens*, whom he after named *Saracens*; to whom he gave sundry laws patched of many Sects. He taught them to pray with their faces to the South. As we keep *Sunday*, so they keep *Friday*; which they call the day of *Venus*. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; and to have as many Concubines as they listed; to abstain from Wine, except on some solemn days of the year; to have and to worship one God Omnipotent; and to esteem *Moses* and the Prophets great, but Christ as greater; as being	138

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
					ing born of the Virgin *Mary*, by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the *Saracens* began to be conquered of the *Turk*, and in process of time wholly subdued unto him, as we shall declare in the years following, in which those several passages were done.	
668				7. Theodorus.	This *Theodore* was sent from *Italy* into *England*, by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and divers other Monks of *Italy* to set up here in *England*, *Latin* service, Masses, and such other *Romish* ware. This *Theodore* plays Rex, displacing *Cedda* and *Wilfrid*, Archbishops of *York*, pretending they were not lawfully Consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills.	
679					In the time of this *Theodore*, a Synod was held at *Thetford*, ordaining that *Easter* should be kept throughout the Realm upon one certain day, *viz. Prima* 14. *Luna mensis primi*. That no Bishop should meddle in anothers Diocess. That Monasteries should be free from Bishops Jurisdiction. That Monks should not stray from their own Monastery to another: Nor a Clergy-man from his own Bishop to anothers Diocess. That Synods Provincial should be kept in the Realm at least once a year; with divers other Ordinances of like nature.	
680		Agatho.				
681						
689		Serglus 1.			In the next year after that Synod, was held the sixth General Council at *Constance*: At which was *Theodore* under Pope *Agatho* present, where it was permitted that *Greek* Priests should have wives, and forbidden to the *Latin*.	
705					In the sixth year of *Iva*, beginning to reign about this time, most valiantly warring against the *Kentish Saxons*, was one *Cuthlake* a Confessor, who first was a Monk, and after an *Anchorite*.	139
707				8. Brithwald or Berctualdus.	*Osfredus* succeeds his Father *Alfride* in *Northumberland*.	
		Philippicus.			*Philippicus* is mentioned after *pag.* 143.	
		Constantine.			In the 16*th* year of *Iva*, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia* having reigned 30 years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of *Bardney*.	
					P. *Const.* is mentioned *pag.* 143. ☜	
717					This year being about the 18*th* of King *Ive* his reign, died that learned Bishop *Adelmus*, first Abbot of *Malmesbury*, after Bishop of *Shirbourne*; which See was after united to *Winton*.	
					John of *Beverly*, Bishop of *York*, dieth.	
					In the time of *Ive*, who reigned 37 years, began first the right observation of *Easter*-day by the *Picts* and *Britains*: in which observation three things are necessary: 1. The full Moon of the first Month, (1) of *March*. 2. The Dominical Letter. 3. The Equinoctial day, which was wont to be counted, in the East Church, and especially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the 17*th* of *March*.	
					So that the Full Moon, either on the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day, being observed, the next Dominical-day following that Full Moon, is to be taken for *Easter*-day. But then two things must be noted, 1. That the fulness of the Moon must be perfectly full: So that it be the beginning of the third week of the Moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the Moon. 2. That the said perfect fulness of the Moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day: For else, if it happen either on the Equinoctial day before the evening, or before the Equinoctial, it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.	
					This rite in keeping *Easter* being received in the *Latin* Church, began now among the *Picts* and *Britains*, through the busie travel of *Theodorus Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monk, as they term him, and of *Colfrid*, Abbot of *Sirwin*.	
					This *Colfrid* wrote also to *Narcanus*, or *Naitonus* the King of the *Picts*, concerning the shaving of Priests Crowns, as necessary to the Vow of a Monk, or degree of a Priest, for restraint. And thus began this Ceremony, without any proof of Scripture.	
		Gregor. 2.			Pope *Gregory* the second is mentioned *pag.* 143. ☜	
724					King *Ive* yet reigning, being the 37*th* year of his reign, is importunately perswaded by his Queen *Ethelburga* to turn Monk at *Rome*; to which, when he did not at first yield, the King departing to some other place, the Queen caused all the Kings glorious Palace to be smeared and filled with Hogs, and dung, and filth, and in their lodging Chamber was put a Sow with young Pigs. Then the Queen brings the King to that Palace, saying, I pray you my Lord, behold this house, where are now all the rich hangings, and clothes of gold, *&c.* that were left here the other day? be not all these gone? In like manner shall we vanish away, and our bodies, now delicately fed, shall turn to the filth of the earth; wherefore remember my words, and purchase that Palace	140

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
729				
				9. Tatwinus, or Tatwyn.
		Gregory 3. mentioned pag. 167.		
				10. Nothelmus.
735	Conſtan. 6.	Zachary.		
741				
747				11. Cuthbertus alias, Cudbrid.
748				
		Stephan. 2.		

that is eternal. Thus ſhe did win the King to go to *Rome* in the habit of a poor man, and become a Monk; and ſhe her ſelf became the Abbeſs of *Barking* Nunnery, ſeven miles from *London*. Vol. 1. Page

This *Ive* was the firſt I read of, of all the *Saxon* Kings, the which did ſet forth any Laws to his people.

Next to *Oſricus* followed *Celulfus*, who was a very learned man, and his time nouriſhed many learned men; among whom was *Beda*, who dedicated his ſtory, intituled, *Anglorum Hiſtoria*, not only to be ratified, but alſo to be amended, as ſome Writers affirm.

This *Beda* (becauſe we have now mentioned him) was (as he witneſſeth in his Hiſtory) a Prieſt of the Monaſtery of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Wire*, and born in the Territories of the ſame Monaſtery. He was from ſeven years bred up by *Benet*, and became a Deacon at nineteen years, and at thirty a Prieſt: From which time to the nine and fiftieth year, he interpreted the Works of Ancient Fathers, and wrote Treatiſes to the number of thirty ſeven Volumes, which he digeſted into ſeventy eight Books.

For this *Beda* wrote Pope *Sergius* the firſt, requiring *Celfrid* Abbot of *Wire*-Abbey, to ſend up the ſaid *Beda* to *Rome*, for the fame of his learning: The Church of *Rome* (as appears by that *Sergius* his Letter) making uſe of *Beda* for diſcuſſing of many controverſies in learning; all the *Latin* Church giving him the maſtery in judgment and knowledge of the *Latin* Fathers. In all his explanations he omitting curioſity of skill, mainly endeavoured to inform his Reader in the love of God, and of his neighbour. Thus *Beda* continued to the age of ſixty two years. He tranſlated the Goſpel of St. *John* into *Engliſh*. He made a comfortable and godly end.

Of *Conſtantine* the ſixth. See the firſt great Vol. *pag.* 686.

Pope *Zachary* is mentioned following in this page.

See alſo *pag.* 137. of the great Volume, how he forbad all Funeral Exequies, and lamentations to be made for him.

Egbert King of *Northumberland* erected a Noble Library in *York*.

This *Cuthbert* collected this year a great *Synod* of Biſhops and Prelates, in the month of *September*, at *Cloneſho*: there decreeing that Biſhops ſhould be more diligent in admoniſhing the people, live in peace, viſit yearly the Pariſhes of their Dioceſs: That Prieſts ſhould not be ordained till their lives were examined, being ordained, ſhould not meddle with ſecular affairs: with divers other Ordinances touching Monaſteries, Baptiſm, the Holy Supper, Prayer, &c.

Of *Leo* the Fourth, Emperor of *Greece*, beſides this page, ſee p. 147.

A Copy of theſe Ordinances *Cuthbert* ſends to *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*, an *Engliſh* man, which *Boniface* died a Martyr, as Popiſh ſtories term him. 142

This *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, writes to *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* in *Latin* rebuking him, that whiles he contemned lawful Matrimony, he did defile the ſacred Nuns.

This *Boniface* being admitted Archbiſhop of *Magunce* by Pope *Gregory*, the ſecond, brought divers Countries of the *Germans* under the Pope, and ſet up abundance of Popiſh Prelates and Ceremonies, as worſhipping of Reliques, &c.

☞ In the time of this Archbiſhop, Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, Pope *Gregory* the third, Pope *Zachary*, and before theſe, *Conſtantine*, the firſt, wrought great maſteries againſt the *Greek* Emperors, *Philippicus*, and *Leo*, and others; for the maintaining of Images to be ſet up in Churches: of whom *Philippicus* loſt both his Empire and both eyes; and *Leo* loſt the Popes bleſſing, being Excommunicated by *Gregory* the third. This *Gregory* the third was he that penned the four Books of Dialogues in *Greek*, falſely bearing the name of *Gregory* the firſt: Which Books after *Zachary* his ſucceſſor tranſlated into *Latin*. Of *Leo* the fourth, ſee in *Ann.* 775.

Alſo by the authority of the ſaid Archbiſhop *Boniface*, which he had received from Pope *Zachary*, *Childericus* King of *France*, was depoſed from the right of his Crown, and *Pipinus* the betrayer of his Maſter, was confirmed.

From this *Boniface* proceeded that deteſtable Doctrine regiſtred in the Popes Decrees, *Diſt.* 40. That though the Pope were ſo wicked in himſelf, and towards others, that he led innumerable ſouls to Hell, yet no man ought to rebuke him, having power to judg all men.

Kenulphus ſucceeds ſlain *Sigebert*, defending his Lordſhip ſtrongly againſt his enemies, till he reſorting to a Paramour he kept at *Merton*, was there beſet and ſlain.

Offa King of *Mercia* winning victories of the *Kentiſhmen*, took ſuch diſpleaſure againſt *Canterbury*, that he moved the *Primacy*, the Archbiſhops See, and Lands of *Lambrith* (by the agreement of Pope *Adrian*) to *Lichfield*.

Stephanus Predeceſſor, viz. Pope *Zachary*, gave the Kingdom of *France* to *Pipinus*, depoſing *Childerike*; and now *Pipin* gratifies the See of *Rome*, in giving this *Stephanus* his time, to that See, the *Exarchat* or Princedom of *Ravenna*, the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, many other great poſſeſſions of *Italy*, with all the Cities thereto adjoyning, 144

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
757		Paulus 1.		
				12. Bregwyn, or Bregulnus.
		Conſtant.		
764				
		Stephan. 3.		
		Adrian 1.		13. Lambert, alias, Jambert, alias, Lambrighus.
775				
780				
	Leo the 4.			
	Emp. of France.			
	Carolus Magnus.			
784				
793				
795	Carolus Magnus being before made Emperor of Rome, by the means of Adrianthe Pope, and Pope Leo the third, next ſucceeding, the Empire is tranſlated In this year 801, fully from Greece to France.	Leo the third. See p. 177. the great Vol.		14. Ethelardus alias Athelard, or Adelred.
801				
802				

joyaing unto the borders of *Venice*; and this is the Donation that commonly, but falſely goes under the name of *Conſtantine*'s Donation. Vol. 1. Page

To this *Pipinus* was ſent into *France* the invention of Organs out of *Greece*, by *Conſtantine*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

This Pope *Paul* thundred out Excommunications againſt *Conſtantine* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, for pulling down Images in Churches: but the ſaid Emperor fighting the Pope, held on in his practice, deſtroying Idolatry to the end of his life.

Of this Archbiſhop, ſee *pag.* 173. of the great Volume.

This Pope *Conſtantine* was a Lay-man: for the which he was ſhortly depoſed, his eyes thruſt out, and he thruſt into a Monaſtery.

This Pope made a Decree that no Lay-man ſhould be Pope. Alſo he condemned the ſeventh Council of *Conſtantinople*, as heretical, for condemning worſhipping of Images.

This Pope wrote a Book of the worſhipping and utility of Images, calling them Lay-mens *Kalenders*, holding a Synod againſt them that ſpeak againſt them.

Of *Lamb.* Archbiſhop, ſee *pag.* 173. of the great Volume, how that Metropolitan See in his time was tranſlated to *Lichfield*.

Pope *Adrian* clothed the body of St. *Peter* in ſilver, and covered the Altar of St. *Paul* with a pall of gold.

King *Celuphus* as his Father turned Monk, dies this year; wherein many Cities, as *London*, *Wint.* *York*, *Doncaſter*, were burned with ſudden fire, *pag.* 85.

Till this time the Liturgy of St. *Ambroſe* was much uſed in the *Italian* Churches. But now this *Adrian* confirms the Maſs of St. *Gregory* above the Maſs of St. *Ambroſe*, by a pretended revelation and miracle, that when *Ambroſe* his Maſs-book, and *Gregories* Maſs-book were put upon an Altar in a Church, the doors ſealed up, the morrow the leaves of St. *Gregories* Book were ſcattered abroad in the Church, and the other Book lay open upon the Altar: which *Adrian* expounded, that *Gregories* Maſs ſhould be diſperſed throughout the Church, and not that of St. *Ambroſe*.

Carolus following his Father *Pipins* devotion, did confirm his Fathers Donations to the See of *Rome*, adding alſo thereunto the City and Dominion of *Venice*, *Hiſtria*, &c. The Pope to requite his kindneſs, makes him to be intituled, *Moſt Chriſtian King*. This *Charles* makes the *Pope* Prince of *Italy* and *Rome*; and makes *Charles Patricium Romanum*, and moreover ordained him only to be taken Emperor of *Rome*. 145

In this year 780, it rained blood at *York*; which is thought of ſome Expoſitors, to betoken the coming of the *Danes* into the land, who entred about ſeven years after, in the ninth year of *Brightricus* King of *Weſtſaxons*.

Edelburga poyſoneth King *Brightricus* her Husband, and after playing the Harlot with a Monk, ended her life in great penury and miſery. 146

Irene Empreſs of *Greece*, takes up at *Conſtaminople* the body of *Conſtantine* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, her Husbands Father, and having burnt it, caſteth the aſhes into the ſea, for that he diſanulled Images.

Egbert of the blood royal, is baniſhed by *Brightricus* now raigning over the *Weſtſaxons* in *England*; becauſe the ſaid *Brightricus* feared *Egberts* coming to his Crown.

The Archbiſhop *Ethelard*, by his Epiſtles to Pope *Leo*, obtained the Metropolitan See again to *Canterbury*, ſee *pag.* 173. of the great Volume.

King *Offa* dies. After him ſucceeds *Egfert*, then *Kenulphus*, after him his ſon, who in his tender age was wickedly murthered by his ſiſter *Quinreda*.

Thus far of the troubleſome ſeven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*; of whom obſerve theſe general obſervations.

1. That they brought in the firſt Croſs and Altar into this Kingdom, *Anno* 635.
2. They ſet up Schools at *Cambridge*, Anno 630.
3. They ſet up about { Eleven Monaſteries, beſides four built by King *Edgar*. / Four Nunneries. / Fifteen more noted Abbeys, beſides many of leſs note.
4. That Queens and Kings daughters, amongſt them in all to the number at leaſt of eighteen, have turned Nuns.
5. That at leaſt nine of thoſe *Saxon* Kings became Monks.

In this time came in the *Danes* firſt into the North parts of *England*, and were driven out again.

Egbert,

Anno Christi	Emp. of France.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	
					Egbert, of the blood Royal, being chased into *France* by *Brightricus*, as we said, for safety of his Crown from so near a blood; and *Brightricus* being now dead, he speeds from *France* into *Westsax*, obtaining by his wife behaviour the said Kingdom. *Bernulphus* King of *Mercia*, and other Kings deriding him with scoffs and rimes, provokes him to bid *Bernulph* battel, wherein he conquered him, and possessed his Kingdom. Then made he war upon the *Kentish Saxons*, and conquered them. He also subdued *Northumberland*. Thus he brought these three Kingdoms to be tributary to him, and joyned them to his Kingdom. Also this *Egbert* was from the *Britains* the Town of *Chester*. Thus these victories being gotten, he calls a Council at *Winchester*, and is Crowned King over this land, which before was called *Britain*: but he sent out command and Commissions, that from that day forward the *Saxons* should be called *Angles*, and the land *Anglia*.
807	*Ludovicus Pius.*	*Stephanus* the fourth, pag. 177. of the great Volume. *Paschalis* the first, p. 177 of the great Volume. *Eugenius* the second, pag. 177. of the great Volum. *Valentine* the first, pag. 177. of the great Vol. *Gregory* the fourth in the same year, see pag. 177. of the great Volume.	The 7 Kingdoms of the *Saxons* are united into a Monarchy.	*Ulfredus.*	
810					
824					
826			EGBERT.		
					A General Synod is held at *Aquisgrane*, by the command of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, King of *France*. There Pope *Gregory* the Fourth decrees that Priests should have maintenance of Lands belonging to their several Churches, and not go about begging. All glorious apparel, rings, &c. forbidden Priests.
832					
833				*Feologeldus*, alias, *Theogild.*	About this year the Heathenish people of the *Danes* (who a little before in *Northumberland* had murthered the Ministers, and ruined the Churches) came the second time with a great host into *England*. *Egbert* gave them battel, but had the worst.
834				In the same year, viz. 832 was, *Colambus.*	The *Danes* are incouraged by their success against *Egbert* to enter again this year into *England*; and in long time and many years after could not be utterly beaten out.
					Thus this Kingdom hath been hitherto plagued with five sundry Nations: Namely, 1. By the *Romans*. 2. By the *Scots*. 3. By the *Picts*. 4. By the *Saxons*. 5. By the *Danes*.
837	*Lotharius.*				
840			ETHELWOLFUS.		*Ethelwulfus* the Son of *Egbert*, and in former time a Deacon, and after a Bishop of *Winchester* (as some will) is King after his Father, by dispensation of the Pope, but still in mind devout to his Order, giving the tenth of his goods and lands in *Westsaxons* to the Clergy.
844					He gave also *Peter*-pence to *Rome*, (*i.e.*) a peny of every fire house thorough his Kingdoms, with many more Donations to *Rome*. 151
					He married *Judith* the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, the *French* King: whom he restored to the title of Queen. For before it was a Decree of the *Westsaxons*, for Queen *Ethelburga*'s poysoning of her Husband King *Brightricus*, that no Kings Wife should have the title of Queen.
843		*Sergius* the second.			In the later end of the reign of this *Ethelwulfus* the *Danes* brake into *England*, doing great spoil on the land and lives, and blood of men.
846					This Pope, whose name was *Os Porci*, for the shame thereof, was the first that brought in the altering of Popes names. 153
		Leo the fourth.			This Pope *Leo* was Tutor or Guardian to *Alured*, committed to him by *Ethelwulf* the Father of *Alured*.
					This Pope ordained that no Bishop should be condemned under seventy two Witnesses. An example was practised in condemnation of *Stephen Gardiner*.
854					This Pope *Joans* proper name was *Gilberta*. She was a *Dutch* woman of *Magunce*; who going out of the Abbey of *Fulda*, with an *English* Monk in mans apparel to *Athens*, and becoming learned, by her wit came to sit Pope two years and six months. At last in an open procession fell into travel with her child, and so died. Ever since the Cardinals come not by that part of the street where this shame was.
		Joan, called *John* the eighth.			
		Benedict 3.			
856					This *Benedict* ordained Dirge for the dead.
857			*Ethelbald.*		*Ethelbald* the first Son succeeds *Ethelwulfe* his Father in the Kingdom of *Westsaxons*. He is infamous for lying with, and marrying of his step-mother. 156
			Ethelbrit, alias, *Ethelbertus.*		*Ethelbrit* the second Son succeeds his Father *Ethelwulfe* in the Kingdom of *Kent*.
					After these two, the third son of *Ethelwulfe*, viz. *Ethelred*, succeeded; who was mightily troubled with the *Danes*.
858		*Nicholas* the 1. or *Magnus.*			This Pope *Nicholas* enlarged the Popes Decrees, equalling them to the writings of the Apostles. He decreed that Service should be in *Latin*: He began the forbidding Priests to marry: against which *Hulderick* Bishop of *Ausburgh* wrote a learned Epistle to the said Pope, proving the lawfulness of Priests marriage.
867		*Adrian*, alias *Hadrian* the second. See p. 180. of the great Vol.			
870			*Ethelred.*		After *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbrit* succeeded *Etheldred* their Brother, the third son of their Father *Ethelwulfe*.
871				*Edmundus*, alias, *Athelredus.*	In the later days of King *Ethelred*, the *Danes* invaded this land, spoiling and murthering.

This

Anno Christi	Emper. of Fran.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	
					This *John*, succeeding next to *Hadrian* the second, and preceding next before *Marinus* or *Martinus* the second (as Mr. *Fox* calls him) is counted by others, as *Rensner*, and others, *John* the eighth. Of this Pope see 208. of the great Volume. Vol. 1 Page.
876	*Carolus Calvus.*	John the 9.	*Alured*, alias *Alfred*, brother to *Ethelred.*		
879					*Alured* was eminent above his Predecessors, for Valor, Vertue and Learning. He was the first *English* King. He was much vexed with the *Danes*, who did win from him all the North part of *England*, from the River *Thames*. 157
					But after, they laboring to chase him out of the South part, he flying for the present, after a while beat them, and chased them from those parts, see p. 183. of the great Volume.
882		Martin the 2.			
					Others call him *Marinus*, without any first or second. See *Rensners* Chronol. and *Helvicus*. Of this Pope, see pag. 180. of the great Volume.
884		*Adrian*, alias Hadrian. 3.			By this *Hadrian* the third (of whom see pag. 180.) it was decreed, that no Emperor after that time, should have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. Thus the Emperors began to decay, and the Popes to increase.
885		Stephen 5.			
889				Plelmundus alias Plegmund.	Of this Pope *Stephen*, see p. 180. of the great Volume.
					Ethelred having thus overcome the *Danes*, and having made them to yield to the Conditions that he propounded, one of which was, to baptize their Prince *Gutrim*, he naming him *Athelstan*: he permitted the said King *Athelstan* to hold all *Eastangles* in Fee from him. Which *Athelstan*, having reigned rather as a Tyrant then an under King, eleven years, dyed this year. Not long after which, the *Danes* landed in this Land, in four places. But they were valiantly beaten back. 158
891					
892					
896					
897		Formosus.			King *Arnulphus*, for rescuing of Pope *Formosus* from his Captivity among the *Romans*, is Crowned by the said Pope, Emperor
		Bonifacius 6. 9			This *Boniface* was Pope but five and twenty days.
					This year the *Danes* come again into *England*, but some of them were slain; some of them, and thirty Ships, were taken; and others of them were hanged. 162
		Stephen 6.			This Pope *Stephen*, for hate of *Formosus*, dissolved his Decrees, took up his Body after it was buryed, and cut two Fingers off his right Hand, and cast them into *Tyber*; and buried the Body again in a private mans Sepulcher.
898		Romanus. Theodorus 2.			Pope *Romanus* continued Pope but three months. *Theodor* the second was Pope but twenty days.
899					*Alfred* having reigned twenty nine years and six months, dyes. He is reputed for a man of a liberal Heart and a godly Life. He caused Schools of Learning to be set up, especially in the West parts. For amongst the *Britains*, long before, in King *Arthurs* time, in the Town of *Chester*, was taught Grammar, Philosophy, and other Arts and Sciences. After, in *Egberts* time (as Writers affirm,) Philosophy began to flourish in *England*. About which time, as some think, *Granchester* Univerlity by *Cambridge* began to be founded by *Beda*. *Sigebert* also Founded Schools in *England*, as *Alchuinus* will. And yet before these, some think that *Greeklade*, a Greek University; and *Latinlade*, a Latine University in this Land, was Founded.
					Alfred Translated many good Books, and made one of his own, in the common Language of this Land.
898		John the 10			That Pope *John* which next succeeded Pope *Theodor*, and preceded next before Pope *Benedict* the fourth, was Pope about this year; whom Mr. *Fox* terms *John* the tenth: but others, *John* the ninth.
		Benedict. 4.			
	Emp. of Germ.				Of this Translation of the Empire, see p. 169. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 34.
	About this time (saith M. Fox) the Empire is translated from *France* to Germany among the *Almains*, where it is to this day.				
903			*EDWARD* the elder.		This King *Edward* was inferior to his Father *Alfred* in Learning; but more eminent in military Affairs: Conquering this Land to himself from petty Kings, and from invading *Danes*.
904		Leo the 5.			
905		Christophorus the 1.			*Ethelwoldus*, King *Edwards* Uncles son, rebels against King *Edward*, joining with the *Danes*. But first he was made to fly into *France*; after, he returning with more Forces of *Danes*, is slain.
		Sergius 3.			This Pope *Sergius* beheaded Pope *Formosus* after his death; as Pope *Stephen* the sixth before had disinherited him after death.
906					Of this *Comadus*, whom Mr. *Fox* calls *Conracus*, see p. 169. of the first great Volume.
912		Anastasius 3			
913		Lando.			King *Edward* assaulted of the *Danes*, he slays two Kings, two Earls, and many thousands of *Danes*. 163
915		John 11.		Athelmus.	Of others he is counted the tenth Pope *John*. This Pope was smothered with a Pillow.
916					
924			Adelstan, or Ethelstan.	Wilfelmus.	This *Adelstan* was King *Edwards* son, by her of his three Wives that was called *Egwin*. *Adelstan* was wise and valiant.
					Duke *Elfred* conspires to put out *Adelstans* eyes. He is sworn at *Rome* upon accusation of it. He forswearing that he intended it not when as he did, fell down, and in three days dyed.
927					*Ethelstan*, for peace sake with the *Danes*, he marryed to *Sithericus* their Kings sister. But *Sithericus* dying in a year, he seiseth that Province into his own hands.
					Constantine, King of *Scots*, breaks Covenant with *Ethelstan*, and thereupon beaten by *Ethelstan* in War.

Of

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
932		John 12.			Of others this Pope *John* is called the eleventh. This Pope *John* was the son of *Marozia* an Harlot. He is deposed by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, not agreeing to his Election, and *Leo* the fixth is put in his room.	282
933					*Bristanus* is Bishop of *Winchester*; of whom its feigned, that to him praying for departed Souls, as he stood in *Winchester* Church-yard, many Souls answered, Amen: which if it had been so, how were those Souls in Purgatory?	
	The translation of that Empire to Germ. is perfected in				Of this *Otho* Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 145. and p. 192. col. 2. of the great Volume.	
934		Leo 6.			Of others, as *Reusner*, *&c.* he is termed *Leo* the seventh. He is Pope seven months.	
				Odo		
935	Otho M.	Stephen 7.			Touching this *Stephen* to be the seventh, see Vol. 1. p. 162. with p. 162. in the margent.	162
		John the 11 restored.			This *Stephen* having been Pope two years, according to Mr. *Fox*, was poisoned. Pope *John* the twelfth (as Mr. *Fox reckons* him) is restored to the Popedom again.	
940		Leo the 7. Stephen 8.	EDMUND.		*Edmund* was brother to *Athelstan*, succeeds in the Crown, *Athelstan* dying without Issue.	
					Monks are put out of *Eusham* Monastery, and Canons put in their place.	
					Odo Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* lived to this *Edmunds* time, and called a Synod to stir up Ministers to Preach.	
941					*Dunstan* is now Abbot of *Glastenbury*, in this Kings time, before he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*.	
		Martin 3. alias Marinus 2.			Of Pope *Martin* the third, and *Agapetus* the second, see the first great Vol. p. 189.	
942		Agapetus 2.		Elfius.	King *Edmund* is slain by *Pulcher* Church. See the first great Vol. p. 196. col. 1.	
945			EDWIN.		*Edwin* the eldest son of King *Edmund*, succeeds in the Throne after King *Edmund*.	169
955					This King *Edwin* kept a strange Woman, the Wife of a man whom he had slain (as some say) to which Woman he on the first day of his Coronation, breaking from his Lords, and going into the Chamber; *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, follows him, brings him back by the hand, accuses him to *Otho* Archbishop; *Otho* separates him from the Woman, and suspends him out of the Church. For this *Dunstan* is made fly over the Sea, and the Monks, as well in other Monasteries as *Dunstans* of *Glastenbury*, are thrust out, and Secular Priests put in their room.	
		John 13.			This was Pope *John* the Twelfth (as others reckon.) He was an Adulterer, a Whore-master, an Incestuous person, an Extortioner, a Gaimster. From his wicked merriment in these Evils, came the Proverb, *As merry as Pope* John. He cuts out the Tongues, puts out the Eyes, cuts off the Noses and Fingers of his Cardinals. He himself at last is deposed, but after restored. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 205.	
959			EDGAR.		*Edwin* is hated for his misdemeanors of his Subjects, chiefly them of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, by whom he is removed from his Kingly Honor, and *Edgar* received in his stead. So that the River *Thames* divided both their Kingdoms. *Edwin* having reigned four years alone, dies without Heir, and so *Edgar* his Brother succeeds.	
					He began his Reign this year, being fifteen years old; but was not Crowned till fourteen years after. He calls home exiled *Dunstan*, makes him Bishop of *Worcester*, then of *London*.	
				Dunstan.	*Otho* or *Odo* Archbishop dying, King *Edgar* makes *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop.	
		Leo the 8.			This Pope *Leo*, (of whom see the first great Volume, p. 205.) was substituted Pope in the room of the former deposed Pope *John*. But the said *John* being restored, this *Leo* was deposed. Of this Pope *Leo*, see pag. 205. of the first great Volume col. 2.	
963					*Dunstan* gets the King to make *Oswaldus*, Nephew of *Otho* (as it is said) Bishop of *Worcester*.	
					Not long after, the said King *Edgar*, at *Dunstans* intreaty, made *Ethelwoldus* first Monk of *Glastenbury*, then Abbot of *Abendon*, to be Bishop of *Winchester*. Of him is related a Vision, appearing to him, of a Tree, whose Branches covered the four Quarters of the Kingdom, and were covered with Monks Cowls, and with one master Cowl on the top, *&c.*	
					Whether this Dream be feigned or no, it was made good in effect, *Dunstan*, *Oswald*, and *Ethelwold*, making Monks to swarm in this *Edgars* time in *England*.	170
964		Benedict 5.			The Romans setting up this *Benedict* after Pope *John*, and not setting in and restoring again Pope *Leo* the Eighth, deposed contrary to the Emperor *Otho* his mind; the said Emperor besieged *Rome*, and puts in again *Leo* the Eighth, who gratifies the Emperor, with giving to him and his Successors in a Synod, the power of Electing a Pope.	
965		John 14.			Alias *John* the Thirteenth: of him see the first great Volume, p. 205.	
969					*Oswald* (made Arch-bishop of *York*) by policy makes many Priests turn Monks, or to leave their place.	
					Monks anciently were but strict Lay-men; insomuch as they were forbidden to meddle with Ecclesiasticals.	171

Basilius,

Anno Christi	Emperors of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
					Basilius magnus, and *Nazianzenus*, were Monks.	
					The ground of mens Founding Monasteries of later times, was, that Monks might pray for them when they were dead; or else by way of satisfaction for some murder committed by the Founders.	172
					King *Edgar* was a good Justitiary, in execution of Laws justly.	
					This King made this Land one perfect Monarchy.	173
					This King having subdued men, drives out too the Wolves out of this Land.	
					He was exceeding Watchful, and well provided for the Defence of the Seas.	
					To prevent Drunkenness in his Subjects, he caused to be made Cups with pins to be set in them; adding a Law, that he that drank at a draught beyond his mark, was to pay a penny: half to the Accuser, the rest to the Ruler of the Town.	
					Eight Kings called *Subreguli*, did Homage to this *Edgar*, whom in pomp he made to row him in a Boat, himself holding the Helm.	
					He was given to Women, and a great Monk-maker, and a deflowrer of a Nun. For which *Dunstan* refused to take him by the hand, when the King offered it; and injoyns the King Penance for seven years, of wearing no Crown for that time, of Fasting twice in the Week, of Liberality to the Poor, and building a Nunnery.	174
971					Doting *Dunstan* was drowned in Superstition, if not a Sorcerer too.	174
972					He is said to catch the Devil by the Nose with a pair of Tongs red hot.	
	Otho the 2.	Benedict 6.			Pope *John* aforesaid, ordained the first Christening of Bells.	
		Donus the second. Boniface. 7.			Of Pope *Ben.* the Sixth, see the first great Volume, pag. 206. where he is cast into prison, and slain.	
974					Of Pope *Donus*, see the first great Vol. p. 206.	
975					Of Pope *Boniface* the Seventh, see the first great Volume, pag. 206. col. 1.	
		This Boniface the 7 and this John the 15. are both Popes at once.			This *Boniface* fearing Conspiracy, flyes to *Constantinople*; mean while Pope *John* the Fifteenth, *alias* the Fourteenth, is made Pope. Then *Boniface* returns, and so are two Popes at the same time. See the said p. 206.	
					Much stir at this time about placing and displacing Monks, caused stir about the Crown, Monks aiming at such a King as would be a Monk favorer: at last, this *Edward* by *Dunstans* means was chosen.	175
976			EDWARD the martyr.		This *Edward* was not, in truth, a Martyr, as the common opinion goes; but was truly a Bastard.	
Others count 8 years more.		John the 15.			Of this *John* the Fifteenth, *alias* (as others will) *John* the Fourteenth, and *Boniface*, had their ends, see the first great Volume, pag. 206. col. 1. *John* having his eyes put out, and he himself famished in Prison, *Boniface* dyes, and after is dragged through the City, the people triumphing in it.	
977					An Image of the Crucifix of Rood, by *Dunstans* device, is made to answer to a Council met and praying to this Image, such art answer as might carry the conclusion as *Dunstan* would; in these words, *Absit hoc ut fiat*, &c. (i.) *Far be that, far be that: you have well judged, you would not do well to change.*	177
					Dunstan was a great enemy to Priests wives.	
					King *Edward* his Step-mother, offering him as he sate on Horse-back a cup of Beer, whiles he was drinking, caused her Servant to stab him; whereupon he rides away towards his Company, falls down dead, and so was found; but not known who he was, nor how he dyed, his Horse having dragged him through much dirt, his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, as he fell dead off his Horse-back. Two Nunneries are Founded upon his Blood, that that murtheress Queen had shed.	177
		Benedict 7.			This *Benedict* (whom *Reusn.* and *Helv.* put before the former Pope *John*, yea though he be taken for *John* the Fourteenth) was made Pope by consent of *Otho* Emperor, the second of the name.	178
					In the time of this *Benedict*, *Gilbertus* a Necromancer is made Archbishop of *Rains*, by *Hugh Cappet* the French King.	
979			EGBERED or ELRED.		*Edward* being murdered, the Crown comes to this *Elred* his younger brother. This *Elred* reigned long, *viz.* thirty eight years, but very unhappily. As he was Christned, being a Child, by *Dunstan*, somwhat falling cross, *Dunstan* swears by the Holy Virgin, that this will be an untoward Prince.	
981						
984						
985	Otho the 3.					
988				Ethelgar.	He is Crowned this year by *Dunstan*, who pronounced (as they say) at his Coronation, that because he came to the Crown by the murder of his brother, the Kingdom should not be without blood-shed, till a people of a strange tongue did inthrall them.	
989						
990						
993					*John* the fixteenth, *alias John* the fifteenth.	
		John 16.			He sat Pope eight months.	
				Elfricus.	The *Danes* understanding of discord in this Land, and the subjects to be disaffected towards their Prince, invade this Kingdom, doing great spoil. See the first great Vol. p. 207.	
		John 17.			Alias *John* the sixteenth.	
995				Siricius. Sandtus. Alfredus.	This year the Bishop of *Duresme* began, upon occasion of B. *Aldulfus* his carrying Saint *Cuthberts* Body thither. See the first great Vol. p. 207.	

Against

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
						Against this *Gregory*, maliced because he was a *German*, was set up this *John* the eighteenth, alias *John* the seventeenth, by *Crescentius* Consul of *Rome*. Whereupon *Otho* the third Emperor, to whom *Gregory* the fifth flyes, comes with an Army, apprehends *John*, puts out his eyes, and after puts him to death: and apprehends *Crescentius*, cuts off his nose and ears, and after so led through the City, having his Members cut off he hanged upon a Gibbet.	
		Gregory 5. and John 18. both Popes together.				*Gregory* is restored, reigns Pope four years.	
						This year *London* is belieged of the *Danes*.	
						The *Danes* spoiling the Land, caused the *English* levy of *Danegilt*, amounting from 10000 *per annum*, to 40000 *per annum*, paid to the *Danes* to buy peace of them.	
						Now came in the *Lurdane*, *i.* the Lord Dane, who was Lord of the *English* mans House, Goods, and Wife too.	
997	The Empire established in Germany by ordaining seven Electors by the Pope.					Pope *Gregory* the fifth, being restored to the Popedom, calls a Council at *Rome*, by the advice of *Otho* the third, Emperor; and there to confirm the Empire in *Germany* his own Country, Decrees those seven should be Electors of the Emperor, which are to this day: *viz.*	
						The Bishops of Mentz, Triers, Colen *do* *Elect the Emp'ror; are his Chancellors too.* Bohemia's *King elects, and bears his cup:* *And* Saxons *Duke elects, his Sword holds up.* Archsewer *is Elector* Palatine, *And Marquess* Brandenburg *his Chamberlain.* These Verses in Latine, see the first great Vol. p. 206.	
1000		Silvester 2. made Pope by Magick.				The years of Christ amounting to a thousand, Religion began much more to decay than in former times: Pope *Sylvester* the second being a Sorcerer, and a most hainous wicked Instrument. See the first great Vol. p. 215.	
						This year the *Saxons* that had driven the *Britans* from their Land, make way by *Elreds* joyning in Marriage with the *Normans* (taking to Wife *Emma* the Daughter of *Rich.* the first of that name, the third Duke of *Normandy*) for a new plague to come upon themselves. For *Alred*, in confidence of his affinity, gave secret and strict charge to all Towns in *England*, upon St. *Brice* his day, at a certain hour, the *Danes* should be all slain; which caused much trouble.	180
1003		John 19.				Alias *John* the eighteenth. He brings in the Feast of *All-Souls*. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1004						For upon tydings of this at *Denmark*, King *Swanus* of *Denmark* comes into the Land, beats down *Exeter*, and so came on, spoiling the Country. At length they are beaten out by Duke *Uskatel*.	180
		Joh 2.				Herein Mr. *Fox* differs from others, who put no *John* between *All-Souls John*, and Pope *Sergius* the fourth.	
1004						The *Danes* land again in this Kingdom, at *Sandwich*. The King at last was fain to pay them a Tribute of 30000 pounds.	
1006					Elphegus, or Elphege.	Many times after, in this Kings time, did the *Danes* invade and spoil. They stone to death, at *Greenwich*, *Elphegus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because he would not pay to them such Taxes as they would impose.	
1012		Benedict 8.				The King is driven out of the Land to *Normandy* by the tyranny of the *Danes*, they, mean while, laying intolerable Taxes on the people of this Land, whereupon they fell to Prayer and to Fasting; so that shortly *Swanus* the Prince of the *Danes* dyed suddenly, yelling and crying. In fear whereof, *Canutus* his son Reigned here, with shew of much favor to the people. Of *Livingus* Archbishop, see the first great Vol. p. 215.	
1013					Livingus, or Lifwing.	*Egelred* returns, hearing of *Swanus* his death, and coming upon *Canutus* the son, being unprovided, caused him to fly into *Denmark*.	
						But afterward *Canutus* came again, and took *West-saxon*.	
1016			Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.			After *Egelreds* death, much Faction being moved whom to choose for King, *Londoners* being for *Edmund Ironside*, *Egelreds* eldest Son: Others, and chiefly the Clergy, being for *Swanus* Son, *viz.* *Canutus*; having sworn to *Swanus* his Father. *Edmund* and *Canutus* fight many Battels for the Kingdom; and at last a Duel between themselves: Last of all, they agreed to divide the Land between them, and so lived in love till *Edmund* was stabbed in the Fundament, by the Traiterous Son of Duke *Edricus*, as he was at the draught house. Then Duke *Edricus* himself, liking his Sons Fact, it should seem, carryed *Edmunds* two Sons to *Canutus*, with these words, *Ave Rex solus*, (*i.*) God save thee King alone. *Canutus* sends them to his Brother *Swanus* King of *Sweedland*, to be murdered: but he abhorring that Bloodineſs, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where the one dyed a natural death: The other, named *Edward*, was married to *Agatha*, Daughter of his Brother *Henry* the fourth, Emperor.	181
1020		Conradus 2.					
1023				Egenoldus, alias Athelinotus See p. 215. of the first great Vol.		Alias *John* the nineteenth. *Reusn. Helv.* Of him in Mr. *Fox*. See the first great Volume, p. 216. He was made Pope by Magick, as Mr. *Fox* saith in the same Page.	
		John the 21				*Canutus* this while, to make safe the *English* Crown to himself, Swears some, Banisheth others, puts to Death others; among which, was Duke *Edricus*. For though *Canutus* loved his Treason, yet durst not dare	
		Benedict 9.					
1032		He is deposed.					

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germany.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1038					Eadsin, or Edsius.	dare trust the Traytor that put to death *Edmund Ironside* his own natural Prince.	
						This Archbishop *Eadsin* is not named by Master *Fox*, as we can find; though he names him before and after him. See the first great Vol. pag. 215.	
						Canutus governed this land twenty years, in all which time the *Danes* began by little and little to be Christian men.	182
1039						*Canutus* dies. *Harold Harefoot* (so called for his swiftneſs) his son, reigns in *England* in his stead.	
						This *Henry* the fourth, Emperor, was Excommunicated by four Popes. See the first great Vol. p. 245.	
						Hardeknutus his Brother, King of *Denmark*, was after him King of *England*.	182
						Of *Henricus* the third, Emperor, see the first great Vol. p. 216.	
						About this time, wicked Earl *Godwin* played his feats.	
						King *Hardeknute*, the last of the *Danish* Kings of *England*, having reigned here two years, dies without issue.	
1043			Edward Confessor.			The *Danes* from their first landing (in *Brightricus* time) having vexed this Land 255 years; and having reigned as King twenty eight years; now the last of them being dead without issue, the Crown comes to *Edward*, the younger son of *Egelred*, a meer *Englishman*; returning from his banishment in *Normandy*, caused by the *Danish* Kings. He was sent for by the *Englishmen*, and Crowned this year. His dispolition was much averse from war.	
		Silvest. 3.				Pope *Benedict* the ninth, as we said, coming to be Pope by Magick, and opposing *Henricus* the third, Emperor, and putting in his room *Petrus* King of *Hungary*. After fearing *Henry* the fourth prevailing against him, sold his seat to *Gregory* the sixth for 1500 pounds. Of this *Gregory* see the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1045		Benedict 9. restored.					
		Gregory 6.	All 3 Popes at once.			Contention moved between this King *Edward* and Earl *Godwin*, happened about this time; in which Earl *Godwin* and his five sons were outlawed.	
1046						Of these three Popes, see the first great Vol. p. 216. where *Henricus Niger* Emperor, displaceth these three, and puts in *Clement* the second: and thereupon inacting, That no Bishop of *Rome* should be chosen without the consent of the Emperor. And the *Romans* swore their assent to this act.	
		Clement 2.				*William* Duke of *Normandy* comes to see the King, and is welcomed; he promising him (as some write) that if he died without issue, he the said *William* Duke of *Normandy* should have this Kingdom.	
						The *Romans* forgetting their Oath to the Emperor, in nine months poyson this Pope. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1049						Earl *Godwin*, that had murthered the Kings brother *Alfred*, wishing in excuse to the King, that the bread he was eating might not be swallowed safely, if he were not guiltless of his death, was presently choaked, and so died:	
		Damasus 2. Leo 9.				Of *Damasus* and *Leo*, see the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1050						Of him see the first great Vol. pag. 215. *Harold* (who after was King) was a means of his banishment, in the time of this King *Edward*.	
1052					Robert.	Of Archbishop *Robert*, see the first great Vol. p. 220.	
1053					Stigandus.	Of this Archbishop *Stigandus*, see the first great Vol. p. 215.	
1056						Of this Pope, see the first great Vol. p. 217.	
		Victor 2.				King *Edward* sends to *Henry* the fourth Emperor, praying him to send to the King of *Hungary*, that his Cousin *Edward*, son of *Edmund Ironside*, might come into *England*, for as much as he intended to make him King after him. This request was fulfilled, and he came into *England*, with his wife and children.	184
	Henricus 4.	Stephen 9.				This *Henry* Emperor, began his reign, being a child. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 211. and p. 217.	
1057						The year following his Cousin *Edward* dies.	
		Benedict 10. Nicholas 2. Alexander 2. Honorius 2. Gregory 7.			Stigandus, Lanfrancus, Anselmus.	Of Pope *Benedict* the tenth, and *Nicholas* the second, see the first great Vol. p. 217.	
1058						Then the King thought to make that *Edwards* son *Edgar Adeling* his heir; but fearing (by the pride of *Harold* the son of *Godwin*, and the mutability of *English* hearts) he should not effect it, sent Ambassadors to *William* Duke of *Normandy* his Kinsman, affigning him to be lawful heir next to succeed him to the Crown.	
						Not long after (*Godwin* being dead) his son *Harold* grows so wickedly proud, that he ruled all as King, by reason that the King somewhat favoured him. At length he failing towards *Flanders*, and being driven by tempest into *Normandy*, there *William* Duke of *Normandy* makes him to swear he would marry his daughter, and that after King *Edwards* death, he should keep the land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of King *Edward*, and so to live next to him in honour and dignity, in the Realm. At his return to *England* he tells King *Edward* what he had sworn to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, with which the King was well pleased.	
1059						Pope *Nicholas* the second having called a Council at *Sutrium*, and by the help of *Hildebrands* device having made *Benedict* the tenth to unpope himself; now he calls a Council at *Rome*, which is called the *Lateran* Council; in which he undermineth the Emperor of his jurisdiction, and conferreth the Election of the Pope upon a few Cardinals.	

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Britain in Wales.		Vol. 1. Page
1060						In this Council *Berengarius* is made to recant his tenet against real Prefence; and Tranfubftantiation is brought in.	
						King *Edward* dies.	
						This year *Aldredus* Biſhop of *Worceſter* being to be made Archbiſhop of *York*, comes with Earl *Toſtius* of *Northumberland* to Pope *Nicholas* to *Rome* for his Pall, inſtead of which (for ſome pretence) was deprived of all his dignity; and as he was returning home, was ſpoiled of that he carried with him. At laſt *Toſtius* with rough words to the Pope, makes the Pope give the Biſhop his Pall, for all his loſſes.	
1062						*Nicholas* (as his name ſignifies) having by violence got into the Popedom, after three years he is poyſoned. See the firſt great Vol. p. 217.	
		Cadalus.				Of theſe two Popes *Cadal.* and *Alex.* and their warring ſwords for *Peters* Keys, ſee the firſt great Vol. p. 218.	
		Alexander 2.				Pope *Alexander* is knockt about the pate by *Hildebrand*, for ſeeking the favour of the Emperor, touching his being Pope. The firſt great Volum, p. 218.	
						Harold the ſecond ſon of Earl *Godwin*, and laſt King of *Saxons*, (notwithſtanding many Nobles went with *Edgar Adeling*, next heir after *Edmund Ironſide*) forgat alſo his promiſe to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, who conterning *Edgars* youth, takes upon him to be King.	186
			Harold.				
1066						*Harold Hareſager*, ſon of *Canutus* King of *Norway* and *Denmark*, comes after *Edward*'s death to claim the Crown, with an army. He beats *Harold* King of *England* in the firſt battel; *Engliſh Harold* beats him in the ſecond: and *Daniſh Harold* is alſo ſlain by the hand of *Englands Harold*. *Toſtius* alſo the brother of *Harold* King of *England* joyning with the *Danes* in this battel againſt his brother, is ſlain.	
						One thouſand ſixty ſix a wondrous year; *To tell our fall, a Comet doth appear.*	
						Duke *William* of *Normandy* ſends an Ambaſſage to King *Harold*, admoniſhing him of his Covenant agreed between them. But becauſe Duke *William*'s daughter was dead, King *Harold* thought himſelf diſingaged from that agreement. He alledged alſo that thoſe promiſes were compelled, and without conſent of his Lords, which ought not to be.	
						Hereupon, and for two other reaſons, namely, to be revenged for the blood of his Nephew *Alfrid*, King *Edwards* brother, and of the *Normans*, of all whoſe deaths *Harold* was reputed the principal cauſe, and to revenge the exſilement of *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereof *Harold* was cauſe, Duke *William* invades this Kingdom, and conquers *Harold* in battel, wherein *Harold* was ſlain; and ſo Duke *William* (who was Couſin German to *K. Edward* by the Fathers ſide) gained the Kingdom and Crown. In this Conqueſt,	
						On *William*'s ſide were ſlain 6013.	
						On *Harolds* ſide 66654.	
1067			*William* the Conqueror.			*William* the Conqueror is Crowned *K.* of *England* by *Alredus* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Stigandus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being abſent, either for fear or hate of *William*.	192
						Great Taxes are laid by *William* upon the land, changing the Laws of *K. Edward*, although at his coming he had ſworn to keep them. (Of which ſee more p. 214. of the great Vol.)	
						Great famine is in *Northumberland*.	193
						The *Scots* are ſubdued to *William* the Conqueror.	
						This land hath been conquered by *Romans* the firſt, *Scots* and *Picts* the ſecond, *Saxons* the third, *Danes* the fourth, *William* and his *Normans* the fifth, time.	
						In this Conqueſt obſerve: Gods juſtices ſeverity. Lack of ſucceſſions caſualty. Foreign Marriages incommodity.	
1070						This year *William* the Conqueror calls a Council. Two Cardinals and he himſelf are preſent; who by pretences depoſe many Biſhops: (Among which was Archbiſhop *Stigandus*) to the intent to prefer *Normans* and aliens, as *Thomas* a *Norman* to be Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Lanfrancus* a *Lombard* and *Italian* born, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.	193
				Lanfrancus.			
1074		*Hildebrand* ſirnamed *Gregory 7.*				This *Hildebrand* cauſed the *Prelates* and *Popes* ſtoutneſs againſt Emperors, long before he was *Pope*, and now he practiſeth it much more, being *Pope*; caſting off the Emperors from Elections of *Popes* (as the Tragical Hiſtory of all his evils may be ſeen in this page of the great Volume) inſomuch that Cardinal *Benno* writes againſt him of his wickedneſs.	196
						Oſmund the ſecond Biſhop of *Sarum* (*Hirmannus* a *Norman*, that began the new Church and Minſter, being the firſt) now finiſhing the Minſter, firſt began the Ordinary, which was called *Secundum uſum Sarum*.	
1076							

Henry

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
					Henry the fourth, Emperor, attends upon this *Pope*, with his wife and children barefoot, at his Palace-gate, three days and three nights, before he could be admitted in; then too he is made to ſwear unreaſonable ſubjection to the *Pope* in all things; and when all is done, the Pope gives away his Crown to *Rodulph* Duke of *Suevia*, with theſe words,	
					The Rock to Peter gave the Diadem, *And Peter gives it unto Rodulphs Realm.*	
					Hildebrand is accuſed of grievous crimes in a Council called at *Brixia*, by *Henry* the fourth, Emperor, who had been ſo wronged by *Hildebrand*.	
1083		*Clemens 3.*			In this Council, called by *Henry*, *Hildebrand* is condemned to be depoſed, and *Clement* the third is choſen *Pope* in his room.	
1088					About this time, or not much after *Hildebrand* the Pope, dies *K. William* the Conqueror.	204
		Victor 3.			Of *Popes* ſee the firſt great Volume, pag. 239.	
					Great Peſtilence is in *England*.	
		Urban 2.			Rats ſwim over to a Biſhops Tower, that was cruel in time of famine to the poor, and devour him.	
					William Rufus is Crowned by Archbiſhop *Lanfrancus*, his elder Brother. Duke *Robert* in *Almaine* comes to fight for the Crown; whereupon *William Rufus* mildly quieted him, by taking the Crown from him at 3000 Marks *per Annum*, and agreeing that the longeſt liver of them two ſhould take the Crown.	207
		Pope Paſchalis 2.			The King did not much favour the Pope, becauſe as *Matthew Pariſienſis* writes, *They follow not the ſteps of* Peter, *but hunt for reward; and had not the power of him, whoſe holineſs they did not imitate.*	
1091			*Will. Rufus* is entire Monarch.		*Lanfrancus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dies (*Polydore* much commends him, I ſee not for what.) After whom the Archbiſhoprick is void four years.	
1092					Extream tempeſts in *England* burn a Church, break the head of a Crucifix, throw down the Lady, at *Wincomb*, and blow down ſix hundred houſes, as alſo the roof of *Bow*-Church at *London*.	
1093					Pope *Urban* calls a Council at *Rome*; in it he Excommunicates Lay-perſons that conferred ſpiritual livings.	208
					Pope *Urban* calls a Council at *Claremount*, where he by an Oration moves 30000 to go to *Hieruſalem*, to ſuppreſs the tyrannizing Heathens that were over the Chriſtians.	
1095				*Anſelm.*	This being about the ſixth year of King *Rufus*, *Malcom* King of *Scots* invades *England*, and is ſlain (himſelf having been a great murtherer) with his ſon *Edward*, and *Margaret* his wife.	
1096					This ſame year alſo, he, after he had kept *Canterbury* Archbiſhoprick four years, gave it to this *Anſelm*, who for the Kings kindneſs, much croſſed him in many things for a long time, all Biſhops holding with the King againſt *Anſelm*. Many of thoſe that went to *Hieruſalem*, in the way are by ambuſhment ſlain by the *Bulgars*, near to the Town *Civitot*. Yet at laſt when all the armies met, they went on, won ſome Towns, as *Antioch*, and ſlew many *Saracens*.	
1098					*Corbona*, Maſter of the *Perſians* Chivalry, is ſlain by the Chriſtians that went in the ſaid Voyage to *Hieruſalem*; with whom were alſo ſlain 100000 Infidels. Shortly after the Chriſtians take *Hieruſalem*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was choſen King thereof, but he refuſed it, becauſe he heard of the death of *William Rufus* in *England*; wherefore he never proſpered after.	209
					Earl *Ludovicus* rebells againſt *Henry* the fourth, Emperor; againſt whom and which, *Waltramus* Biſhop of *Merburgh* writes an Epiſtle, exhorting him to obedience.	214
					The Earl writes an anſwer.	*ibid.*
1099		*Paſchalis 2.*			This year 1090, (as *Gisburn* reports) a ſpring boils out bſood three weeks together. See the firſt great Volume, pag. 256.	
					Of this Pope *Paſchalis* ſee the firſt great Vol. p. 242.	
					He ſets up again *Henry* the fourth Emperor, having Excommunicated him, as did *Hildebrand*, his ſon *Henry*, making him Emperor, called *Henry* the fifth; as it follows in *Anno* 1105. See pag. 254, 255. of the firſt great Volume.	
100			Henry the 1. ſirnamed *Beauclerk*;		This King *Henry* the firſt was *William* the Conquerors third ſon, who now ſucceeds his brother *Rufus*. He had his name of *Beauclerk*, for his knowledg in the ſeven Liberal Arts.	216
					Duke *Robert* the eldeſt brother of *K. Henry*, and firſt ſon of *William* the Conqueror, comes to challenge the Crown of this *Henry*, as he did of *William Rufus*. And this *Henry* promiſeth him the three thouſand Marks *per Annum*, as *Rufus* had before; and ſo Duke *Robert* returned to *Normandy* ſatisfied. After Duke *Robert* and *K. Henry* fall out, and Duke *Robert* was taken in war a priſoner, brought to *England*, and kept in priſon while he lived. And *Normandy* was ſubdued to King *Henry* the firſt.	
1101					This King Inveſted Biſhops without the Pope.	
					About this year 1101, the Biſhop of *Fluence* began to preach of Antichriſt to be there born and manifeſted. Pope *Paſchalis* hereupon calls a Council, wherein the Biſhop, and condemns his Book. See the firſt great Volume, p. 254.	

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	Henry 5.				Great variance between *Anselme* and the King.	
1103					Of this *Henry* the fifth, Emperor, see before in Pope *Paschalis* the second, and his time and story; and in the next year here following.	217
1105					*Henry* and *Christian* two famous Archbishops of *Mentz*, right vertuous men, were about this time cruelly and tyrannically handled by the Bishop of *Rome*.	221
					This same year *Anselm* getting leave of the King to call a Council, in it by his Decrees cuts off the authority of any Lay-persons investing spiritual persons, the freedom of Bishops to bear office in secular mens businesses, and the power of Priests to marry. See the first Volume, p. 251.	
1106					The Emperor *Henry* the fourth being conquered in battel of his rebellious son *Henry* the fifth, set against him by Pope *Paschalis* the second, is so poor, that he intreated the Bishop of *Spire* (to whom he had been kind) to have a Prebend there; having some skill to serve in the Ladies Quire: but the Bishop swearing by the Lady a flat denial; the Emperor forlorn of Son, Kingdom, Bishop, and all, goes to *Leodium* and there dies (having reigned fifty years) whose body buried, *Paschalis* takes up again, and causeth it to be kept unburied five years.	222
1107					*Henry* the fifth coming to be Crowned at *Rome*, could not obtain it, till he ratified it, that no Emperor should have to do in the Election of the *Roman* Bishop. Afore he yielded to it; and about other things, there was such opposition between this *Henry* the fifth and the *Pope*, that unlesse he had defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain.	
1109					*Anselm* Archbishop died. The See is void five years. The Bishoprick of *Ely* first founded. *Henry* the Bishop.	223
1110					*Trent* river dried up about *Notingham*, from morning till three in the afternoon, that men might go over dry-shod. *Gisburn.*	
1113					*Thames* this year, from the Tower to the Bridg, from midnight to next evening, scarce knee deep: innumerable people and children wading over; the Tyde falling short of its custom ten miles.	
1114					This year *Worcester* is burnt.	
1115				Radulphus.	This Pope *Gelasius* was set up by the Cardinals, without the Emperor.	
1118		Gelasius 2. and Gregory 8. both Popes together.			*Thurstinus* chosen Archbishop of *York*; will not make his procession of obedience to the See of *Canterbury*, where he was consecrated, for which the King deprives him. Hence rose great ado between the Archbishop *Thurstinus* and the King.	
		Gregory 8. and Calixtus 2. (Gelasius being gone) are both Popes together.			This Pope *Gregory* is set up by the Emperor.	
1119					Pope *Gelasius* is driven into *France*.	
					This Pope *Calixtus* is set up by a few Cardinals. He first excommunicates the Emperor *Henry* the fifth, then drives P. *Gregory* out of *Rome*.	
					The Emperor is again forced to ratifie his consent, of passing away his right of chooling the Bishop of *Rome*; and moreover to ratifie this Pope *Calix.* to be Pope, though the Emperor, *P. Gregory* was yet alive.	
					Pope Calixtus in the business about *Thurstin* Interdicts the Church of *Canterbury* and *York*, and all the Parishes within the same; unless *Thurstin* without exacting subjection to *Canterbury* be admitted to the See of *York*; and that the King (saith the Pope in his Epistle to *England*) should be excommunicated, except he consented to the same.	224
1122					*Thurstin* is received to his See, and reconciled to the *King*.	
1125	Lotharius Saxo.	Honorius 2.			The *King* calls a Council at *London*, where he gets the Clergy to give him the punishment of married Priests; which granted, for money the *King* lets them have their wives.	
1128					The Order of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, called the *Johannites*, and of the *Templars*, rose up at this time.	
1130					The Priory of *Norton* founded.	
		Innocent 2. and Anacletus 2. both Popes together.			The King is troubled with three Visions, the first of multitudes of Husbandmen flying on him with their Mattocks; requiring the debt he owed unto them. The second of Soldiers, falling upon him. The third of Bishops, threatning him with their Episcopal staves. To prevent the coming to pass of these, he vowed three things: first, repentance, secondly, alms, and thirdly amendment of life.	
1131					The King is in a great tempest at Sea in this year 1131. He releaseth to the Commons *Danegilt*: he gave to the Churchmen much; and looked to execution of justice, as after his deliverance from the tempest, to fulfill his three Vows.	
1135			Stephen.		King *Henry* dies, being in *Normandy*.	
1136					Notwithstanding the Oath of *Stephen* and of the Nobility to *Maud* formerly, before her Father, they set not up her, or young *Henry* the son: but this *Stephen*, sisters son to King *Henry*, takes upon him the Crown, and him the Nobility Crown on St. *Stephens* day.	226
					The King takes the Bishop of *Sarum*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and puts ropes about their necks, and led them to Castles held against him, threatning to put to death the Bishops, unless the rebels would yield.	
1138	Conradus 3.					
				Theobald.	This *Conradus* Emperor, is the only man, among many Emperors, that did not receive his Crown from the Pope.	228
1140					*Maud* the Empress comes with a great army into *England*, being aided by the Earls of *Gloucester* and *Chester*, and wars on King *Stephen*, and takes him prisoner. Then the *Kentishmen* and *Londoners* war against *Maud*	

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					Maud, and takes the Earl of *Gloucester* Prisoner. So he and King *Stephen* are freed by exchange. Then King *Stephen* in all hafte gathers another Army, and chaseth *Maud* the Empress out of the Land.	
					But the Earl of *Gloucester* and *Chester* were so strong, that they in Fight had almost taken King *Stephen*.	
					Eustace, King *Stephens* Son, wars against *Normandy*, but in vain.	
					Henry Duke of *Normandy* makes War in behalf of his Mother *Maud*, with great puissance in *England*, winning the Tower of *London*, and many other places.	
					Eustace, King *Stephens* Son, dies.	
1143					Peace is made between King *Stephen* and *Henry* of *Normandy*; upon this condition, that *Stephen* should enjoy the Kingdom his life-time; and mean while *Henry* should be proclaimed in the chief Towns of the Kingdom, Heir apparent to the Crown.	
		Celestine 2. Lucius 2.			The *Jews* Crucifie a Child in *Norwich*.	
1144					This year also comes in, the curfing with Bell, Book and Candle.	
		Eugenius 3.			These two Popes, *Lucius* and *Eugenius*, much withstood the *Romans* this time, in their laboring to recover the old manner of chooling their Consuls and Senators.	
					In the time of King *Stephens* Reign (its not set down distinctly in what years) flourished as some Authors affirm. *Gratianus*, compiler of the Popes Decrees. *Petrus Lombardus*, master of the Sentences. *Petrus Comestor*, writer of the Scholast story. *Hugo de Sancto Victore*. *Bernardus Clarevallensis*. *Hildegare* the Nun, a Prophetess. *Johannes de temporibus*, who (as most of our old Authors affirm) lived 361 years: He lived the last of his days in this Kings time. } Brethren.	
					In this Kings time, by *Theobald* Archbishop it was Decreed, that Bishops should teach their Flock more diligently, that reading of the Scriptures should be more frequented in Abbies, that Priests should learn and teach the Lords Prayer and the Creed in English.	
1152	Fredericus Barbarossa.				Being the sixteenth year of King *Stephen*, *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Legate to the Pope, began in the Council at *London*, the new found appellations from Councils to the Pope, invented by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*.	
1153		Anastasius 4 Adrian 4.	Henry 2.		This Pope *Adrian* was an *Englishman*, his Sir-name was *Breakspear*, he belonged once to St. *Albons*, he kept much ado also to put down the *Roman* Consuls, Senators, *&c.*	228
1154					This King *Henry*, was the first year of his reign, subdued *Ireland*; and not long after made *Thomas Becket* Lord Chancellor of *England*. He subdued *William* King of *Scotland*: He subduing *Wales*, cut down many woods to make the way plain. He also had in his Rule the Iles *Orcades*, also *Poictou* and *Guien*, *Normandy*, *Gascoine*, *Angeou* and *Chinon*. Also *Alverne* and the City of *Tholouse* he won. Lastly, by the Title of his Wife *Elenor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Poictou*, he obtained the Mounts *Pyram* in *Spain*. None of his Progenitors had so many Countries.	
1157					Two Suns seen in the Firmament in *England*.	
1158					Three Suns seen three hours in *Italy*.	
					Three Moons appear, whereof the middle had a red Cross overthwart the face: which bestowed (as some conceive) the great Schism between the Cardinals, for the election of the Bishops of *Rome*: or else rather the business between *Fredericus Barbarossa*, Emperor, and the Pope, *Adrian*, of which more will follow by and by.	
					After the appearance of those great Lights in the Firmament and Air, appeared in the Church *Gerhardus* and *Dulcinus*, Preachers against the Antichrist of *Rome*, as he that was prefigured by the Whore of *Babylon* in in the *Apocalyps*. These two (as *Robert Guisburnes* story affirms) brought thirty with them into *England*; who by the King and Prelates were all burnt in the Fore-head, and so driven out of the Kingdom, and after (as *Illyricus* writeth) were slain by the Pope.	
					The business between Pope *Adrian* the fourth, was: first, that the Emperor held the Popes stirrup on the left side; who excused himself to the offended Pope, by telling him, That he had not been used to hold stirrups. The next day the Emperor makes amends by holding it on the right side. Secondly, that the Emperor having marched into *Italy*, subduing some Rebels, he was informed by the Pope, that according to the former custom of *Carolus Magnus* subduing the *Lombards*, *Otho* the *Berengarians*, and *Lotharius* the *Normans*, who left for the See of *Rome* some token of benevolence, for the obtaining their Victories, he should likewise upon this Victory of his, leave a benevolence; and in particular, it must be *Apulia*; which at his own cost and pains he must win from Duke *William*, that it might be restored again to the Church of *Rome*. This business was so resolved upon by the Pope, that until the Emperor promised the same, he could not receive his Crown from the Pope. For the Popes in those days had the Em-	

perors

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					perors at this a-bey, that for to be Crowned they were fain to yield to any thing.	
					But the Pope himself in stirring in the execution of this Plot, was so besieged by *William* the Duke, that before intreated peace of the Pope, which would not yield it upon any terms, that they were forced to intreat the Duke for peace; which was granted, with profitable conditions to the Duke.	
					The Emperor this while sitting quietly at home, and considering how the Pope had wrested his power in Election of Popes, investing of Prelates, &c. how he had pilled and polled all Nations by the Legates, and sown discord in his Empire: Hereupon he requires Homage and Oath of Allegiance of all his Bishops; and forbids the Popes Legates to enter into the Empire, without his sending for, and all Appeals to *Rome*. Finally, In his Letters he prefixed his name before the Emperor.	
					Hereupon the Pope writes a rebuking Letter to the Emperor. The Emperor writes back, in defence of his doings, an Apologetical Epistle. The Pope replies with a Bull of Excommunication. The Emperor makes answer to that with accusatory Letters against the vilenes, pride, &c. of the See of *Rome*. Then the Pope writes to the *German* Bishops to work against the Emperor. The Bishops they write their excuing of the Emperor.	229
					This Pope towards the end of his life (who dyed amidst those broils, being chouked with a Fly as he was walking abroad) was wont to say, That there was no more miserable kind of Life in the Earth, than to be a Pope.	230
					This Pope, being set up by the Popes Faction. } The two Popes made great Schism and Tumult. This *Victor* was set up by the Emperor and nine Cardinals. }	
1159		Alexander the third, and Victor the fourth, both Popes together.			The Emperor to quiet them, sent for them to appear before him. *Alexander* scorns the motion; *Victor* doth appear: him therefore the Emperor aids to the City, and settles him to be Pope. *Alexander* then flying to *France*, to *Secil* and *Venice*, works by mony and cunning; gets the City of *Rome* on his side to set up such Consuls as were for his turn. Also of the *French*, and *Venetians*, and *Apulians*, he got force of Ships and Arms on his side: against which the Emperor sends his Son *Otho* with Ships and Men well appointed, against the *Venetians* and the Pope; charging him to do nothing till he should come to him. But he not tarrying for his Father, was beaten and taken: for the delivery of whom, the Emperor was fain to submit himself to the Pope; who putting his Foot upon the Emperors Neck, spake these Words: *Thou shalt walk upon the Adders and Basiliks, and shalt tread down the Lyon and Dragon.* Mean while the Emperor speaking to the Pope from under his Foot, *Not to thee, but to Peter*: The Pope answers, *Both to me and to Peter*. Thus the Emperor having subjected himself, promising to take *Alexander* for the true Pope, and to restore all he had taken away from *Rome*, departed.	
					Pope *Alexander* the third, sitting Pope one and twenty years, calling divers Councils at *Turo*, ratified the wicked acts of *Hildebrand*.	231
1160					This year many chief Men of *Lyons* walking together, one whereof falling down dead, to the amazement of them all, one *Waldus* a rich man, was above all the rest, by Gods Spirit working together with the example, stricken with a sound inward repentance, a new life following thereupon, with great study of the Word of God, wherewith he much instructed his family, others also resorting to him to be taught; and so he became the original of the *Waldenses*.	
1161				Tho. Becket	This *Becket* lived in the time of this Pope *Alexander*. He did not (as some affirm) dye a Martyr, but a stubborn man against his King; who had preferred him from an Arch-deacon, to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, and after to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.	
					The Pope, *viz.* *Alexander* the third, holds with *Becket* in his obstinacy	234
					against the King and his Laws.	235
					The Bishops generally counselling *Becket* to submission to the King, are	236
					sharply rated by him.	247
					This year a child was Crucified by the Jews.	263
1167					This year a Collection of two pence in every pound, was gathered throwout all *England* and *France*, for the succor of the East Christians against the *Turks*.	
1169					This year, being about the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the second, so feared, lest the Arch-bishop would proceed to Excommunication of his own Person, that he appealed to the Pope, intreating him to send down two Legates to *England*, to take up the matter between him and his Arch-bishop.	
1170					This year the Doctrine of the *Waldenses* (coming of that *Waldus* an able and learned man in the Scriptures and true Godlines, as hath been seen	

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					seen in old Parchments, and Records of things of his penning) sprang up more and more in the time of this wicked Pope *Alexander*, who with his Faction much set against these Christians, whose tenents are ordinarily to be seen to be very Orthodox and sound.	
					This year *William* King of *Scots*, with *David* his Brother, do Homage to *England*.	
					This year *Babylon* was destroyed (and never built again) by *Almaricus* King of *Jerusalem*.	
					Becket this year bare another grudge against the King, because King *Henry* the second, by Authority of the Parliament, Crowning his Son King, by the hands of the Arch-bishop of *York*, and other Bishops, not sending for him. Also he makes the Pope to suspend the Bishops.	252
					This same year also *Ludovike* the *French* King, came with a great Army against the King to *Normandy*, for not Crowning *Margaret* his Daughter, with her Husband.	
1171					*Becket* is slain by four Souldiers. Many Authors alleadged that condemned *Beckets* carriage towards the King.	253
					Abundance of strange lies are reported touching *Beckets* miracles.	255
					Of him was made this blasphemous Anthem:	256
					For the blood of Thomas, *which he for thee did spend, Grant us Christ to climb Where* Thomas *did ascend.*	
					The Pope is angry, and more incensed by *Ludovike* the French King, for the death of *Becket*.	
					The Pope injoyns the four Knights that killed *Becket* such hard penance of going to *Jerusalem* barefoot in linen Breeches, with much Fasting and Prayer, that in few years after they are said to dye.	
				Richard.	The King subdued *Ireland*, and four of the five Kings thereof: the King of *Tomeia* in that Land, denying to be subdued; keeping in Woods and Marishes.	
1172					The Legates from the Pope, being come into *Normandy*, touching the death of *Becket*, the King repairs to them, swears he neither assented to, nor assisted in *Beckets* death; but only spake rigorously against his Knights which did not avenge him of *Becket*. For which the Legates injoyn the King great penance, of fighting against the *Turk*, and obliging himself to the Pope.	
1173					All *England* almost diseased with a Cough.	
1174					*William* King of *Scots*, is Imprisoned in *England*, being taken in War. See the first great Vol. p. 302.	
1175					This year *Canterbury* City is almost all burnt.	256
					A Convocation of Bishops is held this year about the subjection of Bishopricks to the Arch-bishop of *York*, and of *York* to *Canterbury*.	
					This year King *Henry* the second divides the Kingdom into six parts, appoints for every part three Justices of Assise.	
1176					The ancient Custom of exempting Priests from the temporal Sword, in case of Murther, inflicting on them only Excommunication: this year, in this King *Henries* time, began to be altered, by the procurement of *Richard* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.	
1177					*Ireland* this year is subdued to the King of *England*.	
					Hovenden in this year brings in Letters of Pope *Alexander* to *Roger* Arch-bishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*.	
1178					Contention between the Arch-bishop of *York* and *Canterbury* revives.	
1179					The Popes Commissioners persecute sorely some in *Tholouse*, holding against Transubstantiation.	
					Pope *Alexander*, in some of those many Councils held at *Laterane*, whereof was one this year, and in *France*, &c. Decreed, That no Arch-bishop should receive the Pall, unless he would first swear. The form of giving the Pall and taking the Oath, see the first great Volume, p. 298.	
					Under the Reign of this *Henry* the second, the Dominions and Crown of *England* extended farther than ever before in *England*.	258
					Viz. He is King over { *Scotland.* *Ireland.* *England.* *Normandy.* *Aquitan.* *Gant*, &c. To the Mountain of *Pirenei*, which be the uttermost parts of the great Ocean in the *British* Sea.	
1180						
1181						
					Pisanus Burgundo, a very Learned man in Greek and Latine, presents to Pope *Alexanders* Council, *Chrysostoms* Homily on the Gospel of *John*, translated out of Greek into Latine.	
					He is Protector of *France*; *Philip* the *French* King yielding himself and his Realm wholly to his Governance.	
					He	

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					He was offered to be King of *Jerusalem*, but he refused it, fearing the rebellion of his sons in his absence.	
					Princes from most parts of Christendom came to this King, for his wisdom to be advised, and have questions determined.	258
					He maintained great Wars much of his thirty five years he reigned; yet never put he any Tax upon the Laity, or First-fruits or Appropriations upon the Clergy; and yet dyed worth 900000 pounds, besides Jewels, precious stones, and houshold Furniture.	
					This many-ways-happy King, was unhappy in his Sons, who stood in armor against him, taking part with the *French* King against him; causing him with extreme grief to fall sick, and in four days to dye.	
					The King being dead, bled afresh at the coming near one of his Sons; whereby the Beholders concluded, that he was the Author of his Fathers death.	
					His Sons (their Kingly Father being dead) unsuccessful in their Designs, as what else could be expected of such Sons? lose all their Fathers Dominions beyond Sea.	
1184				Baldwinus.	Great contention was between this *Baldwinus* and the Monks of *Canterbury*. See the first great Vol. p. 309.	267
1185		Urban 3.			Pope *Urban* writes to Arch-bishop *Baldwin*, sharply rebuking him, and upholding the Monks. In few days after he dyes.	
1187					This year King *Henry* pays to *Rome* 40000 marks of Silver, and five thousand of Gold, for the death of *Becket*.	
					Arch-bishop *Baldwin* begins the building of the new House at *Lambeth*, with the Church.	
1188		Gregory 8.			Pope *Gregory* dyes with sorrow for the loss of the Holy Cross.	
		Clement 3.			This Pope *Clement* forbids Arch-bishop *Baldwin* to proceed. And also sharply writes (as did Pope *Urban*) to rebuke him as an oppressor of the Monks of *Canterbury*.	
1189					This Pope *Clement* sends another more sharp Letter to this Arch-bishop, by his Legate *Radulphus*, to the same effect.	
					This year Pope *Clement* writes a third Letter to Arch-bishop *Baldwin*.	
			Richard the first, surnamed Cœur de Lion.		This King forbidding any *Jews* to approach his Palace at his Coronation, the *Jews* notwithstanding pressing on, were by the Gate-keepers smitten, and at last many, on boldship of the Kings command of keeping them out of the Palace, flew many of them; on which was raised a report, that all the *Jews* must be destroyed; insomuch, that the *Londoners* fired divers houses of the *Jews*, and the Inhabitants in them.	
					The King strongly took part with the Arch-bishop against the Monks.	
					The King sorrowing for his rebellion against his Father, for satisfaction agrees with King *Philip* of *France* to go to the Holy Land, to recover Christ his Patrimony, as they called it. In which Voyage, as he had much contention with the unthankful hearted French King, so he had divers Victories against the enemy; as against *Isakius* King of *Cyprus*, and against *Jechon* and others. See following, Anno 1192, &c.	
1190	Henricus 6. son of Fredericus Bar. 5.				The manner of the Popes Crowning this Emperor, see in the next year.	
					In this year was a great Northern brawl, on Twelfth-Even, between the Arch-bishop elect of the Church of *York*, and his Company on the one side, and *Henry* Dean of that Church, and his Chanter and Singing-men on the other side; because the Dean and his Quirefters presumed to begin their Service before the Bishop came: whom they conceived to stay too long in attiring himself, or some such occasion. The Arch-bishop bids them stay their over-forward Service, now half done at the Bishops coming in: The Dean and Chanter bids them proceed on. At last, the Arch-bishop silenced the Service, and makes them begin again the first part, which he had not yet heard: The others, seeing the Bishops Authority to make the Service begin again, put out the Lights; whereby these Popish Devotions, which cannot be done without Candle-light, were for the present extinguished.	
1191		Celest. 3.			King *Richard* sends over his Gallies to *Naples*, there to meet his Mother *Elenor*, and *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Sanctius* King of *Navar*, whom he purposed to Marry, who shortly after meet together.	275
					Henry Emperor is Crowned (upon condition of restoring many things to St. *Peter*, pretended by the Pope to have been taken away) the Pope holding the Crown between his Feet, and so the Emperor stoops with his Head to take it on: the Pope setstoons with his Foot striking it off (intimating his Power to Depose him as well as to Crown him) the Cardinals taking up the Crown thus kicked off, and putting it on again.	276
					In this absence of the King of *England*, by reason of his Voyage to the Holy-land, the King had appointed the Government of the Realm to *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and *William* Bishop of *Ely*. To *Hugo* of *Durham* was committed *Windsor* Castle: to *William* of *Ely* the Tower of *London*. To these two Bishops were adjoyned four chief Justices: *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Marshall*, *Geffery Peterson*, and *William Brure*, to have the hearing and overlight over all Causes. But above all these, the Bishop of *Ely* (being Chancellor, and by his Mony got to be the Popes Legate) took upon him mightily, taking away *Windsor* Castle from the other Bishop. It is incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused themselves after the Kings departure into	278

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					into *Syria*, in excess of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the Kings Subjects.	
					A great contention arose between *John* Earl of *Morton*, the Kings Brother, with other States of the Realm, and the said *William* Bishop of *Ely*, through his pride usurping all the government of the Kingdom to himself. In short, he was at variance with many of the great persons of the Kingdom, till by Earl *Johns* means and others, he was for his ill behaviour fain to disguise himself in Womans apparel, make to the Sea side, and to sail out of the Kingdom, complaining to Pope *Celestine*, and sending Letters to the King, complaining to him likewise.	
1192					The King gets Victories against the *Saladine*, got *Sclavonia* from the *Saracens*.	
1193				Hubertus.	The *French* King not agreeing with King *Richard*, returns home, invades *Normandy*, perswades *John* the Kings Brother to take upon him the Crown of *England* in the Kings absence; whereby he made League with the *French* King, and did him Homage.	
					King *Richard* hearing this, makes peace with the *Turk* for three years, and returns homeward; who, as he was coming, by Tempest was driven to *Histria*, to a Town called *Synaca*, and taken by *Lympold* Duke of that Country, and by him sold to the Emperor for sixty thousand Marks; which Emperor writes his triumph therein to the said *French* King.	
					The King is thus a Captive a year and three months.	
					This while the *French* King wars upon *Normandy*, and makes Earl *John*, King *Richards* Brother to invade *England*. But by the Barons he was made fly into *France*. At last for 100000 pounds to the Emperor, the King was released; that mony being made up of Chalices, Crosses and other Church-plate.	
1195					This year the Pope granted that Priests might administer with Latin and tin Chalices (the Silver and Gold being gone to redeem the King) and so it continued long after.	281
1196					*Lympoldus* Duke of *Austrige* fell in displeasure with the Bishop of *Rome*, and died excommunicate.	
1197					*Philip* King of *France* breaks his Truce made with *Richard* King of *England*, so that King *Richard* was fain to sail over into *Normandy* to withstand him.	
					Fulco, alias Gualter, Archbishop of *Rome*, rebukes the King for his three Daughters. The King in a rage calling him mad man, and saying, *I have no Daughter*. *Fulco* replies, telling him that his three Daughters were *Pride Covetousness and Luxury*; and that unless the King did marry them away they would undo him and his Kingdom. To which the King calling the Nobles, reciting *Fulco* his Parable, and confessing his fatherhood of such Children, makes this answer, *Here before you all I give my Daughter* Pride *to Wife unto the proud* Templars; *my Daughter* Avarice *to the covetous order of the* Cistercian Monks: *and my Daughter* Luxury *to the riotous* Prelates.	281
1198		Innocent the third.			King *Richard* the first, viewing a Castle, is hit with an Arrow in the Arm, with the setting of the iron whereof he dies.	
1199	Otto the fourth.				This King *John* was the Brother of King *Richard*, and Earl of *Morton*; being crowned and sworn with a strict charge of the Archbishop to keep the Laws, he sails over into *Normandy*, and makes truce with the *French* King for a time.	
			John.		King *John* being divorced from his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *Glocester*, being in the third degree of kindred; by the counsel of the *French* King, he marries *Isabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Angulla*; and then *Arthur* of *Britain* did Homage to King *John* for *Britain* and other places.	282
1200					About this time arose divers contentions between King *John* and the Archbishop for sundry things.	
1202					*Philip* the *French* King in a communication between him and King *John*, requires King *John* to part with all his Lands in *Normandy*, and *Pictavia*, which he had beyond the Sea, unto *Arthur* his Nephew, the Son of King *John's* elder Brother, and that presently, or else he would war against him. King *John* denying it, the *French* King warring, and *Arthur* assisting, King *John* takes *Arthur* Prisoner, and scarce leaves any of the *French* to carry back tidings.	
1203					This year King *John* for lack of rescue lost all his Holds, (as Writers affirm) and Possessions in *Normandy*, through the force of the *French* King.	
1205					*Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceaseth. The younger sort of Monks at midnight choose their superiour *Reignold*, and without the Kings licence, privately placeth him in the Metropolitical Seat, singing *Te Deum*, and after post him away to the Pope.	
1206					The next year the contention between the Suffragans and Monks of *Canterbury* about the said Election, is brought before the Pope, who passed sentence on the Monks side, charging the Suffragans and Bishops of *Canterbury* henceforth to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone.	
1207					The Monks of *Canterbury* now having the said Elect of an Archbishop in their own hands, fall at odds between themselves, the younger against the elder; the younger standing for *Reignold*, the elder choose another.	283
				Stephen Langton.	They	

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					They bringing their cause, their Elections and Allegations before Pope *Innocent* the third; he condemning both their Elections, commanded them to choose *Stephen Langhton*, then Cardinal of Saint *Chrysogen*, for their Archbishop, which done, though with secret muttering of many the Monks, they sung *Te Deum*.	
					The King was content to let this Election thus to pass, so as he might have his Sovereignty entire. But this Archbishop *Langhton* was so proud and stubborn against the King, that the King sent abroad into all parts of the Kingdom Letters Certificatory of the same. Whereupon the Pope mightily setshimself against King *John*, interdicting and cursing King *John*, and all that should eat, drink, talk, *&c.* with him; insomuch that at last the King was fain to pass over his Crown to the Pope.	285
1212	*Frederick* 2.				The *French* King makes an attempt in hope to get the Crown of *England*, but the *English* take 300 of the *French* Kings Ships, and so defeated his project.	
1215					Pope *Innocent* the third calls a Synod at *Rome*, called the Council of *Lateran*, upon this occasion. Princes now beginning to resist the Pope, whereby many Princes were excommunicated, as *Otho* the Emperor, *John* King of *England*, *Peter* King of *Aragon*, *Raimund* the Earl of *Tholouse*, *Aquitania*, *Sataloni*, *&c.* The Pope now to prevent any future increase of oppositon, inacts in this Synod, that the Pope henceforth should have the correction of all Christian Princes.	287
					In this Council also was first invented Transubstantiation; and forbidding Priests Marriage was confirmed.	
					To this Council were these great men in *England* summoned to appear, who would not consent to the expulsion and tyrannical deposing of their King. But the other side and faction of the Nobility opposed their King lustily, desiring *Philip* the *French* King to send his eldest Son *Ludowick* with a great power, and they would choose him for their King, and so he came and was chosen; howbeit against the Popes consent, who charged the *French* King rather to help King *John* against his rebellious Subjects, for that (saith the Pope) King *John* is my feudary Tenant. But this hindred not.	288
1216		*Honorius* 3.			*Simon Langhton* is chosen Archbishop of *York*. But that choice was anon dissolved, information being given to the Pope, that he was Brother to that *Stephen Langhton* that had made that tumult in *England*.	
					This year K. *John* was poysoned by one *Simon* a Monk, who being absolved of his Abbot afore-hand for doing this fact, he finds a Toad in the Garden, pricks him with a Pen-knife, until he had made him vomit up all his poyson, which he having conveyed into a Cup of Wine, began to the King with a smiling countenance, speaking these words, *If it shall please your Princely Majesty, here is such a Cup of Wine, as you never drank a better, I trust that Wassil shall make all* England *glad*. The King having drunk, and anon being ill, inquired for *Simon* the Monk, to whom some answering that he was departed this life (for his Guts gushed out of his Belly) the King replys, *Then God have mercy on my soul*; and so he died, much repenting of his former life.	290
					In this Kings time was the Bridge of *London*, being of Wood, built of Stone and the power of chooling a Mayor in *London* was first granted.	
			Henry 3.		*Henry* the third being King *John*'s eldest Son, began his Reign in the ninth year of his age. Against him, some that hated the Father, stood for *Lewis* the K. of *France* his Son. But *W.* Earl Marshal resting to the Nobles, that the *French* Kings Son was the shame of their servitude, and that hatred of the Child for the Father, was unjust persecution of the innocent Child; Hereupon they all gave consent to choose this young *Henry* for their King; who is crowned at *Glocester*, because the *French* held *Westminster*.	290
1217					Upon the choice of the Son of King *John* to be King, *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son makes War upon *England*; Earl Marshal and others gives him Battel, and win the Field of him. Then *Lewis* takes *London* for his safety, thutting the Gates till great aid from *France* was sent him in 100 ships, but they were encountred with upon the Sea, most of them taken, and *Eustace* the chief of them, and his Head was smitten off; so that the *French* Kings Son *Lewis* agreed for 1000 pound of Silver he would depart out of the Kingdom never to return he nor his.	
1218					A Parliament is held in *England* (now *Lewis* and his *French* are gone out of the Land) in which King *Henry* the third confirmeth all the priviledges that had been granted by *John* his Father.	292
1219					The Kingdom on the other side grant to the King two shillings of every Plow-Land.	
					Thomas Becket is shrined.	
					This year Order was proclaimed, that all Aliens should depart out of the Realm, except Merchandizers, going in and out under the Popes safe conduct. It was conceived that the device was to make divers great Men strangers, that held Castles and Holds of the King against his will, to go out of the Kingdom.	
1220					About this time the young King was crowned again at *Westminster*.	
					This year the Pope of *Rome* stirs up *Ludovike* the *French* King to lay Siege against the City of *Tholouse* to extinguish the *Albingenses*. Vol. 1. Page 302.	

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1221					The Lord keeps the *Albingenses* that the *French* King and his Host could not touch them; but strikes them with a sore Pestilence and Famine, forcing them to retire home again to *France*, Vol. 1. p.	
					This year the King went to *Oxford*, where he had something to do with *William* Earl *de Albemarlia*.	303
					The Gray or Minorite Friers enter first into *England*.	
					The House of the *Carthusian* Monks is founded.	
1222					In *England* are such violent Tempests, that many Trees, Towers, Churches, are thrown down, and some persons slain in an House.	
1223					*Philip* the *French* King dies, his Son *Ludovike* succeeding him.	
1224					The Order of Friers Minorites is confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third.	
1226		*Gregory* the 9th.			Pope *Honorius* the third, a great adversary to *Frederick* Emperor, dies, after whom succeeds *Gregory* the ninth, more grievous than his Predecessor.	
					Franciscus Patron of the Frier Minorites dies.	
					Ela foundeth the House of the Nuns at *Lacock*.	
					W. Bishop of *London* gave over his Bishoprick.	
					The Pope works *Raimundus* the good Earl of *Tholouse* great trouble.	
1227					This year the King of *England* makes the *Londoners* to pay the sum of 1000 Marks to him, because they had given or lent the like sum to *Lewis* the *French* King his adversary, at his departure out of *England*. With these and other Taxes, provision is made to recover *Normandy*.	304
1228						307
					The King grants to the City of *London* to be Toll-free.	
					Great contention ariseth between the Prior and Covent of *Durham*, and this K. *Henry* the third, because they would not choose him to their Bishop whom the King did desire.	
1229			*Richardus magnus.*		The choice of this Archbishop, cost the Realm the tenths of all moveables, see Vol. 1.	
					The new Church of *Coventry* is finished by *Alexander* the Bishop of that City.	
					The *French* provide again to War against the foresaid *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouse*, and to expulse him out of his possessions. The Earl gives them a great overthrow, and discomfits the *French* three times that summer.	309
1230					As the Bishop and his Deacon, and many people were in Saint *Paul*'s Church in *London* at Mass, there arose such a dark Tempest with Thunder, *&c.* that the people ran out, fell down amazed, conceiving that Doomesday was come; the Bishop and Deacon mean while take fast hold of the Altar.	
1231					The Archbishop now confirmed in his See, complains against *Hubert* Lord Chief Justice, as one that withheld some Lands due to *Canterbury*.	
					The Archbishop goes to the Pope, and complains against the King for committing so much trust of the affairs of the Kingdom to *Hubert*.	
					Richard dies in his return from complaining to the Pope, in whose room the Monks choose *Ralph Nevel*, alias *Radulphus de nova Villa*, who was the Kings Chancellor, the King well liking the choice; He is commended in stories to be a very good man. But being depraved and traduced to the Pope by *Simon Langhton* Archbishop of *York*, the Pope frustrates the choice.	310
					Then the Monks choose *John* their Prior to be Archbishop, who going to the Pope (and therefore not insufficient by age to govern, who could take such a Voyage) to receive his Pall, and being examined three days, was rejected for being too old by the Pope, perhaps older than was he.	
1232					A great Consistory of Abbots, Priors, and of the Nobility, is held at S. *Albans* between the Countess of *Essex* and her Husband.	311
					Roman and *Italian* Parsons in *England* are robbed.	
					The Bishops labour to bring *Hubert* out of the Kings favour, and prevail, to the incensing of the King against him, and making him to question *Hubert* for many things unreasonably, to imprison him, and bereave him of all his treasure.	312
1233					*Hubert* is conveyed out of Prison into a Church; but without respect to that as a Sanctuary, he being found by the Keepers is dragged to Prison again, to the great offence of the Bishop, for so disrespecting the sacredness of that place.	314
					John Blund is chosen Archbishop. But he is the third of those that are unchosen by the Pope one after another, before any election would take with the Pope.	
1234					This Archbishop *Edmund* was chosen by the Popes command.	
			Edmund of Abendon.		Archbishop *Edmund* with his Bishops in Council at *Westminster* (the King now being at variance with the Nobles) declared to the King plainly that the Council he followed was not good, but dangerous to him and the state (meaning the counsel of *Peter Winchester*, and *Peter of Rival*, *&c.*) shewing it in their turning the Kings heart from his own natural Subjects, and in eleven particulars more.	
					The King takes pity of Justice *Hubert*'s Wife.	
					Richard Earl Marshal is fraudulently circumvented and slain in *Ireland*. The King laments it.	
					Many of the *Catini* and the *Albingenses* are slain by the Popes command.	
					Peace is concluded between the King and the Nobles.	317
					Justice *Hubert* is restored again to the Kings favour.	
					The King calling a Council, calls the Bishop of *Wintchester*, *Peter Rival*, *Stephen Segrave*, &c. to account for abusing his Seal; &c	

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					Great variance ariseth between the *Romans* and Pope *Gregory* the ninth, becaufe the Pope contended contrary to the cuftom (as the *Romans* pleaded) that he might excommunicate a Citizen of *Rome*, and interdict the City.	
					Schifm ariseth between the *Greek* and the *Roman* Church, becaufe that an elected *Grecian* Archbifhop, could not be confirmed when he was come to *Rome*, unleis he would give a great fum of money, which Simony the Archbifhop and the *Grecians* with one conient did abominate, and feparated from *Rome*.	
					This feparation of the *Greek* Church from Pope *Gregory* the ninth, and the Church of *Rome*, caufeth that *Germanus* Archbifhop and Patriarch of *Conftantinople*, wrote to Pope *Gregory* the ninth, to reform matters, and ftudy means of Unity in the feamleis Coat of Chrift.	
1237						318
1238					The Pope impofeth fo many exactions upon *England*, beginning at this 1237 year, and fo forward (as he had many yeais before to the faid year) as make up large Tables.	321 322
					Otho the Popes Legat hath authority to ftay longer and gather more mony in *England*.	
1240					Not long after in this year, Pope *Gregory* fends a new Precept to Legat *Otho*, that all beneficed men in *England* and *France* fhould pay to the Pope the fifth part of their revenues. Who notwithftanding their four material excufes, were fain to pay it.	
1241					Preachers are ftirred up by the Lord to preach that the Pope was an Heretick, and condemned for their pains; *viz. Arnoldus*, *Johannes Semeca* the glofs Writer of the Popes Decrees, an oppofer of the Pope, *Guielmus De fancto amore*, giving many figns of falfe Teachers. *Gallus* and *Groffhead*.	323
					Petrus Supino gets 1500 Marks out of *Ireland* for the Pope; and *Petrus Rupeus* in *England* gets of the Abbots and Priors, fhewing to them the Popes Bills and Bulls, a mighty quantity of Silver and Gold.	
					The Pope demands of the Houfe of *Peterborough*, that they fhould grant him fome Benefice lying in their donation, whofe fruits were worth an 100 pound, fo that they fhould be as Farmers, and the Pope to receive the profits. But the King forbad them any fuch grant.	
1243		*Innocent* the 4th.			From Pope *Innocent* the fourth comes *M. Martinus*, a new Merchant of the Pope, with power to fufpend all Prelats in *England* from giving Benefices, till the Popes Minfmen were preferred.	
1245					The King writes a Letter to Pope *Innocent* to forbear his intolerable oppreffions of the Kingdom of *England*.	326
					Martinus being an inftrument of the Popes oppreffion of *England*, is warned by the Nobility (and he had little lefs comfort of the King) to be gone out of *England*, upon pain of being cut in pieces; who taking his leave of the King, the King (as *Matthew Paris* faith) bids him farewel in the Devils name.	
					The Nobles and Commons of *England* write a fupplication to Pope *Innocent* the fourth in the General Council at *Lions*, againft his injurious Taxes impofed upon *England*.	
1246					Pope *Innocent* in a meeting at *Cluniake* perfwades the *French* King (who was addreffing himfelf for his Voyage to *Jerufalem*) to war againft *Regulum ifium*, that is, the feeble King of *England* (for his not condefcending to the Pope in all things) either to drive him out of his Dominions, or to make him accommodate the Pope in every thing,	327
1247						
1248					The Clergy and Commonalty of *England* write another Letter to Pope *Innocent* the fourth againft his exactions in *England*:	329
					The Abbot of *Abingdon* commanded to give a Benefice by the Pope to one, and by the King to another, rather obeys the King than the Pope. For which he is cited to appear before the Pope, and condemned in fifty Marks.	331
					The *French* K. bent and bound for the Holy-land, is perfwaded by his friends and Mother to lay down the obligatory Crofs for his journy, as having (fay they) taken it up in the weaknefs of his fenfes in his ficknefs. The K. hereupon tearing off his Badge and refigning it to the Bifhop (all the perfwaders joyning therein) by and by takes it up again, faying, *If formerly in my weaknefs of body and fenfes I took up the Crofs to go to the Holy-Land to fight againft the Heathens, now I take it up again in the full ftrength of both.*	
					The Pope being at odds with the Emperor *Frederick* the fecond, will not at any hand be reconciled, though the King of *France* ftrongly interceded, and the Emperor himfelf clears himfelf of all imputation, offers full fatisfaction for all pretended wrongs, will go out of his Empire (if the Pope could not indure him there) to the Holy Land, never to return into *Europe* again, fo as his Son *Henry* Nephew to King *Henry* of *England* might fucceed him, with offer of other moft reafonable conditions. Thefe oppofitions of the Pope againft Chriftian Emperors and Kings, gave the *Turks* great advantage of prevailing.	
1250					The *French* K. in his Voyage to *Jerufalem* takes in *Damiata*.	332
					This year the *Saracens* to day are beaten of the *French* before *Damiata*; on the morrow the *French* are beaten by the *Saracens* ten times more. See more Vol.1. p.334.c.1.	
					The *Templaries* fighting for the holy Temple againft the *Saracens* near to *Antioch* are vanquifhed, and their Standard-bearer flain.	

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1253					The grand cauſe of Gods not profpering the Chriftians in their Wars in the Holy-Land, was the Chriftians adhering to their Maſſes, and other fuperſtitions.	
					Men that can difpend fifteen pound land *per annum*, muſt make the King a ſoldier, Vol.1.p.369.c.2.	332
1254				*Boniface.*	This year Pope *Innocent* would needs have the bones of *Robert Groſthead* Bifhop of *Lincoln*, contrary to the minds of the Cardinals, to be taken up and caſt out of the Church, for his open plain rebuking the Pope in his life time, to the putting of him into a great terrour of Conſcience, ſo that the Pope ſeemed to ſee a Bifhop in a Viſion to ſay unto him, *Ariſe wretch, and come to judgment.*	368
					The Kings great expences in his Voyage to *Vaſcon* makes him put many Taxes upon his Subjects, chiefly on the Church-men, who being wont to receive Tithes from, are now made to give Tithes to the Laiety. Vol.1. p.369.c.2.	
1255		*Alexander* the 4th.			Pope *Innocent* dies.	
					Great diſſention ariſeth between *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Canons of *Lincoln* about the right of giving Prebendſhips.	368
					The *Jews* crucifie a Child nine years old with great torment.	
1257					The King of *England* exacts of the *Jews* 8000 Marks in pain of hanging. *Walter Gray* Archbiſhop of *York* with ſuperſtitious exceſſive faſting, killed himſelf.	
					A *Jew* falling into a Privy at *Tewkſbury* upon *Saturday* being the *Jews* Sabbath would not for reverence thereof be lifted out; and on the morrow being the Chriſtians Sabbath *Richard* Earl of *Glocester* would not ſuffer him to be taken out, and ſo he died in the Dung.	
1259					The King entring into *France*, required the reſtitution of ſuch Lands in *Normandy* and *Anjou*, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withheld from him, and made the *French* King to agree to him. Vol. 1. p.369.c.2.	
1260					A great contention is at *Oxford* between the Scholars.	
					To this year continueth the Hiſtory of *Matthew Paris*, leaving at the ſtory of the death of *Fuleo* Biſhop of *London*.	369
1261		*Urban* the 4th.			The King gives Licence to plant an Univerſity at *Northampton*, and writes to the Magiſtrates of that Town courteouſly to intreat the Scholars when they came.	371
					The King gets from the Pope a releaſe of his Oath wherein he had ſworn to ſome Statutes at *Oxford*.	372
1262					The King renues his releaſe from his Oath, by this Pope *Urban*.	
1263					The Barons combine to maintain the Statutes of *Oxford*. An agreement is made between the King and the Nobles.	
					The King beſiegeth and invades the Barons at *Northampton*.	373
1264					The Scholars there alſo are ſtubborn againſt the King, ſhooting with ſlings, long-bows and croſs-bows, doing much hurt, but at length are beaten, ſlain, and made to fly.	
					A Battel fought at *Lewis* between King *Henry* 3. the Barons win the field, and do take *Richard* King of *Almoni*, K. *Henry's* Brother, and his Son, who affiſted the Kings Priſoners.	
1265		*Clement* the 4th.			This Pope was at firſt a married man and had children. Then he was the *French* Kings Chancellor. After his Wives death he was made Biſhop called *Podienſis*. After that Archbiſhop of *Narbon*. After Cardinal, and laſt of all Pope.	375
					Thomas Aquinas flouriſheth about this time, and *Bonaventure*.	377
					A form of peace is drawn between the King and his Barons, wherein the King promiſeth much reformation of things in Church and Commonwealth.	379
					K. *Henry* the third writes to *Oxford* Sheriff againſt an Aſſembly or Meeting of men, who termed themſelves Harlots. It is probable that this was ſome pretended Order of Religion; and that from it came the reproachful name of Harlot.	
1266					Diſſention ariſeth between Earl *Simon* and the Earl of *Glocester*, they fight a Battel, and *Simon* and many of his ſide are ſlain.	380
					The King being in the cuſtody of the Barons is now reſtored to his Regality.	381
					Kenelworth decree confirmed, that they that had loſt their Lands by Attainder, (although not yet attainted) ſhould fine therefore at the Kings pleaſure, and take them of the King again.	
1267					The King beſiegeth the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, whither repairs *Oſtobonus* the Popes Legat, and by his perſwations *Henry Haſtings* that had valiantly kept it againſt the King, yields it to the King, pardon being granted to him, of Life, Lands, Goods, *&c.*	
					The Barons fortifie the Iſle of *Ely*, and after that *London* againſt the King.	
					Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.	
1270					Prince *Edward* the Kings Son, and many Princes of other Kingdoms take upon them the Croſs to make an expedition to *Jeruſalem*.	382
					Boniface Archbiſhop being dead, the Monks of *Canterbury* agree upon the Prior of their Houſe *Adam Chelenden*.	
1271					The King and his Son *Edward* intreated the Monks to chooſe *Robert Burnel*, Prior *Chelenden* elect, and not admitted by the K. goes up to *Rome*, there continues 2 years, and at laſt reſigns up his Election to Pope *Gregory*, who gave it to *R. Kilwarby*.	
		Gregory the 10th.				

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1272					The great Concordance came forth about this time by an *English* Frier called *John Dernington*.	
				Canterbury.	Whereas the other Princes that went to the Holy Land, especially the *French*, did take mony of the Infidels, instead of giving them blows, Prince *Edward* refused this mony, (who was for his integrity safe, when many of the others with their monys were drowned with Tempest) and also prospered his designs.	
				Rob. Kilwarby.		
1273					Pope *Gregory* the Tenth calls a Council at *Lions* about the controversie between the *Greek* Church and the *Latin* Church.	385
1274			*Edward* the 1st.		K. *Henry* the third dies having reigned 56 years.	
					Edward the eldest Son of *Henry* the first being in *Vasconia*, when his Father died, returns home, and is crowned this year. At which crowning, he putting off his Crown, said, *he would not put it on again till he had gathered together all the Lands that belonged unto it.*	386
					This K. had much ado with *Wales*, but at length cuts down their Woods, subdued the Country and their King *Lewline*, and made his Son Prince of *Wales*.	
					The said *Lewline* rebelling (as we said) asked counsel of the Conjurers what should be the event; to whom it was answered, that he should go forward boldly, for he should ride through *Cheap* with a Crown on his head, which was thus fulfilled He being slain his head was carried through *Cheap* with a Crown of Silver to *London* Bridge.	
1278				*J. Peckam.*	This Archbishop *Peckam*. resisted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages, *&c.* See Vol.1. p.399. c.1. He ordained that one Minister should have but one Benefice. Vol. 1. p.399.c.1.	
1279					*Jews* for mony-clipping are executed.	
1284		*Nicholas* the 4th.			The great Conduit in *Cheap* began to be built.	
1288					After this Pope *Nicholas*, the See of *Rome* was void two years and three months, through the diffention of the Cardinals, before another Pope was chosen. Vol.1. p.389.c.2.	
1291					The King of *England* being proved by many ancient Records, to be chief Sovereign of *Scotland*, took full possession of the same; appointing the Crown to *John Baliol* under him.	386
				R.winchelsey.	This Archbishop *Winchelsey* much troubled the King, accusing him to the Pope.	
1294					The *Scots* rebel against *England*.	
1298		*Celestinus* the 5th. *Boniface* the 8th.			Of Pope *Boniface* the eighth, and Pope *Celestine*, Vol.1.p.387. c.1. How he was thought to be the eighth *Nero*, and how with a Reed he speaks through a Wall in the night to Pope *Nicholas* (because he was a man laborious to reform the Church) as if it had been a voice from Heaven to give over his Bishoprick; and so at last gat him out, the same year he was Pope.	
1299					The K. of *England* and the *Scots* have a great fight; but K. *Edward* hath the Victory.	
					The *Scots* rebelling again, again are suppressed by the King, and made to swear to the Kings Allegeance.	
1301					This Pope *Boniface* the 8th challengeth of King *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*.	
					The King wisheth the Pope to send his grounds of challenging the Kingdom of *Scotland*; calls a Parliament, writes to the Pope abundance of passages and presidents from *Anno* 900 to 1230. that the Kingdom of *Scots* was the Kings of *England*.	387
1303					Pope *Boniface* the 8th being offended with *Philip* the *French* King, excites King *Edward* of *England* to war against him; but King *Edward* well knowing the Pope, put him off with delays, and the *French* King fearing K. *Edward*, restored unto him *Vascone*, which he wrongfully had detained.	389
					The *Scots* rebel again against K. *Edward* the first, under *W.Waleis*.	
					Great difference ariseth between *Philip* K. of *France*, and Pope *Boniface* the 8th. The Pope thundring out his curse of Excommunication against the K. because the King commanded his Legat and a Bishop (whom the Legat got released, being imprisoned for a Conspiracy against the K.) to depart out of his Realm. The King on the other side calls a Parliament, and makes a declaration against the Popes intolerable wickednes, and an appellation from the Pope to a General Council.	389
					This year Captain *Schaira* with Soldiers, besieges, apprehend and rifle the Pope, and set him on a Colt with his face towards the Tail, causing the unbroken Colt to course up and down with him, till the Pope was out of breath.	390
1304					This Pope, what by fear, and what by sorrow, dies, and Pope *Benedict* the 11th succeeds.	396
		Benedict the 11th.			To this Pope *Clement*, K. *Edward* wrote divers Letters against *R. Winch.* Archbishop, with whom he was much pestered.	397
1305					This Pope *Clement* having provided strongly to keep the Emperor of *Germany* under his feet, that no Emperor could be crowned without his leave: next he intermeddles with the Empire of *Constantinople*, excommunicating *Andronicus Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, as an Heretick, because he would not suffer the *Greek* Church to appeal to *Rome*.	
1306		*Clement* the 5th.				

A Par-

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1307					A Parliament is held by the Kat *Carlile*, wherein many great complaints are made against the Popes exactions.	P.401
					A Parliament is held in *France*, wherein Popish and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is throughly discussed, and Regal Supremacy justly advanced against the vain reasons of the *Papists*.	401
					K. *Edward* the first marching towards *Scotland*, falls sick of a flix; sweares the Nobles to make his Son *Edward* K. after him; chargeth his Son not to call home wicked *Gaveston*, whom he had banished; to go in War to the Holy Land, carrying his heart with him, which had vowed to go that Voyage himself, but *Scottish* Wars hindred him, and so he dies.	415 416
			Edward the 2d.		This *Edward* in this 1307, enters into the Throne, being of a graceful body, but not so gracious in his soul.	
1308					This year and not afore, is K. *Edward* crowned.	
					The King is much led aside by the evil counsel of one *Gaveston*, and the two *Spencers*.	
1310					A Parliament is called, wherein are exhibited divers Articles touching things his Father had given him in charge, namely, to remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and to let matters of State be debated by the Council of the Kingdom, and touching sundry other matters. The King perceiving that this did hit at his *Gaveston*, did when there was no remedy, yield to let *Gaveston* be banished into *Ireland*, and so the Parliament ended, the other Articles not sped.	417
1311					The first *Ottoman* having conquered the other three Families of the *Turks*, *Anno* 1300. now goes on conquering the Christians. Vol.1. p.837.c.1.	
				R.Winchelsey	Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom *Edward* the first had banished, is now released, and returns from *Rome* home.	
					The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excommunicates the Bishop of *Coventry* for holding with Peter *Gaveston*, which *Gaveston*, though banished upon forfeiture of life, goods, *&c.* Presumes upon the Kings favour, returns again.	418
1312					*Peter Gaveston* is apprehended by *Guido*, *alias Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, and beheaded by the Nobles.	
					The King hath a young Son born, the joy whereof made him begin to forget his sorrow for *Gaveston*; but that *Frenchmen* make-bates, cause contention between the K. and Nobles to arise again.	419
1313					The *Scots* take occasion by this discord, to rebel against the King, under one *Robert Bruse*, whom King *Edward* the first had chased out of *Scotland*, was now returned thither, getting himself to be made King, who when the King of *England* and his Lords and Armies encountred him and his Host, did discomfort them, and slew many of the *English* Lords.	419
1314	*Ludovicus*				Pope *Clement* dies, after whom the Papacy continues void two years.	
1316	the 5th.				This Emperor *Ludovicus* a worthy man was crowned without the Popes consent, and was much vexed by this wicked Pope *John*, Vol.1.p.424.	
1317	*Bavarius.* *Nicholas* the 5th. Anti-Pope.	*John* 22.			The King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Barwick* in *Scotland*: The mean while the *Scots* by another way invaded the Merchants of *Yorkshire*, robbing the Country, and slaying much people, and of an Army gathered by the Archbishop of *York*, of divers Abbots, Priors, Clerks and Husbandmen to resist them, they slay many, and that of the Clergy, called therefore the *White Battel*; insomuch that the King was fain to retire from *Barwick*, and rescue *Yorkshire*.	
					At this time the two *Spencers*, *Hugh* the Father, and *Hugh* the Son, were so impious, and yet so potent in the Kingdom, that no Lord durst controul them, so that they were much hated of the Nobles.	420
1321					A Prohibition is set forth against *Peter-pence*.	
					The *Spencers* banished by Act of Parliament for their wickedness, are restored and advanced by the King. The Nobles to redress this evil, assemble their power; but being scattered by the Kings forces before they could come together, were pursued and taken, and two and twenty of the chief Earls and Lords were hanged, drawn and quartered, saving that the Earl of *Lancaster* was beheaded. This cruelty to his natural Subjects wrought his utter ruine at last.	421
1322					Now the King begins with the *Spencers* to triumph in his Victory of putting the Nobles to death.	
1323					The King advanceth *Hugh Spencer* to be an Earl, and ill reported, and reputed Sir *John Baldock* to be Chancellor of *England*: Also the King raiseth an Army against the *Scots*; but the good leaders being put to dearth, and unskilful ones leading this Army one hundred thousand of this Army perisheth by Famine.	
2324		*Benedict* 12.			Of *Benedict* 12. see Vol.1.p.424.	
					The King cited by the *French* to do homage to him for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, which the King held of *France*; about this was great contention between the two Kings. Prince *Edward* with the Queen is sent over to quiet matters; who would not return again till they had fitted matters for the ruine of the King and his wicked favourites.	422
1325					The *French* King by reason of the great ado the King of *England* made by Proclamations, for the Queen and her Son to return, and by threatning of the *French* K. himself. The *French* K. removed the Queen and her Son from him, who are both joyfully received in the Court and Country of the Earl of *Henawde*; where a Marriage was concluded between *Edward* her Son, being of the age of 14, and *Philip* the said Earls Daughter.	

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1326					By this Marriage-Match was knit a combination of War, whereby the Queen and the young Prince should invade *England*; who being furnished out of *Henawde*, and with some Lords that came out of *England* at the hearing of the Marriage, with 2757 Soldiers. With these the and her Son lands; very many of the greatest of the Nobility (the Archbishop also, as they say, sending relief of mony and provision) resort to the Queen, so that daily her power increased; and on the other side, scarce any would be hired to fight on the Kings side.	
					Then the K. flys to *Bristow*, appointing *Spencer* the Father to keep *Bristow* Castle. The Queen follows, takes the Castle, apprehends the said *Spencer*, whom being torn, at last they hanged him at the said City in chains of Iron. The K. flys to *Wales*; the Queen follows, proclaiming that if the King would come in and appear, he should receive his Kingdom again if he would be conformable to his liege people. Who not appearing, Prince *Edward* is proclaimed High-keeper of the Realm. The Queen, sends Lords to pursue after the King; the King is taken and put in *Kenelworth* Castle. Divers Lords and great Persons are apprehended, of whom *Spencer* the Son is drawn and hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high; and beheading him, and quartering him, they send his Limbs into several Quarters of the Kingdom. Sir *John Arundel* also was beheaded.	423
					A Parliament is called at *London*, from which a Message is sent to the King, that if he would resign his Crown, his Son should have it after him, if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. The King being not able otherwise to choose, yields up his Crown, is kept in Prison, deposed by the Parliament, the Son set up as King, the old King living in Prison, at last is slain (as Authors affirm) with a hot Spit thrust up into his body by *Roger Mortimer*'s means, for which he was drawn and quartered afterward.	
					This King built *Oriel* College, and St. *Mary* Hall in *Oxford*.	
					This year 1326 great fury and outrage arose between the Townsmen and the Abby of *Bury*, the Town rifling the Monastery and imprisoning the Monks, and some slaughter was between them.	426
1327			*Edward* the 3d.	*S. Mepham.*	Of this Archbishop *Simon*, see Vol.1. Page 424. As also Page 451. of the same Volume.	
					This being the life and death of K. *Edward* the second, the Father as we have heard; *Edward* the third, the Son is crowned at the age of 15 years. A man temperate, warlike and prosperous.	
					Orchanes the 2d *Ottoman*. Vol.1.p.837.c.2.	
					The King with the Queen is at *York* with an Army of 60000 men, ready to encounter with the *Scots*. The *Scots* steal away, so that no Battel is fought.	
					K. *Edward* the 3d, is now married to the Earl of *Henawlts* Daughter abovesaid.	
					A release by the means of *Roger Mortimer* and the old Queen, is granted by the King, under age, to the *Scots* of all their homage and fealty to the Crown of *England*, which they were tied unto by Seal and Indenture, called *the Ragman-Role*. The Black-Cross also won from *Scotland* by valour of the former King *Edward* is given back to the *Scots*, with other things very prejudicial to *England*.	428
					The Nobles desiring to redress these matters in a legal way, are falsly accused of Conspiracy against the King, and the Earl of *Kent*, being guiltless, is put to death, being the Kings Uncle, and never brought to answer for himself.	
					The King conquers *France*.	
1332				*J. Stratford.*	Of this Archbishop, see Vol.1.p.451.	
1333					The King challengeth *France* as his own. Vol.1. p.429.	
1340					The Pope sends to the King of *England* for three year truce with the King of *France*. Vol.1.p.435.	
1341						
1342					The Emperor *Ludovicus Bavar*, that before was for the King of *England*, against the K. of *France*, now is against the K. of *England*.	
					Benedict the 12th dies, whose infamy lives in *Latine* Epitaph, thus *Englished*:	
					Here's Nero *laid; in life, a death to lay;* *To Clergy-men a Viper. And they say,* *His heart a wand'rer was from truth divine,* *His Head a Cup fill'd up with strongest Wine.*	
					See the later Verse. Vol. 1. p. 425. c. 1.	
		Clement the 6th.				
1345					*Windsor* Castle repaired, the round Table made.	
					Henry Earl of *Lancaster* with 600 Archers, and as many men at Arms, won many Towns and Conquests from the *French* in *Gascoin*.	
1348					The King wins *Calis*, translated the Staple thither, takes the *French* King Prisoner (who had stirred up the King of *Scots* against the K. of *England*) and is the first that conjoyned the *French* Arms with the *English* Arms, Vol.1. p.426.	
				Tho. Braidwarden.		441
				Simon Islip		
					The raging Plague going from *London* into the *North* parts, this year swageth.	
1349					*Amurathes* the 3d *Ottoman*. Vol.1. p.838.	
1350					*Calis* almost won from the *English* by the *French*.	
					Philip the *French* King dies.	
						Earl

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterb.		Vol.1. Page
1351		*Innocent* the 6th.			Earl *Ewe*, Constable of *France*, upon false pretence is beheaded.	
					In this Pope *Innocent* the sixths time, was *Johannes de Rupescissa*. Vol.1. Page p.464.	
1352					The Masshal of *France* with his great Army, is put to flight by Sir *Roger Bentele*, a Captain in *Britain*, having but only 600 soldiers with him.	
					Of Pope *Innocent* 6. See Vol.1.p.445.	
1354					The King of *France* and *England* had made peace, but that the Popes partiality inclining to the *French*, hindred the same.	
					Rochtayladus and a Frier scourged and burned, for preaching that *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*, and contemning the Popes Bull. Vol.1. p.445.	
1355					The King of *England* hearing of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, and the succession of his Son, who had given the Dukedom of *Aquitania* to *Charles* his eldest Son, and *Dauphin* of *Vienna*; sends over Prince *Edward* with Earls and common Soldiers, who subdued the said Dukedom.	
					Prince *Edward* being in *Gascoine*, wins great Victories of the *French*.	
1356					The King hath trouble with the Pope.	
1360					Having passed over the time of losing Satan, and his darkening of the Church with ignorance and affliction, now we come to the time wherein the Church began to be reformed somewhat, by a great Catalogue of excellent men.	453
					Guliel. de sancto amore. *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Ockam*, *Grosthead*; } Having made way for Reformation, of whom we spake before.	
1362					As *Petrus de Cugneriis*, *Conradus Hagar*, *Cesenas* and others, as shall follow in their years } Go on with Reformation.	
1364					About this time was the Author, and Penning of that excellent Treatise against *Popery*, called the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman.	453
					About this time was that rare man *Armachanus*, Primate of *Ireland*, who disputed and preached against Heresies; in particular against the order of Begging Friers, and against *Popish* confessions, *&c.*	464
					With this *Armachanus* in this Disputation and time of Reformation, were } *Henricus de Gandavo.* *Gulielmus de Landuno.* *Johannes Monachus*, Cardinal.	467
		Urban the 5th.			This being the second year of Pope *Urban* the 5th. *Nicholas Orem* preached a Sermon before the Pope and his Cardinals; wherein he worthily rebukes the Prelates of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off by certain signs. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken against the wicked *Jewish* Priests, are aptly applied against the *Romish* Clergy, comparing the Church at this time with the Strumpet spoken of *Ezek.* 16. Concluding that the Clergy now were worse than the *Jewish* Synagogue.	473
1366					*Militirius* a *Bohemian*, preacheth that Antichrist was come already. Vol.1. p.477. c.1.	
1367						
3368				*Wi. Simon Langham.*	In this year, being the fifth of Pope *Urban*, began first the Order of *Jesuites*.	
					This year the offices of Chancellorship of *England*, of the Privy Seal, and of the Treasurership, which were wont to be in the hands of Clergymen, by a motion in Parliament, were removed from the Clergy, into the hands of the Lords Temporal.	477
		Gregory the 11th.		*Ry. Wittlesey.*	This Pope reduceth the Papacy from *France*, where it had been 70 years, to *Rome* again.	
					This year lived St. *Bridget*, as the *Papists* canonize her, who notwithstanding was a great enemy to the unholiness of the Pope, calling him a spiller of Christs Flock, a murtherer of souls, *&c.*	
1371					*Matthias Parisiensis* a *Bohemian*, writes against Antichrist, proving him already to be come. Vol.1. p.478.c.2.	
					About this time was *Wickliff*, Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*.	
					Henricus Hassia writes *De erroribus Christianorum*. *Henricus de Iota* now flourisheth.	
1373					This being the third year of Pope *Gregory* the 11th, King *Edward* holds a Parliament, and complains of the Popes reservation of Benefices in *England*.	477
1374					About this year began *Bajazetes* the 4th *Ottoman* to reign over the *Turks*,	
1375					with the murther of his Brother.	
1377					The King and the Pope concludes that the Pope should not reserve Benefices, and that the King should not give Benefices upon the Writ *Quare Impedit*.	
			Richard the 2d.		This King *Richard* Son of *Edward* the 3d. is but eleven years of age when he began his Reign, who like his Father, was in his Reign, no great disfavour of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine.	
1378		*Urban* the 6th.		*Simon Sudbury.*	Pope *Gregory* sends a Bull, sharply rebuking *Oxford* University for their permitting *Wickliff*. Vol.1.p.491.c.1.	

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1379					In Pope *Urban's* time began a Schism in the See of *Rome* that lasted 39 years. Vol.1.p.495.c.1.	
					Katharina Senensis, an holy Virgin, lived at this time, spake much against the wickedness of the Prelats of *Rome*, and prophesied of the great schism that should be among them, which after came to pass.	
1380				*W. Courtney.*	The Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, viz. *Wil. Barton* annexeth the University seal to Edicts against the favourers of *Wickliff's* Doctrine.	
1381					Of this Archbishop, see Vol.1.p.580.c.1.	
1382					A Convocation is held at *London*, summoning *Wickliff* to appear, Vol.1. p.514.	514
1383					The Examination and troubles of *Nich. Hereford*, *Phil. Reppington*, and *J. Aston*, Vol.1.p.498.c.2.	
1384					Pope *Urban* wars against *Clement* Antipope, Vol.1.p.508.	
					Johannes Mountz.iger Rector of the University of *Ulme*, propounded openly in the Schools in an Oration that the Body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with *Latreia*, meaning that the Sacrament was not to be adored; which after he also defended by writing.	479
		Boniface the 9th.			Of Pope *Boniface* the ninth. His Bull against the *Lollards*, Vol.1.p.574.c.1.	
					The story of that famous Christians troubles, *W. Swinderby*, Vol.1. p.530. c.2.	574
1389					Also of *Walter Brute* his companion, Vol.1.p.542.c.1.	
1390					*R. Wimbleton* preacheth an excellent Sermon at *Paul's* Cross, Vol.1.p.622. c.2.	
					Jacobus Misvenst. writes of the coming of Antichrist.	
					At *Brugo* are burned 36 Citizens of *Moguntia*, for the Doctrine of the *Waldenses*, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist.	479
					140 in the Province of *Narbone* rather endured any Persecution by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the *Romish* Church, contrary to the truth of the Scriptures.	
1393		*Benedict* the 13th			Of *Benedict* 13. see Vol.1.p.630.	
1395					A Parliament is held at *Westminster*. In this Parliament twelve Articles are put up by the Gospellers, and also fastened at *Paul's* Doors, &c. touching Reformation. Vol.1.p.578. c.2.	
1396				*Thomas Arundel.*	This Archbishop was Brother to Earl of *Arundel*. Of him, see Vol. 1.p.580.	
1397					He made many Constitutions against Religion, Vol.1.p.597.c.1.	
1399					*Bajazetes 4th Ottoman*, is captivated to *Tamerlan* the *Parthian*, in an iron Cage and golden Fetters. Vol.1.p.838.c.2.	
					Bajazetes dies in his Captivity. Vol.1.p.839.c.1.	
					Calepinus the *5th Ottoman* succeeds. He vexed the Christians by means of their discords, Vol.1.p.839.c.1.	
					King *Rich. 2.* takes his Voyage to *Ireland*; mean while the Earl of *Darby* and Duke of *Hereford*, and with him Archbishop *Arundel* (which before were both exiled) return out of *France* into *England*, challenging the Dukedom of *Lancaster* after the death of his Father; at the knowledge whereof, multitudes of people gathered to them, with many of the greatest Noblemen in the Land; whereby the King flying to *Wales*, was so distressed, that he was faign to resign his Crown to *Henry* the fourth.	
			Henry the 4th.		*W. Sautre* Martyr, his troubles, Vol.1.p.586.c.2.	
1400					Articles put on the Church door against *Henry* the fourth, Vol.1.p.591. c.1.	
1401					*Calepinus* the *5th Ottoman* dies.	
1404					*Orchanes* and *Moses* his Uncle, Vol.1.p.839.	
1406					the *6th Ottoman*.	
1407		*Gregory* the 12th.			Of *Gregory* the *12th*, and King *Henry* the *4th*'s Letter to him, see Vol.1. p.630.	
					Moses the Uncle, having slain *Orchanes* the Nephew, reigns but two years, and is now slain by *Mahumetes*, *Orchanes* his Brother; who now succeeds, and is the *7th Ottoman*, Vol.1.p.839.	
1408					*Will. Thorp's* Examination and troubles. Vol.1. p.602. *Purvey's* troubles. Vol.1.p.618.	
1409					The Archbishop of *York*, with the Lord *Mowbray* and others, executed. Vol.1.p.593.	
1411					*John Badby* Artificer, Martyr. Vol.1.p.593.	
1412					Of *Sigismund* the Emperor. See Vol.1.p.733,734.	
	Sigismund.				*John Hus*, in defence of *Wickliff*, delivers his determination upon the fourteenth Article of *Wickliff* touching preaching and hearing of the Word. Vol.1.p.514.	
					Hus his defence of the 15 Articles of *Wickliff*, *viz.* that its lawful for a Priest or Deacon to preach without the authority of the Apostolick See, Vol.1.p.517.	
					Disputation at *Prague* University upon *Wickliff's 7th* Article, proving by 24 Arguments, that Princes and Lords Temporal have lawful authority over the Spiritualty.	
1413			*Henry* the 5th.		*Henry* the fourth is sick in a Chamber at *Westminster*, called *Jerusalem*, is persuaded he should die (and so did) because it was prophesied he should die at *Jerusalem*. His Son *Henry* the *5th* succeeds.	635
					This year a Synod is called at *London* by Archbishop *Arundel*, to persecute that worthy Lord *Cobham*, who for Religion suffers great trouble at this time.	668

Many

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury. H. Chichesley.		Vol.1. Page.
					Many *Lollards* are martyred this year.	
1414					Archbishop *Arundel* dies.	
					This Archbishop *Chichesly* was an adversary as his Predecessors to the favourers of the truth. Vol.1.p.669.	
1415					The troubles and martyrdom of *John Hus* and the *Bohemians*.	
					The Pope holds a Council at *Constance*, the proceedings thereof.	670
					An Owl would needs be in the Council.	675
					Jerome of *Prague* is condemned and burnt. Vol.1.p.722.	718
		John the 23d.			Pope *John* the 23d is deposed. Vol.1.p.733.	
1416					*John Claidon* and *Rich. Turming* are persecuted. Vol.1.p.728.	
					Archbishop *Chichesley* makes a Constitution against the *Lollards*.	
					The execution thereof is the persecution of many good men.	731
					Lord *Cobham* is put to death with the burning death of Martyrdom, not with the hanging death of a Traytor, about the year 1418, or later end of 1417.	732
					Pope *Martin* upon S. *Martins* day is chosen Pope by the Council of *Constance*, the Emperor kissing his feet.	733
1419					This *Martin* vexeth the *Bohemians* that adhere to the Doctrine of *J. Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague*.	
					Amurathes the second of that name, the *8th Ottoman*. Vol.1. p.839. c.2. He becomes a *Turkish* Monk. Vol.1. p.841. c.1. He is fain to come forth again to War, he is conquered, dies with fury and madness. Vol.1.p.841.	
					The valour of {*Scanderbeius*, *Castriotus*, *Huniades*,} against the *Turks*. Vol.1.p.840,841.	
1420					*Zisca* a Nobleman raising 40000 soldiers, becomes their Captain, and beating back the Emperor *Sigismund*, ruines the *Popish* Persons, Towns, Monasteries and Religion, in revenge of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague's* death.	733
					Henry Grunfielder Priest of *Germany*, martyred, Vol.1.p.759.	
					Pope *Martin* sends forth a bloudy Bull against the followers of *Wickliff* of *England*, and of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, of *Boheme*.	
					To countermand the Bull of Pope *Martin*, an exhortation is put forth to Kings and Princes against the pestiferous See of *Rome*, under the name of *Procopius Comradus*, and other Captains of the *Bohemians*.	737
					By the valour of *Procopius Magnus* and the *Bohemian* Soldiers, *Sigismund* Emperor was fain to entreat for his Kingdom, who before would not be intreated for *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, whom he helped forward into the fire.	742
1421					The *Popish* Army with the Nobles and Cardinal of *Winchester* fly before the Christian *Bohemians*.	745
1422					*Sigismund* Emperor, and Pope *Martin*, gather new forces against the *Bohemians*.	
					The Popes Army again with Cardinal *Julian*, flyes for fear.	747
					Henry the fifth (of whose Wars in *France* it is not for our Ecclesiastical story to relate) now dies; his Son *Henry* the Sixth but one year old, succeeding.	748 749
1423					*W. Taylor* a Priest under *Henry Chichesley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* is valiant to be burned for Christs truth, notwithstanding that under Archbishop *Arundel*, he through fear did abjure.	
1424					*Henry Ratgeber* Priest of *Germany*, martyred. Vol.1.p.759.c.2.	
					John Florence, for denying the Popes supreme-law-making-authority, and his ceremonial observation of days, fastings, &c. is disciplined.	750
					John Draendorf of noble birth, a Priest, was burned at *Worms*. V.1.p.759.	
					Richard Belward is troubled for the truth.	
					John Goddesel persecuted for Christs sake.	
1425					*Peter Thoran* burned at *Spire*, Vol.1.p.759.c.2.	
1426					*Leaden-Hall* in *London* is founded. Vol.1.p.809.c.1.	
					Matthew Hagar suffered at *Berlin* in *Germany* not long after. V.1.p.759.	
1427					A Widow murthered in *London*. The Author going into banishment is slain by Women. Vol.1. p.809.c.1.	
1428					King *Henry* the fifth sends down most cruel Letters for the apprehension of *William White*, Priest, and other *Lollards*, as they call them; whereupon well near an hundred are vexed and troubled for Religion in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*.	750
					W. White Priest, is burned for the truth.	
					Tho. Pye and *John Mendam* disciplined for the truth.	752
					John Beverly, alias *Basild*, is whipped, *alias* fastigated for the truth.	753
1430					*John Skilley* made to do penance for the truth.	
			Henry the 6th.		The troubles of *Margery Backster*.	754
					King *Henry* the fifth is this year, and not afore, crowned with his Regal Diadem.	756
					The same year he crowns *Rich. Hoveden* with Martyrdom and many others, with the crowns of thorns of Persecution.	
		Eugenius the 4th.			Of Pope *Eugenius* the *4th*. see Vol.1.p.760.	
1431					*Nicholas Canon* persecuted for true Religion.	757
					Tho. Bagley Priest, persecuted for Religion.	
					Paul Craw a *Bohemian* delivered up to be burnt for holding opinions, contrary to the Church of *Rome*.	
					The Council of *Basil* is called, lasting about 11 years.	

Tho.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1436					*Tho. Rhedon* alias *Rhedonensis* a *French* man, and a *Carmelite* Frier burnt in *Italy* for the truth.	
1438	*Albertus* the 2d.				Of this Emperor *Alba* 2. see Vol.1.p.784. and more 817.	758
1439	Duke of *Austria*.	*Felix* 4.			The busines of the *Bohemians* at the Council of *Basil*. Vol.1.p.785. They put up petitions to the Council. Vol.1.p.789.	759
					Pope *Eugenius* is deposed by the Council of *Basil*, and Pope *Felix* chosen in his room.	783
					These two former years the Pope imposeth infinite Exactions upon *France* and *Germany*, whereof complaint is made. Vol.1.p.821,822.	
					Richard Wich persecuted for Religion.	796
					This year a Council is called by *Henry* Archbishop, to consult about *Premunire facias*, to remove that law, by which the Prelats were cut short in many things they would have done.	
1440	*Frederick* the 3d. Duke of *Austria*.				Of this *Frederick* Emperor, see more. Vol.1.p.817.	
					Cardinal of *Winchester* unjustly hates good Duke *Humfry*. The Duke justly Articles against the Cardinal. Vol.1.p.799.	
					Eleanor Cobham, Dutchess of *Glocester*, and Sir *Roger Onley* Priest, are condemned about this time, or the next year following, the one to death, the other to perpetual Prison.	797
					Paul's Steeple burnt with Lightning. Vol.1.p.800.	
			J. Stafford		Archbishop *Chichesley* dies, whom in his life built *Alfolne* Colledge, and *Bernard* Colledge in *Oxford*.	800
1443					Of Pope *Nich.5.* see Vol.1.p.806.	
1445		*Nicho.* 5.			The death of that good Duke *Humfry*, Duke of *Glocester*.	
1447					Cardinal of *Winchester*, the wicked enemy of Duke *Humfry*, not being able to intreat or bribe death, though he speaks of both, dies.	802
1449					*Mat. Palmerius* a *Florentine*, Martyr. Vol.1.p.806.	
					W. Wanflet succeeds the Cardinal at *Winchester*.	
					Magdalen Colledge is built at *Oxford*.	
					The Marquess (after Duke) of *Suffolk*, another enemy of Duke *Humfry*, now is beheaded.	
1449					The commended Art of Printing is invented.	
1450					*Mahumetes* the fecond of that name, is now the ninth *Ottoman*. What he won from the Christians, see V.1.p.842.	803
1452			*J. Kemp.*		Duke *Humfry* K. *Henry* the *6th* his Uncle, being dead; the K. loseth the hearts of his Subjects, and enemies to the King rise against him, as *Jack Cade*; after, the Duke of *York*, as it follows in its time and year.	
1453					The lamentable losing of *Constantinople* to the *Turk*.	804
					The Duke of *York* with 3 Earls, set upon K. *Henry 6.* near S. *Albans*, and take him Prisoner. A Parliament is called, the said Duke is proclaimed Protector. V.1.p.808.	
1454				*Th. Bourchier.*	After this was long War between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*. *Ibid.*	
1455					*Reynold Pecock* Bishop of *Chicester* is imprisoned and persecuted for the Gospel.	
1458		*Calixtus* the 2d.			Many good sentences of *Pius* the Pope.	807
1459		*Pius* 2.	*Edward* the 4th.		The Duke of *York* is slain in Battel by the Queen.	
					Prince *Edward* the Son and Heir of the said Duke of *York*, raiseth a great Army, and by conquest in Battel, possesseth himself of the Crown, and makes K. *Henry* the *6th*. to fly to *Scotland*.	808
1461					Q. *Margaret* flieth the Land.	
					K. *Edward* himself sitteth on his own Bench, in the cause of a certain Widow for Rape.	
1463					King *Henry 6.* comes with a sufficient power of *Scots* and *French*, to recover his Crown, he is beaten and flies.	
1464		*Paulus* 2.			Of this Pope *Paulus*, see V.1.p.807.	
1465					K. *Henry 6.* is found in a Wood, taken and imprisoned.	
					The Earl of *Warwick*, who before was much for K. *Edward* the *4th*, being displeased, for that K. *Edward* the *4th* would not match according to his desire, moves great War against him.	809
1471		*Sixtus* 4.			Of this Popes great wickedness, see V.1.p.807, 824.	
					Great fights between *Edward* the *4th*, and many Nobles that rose up against him. Q. *Margaret* being taken in Battel, and Prince *Edward* Son of K. *Henry* the *6th*. brought before the King.	
1473					*John Goose* (an *English Hus*, for *Hus* signifies a *Goose* in the *Bohemian* tongue) is unjustly burnt at *Tower-Hill* in *London*.	
1474					The Pope curseth and excommunicateth *Pogiebracius*. The *Bohemians* notwithstanding stick to their King. *Matthias* takes from him *Moravia*, and much of *Silesia*. V.1.p.820.	
					Wars and Peace between *Charles* Duke of *Burgoin*, and *Frederick* Emperor, V.1.p.821.	
1475					*John* a Netherd of *Franconia* martyred.	
1479					This year *John de Wesalia* is persecuted.	
1481					*Bajazeter* the fecond of that name, is the 10*th* *Ottoman*, what he won from the Christians. V.1.p.845.	
					A Merchant in *Cheapside*, for jesting, he would make his Son Heir to the Crown (meaning his own Sign, being the Crown) is by K. *Edward* the fourths command, within less than four hours, hanged, drawn and quartered. V.1.p.825.	
			Edward the 5th.		K. *Edward* the *4th*. dies. V.1.p.825.	
1483					K. *Edward* the *5th*. in three Months is deprived of his Crown and Life by his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*. Vol.1.p.825,826.	

The

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					The Lord *Hastings* a murtherer, is murthered, Vol.1. p.825.	
					Pope *Sixtus* dies, a Monster rather than a Prelate.	825
					The great tyranny of *Richard* Lord Protector, Vol.1.p.825. He aspires to, and usurps the Crown, Vol.1. p.826.	
					Of this Pope, see V.1. p.808.	
1484					*George* King of *Boheme* is condemned of Heresie, V.1. p.808.	
1485					He condemned eight men, and six women, for denying Bishops that came after *Peter*, to be Christs Vicars, *ibid.*	
					By the device of this *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* are united, by King *Richards* tyranny, constraining them to call home banished Earl *Richmund* and to set him up as King, V.1. p.826.	
					Of *Maximilian* Emperor, see Vol.1. p. 821.	
					King of the *Romans* divers years before he was Emperor.	
					King *Richard* the third is slain by *Henry* Earl of *Richmund*, is carried like a dead Calf all dirted, overthwart an horse to be buried, V.1. p.827.	
					The said *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King, called *Henry* the seventh, V.1. 828.	
1486					Great persecution is moved in *Coventry* and *Litchfield* Diocefs this year, V.1. p.882.	
					This year *Fredericus* Emperor waxed aged, and the hearts of the *Germans* towards the Emperor seeming doubtful to him, doth now in his life time affociate his fon *Maximilian* to be joyned Emperor with him, with whom he raigns seven years.	828
1487					*Maximilian* taken captive in the lower Countries of *Flanders*, is refcued by *Frederick* his Father.	
1490					Of this Archbishop *Morton*, see V.1. p.883.	
					The learnedness of the Emperor *Maximilian*, caused that in this facility of dispersing learning by the late Invention of Printing, many men became very learned, among which was *Wefelus*, who was not long after, not unknown to *D. de Weffalia*. This *Wefelus* died this year.	
1492					The *Germans* put up ten Grievances against the Pope to the Emperor, with an advertisement, v.1.851.	
1494					*Fredericus* Emperor dies, leaving his fon fole Emperor.	
					Of Pope *Alexander*, see V.1. p.833.	
					Joan Boughton a very old woman, mother to the Lady *Young*, is martyred in the fire, for holding *Wickliffs* opinions.	833
1497					*Tho. Langton* was elected Archbishop, but died before he was confirmed, V.1. p.883.	
					Rich. Milderale,	
					James Sturdy, } bear faggots before the Procession at *Pauls*, by way of penance for the truth.	
					Hugh Glover. }	
1498					A Priest being perswaded by the King to revoke, is presently burned also.	
1499					*Edward Plantaginet* being beheaded, the Queen moves to *Calis*.	
					Brabram martyr, is burned in *Norfolk*.	
1500					*Hieronymus Savanarola*, with two Friers, all martyred, are burned.	831
1501					Divers taken in *Kent*, are made to do penance for the truth, V.1. p.877.	
1503					An old man is burnt in *Smithfield*, V.1. p.877. Of this Archbishop, see V.1. p.883.	
1504					Besides in this Pope, of this V.1. see V.2.p.2. of these two Popes, and their sending to King *Hen.7.*	
1506					Also of Pope *Julius*, see V.2. p.4.	833
					Perkin Werbeck moves sedition, V.2. p.4.	
					W. Tefsworth is burnt at *Amersham*, his only daughter being constrained to set fire to her dear father, V.1. p.878. and twenty one do penance for the truth, V.1. p.878.	
					Father *Roberts* is burned at *Buckingham*, V. 1. p.878.	
1507					A great sedition and tumult is raised in *Blackheath-field* by the Blacksmith, V.2. p.6.	
1508					*Tho. Chase* of *Amersham* is in this year 1506, most wickedly strangled and martyred in prison at *Wooburn*.	878
					Tho. Norice is burned at *Norwich* for the truth.	879
					Elizabeth Sampson is persecuted for speaking against Popery.	
					About this time *Laurence Gheft* was burned.	
					James Mordon and *Tho. Bernard* burnt at *Amersham*, V.1. p.878.	
					A faithful woman of *Cheaping-Sadbury* is burnt, the persecutor Dr. *Whiting*, then and there being slain by a Bull.	
1509					King *Henry* the seventh dies.	
					Prince *Arthur* being fifteen years of age, marrying in his Fathers time Lady *Katharine* daughter of *Ferdinand*, and dying within five months after, the Crown fell next to *Henry* 8. being of the age of 18 years, entring his reign this year, marrying shortly after his brother *Arthurs* wife, that the Dowry might not depart out of the land.	Vol.2 Page
					Empson and *Dudley*, the one a Knight, the other an Esquire, having been strict executors of penal Statutes in *Henry* 7. time, purchasing thereby great hate; about this time, by this King are beheaded.	
					Great contention between the *Dominick* and *Franciscan* Friers, touching the Conception of the Virgin *Mary* without sin, and other of her privileges.	
					The Friers upon this contention, make an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, with artificial motions, to stir, sigh, groan, and weep, *&c.* to bring the people into a greater conceit of the Image than of an Image, for which they are burned.	4
1510					Pope *Julius* questioned in *Turone* Council in *France*: of this see also V.1. p.834.	4
1511					This year is great persecution in *London* Diocefs, whereof 40 names are found recorded, *Ann.* 1527.	
					John Brown martyred, V.2. p.550.	
					Many are martyred in *Canterbury* Diocefs under *W. Warham*, V. 2. 531.	
					W. Sweeting, } burned in *Smithfield* for the truth, V.2. p.7.	
					John Brewster, }	
1512					The renewing of *W. Sweetings* troubles; for the truth, V.2. p.22.	
					James Brewster burned with *Sweeting*, V.2. *Ib.*	
1513					*Zelymus* the eleventh *Ottoman* reigneth over the *Turks*. He conquers part of Christendom, V.1. pag. 846.	
					Pope *Julius* not standing to the judgment of a Council, is conquered in war by *Ludovick* the *French* King.	

Pope

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Pope *Julius* throwing away his Keys into the River, and being unable to conquer by his sword dies.

Great changes happens in the Church in the times of these living together, { Pope *Leo* the tenth, *Carolus* 5. Emperor, *Francis* K. of *France*, *Hen.* 8. K. of *England*, *James* K. of *Scotland*, } Although they began to raign at times a little different, as may be seen in the several Columes.

1514 *James* is King of *Scots*.
John Husse perfecuted and murthered in the *Lollards* Tower, described, V.2. p.8.
1515 *Francis* is King of *France*.
1516 Great war is this year between *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Ludovike* Duke of *Bavaria*.
1517 *Campson*, Ruler of the *Egyptians*, is flain, V.1. p.847. 7
John Brown is burned for the truth.
Elizabeth Stamford, *John Houshold*, &c. perfecuted for the truth, V.2. p.17.
Tomoumbeius Ruler of the *Egyptians* is tormented to death by the *Turk*, V.1. p.847.
1518 The Popes Proclamation of Pardons, makes *Luther* write againſt them, V.2. p.46,47.
The troubles and burning of *John Stilman*, Martyr, V.2. p.18.
The Martyrdom of *Tho. Man*, V.2. p.18,19.
1519 *Chriſtopher Shoomaker* is burned for Religion, V.2. p.23.
Of *Carolus* Emperor, ſee V.1. p.850. and V.2. p.4.
Solyman 12th *Ottoman* begins to reign. He wins from the Chriſtians, V 1. p.847, 848.
Famous Dr. *Colet* dies, of whoſe life, ſee V.2. p.41. Not long before whoſe death flouriſhed famous *Grocinus* an *Engliſhman*, Reader of Divinity Lecture in *Pauls* in *London*.
Perſecution in *England* of ſundry good men this year is moved in *Coventry*, where ſeven are burned together, V.2. p.181.
1420 A Proclamation againſt the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the followers of it in *England*, is ſet forth this year, V.2. p.236. He forbids thirteen good Books, V.2. p.237.
John Southwike perſecuted, V.2. p.17.
The Clergy of *England* taken in a *Premunire*; they pay a maſs of money for it, V.2. p.421.
Pope *Leo* the tenth ſends forth his Bull againſt *Luther*, which *Luther* well baits in his anſwer, Vol.2. p.541.
1521 This year was terrible trouble and perſecution of hundreds of good people for the truth; in the Diocels of *Lincoln* under *Longland* their Biſhop, to find whoſe names if thou wilt not take the pains to begin at this 24 *pag.* of this ſecond Volume; to write the eleven leaves of Catalogues of them, thou maiſt in the Table at the later end find them more readily. 24
This year reformation in the Church by *Luther*, of whom went Prophecies before. 42
His acts and doings before the Emperor. 52
King *Henry* the eighth writes againſt *Luther* (as it is commonly reported and reputed) in which work others are ſuppoſed to have the chief hand; and the King the name, for which he is by the Pope ſtiled, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith*. 57
Pope *Leo* the tenth wars and wins from the *French* King; rides in triumph in the ſame, and dies.
The Chriſtian Princes at diſcord incourageth *Solymanus* the twelfth *Ottoman* to war againſt Chriſtendom, to take *Belgrade*, V.1. p.848.
Zuinglius this year is queſtioned for teaching againſt the abuſes in the Church: His life and acts, V.2. p.71.
This Pope was ſometimes Schoolmaſter to Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; he is a *German* born, yet a great enemy to *Luther*, plotting and acting ſundry devices: *Luther* and the Nobles of *Germany* countermanding: He by reaſoning, they by putting up their complaints againſt the Pope, touching forbidding times of Marriage, commanding too many times for holy days, ſelling remiſſion of ſins for money, abuſing Excommunication, and many more particulars. 64
Solyman the *Turk* wins the Iſland *Rhodes*, Vol.1. p.848.
The lamentable Martyrdom of *John Clerk* of *Melden* in *France*, Vol.2. p.85.
1522 Pope *Clement* the ſeventh, his Bull againſt *Henry* the eighth, in behalf of Queen *Katharine*. A Marriage to him who was his Brother *Arthurs* wife, Vol.2. p.536.
Of Pope *Clement* the ſeventh, how in the facking of *Rome* he is taken: ſee V.2. p.245.
This year met *Zuinglius* and *Johannes Faber*, and others to diſpute; *Zuinglius* for the reſt againſt the truth. But none willing to diſpute with *Zuinglius* touching his ſixty ſeventh Article of the truth, the Senate of *Zurick* proclaims throughout their Dominions that the traditions of men ſhould be put down, and Chriſts Goſpel ſhould be ſet up, and ſo reformation begins in thoſe parts. 72
Henry Voes and *John Eſch* Friers *Auguſtines* are burnt at *Bruxels* for the Goſpel, Vol.2. p.80.
Perſecution begins this year in *Germany* of hundreds of Martyrs continuing for many years, V.2.p.94.
Likewiſe in *France* this year Perſecution begins, martyring multitudes, not ceaſing in many years, V.2. 104. Whoſe names thou maiſt either find in reading over the Catalogues; or if it be too much pains, thou maiſt have them readily in the Table in the end of the Book.
1523 *Henry Sutphen* is burned about the City of *Diethmar*, Vol.2. p.81.
Divers Martyrs ſecretly drowned in *Germany*, V.2. p.84.
George Hala of *Saxony* a Preacher, martyred, Vol.2. *ib.*
The *Tigurines* write in defence of true Religion upon occaſion of the Cantons apprehending the Preacher *Johannes Oxlinus*. 74
Perſecution of many in *Lincoln* and *Oxfordſhire* Dioceſs, V.2. p. 195, 196.
This year the Senate of *Zurick* depoſeth the Maſs with all its appurtenances.
Wolfangus is martyred, great judgments befall his condemners, V.2. p.91.
1524 Dr. *John Caſtellane* martyred in *Germany*, V.2. p.85, 86.
The ſtory of a good Paſtor murthered this year, penned by *Oecolampadius*, V.2. p.88.
Another ſtory of Maſter *Peter Spenſer*, Miniſter, drowned this year; penned by *Oecolampadius*, V.2. *ibid.*
1525 Cardinal *Wolſey* ſetting the Lord *Cromwell* at work to pull down ſome Religious houſes for the Cardinals ends, teacheth and forebodeth ominouſly the ruin of the great Abbeys, which after fell by that Lord *Cromwell*, V.2. p.420. 84

About

Emperors of Germ.: *Carolus* 5. | *Roman* Bishops: *Leo* the 10th. | Kings of England: *Hadrian* the 6. *Clemens* the 7.

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About this time the Ruſticks in *Germany* make a tumult; which being allaid, the Papiſts falſly accuſe the Goſpellers to have an hand in it, and ſo condemn them, V.2. p.90.
About this time a Diſputation is held at *Baden* in *Germany*, touching the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, the Maſs, &c. *Eckius* defends the Popes tenet. *Oecolampadius* is againſt *Eckius*. *Zuinglius* could not be there, for which he excuſeth himſelf. 75
1526 *John Huglein* martyred, Vol.2. p.92.
Leonard Keyſar of *Bavaria* burned for the Goſpel, V.2. p.93.
A prohibition of the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, and of ſeventeen other good Books, is ſet forth, Vol.2. p.248.
The many wicked practiſes of Cardinal *Wolſey*, making men do penance for eating of fleſh, abjures men for ſpeaking againſt the Pope, V.2. p.208.
Solyman the *Turk* conquers *Ludovike* the *French* Kings Army, the King himſelf falling off his horſe, and dying in a Mariſh place, Vol.1. p.847.
1527 The Senate and people of *Berne* in *Helvetia* appoint another Diſputation, between the Proteſtants and *Zuinglians* on the one ſide, and the Papiſts on the other. The Biſhops round about: as the Biſhops of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, &c. are injoyned to preſent and bring Divines with them, on pain of forfeiture of all their poſſeſſions within the bounds of their precinct.
At this Diſputation were preſent *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucerus*, *Capito*, &c. On the contrary ſide, the chief was *Conradus Tregerus*.
Thus by this means reformation began at *Berne*, *Conſtance*, *Geneva*, &c. the Maſs, Images, *&c* are put down.
The *Bernates* in the year of their reformation from Popery to true Religion, did ingrave the ſame in a pillar of braſs with golden letters.
George Carpenter martyred at *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, V.2. p.92.
The widow *Wendelmata* is martyred in *Holland*, V.2. p.93.
Patrick Hamleton a *Scot* at St. *Andrews* in *Scotland* martyred, V.2. p.182.
His excellent Treatiſes, V.2. p.184.
A Chriſtian *Jew* martyred by the *Turk*, V.2. p.179.
1528 *Lome*, *Nicolſon*, and *Raimund*, are made to abjure in *London* Dioceſs, V.2. p.260.
They of *Straulburgh* calling a Council, after long controverſie about Religion, depoſe the Maſs, till the Patrons of it could prove the lawfulneſs of it by the Scripture; and ſo ſet reformation on foot in *Straulburgh* alſo. 76
Simon Fiſh his Book called *The Supplication of Beggers*, comes to the Kings hand, V.2. p.228.
1529 Cardinal *Wolſey* is caſt out of the Kings favour, and ſo begins to fall, for his delaying in matters touching the Kings Marriage, v.2. p.206, 207, 208.
Ferdinand, the Brother of *Carolus* the fifth Emperor, and Deputy in *Germany*, labours againſt the Proteſtants and Reformation. 77
John Tewkſbury of *London* martyred, v.2. 242.
Now began the name of Proteſtants, from their proteſting in *Germany* againſt the evil Decree of *Spires*, which was alſo this year.
The *Turk* beſiegeth *Vienna*, vol.1. p.849.
Reformation is wrought in *Baſil* alſo.
Paul Luther an *Engliſhman*, alſo *Whaplod*, *Goderidg*, *Weſt*, *White*, *Kitchen*, *Wegen*, *Hale*, are made to abjure this year in *London* Dioceſs, vol.2. p.260, 270.
Near an hundred good Books are forbidden in *England*, vol.2. p.285.
Ferdinandus wins from the *Turk* places which he had taken, and alſo expulſeth his other enemy *Vaivoda*, vol.1. p.849.
1530 The *Turk* takes *Gunza* in *Hungary*, vol.1. p.852.
A Council is held at *Auſburge*: the Confeſſion of the Proteſtants there. 78
Thomas Hitton martyred at *Maidſtone*, vol.2. p.210.
John Tindal, *Worſley*, *Stacy*, *Maxwell*, *Curſon*, *Cornewell*, and *Philip*, are made to abjure in *London* Dioceſs, vol.2. p.261.
Wars begin between the Proteſtants and the five Popiſh Towns of *Switzerland*, where *Zuinglius* is ſlain.
1531 Peace is concluded between them.
Oecolampadius being ſick in body, and now worſe by ſorrow of mind, hearing of *Zuinglius* his death, dies. 79
The troubles of *Thomas Bilney*, vol.2. p.211. His learning to burn, by putting his finger in the candle. His death, vol.2. p.227, 228.
Thomas Arthurs troubles, vol.2. p.212.
The troubles of *John Frith*, vol.2. p.250. His Martyrdom, ſee *Anno* 1533.
Thomas Bennet is martyred in the fire, vol.2. p.260.

This year *Periman*, *Goldſtone*, *Staple*, *Tomſon*, *Wetzal*, *Man*, *Feldan*, *Cooper*, *Roe*, *Wallom*, *Palmer*, *Bruſter*, *Fairefted*, *Bull*, *Haymond*, *Lamb*, *Hewet*, the two *Patmores*, the two *Smiths*, *Row*, *Chriſtopher*, *Nelſon*, *Eves*, *Hudſon*, *Hewet*, *Kyry*, *Lobley*, *Lincoln*, *Mell*, *Medwell*, *Fulman*, *Bowgas*, *Tiler*, *Lancaſter*, the two *Topleyes*, *Gardener*, *Johnſon*, are made to abjure, with divers other at *Bumſteed*, vol.2. p. 263, to 267.

1532 Men and women of *Eſſex* troubled for the Goſpel, vol.2. p.268.
Solyman the *Turk* murthers his own ſon *Muſtapha*, vol.1. p.857.
The troubles and burning of the Martyr *Richard Bayfield*. 238
James Bainham is brought into trouble, vol.2. p.246. His penance, p.247. His burning, *ib.*
Three men are hanged for the burning of the Rood of *Dover-Court*, vol.2. p.249.
Maſter *Tracy* being dead, is taken up and burned, vol.2. p.262.
1533 Of the death of Archbiſhop *Warham*, and *Cranmer* ſucceeding in the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, a little after his being Ambaſſador to the Pope, to diſpute of King *Henry* the eighths his Marriage with his Brothers wife, that it was unlawful, ſee vol.2. p.555. *Cranmer.*
John Frith, Martyr, vol. 2. p. 250, to 253. } Are burned together.
And *Andrew Hewet*, Martyr, vol.2. p. 255. }
Tho. Harding of *Cheſham* in *Buckinghamſhire*, is martyred, v.2. p.193.

The

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	A.B. Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
					The King is divorced from Lady *Katharine* Dowager, and marries Lady *Anne Bullen*, Vol. 2. p.270. Compare p.270, 271.	
					Queen *Anne* is Crowned. Of her Queen *Elizabeth* is born, Vol.2. p.276.	
1534					The *Turk* sends his Admiral into *Africk* against the King of *Tunis*, who dispossesseth the King, and deprives him of his Kingdom, V.1. p.852.	
					The Friers of *Orleance* counterfeit the walking of a womans Ghost, V.2. p.550.	
					The King calls a Parliament, wherein the Commons complain of the cruelty of the Prelates, for calling them before them, *ex Officio*.	
					An Act of Succession of the Crown is concluded, Vol.2. p.278.	
					The Popes authority is cast out of *England*. The Kings subjects are sworn to his Supremacy. The Bishops and Universities write against the Popes Supremacy. } Volume 2. p. 278.	
1535					*Charles* the Fifth Emperor restores the King of *Tunis* to his Kingdom, and restoreth 20000 Captives out of servitude, Vol.1. p.852.	
					Pope *Paul* the third calling a Council, calleth our King unto the Council, the Kings answer, vol. 2. p. 310.	
					Sir *Thomas Moor*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* (who had written against *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*) denying to be sworn to the Kings Supremacy, are executed this year.	294
1536					The King having made all safe at home with his subjects for his own Supremacy against the Popes, now he endeavours to make safe to him the favour and peace of other Princes, that the Pope might not set them against him.	295
					The troubles of *William Tindal*.	301
					His Martyrdom.	305
					This year also died Lady *Katharine*, Princess Dowager, and Queen *Anne* is beheaded.	309
					In three days after, the King marries Lady *Jane Seimer*.	310
1537					By the means of a Monk a Rebellion is raised against the King in *Lincolnshire*, upon the chief of which execution was done.	313
					Prince *Edward* is born of the Lady *Jane Seymer*, the Queen dies in Childbed.	315
1538					*Solyman* the twelfth Ottoman takes and wasts *Corcyra*, the Island of the *Venetians*, v.1. p. 852.	
					Whiles the Pope and the Emperor, and the *Venetians* are at odds, *Solyman* the *Turk* invades and wasts *Apulia*, v.1. p.852.	
					D. *Bonner*, now but Archdeacon, is sent by the King Ambassador into *France*, to succeed *Stephen Gardiner* in Ambassie; *Bonners* Letters to the Lord *Cromwell*, and his description to the said Lord of the evil behaviour of *Gardiner*.	315 318
					A poor woman persecuted for eating of a Pig in *Lent*, which she longed for, being with child, v.2. p.426, 427.	
					Articles devised by the Kings Highness to establish Christian quietness, and unity among the people, with certain injunctions.	322
					John Longland Bishop of *Lincoln* (before a great persecutor of Christians) preacheth for the Kings Supremacy against the Pope, before the King at *Greenwich*.	325 326
					Many Idols, Images and Pilgrimages are deposed by means of the said injunctions of the King this year. Among those Idols, that called *Darvell Gatharen*, is burned, with the which Idol Frier *Forest* for denying the Kings supremacy was burned, being hanged in chains over the fire; and so was fulfilled the Prophesie, that that Idol should set a whole *Forest* on fire.	330 331 *ibid.*
					This same year after the fall of Images, followed the ruin of the Abbies.	
					After the fall of Abbies, the living Temple of Christ *John Lambert*, falls into trouble, and the martyring fire, by the devise of *Gardiner*.	
					Collins distracted, is with his dog burned this year, for holding up that dog in imitation of the Priests Mass.	366
					Cowbridge distracted, burnt for articles, who knew not what he said himself.	*ibid.*
					Will. Laiton burned for speaking against an Idol.	
					Pattedew is burned for saying jestingly, that when the Priest himself had drunk up all the Wine, he did bless the people with the empty Chalice.	
					Peke is burned, forty days pardon is proclaimed for them that will cast sticks into his fire. A Knight and Gentleman for this reward cut boughs with their swords, and throw them in.	
					The King is desired by the Emperor to come or send to the Popes Council at *Vincence*. The King excuseth himself and his Kingdom for absence, and discovereth the defects of the Popes Councils.	
					The great diliverance of *Grineus* from danger, vol.3. p.777.	
					This King *Henry* the eighth sets forth Injunctions against *English* Books, Sacramentary persons, Sects of Religions, by the device of *Gardiner*.	369
1539					A description how Religion now begins to go backward.	
1540					The *Turks* passing by *Dalmatia*, take there a Town called *Castellum Novum*, *New Castel*, away from the *Spaniard*, who kept it, v.1. p.853.	
					This year persecution was in *Spain*, martyring very many Christians, not giving over in many years, v.2. p.139. If the Catalogues be too tedious in this page for thee to read and find their names: see the Table at the end.	
					A Parliament is called; and in it the Act of the six Articles, *viz.* 1. For Transubstantiation, 2. Against giving the Cup, 3. Against Priests Marriage, 4. For vows of Chastity, 5. For Masses, 6. For Auricular Confession, is concluded, notwithstanding many allegations against the Act and Articles.	371
					The great Bible in *English* printed by the Lord *Cromwels* means, v.2. p.434.	
					Persecution moved in *Scotland*, where Sir *John Brotherwicke* hath great troubles, v.2. p.511.	433
					The good Lord *Cromwell* is beheaded.	

The

Anno Christi	Emperc. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Queens of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol.1. Page
1541					The L. *Cromwel* being made away by *Gardiners* device, Christs Sheep are slain apace, as *R. Barns*, *Tho. Garret*, *W. Hierome* Divines. Three Papists executed the same time with them, for denying the Kings Supremacy.	433
					Mekins a youth of 15 years old, brought to the fire by *Bonner*, sitting in *Guildhal* in Commission for the 6 Articles, for speaking, upon hearing of others talk, against the Sacrament of the Altar.	435
					Spencer, *Ramsey* and *Hewer* suffer at *Salisbury*.	445 ib.
					Great trouble and persecution in *London* of near an hundred persons for the six Articles.	
					Alexander Seton persecuted.	447
					John Porter cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in *Pauls* Church in *London*.	
					Persecution is moved in *Lincoln* Diocess by the six Articles.	452 ib.
					Barber vecants in St. *Marys* at *Oxford*, at which is a fear left the Church were on fire.	453
					K. *Henry* is divorced from *Anne* of *Cleve*, and marries *Katharine Howard*.	455 ib.
1542					This year Lady *Howard* being accused to the King of incontinent living, both before her Marriage, with *Francis Dereham*, and since with *Thomas Culpeper*; those two men, as also Queen *Katharine*, with the Lady *Rochford*, are put to death.	
					The Town in *Hungary* called *Quinque-Ecclesiæ*, that is, Five-Churches, is taken by the *Turks*. After it they take in the same Country *Scoclosia*. V.1. p.854. c.1.	
1543					The Cardinal of *Scotland* moves persecution at *Perith*. V.2.p.520.	
					A piece of a Child in the Siege of *Alba*, is found in a Soldiers Satchel, the other part being eaten. V.1.p.856.c.2.	
					Persecution of above twenty in *Callis*; where *George Bucker*, alias *Adam Damplick* is martyred. V.2.p.469.477.	
1544					The Persecution of 4 *Windsor* men, *viz. Testwood*, *Filmer*, *Person* and *Marbeck*.	457
					The *Turks* take *Wexzgradum*.	
					The Act of the six Articles is somewhat qualified in Parliament.	478
1545					It is yet qualified more in another Parliament.	
					Testwoods Recantation of denying the six Articles.	
1546					The *Scots* are subdued. *Bullen* in *France* is won. V.2.p.481.	
					The troubles of Mrs *Ann Askew* begin. V.2.p.483.	
					Martin Luther dies godlily and quietly. V.2.p.69.	
					John Penzas a *Spaniard* is martyred his own Brother killing him at *Neoberge* in *Germany*. V.2.p.87.	479
					Kerby and *Clerk* of *Suffolk* martyred. *George Wisheart* martyred in *Scotland*. V.2. 521,522.	
					Ann Askew is burned, and with her *Nicholas Belenian*. 483.	
					The troubles and dangers of Queen *Katharine Parr*, by *Gardiners* Plots. 491.	
					Great Persecution is in *Italy* for many years. V.2.p.139. Read the Catalogue in this Page, or see the Table and the end.	
1547					The Cardinal of *Scotland*, a wicked Persecutor, is murthered and buried in a Dunghil. V.2. p.526.	511
					King *Henry* the Eighth dies.	
			Queen *Jane*.		A Preface containing a learned Discourse touching the wicked Mass, for which so many bled and burned, in this 3d Volume is premised to the ensuing stories.	Vol.3. Page 1. 2.3.4.
					Queen *Jane* by K. *Edwards* will, the witness of most of the greatest Nobles, and by their assistance and Proclamations, is proclaimed Q. of *England* throughout the Kingdom.	5.6.10.
					Lady *Mary* claims the Crown of *England* by Letters to the Council. Their answer, denying her demand. Lady *Mary* by feigned promises (which she cruelly after brake) made to the *Suffolk* men, (who were always ready to promote the Gospel) gets their assistance by War, to settle her in the Crown, against the Lady *Jane*.	10. 12.
					By these *Suffolk* Forces, Queen *Mary* overthrows the forces that were for Queen *Jane*; so that Lady *Mary* is proclaimed Queen, and the Lords begin to fall off from the Lady *Jane*.	
					The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Father-in-law of Lady *Jane*, is imprisoned by Q. *Mary* in the Tower, with Lord *Gilford* his Son, and Q. *Jane* his Wife. The Duke made in hope of life to revolt to his Religion, is beheaded, with Sir *J. Gates*, and Sir *T. Palmer*, confessing their faith.	13.
					Good Bishops are displaced, preaching, and printing and Plays, and the terms *Papist* and Heretick is prohibited by Proclamation.	13.
					Bishop *Bonner* is released out of Prison, cast in there by *Edward* the 6th. He set up *Bourn* a Canon of *Pauls*, to preach at the Cross, and to clear him, upon the same Text, for which, as *Bourn* said 4 years afore, the said *Bonner* was cast into the *Marshalsey*. A Dagger is thrown at *Bourn* for his pains.	
					In *August*, this year, many are clapt up in Prison for dislike of *Popery* and its abettors.	15.
					In *September* the same year, many are troubled for Religion.	
					In *October* the same year, Q. *Mary* is crowned. A Parliament is called. *Popery* as Mass, &c. set up. Judge *Hales* that had been for Q. *Mary* in Title to the Crown, is now by her troubled, for standing for the Law. A Disputation concerning Religion, as real Presence, &c. is held in a Convocation between the *Protestant* and *Papist* Divines this year, *Octob.* 18. The Convocation is dissolved. V.2.p.24. Many great Lords, &c. and Bishops put in Prison, and *Gardiner* among the rest, for the Supremacy, &c. matters are now released by the Queen, and advanced.	15.
1554					The Queen shuts up many this year in Prison for Religion. V.3.p.25. The Queens rigour touching Religion, and her likelihood to marry *Philip*, cause a Rebellion of Sir *Tho. Wyat*, &c. in *Kent*, and of the D. of *Suffolk*, Lady *Janes* own Father, in *Warwick* and *Leicestershire*. They are taken.	24.
					The Queens Oration in *Guild-hall* against *Wyat*, and touching her Marriage. V.3. p.25. Conference between Lady *Jane* and *Feckenam* about points of Religion. V.3.p.25. Lady *Janes* Letter to her own Father in Prison. V.3.p.26. Lady *Janes* Letter to Mr. *Harding* her Fathers Chaplain, now revolted to *Popery*, notably terrifying him out with places of the Scripture for the same. V.3.p.27. Lady *Jane's* Letter to her Sister *Katharine*, V.3.p.28. The admirable sweet carriage and death of the Lady *Jane*. V.3.p.29.	
					Bonner searching after them that would not come in *Lent* to confession.	
					The Queens Letter and Articles to the Bishop of *London*, against Religion and Religious persons. ib.	
					A like Prescript with Articles, the Queen sends to the Lord Mayor of *London*. Vol.3.p.31. The Queen by Proclamation expulseth all strangers and foreigners out of the Land, whereby *Peter Martyr* and others avoid the Realm. V.3.p.32. Lady *Elizabeth* is suspected of, and imprisoned for consenting to *Wyats* Rebellion, by whom she is cleared; but *Gardiner* and *Weston* labour her ruine by tales in the Star-Chamber, &c.	

Anno Christ. | Archbishops of Canterbury. | Kings of England. | Roman Popes. | German Emperors.

The Queen holds a Parliament, wherein ſhe laboured, but in vain, to reſtore the Popes Supremacy. But in her own writing to the Biſhop of *London*, &c. ſhe left out the uſual clauſe of *Henry* 8. and *Edward* 6. *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ Caput*. V.3.p.33.

Bonner in Convocation with hyperbolical blaſphemy, extols Prieſts Dignity to be above Kings and Princes, and Angels ; equal with the Virgin *Mary*, maker of his Creator.

Doctor *Ridley* his Conference in Priſon touching the Sacrament, *&c.* with Secretary *Bourn*. V.3. p.34.

Cranmer Archbiſhop, *Ridley* Biſhop, are, *April* 10. ſent down to *Oxford* to diſpute touching Religion. *Cranmer* diſputes. V.3.p.36. Diſputation at *Oxford* between Dr.*Smith*, and *Ridley* Biſhop of *London* touching Religion. April 17. p.50. Diſputation at *Oxford*, *April* 18, between Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Latimer* at *Oxford*. V.3.p.65. *Harpsfield*'s Diſputation at *Oxford* for his Degree, *April* 19. *Cranmer* diſputeth. V.3.p.70. Biſhop *Ridley*'s report of *Oxfords* miſordered Diſputation with him and his fellow Priſoners. V.3.p.74. Biſhop *Ridley* writes Letters to the Prolocutor, for his breach of promiſes to him touching the order of Diſputation. V.3.p.75. The Archbiſhop *Cranmer* writes Letters by Doctor *Weſton* to the Council for all lawful favour, which he refuſed to deliver. Biſhop *Ridley* writes an unanimous conciliatory Letter to the Archbiſhop, touching their conſent in the ſubſtance of Religion. V.3. p.76. Mr. *Bradford* and others are committed to the Tower, *Auguſt* 16. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop cleas himſelf of ſcandal put upon him. V.3.p.78. Queen *Mary* is crowned, *Latimer* and *Cranmer* are put in the Tower. ib. The Queen by Proclamation at her Coronation, pardons other Priſoners, but not thoſe in the Tower and the Fleet, and 62 perſons more. The Archbiſhop of *York* is committed to the Tower. The Queen rides in pomp to Parliament, *Octob.* 5. Mr. *Lawrence Saunders*, *Octob*er the 10th, preacheth in *London* againſt the Abomination of the Maſs. Dr. *Weſton* upon the 10th of *Octob*er, makes a *Popiſh* Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs. *Cambridge* Univerſity defend the Queens proceedings, before any Law be enacted to the ſame purpoſe. K. *Edward*'s Acts are Repealed, *December* 15. V.3.p.78.

A Prieſt of *Canterbury* ſaying Maſs, the morrow repenting, preaches againſt it. Juſtice *Hales* and Mr. *Rogers* are impriſoned, *January* 26. Strange ſights are ſeen at nine in the morning in the Heavens, *Feb.* 15. before the coming in of K *Philip*, and the going out of true Religion. This Month of *February*, *Winchester* in his Sermon before the Queen ſtirs her up to uſe no mercy towards the *Kentiſh* men, but ſevere execution upon them, for their riſing in Rebellion. The Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded, *Feb.* 23. V.3.p.79. Mr. *Mantel* in this Month of *Feb.* is executed in *Kent*, among other Gentlemen ; who at his firſt falling under the Gallows, the Rope brake ; whereupon for Recantation of his Religion, pardon was offered, which he refuſed, and choſe rather to die. His Apology clearing himſelf of aſperſions of Recantation. All *London* are commanded, *March* 17. to prepare themſelves for thrift. V.3.p. 81. *March* 18, Lady *Elizabeth* is put in the Tower. Near twenty Gallowſes are ſet up about *London*, upon occaſion of *Wyats* Rebellion, to terrifie others ; upon one of which, in *Cheapſide*, a Cat was hanged with a ſhaven Crown, and a Paper between her feet like a Prieſt at Maſs with his Wafer. The Prieſt of *Pancras* in *Cheap* on *Eaſter* day, according to the *Popiſh* manner, feeling in the Sepulcher for the Pix and Crucifix, and ſaying, *He is not here, but is riſen* ; it proved that they were not there indeed ; for ſome body or other had ſtoln them away, about which much ſearch was made. The Lord *Gray* is hanged and quartered for a Conſpiracy againſt the Queens life as it was alledged.

Bradford, *Saunders*, &c. Narration touching their Diſputation and Religion. V.3.p.82. The impriſonment of Lady *Elizabeth* in *Woodſtock*. p.83. Queen *Mary* is married to *Philip*, a ſtorm drawn for their mutual ſtile. *Winchester* preacheth at *Pauls* Croſs extream blaſphemy againſt the truth, and flattery of K. *Philip*. p. 85. *John Street* troubled for coming under the Prieſts Canopy. p.86.

Bonner's frantick behaviour in his Viſitation, ſtriking, ſcolding, *&c.* A Rood in *Lancaſhire* is made ſo ugly, that (as they there concluded) it was fitter to make a Devil. p.87. *Bonner* ſends forth a Mandat to aboliſh the Scriptures and Writings painted on the Church-Walls. ib. Queen *Marys* Perſecution make 24 Fellows places void in *Cambridge* at once in one Colledge. The buſineſs the Council, the Biſhops and the Parliament made about Queen *Marys* conceiving with Child as they conceived. p.88. Cardinal *Pools* entertainment, Oration and Actions at the Parliament before the Queen. p.91. *Gardiner*'s dreaming Sermon at the Croſs on the words, *It is high time to awake*, &c. pleading for *Popery*. p.92. Thirty Chriſtian Martyrs, and a Miniſter apprehended in *Bow*-Church-yard, for the Goſpel, and impriſoned. The Act of the Popes Supremacy is paſſed in Parliament. A great tumult at *Weſtminſter* between the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh*. This year begins the Perſecution of the *Waldenſes* or *Waldoys* in the Vally of *Angrogne-luſerne*, St. *Martin*, *Peroufe*, &c. in the Country of *Piedmont*, continuing to *Anno* 1561. V.2.p.160. Mr. *Hooper* writes comfort to the Martyrs apprehended in *Bow*-Church-yard. V.3.p.95. The perſecuted Preachers make Supplication to the King and Queen. Vol.3. p.97.

1555 | *Marcellus* 2. *Paulus* 4. | Cardinal *Pools*.

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Thomas

Anno Chriſt | Archbiſhops of Canterbury. | Kings of England. | Roman Popes. | German Emperors.

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Elizabetha.

Of

Anno Christi

Emperors of *Germany*.

Popes of *Rome*.

Queens of *England*.

Archbishops of *Canterbury*.

Of the Emperor *Frederick*, his brotherhood to *Carolus* the fifth Emperor, and of his Acts whiles he was Deputy in *Germany*, see Vol.2.p.78.

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Richard Yeoman, Doctor *Taylor's* Curate at *Hadley* suffers for the Gospel.p.741. *John Alcocks* troubles for Christ. p.742.

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Alexander Gouch, and *Alice Driver*, suffer for Christ at *Ipswich*. p.746.

Phil. Humfry, *John David*, and *Hen. David* put to death for Christ in the same Month Queen *Mary* died. ib. *Cornford*, *Brown*, *Hersh*, *Smith*, and *Katharine Knight* were the last of the Martyrs that suffered death in Q.*Marys* days, according to their prayer, they might be the last.p.750.

A note of such as were scourged for Christ in Queen *Marys* days. p.756,&c.

Matthew Parker.

Queen *Elizabeth.*

The great Deliverance of Lady *Elizabeth* from danger in Q.*Marys* days, by the death of the said Queen; who dies this year, *Novemb.*17. and the said Lady *Elizabeth* proclaimed Queen the same day. 792.

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Other *Englishmen* also suffer Martyrdom this year in *Spain* and *Portugal*. p.755.

1562 Foreign Persecution by the Bishops of *Rome*, before the *French* Massacre. p.862.

A Massacre in *France*. p.859.

Gregory the 13th.

1572

Thus have we with all the method and pithiness we could use in these present labours, *Chronologically* annuated all remarkables in these three Volumes; seating and placing them according to their age, each particular in his own year. If any man should wish to have had here a larger universe of particulars, though of less consequence; and a precizer punctualness of times, even to months and days; such a man shall be able fully to satisfie himself with these considerations:

First, That keeping close to the nature of the most and best Chronologies, with a studied conciseness, we intended to compose of things material, not trivial, *Annals* not *Kalendars*, and *Ephemerides*; that is, to date years, not months and days.

Secondly, That seeing largeness is to be bound fast to the abbreviature, the second and third Volume, and so they go together abroad into the World: Its but turning over leaves, and when that hath been too tediously prolix in its ample narrations, this will tell the same after that, without wearying eyes or ears. And when this with its *Laconical* shortness, leaves the Reader hungry, to have seen and heard somewhat more, that will be ready to fill that appetite.

Thirdly, That although the first Volume makes dispatch in its relations, and so fills up its vastness with variety of stories, till it brings us beyond the 1500 year: yet the second and third Volumes consist of few stories, swollen to that hugeness by the massiness and voluminousness of each story; so that they both begin and end within the compass of about 50 and odd years, as this our Chronicle it self shews in the Time, Page and Columes; so that of themselves, unless we would turn *Chronologizing* into *Epitomizing*, would wind up themselves into a narrow compass. Besides the first and second Volume in above forty years are woven together; as may be seen in the Quotations of the large Volume of matter of both these Volumes.

Fourthly, That of all the Martyrs which indeed are the main bulk of the second and third Volume, Mr. *Fox* hath penn'd and placed at the beginning a most punctual and methodical Kalendary Chronicle of years, months and days of their troubles and sufferings: yet to make our project a completeness and perfection, we took into our other passages of estate, all special and dated stories of Martyrs; though in thus doing in regard of Mr. *Fox* his Kalendar, we *Actum agimus*, *& post Homerum Teximus Iliades*, do that which needed not.

FINIS.

Acts and Monuments
OF THE
CHRISTIAN MARTYRS,
AND
Matters Ecclesiastical passed in the Church of Christ,

From the Primitive beginning, to these our days, as well in other Countries, as namely in this Realm of *ENGLAND*, and also of *SCOTLAND*; Discourfed at large.

And first, the difference between the Church of *ROME* that now is, and the Ancient Church of *ROME* that then was.

Mat. 16.

CHRIST our Saviour in the Gospel of of St. *Matth. cap.*16. hearing the confession of *Simon Peter*, who first of all other, openly acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of his Father therein, answered again, and alluding to his name, called him a Rock, upon which Rock he would build his Church so strong, that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, &c. In which words three things are to be noted. First, that Christ will have a Church in this world. Secondly, that the same Church should mightily be impugned, not only by the World, but also by the uttermost strength and powers of all Hell. And thirdly, that the same Church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the Divel and all his malice, should continue. Which prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully to be verified, in so much that the whole course of the Church to this day, may seem nothing else but a verifying of the said Prophecy. First, that Christ hath set up a Church, needeth no Declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of Princes, Kings, Monarchs, Governors, and Rulers of this World, with their Subjects publickly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this Church. And Thirdly, how the said Church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden his own. What storms and tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold. For the more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this present History, intending by the favourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the ears of my Country in reading of News, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godly, in perusing antiquities of ancient times, to the end that the wonderful works of God, first in this Church, might appear to his glory. Also that the continuance and proceedings of the Church from time to time, being set forth in these *Acts and Monuments*, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the Reader and edification of Christian Faith.

Three things noted in Christs words.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the Reader: I have thought good first, beginning from the time of the Primitive Church, and so continuing (by the Lords grace) to these latter years, to run over the whole state and course of the Church in general, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this History into five sundry diversities of times.

The order of the disposition of this History.

The suffering time of the Church.

1. First, I will intreat of the suffering time of the Church, which continued from the Apostles age about three hundred years.

The flourishing time of the Church.

2. Secondly, of the flourishing time of the Church, which lasted other three hundred years.

The declining time of the Church.

3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the Church, which comprehendeth other three hundred years, until the looking out of Satan, which was about the thousandth year after the ceasing of Persecution. During which space of time, the Church although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sincerity of the Primitive Time, yet in outward profession of Doctrine and Religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a Church: notwithstanding some corruption of Doctrine, with Superstition and Hypocrisie was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that which followed after, it might seem as I said, something sufferable.

The time of Antichrist in the Church.

4. Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and loosing of Satan, or desolation of the Church, whose full swinge containeth the space of four hundred years. In which time both Doctrine and sincerity of Life was utterly almost extinguished: namely, in the chief Heads and Rulers of this West Church, through the means of the *Roman* Bishops, especially counting from *Gregory* the seventh, called *Hildebrand*, *Innocentius* the third, and Friers which with him crept in, till the time of *John Wickliffe* and *John Huss*, during four hundred years.

The Reformation of the Church.

5. Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reigning in the Church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the Church of God, wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appear in his colour, and his Antichristian Doctrine to be detected, the number of his Church decreasing, and the number of the true Church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourscore years, and how long it shall continue more, the Lord and Governor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these five diversities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the Church may well be comprised. The which Church because it is universal, and sparsedly through all Countries dilated, therefore in this History standing upon such a general argument, I shall not be bound to any one certain Nation more than another; yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I have purposed principally to tarry upon such Historical Acts and Records, as most appertain to this my Country of *England* and *Scotland*.

The Church of *Rome*.

And for so much as the Church of *Rome*, in all these Ages above specified, hath challenged to it self the Supreme Title, and Ringleading of the whole Universal Church on Earth, by whose direction all other Churches have been governed: in writing therefore of the Church of Christ, I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the same Church, for so much as the doings and orderings of all other Churches from time to time, as well here in *England*, as in other Nations, have this long season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needful and requisite to have the doings and orderings of the said Church to be made manifest to all Christian Congregations: so have I framed this History, according to the same purpose. First, in a general description briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that Church, comparing the former primitive state of the forenamed Church of *Rome*, with these latter times of the same: which done; then after in a more special tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so far

Four things to be considered in the Church of Rome. 1. Title. 2. Jurisdiction. 3. Life. 4. Doctrine.

forth as shall seem not unprofitable for the publick instruction of all other Christian Churches, to behold and consider the manner and dealing of this one. In the which one Church of *Rome* four things, as most special points, seem to me chiefly to be considered. To wit, Title, Jurisdiction, Life and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, first, concerning the Title or Primacy of the Church, how it first began, and upon what occasion. Secondly, concerning the Jurisdiction and Authority thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend. Thirdly, touching the misorder of life and conversation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the Form of Doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath been. Of the which four, the first was prejudicial to all Bishops. The second, derogatory to Kings and Emperors. The third detestable to all men. The fourth, injurious against Christ.

The title of the Pope.

For first, the Title and Stile of that Church was such, that it overwent all other Churches: being called The *Holy Universal Mother Church, which could not erre*: and the Bishop thereof, *Holy Father the Pope, Bishop Universal, Prince of Priests, Supream Head of the Universal Church*, and *Vicar of Christ here in Earth, which must not be judged, having all knowledge of Scripture, and all Laws contained within the cheft of his Breft.*

The Jurisdiction of the Pope.

Secondly, the Jurisdiction of that Bishop was such, that challenging to himself both the Swords, that is, both the Keyes of the Scripture and the Scepter of the Laity: not only he subdued all Bishops under him, but also advanced himself above Kings and Emperors, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, Kings to lead his Horse by the Bridle, some to kiss his feet, placing and displacing Emperors, Kings, Dukes and Earls, whom and when he lifted, taking upon him to translate the Empire at his pleasure: first, from *Greece* to *France*, from *France* to *Germany*, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also being Emperor himself *Sede vacante*, pretending Authority or power to invest Bishops, to give Benefices, to spoil Churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call General Councils, to judge over the same, to set up Religions, to Canonize Saints, to take Appeals, to bind Consciences, to make Laws, to dispense with the Law and Word of God, to deliver from Purgatory, to command Angels, &c.

The properties of life in the Romish Clergy. The Doctrine of the Pope.

Thirdly, what was the life and conversation of the Court of *Rome*, hereafter in the proofs of this History followeth to be seen and observed.

Fourthly, such was his Doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to mens Consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to it self. In Laws more divers, in Volume more larges in diligence and study more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainful than ever was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well considered and advised in this present History set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent Christian Reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is of this See and Church of *Rome* to be esteemed.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all these deformities above touched of vain Title, of pretended Jurisdiction, of Heretical Doctrine, of Schismatical Life, came not into the Church of *Rome* all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same Church, but with long working, and continuance of time by little and little crept up, through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of Pope *Silvester*, partly of Pope *Gregory* the seventh, in the year of our Lord 1170. partly of *Innocentius* the third, and finally of Pope *Boniface* the eighth, in the year of our Lord 1300. Of the which four Popes, the first brought in the Title in the year of the Lord 670. which was never in such ample wise before publickly enacted, and received publickly in the said Church of *Rome*. The second brought in Jurisdiction. The third which was Pope *Innocent* with his rabble of Monks and Friers (as *Thomas Aquine*, *Petrus Lombardus*, *Johannes Scotus*) and with such other Bishops as succeeded in the same See after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christs doctrine and manners also. And lastly, Pope *Bonifacius* the eighth, and after him Pope *Clement* the fifth over and besides the Jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by Pope *Hildebrand*, added moreover the Temporal Sword to be carried before them. And that no Emperor (were he never so well elected) should be sufficient and lawful, without the Popes admission, in the year of our Lord 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the *Romish* Church in continuance of years by degrees, and not altogether, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Pope Silvester the 2d. Pope Gregory the 7th called Hildebrand. Pope Innocentius the third. Pope Bonifacius the eighth.

Wherefore, whosoever shall have hereafter to do with any adversaries, about the Antiquity or Authority of the Church of *Rome*, let him here well consider when and how, the Title, Jurisdiction and Corruption of Doctrine first began in the Popes See. And so shall he see, that the Church of *Rome*, as it is now governed with this manner of Title, Jurisdiction and Institution of Doctrine, never descended from the Primitive Age of the Apostles, or from their Succession, *Nisi tantum æquivoce, & non univoce*; Like as *Sancta Maria picta non eſt Sancta Maria, & homo pictus non eſt homo*, as the Schools do say: that is, As the picture of the Holy Virgin, is not the Holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the Wall is not a Man: so it is to be said of the Church of *Rome* (the Institution and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* I mean) that although it hath the name of the *Church Apoſtolical*, and doth bring forth a long Genealogy of outward succession from the Apostles, as the *Pharises* did in Christs time bring their descent from *Abraham* their Father: yet all this is (as I said) but only *Æquivoce*, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apostolical Church indeed; for as much as the definition of the Apostolical Church neither now agreeth with this present Church of *Rome*, nor yet the manner, form and institution of the said *Romish* Church, as it now standeth with this Title, Jurisdiction and Doctrine, had ever any Succession or Offspring from the Primitive Church of the Apostles. But as Christ said by the *Pharises*, that they were the Children, not of *Abraham*, but of the Devil: in semblable wise may be answered, that this Church of *Rome* now present, with this Title, Jurisdiction and Doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the Apostles, neither *Petrus*, nor *Linus*, but of another Author, whom here I will not name.

Æquivoce, That is in name only, and not in very deed. Univoce. That likely in name, and also in definition and effect, agreeing with the name.

The Church of Rome, as now left, is not apostolical, but only æquivoce.

And here now cometh in the Argument of *Pighius*, *Hoſius* and *Eccius*, to be answered unto, who arguing for the Antiquity and Authority of the Church of *Rome*, reason on this manner.

The argument of *Pighius*, *Hoſius* and *Eccius* for the authority of the Church of *Rome*.

Da That forsomuch as an ordinary and a known Church visible must here be known continually on earth, during from the time of the Apostles, to the which Church all other Churches must have recourse:

Ri- And seeing then there is no other Church visible, orderly known to have endured from the Apostles time, but only the Church of *Rome*:

i. They conclude therefore that the Church of *Rome* is that Church whereunto all other Churches must have recourse, &c.

Answer. Fallacia æquivoci.

To the which Paralogisme I answer thus: that this word *Durans Eccleſia*, the during Church in the *Minor*, hath *Fallaciam æquivoci*. For although the name of the Church and outward succession of Bishops have had their durance from the time of the Apostles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apostolical Church indeed, and *Univoce*, neither is now in the Church of *Rome*, nor yet the form and institution of the Church now used in *Rome*, was ever from the Apostles: which Apostles were never authors or fathers of this Title, Jurisdictions and Doctrine now taught in *Rome*, but rather were enemies ever to the same.

The minor examined.

The major examined.

Again to the *Major*, which standeth upon two parts, I answer: First, although the necessity of the Church during from the Apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certain place or person, but only to faith: so that wheresoever, that is to say, in whatsoever Congregation true Faith was, there was the Church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs ever remain on earth, therefore the Church also must needs remain on earth. And God forbid, that the said true faith of Christ should only remain in one City in the World, and not another as well. And therefore to the second part of the *Major* is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so given, to remain fixtly in one place or City alone: so neither is there any one Church in the World

World so ordained and appointed of God, that all other Churches should have their recourse unto it, for determination of their causes and controversies incident, &c. And thus much to the Argument of *Pighius* and *Hoſius*, &c.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient Doctors and holy Fathers in the commendation of the Church of *Rome*; here cometh in also to be noted, that whosoever will understand rightly their authorities, and answer to the same, must first learn to make a difference and distinction of the said Church of *Rome*, from that it was, to that it is: forasmuch as the Church of *Rome* is not the same Church now, which it was then, but only *Æquivoce*: otherwise as touching the very property and definition of a Church, it is another Church, and nothing agreeing to that it was then, save only in outward name and place, Therefore by this distinction made, I answer the place of *Ireneus*, *Cyprianus* and other famous Drs. commending the Church of *Rome* as Catholick and Apostolical, and say that these Doctors, speaking of the Church of *Rome* which then was, said not untrue, calling it Catholick and Apostolical, for that the same Church took their ordinary succession of Bishops joyned with the ordinary Doctrine and Institution from the Apostles. But speaking of the Church of *Rome* which now is, we say the said places of the Doctors are not true, neither do appertain to the same: all which Doctors neither knew the Church of *Rome* that now is, neither if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy such commendation.

A distinction. The Church of Rome distinguished into a double consideration of times. The Church of Rome, how it was commended of the old Doctors

Over and besides, our adversaries yet more objected against us, who heaving and shooving for the Antiquity of the *Romish* Church, for lack of other sufficient reason to prove, are driven to fall in scanning the times and years. What (say they)? where was this Church of yours before these fifty years? To whom briefly to answer, first we demand what they mean by this which they call our Church? If they mean the ordinance and institution of Doctrine and Sacraments now received of us, and differing from the Church of *Rome*, we affirm and say, that our Church was, when this Church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet ever see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of *Gregory* the first, and the old *Roman* Church, when as yet no Universal Pope was received publickly, but repelled in him: nor this fulness of plenary power yet known, nor this Doctrine and abuse of Sacraments yet heard of. In witness whereof we have the old acts and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us, wherein we have sufficient matter for us to declare the same form, usage and institution of this our Church reformed now, not to be the beginning of any new Church of our own, but to be the renewing of the old ancient Church of Christ: nor to be any swerving from the Church of *Rome*, but rather a reducing to the Church of *Rome*. Whereas contrary, the Church of *Rome* which now is, is nothing but a swerving from the Church of *Rome*, as partly is declared, and more shall appear (Christ willing) hereafter.

The principal objection of the Papists against the Protestants.

Answer to the objection.

The Church of Rome revolted from the Church of Rome.

And where the said our adversaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our Fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were first christened: To this we answer, that we being first baptised by our Fathers and Godfathers, in water, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the same faith wherein we were christned then, we do retain: and because our Godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we have forsaken the faith of our Godfathers, &c. As for other points of Ecclesiastical uses, and circumstances considered, besides the principal substance of Faith and Baptism, if they held any thing which receded from the Doctrine and Rule of Christ, therein we now remove our selves: not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remove from the Rule of Christs Doctrine. Neither doth the Sacrament of our Baptism bind us in all points to the opinions of them that baptised us, but to the Faith of him in whose Name we were baptised. For as if a man were christened of an Heretick, the Baptism of him notwithstanding were good, although the Baptiser were naught: so if our Godfathers or Fathers, which christned us, were naught any thing not consonant to Christian Doctrine in all points, neither is our Baptism worse for that, nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselves did not follow the true Church of Christ.

Another objection of the Papists.

An answer to the objection. No man bound to follow the opinions of his Godfathers in all points unless they be conformable in all things.

Wherefore as it is false, that we have renounced the faith of our Godfathers wherein we were first Baptised, so is it slanderous not true, that we are removed from the Church of *Rome*: but rather say, and (by the leave of Christ) will prove that the Church of *Rome* hath utterly parted from the Church of *Rome*, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the Church of *Rome* with the Church of *Rome*; and in a general Description set forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the Churches, that is, of both the times of the Church of *Rome*: to the intent it may be seen whether we or the Church of *Rome* have more apostated from the Church of *Rome*. And here first I divide the Church of *Rome* in a double consideration of time: first, of those first six hundred years which were immediately after Christ: and secondly, of the other six hundred years, which now have been in these our later days: and so in comparing these two together, will search out what difcrepance is between them both. Of the which two ages and states of the *Roman* Church, the first I call the Primitive Church of *Rome*, the other I call the later Church of *Rome* counting this later Church from the thousand years expired after the binding of Satan, to the time of his loosing again, according to the Prophecy of the twentieth Chapter of St. *Johns Revelation*: counting these thousand years from the ceasing of Persecution, under *Conſtantinus Magnus*, to the beginning of Persecution of the Church again under *Innocentius* the third, and *Ottomannus* the first *Turcien* Emperor. And thus have ye the Church of *Rome* parted into two Churches, in a double respect and consideration of two sundry states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let us see whether the Church of *Rome* hath swerved from the Church of *Rome* more than we, or no.

Two times of the Church of *Rome* considered and examined.

The first policie.

AND to begin first with the order and qualities of life I ask here of this *Roman* Clergy, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive Church of *Rome*, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this *Gloria mundi*, and name of Cardinals, with this pranking dissolutenesse, and whoring of the Curtisans, with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of Spiritual Dignities, these Annats, Reformations, Procurations, Exactions, and other practices for mony, this avarice insatiable, and implacable, this filthy filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithlessness, poysoning, and supplanting one another, with such schisms and divisions, which never were more seen than in the elections and Court of *Rome* these seven hundred years, with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death?

The enormities of life in the later church of *Rome* described. Parties and practices of *Rome* to get money.

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly upon these above rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the Schisms that have been in the Church of *Rome* since the time of *Damasus* the first, which are counted to the number of eighteen schisms: what a Volume would it require? Or if here should be recorded all that this See hath burned and put to death since the beginning out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get money should be described, as processes of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Or which all notwithstanding, the most principal grounds are reckoned at least to fourteen or fifteen sights.

Fifteen principal places of the new church of *Rome* to get money.

1. First, for matters or vacancies of Arch-Bishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, Priories conventual, and other Benefices elective.

2. Secondly, for the holding and retaining of all other spiritual livings whatsoever, besides this which now the Incumbent paieth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

3. Thirdly, new annates for all the same are required again, *Tories quaties* any one of all his spiritual livings be, or are fained to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced divers times three or four annats to be paid for one Benefice.

4. Fourthly, for giving out preventions of Benefices before they fall, and many times some one prevention to be given to divers and sundry persons by the office for monies sake.

5. Fifthly, for resignations upon favour, which in many cases the Pope challengeth to be reserved to himself.

6. Sixthly, for Commendams.

7. Seventhly, for compounding with such as be absent from their charge, and give their attendance about the Court.

8. Eighthly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispence with age, with order, with Benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the House be of such or such an Order. *Item*, dispensation for irregularity, for whoredome and adultery, for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity Canonical, for gossips to marry, for the which it hath been seen in *France* a thousand Crowns to be paid to *Rome* at one time, for dispensing with this Canonical affinity of Gossips, as we call it, the same being yet not true but fained. *Item*, dispensing for eating meats in times prohibited.

9. Ninthly, for innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a Proctor, for confirmations of privileges, for transactions made upon special favour of Pope, for permutations of Benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of Pensions, with such like.

10. Tenthly, for Mandats granted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, whereof every Ordinary if he have the collation or presentation often, may receive one Mandat: if he have fifty, he may receive two Mandats: and for every Mandat there comes to the Pope about twenty Ducats. And yet notwithstanding so many are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

11. Eleventhly, for the Popes penitentiary, for absolution of cases reserved to the Pope, for breaking and changing of Vows, for translation from one Monastery to another, also from one order to another, for licence to enter into certain Monasteries, to carry about Altars, with many other things of like device, pertaining to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

12. Twelfthly, for giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not only in publick temples, but also to be bought in private houses, and of private persons, in divers and sundry respects.

13. Thirteenthly, for making Notaries, and Protonotaries, and other offices of the Court of *Rome*.

14. Fourteenthly, for granting out Bulls and Commissions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular Monasteries to a secular state, or for restoring again into the old, and for other infinite rescripts, and writs about matters depending in controversie, that otherwise might and ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

15. Fifteenthly, for giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected. By reason of all which devices (besides the first of the Annates) it hath been accounted out of the Kings Records in *France*, in the time of *Ludovick* the ninth (as testifies *Molinens*) to the number of two hundred thousand Crowns, only out of *France*, payed and transported to *Rome*. Which Sum since that time hath been doubled and trebled, besides Annates and Palls, which altogether are thought to make the total sum, yearly going out of *France* to the Popes Coffers of late years, ten myriads, or millions, every myriad mounting to ten thousand Crowns. Now what hath risen besides in other Realms and Nations, let other Men conjecture. *Summa totalis.*

Wherefore if the Gospel send us to the fruits to know the Tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Church of *Rome*, with these fruits of life? Or if we will seek the Church in length and number of years: where was this Church of *Rome* with these qualities then, at what time the Church of *Rome* was a persecuted Church, not a persecuting Church? And when the Bishops thereof did not make Martyrs, as these do now, but were made Martyrs themselves, to the number of five and twenty, in order one after another? Or when the Bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power or parts taking, not by money or friends making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the People and of the Clergy, with the consent of the Emperour joyned withal, and not by a few conspiring Cardinals, closed up in a corner, as now they be, *&c.*

The Jurisdiction and power of this new Church of *Rome* examined.

AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or else impute to the common fragility of man, and charge them no farther therein than we might charge our selves. Now over and beside this deformity of life, wherein they are clean gone from the former steps of the true Church of *Rome*, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the substantial ground of the Church, as in their jurisdiction presumptuously usurped, in their Title falsly grounded, and in their Doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this later pretended Church of *Rome* hath utterly sequestred it self from the image and nature of the ancient and true Church of *Rome*, and have erected to themselves a new Church of their own making, as first usurping a Jurisdiction never known before to their ancient Predecessors. For although the Church of *Rome* in the old primitive time had his due authority and place due unto that See, among other Patriarchal Churches, over and upon such Churches as were within his Precinct, and bordering near unto it, as appears by the Acts of the *Nicen* Council: yet the universal fulness and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spiritual and temporal, in deposing and dispensing matters of the Church not to him belonging, in taking Appeals, in giving Elections, investing in Benefices, in exempting himself from obedience and subjection of his ordinary power and Magistrate, with his coactive power newly erected in the Church of *Rome*, was never received nor used in the old *Roman* Church, from the which they disagree in all their doings. This new Church of *Rome* in three points challenged.

For although *Victor* then Bishop of *Rome*, *Anno* 200. went about to Excommunicate the East Churches, for the observation of *Easter* day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by *Irenens* so to do. And although *Boniface* the first likewise, writing to the Bishops of *Carthage*, required of them to send up their appellations unto the Church of *Rome*, alledging moreover, the Decree of the *Nicen* Council for his authority: the Bishops and Clergy of *Carthage* assembling together in a General Council, called the sixth Council of *Carthage*) to the number of two hundred and seventeen Bishops, after that they had perused the Decrees in the authentique Copies of the aforesaid *Nicen* Council, and found no such matter by the said *Boniface* alleadged, made therefore a publick Decree, that none out of that Country should make any Appeal over the See, *&c.* And what marvel if Appeals were forbidden them to be made to *Rome*, whenas both here in *England* the Kings of this Land would not permit any to Appeal from them to *Rome*, before King *Henry* the 2d. because of the murther of *Thomas Becket*, being thereunto compelled by Pope *Alexander* the third? And also in *France* the like prohibitions were expreſly made by *Ludovicus Pius*, *Anno* 1268. which did forbid by a publick instrument called *Pragmatica sanctio*, all exactions of the Popes Court within this Realm. Also by King *Philip* named *Le bel*, *Anno* 1296. the like was done, which not only restrained all sending or going up of his Subjects to *Rome*, but also, that no Money, Armour, nor Subsidy should be tranſported out of his Realm. The like also after him did King *Charles* the fifth, firnamed the wise, and his Son likewise after him *Charles* the sixth, who also put in Traytors certain seditious perſons for appealing to *Rome*. The like resistance moreover was in the said Country of *France*, against the Popes reservations, preventions, and other like practices of his usurped Jurisdiction in the days of Pope *Martin* the fifth, *Anno* 1418. *Item*, when King *Henry* the sixth in *England*, and King *Charles* the seventh in *France*, did both accord with the Pope, in investing and in collation of Benefices: yet notwithstanding the High Court of Parliament in *France* did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the *French* Church. Insomuch that when the Duke of *Bedford* came with the Kings Letters Patents to have the Popes procurations and reservations admitted, yet the Court of Parliament would not agree to the same, but the Kings Procurator General was faigne to go betwixt them, as is to be seen in their Registers, *Anno* 1425. the fifth day of *March*. In the days of the which King *Charles* the seventh, was set forth in *France*, *Pragmatica sanctio*, as they call it, against the Annats, reservations, expectatives, and such other proceedings of the Popes pretended Jurisdiction, *Anno* 1438. Wherefore what marvel if this Jurisdiction of the Popes Court in Excommunicating, taking Appeals, and giving of Benefices, was not used in the *Nicen. con. ca.* 6. *Victor* stopped from his Excommunication by *Irenæus*. *Boniface* the first, falsifieth the Council of *Nice*. The sixth Council of *Carthage*. Appellations to *Rome* forbidden in *England*. Appellations to *Rome* forbidden in *France*. *Ex Annals Genebr. Francorum*, ab. 5. ca. 33. The Popes Jurisdiction resisted in *France*.

the old Church of *Rome*, whenas in these later days it hath been so much resisted.

The Popes Jurisdiction concerning elections examined.

And what should I speak of the form and manner of Elections now used in the Church of *Rome*, clean converted from the manner of the old Church of their Predecessors? For if in those ancient days, whenas yet the Church remained in the Apostles only, and a few other Disciples, the Apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers, as by the Apostles, *James* was made Bishop of *Hierusalem*, *Paul* in *Creta* elected *Titus*, and *Timothy* in *Ephesus*. Also *Peter* ordained *Linus* and *Clement* in *Rome*, *&c.* After which time of the Apostles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive Church, till the time, and after the time of *Constantine* the fourth Emperor, which Emperor (as writeth *Platina* and *Sabellicus*, *Ennead.* 8. *lib.* 6.) published a law concerning the election of the *Roman* Bishop, that he should be taken for true Bishop, whom the Clergy and People of *Rome* did choose and elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, or the Deputy of *Italy*: so as the custom and fashion had ever been before that day, *Anno* 280. And here the Bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the Emperors subjection, if it be so as the said *Platina* and *Sabellicus* after him reporteth. But many conjectures there be, not unprobable, rather to think this constitution of *Constantine* to be forged and untrue: First, for that it is taken out of the Popes bibliothecary, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and matter of the Popes library, a suspected author, who whatsoever feigned Writings or Apocrypha he could find in the Popes Chests of Records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both *Platina*, *Sabellicus*, and *Gratianus* take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, *&c.* Plat. in Zozimo. Ennead 8. l. 6. Constantine the fourth Emperor of Constantinople. The Popes bibliothecary suspected. The Constitution of Constantine the fourth Emperor of Constantinople examined.

Secondly, where *Platina* and *Sabellicus* say that *Constantine* moved with the holiness of Pope *Benedict* the first, made that constitution: how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the Emperour was so far off from him, being at *Constantinople*, and also for that the said Pope reigned but ten Months? which was but a small time to make his Holiness known to the Emperor so far off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holiness might rather be an occasion for the Emperor so to confirm and maintain the old received manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said *Benedict*, was broken in the election of Pope *Comon*. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the People, and limited to the Clergy only, and muchlefs might be taken away from the Clergy, and be limited only to the Cardinals, without the consent of their Prince and Ruler, according to their own Rubric in their Decrees, where the Rubric saith: *De ordinatione Episcopi: Nullus invitis detur Episcopus; cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur, &c.* That is: Let no Bishop be given to any People against their wills: but let the consent and desire both of the Clergy and of the People, and of the order, be also required, *&c.* And in the same distinction also, *cap. Sacrorum*, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by *Carolus magnus*, and *Ludovicus* his Son, not to a few Cardinals only, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to choose not only the Bishop of *Rome*, but any other Bishop within their own Diocess whatsoever, and to the Monks likewise to choose their own Abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, only for the worthiness of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for Doctrine and Example unto the Flock, *&c.* And this continued till the time of the aforesaid *Carolus magnus* and *Ludovicus* his Son, *Anno* 810. of the which two, *Carolus* the father, received expreſly of Pope *Adrian* the first, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordain the Bishop of *Rome*, like as Pope *Leo* the ninth did also to *Otho* the first *German* Emperor, *Anno* 961. The other, that is *Ludovicus*, Son to the aforesaid *Charles*, is said to renounce again, and surrender from himself and his successors, unto Pope *Paschalis* and the *Romans*, the right and intereſt of chooſing the *Roman* Bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said *Paschalis* the full possession of the City of *Rome*, and the whole Territory to the same belonging, *Anno* 821. as appeareth by the Decree, *Ego Ludovicus, Dist.* 63. But admit that fained Decree to be unfeignedly true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain, with the constitution of *Constantine* aforementioned, that is, from the master of the Popes Library, of whom both *Gratianus* and *Volateran*, by their own confession, take their ground) yet the same Decree doth not so give away the freedom of that election, that he limiteth it only to the Cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the *Romans*: neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition: so that, *Omnes Romani uno consilio, & una concordia, sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatum ordinem eligerent*: that is, Whom as all the *Romans* with one Counsel, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall chooſe to be Bishop of *Rome*. And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the confecration of the same Bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the *French* King, concerning the same. The Decree, *Ego Ludovicus, Dist.* 63. causes. Platina Sab. Ennead 8. l. 6. Gratianus and Volateran, what ground they have of their records. *Dist.* 63. *cap. Ego Ludovicus.* Election of the Bishop of *Rome* confirmed upon the consent of the Clergy, and the people of *Rome*.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same Decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope *Stephen* the fourth, and Pope *Paschalis* the first, in *Ludovicus* time were impapshed through discord, without election of the Emperor, yet they were faine by meſſage to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of *Eugenius* the second, which succeeded next to *Paschalis*, *Lotharius* son of *Ludovicus*, and Emperor with his father, came to *Rome*, and there appointed Laws and Magistrates over the City. Whereby may appear the donation of *Ludovike*, in giving away the City of *Rome* to the Pope, to be feigned. And after *Eugenius*, Pope *Gregory* the fourth, who following within a year after *Eugenius*, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the paid Emperour *Ludovicus*. And so in like manner his succeſors, Pope *Sergius* the second, Pope *Leo* the fourth, Pope *Nicholas* the first, and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the aforesaid *Nicholas* the first, to Pope *Nicholas* the second, *Anno* 1061. (which *Nicholas* in his decree, beginning, *In nomine Domini, dist.* 23. ordained alſo the same) to that in the election of the Bishops of *Rome*, commonly the consent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome was not lacking. After which *Nicholas* came *Alexander* the second, and wicked *Hildebrand*, which *Alexander* being first elected without the Emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the People, declared that he would no longer sit in the Apostolical See, unleſs he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and caſt into Priſon by *Hildebrand*, and so depoſed. Then *Hildebrand* and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the Emperour, then the Lay People, after that, the Clergy alſo began to be excluded. And so of the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few Cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where ever since it hath remained. The decree, *Ego Ludovicus, Dist.* 63. proved false. *Dist.* 23. *cap. In nomine Domini.*

And like as in elections, so alſo in power judiciary, in deciding, and determining of cauſes of faith, and of Ecclesiastical discipline, the state of the Church of *Rome* now being, hath no conformity with the old *Roman* Church heretofore. For then Bishops debated all cauſes of faith only by the Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical discipline they determined by the Canons, not of the Pope, but of the Church, such as were decreed by the Ancient Councils, as writeth *Gregor. Turonensis in Francorum historia*. Whereas now both the rule of Scripture, and sanctions of the old Councils for alſo all things for the moſt part are decided by certain new Decretal, or rather, Extradecretal and extravagant constitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Conſistories practiſed. The Judiciary power of the Pope examined. *G. Turonens. de 4 Franc. hiſt. Ecclesiast. lib.* 10. The Popes Jurisdiction usurped in giving and diſposing ecclesiastical promotions

And whereas the old ordinance and diſpoſition, as well of the Common Law, as of the sacred Councils and Initiation of Ancient Fathers, have given to Bishops, and other Prelates, alſo to Patrons and Doctors of Ecclesiastical Benefices, every one within his own Precinct and Dominion,

Ricon. ca. 6. Victor stopped from his Excommunication by Irenæus. Boniface the first, falsifieth the Council of Nice. The sixth Council of Carthage. Appellations to Rome forbidden in England. Appellations to Rome forbidden in France. Ex Annals Genebr. Francorum, ab. 5. ca. 33. The Popes Jurisdiction resisted in France. Rubrica de ordinatione ejus ex Concilio Agathine Can. Dift. 63. Can. Clerici. & Can. Sacrorum Liberty granted to the Clergy, and to the People to choose their Bishop Carol. Mag. Ludov. pius Pragmatica sanctio.

also to Cathedral Churches and other, to have their free Elections, and to prosecute the same in full effect, ordering and disposing promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of Prelacies, Dignities, and all other Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever, after their own arbitrement, as appeareth by the first General Council of *France*, 16. *q.* 7. *cap. Omnes Basilicæ*, by the first General Council of *Nice*, *cap.* 6. Also by the General Council of *Antioch*, *cap.* 9. and is to be seen in the Popes Decrees, 9. *q.* 3. *Per singulas*. And likewise behide these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed again in more later years by *Ludovicus* the ninth *French* King, in his constitution, called *Pragmatica sanctio*, made and provided by full Parliament against the Popes Exactions, in the year of our Lord 1228. in these words as follow. *Item exactiones & onera grauissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Ecclesiæ regni nostri imposita vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) sive etiam imponendas vel imponenda levari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi dumtaxat pro rationabili, pia & urgentissima causa, vel inevitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, & spontaneo jussu nostro, & ipsius Ecclesiæ regni nostri*, &c. that is, *Item*, all Exactions and importable burdens of money, which the Court of *Rome* hath laid upon the Church of our Kingdom (whereby our said Kingdom hath been miserably hitherto impoverished) or hereafter shall impose or lay upon us, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter for any manner of cause, unless there come some reasonable, godly, and most urgent and inevitable necessity; and that also not to be done without the express and voluntary commandment of us, and of the Church of the same our foresaid Kingdom, &c. Now contrary to and against these so manifest and express Decrements of General Councils, and Constitutions Synodal, this later Church of *Rome* of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their elders, have taken upon them a singular Jurisdiction by themselves, and for their own advantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing Churches, Colleges, Monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, election, goods and lands to the same belonging, by reason and example whereof have come in these Impropriations, first fruits, and relevations of Benefices, to the miserable dispoiling of Parishes, and horrible decay of Christian Religion, which things among the old *Roman* elders were never known. For so much then did it lack, that due necessities were pluckt from the Church, that Emperours, Kings and Princes plucking from their own, did rather cumulate the Church with superfluities.

16. *q.* 7. *cap. Omnes Basilicæ.* The Council of Nice, ca. 6. The general Council of Antioch. ca. 9. 9. *q.* 3. *cap. Per singulas.* Pragmatica sanctio, *fancti. Ludovici.*

Impropriation and first fruits of Benefices

Again, when such goods were given the Church by those Ancestors, they were neither so given, nor yet taken to serve the private use of certain Churchmen taking no pains therein, but rather to serve the publick subvention of the needy, as is contained in the Canonical Institutions by the Emperour *Ludovicus Pius*, set forth in the year of the Lord, 380. The words be these: *Res Ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum*: that is, The goods of the Church be the vows and bequests of the faithful, prices to ransom such as be in captivity or prison, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitality that be needy.

Institutiones canonicæ lib. 1. cap. 80.

The words of Prosper.

Whereunto agreeth also the testimony of *Prosper*, whose words be these: *Vera sanctos Ecclesiæ res non vendicasse ut proprias, sed ut commendatas pauperibus divisisse*: that is, good men took the goods of the Church, not as their own, but distributed them as given and bequeathed to the poor. And saith moreover: *Quod habet Ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune*: that is, Whatsoever the Church hath, it hath it common with all such as have nothing, &c.

Aug. ad Bonif.

Add the worthy testimony of *S. Augustine* to *Bonifacius*. *Si autem privatim, quæ nobis sufficiant possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procurationem quadammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnabili vendicamus*, &c.

Vowsons & pluralities of benefices.

Likewise Vowsons and pluralities of Benefices were things then as much unknown, as now they are pernitious to the Church, taking away all free election of Ministers from the flock of Christ.

three points wherein the Popes Church erreth in his Jurisdiction

All which inconveniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this later Church of *Rome*: so it cannot be denied, but the said later Church of *Rome* hath taken and attributed to it self much more than either the limits of Gods Word do give, or standeth with the example of the old *Roman* Church, in these three things especial. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

I. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction fully reformed and appropriate to the Church of *Rome*, which ought to be generally equal to all Churches Christian.

The first is this, that whatsoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole Church universally, or to every particular Church severally, this Church now of *Rome* doth arrogate to it self absolutely and only, both doing injury to other Churches, and also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit, the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the City of *Rome* only, more than to other Cities, nor to the See of *Peter*, more than to other Apostles, but giveth it clearly to the Church, whereof *Peter* did bear the figure, so that whereseever the true Church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken meerly as from Christ, and not mediately by the Pope or Bishop of *Peter*'s See.

2. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction diminished and extended in the Church of *Rome* further than the Word limiteth.

The 2d point wherein this present Church of *Rome* abuseth his Jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old *Roman* Church, is this, for that it extendeth his authority further and more amply, than either the warrant of the Word, or example of time will give. For although the Church of *Rome* hath (as other particular Churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it hath no such authority to absolve Subjects from their Oath, Subjection and Loyalty to their Rulers and Magistrates, to dispense with perjury, to denounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before, to number remission by days and years, to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restrain that which the word maketh free, to divide Religion into Religious, to bind and burthen Consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breaking of Parks, for not ringing of Bells at the Bishops coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the Church goods, for holding on their Princes side in princely cases, for not going at the Popes commandment, for not agreeing to the Popes Election in another Princes Realm, with other such things more and more vain than these, &c. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the Bishop and Church of *Rome*, to minister Sacraments: yet it giveth no authority to make Sacraments, much less to worship Sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen Bells: neither have they authority by any Word of God to add to the Word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten veritties under pain of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to institute strange worship, otherwise than he hath prescribed which hath told us how he would be worshipped, &c.

Dist 37. ca 1.

Plin. in vita Espr. 2. Evidences proving Ecclesiastical persons to have been subject to their Magistrates in causes both Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

Evidences out of the Scripture. *Exod.* 1 *Par.* c. 30. 31. *Ezechias.* 4 *Reg.* 8.

Christening of Bells.

The order of *Abias* won the 8th order among the Priests. 1 *Par.* 24.

Salomon.

The third abuse of the Popes Jurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spiritual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermedled themselves in temporal Jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do. Insomuch that they have translated their Empire, they have deposed Emperors, Kings, Prince., Rulers, and Senators of *Rome*, and set up other, or the same again at their pleasure, they have proclaimed Wars, and have warred themselves. And whereas Emperours in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, and they receiving their confirmation by the Emperours, have like ingrateful Clients to such Benefactors, afterward stampt upon their Necks, have made them to hold their Stirrop, some to hold the Bridle of their Horse, have caused them to seek their Confirmation at their hand; yea, have been Emperours themselves, *Sede vacante*, & *in discordia electionis*, and also have been Senators of the City; moreover, have extorted into their own hands the plenary fulness of power and jurisdiction of both the Swords; especially since the time of Pope *Hildebrand*; which *Hildebrand* deposing *Henry* the 4th Emperor, made him give attendance at his City gate. And after him Pope *Boniface* the 8th. shewed himself to the People on the 1st day like a Bishop, with his keyes before him, and the next day in his Robes Imperial, having a naked sword born before him, like an Emperor, in the year of our Lord 1298. And for so much as this inordinate jurisdiction hath not only been used of them, but also to this day is maintained in *Rome*; let us therefore now compare for

3. The Jurisdiction of the Pope abused and usurped in temporal matters where he has nothing to do.

usage

usage hereof to the old manner in times past, meaning the Primitive and first age of the Church of the *Romans*. Wherein the old Bishops of *Rome* in those days, as they were then subject to their Emperor, so were other Bishops in like manner of other Nations subject every one to his King and Prince, acknowledging them for their Lords, and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their Laws, and that not only in causes Civil, but also in regiment Ecclesiastical, as appeareth, *Dist.* 10. *cap.* 1. & 2. *Dist.* 97. *cap. De illicita.*

Popes submitted in the old time to Emperors. *Ex cap. de juramento calumniæ.*

Also, 24. *q.* 3. So was *Gregorius*, surnamed *Magnus*, subject to *Mauricius*, and to *Phocas*, although a wicked Emperor. So also both Pope and People of *Rome* took their Laws of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, and were submitted to them, not only in the time of *Honorius* an hundred years after *Constantine* the great, but also in the time of *Martianus*, *Anno* 451. and so further unto the time of *Justinian* and of *Carolus Magnus*, and also after the days of them. In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the Imperial Law of *Martian* did rule and bind in *Rome*, both in the days of *Justinian*, and 150 years after, till the time of the Empire being translated from *Greece* unto *France*. Whereby it may appear false, that the City of *Rome* was given by *Constantine* the first, unto the Bishop of *Rome* to govern: for that Pope *Boniface* the first, writing to the Emperor *Honorius*, calleth in the same place *Rome* the Emperors City, *Dist.* 97. *cap.* 1. And *Lotharius* also Emperor, appointed Magistrates and Laws in *Rome*, as is above mentioned. Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the Bishop of *Rome*, and all other Ecclesiastical persons were in former time, and ought to be subject to their Emperors and lawful Magistrates, in causes as well Spiritual as Civil, by many evidences may appear, taken out both of Gods Law and mans law. And first by Gods Law, we have example of godly King *David*, who numbred all the Priests and *Levites*, and disposed them into four and twenty orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the Ministry, every one in his proper order and turn, as came about: which Institution of the Clergy also, good King *Ezechias* afterward renewed, of whom it is written: *He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high groves, and brake down Images*, &c. 4 *Reg.* 8. The said *Ezechias* also reduced the Priests and *Levites* unto their orders prescribed by *David* before, to serve every one in his office of ministration: 2 *Paralip.* 30. 31. And this order from *David* still continued till the time of *Zachary*, at the coming of Christ our Lord, being of *Abias* course, which was the eighth order of the Priests appointed to serve in the Tabernacle, *Luke* 1. To pass over other lighter offices as translated from the Priests to Kings authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the Temple, and reparations of the Lords House, King *Solomon* displaced *Abiathar* the High-Priest by his Kingly Power, and placed *Sadoch* in his stead: 3 *Reg. cap.* 6. Also dedicating the Temple of the Lord with all the People, *blessed the whole Congregation of Israel*, 3 *Reg.* 8. *Judas Machabeus* also elected Priests, such as being without spot, had a zeal to the Law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before prophaned, 1 *Macc.* 4.

Judas Machabeus.

1 *Mac.* 10. 2 *Mac.* 14. *Josephus.*

Also King *Alexander* writing to *Jonathas*, appointed him chief Priest in his Country, 1 *Mac.* 10. *Demetrius* ordained *Simon* and *Alcimus* in the like office of Priesthood. *Josaphat* likewise as in the whole Land did set Judges: so also in *Jerusalem* he appointed Levites and Priests, and Heads of Families to have the hearing of causes, and to minister judgment over the People: 2 *Paral.* 19. By these and many other is to be seen, that Kings and Princes in the old time, as well when Priests were born Priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in Ecclesiastical matters, as in calling the People to Gods service, in cutting down groves, in destroying Images, in gathering Tithes into the Lords House, in dedicating the Temple, in blessing the People, in casting down the brazen Serpent within the Temple, in correcting and deposing Priests, in constituting the order and offices of Priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the service and worship of God, and in punishing the contrary, &c. And in the New Testament, what meaneth the example of Christ himself, both giving and teaching Tribute to be given to *Cesar*? to *Cesar* I say, and not to the High-Priest. What meaneth his words to *Pilate*, not denying power to be given to him from above?

2 Par. 19.

John 19.

And again, declaring the Kings of Nations to have dominion over them, and willing his Disciples not so to do, giving us to understand the difference between the regiment of his spiritual Kingdom, and of the Kingdoms of this World, willing all worldly states to be subject under the superior Rulers and Magistrates, in whose regiment is dominion and subjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, where it is written: *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers*, under whose obedience, neither Pope, Cardinal, Patriarch, Bishop, Priest, Friar nor Monk is excepted nor exempted: as *Theophylactus* expounding the same place declareth and saith, *Universos erudit, sive Sacerdos sit ille, sive Monachus, sive Apostolus, ut se principibus subdant*: that is, He teacheth all sorts, whether he be Priest, or Monk, or else Apostle, that they should submit themselves under their Princes, &c. And S. *Augustine* writing *ad Bonifacium* saith in much like sort: *Quicunque autem legibus imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grandes supplicium*: that is, Whosoever refuseth to obey the Laws of the Emperor, which make for the verity of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment, &c. Also in another place, writing *contra Cresconium*, hath these words, *In hoc enim reges, sicut ea divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinum religionem*, &c. that is, Kings according as it is enjoyned them of God, do serve God in that they are Kings, if they in their Kingdoms command those things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, such as appertain not only to human society, but also to Gods Religion, &c. And yet to come more near to the Popes own Doctors, *Thomas Aquine* not much discrepant from the injunction of the Apostle above alledged, thus describeth the office of a King, *Hoc, inquit, officium Rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, & sicut Deus in mundo*, &c. Let a King (saith he) understand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the soul within the body, and as God in the World. In like agreement with the holy Apostle St. *Paul*, joyneth also St. *Peter*: *Be you subject* (saith he) *to every humane creature, whether it be to the King as most preeminent, or to other set over you*, &c. Where the common glose addeth thereto, *To obey the same, whether they be good or evil*. These places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperor, in usurping above the jurisdiction of his lawful Prince and Magistrate, notwithstanding whatsoever his own Canon Law saith to the contrary.

Aug. ad Bonif. 23. q. 5. c. 1.

Thom. de Reg. Princip. lib. 1. c. 12.

1 Peter 2.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto proved by Gods Law, that all Ecclesiastical persons owe their due subjection to their lawful Princes, in matters as well temporal as spiritual: so no less evidences may also be inferred out of mans Law, and examples of the oldest Fathers to prove the same. And first to begin with the example of *Gregory* the great, who in his Epistle to *Mauritius* writeth thus, *Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non erat: ecce per me servorum ultimum suum & vestrum vos Mauricii, pondebit Christus*, &c. that is, You were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of the whole Empire: behold Christ himself shall make you answer by me, which am his most simple servant and yours, &c. And before him *Eleutherus* his Predecessor, Bishop of *Rome*, writing to *Lucius*, King of this Realm, calleth him by the name of Christs Vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the Popes Decrees and Canons be full of Records hereof, testifying how the ancient Church of *Rome*, not only received, but also required of the Emperors, Laws and Constitutions to be made, touching not only such causes, but also such persons as were Ecclesiastical? And here to omit by the way the chapter, *Principes seculi*, also Chapter *Administratores*, 23. *quæst.* 5. with divers other behide, I will recite out of the Epistle of *Boniface* the first, to the Emperor *Honorius*, so much as serveth for our purpose, written *Dist. cap.* 92 *Ecclesiæ*, *cap. Victor.* Where it is mentioned, that the said *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Rome*, sent an humble supplication to the forenamed Emperor, desiring him by his authority, to provide some remedy

The Pope calleth King Lucius Christs Vicar.

23. q. 5. c. 5. *principes cap Administratores.*

Dist. 97. cap. Ecclesiæ, ca. Victor.

remedy against the ambitious contentions of the Clergy, concerning the Bishoprick of *Rome*. Which Emperour *Honorius* incontinent at his request, directed and established a Law, that none should be made Bishop of *Rome* through ambition, charging all Ecclesiastical Ministers to forceare from ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another to be chosen by a full consent of voices, as is expressed, *Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.*

To this I adjoyn also the Law and Constitution of *Justinian* the Emperour, ratified and renewed afterward in the Council of *Paris*, in time of King *Ludovicus Pius*. Where all Bishops and Priests be expressly forbidden not to Excommunicate any man, before his cause was known and proved to be such, as for the which the ancient Canons of the Church would have him to be Excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrary to the same, then the Excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of an higher decree, and the Excommunicate to be sequestred from the Communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed, *24. q. 3. De illicita.* The same *Justinian* moreover in his Laws and Constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordain in Church-matters, as he that would have to be a determinate number of Church-men or Clerks in Churches, *Const. 2.* Also concerning Monasteries and Monks, *Const. 5.* how Bishops and Priests should be ordained, *Const. 6.* concerning removing of Ecclesiastical persons from one Church to another. Also concerning the constitution of the Churches in *Africk*. And that the holy mysteries should not be done in private houses: so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be deprived, *Const. 57.* Moreover, concerning Clerks leaving their Churches, *Const. 58.* Also concerning the order and manner of Funerals, *Const. 59.* And that Bishops should not keep from their Flock, *Const. 67.* The same *Justinian* granted to the Clergy of *Constantinople* the priviledge of the secular Court, in cases only civil, and such as touched not the disturbance of the Bishop: otherwise in all criminal Causes he left them to the judgment of the secular Court, *Const. 83.* He giveth also Laws and Decrees for breach of Matrimony, *Const. 117.* and in divers others places. And in his *Const. 123.* after the Doctrine of S. *Paul*, he commandeth all Bishops and Priests to found out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also be understood of the faithful people, what was said and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that Divine Prayers and Service then, was in the vulgar Tongue.

And as the said *Justinian*, and other Emperors in those days had the Jurisdiction and Government over spiritual matters and persons, the like examples also may be brought of other Kings in other Lands, who had no less authority in their Realms, than Emperours had in their Empire. As in *France*, *Clodoveus* the first christened King at *Orleance*, caused a Council of thirty three Bishops, where thirty three Canons were instituted concerning the government of the Church, within two hundred years after Christ: *Ex primo tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus*, beside his other Laws and Edicts political, called five Synods, one at *Meuntz*, the second at *Rome*, the third at *Rhemes*, the fourth at *Cabilone*, the fifth at *Arelate*, where sundry Rites and Ordinances were given to the Clergy, about eight hundred and ten years after Christ. The same *Carolus* also decreed, that only the Canonical books of Scripture should be read in the Church, and none other. Which before also was decreed *Anno 417.* in the third general Council of *Carthage*. *Item*, he exhorteth and chargeth Bishops and Priests to Preach the Word, with a godly Injunction: *Episcopi vero ut sive per se, sive per vicarios, populum verbis divini sedulo populis annuncient. Quia, ut ait beatus* Gregorius, *iram contra se occulti judicis excitat sacerdos, si sine prædicationis sonitu incedit. Et ut ipsi clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate & castitate nutriant. Superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent*: that is, The Bishops either by themselves, or their Deputies, shall shew forth the food of Gods Word to the people with all diligence. For as *Gregory* saith, the Priest procureth against him the wrath of the secret Judge, which goeth without the sound of preaching. And also that they bring up their Clergy to them committed, in sobernesse and chastity. The superstition which in certain places is used of some, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck up by the roots, &c.

Moreover, instructing and informing the said Bishops and Priests in the office of preaching, willing them not to suffer any to fain or preach to the people any new Doctrine of their own invention, and not agreeing to the Word of God, but that they themselves both will preach such things as lead to eternal life, and also that they set up other to do the same: and joyneth withal a godly exhortation. *Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde præparemus nos in scientia veritatis, & mox: Ut divina domante gratia verbum Dei currat & crescat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Ecclesiæ Dei sanctæ, & salutem animarum nostrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Amen.* Furthermore, the said *Carolus* in his Constitutions divideth the goods given to the Church so, that in the more wealthy places, two parts should go to the use of the poor, the third to the stipend of the Clergy. Otherwise in poorer places an equal division to be made between the poverty and the Clergy, unless the gift had some special exception. *Ex Anselmo, lib. 1. cap. 80.* And in the same book a little after, *cap. 82.* the Author declareth, by the said *Carolus* to be decreed, that no Ecclesiastical person or persons from thenceforth should presume to take of any person, any such gift or donation, whereby the Children or Kinsfolks of the said Donor should be defeated of their Inheritance duly to them belonging. *Ludovicus Pius*, King of *France*, and after Emperour, was Son to the foresaid *Charles*, who being joyned together with the said *Charles* his father in the Empire, ordained also with his father sundry Acts and Observances touching the government of the Church, as in the Author before alledged may appear. As first, that no entry should be made into the Church by Simony: again, that Bishops should be ordained by the free election of the Clergy and of the people, without all respect of person or reward, only for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly Wisdom.

Also the said Kings and Emperours forbad that any freeman or Citizen should enter the profession of Monkery, without licence asked of the King before: and added a double cause wherefore. First, for that many not for meer devotion, but for idleness and avoiding the Kings Wars, do give themselves to Religion: again, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtil covetous persons seeking to get from that which they have, *Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Item*, that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any Profession without the will of their Parents. And no young Maidens should take the vail or profession of a Nun, before he came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and choose what they will follow. That none should be entered or buried thenceforth within the Church: which also was decreed by *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus*, forty years before them. *Item*, the said *Carolus*, two and twenty years before this Emperour, enacted that Murtherers and such as were guilty of death by the Law, should have no sanctuary by flying into the Church, &c. which also was decreed by *Justinian* three hundred years before this *Carolus*. *Ex novel. Justinian.*

Moreover, the aforesaid *Ludovicus Pius*, with his Son *Clotharius* (or as some call him, *Lotharius*) joyned with him, among other Ecclesiastical Sanctions, ordained a godly Law, for Lay-men to communicate the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord in these words: *Ut si non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi forte gravioribus quibusdam criminibus impediantur*: That Lay-men do communicate at least thrice, if not oftener, except they be let perscribe by some more haynous and grievous offences. *Anselm. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item*, they enacted that no goods of the Church should be alienated under the pain *Leoninæ constitutionis*. Unto this *Lotharius*, French King and Emperour, Pope *Leo* the fourth writeth that *Romana lex*, that is, the *Roman* Law, (meaning the Law of the *French* Emperours) as it hath hitherto stood in force: *Ita & nunc suum robur propriumque vigorem obtinet*, that is, So now it may continue till in its vigour and strength. *Ino Carnotensis, lib. 11. Decretorum.* About the year of the Lord, 848, after this *Lotharius*, succeeded his Son *Ludovicus* the second, in the Kingdom and Empire of *France*, before

Superstition at funerals forbidden. *Ex Anselmo abbate lib. 1. cap. 78.*

Ludovicus Pius.

Ex Anselm. lib. 3. cap. 80.

Clodoveus.

Constitution Aurelien. Carolus magnus.

Canonical Scripture only to be read in Church. *Carolus 4. 3. c. 47.*

Bishops and Priests charged to preach with diligence.

Lib. 2. Capitularium Reip. Justin. in Novel.

Ludovicus and Clotharius.

The office of the Ecclesiastical Minister.

before whom the foresaid Pope *Leo* was brought into judgment, and pleaded his cause of Treason, and there was before the Emperour quit and released. Which declareth that Popes and Bishops all this while were in subjection under their Kings and Emperours.

The Pope pleadeth his cause at the Bar before the Emperor. 9 quæst. 3. c. 16. Hoc si inconsiderater. Ludovicus 9.

Moreover, descending yet to lower times. *Anno 1228. Ludovicus* the Ninth, called holy *Ludovike*, made a Law against the pestiferous Simony in the Church; also for the maintenance of the liberty of the Church of *France*, established a Law or Decree, against the new Inventions, Reservations, Preventions, and Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, called *Pragmatica sanctio, S. Ludovici*, which Sanction was also practised long after in the Kingdom of *France* against the Popes Collectors and under-Collectors, as appeareth by the *Arestum* of the Council of *Paris, Anno 1463. Ex Molineo in Commentariis.* Furthermore, King *Philip le Bel. 1303.* set forth a Law, called *Philippina*, wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tythes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections to be put upon the Church of *France*. *Carolus* the fifth, named *Sapiens. Anno 1369*, by a Law, commanded that no Bishops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his Kingdom of *France*, should execute any censure of suspense, or Excommunication, at the Popes commandment, over or upon the Cities or Towns, Corporations, or Commons of his Realm. *Ex regist. antiquarum constat chart. 26. Item Carolus* the sixth, *Anno 1388.* against the Cardinals and other Officials, and Collectors of the Pope, revoking again the power which he had given to them before, provided by a Law, that the fruits and rents of Benefices, with other pensions, and Bishops goods that departed, should no more be exported by the Cardinals and the Popes collectors unto *Rome*, but should be brought to the King, and so restored to them to whom they did rightly appertain.

Frequentia familiæ S. Ludovici. Arestum Senatus Parisiensis, ex Molineo. Philippus Pulcher.

Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus 6.

The like also may be inferred and proved by the stories and examples of our Kings here in *England*, as King *Offa*, King *Egbertus*, *Edgarus*, *Alueredus*, *Athelwoldus*, *Canutus*, *Edwardus*, *William the Conquerer*, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second, till the time of King *John* and after. Whose dealing as well in Ecclesiastical cases as Temporal, is a sufficient demonstration to prove what injury the Popes in these latter days have done unto the Emperours, their lawful Governors and Magistrates: in usurping such fulness of power and jurisdiction over them, to whom properly they owe subjection, contrary to the steps and example of the old *Roman* Bishops their Ancestors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a *Premunire*, worthy to be deprived, Although it is not to be denied, but that Ecclesiastical Ministers and Servitors have their power also committed unto them, after their fort, of the Lord: yet it becometh every man to know his own place and standing, and there to keep him, wherein his own precinct doth pale him, and not rashly to break out into other mens walks. As it is not lawful for a civil Magistrate to intermeddle with a Bishops or a Preachers Function: so unseemly and unorderly it is again, that *Boniface* the eighth should have born before him the temporal Mace and naked Sword of the Emperour: or that any Pope should bear a triple Crown, or false upon him like a Lord and King. Wherefore let every man consider the compass and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a Bishop or servitor Ecclesiastical, was in the old Law to offer sacrifice, to burn incense, to pray for the people, to expound the Law, to minister in the Tabernacle, with which office it was not lawful for any Priest or man else to intermeddle: as we read how *Josias* was punished for offering incense, and another for touching the Ark: so now the office of Christian Ministers, is, to preach the Word, to minister the Sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose, where cause urgently requireth, to judge the spiritual cases, to publish and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ, to erect and comfort troubled Consciences, with the rich grace of the Gospel, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Son of God: to admonish also the Magistrates erring or transgressing in their office, &c.

The office of civil Rulers and Magistrates.

And as these properly belong to the Function of the Ecclesiastical sort: so hath the civil Governor or Magistrate again his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of justice and judgment, to defend with power the right of the weak that suffer wrong, to defend from oppression the poor oppressed, to minister with equity that which is right and equal to every man, to provide Laws good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moveth: especially to see the Law of God maintained, to promote Christs Glory and Gospel, in setting up and sending out good Preachers, in maintaining the same, in providing Bishops to be elected that be faithful, in removing or else correcting the same being faulty or negligent, in congregating the Clergy, when need is of any counsel or election, to hear their learning in causes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to direct his judgment in disposing such Rites and Ordinances for the Church, as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof: in conserving the discipline of the Church, and setting all things in a congruous order. Briefly, the office of the civil Ruler and Magistrate, extendeth to minister justice and judgment in all Courts, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal: to have correction over all Transgressors, whether they be Lay-men or persons Ecclesiastical. And finally, all such things as belong to the moving of the Sword whatsoever, that is to say, all outward punishment is referred to the jurisdiction of the secular Magistrate, under whose subjection the Ordinance of God hath subjected all Orders and States of men.

Here we have the witness also of *Hormisda*, Bishop of *Rome*, which being well weighed, maketh the matter plain, that Princes have to deal in spiritual causes also, not only in temporal: where the said *Hormisda* writeth to *Epiphanius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople* in this fort: *Clara cœlestis misericordiæ demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide cum gubernatione politæ conjunguntur. &c. ex Act. v. univers. concil. Constantini secundi. Anno 528.* And thus much and too much peradventure concerning the matter of jurisdiction, in which point this new Church of *Rome* hath swerved from the ancient Church of *Rome* which was, as is sufficiently proved.

The third point wherein the Church of *Rome* hath broken, and is departed from the Church of *Rome*, is the form of stile and title annexed to the Bishop of that See. As where he is called Pope, most holy Father, Vicar general, and Vicar of Christ, successor of *Peter*, universal Bishop, Prince of Priests, Head of the Church universal. *Summus orbis Pontifex, Stupor mundi*, head Bishop of the World, the admiration of the World, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, &c. for all these terms be given him in Popish books. Albeit the name Pope, being a Greek name, derived of πάππας, which soundeth as much as Father in the *Syracusane* Speech, may peradventure seem more tolerable, as which hath been used in the old time among Bishops; for so *Austin* was called of the Council of *Aphrick*, *Hierome* of *Boniface* and others. Also *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* was called *Papa 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur 24. q. 3. cap. dist. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodoveus* or (as *Rhe-Dist. 50. cap. nanus* calleth him) *Ludovicus*, first Christian King of *France*, calleth a certain simpler Bishop, *Papam. Hieronymus* also in his Epistle to *Chromatius*, calleth *Valerianus* by the name of Pope: and likewise writing to *Eustathius* and *Fabiola*, he calleth *Epiphanius*, *Beatum Papam*. In the Apologies of *Athanasius*, we read oftentimes that he was called *Papa*, and *Archiepiscopus*. *Ruffinus* also *lib. 2. cap. 26.* called him *Pontificem maximum*. Also *Aurelius* Prefident in the sixth Council of *Carthage*, was called of the said Council *Papa, ex cap. 4. 17. Concil. Carthag.* And before this, *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to King *Lucius*, the first Christian King in this Land, calleth him in his Epistle, the Vicar of Christ, &c. But that any of these terms were so peculiarly applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, that other Bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one Bishop above the rest had the name of Oecumenical, or universal, or head, to the derogation of other Bishops, or with such glory as is now annexed to the same: that is not to be found neither in Histories of the old time, nor in any example of the Primitive Church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approved Doctors. First, before the Council of *Nice*, it is evident by Pope *Pius* the second, that there was no respect had to the Church of *Rome*, but every Church then was ruled by her own governance, till the year of our Lord, 340. Then followed the Council of *Nice*, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole University of Christs

The third point wherein the Church of Rome is altered from the Church of Rome. The titles and stiles of the Bishop of Rome.

Ex Epist. Pii secundi. 109.

Leo Papa. Lugivrar. Papa a common name to all Bishops of higher knowledge and vertue. Hieron. ad Chromat. Eleut. in Decretal. Fabianus.

Christs Church, which was now far spread over all the world, certain Provinces or Precincts, to the number of four, were appointed, every one to have his head Church, and chief Bishop, called them Metropolitan or Patriarch, to have the overlight of such Churches as did lie about him. In the number of which Patriarchs or Metropolitans, the Bishop of *Rome* had the first place, the Bishop of *Alexandria* was the second, the Bishop of *Antioch* the third, the Bishop of *Hierusalem* was the fourth Patriarch. Afterward, in the number of these Patriarchs came in also the Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of the Bishop of *Antioch*. So these four or five Metropolitans or Patriarchs, had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them should not deal within an others precinct, and also that there should be among them equality of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrees of the old counsels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἔχειν τοὺς ἴσους, that is, Equal degree of Thrones, and of honour among Priests and Ministers. Again, speaking of the said Patriarchs or Primats, we read in the second and third chapter of the Council of *Constantinople*, ὑποτάσσειν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τοῖς κατὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη ὁροις, that is, That Bishops should not invade the Dioceese of other Bishops without their borders, nor confound together Churches, &c. Moreover, the old Doctors for the most and best part, do accord in one sentence, that all Bishops placed wheresoever in the Church of God, be *Ejusdem meriti & honoris & successores Apostolorum*, that is, To be of one merit, of like honour, and all to be successors together of the Apostles. Also he that is the Author of the Book called *Dionysius Areopagita*, calleth all the Bishops ἰσοτίμους καὶ ἰσοψήφους, that is, Of equal order, and of like honour, &c. All this while the Bishop of *Rome* was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitan or Bishop called of the first See, but no Oecumenical Bishop, nor head of the universal Church, nor any such matter. In so much, that he, with all other Bishops, was debarred from that, by a plain decree of the Council of *Carthage*, *Can.* 39. in their words, ἵνα τὸν πρώτον τῶν ἐπισκόπων μὴ λέγωσιν ἐξίστορον τῆς ἰδίας θρησκείας ἢ δικαίου τινὸς ἢ πάντων τὸ σύνολον that is, That the Bishop of the first Seat shall not be called the Prince of Priests, or the High Priest, or any such thing,

And left any here should take occation of cavelling, to hear him called Bishop of the first Seat, here is to be expounded what is meant by the first Seat, and wherefore he was so called: not for any dignity of the person, either of him which succeedeth, or of him whom he is said to succeed, but only of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainly proved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, *can.* 28. Wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the See of *Rome* among all other Patriarchal Sees is numbred for the first See by the ancient Fathers: For why, saith the Council, διὰ τὸ θρόνον τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης· διὰ τὸ βασιλεύσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην· ἔφασαν οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀπολελογῆσθαι τὴν πρεσβεῖαν τῇ θρόνῳ ταύτῃ· that is, For that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chief degree of honour to the See of old *Rome*, because the principal reign or empery was in that City, &c. The same also is confirmed by *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, declaring, *Quod excellentia Romani Imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis supra aliat Ecclesias*; That the excellency of the *Roman* Empery did advance the Popedom of the *Roman* Bishop above other Churches, &c. *Ex Gab. Biel. Bibl. sfc.* Moreover, saith the said *Cæsariensis*; *Nicena Synodus hoc contulit privilegium Rom. pontifici, ut sicut* Romanorum *Rex* Augustus *præ cæteris appellatur*; *ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris Episcopis Papa vocaretur*. That is, The Council (saith he) of *Nice* gave this priviledge to the Bishop of *Rome*, that like as the King of the *Romans* is named Emperor above all other Kings, so the Bishop of the same City of *Rome* should be called Pope above other Bishops, &c. By these places hitherto alledged (and such other, many more than be here alledged) it appeareth, that though these Titles of Superiority had been attributed to the Bishop of *Rome*; yet it remaineth certain, that the said Bishop received that preferment, *Jure non divino, sed humano*, by mans law, not by the Law of God. And so is the difinction on of the Popes proved false, where is said: *Romanum Ecclesiam non a consilio aliquo sed a divina voce primatum accepisse*, That the Church of *Rome* took not his primacy by any Council, but only by the voice of God. And this is to be said, although it were true that these titles and terms were so given to the Bishop of *Rome* in the old time: yet how and by whom they were given, ye see. Now to try this matter, as joyning an issue with our Adversaries, whether these foresaid Titles of Soveraignty were applied in the old time of the primitive Church to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to be called the Vicar general of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and universal Bishop, remaineth to be proved. Whereunto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the Bishops of *Rome* (of some peradventure) were so called by the names of higher preeminence) of that City, of some going about to please them, or to crave some help at their hands: yet that calling, 1. Was used then but of a few. 2. Neither was given to many. 3. Was rather given than fought for, of the most. 4. Was not so given that it maketh or can make any general necessity of Law why every one is so bound to call them, as the Bishop of *Rome* now seeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessity of Salvation, as the decree of Pope *Boniface* the eighth witnesseth, where is said, *Quod sit de necessitate salutis ut credatur primatus Ecclesiæ Rom. & ei subesse*; That it standeth upon necessity of salvation, to believe the primacy of the Church of *Rome*, and to be subject to the same, &c.

1. 2. 3. 4.

As touching therefore these titles and terms of preeminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what Histories of times do say in that matter, by the Grace of Christ: First, we will see what be the Titles the Bishop of *Rome* doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When they first came in, whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were first given to the *Roman* Bishops; that is, whether of necessary duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few; and whether in respect of *Peter*, or in respect of the City, or elle of the worthiness of the Bishop which there sat. 4. And if the aforesaid names were then given of certain Bishops, unto the Bishop of *Rome*: whether all the said names were given, or but certain, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then received of all Bishops of *Rome*, to whome they were given, or elle refused of some. 6. And finally, whether they ought to have been refused being given, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertain to the profession rather of Divines, than Historians, and would require a long and large debating; yet for so much as both in these, and divers other weighty Controversies of divinity, the knowledge of times and Histories must needs help Divines disputing about the same, so much as the Grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will joyn to the seeking out of truth such help as I may.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

And first to begin with the Names and Titles now claimed and attributed to the See and Bishop of *Rome*, and what they be, is sufficiently declared above, that is, the *Chief Priest of the World*, The *Prince of the Church*, *Bishop Apostolical*, The *universal Head of the Church*, The *Head Ecclesiastical*, The *universal Bishop of the Universal Church*, The *Successor of Peter*, *Alias body Pope*, *Vicar of God on Earth*, *Neither God nor man*, *but a mixt thing between both*; The *Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Church of* Rome, The *Bishop of the first See*, *&c.* Unto the which Titles or Stiles is annexed a triple Crown, a triple Crosse, two crossed Keys, a naked Sword, seven-fold Seals, in token of the seven-fold Gifts of the Holy Ghost, he being carried sticking back upon mens shoulders, after the manner of the *Heathen* Kings, having all the Empire and the Emperor under his dominion: and that it is not convenient for any terrene Prince to Reign there, where he sitteth, having the plenary fulnes of power, as well of temporal things as spiritual things in his hands: that all things are his, and that all such Princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his own, having at his will and pleasure to preach Indulgences, and the Crosse against Princes whatsoever: and that the Emperor and certain other Princes, ought to make to him confession of subjection at their Coronation: having authority to depose, and that he *De facto*, hath deposed Emperors and the King of *France*: also to absolve the Subjects from their Allegiance to their Princes: whom Kings have served for foot-men to lead his horse, and the Emperor to hold his stirrop: that he may and doth give power to Bishops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have Prisons; without whose Authority no general Council hath any force. And to whom Appellations in all manner of Causes may and ought to be made. That his Decrees

What names and titles he attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome*.

The four Patriarchs appointed by the Council of *Nice*. *Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap.* 36.

Ex Concil. Constan. 1. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Carthag. Can. 39.

Ex Concil. Calcedon. cap. 28.

The Popes decree proved false.

Decrees be equal with the decrees of the *Nicene Council*, and are to be observed and taken in no less force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of Saint *Peter* himself. *Ex fra. Barth. & alias. Item*, that the said Bishop of *Rome* hath the heavenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another, *cap. Quando de transl. Epis. tit.* 7. *Item*, that he can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none, to stand in effect: and may dispense above the Law, and of injuritice make justice, in correcting and changing Laws, for he hath the fulnes of power. And again, *dist.* 40. *cap. Si Papa*: If the Pope do lead with him innumerable Souls by flocks into Hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this World. *Item*, that it standeth upon necessity of salvation to believe the primacy of the See of *Rome*, and to be subject to the same, &c.

Cap. quando de transl. & cap. seq.

Dist. 40. *cap. Si Papa.*

These things thus declared, now let us see whether these names and titles, with the form and manner of this Authority and regality above rehearsed, were ever attributed to any in the primitive time of the Bishop of *Rome*. For all these he doth challenge and claim unto him by old possession from the time of Saint *Peter*. And here a question is to be asked of our Adversaries the Papists, Whether they will avouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole form and tenour of regality to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their Allegations, which they never have done yet, nor ever shall be able. If they will not, or cannot avouch them altogether in manner as is specified, then why doth the Bishop claim them all together so floutly, usurp them so falsely, and obtrude them upon us so strictly? Moreover if the said our Adversaries, being convicted by plain evidence of History, and example of time, will yield unto us (as they must needs) in part, and not in the whole; let us come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient custom of the primitive Church, (that is, from the first five hundred years, I mean after Christ.) First, in the Council of *Nice*, which was the year of our Lord, 340. and in the sixth Canon of the said Council, we find it so decreed: that in every Province or Precinct some one Church, and Bishop of the same, was appointed and set up to have the inspection and regiment of other Churches about him, *Secundum morem antiquum*; that is, After the ancient custom, as the words of the Council do purport: so that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have power of *Libya*, and *Pentapolis* in *Egypt*, forasmuch as the Bishop of the City of *Rome* hath the like or fame manner. And in like fort also in *Antioch* and in other Countries, let every Church have his due honour, and consequently that the Bishop of *Jerusalem* have also his due honour to him referred, so that such order be kept, that the Metropolitan Cities be not defrauded of their dignity which to them is due and proper, &c. In this Council and in the fame Canon sixth and seventh, where the Bishops of *Alexandria*, of *Rome*, and of *Antioch* are joyned together in one like manner of Dignity. First, there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly, forsomuch as in the said two Canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no Bishop should be made without consent of their Metropolitans, yea and that the City also of *Hierusalem* should be under his Metropolitan, and that the Metropolitan should have the full power to confirm every Bishop made in his Province: therefore it may be well suspected, that the third Epistle Decretal of Pope *Anacletus*, and of Pope *Stephanus*, with other more, are forged, wherein these Bishops, and especially the Bishop of *Rome*, is exempted and differered from the name of a Metropolitan or an Archbishop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primate: as appeareth in the decrees, *Dist.* 22. *cap. Sacrosancta*. Wherefore as we must needs grant the Bishop of *Rome* to be a Metropolitan or Archbishop by the Council of *Nice*; so we will not greatly stick in this also, to have him numbred with Patriarchs or Primats. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to more Cities than to *Rome*, both by the Epistle of *Anacletus*, of Pope *Stephanus*, of Pope *Julius* and *Leo*, *&c.*

Ex Concil. Nicen. cano.

Dist. 65. *cap. Illa antiquo.*

Ex concil. Nicen. cano.

Dist. 22. *cap. Sacrosancta.*

The Bishop of Rome called Metropolitan, Archbishop, Patriarch, Primat.

After this followed a general Council in *Africk*, called the sixth Council of *Carthage*, *Anno* 420. where were congregated two hundred and seventeen Bishops, among whom was also *Augustinus*, *Prosper*, *Orosius*, with divers other famous persons. This Council continued the space of five years, wherein was great contention about the Supremacy and Jurisdiction of *Rome*: the Bishop whereof then was *Zosimus*. This *Zosimus* the *Romen* Bishop had received the same time into the Communion of the Church without any examination, one that came to complain to him out of *Africk*, named *Apiarius*, a Priest whom *Aurelius* the Metropolitan with the Council of *Africk* had worthily excommunicated for his detestable conditions before. Upon this *Zosimus* after that he had received and shewed such favour to *Apiarius*, for that he did appeal to him, sendeth to the Council his Messengers, to wit, *Faustinus* Bishop of *Potentine*, and two Priests of the Church of *Rome*, named *Philippus* and *Asellus*, with these four requests: First, that *Apiarius*, whom he had abfolved might be received of them again, and that it might be lawful for Bishops or Priests to appeal from the sentence of their Metropolites, and also of the Council to the See of *Rome*.

Ex concilio Carthag. 6. cap. 12. *Bibliand. Chronic.*

Secondly, that Bishops should not fail over importunely *Ad comitatum*. Thirdly, that if any Priest or Deacon were wrongfully Excommunicate by the Bishops of their own Province, it should be lawful for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cause to their neighbour Bishops. Fourthly, that *Urbanus* their Bishop, either should be excommunicated, or elle sent up to *Rome*, unless he would correct those things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the said *Zosimus* alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of *Nicene* Council. The Council of *Carthage* hearing this, and remembring no such thing in the Council of *Nice* to be decreed, and yet not suspecting the Bishop of *Rome*, to dare wrongfully to falsifie the words of that Council, writeth again to *Zosimus*, declaring that they never read to their remembrance, in their common *Latin* exemplar of the *Nicene* Council any such Canon, yet notwithstanding for quietnes sake, they would observe the fame time till they might procure the Original Copies of that Council to be sent to them from *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and from *Antioch*. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope *Boniface*, which then succeeded *Zosimus*. And thirdly also to *Celestinus*, which shortly after succeeded *Boniface*.

Ex concilio Carthag. 6. cap. 12.

The Popes wont to falsifie the decrees of Nicene Council.

In the mean time this forefaid Council sent their Legates, *Marcellus* and *Innocentius* to *Atticus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and to *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, for the authentick Copies in *Greek* of *Nicene* Council, which being sent unto them, and they finding in the true Originals no such Canon, as the Bishop of *Rome* had falsely forged, they wrote a sharpe and an handsome Letter to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, calling him in the said Letter by the way *Domine frater*: declaring to him, how they had perfused all the Copies of the Council of *Nice*, and could find no such Canon as he and his Predecessors had falsely alledged, and therewithall reciting the sixth Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of the *Nicene* Council had committed all and singular perfons Ecclesiastical, as well Bishops as other, unto the charge of their Metropolitans. Moreover expounding the fame Decree, they shewed the reason thereof.

The Bishop of *Rome* called *Dominus frater*, that is brother Bishops of all the Copies of the Council of *Nice* proved falsified by the Bishop of *Rome*.

Five reasons why matters of the Church ought not to be hurried out of other Countries unto *Rome*.

1. For that (say they) the Fathers of that Council did well forefee, to be most just and convenient, that all Controverfies there be ended (*in iisdem locis*) where they begin. 1.

2. For that it is not to be fuppofed contrary, but that the Grace of God will be as preft and ready in one Province as in an other, to inftruct his Miniifters both prudently to underftand judgment, and conftantly to maintain the fame. 2.

3. For that there is no need to feek further to any Outlandish help, becaufe fpecially that the party whofoever is not contented with the determination of his Judges or Commiffioners, may lawfully appeal either to the Provincial or to any general Council. 3.

4. That way to be better, than to run to any foreign Judge, it muft needs be granted; becaufe it is not like that our God will inspire his Juftice and Truth of examining unto one Bishop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole Council. 4.

5. Neither can it be, that any fuch Outlandish judgement in hearing and determining caufes, can ftand perfect and upright, for that the neceffary perfons of witneffes, either for infirmity of Sex, of Age, of Sickneß, or fome other impeach- 5. Every Country to appeal firft to his own Metropolitan, fecondly to a Provincial or general Council.

Impeachment are not be able to present by whom the truth of the sentence should be directed. Wherefore as by these and other reasons they thought it not convenient from them to bring their matters over unto *Rome*: so neither was it to be found, said they, by any Council of the old Fathers decreed, that any Legats should be sent from *Rome* to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said Bishop of *Rome*, that he would not induce *Fumofam typhum* (or rather as I may call it) *typhos fecuii, in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert ei qui Deum diligunt*: that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which Church sheweth and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as love God, &c. In these foresaid Letters moreover is signified, how the forenamed Malefactor *Apiarius*, whom the Bishop of *Rome* before had absolved and received to the Communion of the Church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the Council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so injoyned him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishop of *Rome* before proceeding.

Fumofum typhum fe-cuii.

Summary notes gathered out the Council of *Carthage* against the Pope.

1. In sum, out of this Council of *Carthage* these points are to be noted. First, how glad the Bishops of *Rome* were to receive such as came to them for succour.

2. What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to have all under their subjection.

3. To the intent to allure other to seek to them, how ready they were to release and quit this *Apiarius* as guiltless, which after was to be tried culpable by his own confession.

4. How contrary to the acts and doings of the *Romish* Bishop, this Council condemned him, whom the said Bishop of *Rome* before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the *Romish* Church.

5. How the Bishops of old time, have been falsifiers of ancient Councils and Writings, whereby it may be sufficiently ed, that they which shamed not to falsifie and corrupt the Council of *Nice*, muchless would they stick to abuse and falsifie the decretal Epistles and Writings of particular Bishops and Doctors for their own advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.

6. In this foresaid Council, whereat *Augustine* himself was present, and where *Aurelius* President of the same, was called *Papa*, the Bishop of *Rome* was called expresly in their Letters but Bishop of the City of *Rome*, and *Dominus frater*, that is, brother Lord Bishop.

7. The Dominion of this *Roman* Patriarch, in the said Council of *Carthage*, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of *Africk* to appeal over the Sea to him, nor for him to send over his Legats to them for ending their Controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appear, that the Bishop of *Rome* in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other Bishops, nor the head of the universal Church of Christ in earth, &c.

8. We hear in this Council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal Head or Judge, as is before recited.

9. Lastly, by the said Council of *Carthage*, we hear a vertuous exhortation to be given to the Bishop of *Rome*, that he would not induce into the meek and humble Church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the World, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other Council of *Carthage*, it was moreover provided by expres Law, and also specified in the Popes decrees, that no Bishop of the first Seat, should be called the Prince of Priests, or the chief Priest, or any such like thing; but only the Bishop of the first Seat, as followeth more in the said decree. *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur*, that is, Be it enacted, that no Bishop, no not the Bishop of *Rome*, be called universal Bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid Council of *Carthage*.

Dift.99 cap. I dicit ipse.

The Bishops title forbidden to be called universal Bishop.

Synodus Milevitana.

The Bishop of *Rome* forbidden to be called universal Bishop.

Not long before this Council, was celebrated in *Africk* an other Council, called *Synodus Milevitana*, about the year of our Lord, 442. at the which Council also S. *Augustine* was present, where it was decreed under pain of Excommunication, that no Minister or Bishop should appeal over the Sea to the Bishop of *Rome*. Whereby it may appear that the Bishop of *Rome* all this space was not universally called by the term of Oecumenical or universal Bishop, but Bishop of the first Seat: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place imported the City of *Rome* only, but the first Seat then was called Metropolitan Church, as by the words of the *Nicene* Council, and other Constitutions more is to be seen, where the four Patriarchs were called πρῶτοι, or πρωτόθρονοι, or πρωτεῖοι, as namely, by the words of the Council of *Carthage* may appear which be these: εἰ μὲν μετὰ ἀναβάσεως τὸν πρῶτον καθέζηται ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἴσου τόπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχει τοῦτο πρᾶσσειν. that is, That the Bishop of the first Seat be not called Prince of Priests, or head Priest, or else any such like. Again, *Anicetus* the tenth Bishop of *Rome*, and Pope *Stephan*, and Pope *Felix*, making a differences between a Primate and Metropolitan, writeth thus: Let no Archbishops be called Primates, but only such as have the first Seat, &c. This it is made plain, how the Bishop of the first Seat, or first Bishop, or Primate is none other but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not only to the Church of *Rome*, but to all such Cities and places whereas before among the *Gentiles* were *Primi flamines*, *&c. dist. 80. cap. urbes & loca, & in illis.* Where, by the way, is to be noted the repugnance or contrariety of such as craftily, but falsely have counterfeited the Popes decretal Epistles: which befides other great and many Conjectures also hereby may be gathered. For where *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Epi.* 2. *Anicetus* and other, joyning together the office of Patriarchs and Primates, do divide the same from the order of Metropolitans, or Archbishops, alledging therein the constitution of the Apostles and their Succeffors, that is to be found false by the Canons of the Apostles, by the Council of *Nice*, and by the Council of *Antioch*, with other more. For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in every Canon, almoft, mention is made of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the Bishop, or lower than the Deacon, save only in the thirty three Canon, setting an order among Bishops, the Canon willeth the Bishop of every Nation to know their first or chief Bishop, and him to be taken for the Head of them: he saith not the Head of the Church, or Head of the world, but the Head of those Bishops. And where? not in *Rome* words purport, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἕθνους ἑκάστου γνῶναι τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτον ὡς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ἐκείνου ἃ μὴ καὶ ἑκάστη παροικία καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῆς τόποις ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι πράττειν· that is, The Bishops of every Nation ought to know the first or chief among them, &c. Moreover, the Council of *Antioch* reciting the forefaid Canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, in stead of τὸν πρῶτον, writing ἢ ὃν μητροπόλεως ἀφορῶντα ἐπίσκοπον: which is as much to say as Metropolitan; and in the end of the faid Canon, calleth him ἢ τὸν μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, that is, *Id eft, Metropolitanum, &c. i. per singulas.* Whereby it is concluded, that to be falfe, that *Clement* and *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus* be reported (but falsely) to put a difference between Primats or Patriarchs, and Metropolitans, or Archbishops: Whereas by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old Church both Primats, first Bishops, Bishops of the first Seat, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops of the mother City, and Archbishops were all one. First, that Primates and Metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Council of *Antioch* aforesaid. Again, that Patriarchs and Archbishops were all one, it is evident *Ex Novella Justiniani*, *Novell. 3. cap.* 23. where the faid Constitution reciting the four Patriarchs (above mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbishops. And a little after calleth the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Archbishop, by these words: ὁσίτατε ἀρχιεπίσκοπε ἀγαπητὲ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἢ πατριάρχου ἐπίσκοπε that is, Which be under the Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, divers from that of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus*, in placing these afore-

No Bishop to appeal over the Sea.

Bishop of the first seat would be named.

Archbishop and Metropolitan not to be both one.

An item against the forged 38. Nicen decretal.

Clement. 1. epift. 1. Anacleti. Epift. 2. & 4. Anicti. Epi. 1. cap. 8. Stephani. Epift. 2. & 3. Felicis. Epift. 2. cap. 1.

Dift. 80. cap. urbes & loca, & in illis.

In illis.

The Pope in their decrees contrary to themselves.

Nonsuppliance between the Institutions of *Justinian*, and the counterfeited decretal.

Bishop, Metropolitan, Bishop of the first Seat, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop, Chief Bishops terms used in the primitive time of the Church.

Canon. 34. apost. The first Bishop or head Bishop expounded, how it is to be taken.

High Priest or high Priesthood.

Antioch. can. 9. & 9. 2. Per Id eft, Metropolitanum, & 9. 3. per singulas.

Singulos presbyteros vincit.

Dift. 38. cap. Omnes, sacerdotium fundamentum fundatum.

Dift. 99 cap. Anacletus.

Ex Concil. Agathensi. 21. 23. cap. Pontifices.

Agatha makeththis relation, *De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis.* Of Bishops set in the high Priesthood, meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomsoever, 12. 9. 3. *cap. Pontifices.* Also *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of the Lord, 240. writing in general to his Brethren, and to all Bishops and Ministers Ecclesiastical, doth attribute to them the same title of *Summum sacerdotium*, in these words: *Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinavit vos, & omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur, &c.* God which hath pre-ordained you Brethren, and all them which bear

9. 4. cap. Dicit ergo.

Ex Novell. Justin. 123.

foresaid persons, first beginning with Bishops, then over them setteth the Metropolitan, and over him again the Archbishop, and there staveth, making no further mention of any other above him: whose words be these, ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ τὸ καταρχικώτερον, ἢ τότε μητροπολίτου ἔζευκτέον τὸ ἅρμαμα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης ἐπὶ τὸ μακαριώτερον, ὑφ' ὃν τάσσει. that is, if a Bishop be accused, the Metropolitan to have the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the Metropolitan be accused, then the Archbishop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth and pertaineth, &c.

And in the same constitution moreover, οὐδὲ ὃ ποιεῖ κλινεῖ, ἢ ἄλλα οὐκ ὄντα ἀφορίζειν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον γινόμενα πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ ἀφόρισμα διακινήσει, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν κακούργων αὐτόπτου, ἐπὶ ἢ μακροθύμου ἀγορεύσαντος ὃ πατριάρχων τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφέρεσθαι τὸ ἀφόρισμα, &c. If any suit or supplication be brought against a Bishop by a Minister, or any other, first the Metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the judgment thereof, then the hearing and ending of the cafe to be brought before the Archbishop, &c.

In this Constitution of *Justinian*, although the Metropolitan be placed above the Bishop, and the Archbishop above the Metropolitan: yet notwithstanding by this is sufficiently confuted the forged Constitution of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Anicetus*, *Stephanus*, and *Felix*: who in their Epistles decretal, joyn together in one form and order, both Archbishop and Metropolitan, and above them both do place the Patriarch, and above the Patriarch the Apostolical See, to wit, the Bishop of *Rome*, as may appear in reading the first Epistle of *Clement*: *In illis autem civitatibus*, &c. The second Epistle of *Anacletus art.* 4. *Provincia. dist. 99. cap. Nulli Archiepiscop.* Also the Epistle of Pope *Stephan* the first, *Art.* 5. (where note by the way, that *Gratianus* referreth this place of the Epistle to Pope *Lucius.*) *Item*, the Epistle of Pope *Felix* the second, *Art.* 12. In all which forefaid Epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principal place is given to Primates, or Patriarchs, the second to Metropolitans, or Archbishops, the third to Bishops, and finally above all these is extolled the Apostolical See of the Bishop of *Rome*, contrary to all that which before hath been alledged out of *Justinian*, the Council of *Nice* and of *Antioch*, &c. Whereby it may appear that either *Justinian* in preferring Archbishops above Metropolitans, did not read these Epistles decretal, if they were unfeigned; or if they were forged, they which forged the faid Epistles in their names, did not well advife that *Justinian* had written in this matter before.

Thus then these Titles above recited, as Bishop, Metropolitan, the Bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop; that is to say, chief Bishop, or head Bishop to other Bishops of his Province, we deny not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, like as the same also were applied to other Patriarchs in other chief Cities and Provinces.

As touching the name likewise of the High Priest, or high Priesthood, neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old Monuments and Records of ancient times: but in fach wife and sort as it hath been common to Bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one Bishop or See. Whereof teftimony we have out of the seventh general Council, *Dist.* 38. *cap. Omnes*, where the Bishops office is called *Summum sacerdotium*, The High Priesthood: in these words, *Subftantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia divinitus tradita, i. vera divinarum scripturarum disciplina*, &c.

That is, the fubftance (fay they) of our High Priesthood, is the word of discipline of holy Scriptures given us from above, &c.

And likewise the Council of *Agatha* maketh relation,

Universalis Pontifex.

Universalis Pontifex. Oecumenicus Pontifex. Summus orbis Episcopus. Caput universalis Ecclesiæ. Christi in terris Vicarius. Princeps sacerdotum, &c.

Ex Concil. Agathensi. 21. 23. cap. Pontifices.

Pontifices.

Papa.

Papæ.

How they began both *Constantinople*, to take the name of universal Bishop.

Ex quinta synodo universali, actio me primo. cap. pol. concilium. Ibid. cap. dom. nostro.

said Councill is titled *Oecumenicus Patriarcha: ex Concil. in general. 5. cap. Domino.* Concerning the which title although it was then used in *Constantinople* through the sufferance of the Emperors, being then willing to have their Imperial City advanced: yet notwithstanding this forefaid title, all this while, was not in the City of *Rome*. And in *Constantinople* it stood not then in force *(Jure aliquo divino)* but only by mans Law. And thirdly, it was then but only *Verbalis titulus*: having no true domination upon all other Churches, or any real subjection belonging to the same; For as much as neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any of the *West* Churches were subject or did acknowledge service unto them, but rather did repugne the same: namely, *Pelagius* the second, and *Gregorius* the first, both Bishops at that time of *Rome*, which *Pelagius* writing to all Bishops, saith plainly in these words: that no Patriarch should take the name of universality at any time, because that if any be called Universal, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be far, saith he, from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminished. Wherefore the said *Pelagius* chargeth all such Bishops, that none of them in their Letters will name any Patriarch to be universal, lest he take from himself the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more evident than these words of *Pelagius*, who was Bishop of *Rome* next before *Gregory*, *Anno* 583? In like manner or more plainly, and more earnestly writeth also *Gregory* of this matter in his Register, proving and disputing that no man ought to be called Universal Bishop. Moreover, with sharp words and rebukes, detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, prophane, and such as to consent unto it, is as much as to deny the Faith. He added further and faith, That Whosoever goeth about to extoll himself above other Bishops, in so doing followeth the fact of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal or like unto other Angels. In his Epistles how oft doth he repeat and declare the same to repugne directly against the Gospel, and ancient decrees of Councils? affirming that none of his Predecessors did ever usurp to himself that stile or title, and concludeth that whosoever so doth, declareth himself to be a Forerunner of *Antichrist*, &c. With this judgment of *Gregory* well agree also the words of Saint *Augustine*, lib. 3. cap. *de baptismo*, where reciting the words of *Cyprian*, he thus saith: *Neque enim quisquam nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut Tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit*, &c. that is, For none of us doth ever set himself to be Bishop of Bishops, or after a tyrannical manner doth subdue and bring under his Fellows unto the necessity of his obedience, &c. By these words of *Cyprian*, and *Augustine*, it is manifest that in their time was no Supremacy, or universal Title among Bishops received, not that any great respect was had to the Bishop of *Rome* (as *Pius* the Second saith, *Epist.* 301.) before the Council of *Nice*. And after this that Council the said Bishop of *Rome* had no further authority to him limited, than only over his Province, and places suburbane, bordering about the City of *Rome*. Against whose Primacy divers Cities also did resist long after that, as the Church of *Ravenna*, *Mediolanensis*, and *Aquilegiensis*. Also the Greek Churches long resisted the same, so did the Churches of *Asia Rutenicæ*, *Mosoviticæ*, *Valachicæ*, and other more.

Ex Pelag. 2. epist. dilect. cap. 93. Nullus.

Gregor. Against the universality of the Bishop of Constantinople.

Augustin. lib. 3. ca. 3. de baptis. contra Donat.

To be Bishop of Bishops forbidden by *Cyprian* and *Augst. Ex Pio 2. concil. Epist. 301.*

The Popes primacy resisted.

But to return again to *Gregory*, who confirming the Sentence of *Pelagius* his Predecessor above mentioned, had no small Conflicts about this Title matter, both with the Patriarch, and with the Emperor of *Constantinople*, as witnesseth *Antonius*, and other, &c. The History is thus: After that *John* being made of a Monk Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by his flattery and hypocrisie, had obtained of *Mauricius* the Emperor to be extolled above other Bishops, with the name of Universal Patriarch, and that he would write to *Gregory* then Bishop of *Rome*, for his consent concerning the same: *Gregory* abiding still in his constancy, did set himself stoutly against that Antichristian Title, and would give no place. At the same time the *Lombards* had invaded the Country of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome*, the Emperor keeping then at *Constantinople*, and setting in *Italy* an Overseer called *Exarchus*, to rule in *Ravenna*. *Gregory* perceiving the Emperor *Mauricius* to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to *Constantina* the Empress, arguing and declaring in his Letters, that Presumption and Pride of him to be universal Patriarch, was both against the rule of the Gospel, and decrees of the Canons; namely, the sixth Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and the novelty of that new found title to declare nothing else, but that the time of *Antichrist* was near. Upon this, *Mauricius* the Emperor taking displeasure with him, called home his Souldiers again from *Italy*, and inciteth the *Lombards* against the *Romans*: who with their King *Agilulphus*, thereupon contrary to their League made before, set upon the City of *Rome*, and besieged it a whole year together, *Gregory* yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancy. After these Afflictions thus overpast, *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, writeth to the said *Gregory* in his Letters, naming him Universal Pope: unto whom *Gregory* refusing the same, answereth again as followeth.

Ex Antonio tit. 22. c. 3.

The Letter of Gregory *to the Patriarch of* Alexandria.

Behold: in the Preface of your Epistle directed to me, ye have used a word of a proud name, calling me Universal Pope, which I pray your Holiness you will cease hereafter to do, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to another more than right and reason requireth. As for me I seek not mine advancement in words, but in manners: neither do I account that any Honour wherein the Honour of my Brethren I see to be hindred: for my Honour I take to be the Honour of the Universal Church: my Honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my Brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your Holiness call me Universal Pope, in so doing you deny your self to be that, which ye affirm me to be, Universal: but that God forbid. Let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puff up Vanity, and wound Charity, &c.

The answer of Gregory to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*. *Epist.* 30. *Lib.* 4.

Gregory refuseth the name of universal Pope.

It were too long here to infer all such Letters and Epistles of his concerning this matter, written to the Emperor *Mauricius* and *Constantina* the Empress, but that shall more largely appear hereafter (Christ willing) in the body of the History, when we come to the year and time of *Gregory*, which was well nigh six hundred years after Christ. In the mean season this is sufficient to declare, how the Church of *Rome* with the form and manner of their title of Universal Supremacy now used and maintained, hath utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the Primitive Church of *Rome*.

Now let us see what the Adversary side hath to Object again for the title of their Universality, or rather Singularity. And first here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain Sophister, who glossing upon the words of *Pelagius* above recited, laboureth to colour the plain Text with a subtile meaning, as though the sense of the Canon were this, not to deny there the state of Supremacy: *Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse Universitatem Episcopum, sub eo sensu dumtaxat, quod esset cujusque Ecclesiæ proprius rectus, ita quod nullus alius esset Episcopus*, &c. that is, But to deny there, that any may be Universal Bishop after this sense and meaning only, so that he should be the proper Pastor of every Church alone, and that there should be no other Bishop beside himself, &c. Thus goeth this Sophister about to dash out this Text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did *John* the Patriarch then seek any such thing to be Bishop and proper Pastor of every Church alone; nor if he had, the Council of *Chalcedon* and the Emperor *Justinian* would never have agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that this Glosser denieth *Pelagius*, here to forbid the Primacy or Supremacy of that Patriarch, which indeed is the only intent of *Pelagius* in that Canon, witnessing as well other Historiographers, as namely, *Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13.* and also the glosa ordinary upon the same Canon, &c.

Pelag. 2. Epist. 1.

A Sophisticall Cavillation upon the words of *Pelagius* and Gregory answered.

Out of the same Fountain springeth the like or very same reason of late renewed by a certain new start *English* Clerk in these our days, who answering to the places of *Gregory* touching the said matter, laboureth to avoid the clear authority of him, by a like blind cavillation, saying that *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, by this title of Universal Bishop, understood himself only to be a Bishop, and none else.

An objection of a certain late *English* writer refuted.

And that *Gregory* in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prove this to be the very meaning of *Gregory*, he reciteth the words of *Gregory*, written to the said *John* Archbishop of *Constantinople* as followeth, *Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, ut Episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut despectis fratribus Episcopus appetat solus vocari*: that is to say, For thou (*John* Bishop of *Constantinople*) which sometime didst grant thy self unworthy the name of a Bishop, are now come to this, that thou dost seek to be called a Bishop alone, &c. Upon this word *Episcopus solus*; this Glosser would ground a furmise, that *Gregory* did find fault with the Archbishop, not for any Primacy which he fought for above other Bishops, but only for that he coveted to be a Bishop and Pastor alone in every Church, in such sort, as there should be no other Bishop nor Pastor else, but himself only. But as is said, that was never the Archbishops seeking, nor the matter of *Gregories* reprehension. For the said Bishop of *Constantinople* went not about to be Bishop alone (which was too much absurd, and also impossible) but to be Universal alone: nor to take away the office from other, but the honour from other; not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith *Gregory*, *Ut despectis fratribus*, not *Depositis fratribus*: so that this word *Solus*, here noteth a despising of other, not a deposing of other, and importeth a singularity in condition above other, and not the office or substance of ministration without other, that is to be universal among many, and not to be alone without any, nor to diminish the number of them, but only to increase the honour to himself: For the more evident probation whereof (although the thing it self is so evident, that it needeth no proof) what can be more plain, than the words themselves of *Pelagius* and *Gregory*? wherewith they charge him for running before his Brethren, for challenging Superiority above them, for diminishing their honour, by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the Angel of Pride in exalting himself, in admitting that to him, which the Bishops of *Rome* and their Predecessors had refused, being offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he fought not to thrust out all other Bishops out of their Churches, and to be Bishop himself alone. For that was never offered to the Bishops of *Rome* by the Council of *Chalcedon*, that they should be Bishops alone, and none other. Neither did *Lucifer* seek to have no more Angels in all Heaven but himself, but he to be above all other alone.

A place of *Gregory* explained.

Ex Epist. Greg. 36. lib. 4.

Likewise the word *Præcurrere*, that is, To run before other, in the Epistle of *Pelagius*, declareth that *John* fought not to be Bishop alone, but Bishop universal. We say not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly *Præcurrere*, but *Solus currere*. Moreover, in seeking to be Superior to other Bishops, he seeketh not to take away other Bishops, but to make other Bishops inferior to him. For where no Inferior is, there can be no Superior, forsomuch as these together are Correlatives, and infer necessary respect mutually. And if it were true as this Glosser saith, that he had fought to be Bishop alone, how would that Council either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the Bishop of *Rome* before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serve all Churches, without any Fellow Bishop to help him? And where this forefaid Clerk standeth so much upon the words of Saint *Gregory*: *Solus Episcopus*: *Gregory* therefore shall expound *Gregory*, and one *Solus* shall declare another. Wherefore if this Divine (whatsoever he be, Doctor or Batchelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what (only Bishop) meaneth in this place: another place of the said *Gregory* may instruct him, where *Gregory* writing to *Eulogius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, giveth this reason why he refused the same title offered to him (which then was offered to the said *John* Patriarch of *Constantinople*) saying, *Quia videlicet si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarchatum nomen cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc*, &c. That is to say, For if one alone would be called a Patriarch universal, then should the name of Patriarchs be derogated from all other, &c. Whereby two things are to be noted: First, what thing it was which the Patriarch of *Constantinople* did seek, for *Gregory* here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was given to *John*, which was to be called Patriarch Universal. The second thing to be noted, is the cause why *Gregory* did rebuke this title, both given to *John*, and offered to him: because (saith he) if one take upon him the name of Universal Patriarch, then is the name Patriarch taken from the rest. As who would say, If I would take upon me to be named Universal Patriarch, then should there be no other Patriarch, but I should be Bishop Patriarch alone. And here cometh in your *Solus Episcopus*, &c.

Ex Epist. Greg. 30. lib. 4.

Furthermore the same *Gregory* (speaking of the said *Solus*, in another place by, seemeth to declare there, what he meaneth by this *Solus* here, in these words as follow, *Ut & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur*: that is to say, So that he would be subject to none, and would be chieftain to all other alone, &c. And so by this place may the other place be expounded, *Ut solus Episcopus sit is, qui solus inter Episcopos præesse appetat*: that is, He that seeketh to be as Bishop alone: who alone seeketh to be extolled above other Bishops. But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words: he that thus cavilleth upon this place *Solus Episcopus* in *Gregory*, must be desired here not to take *Solus* alone, but joyn withall the word going before, which is, *Despectis fratribus*. By the which might seem sufficiently declared what *Gregory* meant by *Solus Episcopus*, meaning, that to despise other Bishops, and to diminish their honour, to set up his own, and to be subject to none, but to prefer himself inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted Bishop alone. And thus much touching this Objection.

Ex Epist. Greg. 38. lib. 4.

Another Objection of our Adversaries is this: Although (say they) no Bishop of *Rome* was ever called, or would be called by the name of Universal Bishop, yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be Heads of the Universal Church. Their reason is this:

Another confession refuted.

As S. *Peter* had the Charge of the whole Church (by the testimony of *Gregory*) committed unto him, although he were not called Universal Apostle.

So no more absurd it is for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church, and to have the Charge thereof, although he be not called Universal Bishop, &c.

A double untruth in one Popish argument. *Peter* how he had charge and not charge of the Church. The first untruth in this argument. The dignity of the Church above the Apostles.

Wherein is a double Untruth to be noted: first, in that they pretend *Peter* to be the Head, and to have the Charge of the whole Church: if we take here (Charge or Head) for Dominion or Mastership upon or above the Church in all Cases judiciary, both Spiritual and Temporal: for the words of the Scripture be plain, *Non dominantes in clerum*, 1 Pet. *Vos autem non sic*, Luk. 22. that is, Not as Masters over the Clergy, &c. But you not so, &c. Again, that the Church is greater, or rather the head of *Peter*, it is clear, 1 *Cor.* 3. *All things are yours, whether it be* Paul, *or* Apollo, *or* Cephas: *either the world, death, or life, you be Christs, Christ is Gods*, &c. In which words the Dignity of the Church no doubt is preferred above the Apostles, and above *Cephas* also. Moreover, as the dignity of the Wife is above the Servant, so must needs the honour and worthiness of the Church (being the Spouse of Christ) surmount the state of *Peter* or other Apostles, which be but Servants to Christ and to the Church; yea, and though they were Princes of the Church, yet after the mind of *Baldus*, *Magis attendatur persona intellectualis, quam organica*. Otherwise if by this word (Charge) be meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I answer, The same Lord that said to *Peter*, *Feed my sheep*, said also to the other, *Go and Preach this Gospel to all Nations*. And he that said to *Peter*, *Whatsoever thou loosest*, said also to the other, *Whatsoever ye remit in the Earth*. Moreover, if the matter go by preaching, *Paul* the Apostle laboured more therein, than ever did *Peter* by his own confession, *Plus laboravi*; also suffered more for the same, *Plus sustinui*; neither was his Doctrine less found. Yea, and in one point he went before *Peter*, and was Teacher and School-Master unto *Peter*, whereas *Peter* was by him justly corrected, *Gal.* 2. Furthermore, teaching is not always nor in all things a point of Judiciary, but sometime a point of Service. As if a *French*-man should be put to an *English*-man to teach him *French*, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculty: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulness of power upon him, to appoint his Diet, to rule his Houshold, to prescribe his Laws, to flint his Lands, and such other. Wherefore seeing in travel of Teaching, in pains of Preaching, in gifts of Tongues, in largeness of Commission, in operation of Miracles, in grace of Vocation, in receiving the Holy Ghost, in vehemency of Torments, and death for Christs Name, the other Apostles were nothing inferior to

Vide Baldum consil. 259. lib. 1. Proofs and reasons that there was no inequality of precedence among the Apostls.

Office of teaching giveth no dominion further than the books.

Peter in no point excelleth the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Peter : why *Peter* then ſhould claim any ſpecial Prerogative above the reſt, I underſtand no cauſe. As indeed he never claimed any : but the Patrons of the Apoſtolical See do claim it for him, which he never claimed himſelf : neither if he were here, would no leſs abhor it with Soul and Conſcience than we do now : and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of perſon,or any vantage to our ſelves, but only the vehemency of Truth, and Zeal to Chriſt and to his Congregation. Moreover,if theſe men would needs have *Peter* to be the Curate and Overſeer of the whole univerſal Church (which was too much for one man to take Charge of) and to be Prince of all other Apoſtles, then would I fain learn of them,what meaneth *(Dextræ ſocietatis)* the right hand of Society between *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Barnabe*, mentioned *Gal.*2. What taking of hands is there between Subjects and their Prince,in way of fellowſhip ? Or where fellowſhip is,what Maſterſhip is there? Or again,what ſtate of Maſterſhip is it like that Chriſt would give to *Peter*, who being indeed Maſter of all, took ſuch little Maſterſhip upon himſelf, and that not only in inward affection, but alſo in outward fact ? Although I am not ignorant that *Peter* in divers places of the Goſpel hath his Commendation, neither do I deny *Peter* to be worthy of the ſame. But yet theſe words of Commendation give to him no ſtate of Superiority, or Juriſdiction upon all others, to have all under his Subjection. As if a School-Maſter ſhould have more ſpecial charge to ſome one of his Scholars for his riper towardneſs : yet this giveth him no fulneſs of Authority, or Power coactive upon the reſt, unleſs by ſpecial admiſſion he be deputed thereunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of *Peter* ; for if it be true that S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that ſuch things as were ſpoken to *Peter*,have no lightſome underſtanding, except they be referred to the Church, whereof *Peter* did bear a figure : then hath the perſon of *Peter* nothing to Claim by theſe words, but all redoundeth to the Church, which being meant by *Peter*, hath power by this reaſon, both over the perſon of *Peter*, and other perſons in the Lord.

Dextræ ſocietatis.

Auguſt.hereſ. 53ad. 109.

Anſwer to an invincible argument proving by *Chryſoſtome* the whole Church to be committed to S*t.* *Peter.*

But here ſtumbleth in an argument of our Adverſary again, which he in the margent of his Book calleth an invincible argument drawn out of the bowels of S. *John Chryſoſtome*, *lib.* 2. *De Sacerd.* Whereby he ſuppoſeth to have given a ſhrewd blow to Proteſtants, and to have gotten *Hectors* victory upon a certain *Engliſh* Priſoner taken in plain field, and of all ſuch as take his part. The Text only of *Chryſoſtome* he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible argument in the margent. But becauſe he either will not,or liſt not to ſhew his cunning therein, I will form that an argument for him which he would have done,but did not : and ſo will form

Chryſoſt. lib. 2. *de ſacerd.* it (the Lord willing) as he himſelf muſt of neceſſity be driven to do, if the matter ever come to the trial of act, and not to the trifling of words. Firſt, he taketh his Text out of *Chryſoſtome*,as followeth.For what cauſe,I pray you, did Chriſt ſhed his blood ? Truly to redeem thoſe ſheep, whoſe Charge he committeth to *Peter*, and to *Peters* Succeſſors. Upon this place of *Chryſoſtome*, this Clerk taketh his *medium*,: Chriſts ſuffering. His concluſion is, That all which Chriſt died for,were committed to *Peter :* wherefore the form of the argument muſt needs ſtand thus in the third figure :

A Popiſh perſition paralogiſme.

Chriſt ſuffered for all men :

Chriſt ſuffered for them whom he committed to *Peter*.

Ergo, All that Chriſt died for, were committed to *Peter*.

If this be the form of his inſoluble argument, as it ſeemeth to be, by the order of his reaſoning,and alſo muſt needs be, taking that *medium*, and making that concluſion as he doth, (for elſe in the firſt figue, and firſt mood,the Text of *Chryſoſtome* will not ſerve him) then muſt the form and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of *Logick*, making his concluſion univerſal, which in that figure muſt needs be particular, either affirmative or negative. And ſo this argument invincible, falleth into one of theſe two ſtraits ; either concluding thus, the form will not ſerve him,or concluding in another figure,the words of *Chryſoſtome* will not anſwer to his purpoſe. to prove that all the world was committed to *Peter*. Which Propoſition as it is ſtrange in Scripture : ſo neither is it the Propoſition of *Chryſoſtome*. And though it were, yet both without inconvenience might be granted of us, and being granted, ſerveth his purpoſe nothing, ſo long as the Propoſition is not exceptive, excluding other Apoſtles. For the words of *Chryſoſtome* do not ſo found, that the whole world was committed to *Peter* only, and to none other. Likewiſe then as it may be well affirmed of us, that the world was committed to *Peter* : ſo can it not be denied of them that the world was alſo committed to *Iohn*, *James*, *Bartholomew*, *Paul*, *Barnabe*, and other all and ſingular Apoſtles. For he that ſaid to *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, ſaid alſo to all and ſingular his Apoſtles, *Go into all the world and Preach,&c. Matth. ult.* Moreover,for as much as this man collecteth out of *Chryſoſtome*, that the whole world was committed to *Peter* , how ſhall we then joyn this meaning of *Chryſoſtome* with Saint *Paul*, which ſaith that the Goſpel was committed to *Peter over the Circumciſion*, as was *Paul over the Uncircumciſion* ? And here an anſwer to his doughty argument, both to the form, and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be ſaid more of *Peters* Succeſſors in the Text of *Chryſoſtome*. By the which Succeſſors is not meant the Biſhop of *Rome* only (as the Papiſts would bear us in hand) but all ſuch true and faithful Paſtors,whom the Lords calling feudeth, and ſetteth over his Flock,whereſoever, or whatſoever they be. For as *Peter* beareth a Repreſentation of the Church, by the teſtimony of *Auguſt. in Ioan. tract.* 124. *Preſat. in Pſal.* 108. ſo the Succeſſors of *Peter* be all faithful Paſtors and Overſeers of Chriſts Church, to whom Chriſt our Lord hath committed the Charge of his Flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceived, which looking upon the Rock only of the perſon, and not the Rock confeſſion (contrary to the rule of *Hilary De trinit. lib.* 6.) do tie the Apoſtleſhip or Rock of *Peter* to one only Biſhop,and the ſucceſſion of *Peter* to one only See of *Rome :* whereas this being a ſpiritual office,and not carnal, hath no ſuch carnal Race or Deſcent after any worldly or local underſtanding : but hath a more myſtical meaning,after a ſpiritual ſenſe of ſucceſſion,ſuch as *Hierome* ſpeaketh of, *Epiſt. ad Evagrium. Omnes, inquit. Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt.&c.* that is, All, (ſaith he) ſpeaking of Biſhops ; be Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, &c.

The World was committed as well to other Apoſtles as to *Peter.*

A place of *Chryſoſtome* examined by S. Paul.

The ſecond ſort of Peter.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 124.

Hilarius, lib. 6.

Hieron. Epiſt. ad Evagrium.

Of like force and faſhion, and out of the ſame figure, the ſame Author patcheth moreover another argument, proving, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was tituled the head of Chriſts Church, in the Primitive time of the old Ancelors, before the age of *Gregory*. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figue :

Saint *Peter* was called by the ancient Fathers, head of Chriſts Church ;

An argument of the Papiſts.

Saint *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome :*

Ergo, The Biſhop of *Rome* was called Head of the Church in the old ancient time.

This argument expoſitory, being clouted up in the third figure, and concluding ſingularly, hath rather a ſhew of an argument, than maketh any neceſſary concluſion, ſtanding upon no mood in the faid figure,if the Author thereof were put to trial. Albeit to leave the form, and to come to the matter of the argument. Firſt, how well will he diſpatch himſelf of the major, and prove us that S. *Peter* although he were at *Rome*,and taught at *Rome*,and ſuffered at *Rome*: yet that he wasBiſhop and proper Ordinary of that City and ſpecial See of *Rome ?* As touching the allegation of *Abdias*, *Oroſius*, *Ado*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome*, *Optatus*, *Auguſtine* brought forth for his moſt advantage, to prove his major : thus I anſwer concerning *Oroſius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome* and *Auguſtine*, that where they ſpeak of S. *Peters* Chair, or planting the Faith at *Rome*,ſtraightway this man argueth thereupon,that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*. But that doth not clearly follow. For the office of the Apoſtles was to plant the Faith in all places, and in every Region, yet were they not Biſhops in every Region. And as for the Chair, as it is no difference eſſential that maketh a Biſhop (for ſo much as a Doctor may have a Chair,and yet be no Biſhop) ſo cannot he conclude by the Chair of *Peter*,that S. *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*. For all this proveth no further,but that *Peter* was at *Rome*,and there taught the faith of Chriſt.as *Paul* did alſo,and peradventure in a Chair likewiſe:yet we ſay not that *Paul* was therefore Biſhop of *Rome:* but that he was there as an Apoſtle of Chriſt, whether he taught there ſtanding on his feet, or ſitting in a Chair. In the Scripture commonly the Chair ſignifieth Doctrine or judgment, as ſitting alſo declareth ſuch as teach or judge, whether

An anſwer to the argument.

*Oroſius,Tertullib.de proſcript. adverſ. hæreſ.Cyp.Ep.*3. *Epiph.* 3. *Iren.* 10 *cetal. & Epiſt.*

whether they ſit in the Chair of *Moſes*, or in the Chair of Peſtilence.Planting likewiſe is a word Apoſtolical,and ſignifieth not only the office of a Biſhop.Wherefore it is no good conſequent.He ſate, he taught,he planted at *Rome*, his chair and ſeat was at *Rome*; *Ergo*, he was Biſhop of *Rome*. And thus much touching *Oroſius*,*Tertullian*,*Cyprian*,*Auguſtine*.

As for *Abdias*, *Ado*, *Optatus*, and ſuch others, although we ſhould have much wrong offered,and never ſhould make an end, if we ſhould be preſt with the authority of every one that could or did move pen, in all the whole ſtrit age of the Church, to be our Judges in every Eccleſiaſtical matter : and much more wrong ſhould have,if the Authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, ſhould be laid unto us, ſpeaking not in the ſame ſenſe, or in the ſame tongue, or in the ſame time wherein they wrote ; yet to help and to ſalve the authorities of theſe Authors ſo much as we may, I anſwer to their Allegations with this diſtinction of a Biſhop,which is to be taken either generally,or ſpecially.After the firſt,a Biſhop is he to whomſoever the publick cure and charge of Souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And ſo the name of Biſhop is co-incident with the office of Apoſtle, or any publick Paſtor, Doctor, or Curate of the univerſal flock of Chriſt. And thus may *Paul*, *Peter*, or any other of the Apoſtles be called Biſhops. So alſo is Chriſt himſelf by expreſs word called ἐπίσκοπον & and ποιμένα, that is, Biſhop and Paſtor, 1 *Pet.* 2. And thus may *Peter* well be named a Biſhop of theſe foreſaid Authors after this manner of taking. But this publick and general Charge univerſally over the whole, without limitation, ceaſed after Chriſt and the Apoſtles. For then were Biſhops by places and Provinces appointed, to have ſpecial Over-ſight of ſome particular Flock or Province, and ſo to be Reſident and Attendant only upon the ſame.

A double taking of the word Biſhop.

Chriſt himſelf a Biſhop

The other diverſity of this name Biſhop, is to be taken after a more ſpecial ſort, which is, when any perſon orderly called, is aſſigned namely and ſpecially to ſome one certain place, City, or Province, whereunto he is only bound to imploy his office and charge, and no where elſe, according to the old Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the Council of *Nice*. And this Biſhop differing from the other, is called *Epiſcopus intitulatus*, having his name of his City or Diocels. And thus we deny that *Peter* the Apoſtle was ever Biſhop elected, initalled, or intituled to the City of *Rome :* neither doth *Optatus*, *Abdias*, *Ado*, or *Hierome* affirm the ſame. And if *Ado* ſay that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome* five and twenty years, until the laſt year of *Nero*, that is eaſily refuted both by the Scriptures and Hiſtories : for ſo we underſtand by the Declaration of Saint *Paul*, Gal.1.2. that fourteen years after his Converſion, Saint *Paul* had *Peter* by the hand at *Hieruſalem*.

Conc. Apoſt. 83. 1o. 86. Con. Nice. 20. 15. Conſtl. Antioch. can. 9. 13. *Peters* being at *Rome.*

Anſwer to the argument.

Moreover,the ſaid *Paul* in the foreſaid Epiſtle witneſſeth that the charge Apoſtolical was committed unto *Peter* over the circumciſed,and ſo was he intituled. Alſo S. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, in his manifold Salutations to them in *Rome*, maketh no mention there of S. *Peter*, which doubtleſs ſhould not have been unremembred,if he had been then in *Rome*. Again, S. *Peter* dating his Epiſtle from *Babylon*, was not then belike at *Rome*.

Furthermore, Hiſtories do Record, that *Peter* was at *Pontus* five years, then at *Antioch* ſeven years. How could he then be five and twenty years at *Rome* ? Finally,where our Adverſary alledging out of *Ado*, ſaith, that Saint *Peter* was there five and twenty years,until the laſt year of *Nero :* how can that ſtand,when Saint *Paul* ſuffering under *Nero*, was put to death the ſame day twelve month, that is, a whole year after *Peter* ? *&c.* But eſpecially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould make *Peter* an Apoſtle univerſal to walk in all the world ? *Ite per univerſum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi teſtes uſque ad fines terræ, &c.* And our Papiſts would needs make him a fitting Biſhop, and intitle him to *Rome*. How accord theſe, *Apoſtolus* and *Epiſcopus*, *Ire* and *ſedere*, *Omnes gentes* and *Roma* together ?

And thus have I reſolved the firſt untruth of that Popiſh Demonſtration before rehearſed, wherein they think to prove that as *Peter*, although he was not called Univerſal Apoſtle,yet was the head of the whole Church: ſo the Pope might, and hath had after him the Charge of the whole Church, although he was not called Univerſal Biſhop in the old time, &c.

Now followeth the ſecond untruth to be touched in the ſame argument,which is,that becauſe *Peter* was the head of the Church : ſo therefore the Pope muſt alſo be the head of the Church, and was : albeit he was not called Univerſal Biſhop a long time. But this we do deny, yea, the matter denieth it ſelf by their own poſition ; for being granted by them, that the title of Univerſal Biſhop was not received at *Rome*, but refuſed to the time of *Gregory :* then muſt it neceſſarily be granted, that the Biſhops of *Rome* before Saint *Gregory*,had not the Charge of the whole Church, neither could be admitted by that reaſon to be heads of the Church. For ſo much as there can be no head,but which is Univerſal to the whole Body,neither can any have charge of the whole, but he muſt needs be Univerſal to all and ſingular parts of that,whereof he hath the Charge.As in Sciences, whoſoever hath knowledge and cunning in all the ſeven liberal Sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal Knowledge, is ſaid to be an univerſal learned man : ſo in office, to whomſoever the Publick Charge of all Churches doth appertain, how is he not to be called Biſhop Univerſal ? Now it before Saint *Gregories* time, the name of Univerſal Biſhop was repealed in *Rome* : how then can the name be refuſed, and the definition of the name be admitted ? Or elſe let our Adverſaries tell us how they define an Univerſal Biſhop, ſeeing this word Biſhop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed Charge. Wherefore, if a Biſhop be he which hath the charge of all Souls in his Dioceſs committed to him, and muſt render account for them all ; then whoſe Charge extendeth to all and ſingular Churches, and muſt render account for every Chriſtian ſoul within the whole world, to him cannot be denied the name of an Univerſal Biſhop, having the office of an Univerſal Biſhop. Or if he be not an univerſal Biſhop, he cannot then have the Charge of the whole, that is, of all and ſingular Churches of Chriſt. For ſuch is the rule of true definition : *Cui convenit definitio, convenit & definitum, & contra : Cui admittur definitio, eidem & definitum admittur.* Although this word Univerſal, in the *Greek* Writers ſignifieth that, which we in our vulgar *Engliſh* Tongue call Catholick ; yet I ſuppoſe our Adverſaries here will not take Univerſal in that ſenſe. For after that meaning, as we do not deny that the Biſhops of *Rome* may be Univerſal Biſhops, ſo neither can they deny but other Biſhops may alſo be as Univerſal, that is, as Catholick as they. But ſuch as more diſtinctly and School-like diſcuſs this matter, define Univerſal or Catholick by three things ; to wit, by time, place, and perſon. So that whatſoever extendeth it ſelf to all times,all places,and all perſons, that is properly Univerſal or Catholick. And contrariwiſe, whatſoever extendeth it ſelf to all times,all places,and all perſons, to all thoſe three aforeſaid, comprehending all places, times, and perſons, and extendeth it ſelf of his own nature to the ſame, or elſe it is not to be called properly Univerſal or Catholick. And thus three things there be, which moſt commonly we call Catholick or Univerſal : that is the Church, which is called the Catholick Church : Faith,which is called the Catholick Faith : a man whom alſo we call a man Catholick,becauſe thoſe three of their own nature and diſpoſition(no contrary obſtacle letting) extend themſelves ſo to all, that no time, place, nor perſon is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the Charge of the Biſhop of *Rome*, then is it an Univerſal Charge, and he an Univerſal Biſhop : if not, then is his Charge neither Univerſal, nor he the Head of the Church, nor yet Univerſal Biſhop. For how theſe three can be ſeparated, I cannot ſee, except the Adverſary part do prove it more evidently than they have done.

The ſecond untruth of the argument above mentioned.

What is an univerſal Biſhop.

Regula aſſumitur. *Cui conv. &c. definitio, & definitum, Univerſal*, denied by three things, time, place, and perſon.

Three things commonly called, Catholick or Univerſal.

To have univerſal charge to be head of the univerſal Church, and to be univerſal Biſhop are all one,inſeparably together.

And thus much to the Objection of our Adverſaries : arguing thus, that as Saint *Peter* being not called Univerſal Apoſtle, yet was the Head of the Univerſal Church : ſo the Pope,although he was not firſt called Univerſal Biſhop, had, and might have the Charge of the whole Church, and was the univerſal Head of the ſame. The which Objection containing (as is ſaid) a double untruth, our Adverſaries, yet notwithſtanding, do buſie themſelves greatly to fortine by ſundry Teſtimonies,and Allegations, patched out of old and ancient Doctors, but ſpecially out of *Theodoretus*, *Irenæus*, *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, proving by them, that the See of *Rome* having the Preeminence and Principality, hath been honoured above all other Churches. Whereupon the ſaid adverſary before minded grounded this conſequent.

Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine and *Theodoretus* affirm, that the Church of *Rome* is the chief of all other Churches.

Ireneus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Amb. de dign. sacerd. lib. 2. cap. 6. Aug. Epist. 162. An argument of the Papists. Answer.

Ergo, the Biſhop and Head of that Church is chief and Head over all Biſhops, and Head over all other Churches.

But this conſequence is to be denied, for that the excellency of the Church or place doth not always argue the excellency of the Miniſter or Biſhop, not yet neceſſarily doth cauſe the ſame. For in matters of the Church, which are ſpiritual, all preeminence ſtandeth upon ſpiritual and inward Gifts *(Spiritualia enim ſpiritualibus comparantur,)* as Faith, Piety, Learning and godly Knowledge, Zeal and Fervency in the Holy Ghoſt, Unity of Doctrine, &c. which Gifts many times may excel in a Church, where the Miniſter or Biſhop is inferior to Biſhops or Miniſters of other Churches. As the moſt famous School in a Realm, hath not alway the moſt famous School-Maſter, neither doth make him thereby moſt excellent in Learning above all others. So if our Adverſaries do mean by this Preeminence of the Church of *Rome*, ſuch inward Gifts of Doctrine, Faith, Unity and Peace of Religion; then ſay I, the excellency hereof doth not infer or argue the excellency of the Biſhop. And thus concerning the Principality of the Church of *Rome*, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, and ſo well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the conſequent. But here will our Adverſaries peradventure reply again and ſay, that the Principality of the Church of *Rome* which is commended by the Doctors, is not meant here ſo much by inward Gifts and Indowments belonging to a Chriſtian Church, as by outward Authority and Domination over other Churches. Whereto is to be anſwered: firſt, what neceſſity is there; or where did our Papiſts learn, to bring into the ſpiritual Church of Chriſt, this outward form of civil Regiment and Policy? that as the *Roman* Emperors in times paſt governed over all the world, ſo the *Roman* Biſhop muſt have his Monarchy upon the Univerſal Clergy, to make all other Churches to ſtoop under his Subjection. And where then be the words of our Saviour? *Vos autem non ſic.* If they hold their Affirmative *Quod ſic.* Where then is Chriſts Negative *Non ſic?* If they ſay, there muſt needs be diſtinction of degrees in the Church, and in this diſtinction of degrees, Superiority muſt neceſſarily be granted for the outward Diſcipline of the Church, for directing matters, for quieting of Schiſms, for ſetting Orders, for commencing of Convocations and Councils, as need ſhall require, &c. Againſt this Superiority we ſtand not, and therefore we yield to our Superior Powers, Kings and Princes, our due Obedience, and to our lawful Governors under God of both Regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal. Alſo in the Eccleſiaſtical State, we take not away the diſtinction of ordinary degrees, ſuch as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the Primitive Church allowed, as Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Miniſters and Deacons, for of theſe four we ſpecially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diverſity of Office, ſo we admit in the ſame alſo, diverſity of Dignity: neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any ſingular Perſon. For as we give to the Miniſter place above the Deacon, to the Biſhop above the Miniſter, to the Archbiſhop above the Biſhop: ſo we ſee no cauſe of inequality, why one Miniſter ſhould be above another Miniſter: one Biſhop in his degree above another Biſhop to deal in his Dioceſs, or one Archbiſhop above another Archbiſhop. And this is to keep an order duly and truely in the Church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the Authority of *Auguſt. lib. de Civit. Dei.* Where he thus defineth that which we call Order: *Ordo eſt parium diſpariumque rerum ſua cuique loca tribuens diſpoſitio.* Order (ſaith he) is a diſcretion or diſpoſition given to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to every one his own right and proper place.

Preeminence of a Church eſteemed after a double conſideration.

Objection. Outward preeminence belongeth unto outward Kingdoms, not to the Church of Chriſt.

The firſt anſwer to the Objection.

Non ſic. Faith Chriſts *Non ſic* Superiority in the Church. Diſtinction of degrees in the Church. Diverſity of Diſgnities in degrees. Order kept in the Church, and what true order is.

Aug. lib. de Civ. Dei. cap. 19. Order defined.

This definition of S. *Auguſtine*, ſtanding with the things before premiſed; now here joyneth the queſtion between us and the Papiſts, whether the Metropolitan Church of *Rome*, with the Archbiſhop of the ſame, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitan Churches and Archbiſhops, through univerſal Chriſtendom, or not? To the anſwer whereof, if the voice of Order might here be heard, it would ſay, Give to things that be matches and like, like honour; to things unlike, unlike honour, &c. Wherefore, ſeeing the See of *Rome* is a Patriarchal See appointed by the Primitive Church, and the Biſhop thereof and Archbiſhop limited within his own bordering Churches, which the Council of *Nice* calleth *Suburbicas Eccleſias*, as other Archbiſhops be: he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an Archbiſhop (ordering himſelf thereafter) and ſuch outward Preeminence as to other Archbiſhops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right Order, he falleth into preſumption, and doth wrong unto his Fellows: and they alſo do wrong unto themſelves whoſoever they be, which feeding his humor of ambition, give more unto him than the foreſaid rule of Order doth require. For ſo much as they yield to him more than is his right, ſo much they take from themſelves, which is due to them. And the ſame is the cauſe, why both *Gregory* and *Pelagius* his Predeceſſor reprehendeth them, which gave to the Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that which now the Biſhop of *Rome* claimeth to himſelf, charging them with the breach of Order in theſe words, *Ne dum privatim aliquod daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privaverintur univerſi*; that is, Leſt that while any ſingular thing is given to one perſon, all other Prieſts be deprived of their due honour. And for the like cauſe, *Pelagius* exhorteth that no Prieſt do give to any one Archbiſhop, the name of Univerſal Biſhop, *Ne ſibi debitum ſubtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert debitum*; that is, Leſt (ſaith he) in ſo doing, he take from himſelf his due honour, while he yieldeth that which is not due to another. And alſo in the ſame Epiſtle, *Quia ſi ſummus Patriarcha univerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur.* For (ſaith he) if he be called the chief univerſal Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarch derogated from others, &c. Wherefore as is ſaid, ſeeing the Biſhop of *Rome* is an Archbiſhop, as others be, Order giveth that he ſhould have the Dignity which to Archbiſhops is due; whatſoever is added more, is derogation to the reſt. And thus much concerning diſtinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

Ex epiſtola Gregorii, lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.

Ex Epiſt. 2. Pelagii 2. Epiſt. 1. cap. Nullus.

The ſecond reaſon and anſwer to the Objection before moved, is this, That being granted to the Papiſts, that the Doctors aforeſaid, ſpeaking of the Principality of the Church of *Rome* do mean not only of the inward Vertues of that Church, but alſo of the outward Authority and Juriſdiction of the ſame, above other Churches; yet the cauſe wherefore they did attribute ſo much to that Church, is to be expended, which was this, as before was alleged out of the Council of *Chalcedon, Can.* 28. *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύουσι τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*, that is, For the Rule and Empery which that City of *Rome* had then above other Cities; which cauſe being outward and carnal, was neither then cauſe ſufficient, and now ceaſing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they ſay, *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* So that by the reaſon thereof, the aforeſaid Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, did not hold them *Jure divino ſed humano.* And as it holdeth by mans law, ſo by mans law may be repealed again.

The ſecond anſwer to the obiection before moved.

Ex Concil. Chalced. cap. 28.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the Pope fitteth and ſucceedeth in the Chair of *Peter*, and alſo that he is the Biſhop of the greateſt City in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that he ſhould have rule and Lordſhip over all other Biſhops and Churches of the world. For firſt touching the ſucceſſion of *Peter*, many things are to be conſidered:

A falſe conſequent of the Papiſts.

Firſt, Whether *Peter* ſate, and had his Chair in *Rome*, or not?

Certain demands for the Papiſts to anſwer unto.

Secondly, Whether he ſate there as an Apoſtle, or as a Biſhop?

Thirdly, Whether the ſitting in the outward Seat of *Peter* maketh Succeſſors of *Peter*?

Fourthly, Whether he ſitteth in the Chair and Seat of *Peter*, which ſitteth not in the Doctrine of *Peter*?

Fifthly, Whether the Succeſſion of *Peter* maketh rather an Apoſtle than a Biſhop, and ſo ſhould we call the Pope the Apoſtle of *Rome*, and not the Biſhop of *Rome*?

Sixthly, Whether Eccleſiaſtical Functions ought to be eſteemed by ordinary ſucceſſion of place, or by Gods ſecret calling and ſending?

Seventhly and laſtly, Whether it ſtand by Scripture, any ſucceſſion at all to be pointed in Chriſts Church, or why more from *Peter* than from other Apoſtles?

All

All which Interrogatories being well diſcuſſed (which would aſk a long Proceſs) it ſhould well appear what little hold the Pope hath to take this ſtate upon him, above all other Churches, as he doth. In the mean time, this one argument by the way may ſuffice, in ſtead of many, for our Adverſaries to anſwer to at their convenient leiſure. Which argument thus I form and frame in *Camestres*.

An argument proving the Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* not to be Succeſſors of *Peter*.

Camestres. All the true Succeſſors of *Peter* ſit in the Chair of the Doctrine of *Peter*; and other Apoſtles uniformly:

No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* ſit in the Chair of S. *Peters* and other Apoſtles Doctrine uniformly:

Ergo, No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* be the true Succeſſors of *Peter*.

And when they have well peruſed the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the Doctrine taught them of S. *Peter*, with the Doctrine taught now by the Popes, of juſtification of a Chriſtian-man, of the office of the law, of the ſtrength and largeneſs of ſin, of mens Merits, of Free-will, of Works of ſupererogation, of ſetting up Images, of ſeven Sacraments, of auricular Confeſſion, of Satisfaction, of ſacrifice of the Maſs, of Communicating under one kind, of elevating and adoring the ſacramental Elements, of *Latin* Service, of Invocation, of prohibition of Meats and Marriage, of vowing Chaſtity of Sects and rules of divers Religions, of Indulgences and Pardons: alſo with their Doctrine taught now of Magiſtrates, of the fulneſs of Power and Regality of the See of *Rome*, with many other like to theſe, &c. then will I be glad to hear what they ſhall ſay to the Premiſes.

Secondly, If they would prove by the Allegation of the Doctors, *Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Theodoretus* aforeſaid, the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the Chief of all Biſhops therefore, becauſe the City whereof he is Biſhop, is the chief and principal above all other Churches, that conſequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I ſay, the Principality of that Church to ſtand *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν*, that is, upon the principal Dominion of that City) no more than this conſequent followeth.

London is the chief City in all *England*:

Ergo, the Biſhop of *London* is the chiefeſt of all Biſhops in this Realm.

Which argument were derogatory to the Archbiſhops both of *Conterbury* and *York*.

Yea, to grant yet more to our Adverſaries (which is all they can require) the mind of the aforeſaid Doctors, as *Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine*, and *Theodoretus*, in giving Principality unto *Rome*, to have reſpect unto the vertue of ſucceſſion from *Peter*, and not unto the greatneſs of the City: yet notwithſtanding for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly conſidered; to ſay,

Anſwer to the conſequent.

The Apoſtolical See of *Rome*, having ſucceſſion from *Peter*, with the Biſhops thereof, was chief then of all other Churches in the Primitive time of theſe Doctors.

Succeſſion Apoſtolical doubtfully to be conſidered.

Ergo, The Apoſtolical See of *Rome*, with the Biſhops thereof, having ſucceſſion from *Peter*, ought now to be chief of all other Churches in theſe our days.

This conſequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if ſucceſſion which gave them the cauſe of Principality, were the ſame now, which was then. But now the time and ſucceſſion is not correſpondent, for then ſucceſſion in the time of theſe Doctors, was as well in Doctrine Apoſtolical, as in place Apoſtolical. Now, the ſucceſſion of Doctrine Apoſtolical hath long ceaſed in the See Apoſtolical: and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the leaſt matter of true Spiritual and Apoſtolical ſucceſſion. And thus much to the authority and teſtimony of theſe forenamed Doctors.

Beſides theſe Objections heretofore recited out of *Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine*, and *Theodoretus*; our Adverſaries yet object and heap up againſt us moreover Examples of the Primitive time of the Church, Teſtimonies of general Councils, and Opinions of ancient Writers taken out of the Book of Councils, and Epiſtles decretal, whereby their intent is to prove the foreſaid terms (of the Head of the Church, Ruler of the Church, Chief of all other Priests) to be applied not only to *Peter*, but alſo to the Biſhop of *Rome* within the compaſs of the Primitive time. And here cometh in the Teſtimony cited of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*. Of the Epiſtle of *Paſchaſius* and his Fellows, writing to *Leo* from the Council of *Chalcedon*. The teſtimony alſo of *Juſtinian* the Emperor in his *Codex*; where *Joannes* then Pope, was called *Caput omnium Eccleſiarum, Epiſt. inter claras, cap. De ſumma trinit. & fide cath.* The teſtimony alſo of *Athanaſius*, with his Fellow Biſhops of *Egypt*, of *Thebaida* and *Lybia*, in their Epiſtles to Pope *Marcus*, *Liberius*; and *Felix*. Likewiſe the teſtimony of *Jerome, In Preſ. in 4. Evang. Item Ep. 42. tom. 1. Item Ep. 41. tom. 2.* Of S. *Ambroſe*, 1. *tom. 3.* Of S. *Auguſtine* to *Boniface. Ad Bonif. contra duas Epiſt. Palag. l. 1. c. 1. Item l. 2. de bapt. c. 1.* Of *Theodoretus* in his Epiſtle to Pope *Leo*; *Epiſt. commentar. in Pauli Ep. præfixa.* Of *Chryſoſtome, Epiſt. ad Innocentium, tom. 5. &c.* By which Teſtimonies our Adverſaries would prove Saint *Peter*, and after him the Biſhop of *Rome* to be called and taken for Head of the Church, Chief Biſhop, Prince and Ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which Objections fully and exactly to anſwer in order, would require a whole Volume by it ſelf. In the mean time, leaving the reſt unto them, unto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this own ſhort diſtinction I anſwer theſe and all ſuch other like places, where S. *Peter* with his Succeſſors are called Head of the Church, Chief of Biſhops, Prince of the Apoſtles, &c. In which places, this word Head, Chief, and Prince of the Apoſtles, may be taken two manner of ways: to note either Dominion or elſe Commendation. For ſo we read ſometime *Caput* and *Principes*, to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefeſt and worthieſt part among many parts, and not Poſſeſſor and Governor of the whole. Like as in the perſon of man, the Head is the Principal part of the whole Body, being indued with reaſon, and furniſhed with moſt excellent ſenſes, by the which the whole body of man is directed: ſo thereof is derived by a Metaphor, to what man or thing ſoever nature or condition hath given the greateſt excellency of Gifts and Properties above other parts or members, the ſame ſociety to be called of the ſaid Parties, *Caput* or *Princeps*, Head or Prince. And yet the ſame Head or Princes ſo called, hath not always Dominion or Juriſdiction of the reſt. So we call in our vulgar Speech, the Head or Chief men of the Pariſh, who for their Riches, Wiſdom, or Place, are moſt ſpecially noted: after like phraſe of Speech we call the head man of the Inqueſt, him that hath firſt Place: and yet neither they nor theſe have any Dominion or Juriſdiction upon the Reſidue. In a School the chiefeſt Schollar in Learning, is not therefore the Maſter or Governor of his Fellows. Neither hath M. *Cicero* any Title thereby to claim Subjection and Service of all other Orators, becauſe he is named *Princeps Eloquentiæ*, and goeth before them in that kind of phraſe. The ſame *Cicero, lib. 1. offic.* calleth *Cratippum principem hujus ætatis Philoſophorum*: as *Homer* may be alſo called *Poetarum Princeps*: and yet neither Philoſophers to *Cratippus*, nor Poets to *Homer* owe any thing elſe, but only fame and praiſe.

Teſtimonies alledged for the Primacy of the Pope.

Anſwer by a diſtinction.

Capus & Princeps how a double underſtanding.

How Peter is Princeps Apoſtolorum, Peter Princeps Eloquentiæ, Cicero, Princeps Philoſophiæ, Cratippus.

Petrus Princeps & Corypheus Apoſtolorum.

And what if Saint *Peter* the bleſſed Apoſtle be called and counted by the old ancient Doctors, as Head and Prince of the Apoſtles, which is as much as *Corypheus Apoſtolorum*, for his excellent Faith, for his Divine Confeſſion and ſingular Affection to the Lord Jeſus: yet what Intereſt or Charge either hath he to Challenge over the Apoſtles, or the Pope after him over all other Biſhops and the whole Church of Chriſt, although the Pope have the like excellency of Chriſts Faith which *Peter* had, as would God he had! As concerning theſe Allegations therefore out of the Doctors, two things are to be obſerved: firſt, that neither theſe Names and Titles, though they be given to *Peter*, do give him any State or Dominion over other Apoſtles: nor yet the ſucceſſion of him doth further any whit this celſitude and regality of the Pope to advance him above his Fellow Archbiſhops, as now he doth.

And if our Adverſaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of Teſtimonies, and dividing the houſe (ſpeaking of the Writers and Councils of the Primitive Age) for theſe aforeſaid Teſtimonies alledged on their ſide: I could on the contrary part recite out of the witneſs of

Doctors,

Doctors, out of the examples of Councils, and practices of Emperors, no leſs than ſixty voices, much more repugnant againſt their affection. than there is for the Pope. The tractation whereof for this preſent I do refere, either to them that have more leiſure at this time to diſcourſe them, or elſe omit it to another time, if the good pleaſure of the Lord ſhall be to grant me further leiſure in another Book to treat thereof at large in ſuch order, as (if the Lord ſo grant) ſhall appear ſufficient matter, to prove by the Doctors, general Councils, examples and hiſtories of time, that the Biſhops of *Rome*, during the firſt five hundred years after Chriſt, although for the greatneſs of the Empire, were ſomewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were ſought of many, and were flattered of ſome, and they themſelves divers did ſet forth themſelves more than they ſhould: yet by the common conſent of Churches were ſtopped of their purpoſe, ſo that by the conſention of the moſt part, within the compaſs of that age, the Biſhops of *Rome* had not this Regal ſtate of Title, Juriſdiction and fulneſs of power, which now they uſurp, but were taken as Archbiſhops of equal honour, of equal merit with other Archbiſhops and Rulers of the Church. And if any preferment was given unto them ſomething above the reſt, yet neither was it ſo given of all nor of the moſt part: ſecondly, neither was it ſo given of them for any ſuch neceſſity of Gods Word. *Aut jure aliquo divino*, as which did ſo bind them thereunto, nor yet ſo much for the reſpect of *Peter*, and his ſucceſſion: as for certain other cauſes and reſpects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteen.

Thirteen cauſes of advancing of the ſee of *Rome*.

Of which, the firſt is the greateſt of the City and Monarchy of *Rome*.

2. The ſecond, is the authority of the Emperor *Conſtantine* the great, firſt of the Emperors converted to the Faith, and ruling in the ſame City, by whom the univerſal liberty of the Church was firſt promoted: and the cauſes of the Biſhops being then at variance, were committed partly to the Biſhop of *Rome*, partly to other Biſhops near by, to be decided, as appeareth, *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

3. The third was the Council of *Nice*, which confirmed the preeminence of that Church to have the overlight of the Churches bordering about it.

4. The fourth cauſe of advancing the Church of *Rome*, was the unquiet ſtate of the *Greek* Church, much troubled in thoſe days with Sects, Factions and Diſſentions, whereof we may read, *Socrat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 15. *Sozom. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8.

5. The fifth, whenas Synods were called by other Metropolitans; then if it chanced the Biſhops of *Rome* to be abſent, and their ſentence being abſent to be required, by the occaſion thereof they began at length to take their ſentence for a Canon or rule Eccleſiaſtical, and thereby to refuſe other Synods, where their Decree or Sentence was not required.

6. Another cauſe was, that when any common matter was in hand at other places, whatſoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the *Roman* Biſhop for his approbation in the ſame for publick unity and conſent to be had in Chriſts Church, as appeareth, *Lib.* 10. *Epiſt.* 78. *Ambroſ. ad Theophyl.*

7. *Item*, for that the teſtimony ſometimes of the *Roman* Biſhop was wont in thoſe days alſo to be deſired for admitting Teachers and Biſhops in other Churches, whereof we have example in *Socrat. lib.* 4. *cap.* 37.

8. Moreover, this was a great ſetting up of that Church, whenas their ſentence not only was required, but alſo received divers times of other Biſhops. And when Biſhops of other Provinces were at any diſſention among themſelves, they of their own accord appealed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, deſiring him to cite up both parties, and to have the hearing and deciding of the cauſe, as did *Macarius* and *Heſychius* ſend to *Julius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, &c.

9. *Item*, In that certain of the *Arians* returning from their *Arianiſme*, offered up and exhibited unto the Biſhops of *Rome* their libels of Repentance, and were of them received again, as *Urſatius* and *Valens* did to *Julius*, *Socrat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24.

10. The tenth cauſe was alſo, for that *Gratianus* the Emperor made a Law, that all men ſhould retaine that Religion which *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* did hold, *Sozom. lib.* 7. *cap.* 4.

11. And alſo if it hapned the Biſhop of *Rome* to diſallow the ordering of any Miniſter or Miniſters, the Popes perceiving how diligent and ready they were to ſeek their favour, and to ſend up their meſſengers to *Rome* for their purgation, took thereby no little manner of exaltation, *Theodoret. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

Beſides theſe aforeſaid, the Biſhops of *Rome* had alſo another artificial practice, that in ſending out their Letters abroad, as they did ſo many, in all their Epiſtles (if the Epiſtles be theirs, and not forged) ever they were harping of the greatneſs of their name, and of their Apoſtolick See, and of the primacy of Saint *Peter*, their Predeceſſor and Prince of all the Apoſtles, &c. And this they uſed in every Letter, whenſoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their Letters Decretal, namely, in the Letters of *Miltiades*, *Marcellus* and *Marcus*, &c. 131

Again, if any of the Eaſt Church directed any writing to them, wherein any ſignification was contained of never ſo little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly uſe for modeſties ſake) that was taken by and by, and confirmed for plain ſubjection and due obedience, as declareth the Letter of *Damaſus*, written to the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church beginning thus: *Quod debita reverentia, &c. In Engliſh* thus: *But that your charity yieldeth due reverence to the Apoſtolical See, you in ſo doing (dear children) do much for your ſelves, &c. Theodoret. lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. whereas the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church notwithſtanding, had ſhewed little or no reverence in their Epiſtle to Pope *Damaſus* before. 132

Thus have ye the firſt and original grounds, by the means whereof, the Archbiſhops of the *Romiſh* See have atchieved to this their great Kingdom and celſitude over Chriſts Church, firſt beginning the myſtery of their iniquity by that which was modeſtly and voluntarily given them: afterward by uſe and cuſtome claiming it ambitiouſly unto them of duty and ſervice; and laſtly, holding faſt (as we ſee) that which once they had gotten into their poſſeſſion, ſo that now in no caſe they can abide the Birds to call home their feathers again, which they ſo long have uſurped.

And thus much concerning the Life, Juriſdiction and Title of the *Roman* Biſhops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the Church of *Rome*. To theſe I might alſo joyn the manner of Government, wherein the ſaid *Romiſh* Biſhops have no leſs altered, both from the rule of Scripture, and from the ſteps of the true Church of *Rome*, which government as it hath been, and ought to be only ſpiritual, ſo hath the Biſhop of *Rome* uſed it of late years no otherwiſe than hath an earthly King or Prince governed his Realm and Dominions, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward ſtrength, force, priſon, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, puniſhing and correcting faults againſt his perſon more than other offences againſt God committed, uſing and abuſing in all theſe things the Word of God for his pretext and cloke to work his worldly purpoſe withal: whereas indeed, the Word of God miniſtreth no ſuch power to ſpiritual perſons, but ſuch as is ſpiritual: according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle; *Arma militiæ noſtræ non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia, &c.* The Armour and Artillery ſaith Saint *Paul*, of our warfare, is not carnal, but ſpiritual: ſuch as ſerve not againſt fleſh and blood, nor againſt the weak perſon of man; but againſt Satan, againſt the gates of Hell, and the profundities of the wicked power, &c.

This later Church of *Rome* differeth from the firſt church of *Rome* in form of government

Which Armour, as it is all ſpiritual, ſo ought they, which have the dealing thereof, to be likewiſe ſpiritual, well furniſhed with all ſuch gifts and graces of the Holy Ghoſt, meet for the governance of his ſpiritual Church: as with wiſdom and knowledge in the Scripture to inſtruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foreſight of the crafty cogitations and operations of Satan, with power of the Spirit to reſiſt the ſame: (with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort ſuch as be afflicted and oppreſſed of Satan: with heavenly diſcretion to diſcern ſpirits, and truth from untruth: with judgment and knowledge of tongues and learning to convict error: with zeal of Gods glory, with fervency of prayer, with patience in perſecution: with a mind contented with all caſes and ſtates incident, with teares and compaſſion on other mens griefs: with ſtoutneſs and courage againſt proud and ſtout oppreſſors: with humility toward the poor and miſerable: with the counſel of the Lord Jeſus by his Word and Spirit to direct

How the Church of Chriſt ought to be governed.

direct him in all things to be done: with ſtrength againſt ſin: with hatred of this world: with gift of faith: power of the keyes in ſpiritual cauſes: as to miniſter the Word, the Sacraments and Excommunication when the Word biddeth, that the ſpirit may be ſaved, and to reconcile again as cauſe requireth, &c. Theſe and ſuch like are the matters wherein conſiſteth the ſinews and ſtrength of the Church, and for true governance of the ſame. But contrary to theſe aforeſaid both the Biſhop and Clergy of this later Church of *Rome*, proceeding in their adminiſtration and governance, as who under the name and pretence of Chriſt and his Word, have exerciſed of long time nothing elſe but a worldly dominion, ſeeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Chriſt: riches of the world, not the lucre of ſouls: not feeding of the flock, but filling the purſe: revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting Gods glory: ſtriving againſt man only, and killing him: but not killing the vice, nor confirming the error of man: ſtrong againſt fleſh and blood, but weak againſt the Devil, ſtout againſt the ſimple, but meek againſt the mighty: briefly, doing almoſt all things prepoſterouſly, more like to ſecular Princes, than ſpiritual Paſtors of Chriſts flock, with outward forcement, and fear of puniſhment, with priſoning, famiſhing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, flaying, murthering, and burning, and warring alſo: on the other ſide, with his riches and treaſures, with his guard and gitardiance, with ſtrength of Men, with Court and Cardinals: with pomp and pride about them, with their triple Crown, with the naked Sword, with their ordinary ſucceſſion: with their laws and executions: their promotions and preferments: their biddings and commandings: threatnings and revengings, &c.

Popiſh prepoſterous government of the Church by the Pope.

A compariſon between the Kingdom of this World, and the Kingdom of the Pope.

In fine, to compare therefore the images of a worldly Kingdom, with this Kingdom of the Pope, there is no difference, ſave only, that this Kingdom of the Pope, under hypocriſie maketh a face of the ſpiritual ſword, which is the Word of God: but in very deed doth all things with the temporal ſword, that is, with outward forcement and coaction: differing nothing from civil and ſecular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well conſidered. For as in an earthly Kingdom, firſt there is a Prince or ſome chief Magiſtrate appointed, having dominion over his Nobles and Commons, containing all his Subjects under his ſtatutes and laws; with the which laws notwithſtanding he diſpenſeth at his pleaſure; under whom all other inferiour Magiſtrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the Subjects, and yet to be ſubject under him: ſo if the ſtate and form of the Pope be well conſidered, we ſhall ſee it altereth nothing from the ſame, but only in the names of the perſons. In civil government, all ſubjection is referred to one head ruler, whoſe authority ſurmounteth all the reſt, and keepeth the munder obedience: in like manner the government of the *Popiſh* Church is committed to one man, who as chief ſteward, over-ſeer, and ruler of Chriſts houſhold in his abſence, hath ſupreme power over all Churches to moderate and direct all the affairs thereof. But here ſtandeth the difference, in civil Policy he is called a King or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

Secular Nobility compared with eccleſiaſtical nobility.

The King hath next unto him his Dukes and Earls: the Popes Nobility ſtandeth in his Cardinals and Legats; who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, will not only give check to them, but alſo mate to Kings themſelves, if they might be ſuffered, as did *Theodorus*, *Lanfrancus*, *Anſelmus*, *Thomas Becket*, and ſo would *Thomas Woolſey* have done, had not the King given him a neck to his mate betime. In Civil Policy next to Dukes and Earls followeth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, with Majors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Bailiffs, Wardens, &c. The like race is to be ſeen alſo, although under other names, in the Popes policy: of Primats, Biſhops, Suffragans, Provoſts, Deans, Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolyths, Exorciſts, Lectors, Dore-keepers, Singſters, with other Clerks. And is in the other, Under Wardens cometh the order of Scavengers: ſo neither doth the Popes Monarchy lack his Chanelrakers, to whom may well be compared that rablement of Abbats, Provincials, Priors, Monks, Friers, with their Covents, and Nunneries.

Civil magiſtrates compared with eccleſiaſtical.

Moreover, from Juſtices, Judges, Lawyers, Sergeants, Attorneys, which be neceſſary Officers in the Commonwealth, what differ the Popes Inquiſitors, Canonits, Doctors, and Batchelors of the Popes Law, Commiſſaries Officials, Proctors, Promoters, with ſuch others, which ſerve no leſs in ſpiritual Court, and in the Conſiſtory, than the other aforeſaid do in temporal Court, or in *Guildhal*? Now who ſo lift to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other; alſo the power and ſtrength of the one regiment, with the power of the other; and ſo the riches of the one, with the riches of the other; I ſuppoſe he ſhall fee no great odds between them both, ſeeing the Popes Kingdom, as it hath ſtood in his full ruff, and yet doth ſtand where Churches are not reformed. As for ſubtilty and politick practice, there is no man that is indifferent that doubteth, or that hath his eyes that ſeeth not, that the Popes Hierarchy in holding up their ſtate, fir excelleth all the Kingdoms of worldly Princes, of whom all other may take example to learn.

Officers of the Popes temporal court compared with the Officers of the Spiritual Court.

Glory compared.

Power compared.

Riches compared.

Subtilty compared.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with civil governance, as they do little or nothing diſagree: ſo in comparing again the ſame with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient Church of *Rome*, we ſhall fee no reſemblance between them. As we read in the Apoſtles time, all the Armour of Chriſts Miniſters was ſpiritual and full of godly power againſt the ſpiritual enemies of our ſalvation, governing the Church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the ſword of the ſpirit, the ſhield of faith, the breſtplate of righteouſneſs, hearty charity, ſincere faith, and a good conſcience: ſo after the Apoſtles in the time of *Ambroſe* by his own teſtimony it is to be underſtood, that the armour of Churchmen was then, *Preces & lachrymæ*, prayers and teares: where now the armor of the Popes Prieſthood is nothing elſe but *Ignis & ferrum*, fire and ſword, wherewith they keep all things under their ſubjection. And here cometh the enorm and horrible abuſe of excommunication, ſuſpenſion and interdiction in cafes frivolous, or wodily: and for ſuch things as for which the Civil Magiſtrate will not commit any Citizens to the ſtocks, the Popes cenſure will not ſtick to commit a Chriſtian to the Devil: not to ſpeak of their other uſurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to the civil ſword, and be to them impertinent. As in puniſhing whoredom and adultery, in adminiſtration and probats of teſtaments, in hearing civil office, as Popes to be Senators of *Rome*, and Emperor alſo *Sede vacante*, Cardinals to be Captains in War, and Rulers of Regions: Biſhops to be Preſidents or Chancellors. Prieſts to be Stewards in great mens houſes, or Maſters of Mints, or Clerks of the Market, or Gardiners to Gentlemen, &c. All which here I overpaſs, referring them to the deeper conſideration of ſuch as have more leiſure to mark the order of their doings, and ſo to judge of the ſame with indifferency, according to the rule of truth taught in Gods Word, and publick examples of the ancient Church of Chriſt in the primitive time.

The difference between the ancient and primitive Church.

Horrible abuſe of excommunication in the Popes Church.

The Popes governing in matters to them not pertaining.

Thus having diſcourſed ſufficiently ſo much as concerneth the manner of life, title, juriſdiction and government of the Popes See (in all which points it is to be ſeen how this later Church of *Rome* hath receded from the true ancient Church of *Rome*) it now remaineth according to my promiſe, and order prefixed, conſequently to proceed to the fourth and laſt point, which is of Doctrine: wherein conſiſteth the chiefeſt matter that maketh with us and againſt them, in ſuch ſort as (their Doctrine ſtanding as it doth) neither are they to be reputed for true Catholicks, being altered ſo far from them: nor we other than Hereticks, if we ſhould now joyn with theſe. For the more trial whereof, let us examine the Doctrine and Rites of the ſaid Church of *Rome* now uſed, and compare the ſame with the teachings of the ancient Catholicks, to the intent that ſuch ſimple ſouls as have been hitherto, and yet are ſeduced by the falſe viſard and image of this pretenſed and baſtardly Church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eſchew the peril, if they lift to be inſtructed; or if not, to blame none but themſelves for their own wilful deſtruction. And albeit I could here charge the new fangled Church of the Pope with ſeven or eight baneful crimes, as blaſphemy, idolatry, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurdity, vanity, cruelty and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-elders, nor yet with themſelves in ſundry points) yet after a more temperate fort to paſs this matter with them,

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Church examined and detected.

The falſe image of the Popes Church.

No comfort in our salvation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

them these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this Doctrine of the Pope now taught in the Church of *Rome*, is neither any consolation of Conscience, nor salvation of mans soul. For seeing there is no life nor souls health but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the son of God: what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is left made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the Popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God.

The scope and summe of the Popes doctrine whither it tendeth.

And therefore as it may be truly faid that this doctrine of the Pope is void of all true comfort and salvation: so likewise it seemeth that these, which addict themselves so devoutly to the Popes learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart, never entred into any serious feeling of Gods judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soon have seen their own weakness, and been driven to Christ: then should they have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as *Luther* saith) without Christ. And on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a Kingdom, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondson of *Agar*, but with the free son of *Sara*: by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving: that God only might be praised, and not man.

Papists never lightly afflicted in conscience deeply.

An horrible thing to think of God without Christ. *Luther.*

The right faith of the old *Romans*. *Cornelius a Rome*, first baptised of all the Gentiles.

And thus were the old *Romans* first taught by St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*. The same did *Cornelius* the *Roman*, and first that was baptised of all the *Gentiles*, learn of St. *Peter* when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And in the same Doctrine the said Church of the *Romans* many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same Doctrine the Bishop of *Rome* with his *Romans* now also should still remain, if they were such ancient Catholicks as they pretend, and would follow the old mother Church of *Rome*, and hold the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdor and force of that liquor and pleasant Must is now clean put out through other unsavoury infusions of the Popes thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor piece remaineth of all that primitive Doctrine, which St. *Paul* and other Apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel if the *Romans* now in so long tract of time have lost their first sap, seeing the Church of the *Galatians* then in the very time of St. *Paul* their Schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had not so soon turned his back a little, but they were all turned almost from the Doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be reconvered again.

The Church of *Rome* hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned.

The *Galatians* almost gone from Faith in St. *Pauls* time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, St. *Paul* expreffly foretelleth us in his letters both to the *Thessalonians*, and also to *Timothy*, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certain shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. 1 *Tim.*4. and to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place, where the said Apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eat meats ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for mans sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the Church of *Rome*, which not in these points only, but also in all other conditions almost is utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine, which St. *Paul* planted in the Church of the *Romans*, and of all other Gentiles.

1 Tim.4.

The summe of St. *Paul's* Doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

A brief sum of St. *Pauls* doctrine delivered to the Gentiles

1. First, the doctrine of St. *Paul* ascribeth all our justification freely and meerly to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christs Passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law whatsoever: and in this Doctrine, the Church of the *Romans* was first planted.

2. Secondly, the same Doctrine of St. *Paul* cutting off, and excluding all glory of mans deserving, flayeth only upon Gods promise and upon grace, not mans merits: upon mercy, not mans labouring or running: upon election and calling, not mans willing, *&c.*

Salvation by mercy only, and not by merits.

3. Thirdly, the same Doctrine calling down the strength of man and his *Integra naturalia* (as the Schools do term them) concludeth all fleth under sin, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.

All flesh concluded under sin.

4. *Item*, it maketh manifest difference between the Law and the Gospel, declaring the use and end of them to be divers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemn, the other to justifie; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetual, *&c.*

Difference between the Law and the Gospel.

5. *Item*, the same Doctrine of St. *Paul*, as it sheweth a difference between the Law and the Gospel; so it maketh no less difference between *Justicia Dei*, and *Justicia propria*; that is, the righteousness of God and the righteousness of Man, abhorring the one, that is, mans own righteousness, coming by the law and works; and imbracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciously to us for Christ his Sons sake, in whom we believe.

Justicia Dei & *Justicia propria.*

6. *Item*, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoever, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

The rights, outlets & Gods, & the righteousness of man, how they differ by Scripture.

7. Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ only crucified, which is only the object whereunto our faith looketh.

A true Christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified.

8. Furthermore as the same Doctrine of Saint *Paul* defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one *Adam*, though they never touched the apple, they coming of his flock by nature; so doth it prove all men to be justified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being likewise born of him by spiritual regeneration and faith.

All men condemned by one.

All men saved by one.

9. And therefore as all men coming of *Adam* be condemned originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the Law: so all men regenerated by faith in Christ, be saved originally before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed.

10. *Item*, the Doctrine of St. *Paul* perpending the high glory of a Christian mans state in Christ Jesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God, *Rom.*5. Secondly, exempteth him from all condemnation, *Rom.*8. Thirdly, it matcheth him with Angels; it equalleth him with Saints and fellow Citizens of Heaven; it numbreth him with the houshold of God; and inheriteth him with Jesus Christ himself, *Ephes.*2. Fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a servant, to the state of the Son of God, crying *Abba Father*, *Gal.*4. Fifthly, it openeth to him a bold access and entrance to the high majesty and throne of grace, *Ephes.*2. *Heb.*4. Sixthly, it subjecteth all things under him, as ministers, yea the Apostles themselves in their highest office, death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole World besides, and all ingineth him no spiritual head, but only Christ, saying, *And you are Christs, and Christ is Gods*, 1 *Cor.*3. Seventhly, it advanceth and setteth him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrours of spirit, rising either of Gods Law, or Mans Law, above all dreadful fears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory: above all servile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customs, or what else soever oppresseth and entangleth the spiritual freedom of a Conscience, which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth moreover that we walk and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free-son of *Sara*, and not suffer our selves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage: that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as we are in that part made Lords and Princes over all things whatsoever can harm, or bind, or terrifie us, *Gal.*4. *Col.*2.

Original sin. Original justice. Rom.5. Rom. 8. Gal. 4. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. 1 Cor. 3. The glorious state of christian liberty and spiritual freedom in christ Jesus.

11. *Item*, the right vein of Saint *Pauls* Doctrine putteth no difference nor obfervation in days and times. *Gal.*4. *Col.*2.

Days and times indifferent.

12. *Item*,

Meats indifferent with thanksgiving.

12. *Item*, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to serve the necessity of the body, and the mercy of the body to serve them, *Colos.*2. 1 *Tim.*4.

Marriage lawful for all men.

13. *Item*, it permitteth Marriage without restraint or exception, lawful and also expedient for all men, having need thereof, 1 *Cor.*7.

One sacrifice for sin and no more. Heb. 7.

14. *Item*, it admitteth no sacrifice for sin but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sin, which is applied to us by faith only, and by nothing else, *Heb.*9.

The use of the holy Communion in ancient time of the primitive Church.

15. *Item*, as touching the holy Communion, by the Letters of Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthi.*11. we understand, that the use then amongst them was, to have the participation of the Bread called the Lords Body, and of the Cup called the Lords Blood, administred not at an Altar, but at a plain Board or Table, the Congregation there meeting together after the time of their Supper, where not the Minister alone did receive, and the other looked on; but the whole Congregation together did communicate with reverence and thanksgiving, nor sitting over the Priests head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts; but either sitting at the Supper, or standing after the Supper. According to which form the *Muscovites* yet to this day, following the old Rite of the Country (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition) use to receive it after they be risen from their Dinner, standing. Experience whereof was seen here at *London* the first day of *October*, 1569.

No more Sacraments mentioned in St. *Paul*, but the Lords Supper and Baptism.

16. *Item*, the said Apostle, besides the Sacramental Supper, maketh mention of Baptism, or washing of regeneration, although he himself baptized but few, 1 *Cor.*1. of the other Sacraments he maketh no mention.

17. *Item*, by the same Doctrine of St. *Paul*, no tongue is to be used in the Congregation, which is not known, and doth not edifie, 1 *Cor.*14.

The authority and office of the civil Magistrate.

18. *Item*, the Rule of Saint *Paul's* Doctrine subjecteth every creature under the obedience of Kings and Princes, and ordinary Magistrates, ordained of God to have the sword and authority of publick Regiment, to order and dispose in all things, not contrary to God, whatsoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil: from whose Jurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations or persons, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Political. And therefore to this office it appertaineth to preserve peace, to set things in lawful order, to conserve Christian Discipline in the Church of Christ, to remove offences, to bridle the disobedient, to provide and procure wholesome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning, and set up Schools, to have oversight not only of the People, but also of all Ecclesiastical Ministers, to see every one to do his duty, and to remove or punish such as be negligent: also to call Councils and Synods, and to provide that the Church Goods be faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers, to the sustentation of the Church, of true Teachers, and to the publick necessity of the poor, *&c.*

The office and authority of the Clergy how far it doth extend.

19. Furthermore, by St. *Paul's* Doctrine, the Ministers and superintendents of Christs Church have their authority and armour likewise to them limited, which armour is only spiritual and not carnal, whereby they fight not against fleth and blood, but against the power of darkness, error and sin; against the spiritual seduction and craftiness in heavenly things, against the works and proceedings of Satan the Prince of this World, in comforting weak Consciences against the terrors of the Devil and deliperation, and finally against every cogitation lifted up against Christ, to subdue every celitude to the subjection and power of Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Another brief recapitulation of the same.

Another brief recapitulation of St. *Pauls* doctrine reduced to five points.

BRiefly to reduce the whole Doctrine of St. *Paul* into a compendious sum, it consisteth chiefly in these five points:

1. First, in setting forth the grace, great love and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Jesus his Son to mankind, which so loved the World, that he hath given his own Son for the redemption thereof. *John* 3. *Rom.*5. *Ephes.*2.

John 3. Rom.5. Ephes. 2.

2. Which gave his Son to die for us being his enemies, *Rom.*5. Which hath quickned us being dead in sin, *Ephes.*2. Which so mercifully hath reconciled the World to himself by his Son; and also by his Embassadors delireth us to be reconciled unto him, 2 *Cor.*5. Who hath given his own Son to be Sin for us, 2 *Cor.*5. To be accurfed for us. *Gal.*3. Which by firm promise hath assured us of our inheritance, *Rom.*4. Which not by the works of righteousness that we have done, but of his own mercy hath saved us by the washing of Regeneration, *Tit.*3.

The great mercy of God in Christ. Galat. 3. 2 Cor. 5. Rom. 5. Titus 3.

2. The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant majesty of Christ Jesus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; who being once dead in the infirmity of fleth, rose again with power, and ascending up with majesty, hath led away captivity captive, *Eph.*4. sitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heavenly things above all principates and potestates, powers and dominations, and above every name that is named, not only in this World, but also in the world to come, *Ephes.*1. At whose name every knee is to bend both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue to confess our Lord Christ Jesus to the glory of God the Father, *Phil.*2. In whom and by whom all things are made both in heaven and earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates or potestates, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him who is the head of his body the Church, the beginning and first born from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fullness, *Col.*1. To whom the Father hath given all judgment, and judgeth no man himself any more, *John* 5. To whom the Father hath given all things to his hands, *John* 13. To whom the Father hath given power of all flesh, *John* 17. To whom all power is given in heaven and earth, *Matthaeus*. In whom all the promises of God are *Ea & Amen*, 2 *Cor.*1.

The glory and majesty of Christ Jesus set forth by St. *Paul.* Ephes. 4.

Phil. 2.

Colos. 1. John. 3.

John 13. John 17. Matthaeus 28. 2 Cor. 1.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his Cross and Passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by the same. By whose blood we have redemption and remission of our sins. *Ephes.* 1. By whose stripes we are made whole, *Esay.*53. By whose Cross all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth, *Col.*1. By whose death we are reconciled, *Rom.*5. Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light, 1 *Tim.*1. Who by death hath destroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and hath delivered them which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage, *Heb.*2. By whose obedience we are made just: by whose righteousness we are justified to life, *Rom.* 5. By whose curse we are blessed, and delivered from the malediction of the Law, *Gal.*3. By whose blood we that once were far of, are made near unto God, *Ephes.*5. Who in one body hath reconciled both Jews and Gentiles unto God, *Ephes.*2. Who by his fleth hath taken away the division and separation between God and us, abolishing the law which was set against us in precepts and decrees, *Ephes.* 2. Who is our peace, our advocate, and propitiation for the sins of the whole world, 1 *John* 2. Who was made accursed, and sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him, 2 *Cor.*5. Who is made of God for us, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, 1 *Cor.*1. By whom we have boldness and entrance with all confidence through faith in him, *Ephes.* 3. Who forgiveth all our sins, and hath torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing, which was against us in the law of commandments, and hath crucified it upon the Cross, and utterly hath dispatched and abolished the same, and hath spoiled principates and potestates, as in an open shew of conquest, triumphing over them openly in himself, *Col.*2. Who justifieth the wicked by faith, *Rom.*4. In whom we are made full and compleat, *Col.*2. *&c.*

The third branch. The vertue and effect of Christs death, and what exceeding benefits proceed of. Ephes. 1. Elay 53. Colos. 1. Rom. 5. 1 Tim. 1. Heb. 2. Rom. 5. Gal. 3. Ephes. 2. 2 Cor. 5. 1 Cor. 1. Ephes. 3. Colos. 2. Rom. 4. Colos. 2.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and inform us, to whom these benefits of Christs Passion and Victory do appertain, by what means the same is applied and redounded unto us: which means is only one, that is, only faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth Almighty God to accept for righteousness. And this righteousness it is, which only standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the Doctrine of St. *Paul*. Which righteousness thus ruling of faith in Christ, St. *Paul* calleth the righteousness of God, where he speaketh of himself, utterly refusing the other righteousness which is of the law, *that he might be found in him, not having his own righteousness which*

The fourth branch. Faith only the mean cause of justification and nothing else.

The righteousness of the law. Philip. 3.

which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith, Phil. 3. Again, the said Apostle writing of the Jews, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: *Because* (faith he) *the one sought it by works and the Law, and not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God.* The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is of faith, &c. *Rom.* 9. Also in another place of the same Epistle, Saint *Paul* writing of this righteousness which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteousness of God, in these words: *Whom God* (saith he) *hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifest the righteousness which is of himself in tolerating our sins, &c. Rom.* 3. By the which righteousness it is evident that St. *Paul* meaneth the righteousness of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the Gospel. With thou see yet more plainly this righteousness of God, how it is taken in St. *Paul*, for the righteousness of faith, and therefore is called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserved of man? In the same Epistle to the *Romans* and in the third Chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: *The righteousness of God* (saith he) *is by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all that do believe, &c.*

The righteousness of God. Rom. 9.

The places of St. Paul expounded. Rom. 3.

The righteousness of faith why it is called Gods righteousness. Rom. 3.

A lesson out of St. Paul Doctrine of all Christians to be observed.

Wherefore whosoever studieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learn diligently by the Doctrine of St. *Paul* to make a difference and a separation, as far as from Heaven to Earth, between these two, that is, between the righteousness of works, and righteousness of faith: and in any wise beware he bring no other means for his Justification, or remission of his sins, but only faith apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the door, so is there no coming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortal body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drink, cannot but perish; so the spiritual soul of man hath no other refreshing but only by faith in the body and blood of Christ, whereby to be saved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jesus Christ, and received thereby righteousness. *Cornelius* (the first baptized *Roman*) so soon as he heard *Peter* preach Christ, received straightway the Holy Ghost. *Peter* himself confessed, and for his confession had the Keys of Heaven, *Mat.* 16. *Zachæus* received the person of Christ into his house, and withal received salvation both to him and his whole household, *Luke* 19. What a sinner was *Mary*, which had no less in her than seven Devils, and yet because she set her heart and affection upon that person, many sins were forgiven her? *Luke* 7. The right hand Thief, how far was he from all works of the Law, and yet by Faith entred he justified into Paradise the same day with Christ? *Luke* 23. In like manner although the poor Publican came to the Church with less holiness after the Law, yet went he home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his works, and all by reason of faith, *Luke* 18. The Parable of the Prodigal Son which was lost, yet revived again; also of the lost groat, and of the lost sheep which went astray and was found again: what do these declare, but that which is lost by the Law to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft do we read in the Gospels? *Thy faith hath saved thee, &c. Jesus seeing their belief, &c. He that believeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day, &c. Believe also in me, &c. He that believeth in me hath everlasting life, &c. Without me ye can do nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loveth me, &c. He that heareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiveth me, &c. Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, &c. That they may receive remission of sins by their faith in me, &c.* Acts 26. *To him all the Prophets give witness, to have remission of sins, whosoever believeth in his Name, &c.* Acts 10. *He that believeth and is baptized,* Mat. ult. *He that believeth not shall do the works that I do, and greater than these, &c.*

Acts 10. Salvation cometh only by faith. Mat. 16.

Luke 19.

Luke 7.

Luke 23.

Luke 18. That which is lost by the law is recovered by faith.

Luke 18. Mat. 9. Joh. 14. Joh. 15. Joh. 6.

Acts 26.

Acts 10. Mat. ult. Joh. 14.

And likewise in the writings of St. *Paul*, how often do we hear the name of Christ almost in every third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: *In Christo Jesu, per Christum Jesum. per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum &c. Qui credunt in ipso, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen ejus, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. &c. Believe* (saith St. *Paul* to the Jaylor) *in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house, &c.* Acts 16.

The Writings of St. Paul full of the name of Christ Jesus.

Belief only in Christ saveth. Acts 16.

Thus then thou seest, as the Passion of Christ is only the efficient or personal cause immediate of our salvation: so is Faith only the instrumental or mean cause that maketh the merits of Christ to us available. For as the passion of Christ serveth to none but such as do believe; so neither doth faith (as it is only a bare quality or action in mans mind) it self justifie, unless it be directed to the body of Christ crucified as to his object, of whom it receiveth all his virtue. And therefore these two must always joyntly concur together, faith, and Christ Jesus crucified. As for example, when the Children of *Israel* were bid of *Moses* to look up to the brazen Serpent; neither could the Serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet their looking upward have profited them, unless they had directed their eyes upon the said Serpent, as the only object set up to the same purpose for them to behold. So our Faith in like cafe directed to the body of Jesus our Savior, is the only means whereby Christs merits are applied unto us, and we now justified before God, according to the Doctrine of St. *Paul* (who in express words defining to us what this faith is, and how it justifieth) faith: *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe with thy heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved, &c. Rom.* 10. Besides this, what action or quality soever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, be it never so true, except it apprehend this object (which is) the body of Christ the Son of God, it serveth not to justification. And that is the cause why we add this particle (only) to faith, and say that only faith in Christ justifieth us, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cause of justifying; for so much as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to Man, be it never so excellent, that can stand before the judgment of God unto Justification, or whereunto any promise of salvation is annexed; but only this faith looking up to the Brazen Serpent, that is, to the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified.

The personal cause of Salvation. The instrumental cause.

The membar and cause why faith only justifieth.

How faith Christ the only object which justifieth. Example of the brazen Serpent.

What faith is by S. Paul. Rom. 10.

Faith only.

As for Example, when the *Turk* faith, that he believeth in one living God that made Heaven and Earth, his belief therein is true, yet it justifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So when the *Jew* saith, that he believeth in one God maker of Heaven and Earth, and believeth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, just, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the feed of *Abraham*: true it is that he believeth, and yet all this serveth him not, because Christ the Son of God is not joyned withal. And though the said *Jew* should be never so devout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or precise in keeping the Law, and believe never so stedfastly that he is elect to be saved; yet he is never the nearer to salvation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner stone, which is the person and body of Jesus Christ the true Savior. After like sort it may be said of the *Papist*, when he faith, that he is baptized, and believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one God, and also confesseth Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, which died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness, *&c.* his belief therein is true, and indeed would save him, if he did stay his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ his Savior only, according to the promise and grace of God, and go no further.

Divers sorts of believing The Turks faith. The Jews faith.

Every truth may be believed, but the believing of every truth saveth not. The Papists faith.

Only.

But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect Savior without the help of the Patrons, Heads, Advocates, and Mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ only to be the means of his Justification, but setteth up other by-means, as Hope, Charity, Sacrifice of the Mass, Confession, Penance, Satisfaction, Merits and Pardons, supposing thereby to work his Justification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the Gospel of Grace, and to the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*, whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Hope and charity be no parts of our justification, nor causes to make us merits of Christ ours.

And thus much of the true causes of our Justification after the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the original causes of our salvation, which be

The causes of our Justification divers and ingnified.

divers and sundry, some are external, and without us; some are internal, and within us. Of the external causes which are without us, the first and principal is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth Predestination and Election. Then cometh Vocation. The last and next cause to us is the death and bloodshed of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, and all these be external causes, because they are without us. Of internal causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in us. Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man, vertue, work, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of salvation, but only this gift of faith, to believe in Christ Jesus. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only justifieth, meaning that amongst all the works, deeds, actions, labours and operations, whatsoever man doth or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh salvation, but only his faith given to him of God to believe in Christ his Son, following therein the trade of St. *Pauls* teaching: who in precise words so ascribeth justification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same Epistle to the *Romans*, St. *Paul* reasoning of the glory of justifying, asketh this question, how this glory is excluded; whether by the law of works? And concludeth no: ascribing only the glory thereof to the law of faith, and consequently upon the same he inferreth: *Colligimus enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis: We hold that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.*

Grace and mercy. Election. Vocation. Christs passion.

Christian faith.

All works of man excluded from the glory of justifying.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our Justification, which St. *Paul* utterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalf? Of which like excludives, and negatives the whole course of St. *Pauls* Doctrine is full, where he still concludeth; *Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est; secundum misericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis gloietur, Ephes.* 2. *Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum propria nostra, &c. Tit.* 3. *Now secundum opera nostra, &c. Tim.* 1. That is to say, *It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glory, &c. Not of the works of righteousness, which we have done, but of his own mercy, &c. Not after our works, but after his own purpose and grace which is given to us, &c.* Again, *Gal.* 2. *Non justificatur homo ex operibus, &c.* That is, *A man is not justified by works, &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, fides imputatur ad justitiam, &c. Rom.* 4. *To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteousness, &c.* By these exclusives and negatives in St. *Pauls* Doctrine, what doth he else mean, but utterly to exclude all kind of mans merits, and works of the law from the office and dignity of justifying? And although he expresseth not the word, *Only*: yet upon his exclusives, and negatives, this excepive must needs be inferred. For in all Logick the consequence is necessary and formal, as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: *Ergo* one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ proved to be the only mean, or instrumental, or conditional cause of our salvation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of St. *Paul* taught to the ancient *Romans*.

Ephes. 2. Titus 3. 2 Tim. 1. Gal. 2. Rom. 4.

The exclusives and negatives of St. Paul to be marked.

The fifth branch. The true use and end of good works.

5. The fifth branch, which I note in Saint *Paul's* Doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established us in certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently and with all instance to good works, shewing the true use and end to good works: which is, First, to shew our obedience and dutiful service (as we may) unto God, who hath done so great things for us. Secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindness, as God hath been kind to us his enemies. Thirdly, to stir up others by our example to praise God, to embrace the same Religion, and to do the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath been so merciful to us and gracious in eternal gifts, we should be merciful likewise to other in temporal commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodness (of our parts so little deserved) to call us to so high a vocation, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our sins, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us Citizens of Heaven, yea his Children, more than Servants: little then can we do, and well may we think

Good works justifie not but follow the justified.

those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and shew not something again worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heavenly things: and finally, if we being provoked with such love and kindness, render not again some love for love, some kindness for kindness, seeking how to walk in the steps which he hath prepared for us to walk in, serving him (so much as we may) in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And though our obedience shall always be imperfect, do the best we can: yet reason would that some obedience we should shew, as loving Children to such a loving father.

The office of faith, and the office of the Law compared together.

The works of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to do with Justification.

And this is the cause why St. *Paul* is so vehement and urgent to call upon good works, not that works should justifie, but that we being justified so mercifully and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vain, but endeavour our selves to our uttermost to render our service again to him, in such conversation of life as may not make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour seem in some places to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth, great rewards in heaven, that is of his own free grace and goodness so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for us to claim any meed thereby or thank at his hand, as by any worthiness of our doings: no more than the servant can, who when he cometh from the Plough and serving the Cattel in the field, serveth first his Master at home and waiteth upon his Table: the Master is not bound (saith Christ) to thank his Servant therefore, and bid him sit down: *So you* (saith he) *when you have done that is commanded you, say ye are unprofitable servants; ye have done but what your bound duty was to do, Luke.* 17. Luke 17.

Again, here also is to be understood, that where such rewards be ascribed unto mens deeds, it is not for the worthiness of the deed it self, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the work to be good in Gods sight: for else if an Infidel should do the same work that the Christian doth, it were nothing but meer sin before God. In that therefore the Christian mans work is accepted be it never so small (as to give a Cup of cold water) the same is only for his faith sake that doth it, and not for the work which is done. Whereby again we may learn how faith only doth justifie a man, and that three manner of ways.

Faith justifieth three manner of ways.

First, it justifieth the person in making him accepted, and the Child of God by regeneration, before he begin to do any good work.

Secondly, it justifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same.

Thirdly, it justifieth the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therefore of faith and works is divers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and justifieth him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds acceptable to God, climbing up to Heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgment for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Works and Charity follow faith, and are exercised here upon the earth, and glory only before Man, but not before God, in shewing forth obedience both to God and to Man. Further than this our good works do not reach, nor have any thing to do in the judgment of God touching salvation. I speak of our good works (as St. *Paul* speaketh, *Rom.* 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For else if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh; that is, if we could perfect them then as it is said: *Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis.* But now seeing the imbecility of our flesh cannot attain thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of justifying is taken from works, and transferred only to faith.

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. *Paul's* Doctrine: wherein the Church of the ancient *Romans* was first grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitive state of the Church. Likewise the same form of Doctrine the later *Romans* also that followed should have maintained, and not have fallen away for any mans preaching, but

but hold him accurſed, yea if he were an Apoſtle or Angel from Heaven, teaching any other Doctrine beſides that inſtitution which they have received, *Gal.*1. for ſo were they warned before by the Apoſtle St.*Paul* to do. And yet notwithſtanding all this forewarning and diligent inſtruction of this bleſſed Apoſtle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, eſpecially among the *Romans*, whereof the ſaid Apoſtle alſo foretold them ſo long before, fore-prophecying: *That the day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of ſin ſhould be revealed, the proud adverſary of God, &c. Theſ.*2. meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Ghoſt had then planted by his Miniſtry among the Gentiles, as we ſee it now come to paſs in the Church of *Rome*. Which Church is ſo gone from the faith that St. *Paul* taught, that if he were now alive, and ſaw theſe Decrees and Decretals of the Biſhop of *Rome*, theſe heaps of ceremonies and traditions, theſe Maſs-books, theſe Portеſes, theſe Feſtivals and Legends, theſe Proceſſionals, Hymns, and Sequences, theſe Beads and Graduals, and the manner of their Invocation, their Canons, Cenſures, and later Councils, ſuch ſwarms of ſuperſtitious Monks and Friers, ſuch Sects, and ſo many divers Religious, the teſtament of St. *Francis*, the rule of St. *Benedict*, of St. *Bridget*, of St. *Anthony*, *&c.* the intricate ſubtilties and labyrinths of the Schoolmen, the infinite caſes and diſtinctions of the Canoniſts, the Sermons in Churches, the affertions in Schools, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of perſecuting Prelats with their Officials and Promoters: he would ſay this were not a defection, but rather a plain deſtruction, and a ruine of faith; neither that this were any true Church of Chriſt, but a new found Religion, or Paganiſme rather, brought in under the ſhadow of Chriſtianity, wherein remaineth almoſt nothing elſe but the name only of Chriſt, and the outward form of his Religion, the true vein and effect whereof is utterly decayed: as to them which liſt to examine all the parts of this new *Romiſh* Religion may ſoon appear.

Gal. 1.

Defection of Faith in the Church of *Rome*.

A view of the Popes catholick Church. Theſſ. 2.

The Church of *Rome* degenerated again almoſt to new Paganiſm.

For ſave only that they pretend the ſolemn form and words of the Creed, and are baptiſed, confeſſing the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt: as touching all other points and true ſincerity of the Chriſtian Faith, which they outwardly profeſs, they are utterly degenerated from that which S.*Paul* and the Word of God firſt had taught them.

The Popes Church only in words Catholick, in deed hæreticall.

Firſt, they confeſs the Father in Word, but his Will in his Word expreſſed they renounce; his grace they acknowledge not, his benefits and promiſes given unto us in his Son they receive not, the vigor of his Law they feel not, the terror of his judgments earneſtly they fear not, his commandments they obſerve by traditions and commandments of their own.

Likewiſe the name of Chriſt his Son in word they confeſs, but his office in deed they deface and diminiſh; his glory they ſeek not, but under his name they do ſeek their own; the power of his blood and paſſion they know not, or elſe diſſemble it, whom neither they admit to be the Head of his Church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our only Patron and Advocate, but match him with our Lady, and other Patrons, ſo that every Pariſh almoſt in *Chriſtendom* hath his peculiar Patron beſides Chriſt to hold by.

The Religion of the Popes Church prodeſcribeth contrary to the working of the Holy Ghoſt.

In like manner they confeſs the name of the Holy Ghoſt, but God himſelf knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge and taſte of the Holy Ghoſt; as well may appear by their Councils, by their expounding of Scripture, by their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, by their outward worſhipping and idolatrous Invocation to ſtocks and ſtones, and to dead creatures, by their ſcrupulous obſervation of days, times, places, numbers and geſtures: and no leſs alſo by their Doctrine, which defraudeth the poor hearts of ſimple Chriſtians of their due conſolation, joy and liberty in the Holy Ghoſt, and keepeth them ſtill in a ſervile bondage, and a doubtful uncertainty of their ſalvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

The Church of *Rome* pretendeth a fair face of religion, but is void of the effect thereof.

And thus the Church of *Rome*, pretending only the name of Chriſt and of his Religion, is ſo far altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that under the name of Chriſt, it perſecuteth both Chriſt and his Religion: working more harm to the Church of Chriſt, than ever did the open Tyrants and perſecuting Emperors among the Heathen: not much unlike herein to the old Synagogue of the Scribes and Phariſes, who under the name of God crucified the Son of God, and under pretence of the Law, fought againſt the Goſpel, and under the title of *Abraham*'s children, perſecuted the Children of *Abraham*. And as they bragging ſo highly of the *Temple of the Lord*, the *Temple of the Lord*, did indeed deſtroy the true *Temple of the Lord*: right ſo theſe pretended Catholicks in theſe days, after they have raiſed up a Catholick Church of their own, and have armed the ſame with laws, and have gathered unto them a power of Prieſts, Prelats, Abbots, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinals, and alſo of ſecular Princes to take their part; now under the name of the Catholick Church they perſecute the true Catholick Church, and colouring their proceeding ſtill with *In-nomine Domini*, moſt cruelly put them to death which die *Pro nomine Domini*; condemning them for Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels, not which deny any part of the Creed, which they themſelves profeſs, nor ſuch whom they can convince by any Scripture; but only ſuch, which will not joyn with their errors and hereſies, contrary to the honour of God, and truth of his Word.

The old Phariſies and the later Church of the Romes compared together.

The Popes Church under the name of the Catholick Church perſecuteth the true Catholick Church of Chriſt.

And leſt any ſhould think this, that we here proteſt againſt the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this later church of *Rome*, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded upon neceſſary cauſes, and demonſtrations evident, my purpoſe is (by the Lords leave) to take herein ſome little pains, as I have collected a little before the ſum and contents of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, wherewith the old Church of *Rome* was firſt ſeaſoned and acquainted, ſo now as in a like ſummary table to deſcry the particular branches and contents of the Popes Doctrine now ſet forth, to the intent that all true Chriſtian Readers, comparing the one with the other, may diſcern what great alteration there is between the Church of *Rome* that now is, and the Church of *Rome* that then was planted by the Apoſtles in the Primitive time. And to the end to open unto the ſimple Reader ſome way whereby he may the better judge in ſuch matters of Doctrine, and not be deceived in diſcerning truth from error; firſt we will propound certain principles or general poſitions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other Doctrines and Opinions of Men being tried and examined, as with the touchſtone, may the more eaſily be judged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make againſt the Scripture, or no.

Certain Principles, or general Verities grounded upon the truth of Gods Word.

Certain general Principles and Rules gathered out of the Scriptures.

The firſt Principle.

1. *AS ſin and death came originally by the diſobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature; ſo righteouſneſs and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by Faith and Baptiſm.* Rom. 5.

The ſecond Principle. Rom. 5.

2. *The promiſe of God was freely given to our firſt parents without their deſerving; that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the ſerpents head.* Gen. 3.

Gen. 3.

The third Principle.

3. *Promiſe was given freely to* Abraham *before he deſerved any thing, that in his Seed all Nations ſhould be bleſſed.* Gen. 12.

Gen. 12.

The fourth Principle.

4. *To the Word of God neither muſt we add, nor take from it.* Deut. 4.

Deut. 4.

The fifth Principle.

5. *He that doth the works of the Law ſhall live therein.* Levit. 18. Gal. 3.

Levit. 18. Gal. 3.

The ſixth Principle.

6. *Accurſed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the Book of the Law.* Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

The ſeventh Principle.

7. *God only is to be worſhipped.* Deut. 6. Luke 4.

Deut. 6. Luke 4.

The eighth Principle.

8. *All our righteouſneſs is like a defiled cloth of a woman.* Eſay 64.

Eſay 64.

The ninth Principle.

9. *In all my holy hill they ſhall not kill nor ſlay, ſaith the Lord.* Eſay 11. 65.

Eſa. 11, 65.

The tenth Principle.

10. *God loveth mercy and obedience more than ſacrifice.* *Oſe.* 6. 1 Reg. 15.

Oſe. 6. 1 Reg. 15.

The

The eleventh Principle.

11. *The Law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth ſin.* Rom. 3.

Rom. 3.

The twelfth Principle.

12. *The end of the Law is Chriſt to righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.* Rom. 10.

Rom. 10.

The thirteenth Principle.

10. *Whoſoever believeth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaved.* Matth. ult.

Mat. ult.

The fourteenth Principle.

14. *A man is juſtified by faith without works, freely by grace, not of our ſelves.* Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2.

Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2.

The fifteenth Principle.

15. *There is no remiſſion of ſins without blood.* Heb. 9.

Heb. 9.

The ſixteenth Principle.

16. *Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* Rom. 14. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Heb. 11.

Rom. 14. Heb. 11.

The ſeventeenth Principle.

17. *One Mediator between God and Man, Chriſt Jeſus,* 1 Tim. 2. 1 Joh. 2. *And he is the propitiation for our ſins.* 1 Joh. 2.

1 Tim. 2. 1 Joh. 2.

The eighteenth Principle.

18. *Whoſoever ſeeketh by the Law to be juſtified, is fallen from Grace.* Gal. 5.

Gal. 5.

The nineteenth Principle.

19. *In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God,* Eſt & Amen.

2 Cor. 1. 2 Cor. 1.

The twentieth Principle.

20. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to ſuperior powers, giving to Ceſar that which is Ceſars, and to God that which is Gods.* Rom. 13.

Rom. 13.

These Principles and infallible Rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny: ſo if they be granted, the Doctrine then of the Popes Church muſt needs be found not to be Catholick, but rather full of errors and hereſies, as in the ſequel following remaineth more expreſly and particularly by the Grace of Chriſt to be convinced.

Here followeth a ſummary collection of the Errors, Hereſies, and Abſurdities, contained in the Popes Doctrine, contrary to the Rules of Gods Word, and the firſt Inſtitution of the Church of *Rome*.

Of Faith and Juſtification.

The errors, hereſies and abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

FIrſt as touching the only means and inſtrumental cauſe of our Juſtification, whereby the merits of Chriſts Paſſion be applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how Saint *Paul* aſcribeth the ſame only to faith; as appeareth by all his Letters, eſpecially to the *Romans*. Where he excluding all kind of works, aſcribeth all our ſalvation, juſtification, righteouſneſs, reconciliation and peace with God only unto faith in Chriſt. Contrary to which Doctrine, the Pope and his Church hath ſet up divers and ſundry other means of their own deviling whereby the merits of Chriſts Paſſion (they ſay) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of ſins, and for our juſtification, as hope, charity, facrifice of the Maſs, auricular confeſſion, ſatisfaction, merits of Saints, and holy Orders, the Popes Pardons, *&c.* So that Chriſts ſacrifice, ſtripes, and ſuffering, by this teaching doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe never ſo well, unleſs we add alſo theſe works and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is falſe that *Eſay* the Prophet doth promiſe: Chap. 53. *In his ſtripes we are all made whole, &c.* This error and hereſie of the Church of *Rome*, though it ſeem at firſt fight to the natural reaſon of man to be but of ſmall importance; yet if it be earneſtly conſidered, it is in very deed the moſt pernicious hereſie that ever almoſt crept into the Church upon the which, as the only foundation, all or the moſt part of all the errors, abſurdities and inconveniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not juſtified by his faith in Chriſt alone, but that other means muſt be fought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Chriſts Paſſion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our ſalvation, nor end in ſetting up new means and merits of our own deviling for remiſſion of ſins. Neither hath there been any hereſie that either hath rebelled more

The means of applying Chriſts merits unto us by the popes doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith only to juſtifie, is the root of great inconvenience in Chriſts Church.

No hereſie to be compared to the hereſie of Papiſm.

The firſt inconvenience.

No concluſion limited of God to Man for ſalvation but one. *Ephe.* 4. *Epiſt. ad Gal.* 1. 2. 3.

The ſecond inconvenience. What hurt cometh into the Church by taking away the article of Juſtification.

The third inconvenience.

Objection of the Papiſts anſwered.

The Papiſts do teach the mercy of God to be uncertain.

Mercy of God made certain by his promiſes.

Salvation ſtandeth ſure and certain by Gods promiſe.

The place of Saint *Paul* Rom. 4. expounded.

The fourth inconvenience

The fourth principle above recited broken.

C 2 peat

pear to what horrible blindneſs and blaſphemy the Church of *Rome* is fallen, where this kind of Doctrine is not only ſuffered, but alſo publickly profeſſed, which ſpeaking againſt faith, thus blaſphemouſly dare ſay: *Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certo ſtatuit propter Chriſtum ſibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, ſeſeque poſſeſſurum vitam æternam, non fides eſt, ſed temeritas; non ſpiritus ſanctì perſuaſio, ſed humanæ audaciæ præſumptio.* That is, *That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly aſſureth himſelf, that for Chriſts ſake his ſins be forgiven him, and that he ſhall poſſeſs eternal life, is not faith, but raſhneſs; not the perſwaſion of the Holy Ghoſt, but preſumption of a mans boldneſs.*

Ex Lindano in epitome doctrinæ evangelicæ.

Of Works and the Law.

The firſt error of the *Papiſts*, touching good works.

AS touching the Doctrine of good works, and the Law, what the teaching of Saint *Paul* was to the *Romans*, ye heard before. Who although he excludeth good works from the office of juſtifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and converſation of Chriſtian life, but moſt earneſtly calleth upon all faithful believers in Chriſt, to walk worthy their vocation, to lay down their old converſation, to give their members ſervants of righteouſneſs, to offer their bodies up to God a lively ſacrifice, &c. The like example of whole teaching, if the Churches now reformed do not follow, let their ſermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings and lives alſo bear record. Who although they cannot ſay with Chriſt, *Which of you can blame me of ſin?* yet they may ſay to the adverſaries, Whoſoever of you is without fault, caſt the firſt ſtone of reproach againſt us. Wherefore *Hoſius, Pighius*, with their fellows do them open wrong, and ſlanderouſly belie them in comparing them in this behalf to *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, and other Hereticks called *Anomei*, who taking the good ſentences of Saint *Paul*, did abuſe the ſame to filthy licence of the fleſh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſſion. cap. 1.

But to let theſe ſlanders paſs, now what the errors be of the Church of *Rome* touching this part of Doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe error firſt ſtanderth in this, that they, miſunderſtanding the definition of good works, do call good works, not ſuch as properly are commanded by the Law of God, but ſuch as are agreeable to the Popes law; as building of Abbies and Churches, giving to the High Altar, founding of Trentals, finding of Chanteries, gilding of Images, hearing of Maſſes, going on Pilgrimage, fighting for the Holy Croſs, keeping of Vows, entring to Orders, faſting of Vigils, creeping to the Croſs, praying to Saints, &c. All which are not only reputed for good works, but ſo preferred alſo before all other works, that to theſe is given pardon from the Pope, double and triplefold, more than to any other good work of Charity commanded in the Law of Almighty God.

The ſecond error of the *Papiſts* in the doctrine of good works.

Another error alſo may be noted in the *Papiſts*, touching the efficient or formal cauſe of good works. For albeit they all confeſs in their Books, that *Gratia Dei gratis data* is the chief and principal cauſe thereof, and worketh in us *Juſticiam primam* (as they call it) yet the good works after regeneration they refer to other ſubordinate cauſes, under God, as to free-will, or to *Habitum virtutis*, or *Ad integra naturalia*, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith only next under God is the root and fountain of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the Planter or the Husbandman be the principal agent thereof, and ſome cauſe alſo may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cauſe is the root that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God in a ſoft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good root cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but ſpringeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and alſo the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwiſe had no acceptation nor goodneſs in them, were it not for the goodneſs of the root from whence they ſpring; So St. *Paul*, although he had certain works in him, ſuch as they were, before his converſion: yet had he no good works before the Grace of Chriſt had rooted faith in him. So *Mary Magdalene* the ſinner, and *Zacheus* the Publican. So all the Nations of the Gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and eſpecially good fruit, when they began to be ingraffed in Chriſt, and to receive the root of his faith, whole fruits before that, were all damnable and unſavoury. As touching the cauſe therefore of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whoſe office as it is to juſtifie us in Heaven, ſo the nature of it is here in earth to work by love, as the root worketh by the Sap. For as a man feeth and feeleth by faith the Love and Grace of God toward him in Chriſt his Son: ſo beginneth he to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly ſpringeth the running fountain of all good works and deeds of Charity.

Faith the root and cauſe of good works.

Works are not to be called good, but by reaſon of faith.

The office of faith to juſtifie.

The office of faith to bring forth good works.

Thirdly, as they err in the cauſe of good works, ſo do they err much more in the end of the Law, and of good works: for where S. *Paul* teacheth the Law to be given to this uſe and end: to convict our tranſgreſſions, to prove us ſinners, to ſhew and condemn our infirmity, and to drive us to Chriſt: they take and apply no other end to the Law, but to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us juſt before God. And likewiſe where St. *Paul* proveth all our good works to be unperfect, and utterly ſhudeth them from the end of juſtifying: they contrariwiſe do teach, as though the end of good works were to merit remiſſion of ſins, to ſatisfie unto God, to deſerve Grace, to redeem ſouls from Purgatory, and that by them the perſon of the regenerate man doth pleaſe God, and is made juſt before God. For ſo they teach moſt wickedly and horribly, ſaying, that Chriſt ſuffered for original ſin, or ſins going before Baptiſm; but the actual ſins, which follow after Baptiſm, muſt be done away by mens merits. And ſo they aſſign to Chriſt the beginning of ſalvation, or obtaining the firſt grace (as they call it) but the perfection or conſummation of grace they give to works and our own ſtrength. Neither can they in any caſe abide, that we be juſtified freely by the mercy of God through faith only apprehending the merits of Chriſt. Howbeit neither do all *Papiſts* in this their error agree in one. For ſome make diſtinction, and ſay, that we are juſtified by Chriſt *Principaliter*, *id eſt*, principally: *Et minus principaliter*, *id eſt*, leſs principally, by the dignity of our own deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our vertues that follow after. Some again do thus expound the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *We are juſtified by faith*: that is (ſay they) by faith, preparing us, or ſetting us in a good way to be juſtified. Others expound it by the figure *Synecdoche*, that is, by faith conjoyned together with other vertues: Others thus: *By faith*, that is, being formed with charity, &c. Thus all theſe do derogate from the benefit of Chriſt, and attribute unto works a great or the greateſt part of our juſtification, directly againſt the true vein of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and firſt inſtitution of the ancient Church of *Rome*, and againſt all the principles of Holy Scripture.

Fides perdit. teſtatorem. ejerem. Gal. 5.

The third error of the *Papiſts*, touching the end of the Law and good works.

The end of the Law and good works perverted.

Tho. Aquin. Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſſ. cap. 1.

The divers opinions of the catholick *Papiſts* how faith juſtifieth.

Furthermore, as touching the ſaid Doctrine of the Law and good works, they err in miſunderſtanding the nature of the Law and works. For where S. *Paul* diſputeth that the Law is ſpiritual, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnal, are never able to accompliſh: they affirm otherwiſe, that the Law doth require but only outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they ſay) man is not only able to perform, but alſo to do more and greater things than the Law requireth. Whereof riſe the works of Supererogation, contrary to the ſixth and eighth principles above ſpecified. Alſo there be (ſay they) among other, certain works of the Law, which pertain not to all men, but are *Conſilia*, Counſels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and theſe they call *Opera perfectionis*, or *Opera indebita*, adding alſo unto theſe new devices, to ſerve God after their own traditions befides the Word of God; as Monaſtical Vows, willful poverty, difference of meats and garments, Pilgrimage to Relicks and Saints, worſhipping of the dead, ſuperſitious ceremonies, rоſaries, &c. with ſuch like; and theſe they call works of perfection, which they prefer before the other commanded in the Law of God. Inſomuch that in compariſon of theſe, the other neceſſary duties commanded and commended by the Word of God (as to bear office in the Commonwealth, to live in the godly ſtate of matrimony, to ſuſtain the office of a ſervant in a houſe) are contemned, and accounted as prophane in compariſon of theſe, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

The firſt error of the *Papiſts*, touchiſnthe imperfection of man in fulfilling the preſcription of the Law.

Againſt the principles of Scripture.

The fourth error of the *Papiſts*, touchiſnthe imperfection of man in fulfilling the preſcription of the Law.

Againſt the principles of Scripture.

Precepts & Counſels.

Works of ſupererogation.

Mens traditions preferred before the Works of Gods Law.

Againſt the principles of Scripture.

Of

Of Sin.

Erroneous Doctrine of the later Church of *Rome* concerning ſin.

OF Sin likewiſe they teach not rightly, nor after the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, and the ancient Church of *Rome*, while they conſider not the deepneſs and largeneſs of ſin, ſuppoſing it ſtill to be nothing elſe but the inward actions with conſent of will, or the outward, ſuch as are againſt will: whereas the ſtrength of ſin extendeth not only to theſe, but alſo comprehendeth the blindneſs and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardneſs of mans mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart againſt the Law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his Word. The ſenſe of fleſh St. *Paul* alſo calleth an enemy againſt God, and feeleth in himſelf, that is, in his fleſh, nothing dwelling but ſin.

Original ſin what it is.

As touching alſo original ſin, wherein we are born, which is the deſtruction of original juſtice, and of Gods image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtineſs againſt the Law of God, and never ceaſing ſo long as man liveth) this original ſin the Popes Doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the ſame, and holdeth that this inward concupiſence, and vitious affections not burſting out in us with conſent of will, are no mortal nor damnable ſin, but only *Fomes peccati*: and fay moreover, that this *Concupiſcentia* in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower parts of man being a thing *ἀδιάφορον*, indifferent, and no leſs natural in us, than is the appetite to eat and drink, and that the ſame is left to remain in the Saints after Baptiſm, to be to them occaſion of more meriting, *&c.*

Fomes peccati. Concupiſcentia.

Original ſin extenuated.

Of Penance or Repentance.

Falſe doctrine of the later Church of *Rome* touching Penance.

OF Penance, this later *Lateran* Church of *Rome* of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before) which Penance, ſay they, ſtandeth of three parts, contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by ſtrength of free-will, without the Law and the Holy Ghoſt, *Per Actus elicitos*, through mans own action and endeavour. Which contrition firſt muſt be ſufficient, and ſo it meriteth remiſſion of ſin. In confeſſion they require a full rehearſal of all ſins, whereby the Prieſt knowing the crimes, may miniſter ſatisfaction accordingly. And this rehearſing of ſins, *Ex opere operato*, deſerveth remiſſion, contrary to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfactions they call *Opera indebita*, injoyned by the ghoſtly Father. And this ſatisfaction (ſay they) taketh away and changeth eternal puniſhment into temporal pains, which pains alſo it doth mitigate. And again, theſe ſatisfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence, *&c.*

Contrition. Confeſſion.

Satisfaction.

True Doctrine of repentance by the Scripture. Parts of repentance. 1. Contrition. 2. Faith. 3. New obedience.

This unfavoury and Heatheniſh Doctrine of Penance far differeth from the true teaching of Holy Scripture: By the which teaching, repentance properly containeth theſe three parts, contrition, faith and new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the ſorrow of heart, riſing upon the conſideration of ſin committed, and of the anger of God provoked, which ſorrow driveth a man to Chriſt for ſuccour: whereupon riſeth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newneſs of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance.

Difference between the Law and the Goſpel.

The blind ignorance of the Popes Church in not diſtinguiſhing the Law from the Goſpel.

AS there is nothing more neceſſary and comfortable for troubled Conſciences, than to be well inſtructed in the difference between the Law and the Goſpel: ſo is the Church of *Rome* much to blame in this behalf, becauſe it confoundeth together thoſe two, being in nature ſo divers and contrary one from another; as threatnings with promiſes, things temporal with things eternal, forrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom, *&c.* Teaching the people that whatſoever the Law ſaith, the Goſpel confirmeth; and whatſoever the Goſpel ſaith, the ſame is agreeable to the Law, and ſo make they no difference between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*; ſave only that *Moſes* (they ſay) was the giver of the old law, Chriſt is the giver of the new and a more perfect Law. And thus imagine they the Goſpel to be nothing elſe but a new law given by Chriſt, binding to the obſervation of our doings and deſervings, no otherwiſe than to the old law. And ſo divide they the whole law after this diſtinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of Nature, the law of *Moſes*, and the law of Chriſt. And as for the Goſpel (they ſay) it is revealed for no other cauſe, but to ſhew to the world more perfect precepts, and councels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute juſtification, and ſo leave the poor conſciences of men in perpetual doube, and induce other manifold errours; bringing the people into a falſe opinion of Chriſt, as though he were not a remedy againſt the law, but came as another *Moſes*, to give a new law to the world.

A Babyloni. cal confuſion in the Popes doctrine.

Papiſts make the Goſpel a new law.

Papiſts divide the law into the law of Nature, the law of *Moſes*, and the law of Chriſt.

The Popes Church blind in the office of Chriſt.

Furthermore, as they make no difference between the nature of the law, and the nature of the Goſpel, confounding *Moſes* and Chriſt together: ſo neither do they diſtinguiſh or diſcern the time of the law, and the time of the Goſpel aſunder. For where St. *Paul* bringeth in the law to be a Schoolmaſter, and limiteth him his time unto Chriſt, and ſaith that *Chriſt is the end of the law*, that is, whereas the law ceaſeth, there Chriſt beginneth, and where Chriſt beginneth there the law endeth: they contrary make the law to have no end nor ceaſing, but give to it immortal life and kingdom equal with Chriſt, ſo that Chriſt and the Law together do reign over the ſoul and conſcience of man. Which is untrue: For either Chriſt muſt give place, and the law ſtand; (I mean) muſt end, and Chriſt reign. For both theſe, Chriſt and the law, grace and malediction cannot reign and govern together. But Chriſt the Son of God, which once died can die no more, but muſt reign for ever. Wherefore the law with his ſtrength, ſting and curſe, muſt needs ceaſe and have an end. And this is it that S. *Paul* ſpeaking of the triumph of Chriſt faith, that he *Aſcending up led away captivity captive*, and hath ſet man at liberty; not at liberty to live as fleſh luſteth, neither hath freed him from the uſe and exerciſe of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law. ſo that, *There is now no condemnation to them that be in Chriſt Jeſus, which walk not after the fleſh, &c.* Rom. 8. And in another place S. *Paul* ſpeaking of the ſame power and dominion of the law, ſaith, that *Chriſt had taken the obligation written againſt us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the Croſs triumphing over all, &c.* So that as the Kingdom of Chriſt firſt began upon the Croſs; even ſo upon the ſame Croſs, and at the ſame time the Kingdom of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was ſo crucified upon the Croſs, that it ſhall never riſe again, to have any power againſt them that be in Chriſt Jeſus. For like as if a woman be diſcharged from her firſt husband being dead, and hath married another man, the firſt husband hath no more power over her: even ſo we now being eſpouſed unto Chriſt our ſecond husband, are diſcharged utterly from our firſt husband the law, and (as St. *Paul* in another place ſaith) *Are no more under the law*, that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, *but under grace*, that is, under perpetual remiſſion of ſins, committed not only before our Baptiſm, but as well alſo after Baptiſm, and during all our life long. For therein properly conſiſteth the grace of God, in not imputing ſin to us, ſo often as the repenting ſinner riſing up by faith, fleeth unto Chriſt, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remiſſion promiſed in him, according to the teſtimony both of the Pſalm, *Bleſſed is he to whom the Lord imputeth no ſin, &c.* and alſo of all the Prophets, *Which* (as Saint *Peter* ſaith) *give record to him, that through his name, all that believe in him ſhall receive remiſſion of their ſins, &c.* Act. 10. Which being ſo, as it cannot be denied, then what need theſe private and extraordinary remiſſions to be brought into the Church by auricular confeſſion, by meritorious deeds, and by the Popes pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the Law, and if this Law it ſelf which was the firſt husband, be captived, crucified, aboliſhed and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Chriſt Jeſus, or by whom ſhould it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, once gotten by the Victory of Chriſt from the penalty of the Law: what needeth then any particular remiſſion of ſins at ſundry times to be ſought at the Prieſts hands, or the Popes pardons? He that hath a general pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for ſin be general and perpetual, once gotten, for ever

What difference the *Papiſts* put between *Moſes* and Chriſt.

To be under the law and under grace expounded.

What it is to be under grace.

Pſal. 31.

Acts 10. One remedy for the remiſſion of ſins and no more.

Auricular confeſſion no remedy for remiſſion of ſins.

Remiſſion of ſins ſtandeth upon a general cauſe, and not particular.

to all them that be in Christ Jesus, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confession? If it be not general and perpetual, how then is it true that St. *Paul* saith, *The Law is crucified, and condemnation abolished?* Or how standeth redemption perpetual and general, if remission be not general? For what is redemption else, but remission of sin, or sins bought out? Or what else to kill the Law, but to discharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetual safety. So if remission of sins by Christ were for some sins, and not for all, the Law then must needs live still. But now the killing and crucifying of the Law importeth full remission and absolute, and our safety to be perpetual. But here, percase, will be objected of some: How standeth remission of sins certain and perpetual, seeing new offences being daily committed, do daily require new remission? Hereto I answer: Albeit sins do daily grow, whereby we have need daily to desire God to *Forgive our trespasses, &c.* Yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth ever one and perpetual, neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the Cross for all sins that either have been or shall be committed. Beside this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sins.

The Law crucified by Christ, what it meaneth.

Objection.

Answer.

The cause of remission ever one and perpetual.

Furthermore as the cause is one and ever perpetual, which worketh remission of sins unto us: so is the promise of God ever one, once made, and standeth perpetual, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is always sure and cannot fail, which offereth remission to all them that believe in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time sower a repenting sinner believeth, and by faith applieth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods own promise, remission of his sins, whether they were done before, or after Baptism.

The promise of remission ever perpetual.

Remission of sins freely provided without limitation of time or number.

And moreover, for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner, by no other means nor condition, but only one, that is, by faith in Christ: therefore excluding all other means and conditions of mans working, we say, that what repenting sinner sower believeth in Christ, hath already in himself (and needeth not to seek to any Priest) perpetual assurance of remission, not for this time or that time only, but for ever and ay. For the promise saith not, He that believeth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sin no more: neither doth it say, that the Law is staid, or the sentence reprived, but saith plainly, that the Law with her condemnation and sentence it self, is condemned and hanged up, and shall never rise again to them that be in Christ Jesus: and promiseth indeterminately, without limitation, remission of sins, *To all that* Acts 10. *believe in his name, &c.* Act. 10 And likewise in another place, the Scripture speaking absolutely, saith, *Sin shall not prevail over you*, and addeth the reason why, saying, *Because ye are not under the Law, but under* Rom. 6. *Grace*, Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withal (as followeth in the same place) Not that sinners should sin more therefore, because they are under grace, but only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of Gods glory. For as God forgiveth not sinners, because they should sin, so neither doth infirmity of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrate the same, as it is written, *My strength is made perfect in infirmity*, 2 Cor. 12. And again, *Where Sin abounded,* 2 Cor. 12. *there Grace superabounded also.*

The means whereby remission is promised: is only faith.

The words of promise Free and absolute.

Mans infirmity hindereth not the Grace of Christ, but augmenteth it.

Rom. 5. Four things concur in remission of sins.

In remission of sins therefore, these four things must concur together: first the cause that worketh (which is the sacrifice of Christs body), secondly, the promise that offereth, thirdly, faith that apprehendeth, fourthly, the repenting sinner that receiveth. And although sins daily do grow, which daily provoke us to crave remission: yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our daily sins, and the means which apprehend and apply the said cause unto us, they remain always one and perpetual: besides which no other cause nor means is to be fought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deserved condemnation: but they are under a perpetual Kingdom, and a Heaven full of Grace, and remission to cover their sins, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first, which seek any other cause of remission, than only the bleed of our Saviour: secondly, which assign any other means to apply the bloodshedding of Christ unto us, besides only faith: thirdly and especially, which so limit and restrain the eternal priviledge of Christs passion, as though it served but only for sins done without and before faith, and that the rest after Baptism committed, must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deeds. And all this riseth because the true nature of the Law and the Gospel is not known, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither again do they make any distinction between the malediction of the Law and use of the Law. And therefore whensoever they hear us speak of the Law (meaning the malediction of the Law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander us, as though we spake against the good exercises of the Law, and give liberty of flesh to carnal men to live as they list. Whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

The Popes errors touching remission of sins detected.

What inconvenience riseth for lack of distinction between the Law and the Gospel.

Of Free-will.

Concerning Free-will, as it may peradventure in some case be admitted, that men without Grace may do some outward functions of the Law, and keep some outward observances or traditions: so as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who, after he be regenerated by Grace, may work and do well, but yet in such sort that still remaineth, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original Church of the ancient *Romans* first instructed. From whom see now how far this later Church of *Rome* hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without Grace may perform the obedience of the Law, and prepare themselves to grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and of congruity obtain grace, Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the Law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requireth, and so those works of congruity, deserve everlasting life. As for the infirmity which is still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once speak of.

Erroneous doctrine of the Papists concerning Merium congrui.

Merium de condigno.

Of Invocation and Adoration.

Over and besides these unethelick and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the Apostolical faith above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should; but to dead men, saying: that Saints are to be called upon, *Tanquam mediatores intercessionis*, As Mediators of intercession: *Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis*. And Christ as the Mediator of salvation: And affirm moreover, that Christ was a Mediator only in time of his passion. Which is repugnant to the words of S. *Paul*, writing to the old *Romans*, chap. 8. where he speaking of the intercession of Christ: *Which is* (saith he) *on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us, &c.* And if Christ be a mediator of salvation: what needeth then any other intercession of Saints for our sutes? For salvation being once had, what can we require more? Or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saints, which is sure to be saved only by Christ? And then in their Catholick devotions, why do they teach us thus to pray to the blessed Virgin: *Salve ma omnes qui te glorificant*, that is, *Save all them that glorifie thee, &c.* if salvation belong only to Christ? unless they study of purpose to seem contrary to themselves.

False doctrine of invocation of Saints.

Mediator of intercession, Mediator of Salvation.

Christ a continual mediator by the ordaine of St. Paul. Rom. 8. Christ only being our mediator of Salvation, what needeth any other mediation of Saints.

Hitherto also pertaineth the worshipping of relikes, and the false adoration of Sacraments, that is, the outward signs of the things signified, contrary to the seventh Principle before. Add to this also the prophanation of the Lords Supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the Communion ministred, in setting it to sale for money, and falsly persuading both themselves and others, that the Priest doth merit both to himself that faith, and to him that heareth, *Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c.* that is, *Only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him.*

Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

Prophanation of the Lords Supper. False meriting by Masse.

Of Sacraments, Baptism, and the *Lords Supper.*

As touching Sacraments, their Doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

False Doctrine touching Sacraments. The number.

1. First, They err falsely in the number. For where the Institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth Principle above prefixed) have added to the Prescription of the Lords Word, five other Sacraments.

Cause final.

2. Secondly, In the cause final they err. For where the Word hath ordained those Sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things: they contrariwise do teach that the Sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith, *Exopere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c.* As is to be found in *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Catharinus*, and others more.

The operation.

3. Thirdly, In the operation and effect of the Sacraments they fail, where they contrary to the mind of the Scriptures do say, that they give Grace, and not only do signifie, but also contain and exhibit that which they signifie, to wit, Grace and Salvation.

The application of Sacraments.

4. Fourthly, They err also in Application, applying their Sacraments both to the quick and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sins, and releasing of pain, &c.

Errors and abuse of Baptism.

In the Sacrament of Baptism they are to be reproved, not only for adding to the simple words of Christs Institution divers other new-found Rites and Phantasies of men: but also where the use of the old Church of *Rome* was only to baptize men; they baptize also Bells, and apply the words of Baptism to water, fire, candels, flocks and stones, &c.

Baptizing of Bells.

False Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning the Lords Supper.

But especially in the Supper of the Lord their Doctrine most filthily swerveth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason and fashion; most worthy to be exploded out of all Christian Churches. Touching the which Sacrament, the first Error is their Idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking and kneeling unto it, in reserving also and carrying the same about in pomp and procession in Towns and Fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is manifoldes, leaving there no substance of Bread and Wine to remain, but only the real Body and Blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called Bread his Body, therefore say they, he made it his Body, and so of a wholesome Sacrament, make a perilous Idol: and that which the old Church of *Rome* did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of meer accidents to bleer the peoples eyes, making them believe they see that they see not: and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a Creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten Sheaf, they set up in the Church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scriptures, that the Body of Christ can never corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true Christian belief.

The Sacrament turned to an Idol.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar.

False doctrine concerning Invocation.

Of Matrimony.

What order and rule Saint *Paul* hath set for marriage in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* it is manifest: where, as he preferreth single life in such as have the gift of Continence, before the married estate: so again, in such as have not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing every such one to have his wife: *Because of Fornication.* Furthermore, how the said Apostle alloweth a Bishop to be the Husband of one wife (so he exceed not to the manner of the *Jews*, which were permitted to have many) and how vehemently he reproveth them that restrain marriage, his Letters to *Timothy* do record. Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the Law of God to marry, in the Book of *Leviticus* is to be seen, Chapter eighteen. Also how Children ought not to marry without consent of their Parents by manifest Examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

1 *Cor.* 7.

Misdeeds and Errors of the Popes Church touching Matrimony.

1 *Tim.* 3

1 *Tim.* 4.

Lev. 18.

Contrary to these Ordinances of the Scripture, the new Catholicks of the Popes Church, first do repute and call marriage a state of Imperfection, and prefer single life, as if never so impure, before the same, pretending that where the one repleniseth the Earth, the other filleth Heaven. Furthermore, as good as the third part of Christendom, if it be no more, both Men and Women, they keep through co-acted Vows from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and Priests such as are found to have wives, not only they remove out of place, but also pronounce Sentence of death upon them, and account their Children for Bastards and illegitimate: Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt, and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of Copulation forbidden they extend further than ever did the Law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree. Which degrees notwithstanding they release again when they list for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found Prohibition of spiritual Kindred, that is, that such as have been Gossips, or Godfathers and Godmothers together in Christening another mans Child, must not by their Law marry together. Briefly and finally in this Doctrine and Cases of Matrimony, they gain and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible Sodomitry, they nourish wicked Adultery and much Fornication, they till the world with Offendions and Bastards, and give great occation of murthering Infants.

Single life, be it never so impure, preferred before Matrimony.

The third part of Christendom stopt by the Popes Law to marry.

The Popes Doctrine against Priests marriage, and their Children.

The third part of the year exempted from marriage.

Marriage within the fifth or sixth degree, by the Popes Law.

Gossips Inhibited to marry by the Popes Law.

What inconveniences come by refraining of marriage.

Of Magistrates and civil Government.

Ye heard before what Rules and Lessons Saint *Paul* gave to the old *Romans* concerning Magistrates, to whose Authority he would have all humane Creatures to be subjected, and how they are the Ministers of God, having the Sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false Doctrine and Idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right, *Rom.* 13. Now let us survey a little the Popes proceedings, and mark how far he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true Christianity.

Rom. 13.

The corrupt Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning civil Rulers and Magistrates.

1. First, The Pope with all his Clergy exempt themselves from all Obedience civil.

2. They arrogate to themselves Authority to Ordain and Constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary Magistrate.

3. Yea they take upon them to depose and set up Rulers and Magistrates, whom they list.

Of Purgatory.

The Paradoxes, or rather the Fantasies of the later fet Church of *Rome* concerning Purgatory, be monstrous, neither old nor Apostolical.

The Fantasies and untruths of the Popes Church concerning Purgatory.

1. First (say they) There is a Purgatory, where Souls do burn in fire after this life.

2. The pain of Purgatory differeth nothing from the pains of Hell, but only that it hath an end; the pains of Hell have none.

3. The painful suffering of this fire fretteth and scowreth away the sins before committed in the body.

4. The time in these pains indureth in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.

Ex Thom. Mimo & aliis.

5. After which time of their pains being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to Heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6. The pains of Purgatory be so great, that if all the Beggers of the World were seen on the one side, and but one Soul of Purgatory on the other side, the whole World would pity more that one, than all the others.

7. The whole time of punishment in this Purgatory must continue so long, till the fire have clean fretted and scowred away the rusty spots of every sinful Soul there burning, unless there come some release:

8. Helps and releases that may shorten the time of their Purgation, by the Popes Pardons and Indulgences, Sacrifice of the Altar, Dirges, and Trentals, Prayer, Fasting, meritorious Deeds out of the Treasure-House of the Church, Alms and Charitable Deeds of the living, in satisfying Gods Justice for them, &c.

9. Lack of belief of Purgatory bringeth to Hell.

Manifest defection of the Popes Church from the old Faith of Rome.

Many other false Errors and great Deformities, Heresies, Absurdities, Vanities, and Follies, besides their blasphemous Raylings, and Contumelies, may be noted in the said latter Church of *Rome*, wherein they have made manifest defection from the old Faith of *Rome*, as in depriving the Church of one kind of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods Word, in praying and speaking to the people, and administring Sacraments in a Tongue unknown, in mistaking the Authority of the Keys, in their unwritten Verities, in making the Authority of the Scripture insufficient, in untrue judgment of the Church, and the wrong Notes of the same in the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, in their wrong Opinions of *Antichrist*.

Contrariety between the Religion of Christ and of the Pope briefly noted.

But because these, with all other parts of Doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other Books both in *Latin* and *English*, set forth in these our days: I shall not need further herein to travel, especially seeing the contrariety between the Popes Church and the Church of Christ, between the Doctrine of the one, and the Doctrine of the other, is so evident, that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feeleth it not.

Christs Doctrine is wholely Spiritual.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, that which may suffice for all) whereas the Doctrine of Christ is altogether Spiritual, consisting wholly in Spirit and Verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true Christian man but only Baptism (which is the outward profession of Faith) and receiving the Lords Supper: Let us now examine the whole Religion of this latter Church of *Rome*, and we shall find it, from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremonial Exercises; as outward Confession, Absolution at the Priests hand, outward Sacrifice of the Mass, buying of Pardons, purchasing of Obits, externe worshipping of Images and Reliques, Pilgrimage to this place or that, building of Churches, founding of Monasteries, outward Works of the Law, outward Gestures, Garments, Colours, choice of Meats, difference of Times and Places, peculiar Rites and Observances, set Prayers, and number of Prayers prescribed, fasting of Vigils, keeping of Holidays, coming to Church, hearing of Service, extern succession of Bishops, and of *Peters* See, extern Form and Notes of the Church, &c. So that by this Religion to make a true Christian and a good Catholick, there is no working of the Holy Ghost almost required. As for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us here define a Christian-man after the Popes making: whereby we may see the better what is to be judged of the Scope of his Doctrine.

No outward thing is required in Christs Doctrine to make a Christian man, but only Baptism and the Lords Supper.

All doctrine of th' Popes standeth only in outward things

A Christian man after the Popes making defined.

A Christian man defined after the Popes Doctrine.

AFter the Popes Catholick Religion, a true Christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptized in the *Latin*-Tongue (where the Godfathers profess they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the Bishop: the Mother of the Child to be purified; after he be grown in years, then to come to the Church, to keep his Fasting-days, to fast the *Lent*, to come under *Benedicite*; that is, to be confessed of the Priest, to do his Penance, at *Easter* to take his Rites, to hear Mass and Divine Service, to set up Candles before Images, to creep to the Cross, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on procession, to carry his Palms and Candle, and to take Ashes, to fast the Ember-days, Rogation-days, and Vigils, to keep the Holidays, to pay his Tythes and Offering-days, to go on Pilgrimage, to buy Pardons, to worship his Maker over the Priests head, to receive the Pope for his Supream Head, and to obey his Laws, to receive Saint *Nicholas Clerkes*, to have his Beads, and to give to the high Altar, to take Orders if he will be a Priest, to say his Mattens, to sing his Mass, to lift up fair, to keep his vow, and not to marry. when he is sick to be annoled and take the Rites of the Holy Church, to be buried in the Church-yard, to be rung for, to be sung for, to be buried in a Fryers Coole, to find a Soul-Priest, &c.

Corporal exercise profiteth to small profit.

All which Points being observed, who can deny but this is a devout man, and a perfect Christian Catholick, and sure to be saved, as a true faithful Child of the holy Mother-Church?

Now look upon this definition, and tell me (good Reader) what Faith or Spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost in all this Doctrine is to be required. The Grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his Gospel to shine in our Hearts. Amen.

Τῶ τῆ Χριστῶ

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Acts and Monuments,

CONTAINING

The three hundred Years next after CHRIST, with the Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church.

THese things before premised, having thus hitherto prepared the way unto our story, let us now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we have heretofore set forth in a general description the whole state as well of the primitive as of the later times of this Church of *Rome*: so now consequently we may discourse in particular sort the acts and doings of every age, by it self, in such order as is before prefixed.

1. First, To declare of the suffering time of the Church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Christ.
2. Secondly, The flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years.
3. Thirdly, The declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, other three hundred years.
4. Fourthly, Of the time of *Antichrist*, reigning and raging in the Church, since the loosing of Satan.
5. Lastly, Of the reforming time of Christs Church, in these later three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpose and endeavour shall be (so near as the Lord will give us Grace) not so much to intermeddle with outward Affairs of Princes, or matters civil (except sometime for example of life) as specially minding (by the help of the Lord) to prosecute such things which to the Ecclesiastical state of the Church are appertaining: as first to intreat of the stablishing of Christian Faith, then of the Persecutions of Tyrants, the Constancy and Patience of Gods Saints, the first Convertion of Christian Realms to the Faith of Christ, namely, of this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*: first beginning with King *Lucius*, and so forward following the order of our *English* Kings here in this Land, to declare the Maintenance of true Doctrine, the false practise of Prelates, the creeping in of Superstition and Hypocrisie, the manifold Assaults, Wars and Tumults of the Princes of this World against the people of God. Wherein may appear the wonderful Operation of Christs mighty Hand, ever working in his Church, and never ceasing to defend the same against his Enemies, according to the verity of his own Word, promising to be with his Church while the World shall stand, so as by the process of this story may well be proved, and will be testified in the Sequel thereof.

Two things in this history chiefly to be noted.

In the tractation of all which things two special Points I chiefly commend to the Reader, as most requisite and necessary for every Christian man to observe and to note for his own experience and profit; as first the disposition and nature of this World; secondly, the nature and condition of the Kingdom of Christ; the vanity of the one, and stablishment of the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by mans Violence and Wisdom, and the happy success of the other ever ruled by Gods Blessing and Providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other. The World

The world.

call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by Heathenish life not following him, or by violence refishing him. On the other side, the Kingdom of Christ in this World, I take to be all them which belong to the Faith of Christ, and here take his part in this world against the world: the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and always lightly is hated and molested of the World, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarly doth bless and prosper, and ever will. And this number of Christs Subjects is it, which we call the visible Church here in Earth. Which visible Church, having in it self a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be divided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward Profession only, the other which by Election inwardly are joyned to Christ: the first in words and lips seem to honour Christ, and are in the visible Church only, but not in the Church invisible, and partake the outward Sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible and also in the invisible Church of Christ, which not in words only and outward profession, but also in heart do truly serve and honour Christ, partaking not only the Sacraments, but also the heavenly Blessings and Grace of Christ.

The Kingdom of Christ in this world.

The visible Church.

The Church of Christ divided in two sorts of people.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the World and the Kingdom of Christ there is a continual repugnance: so between these two parts of this visible Church aforesaid oft times groweth great Variance and mortal Persecution, insomuch that sometime the true Church of Christ hath no greater Enemies, than of their own Profession and Company, as happened not only in the time of Christ and his Apostles, but also from time to time almost continually. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.* but especially in these later days of the Church under the Persecution of *Antichrist* and his Retinue, as by the reading of this Volume more manifestly hereafter may appear.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

At the first Preaching of Christ, and coming of the Gospel, who should rather have known and received him, than the *Pharisees* and *Scribes* of that people, which had his Law? And yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they themselves? What followed? They in refusing Christ to be their King, and choosing rather to be subject unto *Cæsar*, were by the said their own *Cæsar* at length destroyed; when as Christs Subjects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the Gospel of God, when it is so gently offered.

Gods punishment for refusing the Gospel.

The like example of Gods wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the *Romans* also themselves. For when *Tiberius Cæsar*, having received by Letters from *Pontius Pilate* of the doings of Christ, of his Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereof with the whole Senate of *Rome*, to have Christ adored as God: they not agreeing thereunto refused him, because that contrary to the Law of the *Romans* he was consecrated (said they) for God before the

Tiberius Cæsar for moveth the Senate to have Christ received.

Christ refused of the Senate of *Rome*.

The vain cause why the Senate of *Rome* refused Christ.

the Senate of *Rome* had so decreed and approved him, &c. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.* Thus the vain Senate following rather the Law of man, than of God, and which were contented with the Emperor to Reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of Glory, the Son of God to be their King; were after much like sort to the *Jews* scourged and intrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the Emperor, and rejected Christ: so the just permission of God did stir up their own Emperors against them in such sort, that both the Senators themselves were almost all devoured, and the whole City most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For first the fame *Tiberius*, which for a great part of his Reign was a moderate and a tolerable Prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy Tyrant, who neither favoured his own Mother, nor spared his own Nephews, nor the Princes of the City, such as were his own Counsellors, of whom to the number of twenty he left not past two or three alive, and so cruel was he to the City, that as the story recordeth, *Nullus a paene hominum ceffabat dies, no religious quidem ac sacer. Suetonius* reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that in time of his Reign, very many were accused, and condemned with their Wives and Children, Maids also first defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of Execution. By whom also, through the just punishment of God, *Pilate*, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, depoſed, then banished to the Town of *Lions*, and at length did slay himself. Neither did *Herod* and *Caiaphas* long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. *Agrippa* also by him was cast into Prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In the Reign of *Tiberius*, the Lord Jesus the Son of God, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, which was the seventeenth of this Emperor, by the malice of the *Jews* suffered his blessed Passion for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan the Prince of this World, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed Passion and Resurrection, this foresaid *Tiberius Nero* (otherwise called *Biberius Mero*) lived six years, during which time no Persecution was yet stirring in *Rome* against the Christians, through the Commandment of the Emperor.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Iosephus Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

The Senate and City of *Rome* plagued for refusing of Christ.

Ex Suet. in vita Tiberii.

Christ suffereth again.

Anno 34.

Saint *Paul* converted.

In the Reign also of this Emperor, and the year which was the next after the Passion of our Saviour, or foreknew what more, Saint *Paul* was converted to the Faith. After the death of *Tiberius*, when he had reigned three and twenty years, succeeded *C. Cæsar Caligula*, *Claudius Nero*, and *Domitius Nero*: which three were likewise such Scourges to the Senate and people of *Rome*, that the first not only took other mens Wives violently from them, but also defloured three of his own Sisters, and afterward beheaded them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and Temples to be erected in his Name, and used to sit in the Temple among the gods, requiring his Images to be set up in all Temples, and also in the Temple at *Hierusalem*; which caused great disturbance among the *Jews*, and then began *the Abomination of Desolation to be set up in the holy place*, spoken of in the Gospel. His cruel condition, or else displeasure was such towards the *Romans*, that he wished that all the people of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this said *Caligula*, *Herod* the Murtherer of *John Baptist*, and Condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual Banishment, where he died miserably. *Caiaphas* also, which wickedly sate upon Christ, was the same time removed from the High Priests room, and *Jonathan* set in his place. The raging fierceness of this *Caligula* incensed against the *Romans* had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a Tribune and other Gentlemen, which flew him in the fourth year of his Reign. After whose death were found in his Closet two little Libels, one called a Sword, the other the Dagger: in the which Libels were contained the Names of those Senators and Noblemen of *Rome*, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was found also a Coffer, wherein divers kinds of Poison were kept in Glasses and Vessels for the purpose, to destroy a wonderful number of people, which Poisons, afterward being thrown into the Sea, destroyed a great number of Fish. *Gotfri. Viterb.*

Anno 35.

Anno 39.

Cæsar Caligula.

Caligula commanded his Image to be set up in the Temple of *Hierusalem*.

The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Herod miserably died in banishment.

Caiaphas deposed.

Anno 42.

Ex Sifrid Viterbiensi, part. 15.

But that which this *Caligula* had only conceived, the same did the other Two which came after, bring to pass; *Claudius Nero*, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these *Neroes*, called *Domitius Nero*, which succeeding after *Claudius*, reigned fourteen years, with such fury and tyranny, that he slew the most part of the Senators, and destroyed the whole Order of Knighthood in *Rome*. So prodigious a Monster of nature was he, more like a Beast, yea rather a Devil than a man, that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous Uncleanness, that he abstained not from his own Mother, his natural Sister, nor from any degree of Kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his Mother, his Brother in Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, all his Instructors, *Seneca* and *Lucan*, with divers more of his own Kindred and Consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded *Rome* to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning, while that he to see the example how *Troy* burned, sung the verses of *Homer*. And to avoid the Infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christian-men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this unfaithful Emperor in his Reign fourteen years, till at last the Senate proclaiming him a publick Enemy unto Mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he flying the hands of his Enemies, in the night fled to a Manor of his Servants in the Countrey, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither Friend nor Enemy left that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this *Domitius Nero*, *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death for the Testimony and Faith of Christ. *Anno 69.*

Claudius Nero.

Anno 54.

Domitius Nero.

The horrible wicked acts and cruelty of Nero.

Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Anno 69.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just Scourge and heavy Indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus the Son of God is contemned, and not received; as by these Examples may appear, both of *Romans* which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their own Emperors, but also by Civil Wars, whereof three hapned in two years at *Rome*, after the death of *Nero*, and other Casualties (as in *Sueton* is testified) so that in the days of *Tiberius* aforesaid, five thousand *Romans* were hurt and slain at one time by the fall of a *Theater*. And also most especially by the destruction of the *Jews*, which about this same time in the year threescore and thirteen, and forty years after the Passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, were destroyed by *Titus* and *Vespasian* his Father (who succeeded after *Nero* in the Empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides them which *Vespasian* slew in subduing the Country of *Galilee*: over and beside them also which were sold and sent into *Egypt* and other Provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand. Two thousand were brought with *Titus* in his triumph: of which, part he gave to be devoured of the wild Beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slain. By whose case all Nations and Realms may take example, what it is to reject the Visitation of Gods verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their Salvation.

Vespasian Emperor and *Titus* his Son.

The destruction of the *Jews*.

A note for all Realms to mark.

And as this wrathful Vengeance of God thus hath been shewed upon this rebellious people, both of the *Jews* and of the *Romans*, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own Emperors: so neither the Emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For among so many Emperors which put so many Christian Martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them scaped either not slain themselves, or not by some miserable end or other worthily revenged. First, of the poysoning of *Tiberius*, and of the slaughter of the other three *Neroes* after him, sufficiently is declared before. After *Nero*, *Domitius Galba* within seven months was slain by *Otho*. And so did *Otho* afterward slay himself, being overcome by *Vitellius*. And was not *Vitellius* shortly after drawn through the City of *Rome*, and after he was tormented was thrown into *Tiber*? *Titus* a good Emperor is thought to be poysoned of *Domitian* his Brother. The said *Domitian*, after he had been a Persecutor of the *Christians*, was slain in his Chamber, not without the con-

The Romans for contenning Christ, punished by their own Emperors.

Examples of the just plague of God upon the Emperors persecuting and refusing Christ till the time of *Constantine*.

Claudius. Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius. Titus. Domitian.

Commodus. Pertinax. Julianus. Severus. Geta. Bassianus. Macrinus. Diadumenus. Heliogabalus. Alexander Severus. Maximinus. Maximus. Balbinus. Gordianus. Philippus. Decius. Gallus and Volusianus. Æmilianus. Valerianus. Galienus.

consent of his Wife. Likewise *Commodus* was murdered of *Narcissus*. The like end was of *Pertinax* and *Julianus*. Moreover, after that *Severus* was slain here in *England* (and lieth at *York*) did not his Son *Bassianus* slay his Brother *Geta*, and he after slain of *Martialis*? *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus* were both slain of their own Souldiers. After whom *Heliogabalus*, that monstrous bellipanch, was of his own people slain, and drawn through the City and cast into *Tiber*. *Alexander Severus* that worthy and learned Emperor, which said he would not feed his Servants doing nothing with the bowels of the Common wealth, although in life and vertues he was much unlike other Emperors, yet proved the like end, being slain at *Mentz* with his godly Mother *Mammea*, by *Maximinus*, whom the Emperor before of a *muletor* had advanced to great Dignities. The which *Maximinus* also after three years was slain himself of his Souldiers. What should I speak of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* in like fort both slain in *Rome*? Of *Gordian* slain by *Philip*: of *Philip* the first christened Emperor, slain, or rather martyred for the same cause: of wicked *Decius* drowned, and his Son slain the same time in battel: of *Gallus* and *Volusianus* his Son, Emperors after *Decius*, both slain by Conspiracy of *Aemilianus*, who rose against them both in War, and within three months after was slain himself? Next to *Aemilianus* succeeded *Valerianus* and *Galienus* his Son, of whom *Valerianus* (who was a Persecutor of the *Christians*) was taken Prisoner of the *Persians*, and there made a riding Fool of *Sapores* their King, who used him for a stool to leap upon his Horse, while his Son *Galienus* sleeping at *Rome*, either would not, or could not once profter to revenge his Fathers Ignominy. For after the taking of *Valerian*, so many Emperors rose up as were Provinces in the *Roman* Monarchy. At length *Galienus* also was killed by *Aureolus* which warred against him. It were too long here to speak of *Aurelianus* another Persecutor, slain of his Secretary; of *Tacitus* and *Florinus* his Brother, of whom the first reigned six months, and was slain at *Pontus*; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at *Tarsis*: of *Probus*, who although a good civil Emperor, yet was he destroyed by his Souldiers. After whom *Carus* the next Emperor was slain by Lightning. Next to *Carus* followed the impious and wicked Persecutor *Diocletian*, with his Fellows *Maximian*, *Valerius*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*, under whom all at one time (during the time of *Diocletian*) the greatest and most grievous Persecution was moved against the *Christians* ten years together. Of which, *Diocletian* and *Maximian* depoſed themselves from the Empire. *Galerius* the chiefest Minister of the Persecution, after his terrible Persecutions, fell into a wonderful Sickness, having such a Sore risen in the nether part of his belly, which confumed his Privy-members, and so did swarm with Worms, that being unable neither by Surgery nor Physick, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the *Christians*, and so called in his Proclamations against them. Notwithstanding he not able to sustain (as some say) the stink of his Sore slew himself. *Maximinus* in his War, being tormented with pain in his guts there died. *Maxentius* was vanquished by *Constantine*, and drowned in *Tiber*. *Licinius* likewise, being from his Empire, and afterward slain of his Souldiers. But on the other side, after the time of *Constantine*, when as the Faith of Christ was received into the Imperial Seat, we read of no Emperor after the like fort destroyed or molested, except it were *Julianus* or *Basilius* (which expelled one *Zeno*, and was afterward expelled himself) or *Valens*. Beside these we read of no Emperor to come to ruine and decay, as the others before mentioned. *Ex lib. hist. tripart.*

Tiberius. Caligula. Claudius. Nero. Vespasian. Titus. Domitianus. Nerva. Trajanus. Adrianus. Antonius Pius. Marcus Aurelius. Commodus. Pertinax. Julianus. Severus. Antoninus. Geta. Bassianus. Macrinus. Diadumenus. Heliogabalus. Alexander Severus. Maximinus. Gordianus. Philippus. Decius. Gallus. Volusianus. Æmilianus. Valerianus. Galienus. Claudius. Aurelianus. Tacitus. Florianus. Probus. Carus. Dioclesianus. Maximianus. Valerius. Maximinus. Maxentius. Licinius.

And thus have we in brief sum collected out of the *Chronicles* the unquiet and miserable state of the Emperors of *Rome*, until the time of *Christian Constantine*, with the Examples, no less terrible than manifest, of Gods severe Justice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the Faith and Name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like fort and condition, if leisure of time or matter would suffer me a little to digress unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like Examples I could also infer of this our Country of *England*, concerning the terrible Plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refuling or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up *Gildas* to Preach to the old *Britans*, and to exhort them unto Repentance and Amendment of Life, and afore to warn them of Plagues to come if they repented not: What availeth it? *Gildas* was laughed to Scorn, and taken for a false Prophet, and a malicious Preacher. The *Britans* with lusty Courages, whorish Faces, and unrepentant Hearts went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their Enemies on every side and destroyed them, and gave the Land to other Nations. Not many years past, God seeing Idolatry, Superstition, Hypocrisie, and wicked living used in this Realm, raised up that godly learned man *John Wickliffe*, to Preach unto our Fathers Repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their Papistry and Idolatry, their Hyprocrisie and Superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His Exhortations were not regarded, he with his Sermons was despised, his Books and he himself after his death were burnt. What followed? They flew their right King, and set up three wrong Kings on a row, under whom all the Noble blood was flain up, and half the Commons thereto, what in *France*, and with their own Sword in fighting among themselves for the Crown; and the Cities and Towns were decayed, and the Land brought half to a Wilderness, in respect of that it was before. O extream Plagues of Gods Vengeance! Since that time even of late years, God, once again having Pity of this Realm of *England*, raised up his Prophets; namely, *William Tindall*, *Thomas Bilney*, *John Frith*, Doctor *Barnes*, *Jerome Garret*, *Anthony Person*, with divers others, which both with their Writings and Sermons earnestly laboured to call us unto Repentance, that by this means the fierce Wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they intreated? How were their painful Labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as *Hereticks*, and their Books condemned and burnt as heretical. *The time shall come*, saith Christ, *that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good Service.* Whether any thing fince that time hath chanced to this Realm worthy the name of a Plague, let the godly wife judge. If God hath deferred his Punishment, or forgiven us their our wicked Deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud, and high minded, but most humbly thank him for his tender Mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is it here any need to speak of these our lower and later times, which have been in King *Henries* and King *Edwards* days, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh and cannot be forgotten. But let this pass, of this I am sure, that God yet once again is come on Visitation to this Church of *England*, yea and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this Visitation he hath redressed many Abuses, and cleansed his Church of much Ungodliness and Superstition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the old form and state. And now how grateful Receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that tak our Fruits, or to the Sequel, which peradventure will declare it. But this by the way of digression. Now to regress again to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the Justice of God upon these *Roman* Persecutors: so now we declare their Persecutions raised up against the People and Servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ. Which Persecutions in number commonly are counted to be Ten, besides their Persecutions first moved by the *Jews* in *Hierusalem* and other places against the Apostles. In the which, first Saint *Stephen* the Deacon was put to death, with divers others more, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into Prison. At the doing whereof, *Saul*, at the same time played the doughty *Pharisee*, being not yet converted to the Faith of Christ, whereof the History is plain in the *Acts of the Apostles* set forth at large by S. *Luke*.

Wickliffe and his Books condemned, and he burnt for an Heretick after his death.

Gods benefits towards *England*.

A Caveat for *England*.

John 16.

After the Martyrdom of this blessed *Stephen*, suffered next *James* the holy Apostle of Christ, and Brother of *John*. Of which *James* mention is made in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the twelfth Chapter. Where is declared how

S. *Stephen* the first Martyr. Paul a Persecutor of all Christs members till he was converted.

S. *James* the Apostle, Brother of S. *John* suffered.

how that not long after the stoning of *Stephen*, King *Herod* stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the Congregation: among whom *James* was one, whom he slew with the Sword, &c. Of this *James*, *Eusebius* also inferreth mention, alledging *Clement*, thus writing a memorable story of him. This *James* (saith *Clement*) when he was brought to the Tribunal Seat, he that brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death: as he went to the Execution, he being moved therewith in Heart and Conscience, confessed himself also of his own accord to be a *Christian*. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of *James* to forgive him that he had done. After that *James* had a little paused with himself upon the matter, turning to him; *Peace* (saith he) *be to thee Brother, and kissed him*; and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord thirty and six.

Hist. Eccle. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Clemente Alexandrino Hypotyposeon.

A notable conversion of a wicked Actor: and after a Martyr.

Dorotheus in his Book named *Synopsis*, testifieth, that *Nicanor* one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand others, which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day, when as *Stephen* did suffer.

Nicanor one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand others martyred.

The said *Dorotheus* witnesseth also, that *Simon*, another of the Deacons, Bishop afterward of *Bostrum* in *Arabia*, was there burned. *Parmenas* also another of the Deacons suffered.

Ex Dorotheo in Synops. Simon a Deacon martyred.

S. *Thomas* the Apostle suffered.

Thomas preached to the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, also to the *Germans*, *Hiracanies*, *Bactries*, and *Magies*. He suffered in *Calamina*, a City of *Juda*, being slain with a Dart.

Simon Zelotes cruelfied.

Simon Zelotes preached at *Mauritania*, and in the Country of *Africk*, and in *Britannia*; he was likewise crucified.

Thaddeus the Apostle slain.

Judas Brother of *James*, called also *Thaddeus*, and *Lebbeus*, preached to the *Edessens*, and to all *Mesopotamia*: he was slain under *Augarus*, King of the *Edessens* in *Berito*.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Simon called *Cananeus*, which was Brother to *Jude* above mentioned, and to *James* the younger, which all were the Sons of *Mary Cleophas*, and of *Alpheus*, was Bishop of *Hierusalem* after *James*, and was crucified in a City of *Egypt* in the time of *Trajanus* the Emperor, as *Dorotheus* recordeth. But *Abdias* writeth, that he with his Brother *Jude* were both slain by a tumult of the people in *Suanir* a City of *Parthidis*.

Mark the Evangelist buried.

Mark the Evangelist, and first Bishop of *Alexandria*, preached the Gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there *Bucolus*, under the Reign of *Trajanus* the Emperor.

Bartholomew the Apostle crucified and beheaded.

Ex Joan. de mirabilibus regalii.

Bartholomeus is said also to Preach to the *Indians*, and to have converted the Gospel of Saint *Matthew* into their Tongue, where he continued a great space, doing many Miracles. At last in *Albania* a City of greater *Armenia*, after divers Persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified, and after being excoriate, he was at length beheaded. *John de mirabilibus regalii.*

Andrew the Apostle crucified for the Gospel.

Ex Hieronymo in Catalogo Script. Eccles. Ex Cyprianus lib. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardo sermo. 2. de festo S. Andreæ.

Of *Andrew* the Apostle and Brother to *Peter* thus writeth *Hierome* in his Book *De Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiæ*. *Andrew* the Brother of *Peter* (in the time and Reign of *Vespasianus*, as our Ancestors have reported) did Preach in the fourscore year of our Lord Jesus Christ to the *Scythians*, *Sogdians*, to the *Saxons*, and in a City which is called *Angustia*, where the *Ethiopians* do now inhabit. He was buried in *Patris* a City of *Achaia*, being crucified of *Egeas* the Governor of the *Edessians*. Hereto writeth *Hierome*, although in the number of years he seemeth a little to miss: for *Vespasianus* reached not to the fourscore year after Christ. But *Bernard* in his second Sermon, and Saint *Cyprian* in his Book *De duplici Martyrio*, do make mention of the Confession and Martyrdom of this blessed Apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible Writers we have collected after this manner: that, When as *Andrew* being Conversant in a City of *Achaia* called *Patris*, through his diligent Preaching had brought many to the Faith of Christ: *Egeas* the Governor knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the Senate, to do sacrifice unto the Idols, and so give divine honour unto them. *Andrew* thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsel, and the doings of *Egeas*, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him; that, It behoved him which was Judge of men, first to know his Judge which dwelleth in Heaven, and then to worship him being known, and so in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind Idols. These words spake *Andrew* to the Consul.

The words of Andrew to the Consul.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him, Whether he was the same *Andrew* that did overthrow the Temple of the gods, and persuaded men of that Superstitious Sect, which the *Romans* of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. *Andrew* did plainly affirm, That the Princes of the *Romans* did not understand the Truth, and that the Son of God, coming from Heaven into the World for mans sake, hath taught and declared how these Idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruel Devils, Enemies to Mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the Devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedness, and after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds.

The fervency of Andrew against Idolatry.

But the *Proconsul* esteeming these things to be as vain, especially seeing the *Jews* (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded *Andrew* not to Teach and Preach such things any more: or if he did, that he should be fastened to the Cross with all speed.

Andrew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened, He would not have preached the honour and glory of the Cross, if he had feared the death of the Cross. Whereupon Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced, that *Andrew* teaching and enterprising a new Sect, and taking away the Religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. *Andrew* coming to the place, and seeing a fit off the Cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillity of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, his understanding did not fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent Charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks; he said, *O Cross, most welcome and long looked for; with a willing mind joyfully and desirously I come to thee, being the Scholar of him which did hang on thee: because I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee.* So being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell on sleep, the day before the *Kalends* of *December*.

The constant faith of Andrew to the end.

The Cross here meant taken for the material Cross of wood, but for the manner of death upon the Cross, which Andrew was to undergo. S. Matthew the Apostle slain with a Spear.

Matthew, otherwise named *Levi*, first of a *Publican* made an Apostle, wrote his Gospel to the *Jews* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, as recordeth *Eusebius*, *lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10.* Also *Irenæus*, *lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo Script. Ecclesiast.* Concerning the doings and decreements of this blessed Apostle and Evangelist, divers things be recorded by *Julius Africanus*, under the pretenced name of *Abdias*; also of *Vincentius*, *Perionius*, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lack some crafty forgery, for the more establishment of later decretals, and *Romish* Doctrine, as touching Merits, consecration of Nunns, the superstitious prescription of *Lent-fast*, not only in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all Matrimonial Copulation between man and wife, during the said time of *holy Lent*. *Item*, the strict Prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before receiving of the Lords Supper. In ordaining of Mass, and that no Nunn must marry after the Vow of her Profession, with such other like.

Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo Script. Ecclesiast.

Matthias the Apostle stoned and beheaded.

Joan. de Monte Regali, testifieth of *Matthias*, after he had preached to the *Jews*, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in *Ethiopia*.

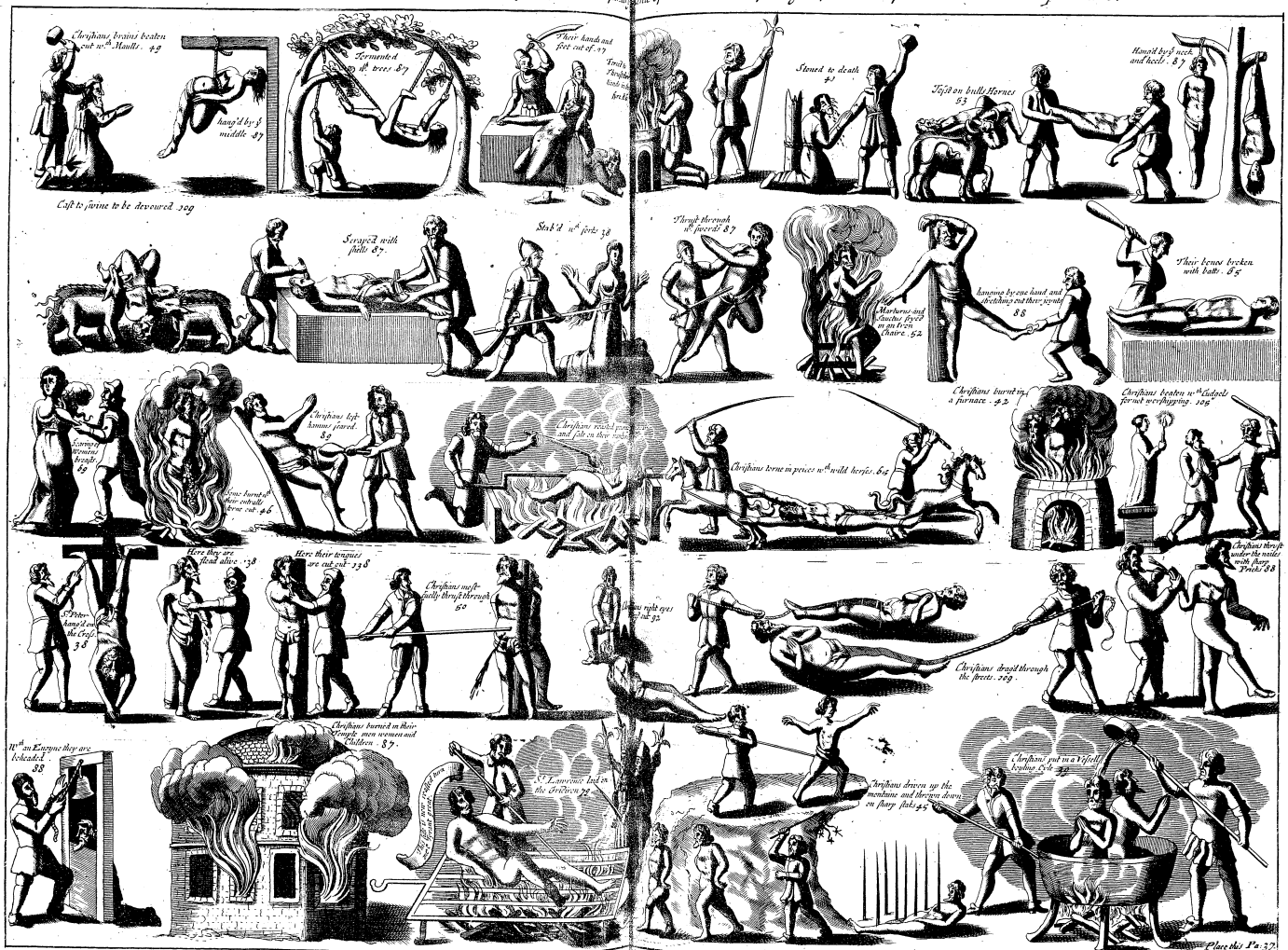
Philippus the Apostle crucified.

Philippus the holy Apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous Nations in preaching the Word of Salvation to them, at length he suffered as the other Apostles did, in *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his Daughters also with him.

Ex Joan. de mirabilibus regalii.

Of

A most exact Table of the first ten Persecutions of the Primatiue Church under the Heathen Tyrants of Rome *continuing the space allmost of three hundred yeares after Christ from ye time of Tiberius unto Constantius Emperors of the said Empire with the sundry kind of torments deuised against the Christians and executed upon them.*


Christians braines beaten out wth Maults. 49
hang'd by ye middle 87
Tormented on ye trees 87
Their hands and feet cut off. 87
Cast to swine to be deuoured 209
Stoned to death 91
Rasped by ye neck and heels. 87
Tost on bulls Hornes 93
Scraped with shells 87.
Stab'd wth pikes 38
Thrust through wth swords 87
Their bones broken with batts. 85
Hanging by one hand and scratching out their bowels 88
Martyrs and Confess fryed in an Iron Chaire. 52
Christians burnt in a furnace. 42
Christians beaten wth Cudgells for not worshipping. 109
Christians burnt wth wild horses. 69
Christians rosted upon spits and eate by their owne flesh
Christians tyed to horses feared. 89
Christians torn in peices wth wild horses. 69
Here they are fixed alive. 38
Here their tongues are cut out. 38
Christians must fully thrust through 60
Christians thrust under the nailes with sharp Pricks. 88
Christians drawd through the streets. 209
Christians burned in their Temple men women and Children 87
Wth an Engine they are beheaded 88
St Laurence laid in the Gridiron 72
Christians driven up the mountains and thrown down on sharp stakes 44
Christians put in a Vessell of boyling Oyle 33
Place this Pa. 37

The 42 Monthes in ye Revelation of St. John Expounded.

Those Persecutions in ye Primitive Church lasted 2[illegible] yeares 9 mo. 204 yeares St. John in his Revelation doth Prophesy before in sundry places first chap. it where he saith The Gentiles shall tread downe the holy Citty 42 months And againe in ye 12 Chap. And power was given to ye beast to make 42 months & Which 42 months being counted by sabbaths of yeares after ye common vse of scripture & of Daniel 3 is every month for 5 yeare amounts to 204 yeare Wherein is to be noted ye error of ye Papists taking these 42 months simply as they are mystically to be reckon'd by sabbaths of yeares & is 7 yeares to every month after ye vse of scripture so they make 294 yeares during which time ye Revelation chap 11 where this said 3 after 3½ dayes & two Prophets shall reuive againe &c for count every hour of ye day which he holds for the month wch is 15 yeare maketh one time two twelue months which is two yeare make two time & 6 months wch is half a year make half a time so that 3 yeares & a half is said being reduced to sabbaths of yeares make 294 yeares and so long continued these persecutions Moreouer after ye time of these persecutions expired St. Revel. ch 20 prophesieth Sathan should be choked for a thousand yeares & after yt he should be loosed in ye world for a little space & is ye reign & violence should be shewed by ye Turkes began under Ottomanus wch is ye Last Beast of Asia & Europe

Counting from ye beheading of St. John Baptist wch was 3½ yeare of ye raigne of Tiberius) till ye end of Licinius & last persecuting Emperour of Rome Concerning

13 Monthes Revel: 5. 3 Yeares & a half. 3½ Dayes & a half. Revel. 11.

A time times & half time Revel. 12

1260 dayes Revel. 12. The being and losing again of Satan Rev. 20.

Of James *the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in the story of* Clement *and* Egesippus.

James Bishop of Jerusalem.

AFter that *Festus* had sent the Apostle *Paul* to *Rome* after his Appellation made at *Cesarea*, and that the *Jews* by the means thereof had loft their hope of performing their malicious Vow againft him conceived, they fell upon *James* the Brother of our Lord, who was Bifhop at *Jerufalem*, againft whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the Faith of Chrift. But he, otherwife than they all looked for, freely and with a greater conftancy before all the multitude confeffed Jefus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the teftimony of this man any longer, becaufe he was thought to be the juftefl among them all, for the highneft of Divine Wifdom and Godlineft, which in living he declared; they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accomplifh their mifchief, becaufe the Kingdom the fame time was vacant. For *Feftus* being dead in *Jewry*, the Adminiftration of that Province was deftitute of a Ruler, and a Deputy. But after what manner *James* was killed, the words of *Clement* do declare, which writeth that he was caft down from the Pinacle of the Temple, and being fmitten with the Inftrument of a *Fuller*, was flain: but *Egefippus*, which lived in the time next after the Apoftles, defcribeth the caufe diligently in his fifth Commentary, after this manner as followeth:

Ex Clemente. Ex Egesippo in Commentariis.

James the Brother of our Lord took in hand to govern the Church after the Apoftles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a juft and perfect man. Many and divers other *James* there were befide him, but this was born holy from his mothers Womb, he drunk no Wine nor any ftrong Drink, neither did he eat any living Creature, the Razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with Oil, neither did he ufe Bath, to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with woollen Cloth, but with Silk, and he only entred into the Temple, falling upon his Knees, asking remiffion for the people, fo that his Knees by oft kneeling loft the fenfe of feeling, bing benummed and hardened like the knees of a *Camel*. He was (for worfhipping God, and craving forgivenefs for the people,) called juft, and for the excellency of his juft life named *Obliar*, which (if you do interpret it) is the fafeguard and juftice of the people, as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the *Hereticks* which were among the people asked him what manner of door Jefus fhould be, he anfwered, That he was the Saviour. Whereof fome do believe him to be Jefus Chrift; but the aforefaid *Hereticks* neither believe the Refurrection, neither that any fhall come, which fhall render unto every man according to his works, but as many as believe, they believed for *James* his caufe. Whereas many therefore of the Princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the *Scribes*, *Jews*, and *Pharifees*, faying, It is dangerous left that all the people do look for this Jefus, as for Chrift. Therefore they gathered themfelves together, and faid to *James*, *We befeech thee reftrain the people, for they believe in Jefus, as though he were Chrift; we pray thee perfwade them all which come unto the Feaft of the Paffover of Jefus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do teftifie of thee that thou art juft, neither that thou doeft accept the perfon of any man; therefore perfwade the people that they be not deceived in Jefus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore ftand upon the Pillar of the Temple, that thou mayeft be feen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this Paffover all the Tribes do come with all the Country.* And thus the forenamed *Scribes* and *Pharifees* did fet *James* upon the Battlements of the Church, and they cried unto him and faid, *Thou juft man, whom all we ought to obey, becaufe this people is led after Jefus, which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jefus crucified.* And he anfwered with a great voice, *What do you ask me of Jefus the Son of Man, feeing that he fitteth on the right hand of God in Heaven, and fhall come in the Clouds of the Sky?* But when many were perfwaded of this, they glorified God upon the witnefs of *James*, and faid, *Ofanna in the higheft to the Son of David.* Then the *Scribes* and the *Pharifees* faid among themfelves, *We have done evil, that we have caufed fuch a Teftimony of Jefus, but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that Faith.* And they cried out, faying, O, O, *this juft man alfo is feduced*; and they fulfilled that Scripture which is fpoken of in *Efay*, *Let us take away the juft man, becaufe he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works.* Therefore they went up to throw down the juft man, and faid among themfelves, *Let us ftone thus juft man*: *James* and they took him to ftrike him with ftones, for he was not yet dead when he was caft down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, faying, *O Lord God, Father, I befeech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

Apoc. 14.

Efay 3.

But when they had fmitten him with ftones, one of the Priefts of the Children of *Rechas*, the Son of *Charobins*, fpake to them the teftimony which is in *Jeremy* the Prophet, *Leave off, what do ye? The juft man prayeth for you.* And one of thofe which were preient took a *Fullers* Inftrument, wherewith they did ufe to beat and purge Cloth, and fmote the juft man on his head, and fo he finifhed his Martyrdom, and they buried him in the fame place, and his Pillar abideth ftill by the Temple. He was a true teftimony to the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*. And fhortly after, *Vefpafianus* the Emperor deftroying the Land of *Jewry*, brought them into Captivity. Thefe things being thus written at large of *Egefippus*, do well agree to thofe which *Clement* did write of him. This *James* was fo notable a man, that for his juftice he was had in honour of all men, infomuch that the wife men of the *Jews*, fhortly after his Martyrdom, did impute the caufe of the befieging of *Jerufalem*, and other Calamities which happed unto them, to no other caufe, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Alfo *Jofephus* hath not left this out of his hiftory, where he fpeaketh of him after this manner: Thefe things fo chanced unto the *Jews* for a vengeance, becaufe of that juft man *James*, which was the Brother of Jefus, whom they called Chrift, for the *Jews* killed him, although he was a righteous man.

Luk. 23.

Joseph. lib. 20.

The fame *Jofephus* declareth his death in the fame Book and Chapter, faying, *Cæfar* hearing of the death of *Feftus*, fent *Albinus* the Lieutenant into *Jewry*: but *Ananus* the younger being Bifhop, and of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, trufting that he had obtained a convenient time, feeing that *Feftus* was dead, and *Albinus* entred on his journey, he called a Council, and calling many unto him, among whom was *James*, by name the Brother of Jefus which is called Chrift, he ftoned them, accufing them as Breakers of the Law.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other befides *James* alfo at the fame were martyred and put to death among the *Jews*, for the Faith of Chrift. Martyrs.

A Defcription of the ten firft Perfecutions in the Primitive Church, with a lively Portraiture of the variety of their Tormients.

The ten firft Perfecutions in the Primitive Church.

THefe things being thus declared for the Martyrdom of the Apoftles, and the Perfecution of the *Jews*: now let us (by the Grace of Chrift our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the Perfecutions raifed by the *Romans* againft the *Chriftians* in the Primitive Age of the Church during the fpace of three hundred years, till the coming of godly *Conftantine*, which Perfecutions are reckoned of *Eufebius*, and by the moft part of Writers, to the number of ten moft fpecial.

The ftudiey torments of the holy Martyrs in the Primitive Church.

Wherein marvellous it is to fee and read the numbers incredible of *Chriftian* Innocents that were flain and tormented, fome one way, fome another, as *Rohanus* faith, and faith truly, *Alii ferro perempti: Alii flammis exuffi; alii flagris verberati, Alii uectibus perforati, Alii cruciati patibulo; Alii demerfi pelagi periculo; Alii vivi decoriati; Alii vinculis mancipati; Alii linguis privati; Alii lapidibus obruti; Alii frigore afflicti; Alii fame cruciati; Alii truncatis manibus, aliique cæfis membris, fpectaculum contumeliæ mdi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c.* that is, Some flain with Sword; Some burnt with fire; Some with Whips fcourged; Some ftabbed with Forks of Iron; Some falfued to the Crofs or Gibbet; Some

drowned in the Sea; Some their Skins pluckt off; Some their Tongues cut off; Some stoned to death; Some killed with cold; Some starved with hunger; Some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembred, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Whereof *Augustine* also in his Book *De civit. 22. cap. 6.* thus saith, *Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro servatore.* Whose kinds of Punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these Martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry Torments, and like cruelness of the Tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant Saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as *Hieromе* in his Epistle to *Cromatius* and *Heliodorus*, saith, *Nullus esset dies qui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii*; that is, There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand Martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of *January*.

Aug. de civit. lib. 22. cap. 6.

The number of holy Martyrs in the Primitive Church

The first Persecution.

1. The first Persecution. { Anno 67. }

THe first of these ten Persecutions was stirred up by *Nero Domitius*, the sixth Emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord threescore and seven. The tyrannous Rage of which Emperor was so fierce against the *Christians* (as *Eusebius* recordeth) *Usque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos simul cum parvulis senes, fœminarumque absque ulla sexus reverentia nudata in publico rejectaque stavent cadaverа*; that is, Insomuch that a man might then see Cities lie full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that Sex in the open streets, &c. Likewise *Orosius* writing of the said *Nero*, saith, That he was the first which in *Rome* did raise up Persecution against the *Christians*, and not only in *Rome*, but also through all the Provinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of *Christians* in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the testimony of *Hieromе* upon *Daniel*, saying, That many there were of the *Christians* in those days, which seeing the filthy Abominations and intolerable Cruelty of *Nero*, thought that he should be *Antichrist*.

Eusebius lib. 2. cap. 24, 25, 26.

Orosius lib. 7.

Nero thought to be *Antichrist.*

In this Persecution, among many other Saints, the blessed Apostle *Peter* was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at *Rome*; albeit other some, and not without cause, do doubt thereof: concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the Text of the Gospel, and in the Acts of Saint *Luke* 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as *Hieromе*, *Egesippus*, *Eusebius*, *Abdias*, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of *Hieromе* be these, *Simon Peter* the Son of *Jona*, of the Province of *Galilee*, and of the Town of *Bethsaida*, the Brother of *Andrew*, *&c.* After he had been Bishop of the Church of *Antioch*, and had preached to the dispersion of them that believed, of the Circumcision, in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bithinia*, in the second year of *Claudius* the Emperor (which was about the year of our Lord forty and four) came to *Rome* to withstand *Simon Magus*, and there kept the Priestly Chair the space of five and twenty years, until the last year of the aforesaid *Nero*, which was the fourteenth year of his Reign, of whom he was crucified, his Head being down, and his Feet upward, himself so requiring, because he was (he said) unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was, &c. *Egesippus* prosecuting this matter something more at large, and *Abdias* also (if any authority is to be given to his Book, who following not only the sense, but also the very form of words of *Egesippus* in this History, seemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other Authors) saith, That *Simon Magus* being then a great man with *Nero*, and his President and Keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certain Noble young man in *Rome* of *Nero*'s kindred lately departed: whereas *Peter* also was desired to come to the reviving of the said Personage. But when *Magus* in the presence of *Peter* could not do it, then *Peter* calling upon the Name of the Lord Jesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his Mother, whereby the estimation of *Simon Magus* began greatly to decay and to be detested in *Rome*. Not long after the said *Magus* threatned the *Romans* that he would leave the City, and in their sight fly away from them into Heaven. So the day being appointed, *Magus* taking his wings in the Mount *Capitolinus*, began to fly in the Air: but *Peter* by the Power of the Lord Jesus brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall, his legs and joynts were broken, and he thereupon died. Then *Nero*, sorrowing for the death of him, fought matter against *Peter* to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they intreated *Peter* with much ado that he would fly the City. *Peter*, through their importunity at length persuaded, prepared himself to avoid. But coming to the Gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him, to whom he worshipping, said, *Lord, Whither dost thou go?* To whom he answered and said, *I am come again to be crucified*. By this *Peter* perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the City again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared. And this out of *Egesippus*.

Egesippus lib. 3. de excidio Hierosol. cap. 2. Abdias lib. 1. de vita patri.

Eusebius moveover writing of the death not only of *Peter*, but also of his Wife, affirmeth, that *Peter* seeing his wife going to her Martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the Cross) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, *Bad her remember the Lord Jesus*. Such was then (saith *Eusebius*) the blessed bond of marriage among the Saints of God. And thus much of *Peter*.

Euseb. lib. 2. hist. Eccles. cap. 30.

Peter's Wife put to death for Christ.

The words of *Peter* to his wife going to death.

Paul the Apostle, before was called *Saul*, after his great travel and unspeakable Labours in promoting the Gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first Persecution under *Nero*, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth *Hieromе* in his Book, *De viris illustribus*. *Paul*, otherwise called *Saul*, one of the Apostles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and of a Town of *Jewry* called *Giscalis*, which Town being taken of the *Romans*, he with his Parents, fled to *Tharsus*, a Town of *Cilicia*; afterward was sent up by his Parents to *Jerusalem*, and there brought up in the knowledge of the Law, at the feet of *Gamaliel*, and was a doer of the death of *Stephen*. And when he had received Letters from the High Priest to persecute the *Christians*, by the way going to *Damascus*, he was stricken down of the Lords Glory, and of a Persecutor was made a Professor, an Apostle, a Martyr, a witness of the Gospel, and a Vessel of Election.

Eu. Hieron. in lib. de viris illustribus.

Saul brought up under *Gamaliel.*

Saul a Persecutor.

Saul converted.

Among his other manifold Labours and travels in spreading the Doctrine of Christ, he won *Sergius Paulus* the Proconsul of *Cyprus*, to the Faith of Christ, whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, turned from *Saulus* to *Paulus*. After he had passed through divers places and Countries in his laborious Peregrinations, he took to him *Barnabas*, and went up to *Jerusalem* to *Peter*, *James* and *John*, where he was Ordained and sent out with *Barnabas* to Preach unto the *Gentiles*.

Saulus turned to Paulus.

Paul sent to the Gentiles.

And because it is in the *Acts of the Apostles* sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable Conversion, and Conversation of this most worthy Apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his History, I will here add, how the said Apostle *Paul*, the five and twentieth year after the Passion of the Lord, in the second year of *Nero*, at what time *Festus* ruled in *Jewry*, was sent up in bonds to *Rome*, where he remaining in his free Hostery two years together, disputed daily against the *Jews*, proving Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first Answer, or Purgation there made at *Rome*, the Emperor *Nero*, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, and yet not burthing out into those mischiefs which Histories report of him, he was at that time by *Nero* discharged, and dismissed to Preach the Gospel in the *West* parts, and about the Coasts of *Italy*, as he himself writing unto *Timothy*, afterward in his second Apprehension, in his second Epistle witnesseth, saying, *In my first Purgation no man stood with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their Charge: but the Lord stood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his Word might proceed by me, and that all the* Gentiles *might hear and be taught; and I was delivered*

Acts 28.

2 *Tim. 4.*

vered out of the Lions mouth, &c. In which place by the Lion, he plainly meaneth *Nero*. And afterwards likewise he saith, *I was delivered from the mouth of the Lion, &c.* And again, *The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly Kingdom, &c.* Speaking this, because he perceived then the time of his Martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same Epistle before, he saith, *I am now offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on.*

Thus then, this worthy Preacher and Messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of *Nero*, and the same day in which *Peter* was crucified (although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next year following) was beheaded at *Rome* for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the way of *Ostia*, the seven and thirtieth year after the Passion of the Lord. He wrote nine Epistles to seven Churches, to the *Romans* one, to the *Corinthians* two, to the *Galathians* one, to the *Ephesians* one, to the *Philippians* one, to the *Colossians* one, to the *Thessalonians* two. Moreover he wrote to his Disciples, to *Timothy* two, to *Titus* one, to *Philemon* one.

The Epistles of S. Paul to seven Churches.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Epistle of *Paul* to the Hebrews is thought to be written of *Timothy*, as *Tertullian* supposeth, or of S. *Luke*, as others think; or else of *Clement* afterward Bishop of *Rome*, who, as they say, was adjoyned with *Paul*, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and manner. Or else as some do judge, because S. *Paul* wrote unto the *Hebrews*, for the odiousness of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and confessed not his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the *Hebrews*, he being an *Hebrew*, so he wrote in *Hebrew*; that is, his own Tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other Epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the *Greek*, than his other Epistles be. Some also read the Epistle written to *Laodicea*, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much *Hieromе*.

The Epistle to the Laodiceans.

Abdias de vitis lib. 2.

As touching the time and order of the death and Martyrdom of Saint *Paul*, as *Eusebius*, *Hieromе*, *Maximus*, and other Authors do but briefly pass it over: so *Abdias* (if his Book be of any substantial authority) speaking more largely of the same, doth say, That after the crucifying of *Peter*, and the ruine of *Simon Magus*, *Paul* yet remaining in free Custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from Martyrdom by Gods permission, that all the *Gentiles* might be replenished with preaching of the Gospel by him.

Paul declareth his Doctrine to the Emperor.

The sum of *Paul's* Doctrine.

And the same *Abdias* proceeding in his story, declareth moreover, that as *Paul* was thus occupied at *Rome*, he was accused to the Emperor, not only for teaching new Doctrine, but also for stirring up Sedition against the Empire. For this he being called before *Nero*, and demanded to shew the order and manner of his Doctrine, there declared what his Doctrine was, To teach all men Peace and Charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; Rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their truft in their treasures, but in the living God; Men to be contented with food and rayment, and with their present state; Poor men to rejoyce in their poverty with hope; Fathers to bring up their Children in the fear of God; Children to obey their Parents; Husbands to love their Wives; Wives to be subject to their Husbands; Citizens and Subjects to give their Tribute unto *Cæsar*, and to be subject to their Magistrates; Masters to be courteous, not churlish to their Servants; Servants to deal faithfully with their Masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his Doctrine *he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of Glory*, which spake to him from Heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, *That he should go and preach his Name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatsoever he did or said, he would justifie it, &c.* After that *Paul* had thus declared unto the Emperor, shortly after, sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose Execution then *Nero* sent two of his Esquires, *Ferega* and *Parthemius*, to bring him word of his death. They coming to *Paul*, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his Sepulchre (as *Abdias* writeth.) This done, the Souldiers came and led him out of the City to the place of Execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his Neck to the Sword. *Abdias* reporteth, that as his head was stricken off, instead of blood issued out white Milk, and that at laying down his head, he signed himself with the sign of a Cross in his Forehead: but this being found in no other History, *Abdias* seemeth either to add of his own, or else to borrow out of the *Legend*, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of Milk flowing out of his neck, is referred also unto *Ambrose*, who in his Sermon threescore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirm the same. Of the time and year when the blessed Apostles did suffer, Histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the Popes decrees, say, That both *Peter* and *Paul* suffered both in one day, and in one year: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. *Hieromе* in his Book *De viris illustr.* affirmeth, that they both suffered in one day, but he expresseth not the year. So doth *Isidorus* and *Eusebius*. *Simon Metaphrastes* bringeth in the opinion of some, which think that *Paul* suffered not with *Peter*, but after *Peter*, *Prudentius*, in his *Periſtephano*, noteth, that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same year, and saith, that *Paul* followed *Peter* a year after.

A legend miracle.

The story of *Abdias* suspected.

Histories did vary about the time of their Martyrdom.

If this be true *Prudentius* recordeth of *Paul* to suffer and be beheaded after *Peter*, then it is false which *Hieromе* hath before testified, *Peter* to have suffered the last year of *Nero*.

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth, that *Paul* suffered two years after *Peter*. Moreover, if it be true which *Abdias* saith, that after the crucifying of *Peter*, *Paul* remained in his fair Custody at *Rome*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, which was as *Hieromе* witnesseth, the third or fourth year of *Nero*, then must it be ten years betwixt the Martyrdom of *Peter* and of *Paul*, forasmuch as it is by all Writers confessed, that *Paul* suffered the fourteenth year, which was the last year of *Nero*. And so *Abdias* seemeth neither to agree with other Authors, nor with himself. And thus much of the first Persecution.

The second Persecution.

THe first *Romen* Persecution beginning under *Nero*, as is aforesaid, ceased under *Vespasianus*, who gave some rest to the poor *Christians*. After whose Reign was moved, not long after, the second Persecution, by the Emperor *Domitian*, Brother of *Titus*. Of whom *Eusebius* and *Orosius* so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so far outrage in Pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and that Images of Gold and Silver in his honour should be set up *in Capitolio*. The chiefest Nobles of the Senators, either upon envy, or for their Goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily.

The second Persecution Anno 93.

Eu. Orosius lib. 7.

The tyranny and intemperance of *Domitian*

And as his Tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperancy of his life was no less. He put to death all the Nephews of *Juda*, called the Lords Brother, and caused to be fought out and to be slain all that could be found of the stock of *David* (as *Vespasian* also did before him) for fear, left he were yet to come of the House of *David*, which should enjoy the Kingdom. In the time of this Persecution, *Simeon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom *Justus* afterward succeeded in that Bishoprick.

Simeon Bishop of *Jerusalem* crucified.

In this Persecution, *John* the Apostle and Evangelist, was exiled by the said *Domitianus* into *Pathmos*. Of whom divers and sundry memorable Acts be reported in sundry Chronicles. As first, how he was put in a Vessel of boyling Oil, by the Proconsul of *Ephesus*. The *Legend* and *Peristnius* say, It was done at *Rome*. *Isidorus* also writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned certain places of wood into gold, and stones by the Sea side into margarites, to satisfie the desire of two, whom he had before perswaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost Heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised up a Widow and a certain young man from death to life. How he drank poyson and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had drank the same before. These and such other Miracles, although they may be true, and are found in *Isidorus*, and other Writers more, yet because they are no

John the Evangelist.

Isidorus de nativitate nostri testamenti lib.

Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 20. Hieron. de scriptor. Eccles.

{ Anno 97. } John banished. Pato released out of banishment.

Articles of our Christian Belief, I let them pass, and only content my self with that which I read in *Eusebius*, declaring of him in this wise, That in the fourteenth year after *Nero*, in the second Persecution, in the days of *Domitian*, *John* was banished into *Pathmos* for the testimony of the Word, in the year fourscore and seventeen. And after the death of the aforesaid *Domitian*, he being slain, and his Acts repealed by the Senate, *John* was again released under *Pertinax* the Emperor, and came to *Ephesus* in the year one hundred. Where he continued until the time of *Trajanus*, and there governed the Churches in *Asia*, where also he wrote his Gospel, and so lived till the year after the Passion of our Lord, threescore and eight, which was the year of his age, one hundred and twenty.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Moreover, in the aforesaid Ecclesiastical story of *Eusebius*, we read, that *John* the Apostle and Evangelist, whom the Lord did love, was in *Asia*, where he being returned out of *Pathmos*, after the death of *Domitian*, governed the Churches and Congregations.

Iren. lib. 2.

Irenæus in his second Book thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witness, which were with *John* the Disciple of the Lord in *Asia*, that he spake and wrote these things, &c. for there he continued with them unto the time of *Trajanus*, &c. Also the said *Irenæus*, *lib. 3. Hypothes.* in like words declareth, saying, The Church of the *Ephesians* being first founded by *Paul*, afterward being confirmed of *John* (who continued in the same City unto the time of *Trajanus* the Emperor) is a true witness of this Apostolical tradition, &c.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Clemens Alexandrinus moreover noteth both the time of this holy Apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain History of him, not unworthy to be remembred of such which delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which History *Sozomenus* also in his *Commentaries* maketh mention. The words of the Author setting forth this History be these, Hear a Fable, and not a Fable, but a true Report, which is told us of *John* the Apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the Tyrant, when *John* was returned to *Ephesus*, from the Ile of *Pathmos*, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to constitute Bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the Church, partly to Ordain and set such of the Clergy in Office, whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain City not far off, the name of which also many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the Brethren, he looking more earnestly upon him which was the chief Bishop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man (saith he) to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the Church.

A notable History of John the Evangelist.

When the Bishop had received of him this Charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein: again, the second time *John* spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and countenation as before. This done, *John* returned again to *Ephesus*. The Bishop receiving the young man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate (that is) he baptized him, and in short time through his diligence brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain Cure in the Lords behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his Companions and old Familiars being idle, dissolute and accustomed of old time to wickedness, did joyn in company with him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous Banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and steal, after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a flout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken Horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all misorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of Grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome Doctrine of Salvation, which he had learned before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And for as much as he was entred so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so associating unto him the company of his Companions, and fellow Thieves, took upon him to be as Head and Captain among them, in committing all kind of Murder and Felony.

What wicked company doth.

In the mean time it chanced that of necessity *John* was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided, and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the Bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which in the witness of Christ and of the Congregation then present he left in his hands to keep. The Bishop something amazed at the words of *John*, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistrust *John*, nor contrary his words) could not tell what to answer. Then *John* perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: The young man (saith he) and the Soul of our Brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the Bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping said, *He is dead.* To whom *John* said, *How, and by what death?* The other said, *He is dead to God, for he is become an evil man, and pernitious, to be brief, a Thief: and now he doth frequent this Mountain with a company of Villains and Thieves like unto himself against the Church.* But the Apostle rent his Garments, and with a great lamentation said, *I have left a good keeper of my Brothers soul; get me a Horse, and let me have a Guid with me*; which being done, his Horse and Man procured, he hasted from the Church as much as he could, and coming to the same place was taken of Thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, *I came for this same cause hither, lead me*, said he, *to your Captain.* So he being brought, the Captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and eft-soons coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, *My Son, why dost thou fly from thy Father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? have pity on me, my Son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of Salvation; I will make answer for thee unto Christ, I will die for thee if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me.* He hearing these things, first, as in a maze, flood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly: and coming to the old man, imbraced him, and spake unto him with weeping (as well as he could) being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the Apostle after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murthering right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the Congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many Sentences, went not from him (as the Author reporteth) before he had restored him to the Congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of Regeneration, and a token of the visible Resurrection.

A notable Lesson for all Ministers to seek again their lost sheep.

O unspeakable love shewed yet to a wicked sinner.

Moreover, the aforesaid *Irenæus* in *lib. 3. cap. 3.* and *Eusebius*, *lib. 3. cap. 28.* and *lib. 4. cap. 14.* prosecuting the History of *John*, declare in these words, saying, That there were certain which heard *Polycarpus* say, that *John*, the Disciple of our Lord going into *Ephesus* to be washed, seeing *Cerinthus* within, he leaped out of the Bath unbath-ed, because he feared the Bath should have fallen, seeing that *Cerinthus* an Enemy to the Truth was within. Such fear had the Apostles (saith *Irenæus*) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

An example of the godly to fly the company of the wicked.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of *John* the blessed Evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the Catholick, subtil, illuminate, and seraphical Doctors of the Popes Catholick Church, these five hundred years. The difficulty is this, That for so much as auricular confession hath been, and is yet received in the Popes Catholick Church for an holy and necessary Sacrament, extending universally to all and singular Creatures Christian: here then ariseth a question, Who was our Ladies Confessor, or ghostly Father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the Catholicks to be Saint *John*. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straightways *Ipso facto* an *Heretick*. This then so determined, ariseth another question or doubt, that seeing our Lady was without all original sin, and also

A Catholick question concerning auricular confession.

Another Catholick question.

Solution. Albert. super Sacramentum. Missus est. Another question with the Solution.

also actual or mortal: what need then had three of any Confessor? Or what should the confess unto him? for if she had confessed any sin, when she had none; then had she made her self a lyar, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle Reader) in this perplexity these our illuminate Doctors stand in need of thine aid to help at a pinch. *Magnus Albertus* the great Divine, denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly Father, to keep the observance of the Law, appointed for such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith he) necessary it was that she should confess with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confess? To this *Albertus* answereth again, and telleth us plainly what she said in her confession, which was this, That she had received that great Grace, not *Ex condigno*; that is, Not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithstanding of congruity. And this was it (saith *Albert*) that she said in her confession. *Albert. cap. 74. super Evang. Missus est, &c.*

Albert. ibidem, cap. 17.

S. Thomas par 3. quæst. 37. art. 3.

Moreover, to help this case out of all doubt, cometh in famous *Thomas of Winring*, and thus looseth the knot, much after like effect, saying, That as Christ, although he did owe nothing to the Law, yet notwithstanding received Circumcision, to give to others example of Humility and Obedience: in like manner would our Lady shew her self obedient to the observance of the Law, albeit there was no cause why she had any need thereof. And thus hath thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful question moved and soluted, to the intent I would reveal to thee some part of the deep Divinity of our Catholick Masters, that have ruled and governed the Church in these their late Popish days.

Flavia the daughter of a Consul, banished for the testimony of Christ. Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 19.

But breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this foresaid second Persecution under *Domitianus*. In which Persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was *Flavia* the Daughter of *Flavius Clemens*, one of the *Roman* Consuls, which *Flavius*, with many others was banished out of *Rome*, into the Ile *Pontia*, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the Emperour *Domitianus*, *Euseb. lib. 3.*

The Emperour maketh inquiry for all that were of David's stock. Davids flock feared of the Emperors.

This *Domitianus* feared the coming of Christ as *Herod* did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the Stock of *David* in *Jewry*. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lords kindred, which were the Nephews of *Jude*, that was called the Lords Brother after the flesh. These, when the Lieutenant of *Jewry* had brought up to *Domitian* to be slain, the Emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the Stock of *David*? Which when they had granted, he asked again, what possessions, and what substance they had? They answered, That they both had no more between them in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and sustained their Families with the hard labours of their hands, shewing forth their hands unto the Emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken: Then the Emperor inquiring of them concerning the Kingdom of Christ, what manner of Kingdom it was, how, and when it should appear? They answered, That his Kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an Heavenly and Angelical Kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the World, what time he coming in Glory, should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deservings. *Domitian* the Emperor hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemn them; but despising them as vile persons let them go, and also staid the Persecution then moved against the *Christians*. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of Churches, being taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords flock, and so continued in good peace till the time of *Trajanus*. *Hæc Egesip. & Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

Two Nephews of Jude the Lords Brother preferred.

The Kingdom of Christ not of this World.

The causes why the Emperors and Senate of Rome did so rage against the Christians. The Kingdom of Christ feared of the Romans.

By this story here cited, may appear, what were the causes why the Emperors of the *Roman* Monarchy did so persecute the *Christians*: which causes were chiefly these, Fear and Hatred. First, Fear, for that the Emperors and Senate of blind Ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christs Kingdom, feared and misdoubted left the same would subvert their Empery, (like as the Pope thinketh how that this Gospel will overthrow his Kingdom of Majesty) and therefore fought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the *Christians*. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old Law of the *Roman* Senate: *Non debere domiri Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi contra Christianos propositum mutent*; that is, that the *Christians* should not be let go, which were once brought to the Judgment-Seat, except they changed their purpose, &c. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21.*

Lex antiqua Romana contra Christianos. Ex Eusebio, lib. 1. cap. 12.

Secondly, Hatred, partly for that this world, of his own natural condition, hath ever hated and maligned the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the *Christians* being of a contrary nature and Religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, frake against their Idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the Power of Satan, working in their Idols: And therefore Satan the Prince of this world, stirred up the *Roman* Princes and blind Idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them.

The Kingdom of Christ hated of Roman Princes

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious Slanders, false Surmises, infamous Lies, and slanderous Accusations of the Heathen Idolaters against the *Christian* Servants of God, which incited the Princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what Crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed to the *Christians*; as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, putting out their Candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their own Children, that they used to eat mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not swear by the Fortune and Prosperity of *Cæsar*, that they would not adore the Image of *Cæsar* in the Market place, that they were pernicious to the Empery of *Rome*. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the City or Provinces of *Rome*, either Famine, Pestilence, Earthquake, Wars, Wonders, unfeasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the *Christians*, as *Justinus* recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the Emperors against the *Christians*, came by one *Publius Tarquinius* the chief Prelate of the Idolatrous Sacrifices, and *Mamertinus* the chief Governor of the City in the time of *Trajanus*; who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent Counsel, partly with infamous Accusations (as witnesseth *Nauclerus*) incensed the mind of the Emperor so much against Gods people.

False Accusations and slanders against the Christians. Ex Apologia Justin. Martyr.

Publius Tarquinius and Mamertinus Persecutors.

Also among these other causes abovesaid, crept in some piece of covetousness withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked Promoters and Accusers for lucre sake, to have the Possessions of the *Christians*, were the more ready to accuse them to have the spoil of their goods.

Ex Tert. Mart. ca. 2. Apolog.

Thus hast thou (*Christian* Reader) first, the causes declared of these Persecutions; secondly, the cruel law of their Condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of Inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second Apology of *Justinus*) to this effect; that they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed *Christians* or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. *Justi. Apol. 2.*

The form of Inquisition against the Christians in the old time.

The cruelty of Tyrants in killing of Christian men.

Neither yet were these Tyrants and Organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelness of mans invention could devise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the *Christians*, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appareth by the Epistle sent from the Brethren of *France*, hereafter following. Crafty trains, Outcries of Enemies, Imprisonment, Stripes and Scourgings, Drawings, Tearings, Stonings, Plates of Iron laid unto them burning hot, deep Dungeons, Racks, strangling in Prisons, the teeth of wild Beasts, Gridirons, Gibbets and Gallows, tossing upon the horns of Bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and Dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried. *Ex Epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium; &c.*

Ex Epist. fratrum Viennensium & Lugdunensium, ad fratres per Asiam & Phrygiam scripta.

And yet notwithstanding for all these continual Persecutions, and horrible Punishments, the Church of the *Christians* daily increased, deeply rooted in the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of men apostolical, and watered plenteously with the blood of Saints, as saith *Niceph. lib. 3.* Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of *Justinus* Martyr in his Dialogue with *Tryphone*. And that none (saith he) can terrifie or remove us which believe in Jesus, by this

Ex Nicephoro, lib. 3. c. 22.

Ex Tert. Martyr. in Dialogum Tryphon.

it daily appeareth, for when we are ſlain, crucified, caſt to wild Beaſts, into the fire, or given to other Torments, yet we go not from our Confeſſion: but contrary, the more cruelty and ſlaughter is wrought againſt us, the more they be that come to Piety and Faith by the Name of Jeſus: no otherwiſe than if a man cut the Vine-Tree, the better the Branches grow. For the Vine-Tree, planted by God and Chriſt our Saviour, is his people. *Hæc Juſt.*

The Church increaſeth by Perſecution.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that ſuffered in all theſe ten Perſecutions (which are innumerable) as it is unpoſſible, ſo it is hard in ſuch a variety and diverſity of matter to keep ſuch a perfect order and courſe of years and times, that either ſome be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place, eſpecially ſeeing the Authors themſelves, whom in this preſent Work we follow, do diverſly diſagree both in the times, in the names, and alſo in the kind of Martyrdom of them that ſuffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church and Epiſtles decretal do take *Anacletus* to ſucceed after *Clement*, next before *Euariſtus*: contrary, *Euſebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6.* making no mention of *Cletus*, but of *Anacletus*, ſaith, That *Eura*ſ*ius* ſucceeded next to *Clement*. Likewiſe *Ruffinus* and *Epiphanius*, ſpeaking nothing of *Anacletus*, make mention of *Linus*, and of *Cletus*, next before *Clement*, but ſay nothing of *Anacletus*: whereby it may appear that *Cletus* and *Anacletus* were both one. *Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2.* ſpeaking of *Linus* and of *Cletus*, ſaith, that they were ordained helpers under *Peter*, while he laboured in his Apoſtleſhip abroad, and ſo faith alſo *Marianus Scotus*: contrary, *Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæreſ.* ſpeaketh of *Anacletus*, making no mention of *Cletus*. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal Epiſtles, whom all the later Hiſtories of the Pope his Church do follow in this behalf, &c. Moreover, where *Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus In ſupplemento, Simoneta, Aloiſius*, with others, declare of *Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euariſtus, Alexander*, Biſhops of *Rome*, that that they died Martyrs: *Euſebius*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory writing of them maketh thereof no mention.

Diſagreement in Authors touching the lives and times of Martyrs. *Linus* Biſhop of *Rome.*

Cletus and *Anacletus* both one.

And firſt as touching *Clement* (whom *Marianus Scotus* calleth the firſt Biſhop of *Rome* after *Peter*) they ſay that he was ſent out into baniſhment of *Trajanus*, beyond *Pontcus*, with two thouſand *Chriſtians*, where he opened a well-ſpring to them which in the Wilderneſs were condemned to the Mines. Afterward being accuſed to the Emperor, he was thrown into the Sea with a millſtone faſtened about his neck, and not long after, his body was caſt up and buried (as *Platina* ſaith) at the place where the Well was made. Some ſay it was found firſt in the days of Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, *Euſeicul. tempor.* But foraſmuch as I find of his Martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient Authors, but only in ſuch new Writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and hiſtories of good men, with fained additions of forged Miracles, therefore I count the fame of leſs credit, as I do alſo certain decretal Epiſtles, untruly (as may ſeem) aſcribed and intituled to his name. *Euſebius* in his third Book, writing of *Clement*, giveth no more of him, but thus, After he had governed the Church of *Rome* nine years, the ſaid *Clement* left the ſucceſſion thereof to *Euariſtus*.

Clement a Biſhop counted a Martyr.

The lives of Martyrs painted out with fained Miracles.

Of which *Euariſtus* next Biſhop of *Rome*, thus we find in *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter* and *Paul* (ſaith he) committed the Charge of that Church to *Linus*: after whom came *Anacletus*, then ſucceeded *Clemens*, next to *Clemens* followed *Euariſtus*, after whom came *Alexander*, and then *Sixtus* the ſixth Biſhop of *Rome* after the Apoſtles: after *Sixtus* fate *Telesphorus*, then *Higinus*, then *Pius*, then *Anicetus*. And when *Soter* took the place after him, then the twelfth Biſhop of *Rome* was *Eleutherius*. Thus after *Clement* followed (as is ſaid) *Euariſtus* in the ſecond or third year of *Trajanus*, as ſaith *Euſebius*; or as *Nicephorus* ſaith, the fourth year of the ſaid Emperor. But howſoever the count of years ſtandeth, little or nothing remaineth of the Acts and Monuments either of this, or of other Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe days. Whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of *Roman* Biſhops in thoſe days, whoſe Acts and Deeds were then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderly committed to Hiſtory. Notwithſtanding, certain decretal Epiſtles are remaining, or rather thruſt upon us in their names, containing in them little ſubſtance of any Doctrine, but altogether ſtuffed with Laws, Injunctions, and ſtately Decrees, little to the purpoſe, and leſs favouring of the nature of that time then preſent. Amongſt whom alſo are numbred the two Epiſtles of this *Euariſtus*.

Euariſtus Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

The decretal Epiſtles.

And when he had given theſe Orders, and had made ſix Prieſts, two Deacons, and five Biſhops for ſundry places (ſaith the ſtory) he ſuffered Martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what conſtancy he ſhewed, what was the order or converſation of his life, is nothing touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new Hiſtories do ſay: becauſe the old ancient Writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwiſe would not have paſſed ſuch things over in ſilence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the Authors fully agree in the time of his Martyrdom, which *Nauclerus* witneſſeth to be in the laſt year of *Trajanus*: but *Platina* thinketh rather that he ſuffered under *Hadrianus, Faſciculi. temporum* referreth it to the third year of *Hadrian*; *Volateranus* to the beginning of the ſame. Contrary, *Euſebius* coming near to the ſimple truth (as ſeemeth) doth affirm that *Euariſtus* ſucceeded *Clement* in the third year of *Trajanus*, and ſo giving to him nine years, it ſhould follow thereby that *Euariſtus* deceaſed the twelfth year of *Trajanus*.

Sixtus 2. *Platina. Volateran. Anchirpol.*

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 34.

After whom ſucceeded next *Alexander* in the Government of that Church, of whoſe time and death the like diſcrepance is among the Writers. *Marianus Scotus* ſaith he was the fourth Biſhop from *Peter*: but that could not be. Some ſay he was the ſixth, and ſome the ſeventh: but they likewiſe were deceived; for the moſt part all do grant *Sixtus* to be the ſixth: *Damaſus* affirmeth, that he was in the Reign of *Trajan*. And how can that be? when the ſaid *Damaſus* affirmed before that *Euariſtus* his Predeceſſor ſuffered in the laſt year of *Trajan*, and then the Biſhoprick ſtood at leaſt a month void: except he mean that the ſaid *Alexander* ſucceeded *Euariſtus* in the laſt year of *Trajanus*. But then how can that ſtand with *Bede* and *Marianus Scotus*? which ſay that he ſuffered under *Trajanus*, or with *Otho Friſingenſis*; which ſaith he ſuffered the fourth year of *Hadrian*, when he had been Biſhop ten years by the general conſent of moſt Writers?

Alexander Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

Authors diſagree.

They which write of the deeds and doings of this bleſſed Biſhop, as *Bergomenſis, Antoninus, Equilinus*, and ſuch as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the Senators to the Faith of Chriſt, amongſt whom was *Hermes* a great man in *Rome*, whoſe Son being dead *Alexander* raiſed again to life, and likewiſe reſtored ſight to his Maid being blind. *Hadrian* the Emperor then abſent, hearing this, ſent word to *Aurelianus* Governor of *Rome*, to apprehend *Alexander*, with *Euentius* and *Theodulus*, otherwiſe called *Theodorus*, as *Platina* ſaith, his two Deacons, and *Hermes*, and to commit them to ward with *Quirinus* the Tribune: which being done, as their ſtory recordeth, *Alexander*, incloſed in a drivers Priſon from *Hermes*, notwithſtanding, by the guiding of an Angel through three doors with three locks a piece, was brought with Candle-light to the lodging of *Hermes*; and ſo returning to the Priſon again cured the Daughter of *Quirinus* his Keeper, named *Balbina*, by reaſon whereof the ſaid *Quirinus*, with his whole Houſhold, were all baptized, and puniſhed alſo for the Faith of Chriſt.

Alexander, Euentius, Theodulus, Hermes with his Houſhold, *Quirinus* with his Houſhold Martyrs.

Thus then (ſaith the ſtory) about the ſecond year of *Hadrian, Aurelianus* the Ruler took *Alexander* the Biſhop, with *Hermes*, his Wife, Children, and his whole Houſhold, to the number of one thouſand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in Priſon. And not long after the ſaid *Alexander*, with *Euentius* his Deacon, and *Hermes*, and the reſt were burned in a Furnace. *Theodulus* another Deacon of *Alexander*, ſeeing and rebuking the cruelty of the Tyrant, ſuffered alſo the ſame Martyrdom.

Quirinus alſo the ſame time (as ſaith *Antoninus*) having firſt his Tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and caſt to the dogs: *Equilinus* ſaith, that he was beheaded and caſt into *Tiber* in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*: but that cannot be: albeit *Platina* maketh relation but only of *Alexander* with his two Deacons aforeſaid, declaring moreover, that in the time of this Biſhop, *Saphira* of *Antioch*, and *Sabina* a *Roman* ſuffered Martyrdom.

Ex *Vincentio lib. 6. Speculi.*

Saphira and *Sabina* mar. Ex *Flori-lego.*

Florilegus.

Florilegus, the Author of *Flores hiſtoriarum*, affirmeth, that *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome* was beheaded ſeven miles out of *Rome* (where he lieth buried) in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the Chronicles above recited. *Euſebius* recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of *Hadrian*, he ended his life and office, after he had been Biſhop ten years.

Divers Miracles are reported of this *Alexander*, in the Canon Legends, and lives of Saints; which as I deny not, but they may be true, ſo becauſe I cannot avouch them by any grave teſtimony of ancient Writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the Authors and Patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever is to be thought of his Miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous Biſhop.

The inſtitution of *Euariſtus. Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi.*

And as I ſay of his Miracles, the like judgment alſo I have of the Ordinances both of him and of *Euariſtus* his Predeceſſor, teſtified in the Popes Decrees by *Gratianus* as *Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi*, where is ſaid that *Euariſtus* divided divers Titles in the City of *Rome* to the Prieſts, alſo ordained in every City ſeven Deacons to aſſociate and aſſiſt the Biſhop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witneſs of truth. Notwithſtanding, if probable conjectures might ſtand againſt the authority of *Gratianus* and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordination of Prieſts was firſt by him brought in or not: wherein an inſtance may be given to the contrary, that this inſtitution ſeemeth to take his firſt beginning at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Placentia*. In the which Council of *Chalcedon* the words of the Canon (making no mention of *Euariſtus* at all) do expreſly forbid, that any Eccleſiaſtical perſon either Prieſt or Deacon ſhould be ordained abſolutely; otherwiſe the impoſition of hands, without ſome proper title of the party ordained, to ſtand void and fruſtrate, &c. And likewiſe *Urbanus* in the Council of *Placentia* doth decree the ſame, alledging no name of *Euariſtus*, but the ſtatutes of former Councils.

Ex *Diſt. 70. cap. Nemo.*

Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.

Moreover, in the time of *Euariſtus*, the Church then being under terrible Perſecutions, was divided into no peculiar Pariſhes or Cures whereby any title might riſe, but was ſcattered rather in corners and deſerts, where they could beſt hide themſelve. And as the Church of *Rome* in thoſe days was not divided into ſeveral Pariſhes or Cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo neither was then any ſuch open or ſolemn preaching in Churches, that the aſſiſtance or teſtimony of ſeven Deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or elſe needful amongſt the Chriſtian ſecret Congregations. Again, the conſtitution of ſeven Deacons ſeemeth rather to ſpring out of the Council of *Neocæſarea* long after *Euariſtus*, where it was appointed that in every City, were it never ſo ſmall, there ſhould be ſeven Deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſaid Council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apoſtles, making no word or mention of *Euariſtus* at all, *Diſt. 93.* But that theſe (as is ſaid) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only ſhewing what is to be doubted in their Epiſtles Decretal.

Ex *Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi.*

The inſtitution of *Alexander*, Holy water firſt invented. *De conſecr. diſtinct. diſt. 3.*

More unlike it ſeemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of *Alexander*, whereof we read, *De conſecr. diſt. 2.* that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holy water mixt with ſalt, to purge and ſanctifie them upon whoms it is ſprinkled. The words of the *diſt.* be theſe: *Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus, &c.* that is, *We bleſs water mixt with ſalt among the people, that all men being ſprinkled therewith may be ſanctified and purified; and this we command all Prieſts to do, &c.*

The mixing of water with the Wine in the Chalice. *Qui pridie* put in the Maſs Canon.

The opinion is alſo, but how true I have not to affirm, that by him firſt was ordained water to be mixt with Wine in the Chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the Maſs Canon, beginning, *Qui pridie &c.* And thus much of theſe forelaid Biſhops of *Rome*, martyred in the days of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*.

Ex *Plinio in epiſt. de Iesembio.*

The Third Perſecution,

The third Perſecution of the Church. Anno 100.

BEtween the ſecond *Roman* Perſecution and the third, was but one year, under the Emperor *Nerva*, after whom ſucceeded *Trajanus*: and after him followed the third Perſecution. So the ſecond and the third are noted of ſome to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This *Trajanus*, if we look well upon his Politick and Civil Governance, (might ſeem, in compariſon of others) a right worthy and commendable Prince, much familiar with inferiors, and ſo behaving himſelf toward his ſubjects, as he himſelf would have the Prince to be to him, if he himſelf were a Subject. Alſo he was noted to be a great obſerver of Juſtice, inſomuch that when he ordained any Prætor, giving to him the Sword, he would bid him uſe the ſword againſt his enemies in juſt cauſes: and if he himſelf did otherwiſe than juſtice, to uſe then his power againſt him alſo. But for all theſe Vertues, toward Chriſtian Religion he was impious and cruel, who cauſed the third Perſecution of the Church. In the which Perſecution *Pliny* the ſecond, a man learned and famous, ſeeing the lamentable ſlaughter of Chriſtians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to *Trajanus* of the pitiful perſecution: certifying him that there were many thouſands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the *Roman* laws worthy perſecution: ſaving that they uſed to gather together in the morning before day, and ſing Hymns to a certain God whom they worſhipped, called Chriſt. In all other their obſervances they were godly and honeſt. Wherefore the Perſecution by commandment of the Emperor was greatly ſtayed and diminiſhed. The Form and Copy of which Epiſtle of *Pliny* I thought here not inconvenient to ſet down, as followeth.

Plinius ſecundus wrote to *Trajan* to ſtop the perſecution.

The Epiſtle of *Pliny*, an Heathen Philoſopher, to *Trajan* the Emperor.

The Epiſtle of *Pliny* to *Trajanus.*

IT is my property and manner (my Sovereign) to make relation of all thoſe things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my ſlackneſs, or inſtruct mine ignorance, than you? I was never yet preſent my ſelf at the examination and execution of theſe Chriſtians; and therefore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtred, and how far, or how to proceed in ſuch inquiſitions, I am plain ignorant, not able to reſolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and perſon, whether the young and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and ſtronger, whether repentance may have any place, or whether it is may profit him or not, to deny, which hath been a Chriſtian, whether the name only of Chriſtians without other offences, or whether the offences joyned with the name of a Chriſtian ought to be puniſhed. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching ſuch Chriſtians as have been preſented unto me, I have kept this order. I have enquired the ſecond and third time of them, whether they were Chriſtians, menacing them with fear of puniſhment; and ſuch as did perſevere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatſoever their profeſſion was, yet their ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy ought to be puniſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madneſs; whom, becauſe they were Citizens of Rome, I thought to ſend them back again to the City. Afterward, as further proceſs and handling of this matter, as the Sect did further ſpread, ſo the more caſes did thereof enſue.

There was a Libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themſelves to be Chriſtians, contented to do Sacrifice with Incenſe and Wine to the Gods, and to your Image (which Image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) and to blaſpheme Chriſt: whereunto none ſuch as were true Chriſtians indeed could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let go. Other ſome confeſſed that they had been Chriſtians, but afterward denied the ſame, &c. affirming unto me the whole ſum of that ſect or errour to conſiſt in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to convent before day, and to ſing certain Hymns to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among themſelves, to abſtain from all Theft, Murder, and Adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done, thus

The uſe of Chriſtians in the primitive Church.

The teſtimony of the Heathen of the Chriſtians.

then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort again to take meat in companies together both Men and Women one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

Two Maidens racked for Christ.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two Maidens to be laid on the Rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for to the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advisement, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both Men and Women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in Citys, but Villages also and Boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be stayed and reformed. For as much as we see in many places that the Temples of our Gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring Sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what multitudes of Men may be amended, if place and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed.

The Epistle of *Trajanus* to *Pliny*.

The answer of Trajan to Pliny's letter.

THe Act and Statute, my Secundus, *concerning the causes of the Christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such general Law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a Christian, and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do Sacrifice to our Gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released, upon promise of amendment. Such Libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evil president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.*

Tertullian writing upon this Letter of *Trajanus* above prefixed, thus saith, *O Sentence of a confused necessity; he would not have them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty.* And thus the rage of that Persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruel officers there were, which upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers Provinces: and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the Provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in *Hierusalem* after that the Emperor *Trajanus* had sent down his commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of *David*, he should be enquired out and put to death: Upon this *Egesippus* writing, saith, that certain Sectaries there were of the *Jewish* Nation, that accused *Simeon* the Bishop then of *Hierusalem* and Son of *Cleophas*, to come of the stock of *David*, and that he was a Christian. Of the which his accuses it happened also (saith the said *Egesippus*) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of *David*, and so right justly were put to execution themselves which sought the destruction of others. As concerning *Simeon* the blessed Bishop, the foresaid *Egesippus* thus writeth, that *Simeon* the Lords Nephew, when he was accused to *Attalus* the Proconsul, by the malicious Sect of the *Jews*, to be of the Line of *David*, and to be a Christian, was scourged, during the space of many days together, being of age an hundred and twenty years. In which his Martyrdom he endured so constant, that both the Consul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The stock of David feared and enquired for of the Roman Emperors.

Ex Egesippi. Simeon Son of Mary Cleophe.

A just punishment of God upon the malicious accusers of the Christians.

The age of Simeon. The death and martyrdom of Simeon.

In this Persecution of *Trajanus* above specified (which *Trajanus* next followed after *Nerva*) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered *Phocas* Bishop of *Pontus*, whom *Trajanus*, because he would not do Sacrifice to *Neptunus*, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kilne, and afterward to be put into a scalding Bath, where the constant godly Martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entred into life. *Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.*

Phocas Bishop of Pontus Martyr.

In the same Persecution suffered also *Sulpitius* and *Servilianus*, two *Romans*; whose Wives are said to be *Euphrosina* and *Theodora*, whom *Sabina* did convert to the Faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which *Sabina*, *Jacobus Philippus*, Author of the Book called *Supplementum*, reporteth that, in the Mount of *Aventine* in *Rome*, the was beheaded of *Clepidus* the Governour, in the days of *Hadrian*. Under whom also suffered *Seraphia* a Virgin of *Antioch*, as *Hermannus* witnesseth.

Sulpitius, Servilianus, Euphrosina, Theodora, Sabina Martyrs. Jacobus Philippus in Supplem. Seraphia.

The forenamed Authors *Antoninus* and *Equilius* make mention moreover of *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, who, in this Persecution of *Trajan*, had the Crown of Martyrdom, being put to death at *Rome*. *Eusebius* in his fourth book, *cap.* 26. maketh mention of one *Sagaris*, who about the same time suffered Martyrdom in *Asia*, *Servilius Paulus* Martyr, being then Proconsul in that Province.

Nereus and Achilleus Martyrs. Sagaris Martyr.

In this Persecution, betide many others, suffered the blessed Martyr of Christ *Ignatius*, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among very many. This *Ignatius* was appointed to the Bishoprick of *Antioch* next after *Peter* in succession. Some do say, that he being sent from *Syria* to *Rome*, because he professed Christ, was given to the Wild beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through *Asia*, being under the most strict custody of his Guarders, he strengthened and confirmed the Parishes through all the Cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the Word of God: and admonished them especially and before all other things, to beware and shun those Heresies risen up and sprung newly among them, and that they should observe and stick fast to the tradition of the Apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to travel in. And thus when he came to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarpus* was, he wrote one Epistle to the Congregation of *Ephesus*, wherein he made mention of *Onesimus* their Pastor, and another he wrote to the Congregation of *Magnesia*, being at *Meandre*; wherein also he forgetteth not *Dama* their Bishop. Also another he wrote to the Congregation of *Trallis*, the Governour of which City at that time he noteth to be one *Polybius*. Unto which Congregation he made an exhortation, left they refusing Martyrdom, should lose the hope that they desired.

Ignatius Bishop of Antioch Martyr. Anno 111. Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 35. Ex Hier. in catalogo Script. eccles. The words of Ignatius. The Bishop of Ignatius. Onesimus Pastor at Ephesus.

But it shall be very requisite that I alledge somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore, as the words lie, in this sort. *From* Syria (saith he) *even till I came to* Rome, *had I a battel with Beasts, as well by Sea as Land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of ten cruel Libards* (that is, the Company or Band of the Souldiers) *which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became so much the worse unto me. But I, being exercised, and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more; but hereby am I not yet justified. And would to God I were once come to the Beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whom before they have not touched or hurt for fear: And if they will not unless they be provoked, I will then inforce them against my self. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficial it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a Scholar; I force or esteem no visible things, nor yet invisible things, so that I may get or obtain Christ Jesus. Let the zeal to Christ in this Bishop and Martyr to be marked.*

The notable constancy and burning zeal to Christ in this Bishop and Martyr to be marked.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid City unto the Congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be thrown to the beasts, he spake, for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the Lions roaring: I am the Wheat or Grain (saith he) of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of Wild Beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleventh year of *Trajan* the Emperor. *Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.*

Ignatius devoured of Wild beasts.

Besides

Besides this godly *Ignatius*, many thousands also were put to death in the same Persecution, as appeareth by the letter of *Plinius secundus* above recited, written unto the Emperor. *Hieronie* in his Book intituled *De viris illustribus* maketh mention of one *Publius* Bishop of *Athens*, who for the faith of Christ, the same time during this Persecution, was put to death and martyred.

Ex Hier. lib. De scriptoribus Ecclesiast. Publius Bishop of Athens Martyr.

Hadrian *Emperor.*

NExt after this *Trajanus* succeeded *Hadrian* the Emperor, under whom suffered *Alexander* the Bishop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons *Eventius* and *Theodorus*: also *Hermes* and *Quirinus* with their families, as late before was declared.

It is signified moreover in the Histories, that in the time of this *Hadrian*, *Zenon* a Noble Man of *Rome* with ten thousand two hundred and three were slain for Christ. *Henricus de Erfordia*, and *Bergomensis lib.* 8. make mention of ten thousand in the days of this *Hadrian* to be crucified in the Mount *Ararat*, crowned with Crowns of thorne, and thrust into the sides with sharp darts, after the example of the Lords Passion, whose Captains (as *Antoninus* and *Vincentius in spec. histor.* declare) were *Achaicus*, *Heliades*, *Theodorius*, and *Carcerius*, &c. Whether this story be the same with the other above of *Zenon* or not, it is doubted. As touching the Miracles done, and the speaking of the Angel, I refer the certainty thereof to *Vincentius*, and such other like Authors, where more things seem to be told than to be true.

Zenon with 10000 men & eyes slain for Christ. Ex Hom. & Infestis & aliis.

Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius, with ten thousand Martyrs.

There was one *Eustachius* a Captain, whom *Trajanus* in time past had sent out to War against the *Barbarians*. After he had by Gods grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with Victory; *Hadrian* for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with Triumph, by the way first would do Sacrifice to *Apollo* for the Victory gotten, willing also *Eustachius* to do the same with him. But when *Eustachius* could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to *Rome*, there with his Wife and Children he suffered Martyrdom under the foresaid *Adrian*. It were a long process here to recite all the Miracles contained or rather suspected in this story of this *Eustachius* concerning his Conversion and Death. How the Crucifix appeared to him between the Horns of an Hart. Of the saving of his Wife from the Shipmen. Of one of his Sons saved from the Lion, the other fared from the Wolf. Of their miraculous preservation from the Wild-beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in *Bergomensis*, *Vincentius*, and others. All which as I find them in no ancient Records, so I leave them to their Authors, and compilers of the Legends.

Eustachius with his Wife and Children martyred for Christ.

We read also of *Faustinus* and *Jobita* Citizens of the City of *Brixia*, which suffered Martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one *Calocerius*, seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these Words; *Vere magnus Deus Christianorum*: that is, *Verily great is the God of Christians*: Which Words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their Execution, was made partaker of their Martyrdom. *Ex Ant. Equilin.*

Faustinus and Jobita, Calocerius, Martyrs.

The History of *Nicephorus* maketh mention of *Anthia* a godly Woman, who committed her Son *Eleutherius* to *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, to be brought up in the Doctrine of Christian Faith, who afterwards being Bishop in *Apulia* was there beheaded with his forefaid Mother *Anthia*. *Onomastic.*

Eleutherius with his Mother Anthia martyrs. Ex Nicepho. & ex Onom.

Faustus also and *Pastor* two brethren, with like Martyrdom ended their lives in a City of *Spain*, called *Complutum*, under the said *Adrian* the Emperor.

Faustus and Pastor brethren and Martyrs.

Likewise *Symphorisa* the wife of *Getulius* the Martyr, with her 7 Children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much and often beaten and fourged, afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at laft having an huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the River, and after that her seven Children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversly martyred by the Tyrant.

Symphorisa with her seven children martyred.

The story of *M. Hermannus*, and *Antoninus*, and others, report of *Sophia*, with her three children also; also of *Serraphia* and *Sabina*, to suffer under the said Emperor, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and thirty.

Sophia with her three children martyred.

As concerning *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons, also with *Hermes*, *Quirinus*, *Saphira* and *Sabina*, some Writers, as *Bede*, and *Marianus Scotus* record that they suffered under *Trajanus*. Others again, as *Otto*, *Frisingensis* with like more, report that they suffered in the fourth year of this Emperor *Adrian*, but of these Martyrs sufficiently hath been said before.

Quadratus a man Bishop of Athens, & fereth an Apology of Christian Doctrine.

While *Adrian* the Emperor was at *Athens*, he purposed to visit the Country of *Elusina*, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles Gods, after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians. Whereupon *Quadratus* a man of no less excellent zeal, than of famous learning, being then Bishop of *Athens*, and Disciple of the Apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the Apostles, and following after *Publius* (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer up and exhibite unto *Adrian* the Emperor a learned and excellent Apology in the defence of the Christian Religion. Wherein he declared the Christians, without all just cause or desert to be so cruelly intreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did *Aristides*, another no less excellent Philosopher in *Athens*, who for his singular learning and eloquence, being notified to the Emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent Oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said Emperor a memorable Apology for the cause of Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as *Hierome* saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see Wit and Learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named *Serenus Granius* a man of great Nobility, who likewise did write very pithy and grave Letters to *Adrian* the Emperor, shewing and declaring therein that it was consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the Name and Sect that they followed.

Aristides, a Philosopher of Athens, defendeth before the Emperor the religion of the Christ.

Serenus Granius a defender of Christian religion. Euf. l. 4. c. 8.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the Emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the same directed his Letters to *Minutius Fundanus* (as is partly before mentioned) Proconful of *Asia*, willing him from henceforth to execute no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The Copy of which his Letter, because that *Justin* in his Apology doth alledge it; I thought therefore to express the same in his own words, as followeth.

The Emperor writeth for the Christians.

The Letter of *Adrian* the Emperor to *Minutius Fundanus*.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor to Fundanus Proconful.

I Have received an Epistle written unto me from Serenus Granius, *our right worthy and welbeloved, whose Office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further advisement and circumspection to pass, lest our Subjects be molested, and malicious Sycophants bolned and supported in their evil. Wherefore if the Subjects of our Provinces do bring forth any accusation before the Judge against the Christians, and can prove the thing they object against them, let them do the same and no more, and otherwise for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so, more convenient it is, that, if any man will be an accuser, you take the accusation quietly, and judge upon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the Christians, and complain of them as Malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding whosoever upon spite and malicious nesse shall commence or cavil against them, see you correct and punish that man for his unordinate and malicious dealing.*

Reside from Persecution

Thus by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest was given to the Church, although *Hermannus* thinketh these halcion days did not very long continue, but that the Emperor changing his Edict, began to renew again Persecution of Gods People, albeit this soundeth not to be so by the words of *Melito* in his Apology to *Antoninus* hereafter ensuing. In the mean time this

this is certain, that in the days of this *Adrian*, the *Jews* rebelled again and spoiled the Country of *Paleſtin*. Againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Julius Severus*, who overthrew in *Jewry* fifty Caſtles, and burnt and deſtroyed nine hundred and fourſcore Villages and Towns, and ſlew The ſecond deſtruction of the *Jews*. *Jeruſalem* rendified and inlarged. Some write that the place where Chriſt was crucified was taken into the Wall. *Jeruſalem* called by a new name *Ælia[polis]*.

and Fire, *Judea* was almoſt deſolate. But at length *Adrian* the Emperor, which otherwiſe was named *Ælius*, repaired and enlarged the City again of *Jeruſalem*, which was called after his name *Ælia[polis]*, or *Ælia Capitolina*, the inhabitance whereof he granted only to the Gentiles, and to the Chriſtians, forbidding the *Jews* utterly to enter into the City.

After the death of *Adrian* who died by bleeding at the Noſe, ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and forty, and reigned twenty and three years, who for his clemency and modeſt behaviour, had the name of *Pius*, and is for the ſame in Hiſtories commended. His ſaying was, *that he had rather ſave one Citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand of his adverſaries.* At the beginning of his Reign, ſuch was the ſtate of the Church, as *Adrian* his Predeceſſor had left it, as in which, although there was no Edict ſet forth to perſecute the Chriſtians, yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the cauſes above ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and aſcribing to the Chriſtians whatſoever miſortune happened contrary unto their deſires: moreover, inventing againſt them all falſe crimes and contumelies whereof to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof, divers there were in ſundry places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by the conſent of the Emperor, who of nature was ſo mild and gentle, that either he raiſed up no Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, or elſe he ſoon ſtayed the ſame being moved. As well may appear by his Letter ſent down to the Countries of *Aſia*, the tenor whereof here inſueth.

Antoninus Pius Emperor. { Anno 140.

The Epiſtle of *Antoninus Pius*, to the Commons of *Aſia*.

The Letter of *Antoninus Pius* to the Commons of *Aſia*.

Emperor and Ceſar, Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, *Tribune eleven times, Conſul thrice, unto the Commons of* Aſia *greeting. I am very certain that the Gods have a care of this, that they which be frich, ſhall be known, and not lie hid. For they do puniſh them that will not worſhip them more than you, which ſo ſore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceived, and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and deſire, that when they are accuſed, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are Victors, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconvenient to advertiſe you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen among us, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your caſe with them. For they upon a ſure confidence of their God, are bold and fearleſs, much more than you: who in all the time of your ignorance, both do worſhip other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortality, and ſuch Chriſtians as worſhip him, them you do drive out, and proſecute them unto death. Of theſe and ſuch like matters many Preſidents of our Provinces did write to our Father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his anſwer again, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were found in ſome treſpaſs prejudicial againſt the Empire of* Rome. *And to me alſo many there be, which write ſignifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have anſwered again, to the ſame effect and manner as my Father did. Wherefore if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation or trouble to ſuch, having no other cauſe, but only for that they are ſuch, let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch (that is a Chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſtain the puniſhment, &c.*

A notable argument of the Emperor to prove the good Conſcience of Chriſtianem, and the falſe conſcience of the Heathen.

He meaneth *Adrian* which adopted this *Antoninus* for his Son in law to be his ſon and heir. Of noble Edict.

This godly Edict of the Emperor was proclaimed at *Epheſus*, in the publick Aſſembly of all *Aſia*, whereof *Melito* alſo Biſhop of *Sardis*, who flouriſhed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his Apology written in defence of our Doctrine to *M. Antoninus Verus*, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear. By this means then the Tempeſt or Perſecution in thoſe days began to be appeaſed, through the merciful Providence of God, which would not have his Church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

The fourth Perſecution.

M. Aure. Antoninus Verus Emperor. { Anno 162

After the deceaſe of the foreſaid quiet and mild Prince *Aurelius Antoninus Pius* (who among all other Emperors of that time made the moſt quiet end) followed his Son *M. Antoninus Verus*, with *Lucius* his brother, about the year of our Lord one hundred threeſcore and two, a man of nature more ſtern and ſevere. And although in ſtudy of Philoſophy and in Civil Government no leſs commendable: yet toward the Chriſtians ſharp and fierce, by whom was moved the fourth Perſecution after *Nero*. In whoſe time a great number of them which truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruel torments and puniſhments both in *Aſia* and *France*. In the number of whom was *Polycarpus*, the worthy Biſhop of *Smyrna*, who in the great rage of this Perſecution in *Aſia*, among many other moſt conſtant Saints was alſo martyred. Of whoſe End and Martyrdom I thought it here not unexpedient to commit to Hiſtory, ſo much as *Euſebius* declareth to be taken out of a certain Letter or Epiſtle, written by them of his own Church to the brethren of *Pontus*: the tenor of which Epiſtle here followeth.

Polycarpus the bleſſed Martyr, Biſhop of *Smyrna*.

The Congregation which is at Smyrna, *to the Congregation which is at* Philomilium, *and to all the Congregations throughout* Pontus, *mercy to you, peace and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be multiplied, Amen. We have written unto you brethren of thoſe men which have ſuffered Martyrdom, and of bleſſed* Polycarpus *which hath ended and appeaſed this Perſecution, as it were, by the ſhedding his own blood.* And in the ſame Epiſtle before they enter into further matter of *Polycarpus*, they diſcourſe of other Martyrs, deſcribing what patience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffering their torments: which was ſo great and admirable (ſaith the Epiſtle) that the lookers on were amazed, feeing and beholding how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward Veins and Arteries appeared, yea, even ſo much that the very intrails of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſeen, and after that, were ſet upon ſharp ſhells taken out of the Sea, edged and ſharp, and certain nails and thorns for the Martyrs to go upon, which were ſharpened and pointed, called *Obeliſci*. Thus ſuffered they all kind of puniſhment and torment that might be deviſed: and laſtly, were thrown unto the wild beaſts to be devoured. But eſpecially in the aforeſaid Epiſtle, mention is made of one *Germanicus*, how he moſt worthily perſevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whole notable patience and ſufferance was ſo notable, that the whole multitude wondring at this beloved Martyr of God, for his ſo bold conſtancy, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Chriſtians, began ſuddenly to cry with a loud voice, ſaying, *Deſtroy the wicked men, let* Polycarpus *be ſought for.* And whilſt a great uproar and tumult began thus to be raiſed upon thoſe cries, a certain *Phrygian* named *Quintus*, lately come out of *Phrygia*, ſeeing and abhorring the wild beaſts, and the fierce rage of them, of an over-light mind betrayed his own ſafety. For ſo the ſame Letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more maliperly than was requiſite, together with others ruſhed into the Judgment place, and ſo being taken, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly and unreverently with ſuch boldneſs to thruſt in himſelf, to intermeddle in matters wherewith he hath not to do.

Ex Euſeb. lib. Eccleſ. hiſt. 4. cap. 15. Niceron. in catalog.

Twelve martyrs in *Aſia*.

The cruel and beaſtly handling of the Chriſtian martyrs.

The ſingular patience and conſtancy of the Chriſtians.

Germanicus a moſt conſtant Martyr.

Polycarpus refuſeth to do ſacrifice.

Quintus a Phrygian too hardy and bold.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeak more of them, and return to *Polycarpus*, of whom the foreſaid Letter conſequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when he heard of theſe things, was nothing at all afraid nor diſquieted in mind, but purpoſed to have tarried ſtill in the City, till being perſwaded by the intreaty of them that were about him (which deſired him inſtantly that he would convey himſelf away) hid himſelf in a Grange or Village not far off from the City, and there abiding with a few more in his company, did nothing elſe (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the obtaining of peace unto all the Congregations throughout the World, for that was his accuſtomed manner ſo to do. And as he was thus making his prayers three days before he was apprehended, in a Viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on Fire under his Head, and ſuddenly to be conſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded unto them that were preſent his Viſion, and told them before what thing ſhould come to paſs, that is, how that in the fire he ſhould loſe his life for Chriſts cauſe. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which ſo narrowly ſought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another Village, to which place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they ſo beat one of them with Whips, that by the bewraying or confeſſion of him they were brought unto the Inn where *Polycarpus* was. And they ſay that the purſuers making no great haſte to enter, found him in the uppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence he might have eſcaped into other houſes, if he would; but that this he would not do, ſaying, *The will of God be done.* Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, as the ſaid Hiſtory ſheweth, he came down, and ſpake unto them with a chearful and pleaſant countenance, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which awhile agone knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and conſtant countenance, lamented that they had ſo much imployed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that ſtraightway without any delay the Table ſhould be laid for them, and perſwaded them that they would eat and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might have an hours reſpite to make his prayers. Which thing, after it was granted, he aroſe and went to pray, ſo being replenished with the grace of God, that they which were preſent, and hearing the prayers that he made, were aſtonied at it, and now many of them were ſorry that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

Polycarpus hath a Viſion of his burning.

Polycarpus perſued and taken.

Polycarpus might eſcape and would not.

Polycarpus falleth to prayer.

After this the aforeſaid Epiſtle or Letter, proſecuting the Hiſtory, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance all thoſe things which ever happened unto him, and to the univerſal Catholick Church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or elſe inglorious) and that the hour was now come, in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him upon an Aſs, and brought him to the City upon a Solemn Feaſt day. And there met him *Irenarchus Herodes*, and his father *Nicetes*, which cauſing him to come up into the Chariot where they ſate, perſwaded him, and ſaid, *What hurt I pray thee, ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalvation) My Lord Ceſar, and do Sacrifice, and thus to ſave thy ſelf?* But he at the beginning made them none anſwer, till that when they inforced him to ſpeak, he ſaid, *I will not do as ye counſel me I ſhould.* When as they ſaw he could not be perſwaded, they gave him very rough language, and of purpoſe moleſted him, that in going down the Chariot from them, he might hurt or break his Legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily and diligently forward, making haſte unto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch uproar in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there came a voice from Heaven to *Polycarpus*, as he was going into the Stage appointed place of Judgment, ſaying: *Be of good cheer, Polycarpus, and play the man.* No man there was which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of us heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noiſe made by them which underſtood that *Polycarpus* was apprehended. The Proconſul asked him when he was come, whether his name was *Polycarpus* or not? And when he ſaid, yea it was, he gave him counſel to deny his name, and ſaid unto him, *Be good unto thy ſelf, and favour thine old age*; and many other ſuch like words which they accuſtome to ſpeak; *Swear, ſaith he, by the Emperors good fortune, look upon this matter, ſay thou with us: Deſtroy thoſe naughty men.* Then *Polycarpus* beholding with conſtant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giving a great ſigh, looked up to Heaven, ſaying: *Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked men.* And the Proconſul thus being earneſtly inſtant with him, ſaid: *Take thine Oath, and I will diſcharge thee, deſie Chriſt. Polycarpus* anſwered, *Fiorſcore and ſix years have I been his ſervant, yet in all his time hath he not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeak evil of my King and ſovereign Lord, which hath thus preſerved me?* Then the Proconſul again inforced him and ſaid: *Swear thou, I adviſe thee, by Ceſar's Proſperity. Polycarpus* replied, *If thou require of me this fond word of vain boaſting, ſeigning not to know (as thou ſayeſt) who I am, I do thee to wit that I am a Chriſtian: and if thou deſire to know the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, appoint a day, and thou ſhalt hear. Perſwade the people unto this*, ſaid the Proconſul. *Truly*, ſaith *Polycarpus, I have thought it my part thus to ſay unto you, for ſo much as we are commanded to give unto the Governors and Powers ordained of God, the honour meet and due to them, and not hurtful unto us: but as for thoſe, I do judge them unworthy to purge my ſelf unto them.* Hereupon the Proconſul ſtood up; *I have*, ſaith he, *Wild-Beaſts to whom I will throw thee, unleſs thou take a better way.* Whereunto *Polycarpus* anſwered, *Let them come, we have determined with our ſelves, that we will not by repentance turn us from the better way to the worſe, but rather convenient it is, that a man turn from things that be evil, unto that which is good and juſt.* Again, ſaith the Proconſul, *I will tame thee with fire, if that thou ſet not by the wild beaſts, nor yet repent.* Then ſaid *Polycarpus, You threaten me with fire, which ſhall burn for the ſpace of an hour, and ſhall be within a little while after put out and extinguiſhed: but thou knoweſt not the fire of the judgment that is to come, and of everlaſting puniſhment, which is reſerved for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all theſe delays? Give me what death ſoever ye liſt.* Thele, and many other ſuch like things being by him ſpoken, he was replenished with joy and boldneſs, and his countenance appeared ſo full of grace and favour, that not only he was not troubled with thoſe things which the Proconſul ſpake unto him, but contrariwiſe, the Proconſul himſelf began to be amazed, and ſent for the Crier, which in the middle of the ſtage was commanded to cry three times; *Polycarpus hath confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian*: which words of the Crier were no ſooner ſpoken, but all the whole multitude both of *Gentiles* and *Jews* inhabiting at *Smyrna*, with a vehement rage and loud voice cried; *This is that Doctor or Teacher of Aſia, the Father of the Chriſtians, and the deſtroyer of our Gods, which hath inſtructed a great number, that our Gods are not to be worſhipped*: and after this they cried unto *Philip* the Governor of *Aſia*, and required him that he would let looſe the Lion to *Polycarpus*. To whom he made anſwer, that *he might not ſo do, becauſe he had already his prey.* Then they cried again all together with one voice, that he would burn *Polycarpus* alive. For it was requiſite that the Viſion, which he ſaw as concerning his Pillow or Bolſter, ſhould be fulfilled: which when he had ſeen burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himſelf unto the faithful ſort which were with him, ſaying, by the way of Prophecy, *it will ſo come, that I ſhall be burned alive.* And the Proconſul had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their Shops, Workhouſes and Barns, wood and other dry matter for that purpoſe, and eſpecially the *Jews* were moſt ſerviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

Polycarpus refuſed to be ſacrificed.

Polycarpus confirmed by a voice from Heaven.

Polycarpus altered to change his name, and would not conſent.

Polycarpus fifteth Perſecution.

Polycarpus prayeth for the Church.

A faithful ſervant of Chriſt his Lord.

Polycarpus ready to give a reaſon of his doctrine.

Polycarpus obedient to higher powers.

Polycarpus threatned with wild beaſts.

An example of brotherly love.

The willing mind of Polycarpus to ſuffer.

And thus the Pile being laid, and when he had now put off his garments and undone his girdle, and was about to pull off his ſhoos, which he had not done before, for that all the faithful ſort among themſelves ſtrived (as it were) who ſhould firſt touch his body at their farewell, because for the good converſation of his life, even from his younger age, he was had in great eſtimation of all men: Therefore ſtraightway thoſe inſtruments which are requiſite to ſuch a Bone-fire, were brought unto him, and when they would have nailed him to the Stake with Iron Hoops, he ſaid, *let me alone as I am, for he that hath given me ſtrength to ſuffer and abide the fire, ſhall alſo give power, that without this your proviſion of Nails, I ſhall abide, and not ſtir in the midſt of this fire or pile of Wood.* Which thing when they heard, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, even as the chiefeſt Ram taken out of the Flock, he was ſacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, ſaying, *O Father of thy well-beloved and bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt; by whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, thu God of Angels and Powers, and of every creature, and of all juſt men which live before*

His praiſe before his death.

before thee, I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day that I may have my part among the number of the Martyrs in the Cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of body and soul, through the operation of thy Holy Spirit; among whom I shall this day be received into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared and revealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, O thou most true God, which canst not lie. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, and bless thee, and glorifie thee by our everlasting Bishop, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore, Amen.

The thanksgiving of *Polycarpus*.

And as soon as he had ended this word *Amen*, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to discern the same, saw a marvellous matter, which were also to this purpose preserved, that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like unto a roof or vault of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans sail, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the Martyr, as with a certain Wall, and he, in the middle of the same, not as flesh that burned, but as gold and silver when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a savour so sweet, as if myrrh or some other precious balm had given a scent. At the last, when those wicked persons saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thrust him through with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantity of blood ran out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was so much diversity between the infidels and the elect, of whom this *Polycarpus* was one, being a disciple of the Apostles, and a prophetical instructor of our times, and Bishop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*: for what word soever he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the subtil and envious adversary when he saw the worthiness of his Martyrdom, and that his conversation even from his younger years could not be reproved, and that he was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gave in charge that we should not take and divide his body, for fear left the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon divers whispered *Nicetas* the father of *Herod*, and his brother *Dalces* in the ear, to admonish the Proconsul, that in no case he should deliver his body, *lest* (saith he) *they leave Christ, and begin to worship him*. And this spake they, because the *Jews* had given them secret warning, and provoked them thereunto; who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, which gave his life for the salvation of the whole world (as many I mean as are elected to salvation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Son of God, but the Martyrs do we love as Disciples of the Lord (and that worthily) for their abundant love towards their King and Master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his Disciples. When therefore the Centurion saw and perceived the labour of the *Jews*, the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

An example of much cruelty.

The *Jews* enemies always to the Christians.

Mark that he saith, we love them, and worship them not.

Thus good *Polycarpus* with twelve others that came from *Philadelphia* suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*: which *Polycarpus* especially above the rest is had in memory, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy Disciple of the Apostles; whose History the brethren of the Congregation of *Smyrna* have written in this their Epistle, as is above recited.

Twelve Martyrs put to death in *Smyrna*.

Irenæus in his 3d. Book against Heresies, the 3d. Chap. and *Eusebius* in his 4th. Book and 14th. Chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, reporteth this worthy saying of *Polycarpus*: *This* Polycarpus (saith he) *meeting at a certain time* Marcion *the Heretick, who said to him; Dost thou not know me? made answer, I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan.* So little fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the Disciples of the Apostles, that they would not speak to them whom they knew to be the depravers of the verity, even as S. *Paul* saith, *The Heretick after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing, that he which is such a one, is perverse & froward, and damneth himself.* This moth holy Confessor and Martyr of Christ, *Polycarpus*, suffered death in the fourth Persecution after *Nero*, when *Marcus Antonius*, and *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* reigned, in the year of our Lord 167, as *Urspergensis* affirmeth, in the year 170, as *Eusebius* witnesseth in his Chronicles, the seventh before the Kalends of *February*.

Ex *Irenæo lib. 3. cap. 3.* *Eusebii. lib. cap. 14.*

Anno 167.

Of *Germanicus* mention is made above in the story of *Polycarpus*, of whom writeth *Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 15.* noting him to be a young man, and stoutly constantly to persevere in the profession of Christs Doctrine, whom when the Proconsul went to persuade to remember his age, and to favour himself, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his own accord incited and provoked the wild beasts to come, upon him, and to devour him, to be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life. *Hæc Euseb. an.* 170.

Germanicus. Ex *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.*

Thus have you heard out of the Epistle of the brethren of *Smyrna*, the whole order and life of *Polycarpus*: whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the Ministery about the space of 70 years. This *Polycarpus* was the Scholar and Hearer of *John* the Evangelist, and was placed by the said *John* in *Smyrna*. Of him also *Ignatius* maketh mention in his Epistle which he wrote in his journey to *Rome*, going toward his Martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his Church at *Antioch*, whereby it appeareth that *Polycarpus* was then in the Ministery. Likewise *Ireneus* writeth of the said *Polycarpus* after this manner: *He always taught* (said he) *those things which he learned of the Apostles (leaving them to the Church) and are only true.* Whereunto also all the Churches that be in *Asia*, and all they which succeeded after *Polycarpus* to this day bear witness. And the same *Ireneus* witnesseth also that the said *Polycarpus* wrote an Epistle to the *Philippians*, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of *Polycarpus*, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said Epistle divers things are found very wholesome and Apostolick: as where he teacheth of Christ, of Judgment, and of the Resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by Grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

The elder of *Smyrna*.

Polycarpus was the Scholar of *John*.

Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 3.

The Epistle of *Polycarpus* to the *Philippians*.

Justification by faith.

In *Eusebius* we read in like manner a part of an Epistle written by *Irenæus* to *Florinus*, wherein is declared, how that the said *Ireneus* being yet young, was with *Polycarpus* in *Asia*; at what time he saw and well remembred what *Polycarpus* did, and the place where he fate teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons and words which he said to the People. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred, how that the said *Polycarpus* often times reported unto him those things which he learned and heard from the mouth of the Lord his doings, power and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their own ears, all which were more constant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture. This, with much more, hath *Ireneus* concerning *Polycarpus*.

Ex *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 20.* *Ireneus* an auditor with *Polycarpus*.

Hieronie also writing of the same *Polycarpus*, hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all *Asia*, for that he was Scholar to the Apostles, and to them which did see, and were conversant with Christ himself: whereby it is to be conjectured, his authority to be much, not only with them of his own Church, but with all other Churches about him.

Polycarpus came to *Rome*.

Polycarpus conferreth with *Anicetus*.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said *Ireneus*, that *Polycarpus* came to *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and seven in the Reign of *Antonius Pius*, whose cause of coming thither appeareth to be about the controversie of *Easter* day: wherein the *Asians* and the *Romans* something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said *Polycarpus*, in the behalf of the brethren and Church of *Asia*, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with *Anicetus*. Whereof writeth also *Nicephorus lib. 4.* declaring, that *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus* something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that *Anicetus* in his Church gave place to *Polycarpus* to minister the Communion and Sacrament of the Lords Supper for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of Ceremonies, was at that time retained in the Church without any offence of stomach, or breach of Christian peace in the Church.

The old use of *Easter*.

Nicephorus lib. 4. cap. 3.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charity in the primitive Church.

This *Polycarpus* (as is above mentioned) suffered his Martyrdom even in his own Church at *Smyrna*, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the Gospel of Christ.

Christ, which was about the year of our Lord, an hundred threescore and ten, as *Eusebius* reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the seventh year of *Antoninus Verus* his Reign, whereby it appeareth that *Socrates* in *Historia tripartita* was much deceived, saying, That *Poplycarpus* suffered in the time of *Gordianus*.

Socrates deceived in his Tripartite Hist.

Ex *Euseb. cap. 17.*

In this fourth Persecution, besides *Polycarpus* and others mentioned before, we read also in *Eusebius* of divers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at *Smyrna*.

Over and besides, in the same Persecution suffered moreover *Metrodorus* a Minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy *Pionius*, which after much boldness of speech, with his Apologies exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in the defence of *Christian* Faith, and after much relieving and comforting of such as were in Prisons, and otherwise discomforted, at last was put to cruel Torments and Afflictions, then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed Martyrdom.

Metrodorus.

Pionius.

After these also suffered *Carpus*, *Papylus*, and *Agathonica*, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy Confessions, were put to death at *Pergamopolis* in *Asia*, witnessing *Eusebius*, *lib. 4. cap. 7.*

Carpus, Papylus, Agathonica, Confessors, Martyrs.

And as these suffered in *Asia*, so in *Rome* suffered *Felicitas* with her seven children, who under this *M. Antoninus Verus* sustained also the cruelty of this Persecution. The names of whose Children *Bergomensis* and other Histories do thus recite, *Januarius*, *Felix*, *Philip*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis*. Of whom her first and eldest Son *Januarius*, after he was whipped and scourged with Rods, was prest to death with leaden weights. *Felix* and *Philip* had their brains beaten out with mawls. *Silvanus* was cast down headlong, and had his Neck broken. Furthermore, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, and *Martialis*, were beheaded. Last of all, *Felicitas* the Mother (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had born Children) was slain with the Sword, *Ex Supplem.*

Felicitas with her seven children. *Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis*, Martyrs.

In the rage of this fourth Persecution, under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, suffered also good *Justinus*, a man in Learning and Philosophy excellent, and a great Defender of Christian Religion, who first exhibited unto the Emperor, and to the Senate, a Book or Apology in the defence of the *Christians*, and afterward himself also died a Martyr. Of whom in the History of *Eusebius*, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* it is thus recorded, that about what time, or a little before that *Polycarpus* with divers other Saints suffered Martyrdom in *Pergamopolis* a City of *Asia*, this *Justinus* (as is aforesaid) prefented a Book in defence of our Doctrine to the Emperor, to wit, unto *Antoninus*, and to the Senate. After which he was also crowned with like Martyrdom unto those, whom he in his Book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of *Crescens*.

Justinus Martyr. Ex *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

Ex *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 20.* Conspires with the Apostles.

This made Pity of Heathens to the Christians of *Asia*.

Crescens a Philosopher procures the death of *Justinus*.

This *Crescens* was a Philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the *Cynical* Sect, whom because this *Justinus* had reproved in open audience, and had born away the victory of the truth which he defended; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this Crown of Martyrdom. And this did also *Justin* himself a Philosopher, no less famous by his Profession, foresee and declare in his foresaid Apology, telling almost all those things beforehand which should happen unto him, by these words, saying, And I look after this good turn, that I be slain going by the way, either of some of those whom I have named, and to have my brains beaten out with a Bat, or else of *Crescens*, whom I cannot call a Philosopher, but rather a vain Boaster. For it is not convenient to call him a Philosopher, which openly professeth things to him unknown, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of us, that the *Christians* be ungodly and irreligious, and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by Error.

Crescens a railing Philosopher, and a malicious railer.

For whether he objecteth against us the Doctrine of the *Christians* which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worse than the unlearned Idiots, who for the most part use not to dispute, or judge of things they know not, and to bear witness of the same. Or put the case that he had read it, yet understandeth he not the majesty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure he understandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslave of vile and brastly, both fame and fear. For this I tell thie of him, giving you truly to understand, that for a truth, which I declare unto you, how that I have appofed him, and have put unto him many questions, whereby I know and perceive, that he understandeth nothing. But if so be that this our Disputation with him hath not come unto your ears, I am ready to communicate unto you again those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be unfit for your Princely honour to hear. But if ye know and understand both what things I have examined him of, as also what answer he hath made, it shall be apparent unto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our Doctrine and Learning; or else if he knoweth the same, he dare not utter it for fear of his Auditors, which thing, as I said before, is a proof that he is no Philosopher, but a slave to vain glory, which maketh none account of that, which his own Master *Socrates* had in so great estimation. And thus much of *Justine*, out of *Justine* himself.

Crescens proved an unlearned Philosopher.

A slave of fame and fear.

Now, to verifie that which *Justine* here of himself doth Prophesie, That *Crescens* would and did procure his death: *Tacianus* (a man brought up of a Child in the Institutions of the *Gentiles*, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behind him many good Monuments and Commentaries) writeth in his Book against the *Gentiles* in this sort, And *Justine* (saith he) that most excellent learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the afore recited men were like unto Thieves or Liers by the High-way side. And in the said Book speaking afterward of certain Philosophers, the said *Tacianus* inhereth thus, *Crescens* therefore (saith he) when he came first into that great City, prefed all others in the vicious love of Children, and was very much given to covetousnes; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself doth fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppres *Justine* with death, as with the most greatest evil that was, and all because that *Justine*, speaking truth, reproved the Philosophers to be men only for the Belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of *Justines* Martyrdom. *Hieronie* in his *Ecclesiastical Catalogue* thus writeth, *Justine*, when in the City of *Rome* he had his Disputations, and had reproved *Crescens* the Cynick, for a great Blasphemer of the *Christians*, for a Bellygod, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; at last by his endeavour and Conference was accused to be a *Christian*, and for Christ shed his blood in the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and four, under *Marcus Antoninus*, as the Chronicles do witness; *Abbas Urspergensis*, and *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, in the thirteenth year of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

Tacianus commended.

The praise of *Justine* Martyr.

Ex *Catalogo Hieron.*

The death and martyrdom of *Justine* Philosopher and Christian Martyr.

Among these above recited, is also to be numbered *Praxedis*, a blessed Virgin, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Rome*, who in the time of *Anicetus* there Bishop, was so brought up in the Doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his Religion, that she, with her sister *Potentiana*, bestowed all her Patrimony upon the relieving of poor *Christians*, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the Martyrs. And after she had made free all her Family with her Servants after the death of her sister, she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Praxedis, *Potentiana*, Christian Virgins.

Under the same *Antoninus* also suffered *Ptolomeus* and *Lucius* for the Confession of Christ, in a City of *Egypt*, called *Alexandrina*, whose History, because it is described in the Apology of *Justinus* Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alledged in *Eusebius*, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, *Lib. 4. cap. 17.* in words and effect as followeth, &c.

Ptolomeus *Lucius*, Martyrs. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

There was (saith he) a certain Woman married unto a Husband, who was given much to lasciviousnes, whereunto she her self in times past was also addicted. But the afterward being instructed in the Christian Religion, became chast her self, and also perswaded her Husband to live chastly; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the Precepts of the *Christians*, that they should be punished eternally which lived not chastly and justly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthiness, thereby caused his Wife to estrange her self from his company. For why? the Woman thought it not convenient to continue in her Husbands company, which contemning the law of Nature, fought otherwise to satisfie his filthy appetite. Therefore the was purpofed to be divorced from him. But her

Neighbours and Kinsfolk provoked her, by promising his amendment, to keep company again with him, and so she did. But he after this took his Journey into *Alexandria*, and when it was shewed her, that there he lived more licentiously than at any time before, for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life, by coupling her self any longer with him, she gave him a Letter of Divorce, and so departed from him. Then her Husband, who ought rather to have rejoyced to have so honest and chast a Wife, which not only would not commit any dishonest thing her self, but also could not abide any lewd or misordered behaviour in her Husband, and that by this her separation she went about to reclaim him from his incest and wickednes to better amendment of life: he, in recompence to his Wife again, accused her to be a *Christian*, which at that time was no less than death. Whereupon she, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the Emperor (as *Justinus* in his *Apology* writing to the Emperor himself declareth) a supplication, desiring and craving of his Majesty, first, to grant her so much licence as to set her Family in order, and that done, afterward to come again and make answer to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the Emperor condescended. Then her Husband seeing that he could have no advantage against her, devised with himself how he might bring *Ptolomeus* (which was her Instructor in the Faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation: using the means of a certain Centurion, who was his very friend, whom he perswaded to examine *Ptolomeus*, whether he were a Christian or not. *Ptolomeus* (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his Profession) confessed no less then to the Examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the verity of Christian Doctrine. For who so denieth himself to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himself unworthy of that, the Confession whereof he flyeth, which thing is never found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus then he being brought before *Urbicius* the Judge, and by him condemned to suffer: one *Lucius* being also a *Christian*, standing by, and seeing the wrong Judgment, and hasty Sentence of the Judge, said to *Urbicius*, *What reason I pray you or equity is this, that this man who neither is Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Homicide, nor Felon; neither hath committed any such Crime, wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his Name and Confession of a* Christian? *This Condemnation, and this manner of Judgments* (O Urbicius) *are neither seemly for the vertuous Emperor, nor to the Philosopher his Son, nor yet for the Estate of his Senate of* Rome.

The boldness and Christian constancy of *Lucius*.

Which words being heard, *Urbicius* making no further Examination of the matter, said unto *Lucius*, *Me thinketh thou art also a Christian*. And when *Lucius* had given him to understand that he was also a *Christian*, the Judge without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of Execution. To whom he answered, *I thank you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked Governors, and send me unto my good and most loving Father, being also the King of all Gods*. And in like manner the third man also, coming unto him, and using the like liberty of Speech, had also the like sentence of Death and Condemnation, and was crowned also with the same Crown of Martyrdom. And thus much out of the *Apology* of *Justinus*, by the which story it may appear not to be true that *Gratianus* attributeth unto *Higinus*, Bishop of *Rome*, the ordaining of Causes Matrimonial, seeing that in *Justinus* time (who was in the same age of *Higinus*) the divorcement of this Woman in this History above touched, was not decided by any Ecclesiastical Law, or brought before any Bishop, but was brought before an Heathen Prince, and determined by the Law Civil.

Lucius condemned and martyred.

The third man also condemned and martyred.

A place of Gratianus suspected.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the *Martyrology* of *Ysuardus*, of one *Concordus* a Minister of the City of *Spolet*, who in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, because he would not Sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, but did spit in the face of the Idol, after divers and sundry Punishments sustained, at last with the Sword was beheaded. *Vincentius* in his tenth Book, Chap. 108. reciteth a long story of his Acts and Life, whereof some part perhaps may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing besides his Sepulchre in the forenamed City of *Spolet*, unto the which water was given (saith *Vincentius*) by the vertue of him, for whose Name he suffered, to restore light to the blind, to heal the sick, and to cast out Devils, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel Devils, neither doth God give to any Creature of water, neither is it like that *Concordus* the blessed Martyr did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Concordus martyr.

Concordus fostereth in the foot of the Idol.

Ysuardus and *Bede*, *Vincentius* and *Henricus de Erfordia*, with other Authors more, make relation of divers other Martyrs that by sundry kinds of Torments were put to death, under the aforesaid *Antoninus Verus*: the names of whom be *Symmetrius*, *Florellus*, *Pontianus*, *Alexander*, *Caius*, *Epipodius*, *Victor*, *Corona*, *Marcellus*, *Valerianus*. The cause of whose Martyrdom was the reprehending of Idolatry, and because at the Emperors Commandment they would not sacrifice to Idols. Many forts of Punishments and Miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the Histories of these Writers not to be certain or true, as well touching these as also other Martyrs, as may appear in *Vincentius*, *in Petrus de Natalibus*, and other Authors of like fort. In which Authors they which list to read more of their Miracles there may find them.

Ex Ysuardo, Vincentio, & Henrico de Erford. Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipod. Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. Authors in the writing of Miracles of Martyrs suspected.

A little before, mention was made of *Symphorisa*, otherwise named *Symphorosa*, Wife of *Getulus*, with her seven Sons. This *Getulus* or *Getulius* was a Minister or Teacher (as witnesseth *Martyrol. Adonis*) in the City of *Tiber*, which *Getulus*, with *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, and *Primitivus*, by the Commandment of *Adrian*, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moveover of the seven Sons of this *Symphorosa*, I find to be *Crescens*, *Julianus*, *Nemesius*, *Primitivus*, *Justinus*, *Statteus*, and *Eugenius*, whom the Chronicle of *Ado* declareth to be put to death at the Commandment of *Adrian*, being fastened to seven Stakes, and so racked up with a pully, and at last were thrust thorow, *Crescens* in the Neck, *Julianus* in the Breast, *Nemesius* in the Heart, *Primitivus* about the Navil, *Justinus* cut in every joynt of his body, *Statteus* run thorow with Spears, *Eugenius* cut asunder from the Breast to the lower parts, and then cast into a deep Pit, having the name by the Idolatrous Priests, entituled, *Ad septem Biothanatos*. After the Martyrdom of whom also *Symphorosa* the Mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Getulus, *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, *Primitivus*, Martyrs. The seven sons of *Symphorosa*, *Crescens*, *Julianus*, *Nemesius*, *Primitivus*, *Justinus*, *Statteus*, *Eugenius*, Martyrs.

Under the said *Antoninus Verus*, and in the same Persecution, which raged not in *Rome* and *Asia* only, but in other Countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant Martyrs of *Lions* and *Vienna*, two Cities in *France*, giving to Christ a glorious Testimony, and to all Christian men a Spectacle or Example of singular Constancy and Fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The History of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own Churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.* I thought here to express the same in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their Epistle written to the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia* thus beginneth.

The Persecution in Lions and Vienna, two Cities in France. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

The Servants of Christ inhabiting the Cities of Vienna *and* Lions, *to the Brethren in* Asia *and* Phrygia, *having the same Faith and Hope of Redemption with us: Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord.*

THe greatness of this our Tribulation, the furious rage of the *Gentiles* against us, and the Torments which the blessed Martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deserve, set forth. For the Adversary with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of such Preparatives, as he himself lifted, against his tyrannous coming, and in every place practised he and instructed his Ministers, how in most spiteful manner to set them against the Servants of God: so that not only in our Houses, Shops and Markets, we were restrained, but also were universally commanded, that none (so hardly) should be seen in any place. But God hath always mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak amongst them, and other some did he set up as firm and immoveable Pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the Enemy, enduring all their opprobrious punishment they could devise: to conclude, they fought this battel for that intent to come unto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby shewing that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to countervail the great Glory which shall be shewed upon us after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoever the multitude of franticke people running upon head did unto them, as Railings, Scourgings, Drawings and Halings, flinging of Stones, Imprisonings, and what other thing soever the rage of the multitude is wont to use and practise against their professed Enemies. Then afterward they being led into the Market-place, and there judged of the Captain and rest of the Potentates of the City, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to prison, until the return of their chief Governor. After this they being brought before him, and he using all extremity that possibly he might against them: One *Vetius Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, replenished with fervent Zeal, both towards God and his Brethren, (whose Conversation, although he were a young man,) was counted as perfect as was the life of *Zachary* the Priest. For he walked diligently in all the Commandments and Justifications of the Lord, and in all Obedience towards his Brethren, blameless. He having within him the fervent zeal of Love, and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked Judgment which was given upon the *Christians*; but being vehemently displeased, delired that the Judge would hear the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalf of the *Christians*, in whom (saith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried again to those that were affistants with the chief Justice, that it might not be so (for indeed, he was a Nobleman born) neither did the Justice grant him his lawful requeſt, but only asked him, *Whether he himself was a Christian or not?* And he immediately with a loud and bold voice answered and said, *I am a Christian*. And thus was he received into the Fellowship of the Martyrs, and called the Advocate of the *Christians*. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time, than had *Zachary*, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life in the defence of his Brethren, being a true Disciple of Christ, *following the Lamb wheresoever he goeth*.

Vetius Epagathus Martyr.

The flourishes of a godly young man.

The false-flights of certain weak Christians.

By this mans example, the rest of the Martyrs were the more animated to Martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were unready and not so well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to bear the vehemency of so great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that fainted, minifring to us much heavinesse and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest, which were not yet apprehended, to be less willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variableness of confession not a little affonied: not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but rather as having respect to the end, and fearing left any should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen: in so much that of two Churches, such as were chiefest, and which were the principal Governors of our Churches, were apprehended. With these also certain of the *Ethnicks*, being our Men-servants, were apprehended (for so the Governor commanded, that all of us in general without any respect should be taken) which Servants be overcome by Satan, and fearing the Torments which they saw the Saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the means of the Souldiers, fained against us that we kept the Feastings of *Thiestes*, and Incest of *Oedipus*, and many such other Crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

False slanders against the Christians.

The rage of the Heathen against the Christians.

A Letter of the brethren of France to the brethren of *Asia*.

These things being now buried abroad, every man began to shew cruelty against us, insomuch that those which before for similarity-sake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently disdained us, and waxed mad against us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, *The time will come, that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he doth God great good service*. Then suffered the Martyrs of God such bitter Persecution as is passing to utter some blasphemy by all means possible. Marvelous therefore was the rage both of the people and Prince, especially against one *Sanctus*, which was Deacon of the Congregation of *Vienna*, and against *Maturus*, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy Souldier of Christ, and also against *Attalus*, being born in *Pergama*, which was the Foundation and Pillar of that Congregation, and also against *Blandina*: by whom Christ sheweth those things, which the World esteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and specially her Mistress in the flesh, who also was her self one of the number of the aforesaid Martyrs, left haply for the weakness of body she would not stand strongly to her Confession, the foresaid *Blandina* was so replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very weariness gave over, and felt down, and were themselves overcome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marveled that yet she lived, having her body so torn and rent: and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have pluckt the life from her body. But that blessed Woman, fighting this worthy battel, became stronger and stronger, and as often as she spake these words (*I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evil*) it was to her a marvelous comfort & bolding to abide the torments.

The cruel handling and great patience of *Blandina*.

Sanctus also, another of the Martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked purposed to have heard him utter some blasphemous words, for the greatness and intolerablenes of his torments and pains that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what Country-man he was, nor in what City brought up, neither whether he was a Free-man or a Servant: but unto every question that was asked him, he answered in the *Latin* Tongue, *I am a Christian*, and this was all that he confessed both of his Name, City, Kindred, and all other things in the place of Execution: neither yet could the *Gentiles* get any more of him: whereupon both the Governor and Tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vex him withall, they clapped plates of brass red hot to the most tendreft parts of his body, wherewith his body indeed being scorched, yet he never shrunk for the matter, but was bold and constant in his Confession, being strengthened and moistened with the Fountain of lively water, flowing out of Christs side. Truly his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered: for it was all drawn together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had therewith loft the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable Glory, for that he overcame his Adversaries, and, to the instruction of others, declared that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the Glory of Christ is manifested.

Sanctus a martyr.

The notable constancy of *Sanctus*.

The cruel torments of *Sanctus*.

And when those wicked men began after a certain time again to torment the Martyr, and hoped well to bring it to pass, that either they should overcome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was so fore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand, or else, that he died under their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such fear into the hearts of the rest, as to cause them to deny Christ: they were not only disappointed herein, but also contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the later punishment and torments supplied and restored, and took the first shape and use of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the Grace of Christ (instead of punishment) a safe Medicine.

A miraculous working of God.

Also Satan now thinking to have setled himself in the heart of one *Bibliades*, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being a weak and feeble woman in Faith, to have damned her Soul, in blaspheming the Name of God, brought her to the place of Execution: enforcing to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the *Christians*. But she in the middle of her torments, returning to her self, and waked as it were out of her dead sleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of Hell fire, and against all means expectations reviled the Tormentors, saying, *How should we Christians eat young Infants (as ye reported of us) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any Beast?*

Bibliades an holy Martyr.

Upon that, ſo ſoon as ſhe had confeſſed her ſelf to be a *Chriſtian*,ſhe was martyred with the reſt.Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannical Torments, by the patience and ſufferance of our Saints, the Devil yet invented other Engins and Inſtruments. For when the *Chriſtians* were caft into priſon, they were ſhut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a Rack or Engine made for that purpoſe,even unto the fifth hole. And many other ſuch punifhments ſuffered they, which the furious Miniſters, ſtirred up with deviliſh fury, are wont to put men unto: ſo that very many of them were ſtrangled and killed in priſons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlaſting life, and ſet forth his Glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented,that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world,it was thought impoſſible for them to live, and to be reſtored. And thus they remaining in priſon, deſtitute of all humane help, were ſo ſtrengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed that they comforted and ſtirred up the minds of the reſt: the younger ſort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in priſon, whoſe bodies had not yet felt the laſh of the Whip, were not able to endure the ſharpneſs of their impriſonment, but died for the ſame.

Exulc. ad quietum ſervanem.

Divers Martyrs ſtrangled in priſon.

Other Martyrs died in priſon.

Photinus a bleſſed Martyr.

The bleſſed *Photinus*,who was Deacon to the Biſhop of *Lions*, about fourſcore and nine years old, and a very feeble or weak man, and could ſcarcely draw breath for the imbecillity of his body: yet was he of a lively courage and ſpirit, and for the great deſire he had of Martyrdom, when he was brought unto the Judgment-Seat,although his body was feeble and weak,both becauſe of his old age, and alſo through ſickneſs, yet was his Soul or life preſerved to this purpoſe, that by the ſame Chriſt might triumph and be glorified. He,being by the Souldiers brought to the place of Judgment, many Citizens and men of great ability following him,and the whole multitude crying upon him diverſly, as though he had been Chriſt himſelf, gave a good teſtimony. For being demanded of the chief Ruler, what was the Chriſtian mans God? He anſwered, If thou be worthy to know thou ſhalt know. He, being with theſe words ſomewhat near touched, cauſed him to be very ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtood next him,did him all the ſpite and diſpleaſure that they could both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off,whatſoever came next to hand,they threw at him, and every man thought that he did very wickedly refrain,that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. *Photinus* now, even as it were gaſping after life,was thrown into priſon,and within two days after died.

The rage of the people againſt *Photinus*.

And here is the mighty Providence of God, and the unſpeakable mercy of Jeſus Chriſt declared,which providence, being aſſured amongſt a fraternity, is never deſtitute of the aid of Jeſus Chriſt. For thoſe which in their firſt Perſecution denied Chriſt, they alſo were put in priſon, and made partakers of the others affliction.Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Chriſt, but they which confeſſed him were impriſoned as *Chriſtians*, neither was there any other Crime objected againſt them; but the other ſort taken like Homicides and wicked Doers, were laid hand on, and had double more puniſhment than the others had. Theſe men were refreſhed with the joy of Martyrdom, the hope of Gods Promiſes, the love towards Chriſt, and the Spirit of God: the others, their Conſciences accuſed them,and that very ſore,inſomuch that by their gate, their Countenances bewraied unto the reſt their guilty Conſciences. For the *Chriſtians* went forth having chearful Countenances,very much adorned with Glory and Grace, inſomuch that the very Bonds wherewith they were tied, ſet them out as men in ſeemly Apparel, and like as Brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay Garments, and therewithal favoured as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that it might be ſuppoſed them to be anointed with ſome ſweet Balm: whereas the others were doubtful and ſad, abject, ill favoured, filled with all ſhame, and furthermore reviled of the *Gentiles* themſelves,as wretches degenerate having the Crime of Homicide, and deſtitute of the moſt precious, glorious, and lively Calling of the Chriſtian name. And truly by theſe fights the reſt were confirmed, and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtaggering, not having ſo much as the thought of any ſuch deviliſh mind of denial. *And in the ſame Epiſtle of the foreſaid Brethren of* France, *writing to the Brethren of* Aſia, *it followeth in this manner:* After theſe things done, the Martyrdom of theſe holy Saints was divided diverſly into divers kinds and forms, as the offering to God the Father a Garland decked with divers and ſundry kinds of colours and flowers. For it ſo behoved the worthy Champions of God, after they had ſuffered divers kinds of torments, and ſo won a triumphant Victory, to obtain great reward of Immortality.

The comfort of the godly ſtanding to their Confeſſion.

The deniers of their confeſſion comfortleſs,and notwithſtanding puniſhed.

Then *Maturus*, *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought together to the common Scaffold, there in the face of the people to be caſt and devoured of the Beaſts. And *Maturus*, with *Sanctus*, being brought the ſecond time to the Scaffold, ſuffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had ſuffered nothing at all: yea rather the Adverſary being oftentimes put to the worſt, they as ſtriving for the Crown, ſuffered again more ſcourgings, the tearing of wild Beaſts, and what thing elſe ſoever the frantick people on every ſide cryed for and willed. And above all the reſt they brought an Iron Chair, in the which their bodies being ſet, were ſo fried and ſcorched, as on a Grid-Iron fried on the coals, and filled with the favour of the frying all the people that ſtood by. And yet for all that the torments ceaſed not, but waxed more fierce and mad againſt them,labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints. Notwithſtanding all this, they could not get out of *Sanctus* mouth any other thing but the confeſſion which at the beginning he declared. And thus theſe holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their moſt horrible conflict, at the length were ſlain, being made all that whole day a ſpectacle unto the world, in place and in ſtead of the games and fights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning *Maturus* and *Sanctus*.

The ſtedfaſt handling of Gods people.

Maturus and *Sanctus* martyred.

Now concerning *Blandina*,ſhe being faſtned upon ſtake, was caſt to the ravening Beaſts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God: to this end,that while ſhe ſeemed to hang as it were upon a Croſs, by the ferventneſs of her prayer ſhe might comfort the reſt of the Saints, as beholding their Chriſt with their bodily eyes,which in that Agony ſuffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and ſuffer for the Glory of Chriſt, might be aſſured to live with him for ever. And when they ſaw that no Beaſt would come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the Tree, and caſt her again into priſon till another time,that ſhe,having the victory of many battels, might triumph over that ugly Serpent the Devil, and that ſhe being a weak and ſilly woman, and not regarded, armed with Chriſt the invincible Conqueror, might incourage her Brethren, and by the enduring of this battel might win a Crown of Incorruptible Glory.

Blandina brought forth again.

Now to *Attalus*; who, being alſo required and called for of the people to puniſhment already prepared (for his Conſcience ſake) cometh forth to the fight. For he being worthily exerciſed in the Chriſtian Profeſſion, was always a witneſs and a maintainer of our Doctrine. Therefore when the preſs of people was about the Scaffold,and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the *Roman* Tongue, *This is* Attalus *the Chriſtian*: then the people were in a marvellous rage againſt him. But the Governor, underſtanding that he was a *Roman*,commanded him again to priſon, with the reſt of his Priſon-Fellows: whereof he wrote to the Emperor, and waited for anſwer what his pleaſure herein was. The Priſoners were not idle in the mean ſeaſon, nor unprofitable to their Brethren, but by their patience the unſpeakable mercy of Chriſt ſhined out. For thoſe which were dead before were now revived by them that lived, and they which were Martyrs reſtored them which were none, and the Church did much rejoyce, as receiving them again alive, whom ſhe had loſt before as dead. For many of them, which before had denied, now by their denial were reſtored and ſtirred up, and learned to be Confeſſors. And now being revived and ſtrengthened, and taſting the ſweetneſs of him *which deſireth not the death of a Sinner, but is merciful to the Penitent*, came of their own accord to the Judgment-Seat again, that they might be examined of the Judge. And for that the Emperor had written back again to him, that all the Confeſſors ſhould be puniſhed, and the others let go, and that Seſſions or Sizes were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repair thither out of every quarter, was marvelous great: he cauſed all the the holy Martyrs to be brought

Attalus commanded to priſon.

The deniers returning again to their confeſſion.

brought thither,that the multitude might behold them,and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the *Roman* freedom he beheaded, the reſidue he gave to the Beaſts to be devoured. And truly Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a little before had denied him,which again,contrary to the expectation of the Infidels, confeſſed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the reſt,becauſe of their delivery; which being found confeſſors, were joyned to the company of the Martyrs,and had with them their part. But there were then ſome abroad which had no Faith at all, neither yet ſo much as the feeling of the Wedding Garment,nor any cogitation at all of the fear of God, but blaſphemed his ways by the lewd converſation of their life, even ſuch as were the Children of damnation. All the reſidue joyned themſelves to the Congregation: which when they were examined, one *Alexander* a *Phrygian* born, and a Phyſitian which had dwelt long in *France*, and known almoſt of all,for the love he had to God, and boldneſs of ſpeaking (neither was he void of the Apoſtolical love) one *Alexander*, I ſay, ſtanding ſomewhat near to the Bar, by ſigns and becks perſwaded ſuch as were examined, to confeſs Chriſt: ſo that by his countenance ſometime rejoycing, ſome other while ſorrowing, he was deſcried of the ſtanders by. The people not taking in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted by and by again to ſtick to their firſt Confeſſion,they cried out againſt *Alexander* as one that was the cauſe of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the Judge,and demanded what Religion he was of? he anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian*. He had no ſooner ſpoken the word, but he was judged to the Beaſts of them to be devoured.

Alexander the Phryg. a martyred.

The next day following,*Attalus*,of whom I made mention a little before,and *Alexander*,were brought forth together. For the Governor granting *Attalus* unto the people, he was baited again of the Beaſts. When theſe men were brought to the Scaffold, and had taken a taſte of all the Inſtruments that there were prepared for their Execution, and had ſuffered the greateſt Agony they could put them to,they were alſo at the length ſlain: of whom *Alexander* never gave ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praiſed and prayed to the Lord. But *Attalus*,when he was ſet in the Iron Chair,and began to fry, and the frying favour of his burning body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in the *Roman* Language; *Behold* (ſaith he) *this which you do is to eat mans fleſh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedneſs*. And being demanded what was the name of their God? *Our God* (ſaith he) *hath no ſuch name as men have*. Then ſaid they, *Now let us ſee whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not*.

The worthy patience and conſtancy of *Attalus*.

Blandina, and *Ponticus* are again brought forth.

After this being the laſt day of the Spectacle, *Blandina* again, and one *Ponticus*, a Child of fifteen years old was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they ſeeing the puniſhment of their Fellows might be compelled thereby to ſwear by their Idols. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe,and defied their Idols,the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither ſparing the age of the Child, nor favouring the Sex of the woman, but put them to all the puniſhment and pain they could deviſe, and often times inforced them to ſwear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For *Ponticus*,being ſo animated of his ſiſter,as the *Ethnicks* ſtanding by did ſee, after that he had ſuffered all torments and pains gave up the ghoſt. This bleſſed *Blandina* therefore being the laſt that ſuffered, after ſhe had like a worthy Mother given exhortations unto her Children, and had ſent them before as Conquerors to their heavenly King,and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, ſo much rejoyced of her Children death, and ſo haſtned her own, as though ſhe had been bidden to a Bridal, and not in caſe to be thrown to the wild Beaſts. After this her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the Beaſts,and her torments upon the Grid-Iron, at the length ſhe was put in a Net, and thrown to the wild Bull; and when ſhe had been ſufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the ſame Beaſt,and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and conſolation ſhe had in Chriſt and heavenly things, was thus ſlain,inſomuch that the very Heathen men themſelves confeſſed that there was never woman put to death of them that ſuffered ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus aſſwaged againſt the *Chriſtians* For the cruel barbarous people, like wild Beaſts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and ſundry torments every day againſt our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the *Chriſtians* to death, for that they wanted the ſenſe of men: for which cauſe both the Magiſtrate and people were vexed at the very hearts, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which ſaith, *He that is wicked,let him be wicked ſtill:and he that is juſt,let him be more juſt*.For thoſe which in their Priſons they ſtrangled,they threw after to the dogs, ſetting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they ſhould not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies,ſome half burned,ſome left of the wild Beaſts, and ſome all to be mangled,alſo bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remain unburied.

Blandina martyred.

Ponticus martyred.

Apoc.22.

The *Geniles* grinded and gnaſhed at the *Chriſtians* with their teeth, ſeeking which way they might amplifie their puniſhment:ſome other flouted and mocked them,extolling their Idols, attributing unto them the cauſe of this cruelty and vengeance ſhewed to us.Such as were of the meeker ſort, and ſeemed to be moved with ſome pity, did hit us in the teeth,ſaying,*Where is your God that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your Religion for which you grave your lives?* Theſe were the ſundry paſſions and affects of the *Gentiles*, but the *Chriſtians* in the mean while were in great heavineſs,that they might not bury the bodies and relicks of the holy Martyrs. Neither could the dark night ſerve them to that purpoſe, nor any intreaty nor waging them with money,which were appointed for watch-men: but they ſo narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they ſhould have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the Martyrs made a wondring ſtock, and lay ſix days in the open ſtreets; at length they burned them, and threw their aſhes into the river of *Rodes*; ſo that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to have pulled God out of his Seat,and to have let the regeneration of the Saints, and taken from them the hope of the Reſurrection, whereof they being perſwaded (ſaid they) bring in this new and ſtrange Religion, and ſet thus light by death and puniſhment. *Atque hæc ex Epiſtola Viennenſium, &c.*

Among others that ſuffered under *Antoninus*, mention was made alſo of *Juſtinus*,who(as it is ſaid before) exhibited two *Apologies*, concerning the defence of Chriſtian Doctrine, the one to the Senate of *Rome*,and the other to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, concerning whoſe ſuffering, and the cauſes thereof is partly before declared: this *Juſtine* was born in *Neapoli*, in the Country of *Paleſtine*, whoſe Father was *Priſcus Bacchius*, as he himſelf doth teſtifie, by whom in his youth he was ſet to School to learn, where in proceſs of time, he became a famous and worthy Philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned and notable men do record.For firſt he being altogether inflamed and raviſhed with deſire of knowledge, would in no wiſe be ſatisfied in his mind,before he had gotten Inſtructors ſingularly ſeen in all kind of Philoſophy,whereupon he writeth of himſelf in the beginning of his Dialogue *Cum Triphone* thus, declaring that in the beginning he being delirous of that Sect and Society, applied himſelf to be the Scholar to a certain *Stoick*, and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in Divine knowledge (whereof the *Stoick* had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be neceſſary) he forſook him, and went to another of the Sect of the *Peripateticks*, a ſharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a ſtipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon *Juſtine*,accounting him as no Philoſopher, left him, and departed. And yet not ſatisfied in mind,but deſirous to hear of further learning in Philoſophy, adjoyned himſelf to one that profeſſed the *Pythagorean* Sect, a man of great fame,and one who made no ſmall account of himſelf. Whom after he had followed a time, his Maſter demanded of him whether he had any ſight in *Muſick*, *Aſtronomy*, and *Geometry*, without the ſight of which Science, he ſaid he could not be apt to receive the Knowledge of Vertue and Felicity, unleſs before he had uſed to apply his Mind from ſenſible matters to the Contemplation of things intelligible. And

Priſcus Bacchius his Father.

Juſtinus deſirous of Philoſophy.

Juſtine proveth all ſorts of Philoſophy.

speaking much in the commendation of these Sciences, how profitable and necessary they were: after that *Justine* had declared himself not to be seen therein, the Philosopher gave him over, which grieved *Justine* not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his Master to have some knowledge in those Sciences. After this *Justine* considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these Sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the Sect of the *Platonists*: for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that Sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernal things, and invisible forms, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpeness of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might atchieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of *Plato* his Philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said *Justine* came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his said first *Apology*: where he affirmeth of himself (as witnesseth *Eusebius* in his fourth Book) that when he did behold the Christians in their Torments and Sufferings to be so constant in their Profession, was therewith marvelously moved: after this manner reasoning with himself, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any Vice or Carnality, which Vices of their own nature are not able to sustain any sharp Adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The fight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true Knowledge and Vertue) to begin thereby to love and imbrace Christian Religion, for so he doth witness of himself in the end of the first *Apology*: signifying there how it was his seeking and endeavour to attain to Christianity: understanding how the Christians by malice of wicked Persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By fight whereof, as he saith himself, he became a Christian, through this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietness to go aside to some Desart and solitary place void of Concourse of People, unto a Village or Grange near to the Sea side: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient Father of a comely Visage and gentle Behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where after long Disputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the Philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost: and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the Soul, of the reward of the Godly and punishment of the Wicked: then *Justine* being confirmed with his Reasons and Arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken: who then counselled him to read and search the Prophets, adjoyning therewith prayer. But what Master (quoth *Justine*) should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to help us if these Philosophers (as you say) lack the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old Father answered, There have been (said he) many years before these Philosophers, other more ancient than all these, which being accounted for Philosophers were just and beloved of God: who spake by the Spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to pass, and therefore they are called Prophets. These only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor pasting for any; who were seduced with no Opinions of mans Invention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the holy Spirit of God: whose Writings and Works yet to this day remain, out of which the Reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things as concerning the first Creation of the World, and end of the same, with all other things necessary to be known of every true Philosopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching do they use any demonstration, as being more certain of themselves, than that they need any such Demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things both past and now present, constraineth us of necessity to believe the words and Doctrine which they taught: which men not only therefore are to be believed, but also for their Miracles and Wonders done, are worthy of Credit; for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and also did Prophesie before of Christ his Son to be sent of Him; the which, the false Prophets being seduced with false and wicked Spirits, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious Wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the World false and unclean Spirits. But then afore all things, make thy prayer that the Gate of Light may be opened unto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained unto of every man, but only of such to whom God and his Christ giveth understanding.

Justine a Platonist.

The end of Plato his Philosophy.

Justine believeth to favour Christian Religion.

Justine goeth into a desert.

Justinus miraculously converted by an old man.

The vanity of the old Philosophers reproved.

The doctrin of the Prophets commended.

The utility of reading the Prophets

Prophets to be credited for two causes.

These things, with much more (which now leisure forveth not to prosecute) after the foresaid old Father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken: and after that *Justine* (as he himself witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediately after this, *Justine* being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his Breast, began to conceive a Love and Zeal towards the Prophets and all such as were favoured of Christ: And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these words, found only this Philosophy among all other Professions both sure and profitable, and so became he a Philosopher, and in time by these means afterwards he was made a Christian and baptized. But where he received this holy Sacrament of Baptism it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his Country and came to *Rome*. This only we read in *Jerome*, that he was in *Rome*, and there used certain Exercises which he called *Diatribae*, disputing there with *Crescens* a *Cynical* Philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that *Justine* after he had received the Profession of Christian Religion, became an earnest Defender of the same, travelling and disputing against all the Adversaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the Doctrine of Christ against the malicious Blasphemers, and also augment the number of Christian Believers, as may appear by his vehement Disputations against the Heathen Philosophers: also moreover it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one *Tripho* at *Ephesus*, as also in his Confutations of *Heresies*. Furthermore, his Conflicts and Apologies which with great courage and security he exhibited against the Persecutors of the Christians, both to the Emperor and the Magistrates, yea and the whole Senate of *Rome*, do testifie the same.

Justinus baptized.

Diatribae.

Justinus an earnest defender of Christ.

Two apologies of Justinus.

Of the which *Apologies*, the first he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and after to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the first writing with great liberty to the Senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and Conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to *Urbicius* Lieutenant of the City, said, *That he put men to death and torments for no Offence committed, but for the Confession only of the Name of Christ: which proceedings and judgments neither became the Emperor, nor his Son, nor the Senate:* defending moreover in the said *Apology*, and purging the Christians of such Crimes as falsly were laid and objected against them by the *Ethnicks*.

The fame of his apologies.

And likewise in his second *Apology* writing to *Antoninus* the Emperor, and his Successors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the Name, commonly being reputed and taken as vertuous Philosophers, Maintainers of Justice, Lovers of Learning; but whether they were so, their Acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them; but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their Judgments and Sentences (for it becometh Princes to follow Uprightness and Piety in their Judgments, not Tyranny and Violence,) and also in plain words chargeth as well the Emperor as the Senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the *Christians* that which is not denied to all other Malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the Name. *Other men which be appeached* (said he) *in Judgment,*

The second apology of Justine.

ment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on Us you take our Name only for the Crime, when as indeed you ought to see Justice done upon our Accusers. And again (saith he) *If a Christian being accused only deny that Name, him you Release, being not able to Charge him with any other Offence: but if he stand to his Name, only for his Confession you cast him; where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their Demerits to see Justice done.*

The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted.

And in the same further he saith, *You examine not the Causes, but incensed with rash Affections, as with the fear of Fury, ye slay and murther them not convicted, without any respect of Justice.* And further he addeth, *Some peradventure will say, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil Doings: as though* (saith he) *you used to enquire upon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their Offence for the Cause above mentioned.* Where also in the end of the said *Apology* after this manner he reprehendeth them, *You do degenerate* (quoth he) *from the goodness of your Predecessors, whose Example you follow not, for your Father* Adrian *of famous Memory caused to be proclaimed, That Christians accused before the Judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some Notorious Crime.* I find that all his vehement and grave Apology standeth upon most strong and firm probations, denying, that the Christians ought by Conscience at the Will and Commandment of the Emperor and Senate to do sacrifice to the Idols: for the which they being condemned, affirm, that they suffer open wrong; affirming moreover, that the true and only Religion is the Religion of the Christians, whose Doctrine and Conversation hath no fault. *Justinus*, although with these and such like Persuasions, he did not so prevail with the Emperor, to cause him to love his Religion, and become a Christian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that *Antoninus* writing to his Officers in *Asia* in the behalf of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only which were found guilty of any Trespass should suffer, and such as were not convicted, should not therefore only for the Name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparent with what Zeal and Faith this *Justinus* did strive against the Persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16. A place of Rhythmius found fault by.

This *Justinus* by the means and malice of *Crescens* the Philosopher (as is before declared) suffered Martyrdom under *Marcus Antoninus Verus*, a little after that *Polycarpus* was martyred in *Asia*, as witnesseth *Eusebius, lib. 4.* Here is to be gathered how *Epiphanius* was deceived in the time of his death, saying, *That he suffered under* Rusticus *the President, and* Adrian *the Emperor, being of thirty years of age*; which indeed agreeth neither with *Eusebius*, nor *Hieronie*, nor *Suide*, nor others more, which manifestly declare and testifie how he exhibited his Apology unto *Antoninus Pius* which came after *Adrian*. Thus hath thou (good Reader) the life of this learned and blessed Martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable Vertues, of whose final end thus writeth *Photius*, saying, *That he suffering for Christ, died chearfully and with honour.*

Cum dignatione & laude pro Christi Religione.

The singular modesty of the foresaid Martyrs declared. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Thus have ye heard the whole Discourse of *Justinus* and of the blessed Saints of *France*, *Vettius*, *Zacharias*, *Sanctus*, *Maturus*, *Attalus*, *Blandina*, *Alexander*, *Alciades*, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certain Christian Brethren of the same Church and place of *France*. In the which foresaid writing of theirs, moreover appeareth the great meekness and modest constancy of the said Martyrs described in these words; Such Followers were they of Christ *(who when he was in the Form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the same Glory with him,)* that they not once nor twice, but oft times suffered Martyrdom; and taken again from the Beasts, and bearing Wounds, Tearings and Scars in their Bodies, yet neither would count themselves Martyrs, neither would they suffer us so to call them: but if any of us either by word or Letter would call them Martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying, *That the name of Martyrdom was to be given to Christ the faithful and true Martyr, the first born of the Dead, and the Captain of Life*; testifying moreover, That Martyrdom belongeth to such, who by their Martyrdom were already passed out of this life: and whom Christ by their worthy Confession hath received unto Himself, and hath sealed up their Martyrdom by their end finished: as for them which were not yet confirmatured, they (said they) were not worthy the names of Martyrs, but only were humble and worthy Confessors, desiring also their Brethren with Tears to pray without ceasing for their Confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true Martyrs, in resisting the Heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all fear of man, being replenished with the fear of God, refused to be named of their Brethren for Martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more, They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendred to all men a reason of their Faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none, and for them which so evil did entreat them they prayed, following the example of *Stephen* the perfect Martyr, which said, *O Lord, impute not their sin to them.* And after again, Neither did they proudly disdain against them which fell, but of such as they had imparted to them they lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and salvation; and as God gave it them, they also did communicate to their Neighbours, and thus they as Conquerors of all things departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the same to us, they went to God, neither leaving any molestation to their Mother, nor Sedition or trouble to their Brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

The holy Martyrs refuse to be called Martyrs.

Out of the same writing moreover concerning these Martyrs of *France* afore mentioned, is recorded also another History not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same Book of *Eusebius cap. 3.* which History is this:

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 3. of Alciades. The strict fasting of Alciades corrected by the Holy Ghost.

There was among these constant and blessed Martyrs, one *Alcibiades*, as is above specified: which *Alcibiades* ever used a very strict diet, receiving for his food and sustenance nothing else but only Bread and Water. When this *Alcibiades* now being cast into Prison, went about to accustom the same strictness of diet, after his usual manner; it was before revealed by God to *Attalus* afore mentioned, one of the said Company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict upon the Scaffold, that *Alcibiades* did not well in that he refused to use and take the Creatures of God, and also thereby ministred to others a pernicious occasion of offensive example. Whereupon *Alcibiades* being advertised, and reformed, began to take all things boldly, and with giving thanks. Whereby may appear to all scrupulous Consciences, not only a wholsome Instruction of the Holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those days they were not destitute of the Grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their Instructor. *Hæc Euseb.*

A Lesson for scrupulous Consciences.

Irenæus newly made Minister, and commended to Eleutherius.

The foresaid Martyrs of *France* at the same time commended *Irenæus*, newly then made Minister, with their Letters unto *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, as witnesseth *Eusseb.* in the tenth Chapter of the said Book, which *Irenæus* first was the hearer of *Polycarpus*, then made Minister (as is said) under these Martyrs: and after their death made Bishop afterward of *Lions* in *France*, and succeeded after *Photinus*. Besides this *Justinus*, there was also the same time in *Asia*, *Claudius Apollinaris*, or *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and also *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of *Tertullian*, who succeeding after the time of the Apostles, in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent Apologies in defence of Christs Religion, like us *Quadratus* and *Aristides* above mentioned did unto the Emperor *Adrian*, whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his Persecution. In like manner did this *Apollinaris* and *Melito* (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the *Christians* unto this *Antoninus*. Of this *Melito Eusebius* in his fourth Book making mention, excepteth certain places of his Apology in these words, as followeth, *Now, faith he, which was never seen before, the godly suffer Persecution by occasion of certain Proclamations and Edicts proclaimed throughout Asia, for villanious Sycophants, Robbers*

Apollinaris and Melito exhibited Apologies to the Emperor for the Christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26. The sum of the Apology of Melito.

Robbers and Spoilers of other mens Goods, grounding themſelves upon thoſe Proclamations, and taking occaſion of them, rob openly nights and day, and ſpoil thoſe which do no harm. And it followeth after, *Which if it be done by your Commandment, be it ſo, well done; for a good Prince will never command but good things, and ſo we will be contented to ſuſtain the honour of this death. This only we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that calling before you and examining the Authors of this tumult and contention, then your Grace would juſtly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion (which indeed againſt your barbarous Enemies were too bad) the more a great deal we are Petitioners to your Highneſs, that hereafter you will vouchſafe to hear Us thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kind of Villainous Robberies. And verily our Philoſophy and Doctrine did firſt among the barbarous take place, which Doctrine firſt in the days of* Auguſtus *your Predeceſſor, when it did Reign and Flouriſh, thereby your Empire became moſt famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the State of the* Roman *Empire increaſed in Honour, whereof you moſt happily were made Succeſſor, and ſo ſhall your Son too. Honour therefore this Philoſophy which with your Empire ſprang up, and came in with* Auguſtus, *which your Progenitors above all other honoured and moſt eſteemed. And verily this is no ſmall Argument of a good beginning, that ſince our Doctrine flouriſhed in the Empire, no miſfortune or loſs happened from* Auguſtus's *time: but contrary, always Victory, good and honourable years, as ever any man would wiſh: only among all, and of all,* Nero *and* Domitian, *being kindled by divers naughty and ſpiteful perſons, cavillingly objected againſt our Doctrine; of whom this ſycophantical ſlandering of Us by naughty cuſtom firſt came and ſprang up. But your godly Fathers, eſſaying the ignorance of theſe, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious Attempts in that behalf: among whom your Grandfather* Adrian *with many others is read of, to have written to* Fundane *the Proconſul and Lieutenant of* Aſia: *and your Father, your own Father, I ſay, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the Cities under his Signet, as the* Larriſens, Theſſalonicenſes, Athenienſes, *and* Grecians, *raſhly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your Highneſs therefore, who in this caſe is of that Sect as your Predeceſſors were, yea and of a more benigne and Philoſophical Mind, we are in good hope to obtain our Petition and Requeſt.*

The Books of the Old Teſtament authentick and received.

Thus much out of the Apology of *Melito*, who writing to *Oneſimus*, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true Catalogue and the names of all the authentick Books of the *Old Teſtament*, received in the ancient time of the Primitive Church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the ſaid *Melito* in his Letter to *Oneſimus* declareth; how that he returning into the parts where theſe things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the Books approved of the *Old Teſtament*, the names whereof in order he ſubſcribeth, and ſendeth unto him as followeth, *The five Books of* Moſes, *Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Joſus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four Books of Kings, Two Books Paraliſpomenon, The Pſalms, Proverbs of Solomon, The Book of Wiſdom, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Job, The Prophets, Eſay, Hieremy, Twelve Prophets in one Book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Eſdras.* And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for theſe later times to underſtand, what in the firſt times was received and admitted as authentick, and what otherwiſe.

But from this little digreſſion, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of *Apolinarius* and *Melito*, in the ſtory ſo it followeth; that whether it was by the occaſion of theſe two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of *Athenagoras* a Philoſopher, and a Legat of the *Chriſtians*, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the Perſecution the ſame time was ſtayed. Some do think, which moſt probably ſeems to touch the truth, that the cauſe of ſtaying this Perſecution did ariſe upon a wonderful Miracle of God ſhewed in the Emperors Camp by the *Chriſtians*, the ſtory whereof is this; At what time the two Brethren *Marcus Antoninus* and *Marcus Aurelius Commodus* Emperors, joyning together, warred againſt the *Quades, Vandales, Sarmates*, and *Germans*, in the Expedition againſt them; their Army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their Enemies, was cooped and ſhut in within the ſtraits and hot dry places, where their Souldiers, beſides other difficulties of battel, being deſtitute of water five days, were like to have periſhed, which dread not a little diſcomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this ſo great diſtreſs and jeopardy, ſuddenly withdrew from the Army a Legion of the *Chriſtian* Souldiers for their ſuccor, who falling proſtrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleaſant Showers from the Element, whereby as their Souldiers quenched their thirſt, ſo were a great number of their Enemies diſcomfited and put to flight by continual Lightnings which ſhooted out of the Air. This Miracle ſo pleaſed and won the Emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the *Chriſtians*, and directed his Letters to divers of his Rulers (as *Tertullian* in his Apology witneſſeth) commanding them therein to give thanks to the *Chriſtians*, no leſs for his Victory, than for the Preſervation of Him and all his men. The Copy of which Letter inſueth.

The Chriſtians Religion began with the Empire of Rome.

Chriſtian Religion maketh common weals to flouriſh.

Fu Euſebius ibidem.

A miraculous rain obtained by the Chriſtians.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and people of *Rome*.

I Give you hereby to underſtand what I intend to do, as alſo what ſucceſs I have had in my Wars in Germany, *and with how much difficulty, I have vittailed my Camp, being compaſſed about with ſeventy and four fierce Dragons, whom my Scouts deſcried to be within nine miles of us, and* Pompeianus *our Lieutenant hath viewed, as he ſignified unto Us, by his Letters. Wherefore I thought no leſs but to be overrun and all my bands of ſo great multitude, as well my Vo-ward, Main-ward, as Rere-ward, with all my Souldiers of* Ephrata; *in whoſe Hoſt there were numbred of fighting-men, nine hundred ſeventy and five thouſand. But when I ſaw my ſelf not able to Encounter with the Enemy, I craved Aid of our Country gods: at whoſe hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the Enemy unto an Exigent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe men which we call* Chriſtians, *who being miſtered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cauſe, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous Power's who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either Weapon, Munition, Armor, or Trumpets, as men abhorring ſuch Preparation and Furniture, but only ſatisfied in truſt of their God, whom they carry about with them in their Conſciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhip God in their hearts. For they falling proſtrate upon the Ground, prayed not only for me, but for the Hoſt alſo which was with me, beſeeching their God for help in that our extremity of Victuals and freſh water: for we had been now five days without water, and were in our Enemies Land, even in the midſt of* Germany; *who thus falling upon their Faces, made their prayers to a God unknown of me. And there fell amongſt us from Heaven a moſt pleaſant and cold ſhower, but amongſt our Enemies a great ſtorm of Hail mixt with Lightening, ſo that immediately we perceived the Invincible aid of the moſt mighty God to be with us: Therefore we give thoſe men leave to profeſs Chriſtianity, leſt, perhaps, by their prayers we be puniſhed with the like, and thereby I make my ſelf the Author of ſuch hurt as ſhall be received by the Chriſtian profeſſion. And if any ſhall apprehend one that is a Chriſtian, only for this cauſe, I will that he being apprehended, without Puniſhment may have leave to confeſs the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe Objected againſt him, more than that, he is a Chriſtian; but let this accuſer be burned alive. Neither will I that he confeſſing and being found a Chriſtian, ſhall be inforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the Governor of any of our Provinces, but left to his own choice. And this Decree of mine I will to be ratified in the Senate-houſe, and command the ſame publickly to be proclaimed and read in the Court of* Trajanus: *and that further from thence it may be ſent into all our Provinces by the diligence of* Veratius *Governour of our City* Polione. *And further, we give leavie to all men to uſe and write out this our Decree, taking the ſame out of our Copy publickly in the Common Hall ſet forth.*

Thus

Thus the Tempeſtuous rage of perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, began for a time to aſſwage, partly by the occaſion hereof, partly alſo upon other cauſes incident, compelling the Enemies to furceaſe their perſecution, as great Plagues and Peſtilence lying upon the country of *Italy* like wiſe great Wars, as well in the Eaſt parts, as alſo in *Italy* and *France*, terrible Earthquakes, great floods, noiſome Swarms of flies and Vermin devouring their Corne Fields, &c. And thus much of things done under *Antoninus Verus*, which *Antoninus* in the beginning of his Reign, joyned with him in the Government of the Empire his brother *Marcus Aurelius Commodus*, who alſo was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Chriſtians, as *Euſebius cap. 5. lib. 5.* recordeth. Contrary, *Platina in vita Soteris*, and the book intituled *Flores Hiſtoriarum*, refer the ſame to the time of *Antoninus Verus*, and his ſon *Lucius Antoninus Commodus*, and not of *Marcus Aurelius Commodus* his brother. But howſoever the truth of years doth ſtand, certain it is, that after the death of *Antoninus Verus*, and of *Aurelius Commodus*, ſucceeded *Lucius Antoninus Commodus*, the ſon of *Verus*, who Reigned thirty Years.

Antoninus Verus, M. Aurelius Commodus Emperors.

The difference between Euſebius and Platina.

{ Anno 175 }

Quietneſs given to the Church.

In the time of this *Commodus*, although he was an incommodious Prince to the Senators of *Rome*, yet notwithſtanding there was ſome quietneſs univerſally through the whole Church of Chriſt from perſecution, by what occaſion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is *Xiphilinus*, that it came through *Marcia* the Emperors Concubine, which favoured the Chriſtians: But howſoever it came (ſaith *Euſebius*) the fury of the raging Enemies was then ſomewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Chriſt unto the Church throughout the whole world: At what time, the wholeſome Doctrine of the Goſpel allured and reduced the hearts of all ſorts of people unto the true Religion of God, in ſo much that many, both rich and to noble Perſonages of *Rome*, with their whole families and houſeholds, to their ſalvation, adjoyned themſelves the Church of Chriſt.

Apollonius martyr.

Among whom there was one *Apollonius*, a noble man, and a Senator of *Rome*, mentioned in *Euſebius, lib. 5. cap. 21.* who being Maliciouſly accuſed unto the Senate, by one whom *Hierome* writeth to be the ſervant of the ſaid *Apollonius*, and nameth him *Severus*: But whoſe ſervant ſoever he was, the wretched man came ſoon enough before the Judge, being condignly rewarded for that his Malicious diligence: For by a law which the Emperor made, that no man upon pain of Death, ſhould falſly accuſe the Chriſtians, he was put to Execution, and had his Legs broken forthwith by the ſentence of *Perennius* the Judge, which being an heathen man, he Pronounced againſt him: But the beloved Martyr of God, when the Judge, with much ado had obtained of him to render an account, before the honourable Senate, of his Faith, under whoſe defence and warrant of life he did the ſame, delivered unto them an eloquent apologie of the Chriſtian belief: But the former warrant notwithſtanding, he by the decree of the Senate was beheaded, and ſo ended his life; for that there was an antient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therefore arraigned, ſhould be releaſed without recantation, or altering his opinion.

Apollonius accuſed by his own ſervants.

Apollonius exhibiteth an apologie of his faith to the Senate.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

The ſtiffnecked pride of the Emperor.

This *Commodus* is ſaid in ſtories to be ſo fure and fieddy handed in calling the dart, that in the open Theater before the people, he would encounter with the Wild beaſts, and be ſure to hit them in the place where appointed. Among divers other his vitious and Wild parts, he was ſo far ſurpriſed in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called *Hercules*, and many times would ſhew himſelf to the people in the ſkin of a Lion, to be counted thereby the King of men, like as the Lion is of the Beaſts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this *Commodus* calling the people of *Rome* together, in a great Royalty, having his Lions ſkin upon him, made ſacrifice to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, cauſing it to be cryed through the City, that *Hercules* was the Patron and defender of the City. There was the ſame time at *Rome*, *Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus*, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, who, following the ſtepſot the Apoſtles, went about from place to place where the Goſpel was not yet preached, converting the *Gemiles* to the faith of Chriſt. Theſe, hearing the madneſs of the Emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their Idolatrous blindneſs, teaching in Villages and Towns, all that heard them to believe upon the true and only God, and to come away from ſuch Worſhipping of Devils, and to give honour to God alone, which only is to be Worſhipped, willing them to repent and to be Baptized, leſt they periſhed with *Commodus*. With this their preaching they converted one *Julius*, a Senator, and others, to the Religion of Chriſt. The Emperor hearing thereof, cauſed them to be apprehended of *Vitellius* his Captain, and to be compelled to ſacrifice unto *Hercules*, which when they ſtoutly refuſed, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed with leaden weights to death. *Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.*

Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, Martyrs.

Julius a Senator converted to Chriſt.

Ex Vincent lib. 10. cap. 119. Henr. de Erfor. Peregrinus, and martyr. ed at Rome. Ex Platina in vita Soteris.

This Peregrinus above mentioned had been ſent before by *Xiſtus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, into the parts of *France*, to ſupply there the room of a Biſhop and teacher, by reaſon that for the continual and horrible perſecutions thereabout touched, thoſe places were left deſolate and deſtitute of Miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupied himſelf with much fruit among the ſtock of Chriſt, and had ſtabliſhed the Congregation there, returning home again to *Rome*, there he finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſaid) his Martyrdom.

Xiſtus Biſhop of Rome.

Now remaineth likewiſe to ſpeak of *Julius*: which *Julius* being (as is afore deſcribed) a Senator of *Rome*, and now won by the Preaching of theſe bleſſed men to the faith of Chriſt, did eſtſoones invite them and brought them home to his houſe, where being by them more fully inſtructed in Chriſtian Religion, he believed the Goſpel. And ſending for one *Ruffinus* a Prieſt, was with all his family by him Baptized, who not (as the common ſort was wont to do) kept cloſe and ſecret his faith, but incenſed with a marvellous and ſincere zeal, openly profeſſed the ſame, altogether wiſhing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to hazard his life for him. Which thing the Emperor hearing how that *Julius* had forſaken his old Religion, and become a Chriſtian, forthwith ſent for him to come before him, unto whom he ſpake on this wiſe: O *July*, what madneſs hath poſſeſſed thee, that thus thou doſt fall from the old and common Religion of thy Forefathers, who acknowledged and worſhipped *Jupiter* and *Hercules* their Gods, and now doſt imbrace a new and fond kind of Religion of the Chriſtians? At which time *Julius*, having good occaſion to ſhew and open his faith, gave ſtraightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that *Hercules* and *Jupiter* were falſe Gods, and how the Worſhippers of them ſhould Periſh with Eternal damnation and Puniſhments. Which the Emperor hearing how that he condemned and deſpiſed his Gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very choleriek) committed him forthwith to *Vitellius*, the Maſter of the Souldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to ſee *Julius* either to ſacrifice to mighty *Hercules*, or refuſing the ſame, to ſlay him. *Vitellius* (as he commanded) exhorted *Julius* to obey the Emperors commandment, and to worſhip his Gods, alledging how that the whole Empire of *Rome* was not only conſtituted, but alſo preſerved and maintained by them: which *Julius* denied utterly to do, admoniſhing ſharply in like manner *Vitellius* to acknowledge the true God, and obey his Commandments, leſt he with his Maſter, ſhould die ſome grievous Death: whereat *Vitellius* being moved, cauſed *Julius* with cudgels to be beaten unto Death.

Julius Biſhop of Rome.

Theſe things being thus briefly recited, touching ſuch holy Martyrs as hitherto have ſuffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the *Roman* Biſhops, ſuch as followed next after *Alexander*, or whom we left, whoſe ſucceeder next was *Xiſtus* or *Sixtus*, the ſixth Biſhop count-ed after *Peter*, who governed the Miniſtery the ſpace of ten years, as *Damaſcus* and others do write. *Ufpergenſis* maketh mention but of nine years. *Platina* recordeth that he died a Martyr, and was buried at *Vaticane*. But *Euſebius* ſpeaking of his deceaſe, maketh no word or mention of any Martyrdom. In the ſecond tome of the Councels certain Epiſtles be attributed to him, whereof *Euſebius*, *Damaſcus*, *Hierome*, and other old authors, as they make no relation, ſo ſeem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe counterfeit Epiſtles, and in *Platina* it appeareth that *Xiſtus* was the firſt author of theſe ordinances. Firſt, that the holy myſteries and holy Veſſels, ſhould be touched but only of perſons holy and conſecrated, eſpecially of no Woman. Item, that the

The ſtiffnecked ordinances of Xiſtus.

Cor-

Corporas cloth ſt could be made of no other cloth but of fine linnen. Item, that ſuch Biſhops as were called up to the Apoſtolick See, returning home again, ſhould not be received at their return, unleſs they brought with them letters from the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſaluting the People. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be ſung this verſe, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabboth.* Where moreover it is to be noted, that the ſaid *Platina*, in the life of this *Xyſtus*, doth teſtifie that *Peter* miniſtred the celebration of the Communion only with the Lords *Prayer*. Theſe trifling ordinances of *Xyſtus*, who is ſo rude that ſeeth not, or may not eaſily conjecture to be falſly fathered of *Xyſtus*, or of any father of that time? Firſt by the uniform rudenſs and ſtile of all thoſe decretal letters, nothing favoring of that age, but rather of the later dunſtical times that followed; alſo by the matter and argument in thoſe letters contained nothing agreeing with the ſtate of thoſe troubleſome days. Neither again is it to be ſuppoſed, that any ſuch recourſe of Biſhops was then to the Apoſtolical See of *Rome*, that it was not lawful to return without their letters: when as the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians was then ſo hot, in the days of *Adrian*, that the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves were more glad to fly out of the City, than other Biſhops were to come to them unto *Rome*. And if *Xyſtus* added the *Sanctus* unto the maſs canon, what place then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after *Xyſtus*? And if they came after *Xyſtus* that added the reſt why did they ſet their pieces before his, ſeeing they that began the firſt piece of the canon, came after him?

Peter celebrated the Lords Supper only with the Lords Prayer. *Platina in vita Sixti.*

The ordinance of *Xyſtus* ſuſpected.

Teleſphorus Biſhop of *Rome* and martyr.

The ſame likewiſe is to be judged of the Epiſtles and ordinances of *Teleſphorus*, who ſucceeded next unto *Xyſtus*, and being Biſhop of that Congregation the term of eleven years, the firſt year of the Raign of *Antonius Pius*, died Martyr about the year of our Lord, one hundred thirty and eight. His Epiſtle, like unto the reſt, containing in it no great matter of Doctrine, hath theſe ordinances. Firſt, he commandeth all that were of the Clergy to faſt and abſtain from fleſh-eating ſeven week before *Eaſter*. That three Maſſes ſhould be ſaid upon the nativity day of the Lord. That no man ſhould accuſe either Biſhop or Prieſt. He ordained moreover, *Gloria in excelſis*, to be added to the Maſs, &c. But theſe things falſly to be feined upon him may eaſily be conjectured. For as touching the ſeven weeks faſt, neither doth it agree with the old *Roman* term commonly received, calling it *Quadrageſima*, that is, the forty days faſt: neither with the example of our Saviour, who faſted not ſeven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days faſt, we read of the ſame in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, which was long before *Teleſphorus*: whereby it may appear that this *Teleſphorus* was not the firſt inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of *Abdias* (but untruly as by many conjectures may be proved) there it is read, that in the days of S. *Matthew*, this Lent faſt of forty days was obſerved long before *Teleſphorus*, by theſe words that follow: In the days (ſaid he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful faſtings, he that abſtaineth not as well from eating meat as alſo from the mixture of Bodies, doth incure in ſo doing, not only pollution, but alſo committeth offence, which muſt be waſhed away with the teares of Repentance. Again, *Apollonius* affirmeth, that *Montanus* the Heretick was the firſt deviſer and bringer in of theſe laws of faſting into the Church, which before was uſed to be free, *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap.* 18. But eſpecially by *Socrates*, Writer of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory, who lived after the days of *Theodoſius*, it may be argued, that this ſeven weeks faſt is falſly imputed to *Teleſphorus*. For *Socrates* in his firſt Book, ſpeaking of this time, hath theſe words: *Romani namque tres ante paſcha ſeptimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas jejunant*, that is, The *Romans* (ſaith he) do faſt three weeks continually before *Eaſter*, beſide the Sabbath and *Sunday*. And moreover, ſpeaking of divers and ſundry faſtings of Lent in ſundry and divers Churches, he addeth theſe words: *And becauſe that no man can bring forth any Commandment written of this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the Apoſtles left this kind of faſt free to every mans will and judgment, leſt any ſhould be conſtrained by fear and neceſſity to do that which is good, &c.* With this of *Socrates* agree alſo the words of *Sozomenus*, living much about the ſame in his ſeventh Book, where he thus writeth: The whole faſt of Lent (ſaith he) ſome comprehend in ſix weeks, as do the *Illirians*, and weſt Churches, with all *Libia*, *Egypt* and *Paleſtina*: Some in ſeven weeks, as at *Conſtantinople*, and the parts bordering to *Pontica*: Other ſome in three weeks next before the day of *Eaſter*, and come again in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that *Teleſphorus* never ordained any ſuch faſt of ſeven weeks: Which otherwiſe never would have been neglected in *Rome*, and in the weſt Churches: Neither again would have been unremembred of theſe ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, if any ſuch thing had been. The like is to be thought alſo of the reſt, not only of his conſtitutions, but alſo of the other ancient Biſhops and Martyrs which followed after him, as of *Higinus* in the year of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who ſucceeding him and dying alſo a Martyr, as *Volaterranus*, *lib.* 22. declareth, is ſaid, or rather ſained to bring in the Cream, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptiſm, to ordain the dedication of Churches: When as in his time ſo far it was off, that any ſolemn Churches were ſtanding in *Rome*, that unneth the Chriſtians could ſafely convent in their own Houſes. Likewiſe the diſtinguiſhing the orders of *Metropolitans*, Biſhops and other degrees, favor nothing leſs than of that time.

The teſt. nance of *Teleſphorus* falſly taken aſcribed.

Higinus Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

After *Higinus* followed *Pius*, who, as *Platina* reporteth, was ſo preciſely devout about the holy Myſteries of the Lords Table, that if any one crum thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the Prieſt ſhould do penance forty days: If any fell upon the ſuper-altar, he ſhould do penance three days: If upon the linnen corporas cloath, four days: if upon any other linnen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the Blood (ſaith he) ſhould chance to be ſpilled, whereſoever it fell, it ſhould be licked up, if it were poſſible: If not, the place ſhould be waſhed or pared, and ſo being waſhed or pared, ſhould be burned and laid in the Veſtry. All which toyes may ſeem to a wiſe man more vain and trifling, than to favor of thoſe pure and ſtrict times of thoſe holy Martyrs. This *Pius* (as is reported) was much converſant with *Hermes*, called otherwiſe *Paſtor*. *Damaſus*, ſaith he, was his brother. But how is that like, that *Hermes* being the diſciple of *Paul*, or one of the three-core diſciples, could be the brother of this *Pius*? Of this *Hermes* and of the revelations, the aforeſaid *Pius* in his Epiſtle decretal (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that unto him appeared the Angel of God in the habit of a ſhepherd, commanding him that *Eaſter* day ſhould be celebrated of all men upon no other day, but on Sunday: Whereupon, ſaith the Epiſtle, *Pius* the Biſhop, by his authority Apoſtolical decreed and commanded the ſame to be obſerved of all men.

Ex Pio. *ann. Antiqu. lib.* 11. Cream Godfather and Godmother in Baptiſm.

Dedication of churches.

The danger of tarrying the holy myſteries fall from the Lords Table.

Ex Euſeb. *lib.* 4. *cap.* The Book of *Dionyſius Areopagita* a forgerie diſcovered.

The truth of limitation of *Pius*.

The decree falſifyed by *Pius*.

Then ſucceeded *Anicetus*, *Soter*, and *Eleutherius*, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourſcore. This *Eleutherius*, at the requeſt of *Lucius*, King of *Britain*, ſent to him *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, by whom the King was converted to Chriſts faith, and Baptized about the year of our Lord one hundred threeſcore and nineteen. *Nauclerus*, *lib. Cron. Gen.* 6. ſaith, it was in the year ours hundred fifty and ſix. *Henr. de Erfordia*, ſaith, it was in the year one hundred threeſcore and nine, in the nintteenth year of *Verus* the Emperor. Some ſay it was in the ſixth year of *Commodus*, which ſhould be about the year of our Lord one hundred fourſcore and five. *Timotheus* in his ſtory thinketh, that *Eleutherius* came himſelf: But that is not like. And as there is a variance among the Writers for the count of years, ſo doth there riſe a queſtion among ſome, whether *Eleutherius* was the firſt that brought the faith from *Rome* into this Land or not. *Nicephorus*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. ſaith that *Simon Zeletes* came into *Britain*. Some other allege out of *Gildas de Victoria*, *Aurel. Ambroſio*. that *Joſeph* of *Arimathy*, after the diſperſion of the *Jews*, was ſent by *Philip* the Apoſtle from *France* to *Britain*, about the year of our Lord threeſcore and three, and here remaineth in this Land all his time, and ſo with his fellows, laid the firſt foundation of Chriſtian faith among the *Britain* people. Whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the ſame, and increaſed it more. And therefore doth *Petrus Clunacenſis* call the Scotiſhmen, and ſo doth count them as more ancient Chriſtians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the Teſtimony of *Origen*, of *Tertullian*, and the words alſo of the letter of *Eleutherius*, which import no leſs but that the Chriſt was here in *England* among the *Britain* people, before *Eleutherius* time, and before the King was converted:

Antonius Biſhop of *Rome* and martyr. *Soter* Biſhop. *Eleutherius* Biſhop. *Lucius* converted to the faith of Chriſt.

But

But hereof more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter (Chriſt willing) when after the tractation of theſe Ten Perſecutions, we ſhall enter into the matter of our *Engliſh* ſtories.

About this time of *Commodus* afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous Teachers whom God ſtirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raiſe up ſome) in his Church, to confound the Perſecutors by Learning and Writing, as the Martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was *Seraphion* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Egeſippus* a Writer of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from Chriſts Paſſion to his time, as witneſſeth *Hierome* and *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. & 22. which Books of his be now remaining: and thoſe that be remaining (which be five *De excidio Hieroſol.*) be not mentioned, neither of *Hierome*, *Euſebius*, nor of *Miltiades*, which alſo wrote his Apology in defence of Chriſtian Religion, as did *Melito*, *Quadratus*, and *Ariſtides* before mentioned. About the ſame time alſo wrote *Heraclitus*, who firſt began to write *Annotations* and *Enarrations* upon the *New Teſtament*, and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. Alſo *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, a man famoully learned, which wrote divers Epiſtles to divers Churches, and among others written, exhorting *Penitire*, a certain Biſhop, *Ne grave ferrumdat cattitatis onus neceſſario ſtatribus imponat, ſed multorum ſoſe imbecillitati attemperet*; that is, That he would lay no yoke of Chaſtity of any neceſſity upon his Brethren; but that he would conſider the infirmity of others, and bear with it. *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23. Moreover, the ſaid *Dionyſius* in his Epiſtles writing of *Dionyſius Areopagita*, declareth of him how that he was firſt converted to the Chriſtian Faith by Saint *Paul*, according as in the *Acts* is recorded, and afterward was made the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*, but maketh there no mention of his Book *De Hierarchia*. Whereby it may eaſily appear, what is to be judged of that Book. Furthermore, by the Epiſtles of the ſaid *Dionyſius* of *Corinth*, this we have to underſtand, to be the uſe at that time in Churches, to read the Letters and Epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned Biſhops and Teachers unto the Congregations, as may appear by theſe words of *Dionyſius*, who writing to the Church of the *Romans*, and to *Soter*, ſaith, *This day we celebrate the holy Dominical-day, in which we have read your Epiſtle, which always we will read for our Exhortation's like as we do read alſo the Epiſtle of* Clement *ſent to us before, &c. Euſebius ibid.* Where alſo mention is made of keeping of *Sunday* holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient Authors, before his time, except only in *Juſtinus* Martyr, who in his Deſcription declareth two times moſt eſpecially uſed for Chriſtian men to congregate together: firſt, when any Convert was to be baptized, the ſecond was upon the *Sunday*, which was wont for two cauſes then to be hallowed: firſt, becauſe (ſaith he) upon that day God made the World: ſecondly, becauſe that Chriſt upon that day firſt ſhewed himſelf, after his Reſurrection, to his Diſciples, &c.

Ex Niceph. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. *Gildas de victor. Aurel. Ambr.* That this land of Britain received the Goſpel before King Lucius days.

Celebration of the Sun-day.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

'Over and beſide theſe above named, about the days of *Commodus*, wrote alſo *Clemens Alexandrinus*, a man of notable and ſingular Learning, whoſe Books, although for a great part be loſt, yet certain of them yet remain, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the Books and Goſpels of the *New Teſtament*, &c.

The Goſpel of S. *Matthew* kept in Hebrew.

The time time moreover lived *Pantenus*, which was the firſt in *Alexandria*, that profeſſed an open School to read, of whom is thought firſt to proceed the order and manner among the *Chriſtians* to read and profeſs in Univerſities. This *Pantenus* for his excellency of Learning, was ſent by *Demetrius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to Preach to the *Indians*, where he found the Goſpel of S. *Matthew* written in *Hebrew*, left there by S. *Bartholomew*, which Book afterward he brought with him from thence to the Library of *Alexandria*.

Difference about the Ceremony of *Eaſter*.

During all the Reign of *Commodus*, God granted reſt and tranquility, although not without ſome bloodſhed of certain holy Martyrs, as is above declared unto his Church. In the which time of tranquility, the *Chriſtians* having now ſome leiſure from the foreign Enemy, began to have a little contention among themſelves about the Ceremony of *Eaſter*: which contention albeit of long time before had been ſtirring in the Church, as is before mentioned of *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus*: yet the variance and difference of that Ceremony brought no breath of Chriſtian concord and ſociety among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed ſo far, but that the bond of Love, and Communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the Ceremony of the day. For they of the *Weſt* Church pretending the tradition of *Paul* and *Peter*, but indeed being the tradition of *Hermes* and of *Pius*, kept one day, which was upon the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the firſt month. The Church of *Aſia*, following the Ordinance of *John* the Diſciple, obſerved another, as more ſhall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth Perſcution, let this hitherto ſuffice.

The fifth Perſecution.

Severus Emperor. Anno 195. The fifth Perſecution

After the death of *Commodus* reigned *Pertinax* but few months, after whom ſucceeded *Severus*, under whom was raiſed the fifth Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtian* Saints: who reigning the term of eighteen years, the firſt ten years of the ſame was very favourable and courteous to the *Chriſtians*: afterward through ſiniſter Suggeſtions and malicious Accuſations of the malignant, was ſo incenſed againſt them, that by Proclamations he commanded no *Chriſtians* any more to be ſuffered. Thus the rage of the Emperor being inflamed againſt them, great Perſecution was ſtirred up on every ſide, whereby an infinite number of Martyrs were ſlain, as *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred and five. The Crimes and falſe Accuſations objected againſt the *Chriſtians*, are partly touched before; as Sedition and Rebellion againſt the Emperor, Sacrilledge, murthering of Infants, inceſtuous Pollution, eating raw Fleſh, Libidinous Commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then *Gnoſtici*, were infamed. *Item*, it was objected againſt them for worſhipping the head of an *Aſs*: which whereof it ſhould riſe, I find no certain cauſe, except it were, perhaps, by the *Jews*. Alſo they were charged for worſhipping the *Sun*, for that peradventure before the Sun did riſe, they convented together, ſinging their morning Hymns unto the Lord, or elſe becauſe they prayed toward the *Eaſt*; but eſpecially for that they would not with them worſhip their Idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

Ex Euſeb. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 2. Anno 205. The falſe Accuſations againſt the Chriſtians.

The Captains and Miniſters of this Perſecution. Ex Tertul. *ad capulam.*

The Captains and Preſidents of this Perſecution under the Emperor were *Hilerianus*, *Vigellius*, *Claudius*, *Hermianus* Ruler of *Cappadocia*, *Cecilius*, *Capella*, *Veſpronius*, alſo *Demetrius* mentioned of *Cyprian*, and *Aquila* Judge of *Alexandria*, of whom Euſeb. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 5. maketh relation.

Leonides Father of *Origen* that was Martyred.

The place where the force of this Perſecution moſt raged, were *Africa*, *Alexandria*, *Cappadocia* and *Carthage*. The number of them that ſuffered in this Perſecution, by the report of the *Eccleſiaſtical ſtory*, was innumerable. Of whom the firſt was *Leonides* the Father of *Origen*, who was beheaded: with whom alſo *Origen* his Son, being of the age then of Seventeen years, ſhould have ſuffered (ſuch a fervent deſire he had to be martyred for Chriſt) had not his Mother privily in the night ſeaſon conveyed away his Clothes and his ſhirt. Whereupon more for ſhame to be ſeen, than for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home: and when he could do nothing elſe, yet he writeth to his Father a Letter with theſe words, *Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliter quam Marcyris conſentiatur faciendi propoſitum cogites*; that is, Take heed to your ſelf, that you turn not your thought and purpoſe for our ſake, &c. Such a fervency had this *Origen*, being yet young, to the Doctrine of Chriſts Faith, by the operation of Gods heavenly Providence, and partly alſo by the diligent Education of his Father, who brought him up from his Youth moſt ſtudiouſly in all good Literature, but eſpecially in the reading and exerciſe of holy Scripture, wherein he had ſuch inward and myſtical Speculation, that many times he would move queſtions to his Father of the meaning of this place or that place in the Scripture. Inſomuch that his Father divers times would uncover his breaſt being aſleep, and kiſs it, giving thanks to God which had made him ſo happy a Father of ſuch a happy Child. After the death of his Father, and all his Goods confiſcated to the Emperor, he with his poor Mother, and ſix Brethren were brought to ſuch extream Poverty, that he did ſuſtain both himſelf and them by teaching a School:

Origen kept from Martyrdom by his Mother

Ex Euſeb. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 3. *Origen commended.*

all

till at length, being weary of the Profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and seeking of Divine Scripture, and such other learning conducible to the same. So much he profited both in the *Hebrew* and other Tongues, that he conferred the *Hebrew* Text with the translation of the threescore: and moreover did confer and find out the other translations which we call the common translation of *Aquila*, of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*. Also he adjoyned to these aforesaid other four translations, whereof more is in the story of *Eusebius* expressed.

They that write of the life of *Origen*, testifie of him that he was of wit quick and sharp, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the Tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great lover of his teaching and his living were both one: his going was much barefoot: a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, *Bidding to have but one Coat, &c.* He is said to have written so much as seven *Notaries*, and so many Maids every day could pen. The number of his Books, by the account of *Hierome*, came to seven thousand Volumns, the Copies whereof he used to sell for three pence, or a little more, for the sustentation of his living. But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christs Martyrs, that he nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and less them, insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes by the provition of Christian men had his house guarded about with Souldiers, for the safety of them which daily reforted to hear his Readings. And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the Providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of *Severus*. Among others which reforted unto him, and were his Hearers, *Plutarchus* was one, and died a Martyr; and with him *Serenus* his Brother, who was burned. The third after these was *Heraclides*, and fourth *Heron*, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another *Serenus*, also beheaded, *Rhais* and *Potamiena* who was tormented with Pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her Mother *Marcella*, who died also in the fire. This *Potamiena* was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who because she could not be removed from her Profession, was committed to *Basilides* one of the Captains there in the Army, to see the execution done. *Basilides* receiving her at the Judges hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some Compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked Adversaries: for the which *Potamiena* the Virgin, to requite again his kindness, had him be of good comfort, saying, *That she would pray the Lord to shew mercy upon him*, and so were the to her Martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Plutarchus, Scholar of *Origen* and *Serenus* his Brother, martyred. *Heraclides*, *Heron*, *Rhais*, *Potamiena*, *Marcella*, Scholars of *Origen* and Martyrs.

Basilides of a Perfecutor made a Martyr.

Not long after it happened that *Basilides* was required to give an Oath in a matter concerning his fellow Souldiers, which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming that he was a *Christian*: for their Oath then was wont to be by the Idols and the Emperor. At the first he was thought diffemblingly to jeft, but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest, to confirm the fame, he was had before the Judge, and so by him committed to Ward. The *Christians* marveling thereat, as they came to him in the Prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden Convertion. To whom he answered again; and said, That *Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and so he Saw a Crown put upon his head*; adding moreover, *That it should not be long but he should be received.* Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of Execution, and there beheaded, *Euseb. lib. 6. cap.* 5. Albeit the said *Eusebius* giveth this story of no credit, but only of hear-fay, as he there expresseth.

Eu. Eusb. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Alexander Confessor and Bishop of *Jerusalem*. The notable age of *Narcissus*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this *Severus*, so some there were again, which through the Protection of God his Providence being put to great torments, yet escaped with life: Of whom was one *Alexander*, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made Bishop afterward of *Hierusalem*, together with *Narcissus*: who being then an old man of an hundred and threescore years and three, as saith *Eusebius*, was unwekly for his age to govern that Function alone.

Of this *Narcissus* it is reported in the *Ecclesiastical History*, that certain Miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. First, of Water by him turned into Oil, at the solemn Vigil of *Easter*, what time the Congregation wanted Oil for their Lamps. Another Miracle is allo told of him, which is this, There were three evil disposed persons, who seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his vertuous life, and fearing their own punishment, as a Conscience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his Accusations, in accusing him first, and laying an hainous Crime unto his Charge. And to make their Accusation more probable before the people, they bound their Accusation with a great Oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes if they did lie. *Narcissus*, although having his Conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their Accusation, bound with such Oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary Desart by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forsware themselves, this happened: The first, by calnality of one little small sparkle of fire, was burnt with his Goods and all his Family. The second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes; and thus was their false Perjury punished. *Narcissus*, after long absence returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the Fact, and received into his Bishoprick again: to whom as is said, for impotency of his age, *Alexander* was joyned in execution of the Function. *Eusebius*, *Histor. Eccles. lib. 6. cap.* 10. Of this *Alexander* is recorded in the said *Ecclesiastical History*, that after his Agonies and constancy of his Confession shewed in the perfecution of *Severus*, he was admonished by a Vision in the night season to make his journey up to *Jerusalem* and *Palestina* (for that place remained free from this Persecution) to see there the Congregation, and to pray. Thus he taking his Journey, and drawing near to the City, a Vision with plain words was given to certain chief Heads of *Jerusalem*, to go out of the Gate of the City, there to receive the Bishop appointed to them of God. And so was *Alexander* met and received, and joyned Partner with aged *Narcissus*, as is before expressed, in the City of *Jerusalem*, where he continued Bishop above forty years, until the Persecution of *Decius*, and there erected a famous Library, where *Eusebius* had his chiefest help in writing his *Ecclesiastical History*. He wrote also divers Epistles to divers Churches, and licensed *Origen* openly to teach his Church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea* before the Judge under *Decius*, where after his constant Confession the second time, he was committed to Prison, and there died.

A miracle of water turned into oil. *Ex Eusb. lib. 6. cap. 9.*

A terrible Example of perjury punished.

Nerviſſus and *Alexander* joyned together in one Bishoprick.

Alexander ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* by Gods direction. *Ex Eusb. lib. 6. in 11.*

Besides these that suffered in this Persecution of *Severus*, recited of *Eusebius*, *Vincentius* also, *Lib. 11. cap. 6. ex Martyrologio*, speaketh of one *Andoclus*, whom *Polycarpus* before had sent into *France*: which *Andoclus*, because he had spread there the Doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of *Severus*, and first beaten with Staves and Bats, and after was beheaded.

The Apology of Tertullian for ſending the Christians.

The controversy and death of *Alexander* Bishop.

Andoclus Martyr.

To these above named, may also be added *Asclepiades*, who, although he was not put to death in this Persecution of *Severus*, yet constantly he did abide the Trial of his Confession, and suffered much for the same, as *Alexander* before mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward he was ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, where he continued the space of seven years, of whom *Alexander* writes unto the Church of *Antioch* out of Prison, much rejoycing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their Bishop.

Asclepiades Bishop of *Antioch* and Confeſſor.

About the same time, during the Reign of *Severus*, died *Ireneus*, *Henr. de Erfordia*, *Ado*, and other Martyr-Writers do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the Confession and Doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of *Severus*. This *Irenæus*, as he was a greater Writer, so was he greatly commended of *Tertullian* for his Learning, whom he calleth *Omnium Doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem*. A great Searcher of all kind of Learning. He was first Scholar and Hearer of *Polycarpus*, from thence either was sent, or came to *France*, and there by *Plotinus*, and

Irenæus Bishop of *Lions* and Martyr.

and the rest of the Martyrs, was instituted into the Ministry, and commended by their Letter to *Eleutherius* as is before premonished. At length, after the Martyrdom of *Photinus*, he was appointed Bishop of *Lions*, where he continued about the space of three and twenty years. In the time of this *Ireneus* the state of the Church was much troubled, not only for the outward Persecution of the foreign enemy, but also for divers Sects and Errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few Books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and sought to set agreement when any controversie rose in the Church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the *Easter* day was renewed in the Church between *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, and the Churches of *Asia*, and when *Victor* would have excommunicated them as Schismaticks, for disagreeing from him therein: *Ireneus*, with other brethren of the *French* Church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convented themselves together in a common Council, and directing their Letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto *Victor*, intreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday *Easter* as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient Custom of their Country manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other Letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of *Victor* to be of no force.

Tertullian Ecclesiaſtical Writer.

Not long after *Ireneus* followed also *Tertullian* about the time of this *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla* his Son, a Man both in *Greek* and *Latine* well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his Books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testify no less. To whom *Vincentius Lirinensis* giveth such praise, that he calleth him *the flower of all Latine Writers*: and of the eloquence of his stile he thus writeth, *that with the force of his reasons*, he saith, *whom he could not perswade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories he had, &c.*

Such men of doing and writing God raised up from time to time, as pillars and staies for his poor Church, as he did this *Tertullian* in these dangerous days of Persecution. For when the Christians were vexed with wrongs, and fally accused of the Gentiles, *Tertullian* taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the Persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they never minded any stir or rebellion, either against the Empire or Emperors of *Rome*: for so much as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their Emperors and Governors. And whereas they were accused fally to be enemies of all Mankind, *how could that be* (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula*) *seeing the proper office of the Christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, when as all other do love but only their friends, and scarcely them?* As touching the horrible slander of murthering Infants, *how can that be true in the Christians* (saith he) *whose order is to abstain from all blood and strangled; insomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beast at their Tables when they feed? from filthy copulation no sort more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greatest observers of chastity, of whom, such as may, live in perpetual virginity all their lives such as cannot contract Matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication.* Neither can it be proved that the Christians do worship the Sun: which false surmise *Tertullian* declareth to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the East. Much less was there any of them so mad as to worship an Asses head; whereof the occasion being taken only of the *Jews*, the slander thereof therefore he proveth to be fally and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

Tertullians Apologeticus.

The occaſion hereof, beſides came of the Jews worſhipping the law of Moſes in the ſtory of Joſephus.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders objected of the Heathen against the Christians, the said *Tertullian* purgeth the Christians, declaring them fally to be belied, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any defect of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same Persecutions, he proveth in the same Apology, the Religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. *The more* (saith he) *we are mown down of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is Seed. For what man* (saith he) *in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is apologetics. the cause? And when hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus* (saith he) *this Sect will never die, which the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man seeing and wondring at the sufferance of the Saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it, and finding he followeth it.* Tertullian in eodem Apolog.

Thus *Tertullian*, in this dangerous time of Persecution, being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the Church he compiled many fruitful works, whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous vertues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his Doctrine, as were before both of *Origen* and *Irenæus*, and likewise of them, were they never so excellent that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were a long matter for this story to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the Reader, never to look for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular soever he be (Christ only excepted) but some blemish or other joyneth it self withal, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to *Cyprian*.

The errors and imperfections in learned men noted.

Victor Bishop of *Rome* reported of some to die a Martyr.

And now, to return again to the order of Bishops of *Rome* intermitted: After *Eleutherius* afore mentioned, next in the Bishoprick of *Rome* succeed *Victor*, who, as *Platina* saith, died quietly in the days of *Severus*. But *Damasus supplem. lib.* 8. and such as do follow the common Chronicles, affirm that he died a Martyr, after he had fitten ten (or as some say twelve) years. This *Victor* was a great stirrer (as partly before is lignified) in the controverse and contention of *Easter* day, for the which he would have proceeded in Excommunication against the Churches of *Asia*, had not *Ireneus*, then Bishop of *Lions*, with the counsel of other his brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that controverse of *Easter* in those days of the Primitive Church, the original thereof was this, as *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Platina*, and others record. First, certain it is, that the Apostles, being only intentive and attendant to the Doctrine of Salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the Church to any Ceremonies and Rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, as strangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the History before. For when the murthering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the Heathen Persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to resel the adversary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all mens blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the Church, so long as the cause, that is, the Persecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Besides these, we read of no other Ceremonies or Rites, which the Apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others: of all these things neither was the diverlity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. In so much that *Ireneus* writing to *Victor* of the tradition of days, and of fastings, and of the diverlity of these things then used among the Primitive fathers, saith: *Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt & retinemus etiamnum, & festivis dissonantia fides concordiam commendat, &c.* that is, *Notwithstanding all this variety, all that kept peace among themselves, and yet we keep it still, and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the con-*

The Church diſcuſſed why the Holy Ghoſt forbad blood and ſtrangled to the Primitive Church.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 26. The doctrine of Chriſtian liberty in outward uſages.

cord of faith. And so long did the Doctrine of Christian Liberty remain whole and sound in the Church till the time of *Victor*, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the days of *Pius* and *Anicetus*, about the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, to be mistliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of *Victor*. And yet neither did the violence of *Victor* take such place, but that the Doctrine of Christian Liberty was defended and maintained by means of *Irenæus* and others, and so continued in the Church till after the Council of *Nice*. And thus much concerning the Doctrine of Christian liberty, and of the differences of Rites and Ceremonies.

{Anno 200.}

Now to return to *Victor* again, to shew what diversity there was in observing the day of *Easter*, and how it came, thus is the story. First, in the time of *Pius* and *Anicetus* in the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, the question of *Easter day* began first to be moved, at what time *Pius*, by the revelation of *Hermes*, decreed the observation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the Moon in the first Moneth unto the next Sunday after. After him came *Anicetus*, *Soter* and *Eleutherius* Bishops of *Rome*, which also determined the same. Against these stood *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Polycarpus*, and as some think, *Egesippus*, with other learned men of *Asia*. Which *Polycarpus*, being sent by the brethren of *Asia*, came to *Rome* as is aforesaid, to confer with *Anicetus* in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of *Easter* day remained *adiaphoron*, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of *Victor*; who following after *Anicetus* and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue the Churches of *Asia* unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all those Bishops and Churches of *Asia*, as Hereticks and Schismaticks, which disagreed from the *Roman* order: had not *Irenæus* otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the year of our Lord one hundred fourscore and eleven, in the Reign of *Commodus*. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as Hereticks and Schismaticks, which dissented from the Bishop and tradition of *Rome*.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

Polycarpus and *Anicetus* disagree for in controversie, yet agreed in charity.

Uniformity in ceremonies not to be required as a thing necessary.

With *Victor* stood *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*, *Irenæus* of *Lions*, *Palmas* of *Pontus*, *Bacchillus* of *Corinth*, the Bishop of *Ostroena*, and others more. All which condescended to have the celebration of *Easter* upon the Sunday, because they would differ from the *Jews* in all things as near as they might, and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

Polycrates Bishop of *Ephesus*.

On the contrary side, divers Bishops were in *Asia*, of whom the principal was *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who being assembled with a great multitude of Bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote again to *Victor*, and to the Church of *Rome*, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning observed that day, according to the rule of Scripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same: alledging moreover for them the examples of the Apostles and holy Fathers their Predecessors, as *Philip* the Apostle, with his three daughters at *Hierapolis*; Also *John* the Apostle and Evangelist at *Ephesus*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, *Thrasæas* at *Eumenia* Bishop and Martyr; likewise of *Sagaris* at *Laodicea* Bishop and Martyr; holy *Papirius* and *Melito* at *Sardis*. Beside these, Bishops also of his own kindred, and his own ancestors, to the number of seven which all were Bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which observed (saith he) the solemnity of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we do now.

Bishops in those days married.

Victor excommunicating the Churches of *Asia*.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth against them (more bold upon authority, than wise in his commission) violent excommunication, albeit by the wise handling of *Irenæus*, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and *Victor* otherwise persuaded. What the perswasions of *Irenæus* were, partly may appear in *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.* the sum whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of Ceremonies is no strange matter in the Church of

Irenæus to *Victor*.

Christ, when as this variety is not only in the day of *Easter*, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other usages among the Christians. For some fast one day, some two days, some others fast more. Others there be, which counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full days fast. And this so divers fashion of fasting in the Church of Christ began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet notwithstanding, they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we; neither doth this difference of Ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the Fathers, of *Telesphorus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, *Eleutherius*, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept Christian Charity with such as came to communicate with them, not observing the same form of things which they observed, as well appeared by *Polycarpus* and *Aniceetus*, which although they agreed not in one uniform custom of Rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controversie being taken up between *Irenæus* and *Victor*, remained free to the time of the *Nicene* Council. *Hæc ex Irenæo Eusebius*. And thus much concerning the controversie of that matter, and concerning the doings of *Victor*.

Diversity of Ceremonies in the primitive Church commended.

After *Victor* succeeded in the See of *Rome*, *Zephirinus*, in the days of the foresaid *Severus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred and three. To this *Zephirinus* be ascribed two Epistles, in the first Tome of the Councils. But as I have said before of the Decretal Epistles of other *Roman* Bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the stile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time doth otherwise give to think of these Letters, but that they be verily bastard Letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by some, which, to set up the Primacy of *Rome*, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient Fathers, to deceive the simple Church. For who is so rude, but that in considering only the state of those terrible times he may easily understand (except affection blind him) beside a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor persecuted Bishops in that time would have been glad to have any safe convert to put their heads in: so far was it off, that they had any luft or leisure then to seek for any Primacy or Patriarkship, or to drive all other Churches to appeal to the See of *Rome*, or to exempt all Priests from the accusation of any Lay-man; as in the first Epistle of *Zephirinus* is to be seen, written to the Bishops of *Sicilia*: and likewise the second Epistle of his to the Bishops of the Province of *Egypt*, containing no manner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no less, but the said Epistles neither to favour of that man, nor to taste of that time.

Zephirinus Bishop of Rome.

The Epistles and Ordinance of *Zephirinus*, suspected to be counterfeit.

The first Epistle of *Zephirinus* to the Bishops of Sicile.

A prodigious belly-God.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patins of glass, which *Damasus* saith that the same *Zephirinus* ordained to be carried before the Priest at the celebration of the Mass. Again *Platina* writeth that he ordained the administration of the Sacrament to be no more used in vessels of Wood, or of Glass, or of any other Metal, except only Silver, Gold and Tin, &c. But how these two testimonies of *Damasus* and *Platina* joyn together, let the Reader judge: especially, seeing the same Decree is referred to *Urbanus* that came after him. Again, what needed this Decree of Golden Chalices to be established afterward in the Council of *Tiber* and *Rome*, if it had been enacted before by *Zephirinus*? How long this *Zephirinus* late, our Writers do vary. *Eusebius* saith, he died in the Reign of *Caracalla*, and late fourteen years. *Platina* writeth that he died under *Severus*, and fat eight years, and so saith also *Nauclerus*. *Damasus* affirmeth that he sat sixteen years and two moneths.

Patins of glass how to be used before the Priest.

The Ordinances of *Zephirinus* of small credit.

Golden Chalices. *Concilium Tiburum*, *Rhemis*.

Matheus Author of the Story intituled *Flores historiarum*, with other later Chronicles, maketh mention of *Perpetua*, and *Felicita*, and *Revocatus* her brother, also of *Saturninus* and *Satyrus* brethren, and *Secundulus*, which in the Persecution of this *Severus* gave over their lives to Martyrdom for Christ, being thrown to Wild beasts, and devoured of the same in *Carthage* and in *Africk*, save that *Saturninus* brought again from the beasts was beheaded, and *Secundulus* died in Prison about the year of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth *Florilegus*.

Ex Florilg. *Perpetua*, *Felicitas*, *Revocatus*, *Saturninus*, *Satyrus*, *Secundulus*, Martyrs.

This

Severus warreth in *Britain*.

A wall 80 miles long made by *Severus* and builded one hundred thirty and two miles in length, betwixt the Picts and the Scots.

{Anno 205.} *Severus* the Persecutor fain at York.

{Anno 215.} *Bassianus* Emperor. *Macrinus* with his son *Diadumenus* Emperor.

{Anno 219.}

This *Severus* the Persecutor reigned, as the most part of Writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who about the later time of his Reign came with his Army hither into *Britain*, where after many conflicts had with the *Britains*, in the borders of the North, he cast up a Ditch with a mighty Wall made of earth and turfs, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles from the one side of the Sea to the other, beginning at *Time*, and reaching to the *Scotish* Sea: which done, he removed to *York*, and there by the breaking in of the Northern men and *Scots*, was besieged and slain, about the year of our Lord two hundred and fourteen, leaving behind him two sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*. Which *Bassianus*, surnamed *Caracalla*, after he had slain his brother *Geta* here in *Britain*, governed the Empire alone, the space of six years. After whose death, he being slain also of his servants (as he had slain his Brother before) succeeded *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus*, to be Emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain of their own people.

The monstrous life of *Heliogabalus* Emperor.

After them followed *Varius Heliogabalus* in the Empire, rather to be called a Monster than a Man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaudry. Such was his pomp, that in his Lamps he used Balm, and filled his Fish-ponds with Rose water. To let pass his sumptuous Vestures which he would not wear but only of Gold, and most costly silks; his shooes glittering with precious Stones finely ingraved, he was never two days served with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickedness, some days his company was served at Meal with the Brains of Ostriches, and a strange Fowl called *Phenocoptery*, another day with the tongues of *Popingays*, and other sweet singing Birds. Being nigh to the Sea, he never used Fish: in places far distant from the Sea, all his house was served with most delicate Fishes: at one Supper he was served with seven thousand Fishes, and five thousand Fowls. At his removing in his progress, often there followed him six hundred Chariots laden only with Bawds, common Harlots and Ribauds. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the common Weal most light Personages, as Bawds, Minstrels, Carters, and such like: in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Astronomers, that he should die a violent death, he provided Ropes of Silk to hang himself, Swords of Gold to kill himself, and strong Poyson in Jacinths and Emrods to poyson himself, if needs he must thereto be forced; moreover, he made an high Tower, having the Floor of Boards covered with Gold Plate, bordered with precious Stones, from the which Tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain of the Soldiers, drawn through the City, and cast into *Tiber*, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesseth *Eutropius*, others say four years.

Heliogabalus slain of his Soldiers. *Ex Eutrop.*

Alexander Severus Emperor. {Anno 224.}

This *Heliogabalus*, having no issue, adopted to his Son and Heir *Aurelius Alexander Severus*, the Son of *Mammea*, who entring his Reign the year of our Lord one hundred twenty and four, continued thirteen years, well commended for vertuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himself, through the diligent education of *Mammea* his Mother, so he was a great favourer of men wise and learned. Neither did he any thing in the Commonweal, without the affiance of learned and sage Counsellors. It is reported of him to bear such stomach against corrupt Judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would cast up choler, being so moved with them that he could not speak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his Court he dismissed all superfluous and unneedful servants, saying, that he was no good Pupil, which fed idle servants with the bowels of his Commonweal.

Against corrupt Judges. The saying of *Alexander* to be noted and followed. His revenues cast up the bounds of the Commonweal.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the Christians had occupied a certain publick place in some good use, belike for the assembling and conventing together of the Congregation; the company of the Cooks or Tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the Emperor, he judged it more honest, the place to be continued to the worship of God, howsoever it were, than the dirty flubbering of Cooks and Scullions.

It was not worthy to be married.

By this it may be understood, that in *Rome* no Christian Churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this favour of the Emperor,) no publick house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that by the reason hereof may appear the Decretal Epistle and Ordinance of Pope *Higinus* concerning the Dedication of Churches above mentioned to be falsified. And likewise the Ordinance of *Pius* his successor, concerning the Altar, or *Superaltare* to be also false. For what *Superaltare* was it like they had in the time of *Higinus* and *Pius*, when at this time, which was long after, no publick place almost could be granted them for the Christians to assemble together.

Platina in vita Pontificum.

Of this *Alexander Platina* writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringeth in a story of one *Turinus*, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was of great authority with the Emperor, and that he could help them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the Emperor being certified, caused him in the open Market to be fathned to a Stake, and there killed with smoke, where with the Crier stood thus crying to the People, *Smoke be sold, and with smoke he is punished.*

Punished with smoke that sold smoke.

Mammea the Mother of this *Alexander* above mentioned (whom *Hierome* calleth a devout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of *Origen*, being then at *Alexandria*, sent for him to *Antioch*, desirous to hear and see him: unto whom the foresaid *Origen* according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the Emperor and his Mother, returned again to *Alexandria*.

Mammea the Mother of the Emperor.

And thus continued this good Emperor his Reign the space of 13 years: at length at a commotion in *Germany*, with his Mother *Mammea* he was slain. After whom succeeded *Maximinus*, contrary to the mind of the Senate, only appointed by the Souldiers to be Emperor. During all this time between *Severus* and this *Maximinus*, the Church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquility from Persecution. Albeit some Martyrs there were of this time that suffered, whereof *Nauclerus* giveth this reason: *For although* (saith he) *Alexander being perswaded through the intreating of his Mother* Mammea, *did favour the Christians*: yet notwithstanding, there was no publick Edict or Proclamation provided for their safeguard. By reason whereof, divers there were which suffered Martyrdom under *Almachius* and other Judges. In the number of whom, after some Stories, was *Calixtus* Bishop of *Rome*, who succeeded next unto *Zephirinus* above mentioned; and after him *Urbanus* also, which both being Bishops of *Rome*, did both suffer, by the opinion of some Writers, under *Alexander Severus*.

Ex Nauclero.

Calixtus Bishop of Rome and Martyr.

This *Calixtus* in his two Decretal Epistles, written to *Benedictus* and to the Bishops of *France*, giveth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations against the Prelats or Teachers of the Church should be received, that no secret conspiracies should be made against Bishops: *Item*, no man to communicate with perfons excommunicate: also no Bishop to excommunicate or to deal in anothers Diocess. And here he expoundeth the Diocess, or the Parish of any Bishop or Minister to be his Wife. *The wife* (saith the Apostle) *is bound to the law, as long as the husband liveth; when he is dead, she is free from the law: So* (saith *Calixtus*) *the wife of a Bishop (which is his Church) so long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man, without his will and judgment: after his death she is free from the law, so marry to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is regulariter, regularly.* In the end of the said his Epistle Decretal, he confuteth the error of them which hold, *that they which are fallen are not to be received again.* Which Heresie, after the time of *Calixtus* or *Calistus*, came in first by *Novatus*, in the days of *Cornelius*. Moreover, in his said first Epistle Decretal is contained the fast of the four times, commonly called the *Ember* fast, whereof also *Marianus Scotus* maketh mention. But *Damasus* speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of Corn, Wine and Oyl.

The decretal Epistles of *Calixtus* examined.

The place of St. Paul unfitly expounded.

Ember Fast first ordained.

institutions to those holy Fathers. For first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their Bishops, when we never read or find in any story any kind of variance in those days among them, but all love, mutual compassion, and hearty communion among the Saints? And as we read of no variance among the people in those days, nor of any fault or backsliding among the Bishops, who for the most part then died all constant Martyrs: so neither do we read of any Tribunal Seat or Consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those bulie days, he shall see the poor flock of the Christians so occupied and pitiously oppressed by the cruel accusations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cause did, yet the time would not serve them to commence any Law against their Bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against Bishops, What conspiracy either would they then practice against them, which always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true Christian man durst once put his head out of his doors? neither was there in the Church any Christian man in those perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspirares. And when as all the World almost in all places conspired against them: what time, what cause, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that Heresie, how standeth the confutation with the time of *Calixtus*, when *Novatus* the Author of that Heresie was after him in the time of *Cornelius*? Fourthly, if by the law of *Calixtus*, every Diocese be the proper Wife of every Bishop or Minister, then how many Bishops Wives, and Parsons Wives, had the adulterous Pope of *Rome* defloured in these later days of the Church, which so proudly and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleasure, and his own profit, in every Diocese and Parish almost through all *Christendom*, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled still, whereso ever the Popes holiness cometh, *Vigilante*

Against the decretal epistles and constitutions.

stertere naso, and to give him leave unasked to do what he list? Whereforе if this Canon Decretal be truly his, why is it not observed, so as it doth stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsly forged upon him, and the Church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the Church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I think, the Church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed, before these Decretal Constitutions and Epistles, which have so long put on the Visor of Antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were first painted.

And yet neither do I say this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that Bishops of *Rome* and of the same name have been the true authors of these traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly suppose) that when other later Bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers, although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof. But of *Calixtus* enough: who, as *Damasus* saith, in the days of this *Alexander Severus* died a Martyr. *Vincentius* affirmeth, that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a Window was thrown into a ditch. *Eusebius*, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdom, and saith he fate five years, *Platina* saith six years, *Sabellicus* giveth him seven years, and so doth *Damasus*.

Calixtus a Martyr. Ex Vincen. in spec. hist. Ex Anton. tit. 7. cap. 6.

Urbanus Bishop of Rome. {Anno 227.}

After *Calixtus* followed *Urbanus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred twenty seven, who in his Epistle Decretal (coming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all Bishops, making no mention of the heavy Persecutions of the Church, nor minifiring any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethren, only giveth many strict precepts, for not transporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: also to have all common among the Clergy. Moreover, about the end of his Epistle he instituteth the confirmation of Children after Baptism (which the *Papists* be wont to take into the number of their seven Sacraments;) affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that

Confirmation of Children instituted.

the imposition of the Bishops hand bringeth the Holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, *&c.* But of these Decretal Epistles enough is faid before, more may be considered of the discreet Reader. *Marianus Scotus*, *Sabellicus*, *Nauclerus*, and other late story Writers do hold, as is aforesaid, that he died a Martyr in the days of *Alexander Severus*, after he had governed that seat four years, as *Damasus* and *Platina* do witness, as *Marianus* saith, eight years.

Urbanus Martyr.

The fame *Damasus* and *Platina* do testifie of him, that he by his preaching and holiness of life, converted divers Ethniks to the faith. Among whom were *Tiburtius*, and *Valerianus* the Husband of *Cecilia*, which both, being Noblemen of *Rome*, remained constant in the faith unto the end and Martyrdom. Of this *Cecilia* thus it is written in the Martyrology by *Ado*, that *Cecilia* the Virgin, after she had brought *Valerian* her Husband espoused, and *Tiburtius* his brother to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with her exhortations had made them constant unto Martyrdom; after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by *Almachius* the Ruler, and brought to the Idols to do sacrifice: which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the Judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the Serjeants and Officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conversation, began with many perswasions of words to sollicite her mind to favour her self, and that so excellent beauty, and not to cast her self away, *&c.* But she again so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that Religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiving desired of the Judge *Almachius* a little respite: which being granted, she fendeth for *Urbanus* the Bishop home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with divers others at the same time baptised, both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of 400 persons, among whom was one *Gordianus* a Nobleman. This done, this blessed Martyr was brought before the Judge, where she was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the Judge, where she was inclosed in a hot bath; but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given that in the Bath she should be beheaded. The Executer is said to have four strokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, she (as the story giveth) lived three days after, and so died this holy Virgin Martyr, whose body in the night season *Urbanus* the Bishop took and buried among the other Bishops. *Ado* the compiler of this Martyrology addeth that this was done in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Commodus*. But that cannot be, for so much as *Urbanus* by all Histories was long after these Emperors, and lived in the days of this *Alexander*, as is above declared. *Antoninus Bergomensis*, *Equilinus*, with such other Writers set forth this History with many strange Miracles wrought by the said *Cecilia*, in converting her Husband *Valerianus* and his brother, in shewing them the Angel which was the keeper of her Virginity, and of the Angel putting on Crowns upon their heads. But as touching these Miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous, so because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave Authors, but are taken out of certain new Legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

The Martyrdom of Cecilia.

Under the fame *Alexander* divers other there be, whom *Bergomensis* mentioned to have suffered Martyrdom, as one *Agapetus* of the age of fifteen years, who being apprehended and condemned at *Prenestе* in *Italy*, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was affailed with sundry torments: first with Whips scourged, then hanged up by the feet, after having hot water poured upon him, at the last cast to the wild beasts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword was beheaded. The Executer of these punishments (as by *Henricus Erford* may be gathered) was one *Antiochus*; who in the executing of the foresaid torments suddenly fell down from his Judicial Seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gave up the breath. *Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6. cap. 29.*

Agapetus a Martyr. Ex Bergomensi lib.

Also

Calepodius martyr.

Also with the same *Agapetus* is numbred *Calepodius* a Minister of *Rome*, whose body first was drawn through the City of *Rome*, and after cast into *Tiber*. *Bergo. ibidem.*

Pammachius with his wife and Children martyrs.

Then followeth *Pammachius* a Senator of *Rome*, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

Forty and two martyrs. Simplicius martyr.

Item, another noble Senator of *Rome* named *Simplicius*, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the City for a terrour of others, that none should profess the name of Christ.

Quirinius martyr.

Besides these suffered also *Quirinius* a noble man of *Rome*, who, with his mother *Julia* and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Julia his mother, martyrs.

Also *Tiburtius* and *Valerianus* Citizens of *Rome*, and brethren, suffered (as *Bergomensis* saith) the same time, who, first being bruised and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Tiburtius, Valerianus, brethren and martyrs.

Also *Vincentius*, *Bergomensis*, and *Erfordiensis* make mention of *Martina* a Christian Virgin, which, after divers bitter Punishments being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Martina a virgin and martyr.

Albeit as touching the time of these forenamed Martyrs, as I find them not in older writers: So do I suppose them to suffer under *Maximinus* or *Decius*, rather than under *Alexander*.

The sixth Persecution.

Maximinus Emperor and persecutor. The sixth persecution. {Anno 237.}

After the death of *Alexander* the Emperor, who with his mother *Mammea* (as is said) was murdered in *Germany*, followed *Maximinus*, chosen by the will of the Souldiers, rather than by the authority of the Senate, about the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and seven; who for the hatred he had to the house of *Alexander* (as *Eusebius* recordeth) raised up the sixth Persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the Captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose the Martyrdom of *Urbanus* the Bishop, and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the Tyranny of this *Maximinus* than under *Alexander*.

Origenes de martyrio.

In the time of this Persecution *Origen*, wrote his Book. *De Martyrio*: which book if it were extant would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this Persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence unknown, and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God, shortned his days and bridled his Tyranny, for he Reigned but three years. After whom succeeded *Gordianus* in the year of our Lord two hundred and forty, a man no less studious for the utility of the Common-wealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians. This *Gordianus*, after he had governed with much peace and tranquility the Monarchy of *Rome* the space of six years, was slain of *Philip* Emperor after him.

Gordianus Emperor. {Anno 240.}

In the days of these Emperors above recited was *Pontianus* Bishop of *Rome*, who succeeded next after *Urbanus* above rehearsed, about the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and six, in the twelfth year of *Alexander*, as *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28.* noteth, declaring him to sit six years. Contrary *Damasus* and *Platina* write, that he was Bishop nine years and a half, and that in the time of *Alexander* he with *Philippus* his Priest was banished into *Sardinia*, and there died. But it seemeth more credible that he was banished rather under *Maximinus*, and died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gordianus*. In his Epistles decretal (which seem likewise to be fained) he appeareth very devout, after the common example of other Bishops, to uphold the dignity of Priests, and of Clergy men, saying; that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their sins, and reconcileth them unto him: Also, that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others, *&c.* which doctrine how it standeth with the testament of God and glory of Christ, let the Reader use his own Judgment.

Pontianus Bishop of Rome. Diversity between Damasus and Eusebius.

Pontianus banished.

This doctrine fetcheth deogratory to Christ and blasphemous.

A notable example of Gods just judgment upon a perfecutor. Euseb. lib.

Other notable Fathers also in the same time were raised up in the Church, as *Philetus* Bishop of *Antioch*, which succeeded after *Asclepiades* afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty, and after him *Zebenus* Bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and one.

To these also may be added *Ammonius* the schoolmaster of *Origen*, as *Suidas* supposeth, also the kinsmen of *Porphyrie* the great Enemy of Christ: Notwithstanding this *Ammonius* indued with better grace as he left divers Books in defence of Christs Religion, so did he constantly persevere (as *Eusebius* reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the days of *Alexander*,

Ammonius a Christian writer.

Julius Africanus also, about the time of *Gordianus* aforesaid, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom *Nicephorus* writeth that he was the scholar of *Origen*, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Julius Africanus writer.

Unto these Doctors and confessors may be adjoyned the story of *Natalius* mentioned in the first Book of *Eusebius*. This *Natalius*, had suffered Persecution before like a constant confessor, and was seduced and perswaded by *Asclepiodotus* and *Theodorus* (which were the disciples of *Theodocus*) to take upon him to be Bishop of their sect, promising to give him every month an hundred and fifty pieces of silver: So joyning himself to them, was admonished by visions and revelation from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Christ Jesus, that he would not have his Martyr, which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his Church: For the which cause (saith *Eusebius*) God by certain visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the Angels, in so much that he being made thereby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to *Zephirinus* the Bishop above mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Christian Congregation, shewed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had sequestred himself before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

Natalius confessor. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28.

The Lord will not lose them which have done or suffered any thing for him.

After the decease of *Pontianus* Bishop of *Rome* aforementioned, succeeded next in that place *Anterius*, of whom *Isuardus* writeth, that *Pontianus* departing away did substitute him in his room: But *Eusebius* writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. *Damasus* saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to Martyrdom himself by *Maximinus* the Judge. Concerning the time of this Bishop our writers do greatly jarr. *Eusebius* and *Marianus Scotus* affirm that he was Bishop but one month; *Sabellicus* saith that not to be so. *Damasus* assigneth to him twelve years and one month. *Volaterranus*, *Bergomensis*, and *Henricus Erford* give to him three years and one month. *Nauclerus* writeth that he sat one year and one month. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this Bishop was *Fabianus*, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Anterius Bishop of Rome martyr.

Authors disagree.

Of *Hippolytus* also both *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus* maketh mention that he was a Bishop; but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth *Theodoretus* witness him to be a Bishop, and also a Martyr, but naming no place. *Gelasius contra Eutichen* saith, he died a Martyr, and that he was Bishop of an head City in *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* writeth, that he was Bishop of *Ostia*, a port town near to *Rome*. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the Church, which *Eusebius* and *Hierome* do recite: By the supputation of *Eusebius*, he was about the year of our Lord, two hundred and thirty.

Hippolytus Bishop and martyr.

Prudentius in his *Peristephanon*, making mention of great heaps of Martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of *Hippolytus*, and saith that he was drawn with wild Horses through fields, dales and bushes, and described thereof a pitiful story.

Prudentius Peristephan.

After the Emperor *Gordianus*, the Empire fell to *Philippus*, who with *Philip* his son governed the space of seven years, in the year of our Lord, two hundred forty and six. This *Philippus* with his son and all his family was Christened and converted by *Fabianus* and *Origen*, by who by letters exhorted him and *Severa* his wife to be Baptised, being the first of all the Emperors that brought in Christianity into the Imperial seat. Howsoever *Pom-*

Philippus Emperor. {Anno 246.}

Philippus the first Christian Emperor.

ponius Letus reporteth him to be a diſſembling Prince, this is certain, that for his Chriſtianity he with his Son was ſlain of *Decius*, one of his Captains, *Sabellicus Bargomenſis*, *lib.* 8. ſheweth this hatred of *Decius* againſt *Philippus* to be conceived, for that the Emperor *Philip* both the father and the Son had committed their Treaſures unto *Fabianus*, then Biſhop of *Rome*.

The ſeventh Perſecution.

Decius Emperor. { Anno } 250.

THus *Philippus* being ſlain, after him *Decius* invaded the Crown about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moved a terrible Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which *Oroſius* noteth to be the ſeventh Perſecution. The firſt occaſion of this hatred and Perſecution of this Tyrant, conceived againſt the Chriſtians, was chiefly (as is before touched) becauſe of the treaſures of the Emperor which were committed to *Fabian* the Biſhop.

The firſt occaſion of the Perſecution.

Fabianus Biſhop of Rome. Euſeb. lib. 6.

This *Fabian* firſt being a married man (as *Platina* writeth) was made Biſhop of *Rome* after *Anterius* above mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which *Euſebius* doth thus deſcribe in his ſixth Book. *When the brethren* (ſaith he) *were together in the Congregation about the election of their Biſhop, and had purpoſed among themſelves upon the nomination of ſome noble and worthy perſonage of* Rome, *it chanced that* Fabianus *among others was there preſent, who of late before was newly come out of the Country to inhabite in the City. This* Fabian *(as is ſaid) thinking nothing leſs than of any ſuch matter, there ſuddenly cometh a Dove flying from above, and ſitteth upon his head, whereupon all the Congregation being moved, with one mind and one voice to chooſe him for their Biſhop*, in the which Function he remained the ſpace of thirteen years, as *Euſebius* writeth; *Damaſus*, *Marianus* and *Sabellicus* ſay fourteen years unto the time of *Decius*: who, whether for that *Philippus* had committed to him his treaſures, or whether for the hatred he bare to *Philippus*, in the beginning of his Reign cauſed him to be put to death, ſending out moreover his Proclamation into all quarters, that all which profeſſed the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſlain.

The miraculous election of Fabianus.

Fabianus Martyr.

To this *Fabian* he aſcribed certain Ordinances, as of conſecrating new Oyl once every year, and burning the old, of accuſations againſt Biſhops, of appealing to the Sea Apoſtolick, of not marrying within the fifth degree, of communicating thrice a year, of offering every Sunday, with ſuch other things more in his three Epiſtles Decretal; the which Epiſtles, as by divers other evidences may be ſuppoſed to be untruly named upon him, giving no ſignification of any matter agreeing to that time: ſo do I find the moſt part of the third Epiſtle word for word ſtanding in the Epiſtle of *Sixtus* the third, which followed almoſt two hundred years after him, beſide the unſeemly Doctrine alſo in the end of the ſaid Epiſtles contained, where he contrary to the tenor of the Goſpel appointeth remiſſion of ſins (only due to the blood of Chriſt) unto the Offerings of Bread and Wine by men and women every Sunday in the Church.

The Ordinances of Fabianus pretended. Oyl and Cream.

Accuſing of Biſhops. Appealing to the See Apoſtolical.

Marriage not within the fifth degree.

Falſe Doctrine detected.

To this *Fabianus* wrote *Origen de Orthodoxia ſuæ fidei*, that is, Of the righteouſneſs of his faith: whereby is to be underſtood, that he continued to the time of *Decius*: ſome ſay alſo to the time of *Gallus*. Of this *Origen* partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of *Severus*, in aſſiſting, comforting, exhorting and kiſſing the Martyrs that were impriſoned and ſuffered for the Name of Chriſt, with ſuch danger of his own life, that had not been the ſingular protection of God, he had been ſtoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourſe of men and women was daily at his houſe to be catechiſed and inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by him, that Soulders were hired of purpoſe to defend the place where he taught them. Again, ſuch ſearch ſometime was ſet for him, that fearce any ſhifting of place or Country could cover him. In whoſe laborious travels and affairs of the Church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting and expounding, he continued about the ſpace of fifty two years, unto the time of *Decius* and *Gallus*. Divers and great Perſecutions he ſuſtained, but eſpecially under *Decius*, as teſtifieth *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book, declaring that for the Doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, Dungeons, beſides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he ſuffered in the Perſecution of *Decius*, as *Euſebius* recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But *Suidas* and *Nicephorus* following the ſame, ſaith further concerning him, that the ſaid *Origen*, after divers and ſundry other torments which he manfully and conſtantly ſuffered for Chriſt, at length was brought to an Altar, where a foul filthy *Ethiop* was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him, *whether he would ſacrifice to the Idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly* Ethiop. Then *Origen* (ſaith he) who with a Philoſophical mind ever kept his Chaſtity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condeſcended to their requeſt: whereupon the Judge, putting incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to fet it to the fire upon the Altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the Church. *Epiphanius* writeth, that he being urged to ſacrifice to idols, and taking the Boughs in his hand, wherewith the Heathen were wont to honour their Gods, called upon the Chriſtians to carry them in the honour of Chriſt. The which fact the Church of *Alexandria* miſliking, removed him from their Communion: whereupon *Origen*, driven away with ſhame and ſorrow out of *Alexandria*, went into *Jury*, where being in *Jeruſalem* among the Congregation, and there requeſted of the Prieſts and Miniſters (he being alſo a Prieſt) to make ſome exhortation in the Church, he refuſed a great while to do. At length by importunate petition being conſtrained thereunto, he roſe up, and turning the Book, as though he would have expounded ſome place of the Scripture, he only read the Verſe of the forty ninth Pſalm: *But God ſaid to the ſinner, why doſt thou preach my juſtifications, and why doſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth? &c.* Which Verſe being read, he ſhut the Book, and fate down weeping and wailing, the whole Congregation alſo weeping and lamenting with him: *Suid. Niceph.* More what became of *Origen* it is not found in Hiſtory, but only that *Suidas* addeth, he died and was buried at *Tyrus*, *Euſebius* affirmeth, that he departed under the Emperor *Gallus*, about the year of our Lord 255; and the 70th. year of his age, in great miſery (as appeareth) and poverty.

Origen.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 39. The Perſecutions of Origen.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 1. Nicephor. lib. 4. cap. 23.

The fall of Origen.

Origen excommunicated.

The repentance of Origen.

In this *Origen* divers blemiſhes of Doctrine be noted, whereupon *Hieronne* ſometimes doth inveigh againſt him; albeit in ſome places again he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology againſt *Ruffi*. And in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius* and *Ocean*, where he praiſeth *Origen*, although not for the perfection of his Faith and Doctrine, nor for an Apoſtle, yet for an excellent Interpreter, for his wit, and for a Philoſopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of *Origen* on *Ezekiel*, he calleth him another Maſter of the Churches after the Apoſtles. And in another Preface upon his queſtions upon *Geneſis*, he wiſheth to himſelf the knowledge of the Scriptures, which *Origen* had, alſo with the envy of his name. *Athanaſius* moreover calleth him ſingular and laborious, and placeth alſo his teſtimonies againſt the *Arrians*. *Socrates lib. 6. cap. 13.*

Blemiſhes noted in Origen.

Origen commended for his learning.

Ex Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 13.

After *Origen*, the congrue order of Hiſtory requireth next to ſpeak of *Heraclas* his Uſher; a man ſingularly commended for his knowledge, not only in Philoſophy, but alſo in ſuch faculties as to a chriſtian divine do appertain. This great towardneſs of wit and learning when *Origen* perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his Uſher or Under-teacher, to help in his School or Univerſity of *Alexandria* in the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla* Son of *Severus*. And after in the tenth year of *Alexander*, *Origen* departing unto *Ceſarea*, he ſucceeded in his room to govern the School in *Alexandria*. Further alſo in the time of *Gordianus*, after the deceaſe of *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, this *Heraclas* ſucceeded to be Biſhop of the ſaid City: *Euſebius lib. 6. cap. 29.* In the which function he miniſtred the term of ſixteen years. *Euſebius lib. 6. cap. 35.* Of this *Heraclas* writeth *Origen* himſelf, that he, although being Prieſt, yet ceaſed not to read over and peruſe the Books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their own Books confute their error, *&c.*

Heraclas Biſhop of Alexandria. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 29.

After *Heraclas* ſucceeded *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* in the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, like as he ſucceeded him in the School before: which *Dionyſius* alſo writeth of the ſame *Heraclas* unto *Philemon* a Prieſt of *Rome*, thus ſaying: *Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heraclæ Papa noſtro accepi, &c.* That is, *This Canon and Type I received of bleſſed Heraclas our Pope, &c.* This *Heraclas* was no Martyr, which

Heraclas called Pope, yet no Biſhop of Rome. { Anno } 250.

which died three years before *Decius*, about the year of our Lord, two hundred and fifty. After whom ſucceeded next in the ſame ſeat of *Alexandria*, *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, who alſo ſuffered much under the Tyranny of *Decius*, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) when we come to the time of *Valerian*.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 29.

Nicephorus in his firſt Book, and others which write of this Perſecution under *Decius* declare the horribleneſs thereof to be ſo great, and ſo innumerable Martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame, that he ſaith, it is as eaſie to number the ſands of the Sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this Perſecution did devour. In the which Perſecution the chiefeſt doers and tormentors under the Emperor appear in the hiſtory of *Vincentius* to be theſe: *Optimus* the under-

Perſecutors.

conſul, *Secundianus*, *Verianus*, and *Marcellianus*, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to inſer all and ſingular Perſons in order that died in this Perſecution, yet ſuch as remain moſt notable in ſtories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

In the former tractation of the firſt Perſecution, mention was made before of *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, and of his troubles ſuffered under *Severus*, and how afterward by the mirracle of God, he was appointed Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, where he continued a very aged man, above the term of forty years Governor of that Church, till the time of the firſt year of *Decius*, at what time he being brought from *Hieruſalem* to *Ceſarea* into the Judgment place, after a conſtant and evident confeſſion of his faith made before the Judge, was committed unto priſon, and there finiſhed his life, as teſtified *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* in the ſixth Book of *Euſebius*. After whom ſucceeded in that ſeat *Mezabanes* the thirty and ſixth Biſhop of that City, after *James* the Apoſtle.

Alexander Biſhop of Hieruſalem martyr. Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 41.

Aſclepiades Biſhop of Antioch martyr. Ex Euſeb. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52. A place of Vincentius repaired.

Mention was made alſo before of *Aſclepiades* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who ſucceeded after *Serapion*, and in the Perſecution of *Severus* did likewiſe perſevere a conſtant confeſſor, and, as *Vincentius* teſtifieth in his eleventh Book, ſuffered Martyrdom at laſt under this *Decius*. But this computation of *Vincentius* can in no wiſe agree with the truth of time; for ſo much as by probable writers, as *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and others, the ſaid *Aſclepiades* after *Serapion* entred the Biſhops ſeat of *Antioch*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred and fourteen, and ſate ſeven years before the time of *Gordianus*, after whom ſucceeded *Philetus*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred twenty and one, governing the function twelve years. And after him *Zebinus* followed in the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and two, and ſo after him *Babylas*; which *Babylas*, if he died in this Perſecution of *Decius*, then could not *Aſclepiades* alſo ſuffer in the ſame time, who died ſo long before him, as is declared

Of this *Babylas*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Euſebius* and *Zonaras* record, that under *Decius* he died in priſon, as did *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* above rehearſed.

Babylas Biſhop of Antioch, martyr. Ex Chryſoſt. lib. 1. cont. Gentiles. The ſtory of Babylas.

We read in a certain treatiſe of *Chryſoſtome*, intituled *Contra Gentiles*, a noble and long Hiſtory of one *Babylas* a Martyr, who about theſe times was put to death for refuſing a certain Emperor, not ſuffering him to enter into the Temple of the Chriſtians after a cruel murther committed, the ſtory of which murther is this: There was a certain Emperor, who upon concluſion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hoſtage or ſurety of peace the ſon of the King, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the ſame, that neither he ſhould be moleſted of them, nor that they ſhould ever be vexed of him. Upon this the Kings ſon was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the Emperor, whom the cruel Emperor, contrary to promiſe, cauſed in ſhort time without all juſt cauſe to be ſlain. This fact ſo horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haſt would enter into the Temple of the Chriſtians, where *Babylas* being Biſhop or Miniſter withſtood him that he ſhould not into that place approach. The Emperor therewith not a little incenſed, in great rage had him forthwith to be laid in priſon with as many Irons as he could bear, and from thence ſhortly after to be brought forth to death and Execution. *Babylas*, going conſtantly and boldly to his Martyrdom, delired after his death to be buried with his Irons and bands, and ſo he was. The ſtory procedeth moreover, and ſaith; that in the continuance of time in the raign of *Conſtantinus*, *Gallus*, then made the overſeer of the Eaſt parts, cauſed his body to be tranſlated into the Suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphnes*, where was a Temple of *Apollo*, famous with deviliſh oracles and anſwers given by that Idol, or by the Devil rather in that place. In the which Temple, after the bringing of the body of *Babylas*, the Idol ceaſed to give any more oracles, ſaying, that for the body of *Babylas* he could give no more anſwers, and complaining that that place was wont to be conſecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead mens Bodies. And thus the oracles there ceaſed for that time till the coming of *Julianus*; who inquiring out the cauſe why the oracles ceaſed, cauſed the bones of the holy Martyr to be removed again from thence by the Chriſtians, whom he then called *Galileans*. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens and children, to the tomb of *Babylas*, tranſported his bones according to the commandment of the Emperor, ſinging by the way as they went, the verſe of the Pſalm in words, as followeth: *Confounded be all that worſhip Images, and all that glory in Idols, &c.* Which coming to the Emperors ear, ſet him in great rage againſt the Chriſtians, ſtirring up Perſecution againſt them. Albeit *Zonaras* declareth the cauſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, that ſo ſoon as the body of him and other Martyrs were removed away, incontinent the Temple of the Idol, with the image, in the night was conſumed with fire: For the which cauſe (ſaith *Zonaras*) *Julian* ſtirred up with anger, perſecuted the Chriſtians, as ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) in his order and place hereafter.

The body of Babylas ſtopped the oracles of Idols.

Ex Zozom. lib. 5.

And thus much of *Babylas*, which whether it was the ſame *Babylas* Biſhop then of *Antioch*, or another of the ſame name, it appeareth not by *Chryſoſtome*, which neither maketh mention of the Emperors name, nor of the place where this *Babylas* was Biſhop. Again, the ſtopping of the Emperor out of the Church importeth as much, as that Emperor to have been a Chriſtian: For otherwiſe, if he had come in as an heathen, and as a Perſecutor, it was not then the manner of Chriſtian Biſhops violently to withſtand the Emperors, or to ſtop them out. Over and beſide the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, *Zonaras* doth witneſs contrary in his ſixth Book, that this *Babylas*, which was then Biſhop of *Antioch* after *Zebinus*, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in priſon: Wherefore it is not unpoſſible, but this *Babylas*, and this Emperor which *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh of, may be another *Babylas* than that which ſuffered under *Decius*. *Nicephorus* in his fifth Book maketh mention of another *Babylas* beſide this that ſuffered under *Decius*, which was Biſhop of *Nicomedia*.

Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 39. Babylas Biſhop of Nicomedia martyr. Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 25.

In the forenamed City of *Antioch*, *Vincentius*, *lib.* 11. ſpeaketh of forty virgins Martyrs, which ſuffered in the Perſecution of *Decius*.

Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52. Forty virgins martyrs.

In the Country of *Phrygia*, and in the Town of *Lampſar*, the fame *Vincentius* alſo ſpeaketh of one *Peter* which there was apprehended, and ſuffered bitter torments for Chriſts Name under *Optimus* the Proconſul: And in *Troada* likewiſe of other Martyrs that there ſuffered, whoſe names were *Andrew*, *Paul*, *Nicomachus*, and *Dionyſia* a virgin, *Lib.* 11. *cap.* 46.

Peter of Phrygia martyr. Andreas, Paulus, Nicomachus, Dionyſia virgin martyrs.

Alſo in *Babylon* (ſaith he) divers Chriſtian confeſſors were found of *Decius*, which were led away into *Spain*, there to be executed: *Lib. eodem, cap.* 43.

Martyrs of Babylon, Germanus, Theophilus, Coſtus, Philelius, Polycronius, Neſtor.

In the country of *Cappadocia* at the City *Ceſarea*, in like manner of the ſaid author is teſtified, that *Germanus*, *Theophilus*, *Coſarius*, and *Vitalis* ſuffered Martyrdom for Chriſt. *Eodem cap.* 52. and in the ſame Book mention is alſo made of *Polychronius*, Biſhop of *Babylon*, *cap.* 89. and in *Pamphilia* of *Neſtor* there Biſhop that died Martyr, *cap.* 52.

At *Perſide*, in the town of *Cardala*, *Olympiades* and *Maximus*'s in *Tyrus* alſo *Anatolia* virgin, and *Audax* gave their lives likewiſe to death for the teſtimony of Chriſts Name.

Olympiades, Maximus noble men. Anatolia virgin, Audax martyrs.

Euſebius moreover in his ſixth Book reciteth out of the Epiſtles of *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, divers that ſuffered diverſly at *Alexandria*; the which places of *Dionyſius*, as they be cited in *Euſebius*, I thought here good for the antientneſs of the author, to inſert and notifie in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, as followeth.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

This

The Epistle of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria to Fabius.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the Emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a South-sayer, and a follower of wicked arts: Who, coming to our City here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own old superstition and gentility of their country; whereby they being set agog, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all their piety and Religion to consist only in Idolatrous worship of Devils, and in our destruction. And first flying upon a certain Priest of ours, named *Metras*, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked Blasphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the Suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called *Quinta*, and brought her to the Temple of their Idols, to compel her to worship with them: Which when she refused to do, and abhorred their Idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the City upon the hard stones, and so dashing her against Millstones, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the Suburbs, as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burst into houses of the Religious and Godly Christians, spoiling, sacking and carrying away all that they could find of any price. The rest of things, such as were of less value and of wood, they brought into the open Market, and set them on fire. In the mean time the brethren voided aside, and withdrew themselves, taking patiently and no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods, than did they of whom Saint *Paul* doth testifie: Neither do I know any of them all (only excepted) apprehended of them, which revolting from his profession denied the Lord yet to this present day.

A common-tion of the people of *Alexandria* against the Christians.

Metras, martyr.

Quinta a faithful woman and martyr.

Patience and joy in affliction. The constancy of the martyrs of *Alexandria*.

Amongst the rest that there were taken, there was a certain virgin well stricken in years, named *Apollinia*, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the City, threatning to cast her into the same, unless she would Blaspheme with them and deny Christ: whereat she staying a little with her self, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

Apollinia a blessed virgin and martyr.

Serapion martyr.

There was also one *Serapion*, whom they took in his own house, and after they had offayled him with sundry kinds of Torments, and had broken almoft all the joynts of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft, and so did he complete his Martyrdom. Thus was there no way neither privy nor publick, nor corner, nor alley left for us, neither by day nor by night to escape, all the People making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of Blasphemy, we should be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outragious tumult indured a certain space, but at length, as the Lord would, the miserable wretches fell at dessention among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us, upon their own heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the fury of the heathen people by this occasion aswaged.

The just punishment of God turning the cruelty of adversaries upon themselves.

Shortly then after this, word was brought unto us that the state of the Empire, which before was something favourable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great fear. And consequently upon the same followed, the edict of the Emperor so terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might have been thereby subverted. Upon that edict such fear came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for fear came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawn by their neighbours being cited by name, to those unpure and Idolatrous sacrifices. Others some came trembling and shaking, as men not which should do sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall be saved. Of the residue, some followed one part, some another, some ran away, some were taken; of whom certain continued to bands and torments constant; others again after long Imprisonments, before they should come before the Judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they suffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillars of the Lords, fortified with constancy agreeing to their faith, were made faithful Martyrs of the Kingdom of God.

Of whom the first was *Julianus*, a man diseased with the Gout, and not able to go, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied the other, *Cronion*, surnamed *Eunus*, with the forefaid *Julianus* the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon Camels, and there scourged, at length caft into the fire, and with great constancy were so consumed.

Julianus martyr.

A certain Souldier martyr.

As these aforesaid were going to their Martyrdom, there was a certain Souldier, who in their defence, took part against them that railed upon them. For the which cause the People crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his Profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Macar a blessed martyr.

Likewise one *Macar*, a man born in *Libia*, being admonished and exhorted of the Judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his perswasions, was burned alive.

Epimachus, *Alexander* with four women, martyrs.

After these suffered *Epimachus*, and one *Alexander*, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with Razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with four other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdom.

Ammonarion an holy virgin martyr.

Also *Ammonarion*, an holy virgin, whom the cruel Judge, had long and bitterly tormented, for that the promising the Judge before, that for no punishment she would yield to his requeit, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise Martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged *Matron*, named *Mercuria*, the other was called *Dionysia*, being a Mother of many fair Children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel Judge, but he rather athamed and confounded to be overcome of silly women, at length being past feeling of all torments, were slain with the sword; first *Ammonarion*, like a valiant Captain, suffering before them.

Mercuria, *Dionysia*, martyrs.

Herom, *Ater* and *Isidorus*, *Egyptians*, and with them *Dioscorus* also a Child of fifteen years, were Crowned with the same Crown of Martyrdom. And first the Judge began with the Child, thinking him more easie to be won with words to intice him, than with torments to constrain him. But he perfisted immoveable, giving neither place to perswasions nor punishment. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. The Judge, greatly marvelling at *Dioscorus* for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respite: Which *Dioscorus* is yet also with us at this present, waiting for a long Tryal.

Herom, *Ater*, *Isidorus*, *Dioscorus* martyrs.

Nemesion, martyr. Thieves in the old time punished amongst the Romans burned.

Nemesion, being also an *Egyptian*, first was accused for a Companion of Thieves, but being purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accused of Christianity, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the President; who most Unrighteously tormenting and scourging him double, to all other Thieves and Felons, at length among the Thieves burned him to Death, making him a blessed Martyr.

Ammon, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus* confessors.

There were standing before the Tribunal seat certain of the Warriors or Knights, whose names were *Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, and with them a certain aged man called *Theophilus*; who standing by, at what time a certain Christian man was before the Judge examined, and there seeing him for fear ready to decline and fall away, did burst almoft for sorrow within themselves, making signs to him with their hands, and all gestures of their body, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing this matter, prested up of their own accord before to the bench of the Judge, professing themselves to be Christians. Insomuch that both the President with the benchers, were all astonied, the Christians, which were judged, more imbolded to suffer, and the Judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad

A notable example of a Christian courage in confessing Christ.

glad and rejoycing for the testimony that they had given of their Faith. Many other besides, were in other Cities and Towns rent and torn asunder by the Heathen, among whom one I will speak of for cause worthy of memory.

Ischirion, martyr.

Ischirion, one that was in service with a certain Noble man, was commanded of his Master to make Sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after perfisting in the same, was grievously threatned with sharp and menacing words. At last his Master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him thorow in the body and slew him.

What shall I speak of the multitude of them, which wandring in Desarts and Mountains, were consumed with Hunger, Thirst, Cold, Sickness, Thieves or wild Beasts, of whose blessed Victory they which be alive are yet Witnesses? In the number of whom, one I will speak of, among divers others, named *Cheremon*, Bishop of the City called *Nilus*, an aged man: he with his wife, flying to the Mountain of *Arabia*, never returned again, nor ever could be seen after. And though they were sought for diligently by their Brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found: many others there were, which flying to those Mountains of *Arabia* were taken of the barbarous *Arabians*, of whom some with much money could scarce be ransomed, some were never heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the Epistles, of *Dionysius* in *Eusseb. lib. 6. cap. 41, 42, &c.*

Cheremon, Martyr. *Cheremon*, a Bishop had a wife.

Eu. Eusseb. lib. 6. cap. 40, 41, 42. The Epistle of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to *Germanus*. This Germanus was a Bishop in that time, which charged *Dionysius* for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himself. God willed *Dionysius* to fly in Persecution.

Moreover, the forefaid *Dionysius* in another place writing to *Germanus*, of his own dangers and of others, sustained in this Persecution, and before this persecution of *Decius*, thus inferreth as followeth, *I* (saith he) *behold before the sight of God, I lye not, and He knoweth, I lye not, how that I having no regard of mine own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this Persecution. Yea, and also before that this Persecution of* Decius *did rage against us*, Sabinus *the same hour (as a Farmer to seek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three days for his coming. But he searching narrowly for me by all Ways, Fields, Floods, and Corners, where he thought I might best have hid my self, or have passed by, was stricken with such blindness, that he could not find my house, thinking with himself nothing less than that I would abide at home in such and so dangerous Persecution. Thus these three days being past, upon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to fly, and also marvellously opening to me the way, I with my* * *Children and many other Brethren went out together. And this not to come of my self, but to be the work of Gods Providence, the sequel of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to some, &c.*

* Eye, St. those then had views and children.

Again, in another place shortly after, the forefaid *Dionysius* proceeding in the Narration of himself, thus inferreth, *Then I coming to* Jerusalem *with them which were with me, was brought by Souldiers unto* Tapolixis, *where as* Timotheus *(by the Providence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his House desert, and Officers watching about the same, and us within taken, &c.* And again shortly after it followeth, *And to see* (saith he) *the admirable disposing of God his Works*; as Timotheus *was thus flying with much hast and great fear, a certain man, as happed, a dweller near by met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily? to whom* Timotheus *answering, declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceeded on his journey, whither he was purposed to go, which was to a Marriage, the manner of which Marriages then was to sit up all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with them at the Feast, he telleth his Companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith upon a head, as stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together, made toward Us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seem very terrible. As the first hearing whereof, the Souldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon Formes and Benches. Then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my self that they had been Thieves, which came to spoil and rob, being in my Couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was, the rest of my Garments lying by me I offered to them: they then willed me in all haste to rise and get away; whereby I then, perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to do: and if they would do any benefit for me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting my self grovelling upon the pavement; as my Companions can testifie, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me* Caius, Faulus, Petrus, Paulus (*who were Witnesses of all the same*) *which brought me also out of the City, and so setting me upon a hare Also, conveyed me away.* Thus much writeth *Dionysius* of himself, the example of whole Epistle is cited in the *Eccleseastical story* of *Eusebius, lib. 6. cap.* 40. also *lib. 7. cap.* 11:

Dionysius, Faulus, Petrus, Paulus, Caius, Forms, Pastes discovered from the Centurion and the Souldiers.

Eu. Eusseb. lib. 6. ca. 40. lib. 7. ca. 11.

Nicephorus in his first Book; *cap.* 27. maketh mention of one named *Christophorus*, which also suffered in this Persecution of *Decius*. Of which *Christophorus*, whether the Fable riseth of that mighty Giant set up in Churches, wading through the Seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a Tree in his hand for a walking-Staff, &c. it is uncertain. *Georgius Wicelius* alledgeth out of *Ruggerus Fuldens.* and mentioneth of one *Christophorus*, born of the Nation of *Canaanites*, which suffered under *Decius*, being, as he saith, of twelve cubits high. But the reft of the History painted in Churches, the said *Wicelius* derideth as Fables of *Centaurs*, or other Poetical Fictions.

Ex Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 27. *Christophorus*. The Fable of great S. *Christopher*.

Bergomensis in his eighth Book maketh relation of divers martyred under *Decius*, as *Meniatus* which suffered at *Florence*, of *Agatha* an holy Virgin of *Sicily*, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under *Quintilianus* the Proconful, with Prisonment, with Beatings, with Famine, with Racking, rolled alfo upon sharp shells and hot coals, having moreover her Breasts cut from her Body, as *Bergomensis* and the Martyrology of *Ado* record. In the which Authors as I deny not but that the reft of the story may be true, so again, concerning the Miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken Veiture, with an hundred young men after him, and of the Marble Table with the Inscription, *Mentem sanctam, &c.* I doubt.

Meniatus, *Agatha*, Martyrs. Ex *Bergomens. lib. 8.* Ex Martyrol. *Ingin Adonis*.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this Persecution, when as whole multitudes went into Wilderneffes and Mountains, wandring without succour or comfort, some starved with Hunger and Cold, some with Sickness consumed, some devoured of Beasts, some with barbarous Thieves taken and carried away. *Vincentius* in his eleventh Book, speaking of *Asclepiades*, writeth also of forty Virgins and Martyrs, which by sundry kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the Persecution of this Tyrant.

Martyrs wandring in Mountains.

Likewise in the faid *Vincentius* menton is made of *Tripbon*, a man of great holineis, and constant in his suffering, who being brought to the City of *Nice*, before the President *Aquilus* for his constant Confession of Christs Name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the Sword put to death.

Forty Virgins Martyrs. *Tripbon* Martyr.

At what time *Decius* had erected a Temple in the midst of the City of *Ephesus*, compelling all that were in the City there to sacrifice to the Idols: Seven *Christians*, were found, whose names were *Maximianus*, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionysius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion* and *Constantinus*, who, refusing the Idolatrous Worship, were accused for the same unto the Emperor to be *Christians*. Which they constantly professed and did not deny; notwithstanding, because they were Souldiers, retaining to the Emperors Service, respite was given them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the Emperor, which then was going to War. In the mean space, the Emperor being departed, they taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret Caves of the Mount *Celius*. The Emperor returning again, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones, that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they

Maximianus, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionysius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion*, *Constantinus*, Seven Martyrs.

The Fable of the awaking of these seven Martyrs. *Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Ex-sodiens.*

they continued the space of certain Ages after, till the time of *Theodosius* the Emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth *Vincentius*, *Nicephorus*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 27. and partly also *Henricus Erfordiens.* But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to believe it. Certain it is, that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any Fable.

A Souldier Martyr. *Ex Hieron. in vita Paull Eremite.*

Hieronymus in the life of *Paulus* the *Heremite* reciteth a story of a certain Souldier, whom when the *Pretor* could not otherwise with torments remove from his Christianity; he devised another way, which was this; He commanded the Souldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant Garden among the flourishing Lillies and red Roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful Harlot came to him, who imbraced him and with all other Incitements of an Harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly Souldier fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own Tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the Harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got he the Victory, by the constant Grace of the Lord assisting him.

A notable example of a chast Souldier biting off his tongue, and spiting it in the face of an Harlot.

A like example of Chastity between two *Christians*. *Ex Ambr. lib.* 2. *de virgin.*

Another like Example of singular Chastity is written of the Virgin *Theodora*, and another Souldier, by *Ambrose*. *lib.* 2. *de Virginibus*. At *Antioch*, this *Theodora* refusing to do sacrifice to the Idols was condemned by the Judge to the Stews, and notwithstanding by the singular Providence of God was well delivered. For as there was a great Company of wanton young men ready at the door to presse into the house where she was, one of the Brethren named *Didymus* (as *Ado* saith) moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a Souldiers habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the ear told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a *Christian* as the was: his counsel was that she should put on the Souldiers habit, and so flip away; and he putting on her Garments would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the Virgin escaped unknown. *Didymus* left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man in stead of a woman, was presented unto the President, unto whom without delay he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him, so as he was, to be a *Christian*, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. *Theodora* understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing her self, offered her self as the party guilty unto the Judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruel Judge (crueller than *Dionysius*, which spared *Damon* and *Pithias*) neither considering the vertue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanely proceeded in execution against them both, who, first having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire: *Ambros. Ado.* Although what time, or in what Persecution these did suffer, in the Authors of this Narration it doth not appear.

Theodora, *Didymus*, Martyrs.

Agathon, Martyr.

Agathon, a man of Arms in the City of *Alexandria*, for rebuking certain lewd persons formally deriding the dead bodies of the *Christians*, was cried out of and railed on of the people, and afterward accused to the Judge, was condemned to lose his head. *Erfordiensis*.

Paulus, *Andreas*, Martyrs.

The said *Erfordiensis* also maketh mention of *Paulus*, *Andreas*, whom the Proconsul of *Troada* gave to the people; who being scourged, and after drawn out of the City, were troden to death with the feet of the people. *Henr. de Erford.*

Iustinus, *Nicephorus*, *Perseus*, Martyrs.

Among others that suffered under this wicked *Decius*, *Bergomensis* also maketh mention of one *Iustinus* a Priest of *Rome*, and of another *Nicostratus* a Deacon. To these *Vincentius* also addeth *Portius* a Priest of *Rome*, whom he reporteth to be the Converter of *Philip* the Emperor aforementioned.

Abdon, *Semmes*, Martyrs.

Of *Abdon* and *Semmas* we read also in the foresaid *Bergomensis* and *Vincentius*, two Noble men, who because they had buried the *Christians*, whom *Decius* had brought from *Babylon* to *Corduba*, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to *Decius*, and brought to *Rome*; where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead Idols, would not obey; and for the same were given to the wild Beasts to be devoured: but when the wild Beasts, more gentle than the Men, would not touch them, they were at length with the Sword beheaded. *Bergom. Vincent. lib.* 11. *cap.* 4. Albeit to me it seemeth not impossible nor unlike, this *Abdon* and *Semmas* to be the same, whom in other stories we find, and before have mentioned to be *Ammon* and *Zenon*.

Secundianus, Martyr.

One *Secundianus* was accused to *Valerian* a Captain of *Decius*, to be a *Christian*, which Profession when he stoutly did maintain, he was commanded to prison. By the way as the Souldiers were leading him to the Gaol, *Verianus* and *Marcellianus* seeing the matter, cried to the Souldiers, asking them whither they drew the Innocent? At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be *Christians*, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a City named *Centumcellas*: where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the Idols, and so after Sentence and Judgment given, first they were beaten with Wasters or Trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented upon the Gibbet, having fire set to their sides. *Vincentius* addeth moreover that some of the Tormentors falling suddenly dead, other some being taken with wicked Spirits, the Martyrs with the Sword at length were beheaded. *Vin. lib.* 11. *cap.* 51.

Ex Vincent. lib. 11. *c.* 51.

To prosecute in length of History the Lives and Sufferings of all them, which in this terrible Persecution were martyred, it were too long, and almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the Names of such as we find alledged out of a certain brief Treatise of *Bede*, intituled, *De Temporibus*, cited by *Henricus de Erford*, it shall be at this time sufficient. Under *Decius* suffered *Hippolitus* and *Concordia*, *Hierenens* and *Abundus*, *Victoria* a Virgin, being noble Personages of *Antioch*, *Bellias* Bishop of the City of *Apollonia*, *Leucius*, *Tirsus*, and *Gallinetus*. *Nazanzo*, *Trithon* in the City of *Egypt*, called *Tamas*, *Phileas* Bishop, *Philoconmus*, with many other in *Perside*, *Phileromius* Bishop of *Babylon*; *Theophon* Bishop of *Pamphilia*, *Nestor* Bishop in *Corduba*, *Parmenius* Priest, with divers more. In the Province called *Colonia*, *Circensis*, *Marianus* and *Jacobus*. In *Africa*, *Nemesianus*, *Felix*, *Rogatianus* Priest, *Felicissimus*. At *Rome*, *Jovinus*, *Basileus*, also *Ruffina*, and *Secunda* Virgins, *Tertullianus*, *Valerianus*, *Nemesius*, *Sempronianus* and *Olympius*. In *Spain*, *Teragon*. At *Verona*, *Zeno* Bishop. At *Cesarea*, *Marinus* and *Archemius*. In the Town of *Milaine*, *Privatus* Bishop, *Theodorus*, surnamed *Gregorius* Bishop of *Pontus*. *Hæc Beda.*

Ex Beda de Temporibus, citatus *Henrico de Erfordia.* A brief Catalogue of divers which suffered under Decius. *Ex Beda.*

Children martyred. *Ex Vincent. lib.* 11. *c.* 52.

Vincentius in his eleventh Book maketh mention, citing *Ex Hugone*, of certain Children suffering Martyrdom under the same Persecution, in a City of *Tuscia*, called *Aretium*, whose names I find not, except they be *Pergentius* and *Lawrentius* mentioned in *Equilinus*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 80.

Such as revolted and fell in this Persecution.

Now that I have recorded of them sufficiently, which under this tempest of *Decius* constantly gave their lives to Martyrdom for the Testimony of Christ: it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for fear or frailty in this Persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their Confession. In the number of whom first cometh in the remembrance of *Serapion* an aged old man. Of whom writeth *Dionysius Alexandrinus* unto *Fabius*, declaring that this *Serapion* was an old man, which lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This *Serapion* oft and many times desired to be received again, but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after, he fell into Sickness, where he remained three days dumb, and benummed of all Senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his Sisters Son, and said, *How long, how long (my Son) do ye hold me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I were absolved. Call hither some of the Ministers to me*: and so, saying no more, held his peace as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the Minister, who, at the same time being sick, could not come with the Messenger, but said, *For so much as he willed heretofore* (as he said) *that such as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence*: therefore he gave to the boy a little of the **Eucharist*, willing him to crumble it into the Cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the *holy Eucharist*. As he was now near at hand, before he had entred in, *Serapion* the old man, speaking again,

Serapion.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. *cap.* 44.

* Note here the Sacrament to be called the Eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

The holy Eucharist in time of great need and distress committed to a boy. The repentance and reconciliation of Serapion. The goodness of God declared to Serapion. *Ex Euseb. & Erford.*

again, *Comest thou* (said he) *my Son? The Priest*, quoth the Messenger, *is sick and cannot come, but do as he willeth you, and let me go.* And the boy immixed the *Eucharist*, and dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little, immediately gave up the ghost, &c. *Hæc Dionys. ex Euseb.*

In the City of *Troad*, as the Proconsul was grievously tormenting one *Nicomachus*, he cried out, *That he was no Christian*, and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken with fits and with a wicked Spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his Tongue with his teeth, so departed. *Henr. de Erford.*

A terrible example of denying, thereof upon Nicomachus. *Dionysius ad Fabium.*

Dionysius in his Epistles also writing to *Fabius*, and lamenting the great terror of this Persecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable *Christians*, for fear and horror of the great Tyranny thereof, did shew themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great Torments suffered, yet after revolted from the constancy of their Profession. Also Saint *Cyprian* in his Treatise *De Lapsis* reciteth with great sorrow, and teftifieth how that a great number at the first threatning of the Adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the Enemy, but of their voluntary weakness fell down themselves. Neither (saith he) tarrying while the Judge should put Incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backs, and played the Cowards; not only coming to their Sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compullion, bringing moreover their Infants and Children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example.

Cyprianus Serm. de lapsis.

The weakness of *Christians* denying their Faith.

Ex lib. Beda de Temporibus, citatus *Henrico de Erfordia.*

Of this weakness and falling, the said Author sheweth two Causes, either love of their Goods and Patrimony, or fear of Torments: and addeth moreover examples of the Punishments of them which revolted; affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked Spirits; and that one man among other, after his voluntary denial, was suddenly stricken dumb. Again, another after his Abjuration, as he should communicate with others, in stead of bread received ashes in his hand. *Item*, a certain Maiden being taken and vexed with a Spirit, did tear her own Tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts so deceased.

Examples of God his punishment after denial.

S. Cyprian. de lapsis.

Amongst others of this sort, *S. Cyprian. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. maketh also mention of one *Eutarsius* a Bishop in *Africa*, who leaving his Charge, and making shipwrack of his Faith, went wandring about in other Countries, forsaking his own Flock. In like manner, he maketh also mention of *Nicostratus* a Deacon, who forsaking his Deaconship, and taking the Goods of the Church with him, fled away into other Countries, &c. Albeit *Bergomensis* affirmeth, that this *Nicostratus* the Deacon afterward died a Martyr, how (saith he) there was, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their Confession, but they stood like glorious Martyrs unto the end. *Cyprian.*

Cyprian. lib. De mortalitate.

The same *Cyprianus* also, in another Book *De Mortalitate*, reciteth a notable story of one of his own Collegues and fellow Priests, who being oppressed with weakness, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leave to depart, and to be discharged. As he was thus intreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent Majesty, of a tall stature, and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce mans carnal eyes were able so to do, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man speaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, *Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To suffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not, what would ye have me to do unto you?

A notable voice of God to a Priest of Conage.

The occasion and rising up of Novatus Heresie.

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is afore-said, in this Persecution of *Decius*, rose up first the quarrel and heresie of *Novatus*, who in these days made a great disturbance in the Church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the Faith, and for fear of torments had offered Incense to the Idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Christ. This *Novatus* being first Priest under *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, afterward by stirring up Discord and Factions began to disturb the Bishoprick of *Cyprian*, to appoint there a Deacon called *Felicissimus*, against the Bishops mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certain of the Brethren from the Bishop; all which *Cyprian. lib.* 2. *Epist.* 8. doth well declare. After this the said *Novatus* going to *Rome*, kept there the like stir with *Cornelius* (as the fame is) whereupon *Cornelius* in *Eusebius*, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. doth teftifie) setting himself up as Bishop of *Rome* against *Cornelius*, which was the lawful Bishop of *Rome* before. The which to bring to pass, he used this practice. First he had allured to him, to be his Adherents, three or four good men and holy Confessors, which had suffered before great torments for their Confession, whose names were *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*. After this he inticed three simple Bishops about the Coasts of *Italy* to repair to *Rome*, under pretence to make an end of certain Controversies then in hand. This done, he called the same, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counsel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him Bishop, and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three Bishops hardly was received to the Communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by Discipline of the Church were displaced from their Bishopricks, and others possessed with their rooms. Thus then were there two Bishops together in one Church of *Rome*, *Novatus* and *Cornelius*, which was unseemly, and contrary to the Discipline of the Church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of St. *Cyprian*, writing in his Epistles so much of one Bishop, and of the unity to be kept in Ecclesiastical Regiment, as appeareth, *4 Lib.* 4. *Epist.* 2. *de simplicit. prælat. Item*, *lib.* 3. *Epist.* 11. *&c.* And in like fort writeth also *Cornelius* himself of one Bishop, saying, *Itaque vindex ille Evangelii ignoravit unum esse debere Episcopum in Catholica Ecclesia, &c.* that is, He knew not that there ought to be one Bishop in a Catholick Church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wrestling of the *Papists*, which falsly apply these places of *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* to maintain the Popes supremacy of Bishop alone, over the whole Universal Church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one Catholick Church or Diocese ought to have one Bishop over it, not that the whole World ought to be subject to the Dominion of him only that is Bishop of *Rome*. Now to the story again. *Novatus* being thus Bishop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat *Cornelius*, and to allure the people from him. Informuch that (as in the foresaid Book of *Eusebius* appeareth) when *Novatus* came to the distributing of the Offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to swear, before they should receive of the Benedictions, and of the Collects or Oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long, speaking these words unto them *(Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave me and go to* Cornelius) till that they swearing unto him, in stead of *Amen* (to be said at the receiving of the * Bread) should answer, *I will not return to Cornelius, &c.* Where note by the way, that the *Latine* Book of *Christoferson* translation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of Bread. This story being written in *Eusebius*, also contained in *Nicephorus*, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him, doth declare in plain words in both the Authors (who so will mark the fame) that the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is termed with the plain name of Bread, after the Consecration.

* Note here the Sacrament of the Body to be called bread *Euseb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. *Nicephor. lib.* 6. *cap.* 3. The Latine translation corrupted by *Christoferson*, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Celerinus* Confessors.

If followeth more in the story, that *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty Diffimulation and Arrogancy of *Novatus*, left him, and with great Repentance returned again to the Church, and were reconciled to *Cornelius*, as they themselves writing to *Cyprian*, and *Cyprian* likewise writing to them an Epistle gratulatory doth declare, *lib.* 3. *Epist.* 3. and *Cornelius* also in his Epistle to *Fabius* witnesseth the same. In this Epistle the said *Cornelius* moreover writeth of one *Moses* a worthy Martyr, which once being also a Follower of *Novatus*, after per-

Cornel. Epist. ad Fabium. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. *cap.* 43.

The meaning of *Cyprian* opened, writing of one Bishop only to govern in a Catholick Church falsly wrested of the *Papists* for the Papacy. *Ex Euseb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 43.

Ex Cypr. lib. 3. *Epist.* 3. *Moses* Martyr.

perceiving his wickedneſs, forſook him, and did Excommunicate him. Of whom *Cyprian* alſo maketh mention, and calleth him a bleſſed Confeſſor. *Lib. 2. Epiſt. 4. Damaſus* in his Pontifical faith, *That he was apprehended with* Marinus *and* Nicoſtratus *above mentioned, and was put with them in priſon, where he ended his life.* And thus much of *Novatus*, againſt whom (as *Euſebius* teſtifieth) a Synod was holden at *Rome* of threeſcore ſundry Biſhops in the time of *Cornelius*, under the Reign of *Decius*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred fifty and five; whereby it may be ſuppoſed that the heat of the Perſecution at that time was ſomewhat calmed.

A Synod at Rome. { Anno 255.

After *Fabianus* (or as *Zonaras* calleth him *Flavianus*) next ſucceeded into the Biſhoprick of *Rome Cornelius*, whom *Cyprian* noteth to be a worthy Biſhop, and for his great vertue and maidenly continency much commendable, choſen to that room not ſo much by his own conſent, as by the full agreement, both of the Clergy-men, and alſo of the people. *Hieromе* addeth alſo, That he was a man of great Eloquence: whereby it may appear thoſe two Epiſtles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeneſs of the barbarous and groſs ſtile, and alſo for the matter therein contained, nothing taſting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the Church. Whereof in the firſt he writeth to all Miniſters and Brethren of the Church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of *Peter* and *Paul*, *De Cathecumbis*, and tranſpoſed to *Vaticanum*, at the inſtance of a certain devout Woman named *Lucina*, having no great argument or cauſe to write thereof unto the Churches, but only that he in that Letter doth deſire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the Interceſſion of thoſe Apoſtolical Saints, their ſins might be forgiven them, &c. In the ſecond Epiſtle written to *Ruffus* a Biſhop of the *Eaſt* Church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no Oath ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief Biſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo that no cauſe of Prieſts or Miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtrange or foreign Court, without his Precinct, except only in the Court of *Rome* by Appellation: whereby who ſeeth not the train of our later Biſhops, going about craftily to advance the Dignity of the Court of *Rome*, under and by the pretended Title of *Cornelius*, and of ancient Biſhops? If *Cornelius* did write any Epiſtles to any indeed in thoſe turbulent times of Perſecution, no doubt but ſome ſignification thereof he would have touched in the ſaid his Letters, either in miniſtring Conſolation to his Brethren, or in requiring Conſolation and Prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given ſome touch alſo of the matter of *Novatus*, with whom he had ſo much to do; as indeed he did: for ſo we find it recorded both in *Euſebius*, and *Hieromе*, that he wrote unto *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, of the decreements of the Council of *Rome*, and another Letter of the manner of the Council, the third alſo of the cauſe of *Novatus*, and again of the Repentance of ſuch as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in theſe foreſaid Epiſtles decretal.

Cornelius Biſhop of *Rome*, and Martyr. Biſhops were choſen then not without the voice of the people. A cenſure of the decretal Epiſtles of *Cornelius*.

What trouble this *Cornelius* had with *Novatus*, ſufficiently is before ſignified. In this Perſecution of *Decius*, he demeaned himſelf very conſtantly and faithfully, which ſuſtained great Conflicts with the Adverſaries, as Saint *Cyprian* giveth witneſs, *lib. 1. Epiſt. 1. Hieromе* teſtifieth that he remained Biſhop after the death of *Decius*, to the time of *Gallus*, and ſo appeareth alſo by Saint *Cyprian*, which hath theſe words, *Et tyrannum armis & bello poſtmodum victum, prior ſacerdotio ſuo vicit.* But *Damaſus* and *Sabellicus*, his Followers, affirm, that he was both exiled and alſo martyred under the tyrannous Reign of *Decius*. Of whom *Sabellicus* writeth this ſtory, taken out (as it ſeemeth) of *Damaſus*, and ſaith, *That* Cornelius *by the Commandment of* Decius, *was baniſhed to a Town called* Centumcellæ, *bordering on* Hetruria, *from whence he ſent his Letters to* Cyprian *Biſhop of* Carthage, *and* Cyprian *again to him.* This coming to the ears of *Decius* the Emperor, he ſendeth for *Cornelius*, asking him, *How he durſt be ſo bold to ſhew ſuch ſtubbornneſs, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his Princes, durſt againſt the Common wealth give and receive Letters from others?* To whom *Cornelius* anſwering again, thus purged himſelf, declaring to the Emperor, *That Letters indeed he had written, and received again concerning the Praiſes and honouring of Chriſt, and the Salvation of Souls, but nothing as touching any matter of the Common-wealth.* And it followeth in the ſtory; That *Decius* moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with *Plumbats* (which, as ſaith *Sabellicus*, is a kind of ſcourging) and ſo to be brought to the Temple of *Mars*: either there to do Sacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremity. But he rather willing to die, than to commit ſuch Iniquity, prepared himſelf to Martyrdom, being ſure that he ſhould die. And ſo commending the Charge of the Church unto *Stephanus* his Archdeacon, was brought to the way of *Appius*, where he ended his life in faithful Martyrdom. *Euſebius* in one place ſaith that he ſat two years, in another place he ſaith that he ſat three years, and ſo doth *Marianus Scotus*, following alſo the diverſity of the ſaid *Euſebius*. *Damaſus* giveth him only two years.

Plumbats *cedi.*

Cornelius martyred.

In this foreſaid Perſecution of *Decius*, it ſeemeth by ſome Writers alſo that *Cyprian* was baniſhed; but I ſuppoſe rather his Baniſhment to be referred to the Reign of *Gallus* next Emperor after *Decius*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) in his place hereafter. In the mean time the ſaid *Cyprian* in his ſecond Book, *Epiſt. 5. & 6.* maketh mention of two that ſuffered either in the time of this *Decius*, or much about the ſame time. Of whom one was *Aurelius* a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his Confeſſion, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withſtood the Adverſary till he was baniſhed, and alſo after: and therefore was commended of *Cyprian* to certain Brethren to have him for their Lecturer, as in the forenamed Epiſtle of *Cyprian* appeareth. The other was named *Mappalicus*, who in the day before he ſuffered, declaring to the Proconſul in the midſt of his torments, and ſaying, *Videbas eras agonem*: that is, To morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager, &c. Was brought forth, according as he foreſpoke, to Martyrdom, and there with no leſs conſtancy than patience did ſuffer.

Aurelius Martyr.

Mappalicus Martyr.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked *Decius* againſt God his Saints. Now to touch alſo the Power of God, his Vengeance and Puniſhment againſt him. Like as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannical Tormentor, who reigning but two years, as ſaith *Euſebius*, or three at moſt, as writeth *Oroſius*, among the middle of the *Barbarians*, with whom he did war, was there ſlain with his Son. Like as he had ſlain *Philippus* and his Son his Predeceſſors before, ſo was he with his Son ſlain by the righteous Judgment of God himſelf. *Euſebius, lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius* affirmeth, that he warring againſt the *Gothbians*, and being by them overcome, left he ſhould fall into their hands, ran into a Whirle-pit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

The death and deſtruction of *Decius*.

Oroſius, lib. 4. cap. 14.

The juſt revenge of God againſt Perſecutors.

Neither did the juſt hand of God plague the Emperor only, but alſo revenged as well the Heathen *Gentiles* and Perſecutors of his Word throughout all Provinces and Dominions of the *Roman* Monarchy; amongſt whom the Lord, immediately after the death of *Decius*, ſent ſuch a Plague and Peſtilence, laſting for the ſpace of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almoſt incredible to believe. Of this Plague or Peſtilence teſtifieth *Dionyſius* to *Hierax* a Biſhop in *Egypt*, *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22.* where he declareth the mortality of this Plague to be ſo great in *Alexandria* where he was Biſhop, that there was no houſe in the whole City free. And although the greateſt of the Plague touched alſo the *Chriſtians* ſome what, yet it fcourged the Heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much divers. For as the foreſaid *Dionyſius* doth record, the *Chriſtians* through brotherly love and piety, did not refuſe one to viſit and comfort another: and to miniſter to him what need required, notwithſtanding it was to them great danger: for divers there were who in cloſing up their eyes, in waſhing their bodies, and interring them in the ground were next themſelves which followed them to their graves. Yet all this ſtayed not them from doing their duty, and ſhewing mercy one to another: whereas the *Gentiles* contrarily, being extreamly vilited by the hand of God, felt the Plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neither yet conſidered they their Neighbour, but every man ſhifting for himſelf, neither cared one for

The firſt baniſhment of *Cyprian*.

The juſt puniſhment of God upon the Heathen multitude for perſecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

A terrible peſtilence reigning through all the *Roman* Monarchy.

for another, but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the doors half dead to be devoured of Dogs and wild Beaſts, ſome they let die within their houſes without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffered to lie unburied, for that no man durſt come near them: and yet notwithſtanding for all their voiding and ſhifting, the Peſtilence followed them whitherſoever they went, and miſerably conſumed them. Inſomuch that *Dionyſius* Biſhop the ſame time of *Alexandria*, thus reporteth of his own City, that ſuch a mortality was then among them, that the ſaid City of *Alexandria* had not in number ſo many of all together both old and young, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of threeſcore to ſeventy, and as were found in time paſt commonly almoſt in that City. *Pomponius Letus* and other *Latine* Writers alſo making mention of the ſaid Peſtilence, declare how the beginning thereof firſt came (as they think) out of *Ethiope*, and from the hot Countries, and ſo invading, and waſting firſt the *South* parts, from thence ſpread into the *Eaſt*, and ſo further running and increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially wherefoever the Edicts of the Emperor went againſt the *Chriſtians*, it followed after and continued the moſt part of the Inhabitants; whereby many places became deſolate and void of all Concourſe, and ſo continued the term of ten years together.

The Biſhops and Prieſts condemned to metals. *Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius*, Biſhops condemned for the name of Chriſt.

The brotherly love and pity among the *Chriſtians* ſhewed in the time of plague.

That he, in the paſſion of him that died on the tree.

St. *Cyprian* exhorteth and encourageth the Chriſtian Martyrs. *Cyp. lib. 5. Epiſt. ult.*

This peſtiferous Mortality (by the occaſion whereof *Cyprian* took the ground to write his Book *De mortalitate*) began as is ſaid, immediately after the death of *Decius* the Perſecutor, in the beginning of the Reign of *Vibius Gallus*, and *Voluſianus* his Son, who ſucceeded through treaſon next unto *Decius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and continued their Reign but two years.

Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate. Gallus and *Voluſianus* Emperors. { Anno 255.

Mappalicus Martyr.

This *Gallus*, although the firſt beginning of his Reign was ſomething quiet, yet ſhortly after following the ſteps of *Decius*, by whom rather he ſhould have taken better heed, ſet forth Edicts in like manner for the perſecution of *Chriſtians*, albeit in this Edict we find no number of Martyrs to have ſuffered, but only all this Perſecution to reſt only in the exilement of Biſhops or Guids of the Flock. Of other Sufferings or Executions we do not read, for the terrible Peſtilence following immediately kept the barbarous Heathen otherwiſe occupied. Unto this time of *Gallus*, rather than to the time of *Decius*, I refer the baniſhment of *Cyprian*, who was then Biſhop of *Carthage*, of the which baniſhment he himſelf teſtifieth in divers of his Epiſtles, declaring the cauſe thereof to riſe upon a Commotion or Sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himſelf: leſt the Sedition ſhould grow greater: notwithſtanding the ſaid *Cyprian*, though being abſent, yet had no leſs care of his Flock, and of the whole Church, than if he had been preſent with them, and therefore never ceaſed in his Epiſtles continually to exhort and call upon them to be conſtant in their Profeſſion, and patient in their Afflictions. Amongſt divers others whom he doth comfort in his baniſhment, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelf, writing to certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whoſe Names were *Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius*, with other Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, he declareth unto them: *How it is no ſhame but a glory not to be feared, but to be rejoyced at, to ſuffer baniſhment or other pains for Chriſt; and confirming them in the ſame, or rather commending them, ſignifieth how worthily they do ſhew themſelves to be as valiant Captains of vertue, provoking both by the confeſſions of their mouth, and by the ſuffering of their bodies, the hearts of the Brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdom, whoſe example was and is a great confirmation to many, both Maids and Children to follow the like: as for Puniſhment and Suffering, it is (ſaith he) a thing not execrable to a Chriſtian: for a Chriſtian mans breaſt, whoſe hope doth wholly conſiſt in the Tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and ſkars of the body be Ornaments to a Chriſtian man, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſty to the party, but rather preferreth and fetcth him with the Lord. And although in the Mines where the metals be digged there be no beds for Chriſtian mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they have their reſt in Chriſt: and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Chriſt. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but happily he is bound of man, whom the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happily doth he lie tied in the ſtocks, whoſe feet thereby are made ſu ifter to run to Heaven. Neither can any man tie a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They have no garments to ſave them from cold, but he that putteth on Chriſt is ſufficiently cated. Doth bread lack to their hungry bodies? But man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformity (ſaith he) ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleaſure, and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you that you cannot now imploy your Sacrifices and Oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily Sacrifice ceaſeth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious Sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the Sacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your travel be great, yet is the reward greater, which is moſt certain to follow: for God beholding and looking down upon them that confeſs his Name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their ſtriving helpeth them, in their Victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in us perfected. With theſe, and ſuch like comfortable words he doth animate his Brethren, admoniſhing them that they are now in a joyful journey, haſting apace to the manſions of the Martyrs; there to enjoy after the darkneſs a ſtable light and brightneſs greater than all their Paſſions, according to the Apoſtles ſaying, Theſe ſufferings of this preſent time be nothing like comparable to the brightneſs of the Glory that ſhall be revealed in us, &c.*

The Chriſtian mans fight.

And after the like words of ſweet comfort and conſolation writing to *Seagrius* and *Rogatianus*, which were in priſon and bonds for the teſtimony of truth, *Doth encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run: for that they have with the Lord with them their Helper and Defender, who promiſeth to be with us to the Worlds end; and therefore willeth them to ſee before their eyes in their death Immortality, in their pain everlaſting Glory, of the which it is written*, Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. Item, *although before men they ſuffered torments, yet their hope is full of Immortality, and being vexed in ſmall things, they ſhall be well requited in great matters*: For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. *And writeth moreover, admoniſhing that it is appointed from the beginning of the World, that Righteouſneſs here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular Conflicts; for ſo juſt* Abel *was ſlain in the beginning of the World, and after him all juſt and good men, the Prophets alſo and the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelf: unto whom all the Lord hath given an example in himſelf, teaching that there is no coming to his Kingdom, but by that way which he entred himſelf, ſaying by theſe words*, He that loveth his life in this World ſhall loſe it, &c. *And again*, Fear ye not them that ſlay the body, but have no power to ſlay the ſoul. *And Saint* Paul *likewiſe admoniſhing all them whoſoever covet to be Partakers of the Promiſes of the Lord, to follow the Lord, ſaith*, If we Suffer together with him, we ſhall Reign together, &c.

Cyp. lib. 4. Epiſt. 6.

Cyp. lib. 4. Epiſt. 6.

Furthermore, as the ſame Cyprian *doth encourage here the holy Martyrs which were in Captivity to perſiſt: ſo likewiſe writing to the Prieſts and Deacons which were free, he exhortith them to be ſerviceable and obſequious with all care and love, to cheriſh and embrace them that were in bonds*, Cyprian, lib. 3. Epiſt. 6. Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good Biſhop toward the Church of Chriſt, although being now in exile in the time of this Emperor *Gallus*.

In the ſame time, under the ſaid *Gallus* reigning with his Son *Voluſianus*, was alſo *Lucius* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent to baniſhment, who next ſucceeded after *Cornelius* in that Biſhoprick, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and ſix. Albeit in this baniſhment he did not long continue, but returned home to his Church, as by the Epiſtle of Saint *Cyprian*, *lib. 3. Epiſt. 1.* may appear. As to all other Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe Primitive days certain decretal Epiſtles with ſeveral Ordinances be aſcribed, bearing their Names and Titles, as hath been before declared: So alſo hath *Lucius* one Epiſtle fathered upon him, in the which Epiſtle he writing to the Brethren of *France* and of *Spain*, appointeth ſuch an order and form of the Church as ſeemeth not to agree with the time then preſent: for ſo he declareth in that Epiſtle, *Lucius*.

Lucius Biſhop of *Rome* beheaded. { Anno 255.

The Epiſtle decretal of *Lucius* Biſhop.

The Ordinances of the Church.

that a Bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two Priests with three Deacons waiting upon him to be witnesses, of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not how that time of *Lucius* could serve then for a Bishop to carry such a pomp of Priests and Deacons about him, or to study for any such matter: For so much as Bishops commonly in those days were seldom free to go abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in Prison, or else in banishment. Moreover in the said Epistle how pompously writeth he to the Church of *Rome*? *This holy and apostolical Church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all Churches of Christ, by the Grace of God omnipotent hath never been provoked to swarve out of the path of Apostolical tradition, neither hath ever fallen or been depraved with heretical innovations: But even as in the first beginning it received the rule of the Apostolical faith by his first instructors, the Princes of the Apostles, so it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end.*

The pompous Stile of the Church of Rome.

Unto this *Lucius* also is referred in the decrees of *Gratian* this constitution, that no Minister whatsoever after his ordination, would at any time reenter into the chamber of his own wife, in pain of losing his Ministery in the Church, &c. *Eusebius* in his seventh Book making mention of the death of *Lucius*, and not of his Martyrdom, saith that he sat but eight months: But *Damasus* in his Martyrologe holdeth that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of *Valerian* and *Galienus* Emperors, and so doth also *Marianus Scotus* and *Nauclerus*, with other that follow *Damasus*, affirm the same.

Dist. 81. ministri. Ministers restrained from their own Wives. *Eusebius* and *Damasus* vary in time. *Lucius* Bishop of *Rome* martyr.

After him came *Stephanus* next Bishop of *Rome* following *Lucius*, whom *Damasus*, *Platina*, and *Sabellicus* affirm to have sit seven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Contrary *Eusebius*, and *Volateranus* holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh most near to the truth, I leave to the Readers Judgment. Of his two Epistles decretal, and of his Ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to say, for two respects; either for that concerning these decretal Epistles and ordinances of Stephanus. satisficiously intituled to the names of the Fathers of the primitive Church sufficiently hath been said before; or else because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it self therein contained is such, that although no testimony came against it, yet it easily refelleth it self. As where in the second Epistle he decreeth. *That no Bishop being expulsed out of his seat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himself: before that by the Law regularly he be restored again fully to his former state, and that the Primates and the Synod, render unto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the Laws canon and also secular.* First here I would define the Reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himself, who be these here meant which either sued or might despoile these Bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such wrongful causes, but only Kings and Emperors, which at this time were not yet Christned, nor used any such proceedings against these Bishops, in such sort as either Primates of Synods could restore them again to their places and possessions: Again, what private goods or possessions had Bishops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the Church, it pertained not properly to the Bishop, but went in general to the subvention of the poor in the Church, as in the Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Fabius* may appear, alledged in *Eusebius*, *lib. 6. cap. 43.* where he speaking of his Church, and declaring how there ought to be but one Bishop in the same, inferreth mention of forty and six Priests, seven Deacons, with seven Subdeacons, forty two Acolathes, of Widdows and poor afflicted persons, to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nourished in the same by the mercifull benignity and providence of God: *Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43.* It followeth more in the end of the said Canon, *Which thing is forbidden both by the Lawes Ecclesiastical, and also secular, &c.* Now what Lawes secular were in the time of *Steven*, for Bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored again to their state, let any Reader marking well the state of the heathen Laws that then were, Judge: and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to discribe the untruth hereof.

No Bishop ought to be accused, after he be expulsed, before he be restored again.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second Epistle of *Stephanus* it may be easily espied, this Epistle to be fained and misauthorised, especially by the fift canon of the said Epistle, where he so solemnly entreateth of the difference between Primats, Metropolitans, and Arch-Bishops: Which destinction of degrees and titles, favouring more of ambition than of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this Epistle not to be written by this *Stephan*, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the Church began to be setled in more prosperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is prescribed by the sixth and seventh canon of the *Nicene* council, decreeing of the same matter.

Primats. Metropolitans. Arch-Bishops.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said Epistle, where he willeth and appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper Province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, unless (saith he) the Appeal be made to the apostolical See of *Rome*; which favoureth in my nose rather of a smack of *Popery*, than of the vain of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the Bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretal Epistle of *Stephanus*, although of the first Epistle also written to *Hilarius*, something may be said; as where he speaketh in the said Epistle of holy Vestiments, and holy Vessels, and other ornaments of the Altar serving to divine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of Priests alone. Concerning all which implements my opinion is this; I think the Church of *Rome*, not to have been in so good state then, that either *Stephanus* or *Sixtus* before him, being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in publick Churches: Neither do I see how the Heathen in those days would have suffered those ornaments to be unconsumed, which would not suffer the Bishops themselves to live amongst them, notwithstanding *Idoras* and *Polydoras* judge the contrary. Between this *Stephan* and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* was a great contention about rebaptising *Hereticks*, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Lawful to appeal to Rome.

Vestiments and holy vessels serving for the Altar.

Besides these Bishops above specified, divers other there were also sent into banishment under the forenamed Emperors, *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*, as appeareth by *Dionysius* writing to *Hermanius* on this wise: That *Gallus* not seeing the evil of *Decius*, nor forbearing the occasion of his seduction and ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: For when at the first beginning his Empire went prosperously forward, and all the things were luckily with him, afterward he drave out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1.* Otherwise of any bloodshed, or any Martyrs that in the time of this Emperor were put to death, we do not read.

Bishops letted in the time of *Gallus*.

After the Reign of which Emperor *Gallus*, and of his son *Voluſianus* being expired (who Reigned but two years) *Emilianus*, which slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place, who Reigned but three months, and was also slain. Next to whom *Valerianus* and his son *Galienus* were advanced to the Empire.

Gallus and *Voluſianus* Reigned two years. *Emilianus* Emperor three months. *Valerianus* and *Galienus* Emperors.

About the changing of these Emperors the persecution which first began at *Decius*, and afterward slacked in the time of *Gallus*, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great Plague reigning in all places, partly by the change of the Emperors, although it was not very long. For *Valerianus* in the first entrance of the Empire, for the space of three or four years, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the Senate.

Persecution ceased for a time.

The good beginning of *Valerian*.

Neither was there any of all the Emperors before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewed himself so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did: In so much that (as *Dionysius* writing to *Hermanis* doth testifie) all his whole court was replenished with holy Saints and servants of Christ said Godly persons, to that

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Niceph. lib. 6. cap. 10.

his house might seem to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long. For in proces of time this *Valerian* being charmed or incensed by a certain *Egyptian*, a chief Ruler of the Heathen Synagogue of the *Egyptians*, a master of the Charmers or Inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his Magical feats for the Christians, was so far infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable provocations of that devilish *Egyptian*, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in sacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the intrails of children new born; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth Persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked *Egyptian* could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his Magical Inchantings, about the year of our Lord 259.

Wicked counsel what evil it doth.

The eighth Persecution.

The eighth persecution. Anno 259.

IN the which Persecution the chief administers and executers were *Emilianus* Prefident of *Egypt*, *Paternus* and *Galerius Maximus*, Proconsuls in *Africa*. *Bergomensis* also maketh mention of *Paternus* Vicegerent of *Rome*, and of *Perennius*. *Vincentius* speaketh also of *Nicerius* and *Claudius* Presidents, &c.

The chief executors of this Persecution.

The special causes of this persecution. *Cyp. lib. 4. Epist. 6.*

What was the chief original cause of this Persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked *Egyptian*: but as this was the outward and political cause, so *S. Cyprian* sheweth other causes more special and Ecclesiastical in his fourth book, *Epist. 4.* whose words be these: *But we* (saith he) *must understand and confesse, that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume it, riseth chiefly of our own wickedness and sins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our institution. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and study set upon lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity, and faithful dealing, renouncing this World in word only, but not living in deed, every man pleasing himself: and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the Confessors themselves (such as have bid the trial of their confession) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puft up with this swelling and unmannerly bragging, of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send us to the Crown, except by the mercy of God, some, being taken away by quickness of death, do prevent the tediousness of punishment. These things do we suffer for our sins and desarts, as by the Lords censure we have been forewarned, saying:* If they shall forsake my Law, and will not walk in my Judgments; if they shall prophane my Institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. *These rods and scourges* (saith he) *we feel, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds.* Wherefore the said *Cyprian* adding this exhortation withal, *exhorted them to pray and intreat from the bottom of their heart and whole mind, the mercy of God, which promiseth, saying:* But yet my mercy I will not scatter from them, &c. *Let us ask, and we shall obtain; and though* (saith *Cyprian*) *is be with tariance, yet for so much as we have grievously offended, let us continue knocking, for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our prayers, sighings, and weepings knock still at the door with continuance, and if our prayers be joyned together with brotherly agreement, &c.* Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Christians, he further specifieth in the said Epistle, which chiefly were division and dissention among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a Vision by these words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, *Pray and ye shall obtain*: afterward it was required of the Congregation there present, to direct their prayers for certain persons alligned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissonant in their consent and petition; *which*

The sins of the Christians, cause of persecution.

Our sins give Satan power to afflict us.

Dissord and distrion among the brethren.

thing (saith *Cyprian*) *did greatly displease him that spake unto them*, Pray, and ye shall obtain, *for that there was no uniform equality of voice and heart, nor one simple and joynt concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in the sixty seventh Psalm, God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c.* And so by the occasion hereof, he writeth unto them in the foresaid Epistle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement. *For* (saith he) *if it be promised in the Gospel to be granted what soever any two consenting together shall ask, what shall then the whole Church do agreeing together? Or what if this unanimity were among the whole Fraternity? Which unanimity* (saith *Cyprian*) *if it had been then amongst the brethren*, Non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in unum fraternitas fuiſſet animata: that is, *These evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joyned together in brotherly unanimity, &c.*

Psal. 67.

After the causes thus declared of this and other Persecutions, the said Saint *Cyprian* moreover in the forenamed Epistle (worthy to be read of all men) describeth likewise a certain Vision, wherein was shewed unto him by the Lord before the Persecution came, what should happen. The Vision was this. *There was a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sate a young man very sad and pensive, as one with an indignation sorrowful, holding his hand upon his breast, his countenance heavy and unchearful. On the left hand sate another person, having in his hand a Net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marvelling that saw the sight thereof, it was said unto him: The young man, whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad and sorry that his precepts be not observed. But he on the left hand glanceth, and is merry, for that occasion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this Vision was seen long before this tempest of Persecution happened, wherein is declared the same that before is said; the sins of the People to be the cause why Satan, in this Persecution and all others, hath had and hath still such power with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of Christian men, and all because* (saith *Cyprian*) *we forslack our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we should: wherefore the Lord, because he loveth us, correcteth us: correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to save us, &c.* Cyprian.

A Vision forthwaying perſecution to come. *Cyp. lib. 4. epiſt. 4.*

Furthermore, the same *Cyprian*, and in the same Epistle, writing of his own revelation or message sent to him, thus saith: *And to his least servants hath simple and unworthy* (meaning himself) *God of his tender goodness hath vouchsafed to direct this word: Tell him* (saith he) *that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come, albeit a little stay there is for a while: for that some remain yet to be proved and tryed, &c.* And sheweth also in the same place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drink, left his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able to prayer and spiritual exercise.

Another revelation shewed to *S. Cyprian.*

Spare diet and sober drink convenient in a Christian Bishop.

Finally, in the later end of the foresaid Epistle mention also followeth of other revelations or shewings: *Wherein the Lord* (saith *Cyprian*) *doth vouchsafe to many of his servants to fore-shew to come the restoring of his Church, the stable quiet of our health and safeguard; after rain fair weather, after darkness light, after stormy tempest peaceable calm, the fatherly help of his love, the wont and old glory of his divine Majesty, whereby both the blasphemy of the Persecutor shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as have fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoyce and glory.* Thus much hath *S. Cyprian* written of these things to the Clergy. *Libi 4. Epist. 4.*

The peace of the Church to come, foreshewed by the Lord.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this Persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principal: First, because they refused to do worship to their Idols and to the Emperors; then for that they professed the Name of Christ: besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the World, as Wars, Famine and Pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling Accusations *Cyprian* doth eloquently defend the Christians in his Book *Contra*

Crimes and causes fally laid to the Christians.

The Apology of *Cyprian* for the Christians.

The number of the poor found at *Rome* by the Church goods.

Cyp. Contra Demetrianum. Cypr. de Idolorum vanitate.

Demetrianum : like as *Tertullian* had done before, writing *contra Scapulam*. *And first touching the objection, for not worshipping Idols, be cleareth the Christians both in his Book* Contra Demetrian. *And also* De vanitate idol. *proving those Idols to be no true Gods, but images of certain dead Kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such us worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimony of* Sosthenes, Plato *and* Trismegistus, *the which God the Christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of publick calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles Idols, be purgeth the Christians thereof, proving that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of Nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Again for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that towards the end of the World should come Wars, Famine and Pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper than other, it is most like to be imputed to their vain Idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickedness of the people, so that to speak in his own words,* Famem majorem facit rapacitas quam ficitias, *that is, Famine cometh more by avarice of men, than by drought of the Air: but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruel shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians, &c.*

Thus with many other more probations doth *Cyprian* defend the Christians against the barbarous exclamations of the Heathen Gentiles. Of which *Cyprian*, for so much as he suffered in the time of this Persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and Martyrdom, as the worthiness of that man deserveth to be remembred. Of this *Cyprian* therefore, otherwise named *Statius*, thus writeth *Nicephorus*, *Nazianzenus*, *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Henricus de Erfordia*, *Volaterranus*, *Hieronymus*, and others; that he being an *African*, and born in *Carthage*, first was an Idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the Magical Arts; of whose parentage and education in Letters from his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy Rhetorician in *Africa*: of whose Conversion and Baptism he himself in his first Book and second Epistle writeth a flourishing and eloquent History. Which his conversion unto the Christian Faith, as *Hieronymus* affirmeth in his Commentary upon *Jonas*, was through the grace of God, and the means of *Cecilius* a Priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the History of the Prophet *Jonas*. The same *Hierome* moreover testifieth how he immediately upon his Conversion distributed among the poor all his substance, and after that, being ordained a Priest, was not long after constituted Bishop of the Congregation of *Carthage*. But whether he succeeded *Agrippinus* of whom he often maketh mention (which also was the first author of Rebaptisation) or some other Bishop of *Carthage*, it remaineth uncertain. But this is most true, he himself shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and vertues, that, as *Nazianzenus* writeth, he had government of the whole *East Church*, and Church of *Spain*, and was called the Bishop of the Christian men.

The Country and education of *Cyprian*.

The Conversion of *Cyprian*.

Cyprian made first Priest, then Bishop of *Carthage*.

The vertues of *Cyprian* life deficiled.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly Vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy Writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithal sharp and severe in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first Book and third Epistle.

The care of *Cyprian* toward the afflicted brethren.

Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the Martyrs, as appeareth by his Letters to the Elders and Deacons of his Bishoprick, that with all study and endeavour they should gently entertain and shew pleasure unto the Martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The modesty of *Cyprian* in conferring with his fellow brethren.

The third Epistle of his first Book doth declare of what stomack and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the consent of his fellow Bishops and other inferior Ministers: and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth Epistle of his third Book witness. He was of a marvelous liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other Countries: for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they would help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty fourth Epistle of his third Book. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the Visions and heavenly admonitions of the Persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the government of the Church in his first book and third epistle, and fourth book and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain Vision which we have before sufficiently expressed.

Visions touching the troubles and peace of the Church, received and expounded by *Cyprian*.

The judgment of *Augustine* upon the Books of *Cyprian*. *Augustin. cont. Cresconium Grammat. lib. 2. cap. 32.*

He had moreover great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the sixth Epistle of his fourth book. Also *Augustine* doth attribute unto him many worthy vertues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humility in his second book of Baptism, the fourth Chapter against the *Donatists*; and in his seventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also of his courtesie and meekness: by which vertues he concealed nothing that he understood, but uttered the same meekly and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiastical peace and concord with those that were of another opinion than he was of. Lastly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice any man, but followed that thing which seemed good in his judgment, it is manifest in St. *Augustine* his first book, *De baptismo contra Donatistas*. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that *Hierome* writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of *Tertullian*: for he saith, that he saw a certain old man whose name was *Paulus*, which told him he saw the Notary of blessed *Cyprian*, being then an old man, when he himself was but a springal in the City of *Rome*, and told him that it was *Cyprians* wont, never to let one day pass without some reading of *Tertullian*, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say unto him: *Give me my Master*, meaning thereby *Tertullian*.

Cyprian held in great estimation.

Now a few words touching his Exile and Martyrdom. Of his Epistles which he wrote back to his Congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he sheweth the vertue befeeming a faithful Pastor, in that he took no less care as well of his own Church, as of other Bishops being absent, than he did being present. Wherein also he himself doth signifie that voluntarily he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to the Congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to be done in the Reign of *Decius* or *Gallus*. But after that he returned again out of exile in the Reign of this *Valerianus*, he was also after that the second time banished of *Paternus* the Proconsul of *Africa* into the City of *Thurbin*, as the Oration of *Augustine* touching *Cyprian* sheweth; or else, as *Pontius* the Deacon saith, into a City named *Curabilitana*, or *Curabilitana*. But when *Paternus* the Proconsul was dead, *Galienus Marimus* succeeded in the room and office of *Paternus*, who finding *Cyprian* in a Garden, caused him to be apprehended by his Serjeants, and to be brought before the Idols to offer Sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the Proconsul breaking forth in these words, said, *Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thy self an enemy to the Gods of the* Romans, *and to their holy laws: neither could the sacred Emperors* Valerianus *and* Gallienus *revoke thee to the Sect of their ceremonies*. At length the wicked Tyrant condemned him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the Sword, as *Hieronymus* affirmeth. And so this blessed Martyr ended this present life in the Lord; *Xistus* then being Bishop of *Rome*, as *Eusebius* noteth, in the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine. *Sabellicus* saith that he was martyred in the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, *Lucius* being Bishop of *Rome*: but that seemeth not like.

The first banishment of *Cyprian*.

The second banishment of *Cyprian*.

The appreheusion of *Cyprian*.

The Martyrdom of *Cyprian*.

Anno 259

Now

The Books of *Cyprian*.

Now remaineth to speak something likewise of his Works and Books left behind him, although all peradventure that he wrote do not remain: whereof some are missing, some again, in the livery of his Name and Title, are not his: but such as be certainly his, by the stile and sense may soon be discerned; such is the eloquence of his phrase, and gravity of his sentence, vigor of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his Books with us extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the School of Rhetoricians, so is the authority thereof no less of Reputation, not only among us of this age of the Church, but also among the ancient Fathers. Whereof St. *Augustine* speaking in his commendation, saith, *Ego (inquit) literas* Cypriani *non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero: & quod in eis divinarum Scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo, &c.* By which words it may appear that *Augustine*, although he did not repute the Books and Writings of *Cyprian* to be equivalent with the Holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding, next after the Holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

Sentences of *Cyprian* collected. *Ex Vincentio. lib. 12. c. 6.*

Vincentius and *Lazsarus Celestinus* reciting the names of divers Books, bearing the Title of *Cyprian* (more perchance than be truly his) do collect out of them a certain extract of his most pithy Sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taste of the special, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth saying:

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.
Let it not sleep in thy treasures, that may profit the poor.

Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.
Two things never wax old in man, the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever in uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, fiomte pro divina remuneratione distribuendum est.
That which a man must needs forgo of necessity, wisdom it is for a man to distribute so, that God may everlastingly reward him.

Disciplina est morum praesentium ordinata correctio, & malorum praeteritorum regularis observatio.
Discipline is an ordinate amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.

Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnent, desunt: & soli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.
There can be no integrity, whereas they which should condemn the wicked, are ever wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are ever present.

Avari ad hoc tantum possident quae habent, ut ne alteri possidere liceat,
A covetous man only possesseth his goods for this, because another should not possess them.

Sericum & purpurum induit ac Christum induere non possunt.
Women, that advance themselves in putting on silks and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.

Famine crines suos inficiunt malo praesagio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.
They which colour their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to prognosticate of what colour their hair shall be in Hell.

Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit deus; mentiunt, ne cum resurrectionis veneris dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.
They which love to paint themselves in this world otherwise than God hath created them: let them fear, left when the day cometh of resurrection, the Creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat.
He that giveth an alms to the poor, sacrificeth to God an odor of sweet smell.

Contemnenda est omnis injuria praesentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.
All injury of evils present, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, & factis destruere.
To set out vertue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purganda conscientiae.
The more children and greater houshold thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoord up, but to disperse abroad, for that many sins are to be redeemed, many Consciences are to be purged.

Moreover left the *Papists* here should take an occasion by this Text, grounded upon the Text of *Tob.* cap. 4. *Alms* (saith he) *delivereth from all sin and death*: to build up the works of satisfaction, the said *Cyprian*, *Lib. 4. Epist.* 2. more plainly expoundeth both himself, and that place of Scripture, writing in these words: *Quia scriptum est*, *Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat*: Tob. 4. *Non utique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & a qua nos salutaris baptismi & redemptoris nostri gratia liberavit, sed ab illa quae per delicta postmodum serpit, &c.* that is, *Alms do deliver from all sin and from death*, Tob. 4. *Not from that* (faith *Cyprian*) *which the blood of Christ hath once extinguished, and from which the whole fome grace of our Baptism, and of our Redeemer hath delivered us, but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by sin, &c.* *Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epist.* 2. By which words it is apparent, that *Cyprian* meaneth this deliverance (which cometh by Alms giving) from death and sin, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth save us: but for temporal or tranitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal vertues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewise sins committed, may have temporal punishments both in us and in our families, our eternal salvation standing evermore firm in Christ yet notwithstanding.

The place of Scripture expounded. *Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat.* Tob. 4. *Ex Cypr. lib. 4. Epist. 2.*

The foresaid *Vincentius* moreover speaking of another Book of *Cyprian* (although the said Book be not numbred in the Catalogue of his Works) maketh mention of twelve abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these:

Twelve absurdities in the life of man noted out of *Cyprian*.

1. *Sapiens sine operibus.* A wise man without good works.
2. *Senex sine Religione.* An old man without Religion.
3. *Adolescens sine obedientia.* A young man without obedience.
4. *Dives sine eleemosyna.* A rich man without Alms.
5. *Famina sine pudicitia.* A woman shameless.
6. *Dominus sine virtute.* A guid without vertue.
7. *Christianus contentiosus.* A Christian man contentious.
8. *Pauper superbus.* A poor man proud.
9. *Rex iniquus.* A King unrighteous.
10. *Episcopus negligens.* A Bishop negligent.
11. *Plebs sine Disciplina.* People without Discipline.
12. *Populus sine lege.* Subjects without Law.

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of *Cyprian* this blessed Martyr: so must we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger, which the *Papists* are commonly accustomed to run into, whose fault is always almost to be immoderate and excesive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So in speaking of the Holy Sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of Sacraments require; not ufing them, but abuling them, not referring or applying them, but adorning them, not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himself, turning Religion into Superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselves signified, *&c.* To the Church likewise and ceremonies of the Church, to General Councils, to the blessed Virgin *Mary* Mother of Christ, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to all other in like case; not contented to attri-

The fault of *Papists* to make too much of every thing.

bute that which is sufficient, they exceed moreover, the bounds of judgment and verity, judging so of the Church, and General Councils, as though they could never, or did never err in any jot. That the blessed Mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a Virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth give: but to say that she was born without all original sin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but only for order sake, unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our Religion, yea, and also of Salvation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the *Papists* have not exceeded?

How far the authority of the Doctors ought to extend.

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the *Papists*, we must beware in commending the Doctors and Writers of the Church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration, go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy *Cyprian*, and other blessed Martyrs were holy Men; yet notwithstanding, they were Men, that is, such as might have, and had their falls and faults; Men, I say, and not Angels, nor Gods to be saved by God, not saviours of Men, nor Patrons of Grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy Doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their Books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said, it must stand for a truth. That preeminence of authority only belongeth to the Word of God, and not to the Pen of Man. For of Men and Doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehension. In *Origen* (although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular) yet how many things be there, which the Church now holdeth not? But examining him by Scriptures, where he said well, they admit him, where otherwise, they leave him. In *Polycarpus*, the Church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the *Easter* day after the *Jews*. Neither can holy and blessed *Ignatius* be defended in all his sayings; as where he maketh the fasting upon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Christ himself: *Ignat. Epist. ad Philip.* contrary to this saying of Saint *Paul*, *Let no man judge you in meat and drink*: also where the said *Ignatius* speaketh *De Virginitate*, and of other things more. *Irenæus* did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free will in man, in those things also that be spiritual. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old, abusing this place of the Gospel, *Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c. Tertullian* (whom Saint *Cyprian* never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a *Chiliast*: also to have been of *Montanus* Sect. The same did hold also with *Justine*, *Cyprian*, and others, that the Angels fell first for the concupiscence of women: *Lib. de habitu mulierum*. He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them, which defend the possibility of keeping Gods Law. Concerning Marriage; *Unum matrimonium (inquit) novimus, sicut unum Deum*: that is, *We know* (saith he) *one Marriage, as we know one God*; condemning the second Marriage. *Lib. de Monogam.* Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted. *Justinus* also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the *Chiliasts*, of the fall of certain Angels by Women, of free will of man, of possibility of keeping the Law, and such others. Neither was this our *Cyprian*, the great Scholar of *Tertullian*, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptising of such as were before baptised of Hereticks, whereof speaketh Saint *Augustine*, misliking the same error of *Cyprian*, in these words contained in his second Book *Contra Crescon.* *Cyprianus, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo, ejus multis Literis mea scripta non comparo, ejus ingenium diligo, ejus ore delector, ejus charitatem miror, ejus martyrium veneror: non accepio quod de baptizandis hæreticis & schismaticis sensit. &c.* Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the said *Cyprian* and *Stephan* Bishop of *Rome*, as partly afore is noted. Of *Augustine* himself likewise, of *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose at this present to intreat. And thus much concerning the story of *Cyprian*, the holy learned Martyr of Christ.

The blemishes and errors of Doctors noted.

Origen.

Polycarpus.

Ignatius.

Irenæus.

Tertullian.

Justinus.

Cyprian.

Contention between *Cyprian* and Stephanus Bishop of *Rome*.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of *Cyprian*, that this *Cyprian* was not he whom the narration of *Nazianzen* speaketh of (as is above mentioned) who from Art Magick was converted to be a Christian, which *Cyprian* was a Citizen of *Antioch*, and afterward Bishop of the same City, and was martyred under *Diocletian*: whereas this *Cyprian* was Bishop of *Carthage*, and died under *Valerianus*, as is said, *&c.* By the decrees of *Gratian, dist.* 10. *quoniam*, it appeareth moreover that there was also a third *Cyprian* in the time of *Julianus* the Emperor *Apostata*, long after both these aforenamed: for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, *Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori*: the distinction beginning: *Quoniam idem Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus, sic aliibus proprius, & dignitatibus distinctus officia potestatis utriusque disseruit, &c.* Upon the which distinction the gloss cometh in with these words, saying, *that the Popedome, and the seat Imperial, have both one beginning of one, that is Christ: who was both Bishop, and King of Kings.* And that the said dignities be distinct, albeit the Pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometime. *And therefore although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other, so that the imperial dignity is subject under the Papal Dignity, as the inferiour is subject under the superiour: that as there is one ruler over the whole World, which is God: so in the Church is one Monarch, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion.* Hæc glossa.

Cyprian differs not from the rest of that name.

Dist. 10. Quoniam.

Gloss. dist. 22. A blind gloss claiming both the swords to the Popes hand.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon *Cyprian*, which is false: for this *Cyprian* was not in the time of *Julian*, not by two hundred years, and so likewise the other *Cyprian*, which died Martyr under *Diocletian*. Of any *Cyprian* besides these two we read not; neither is it credible, that, if there were any such *Cyprian*, he would ever have written of any such matter, of the difference and mutual need of Christian Emperors and Christian Popes; when as that Emperor being an *Apostata*, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any Pope.

A distinction of God, no disposed.

About this time, and under the same Emperor *Valerianus* suffered also *Xistus*, or *Sixtus*, the second of that name, Bishop of *Rome*, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six Deacons to the place of execution, where he with *Nemesius* and other his Deacons were beheaded and suffered Martyrdom. *Laurence* in the same time, being also Deacon, followed after, complaining to *Xistus* (as one being grieved) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the son from the father. To whom the Bishop answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The Judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that *Laurence* had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of the story here under written more fully may appear. Which History, because it is set forth more at large in *Prudentius*, *Ambrose*, and other Writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the Reader; we have therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the farther admiration of his patience, and God his glory shewed in him.

Xistus the second Bishop of *Rome* Martyr.

Six Deacons with *Xistus* Martyrs.

Now then, as order required, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous Martyr of Christ S. *Laurence*, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts, as is the flourishing Laurel tree. This thirsty heart longing after the water of life, so deirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd *Xistus*, led as an harmeless Lamb, of harmeful Tyrants to his Death, cryed out with open mouth and heart invincible,

saying,

The story & martyrdom of Laurence.

The words of *Laurence* to *Xistus*.

saying: O dear Father, Whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? Whither hastnest thou, O reverend Priest, without thy Deacon? Never wait thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy Minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved unnatural? None try, sweet Father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful Minister or not? Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lords blood? See that thy Judgment be not mistaken, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abusing of the Scholar is the disgracing of the Master. What? Have we not learned that worthy Masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their Disciples and Scholars? Finally, *Abraham* sacrificed his only begotten *Isaac*; stoned *Stephan*, prepared the way to Preaching *Peter*: Even so Father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy son. Offer thou him that prosfereth himself; grant that the body of thy Scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with tears Saint *Laurence* uttered, not because his Master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of Deaths, cup which he thirsted after.

Some say that this Tyrant was *Decius* the Emperor, but that cannot be, except *Galienus* or some other Judge now was called by the name of *Decius*.

The answer of *Xistus* to *Laurence*.

Then *Xistus* to his son shaped this answer: I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. O feeble and weak old man I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier Death: But lusty and young thou art, and more lustily, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph over this Tyrant: Thy time approacheth, cease to weep and lament, three days after thou shalt follow me: Decent it is that this space of time come between the Priest and the Levite. It may not beseem thee, O sweet pupil, to triumph under thy Master, left it be said, he wanted an helper. Why craveth thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So *Helias* left behind him his beloved *Helisæus*. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues. Such was their contention, not unmeet for so Godly a Priest, and so zealous a Minister; striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical Histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when *Pilades* named himself *Orestes*; *Orestes* (as truth it was) affirmed himself to be *Orestes*: *Pilades* willing to die for *Orestes*, *Orestes* not suffering *Pilades* to lose his life for his sake; but neither of them might escape Death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our *Laurence*, the Martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeal and fervent spirit, who thirsting after the Cup of Martyrdom, had it thortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let us draw near to the fire of Martyred *Laurence*, that our cold Hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless Tyrant, understanding this vertuous Levite, not only to be a Minister of the Sacraments, but a distributer also of the Church riches (wherof mention is made before in the words of *Xistus*) promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one filly Sheep. First with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the Treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of Tyranny, so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their Profession: With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolfe demanded where this Deacon *Laurence*, had bestowed the substance of the Church? Who craving three days respite, promised to declare where the Treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be Congregated. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant *Laurence* stretching out his Arms over the poor, said: These are the precious Treasure of the Church, these are the Treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ Reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me. And again; Look what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor People, in whom he loved to be seen? Oh, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrants Heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a Bore fomed, his teeth like a helhound grinned. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaring Lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cryed) of wood make no spare. Hath this valkain deluded the Emperor? Away with him, away with him: Whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traytor with the Emperor? Pinch him with fiery Tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of Iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: Roft him, broil him, to fit him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office. O tormentors. The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

Laurence's tormented on the fiery gridiron.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of Iron, but on his soft bed of Down. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr *Lawrence*, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of consuming pain, but a palace of nourishing rest was it unto *Lawrence*. Not *Lawrence*, but the Emperor might seem to be tormented: The one broyling in the flesh, the other burning in the Heart. When this triumphant Martyr had been pressed down with fire-picks for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished Tyrant.

The stately patience of *Laurence* in his pains.

This side is now rosted enough, turn up O Tyrant great: Assay whether rosted or raw, thou thinkest the better meat.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burneth, but by means unspeakable doth recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightily comforteth thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in Gods promises infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr overcometh his torments, vanquisheth this Tyrant, confoundeth his Enemies, confirmeth the Christians, sleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace by the life of *Laurence* to learn in Christ to live, and by his death to learn for Christ to die, Amen.

The martyr doth end of blessed *Laurence*.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear Saints (like good seed) never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth forne increase: So it pleased the Lord to work at the Martyrdom of this holy *Laurence*, that by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certain Souldier of *Rome* being therewith compunched, and converted to the same faith, he being called for of the Judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded. *Henr. de Erford.*

A Roman souldier converted by *Laurence*, and martyred.

Under the same *Velerianus*, suffered also *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren: Of the which he writeth himself, and is alledged in the Ecclesiastical story of *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11.* the words whereof tend to this effect. *Dionysius* with three of his Deacons, to wit, *Maximus*, *Faustus* and *Cheremon*, also with a certain Brother of *Rome*, came to *Emilianus* then president, who were declared unto them in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his Lords and Emperors; who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Empery, asking them what answer they would give him thereunto: Trusting as he said that they would not shew themselves ingrateful, to the clemency of them which so gently did exhort them. To this *Dionysius* answering, said: All men worship not all Gods, but divers men, divers Gods; so as every one hath in himself a mind or Phantasie to worship. But we worship not many, nor divers Gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our Lords, *Valerianus* and *Galienus*, the government of their Empery, making to him our prayers incessantly

Dionysius Bishop of *Alexandria*, with his fellowes banished.

The example and pation of *Dionysius* before the President.

for

The true Treasure of Christ his Church.

for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the President said: And what hurt is it, sith that you may both worship your God, what God soever he be, and these our Gods also? For you are commanded to worship such Gods, as all men know to be Gods. *Dionysius* answered, We worship none other, but as we have said. *Emilianus* the President said; I see you are ingrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the Emperor; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this City, but shall be sent out to the parts of *Libya*, unto a Town called *Cephro*: For that place by the commandment of the Emperor I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convent your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you. And it followeth more of the said *Dionysius*, speaking of himself: And as for me (saith he) although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one days respite. And how (said he, writing to *Germanus*) could I congregate, or not congregate any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth; And yet neither am I altogether absent from the Corporal society of the Lords flock, but I have collected them together, which were in the City, being absent, as though I had been present; absentin body, yet present in Spirit. And in the same *Cephro*, a great Congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the City, as also of them which were remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his Word: Although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their Idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the Word was preached to them which before were infidels: Which Ministery after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For *Emilianus* translated us from thence to more sharp and stricter places of *Libia*, and commanded us to meet all together at the City *Mareota*: Thinking there to separate us severally into sundry Villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was affigned to me (saith *Dionysius*) to go to *Collunthian*, which place I never heard of before: Which was the more grief to me; yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was near to a City named *Peretonium*. For as my being at *Cephro* got me the acquaintance of many brethren of *Egypt*, so my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the City, might procure the familiarity and concourse of certain loving brethren, which would resort and assemble with us, and so it came to pass, &c.

Moreover, the said *Dionysius* in his Epistle, *Ad Domitium & Dydimum*, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of *Valerian*, recordeth in these words, saying: *It were superfluous (saith he) here to recite the names, peculiarly of all our brethren slain in this persecution, which both were many, and to me unknown.* But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, fouldiers, simple innocents, and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtain victory, and got the Crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved. In the which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other opportune time known unto the Lord, which saith: *In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee, &c.* Now as concerning my self in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I and *Caius*, and *Faustus*, *Petrus* and *Paulus*, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certain of the Town of *Mareota*, I have declared to you before. Now I and *Caius*, and *Petrus* alone are left here included in a Weft place of *Libia*, distant the space of three days journey from *Peretonium*, &c. And in process further he addeth: In the City (saith he) were certain which privily visit the brethren: Of Priests, *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius* and *Lucius*. For they which were more notable in the world, *Faustinus* and *Aquila*, do wander abroad in *Egypt*. Of the Deacons besides them whom sickness hath consumed, *Faustus*, *Eusebius*, and *Cheremon* are yet alive. *Eusebius* hath God raised and stirred up to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed Martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the President cease yet to this day, cruelly murthering such as be brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, enquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding God with cheerfulness, and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. *Hæc Dionysius.*

Concerning these Deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that *Eusebius* afterward was made Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. *Maximus* the Priest aforesaid, had the ministration of the Church of *Alexandria* after *Dionysius*. *Faustus* long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution, where he being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a Martyr.

As touching *Dionysius* himself, thus the stories report, that he surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of *Valerian*, unto the twelfth year of the Reign of *Galienus*, which was about the year of our Lord, two hundred threescore and eight; and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* the space of seventeen years, and before that had taught the School of the said City of *Alexandria*, the term of sixteen years, after whom succeeded *Maximus*, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and of other also, Martyrs and confessors of *Alexandria*.

In *Cesarea Palestine* suffered also the same time *Priscus*, *Malchus* and *Alexander*, the which three dwelling in the Country, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishness, and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the Crown of Christian martyrdom: And first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to *Cesarea*, and there stepping to the Judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also and in the same City of *Cesarea*, a certain woman, whose name *Eusebius* expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of *Marcion*, was brought before the President, and likewise obtained the same Martyrdom, *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.*

Neither was the City of *Carthage* all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the speculative glass of *Vincentius*, who citing it out of *Hugo*, recordeth of three hundred Martyrs, of which three hundred Martyrs, the story saith thus, that the President setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to *Jupiter*, or else to go into the furnace of lime: Whereupon they all together with a general motion, suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered. *Vincent. Erford.*

In *Africa* also, in the City of *Tuburba*, the said *Vincentius* out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, *Maxima*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*; who, in the persecution of this *Valerian* and *Galienus*, first had given for their drink vineger and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime, then were scorched upon the fiery grid-iron, at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded, *Vincent. Erford.*

In *Simela*, a City in *Italy*, under the *Alps*, one *Pontius* being there apprehended, by the commandment of *Claudius* the President, was hanged first upon the rack, then was caft to the wild beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not touched therewith (if the story of *Vincentius* be true) was beheaded by the rivers side, and his body thrown into the flood, where immediately the same hour, the forefaid *Claudius*, with his affistant *Anabius*, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon,

Zenon Bishop of *Verona*, is said also in the same persecution to sustain Martyrdom.

Moreover, in the same City of *Alexandria* aforesaid, *Bergomensis* in his eighth Book, writing of the story of *Valerianus* Emperor, maketh mention of *Philippus*, Bishop of the said See of *Alexandria*, who (as he saith) was under the said *Valerian* beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such *Philip* was then Bishop of *Alexandria*, or any other, except only *Dionysius*. After whom next succeeded *Maximus*, who remained eighteen years, and after him *Thomas*, &c. So that, by the ancient Records of old Writers, it appeareth not that *Philippus*, or any other of that name was Bishop of *Alexandria*, during this time signified by *Bergomensis*.

Although in some other later Writers, as *Equilinus*, *Antoninus*, and *Bergomensis*, I find a certain History of one *Philippus*, President of *Alexandria* about the same time of *Valerian* and *Galienus*, elected by the Emperor and Senate of *Rome*, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the Christian Faith, and after made Priest or Bishop (as they say) of *Alexandria*: but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient Writers doth manifest. The History of this *Philippus*, witnessed in our later Chronicles, is this, *Philippus* being promoted to the Presidentship of *Alexandria*, came down with his wife *Claudia*, and his two Sons, *Avitus* and *Sergius*, and with his Daughter named *Eugenia*, of the which *Eugenia* a long History full of strange and prodigious Miracles is written of *Antoninus* and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story, leaving to the judgment of the Reader the credit of mine Authors, as he shall see cause.

This *Eugenia* Daughter of *Philippus*, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her Parents in the study of Science and Learning, was by occasion of hearing *Christians* reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two other *Eunuchs* her School-Fellows, called *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*: with whom the taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of Persecution, or refusing to marry with a *Pagan*) unknown to her Parents and Friends did fly away; and because she more boldly the might refort to hear the Readings of *Helenus* then an aged Bishop, and of others, she changed her self into mans Apparel, and named her self *Eugenius*, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certain Monastery, or a Society of *Christians* in the Suburbs of *Alexandria* (although I hardly believe that any Monastery of *Christians* was then in the Suburbs of *Alexandria* permifted) where also at the last, for her excellency of Learning and Vertue, she was made Head of the Place.

Here by the way I omit the Miracles of the forefaid *Helenus*, Bishop (as the story faith) of *Hieropolis*, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked *Zereas* a *Pagan*, remaining in the same unburned. Here also I omit the careful search of her Parents for her, and of the answer of the *Pithonisse* again unto them, that she was taken up to Heaven among the goddesses. I omit moreover the Miracles done by the said *Eugenia*, in healing the Diseases and Sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus, Among others which were by this *Eugenius* cured and restored, there was a certain Matron of *Alexandria*, named *Melanecia*; who, after the had used the help and acquaintance of *Eugenius*, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the luft of her Concupiscence. Informuch that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to intice her to her lewdness. *Eugenius* contrarily exhorted her to vertue and honesty, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. *Melanecia* seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing moreover, that she in detecting of her, would bring her to shame, beginning first to make an Out-cry of *Eugenius*, declaring how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her Accusation before *Philippus* the President, as well against *Eugenius*, as also against the rest of that Company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the Crime began to seem suspicious, and so much the more, because it was objected against the *Christians*. By reason whereof *Eugenius* with her fellow *Christians* was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then *Eugenius* purging her self and her honestly, although with sufficient probation; yet notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever the said could take no place, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own self, as specially of her Brethren, which troubled her more: she desired of the Judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so shewed her self what she was, and how she was his Daughter, the other to be *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*, the two *Eunuchs*, her School-Fellows, uttering moreover to him and to her Brethren, the cause of her departing from them. At the Narration whereof, *Philippus* her Father, and her two Brethren coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their *Eugenia* again, whom they thought had been loft. No leis gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falseness of the other. Whereat the malignant Accuser was with double shame confounded, first, for her dishonesty fally cloaked: secondly, for the untruth of her Accusation openly detected. *Bergomensis* addeth moreover, that the said Accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus *Eugenia* trying her honesty to her Parents and Friends, was not only received of them again, but also by the Grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby *Philippus* the Father of her by Nature, now by Grace was begotten of his own Daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been loft, not only he found again, but also with her found his own Soul, and his own life, which before he had loft indeed. This *Philippus* (saith the story) was made afterward Bishop of *Alexandria*, and there suffered Martyrdom. Concerning whose Martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was Bishop of *Alexandria*, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of *Eusebius* and other ancient Historians.

Likewise it is faid, that *Eugenia*, after the Martyrdom of her Father, returning to *Rome* with *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*, by occasion of converting *Basilla* (who should have been married to a *Pagan* Husband, and was then beheaded) to the Christian Faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first, being tied to a great stone and cast into *Tiber*, where she was carried up from drowning, then put in the hot Baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved: afterward by famishment in Prison, where they say the was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary Miracles I leave to the Reader to judge of them as shall seem good unto him. At last the story saith, he was with the Sword beheaded. *Antonin. Bergom. Ado.*

And because in this present History mention was made of *Helenus*, whom *Antoninus* with his Fellows noteth to be the Bishop of *Hieropolis*, here is to be underfood and observed by the way, that as *Philippus* in the forefaid History is fally said to be Bishop of *Alexandria*; so likewise untrue it is, that *Helenus* was Bishop of *Hieropolis*. For by *Eusebius* it appeareth, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* alledging the words of *Dionysius*, that he was Bishop of *Tarsus*, in *Cilicia*, and had there overlight of that Church from the time of our Lord God, two hundred fifty and four, to the year of our Redemption two hundred seventy and four.

The fixth year of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* we read in the History of *Herfordiensis*, cited out of *Ifuardus*, of *Victor* and *Victorinus*, who lying in Prison the space of three years with *Claudianus* and *Bassa* his wife, are said to have sustained great Torments and Martyrdom for the testimony and Name of Christ, *Ex Ifuardo.*

Aurelius Prudentius, in his Book, Intituled, *Peristephanon*, inferreth mention of *Fructuosus* Bishop of *Tarracontia* in *Spain*, who, with his two Deacons, *Augurius* and *Eulogius*, suffered also Martyrdom, being burned after six days Imprisonment under the foresaid Emperors in his Persecution. The cause of their Punishment was for the Profession of Christs Name; their Judge and Condemner was *Emilianus*; their Imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death minissired unto them was fire; wherein they being all together set with their Arms bound behind

Zenon Martyr.

Bergomensis reproved.

Ex Antonin. part. 1. cap. 6.

The story of *Philippus* and *Eugenia*.

Eugenia leaving her Parents, changeth her self into mans Apparel.

Helenus Bishop of *Hieropolis*.

Eugenia accused of *Melancia*.

Eusebius the Deacon made Bishop of *Laodicea*.

Maximus Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Faustus long preserved, at last a martyr.

The end and death of *Dionysius*.

Priscus, *Malchus*, *Alexander*, a woman, Martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Three hundred martyrs in *Carthage*. *Ex Speculi Vincent. lib. 31. cap. 83.*

Maxima, *Donatilla*, *Secunda*, virgins, Martyrs.

Pontius martyr.

Ex Vincent. lib. 31. cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Eusebii lib. 7. cap. 15.

Commendation of *Eusebius* the Deacon.

Infidels converted by *Dionysius* in his banishment. *Ex Dionys contra Germanum. Ex Euseb. lib. 7.*

Dionysius banished to *Cephro*.

The constant confession of *Dionysius* and his Deacons.

Ex Dionys ad Domitium & Dydimum. Euseb. ibid.

Martyrs of all sorts and ages.

Eugenia known of her Parents.

Philippus by his daughter converted unto Christ.

Philippus Martyr.

Correction of the story above touched. *Ex Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 5.*

Helenus Bishop of *Tarsus*.

False accusation confounded.

Wicked.

hind them; their Bands (as *Prudentius* writeth) were dissolved, their Hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this Judge unto the Bishop was this, *That he should worship the gods whom the Emperor* Galienus *worshipped.* To whom *Fructuosus* the Bishop answering, *Nay* (saith he) *I worship no dumb god of Stocks and Blocks, whom* Galienus *doth worship, but I worship the Lord and Master of* Galienus, *the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose Flock I am here the Pastor and Shepheard.* At this word *Emilianus* answering again, *Nay* (saith he) *say not thou art, but say thou wast.* And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to Heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the Element, which seemed to fly from them, might work his full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the mean space, as they were in the fire, there was a certain Souldier in the house of *Emilianus*, who did see the Heavens above to open, and these foresaid Martyrs to enter into the same, which Souldier likewise shewed the sight the same time unto the Daughter of *Emilianus* the President, who, beholding the same sight with the Souldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruel Father had condemned.

Fructuosus and his Deacons strengthned in the fire.

The favour of God toward his Martyrs openly declared.

As this godly Bishop was preparing to his death (saith *Prudentius*) the Brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readiness the Brethren alſo were diligent about him to pluck off his shoos and hoſe, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the fire: but neither would he ſuffer any Servants help in that wherein he was no leſs willing than able to help himſelf. And thus this bleſſed and fruitful Bishop *Fructuoſus*, with his two Deacons *Augurius* and *Eulogius*, being brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant Confeſſion of the Name of Chriſt with the ſhedding of their blood. *Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.*

The mode-ſty of Fru-ctoſus.

And thus far continued wicked *Valerian* in his tyranny againſt the Saints of Chriſt. But as all the Tyrants before, and Oppreſſors of the *Chriſtians* had their deſerved reward at the juſt hand of God, *which rendreth to every man according to his Works*: ſo this cruel *Valerian*, after he had raigned with his Son *Galienus* the term of ſix or ſeven years, and about two years had afflicted the Church of Chriſt, felt the juſt ſtroke of his hand, whoſe Indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witneſs *Eutropius*, *Pollio*, *Sabellicus*, *Volateranus*: for making his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, whether by the fraud and treaſon of ſome about him, or whether by his own raſhneſs, it is doubtful: but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his Enemies, being about the age of fourſcore years; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched Captivity. Inſomuch that *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians* uſed him (and well worthy) not for his riding-foal, but for his riding-block: for whenſoever the King ſhould light upon his Horſe openly in the ſight of the people, *Valerian*, Emperor *Quondam*, was brought forth in ſtead of a block for the King to tread upon his back in going to his horſeback. And ſo continued this blockiſh butcherly Emperor with ſhame and ſport enough unto his final end, as witneſſeth *Letus* and *Aurelius Victor*.

The notable plague of God againſt *Valerian* the Perſecutor.

Gods puniſhment to be noted.

Albeit *Euſebius*, in a certain Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was ſlain, writing in theſe words, *Sed & ta* Valeriane, *quoniam eandem homicidiorum ſævitiam erga ſubditos Dei exercuiſti, juſtum Dei judicium declaraſti, dum captivus ac vinctus una cum ipſa purpura ac reliquo Imperatorio ornatu abductus ac tandem a Sapore Perſarum Rege excoriari juſſus ſaleque conditus, perpetuum infelicitatis tuæ tropheum exeriſti, &c.* that is, And thou *Valerian*, for ſo much as thou haſt exerciſed the ſame cruelty in murthering of the Subjects of God, therefore haſt proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thy ſelf haſt been bound in Chains, and carried away for a Captive Slave with thy gorgeous Purple, and thy imperial Attire, and at length alſo, being commanded of *Sapores*, King of the *Perſians* to be ſlain and powdered with ſalt, haſt ſet up unto all men a perpetual Monument of thine own wretchedneſs, &c. *Euſeb.*

Euſeb. in ſermone ad concertationem Sanctorum.

Valerian the perſecuting Emperor executioner of the *Perſians.*

The like ſeverity of God his terrible judgment is alſo to be noted in *Claudius* his Preſident and Miniſter of his Perſecutions. Of which *Claudius Hemricus de Erfordia* thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the Devil, in ſuch ſort, that he biting off his own Tongue in many ſmall pieces, ſo ended his life. *Erford.*

The puniſhment of God upon *Claudius*, Preſident to the Emperor.

Neither did *Galienus* the Son of *Valerian*, after the Captivity of his Father, utterly eſcape the righteous hand of God: for beſide the miſerable captivity of his Father, whom he could not reſcue, ſuch portents ſtrange and out of the courſe of nature, ſuch Earth-quakes did happen; alſo ſuch Tumults, Commotions and Rebellions did follow, that *Trebellio* doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in ſundry places all at one time took upon them to be Tyrants and Emperors over the Monarchy of *Rome*, by the means whereof he was not able to ſuccour his Father, though he would. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Galienus*, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his Father, did remove, at leaſt did moderate the Perſecution ſtirred up by the Edicts of *Valerian* his Father, directing forth his Emperial Proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſeen in *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap.* 13. *Emperor and* Cæſar, *Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus*, unto *Dionyſius*, to *Pinna*, and to *Demetrian*, *and to all other the like Biſhops. The bountiful benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole World, to the intent that ſuch, which are detained in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafely return home again from whence they came, and for the ſame cauſe I have here ſent to you the example of my reſcript for you to peruſe and to enjoy; ſo that no man be ſo hardy to vex or moleſt you; and this, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long ſince by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the ſame, I have committed the examplar hereof to the cuſtody of* Aurelianus Cirenius *my chief Steward, where you may fetch the Copy to ſee at your pleaſure.*

Galienus plagued for his perſecution.

Peace granted to the Church.

Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 13.

This Mandate above prefixed did *Galienus* ſend to *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, and other Biſhops, as is premiſed. Another reſcript alſo the ſaid Emperor ſent to other Chriſtian Biſhops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places where they were wont to aſſociate together, called of them *Camiteria.*

Another grant of *Galienus* unto the Chriſtian Biſhops. {Anno 263.}

By this it may appear that ſome peace was granted then under this *Galienus* to the Church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but that ſome there were which ſuffered, of whom was one *Marinus* mentioned in *Euſebius, lib.* 7. This *Marinus*, being a Warrior and a Nobleman in *Cæſarea*, ſtood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of courſe was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that ſhould follow next after him, ſupplanted him both of office and life; for he accuſed him to be a *Chriſtian*, and therefore ſaid that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was againſt their Religion. Whereupon *Achæus*, then being Judge, examined him of his Faith; who finding him to be a *Chriſtian* indeed, and conſtantly to ſtand to his Profeſſion, gave him three hours to deliberate and adviſe with himſelf. There was the ſame time in *Cæſarea* a Biſhop named *Theotecnus*, otherwiſe called *Theodiſius*, who perceiving him to ſtand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himſelf, took him by the hand and brought him into the Houſe or Church of the *Chriſtians*, laying before him a Sword (which he had under his Cloke for the ſame purpoſe) and a Book of the *New Teſtament*, and ſo willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The Souldier immediately without delay ran to the Book of the Goſpel, taking that before the Sword. And thus, he being animated by the Biſhop, preſented himſelf boldly before the Judge, by whoſe Sentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. *Euſebius ibidem.*

Marinus martyred by the Biſhop his order.

Theotecnus Biſhop of Cæſarea.

Euſeb. lib. 7.

Whoſe body being dead, one *Aſyrius* a noble Senator of *Rome*, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that Order (who in the ſame time was there preſent at his Martyrdom) took up and bare upon his own ſhoulders, wrapping it in a rich and ſumptuous Weed, and ſo honourably committed it to the burial. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 16.

Aſyrius a rich Senator and Conſular.

Of

Of which *Aſyrius* the ſaid Author writeth moreover this ſtory, How that in the foreſaid City of *Cæſarea*, the *Gentiles* uſed thereof an ancient cuſtom to offer up a certain Sacrifice by a Fountain ſide, the which Sacrifice by the working of the Devil was wont ſuddenly to vaniſh out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the Inhabiters by. *Aſyrius* ſeeing this, and pittying the miſerable error of the ſimple people, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might not be ſeduced of the Devil any longer: by the vertue of whoſe prayer the Sacrifice was ſeen to ſwim in the water of the Fountain; and ſo the ſtrange wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter could be there wrought any more. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

The cauſe of Satan diſplanted by the prayer of *Aſyrius*. *Euſeb. lib.*7. *cap.* 17.

And becauſe mention is made here of *Cæſarea*, there followeth in the next Chapter of the ſame Author a ſtrange Miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the ſame City was the woman which in the Goſpel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody iſſue, her houſe being in the City of *Cæſarea*. Before the door thereof was ſet up a certain pillar of ſtone, and upon the Pillar an Image was made of braſs, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had ſome ſuit. Againſt the which there was another Image alſo of a man proportioned of the ſame metal, cunningly engraven in a ſhort ſeemly Veſture, and ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which Pillar grew up a certain herb of a ſtrange kind, for of a more ſtrange operation, which growing up to the hem of his Veſture, and once touching the ſame, is ſaid to have ſuch vertue, that it was able to cure all manner of Diſeaſes. This picture of the man (they ſay) repreſented the Image of Chriſt. The Hiſtory is written in *Euſebius*, as is ſaid; the credit whereof I refer to the Reader, whether he will think it true or falſe. If he think it falſe, yet I have ſhewed him mine Author: if he think it true, then muſt he think withall that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the vertue of the Picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumb Pictures, and ingraven no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels; but to be wrought by ſome ſecret permiſſion of God his wiſdom, either to reduce the Infidels at that time to the belief of the ſtory, or to admoniſh the *Chriſtians* to confider with themſelves what ſtrength and health was to be looked for only of Chriſt and no other Advocate; ſeeing the dumb Picture, ingraven in braſs, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure ſo many Diſeaſes. This Picture (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained alſo to his time, which was under *Conſtantinus* the Great.

A miracle noted in *Euſebius*. *lib.*7. *cap.* 18.

A miraculous operation of an herb, touching the hem of Chriſts picture in leal diſeaſes

No miracle be affirmed for pictures.

As touching the line and order of the *Roman* Biſhops hitherto intermitted; after the Martyrdom of *Xiſtus* above ſpecified, the government of that Church was committed next to one *Dionyſius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred ſixty and ſix: Who continued in the ſame the ſpace of nine years, as *Euſebius* ſaith; as *Damaſus* recordeth, but only ſix years and two months. Of his decretal Epiſtles, becauſe ſufficient hath been ſaid before concerning that matter, I omit to ſpeak. After whom ſucceeded *Felix* in the firſt year of *Probus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty, who governed that Church five years, and died, as *Platina* ſaith, a martyr. After him followed *Eutychianus*, and then *Gaius*, both Martyrs, as the Hiſtories of ſome do record.

Another grant of *Galienus* unto the Chriſtian Biſhops. {Anno 263.}

Dionyſius Biſhop of Rome. {Anno 1. 268. 9. Felix biſhop of Rome and Martyr. Eutychianus Biſhop of Rome and Martyr. Gaius Biſhop of Rome and Martyr.

About the time of theſe Biſhops lived *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, who is otherwiſe called *Gregorius Magnus*, whom alſo *Nicephorus* for his miracles calleth *Thaumaturgum*.

Thaumaturgus Biſhop of Cæſarea.

Thus *Galienus* the forefaid Emperor reigned, as is declared, with his Father *Valerian* ſeven years, after whoſe Captivity he ruled the Monarchy alone about nine years, with ſome peace and quietneſs granted to the Church.

Euſeb. lib.

The days of this *Galienus* being expired, followed *Claudius* a quiet Emperor, as moſt ſtories do record. Although *Vincentius* affirmeth that he was a mover of Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, and maketh mention of two hundred ſixty and two Martyrs, which in his time did ſuffer; but becauſe no ſuch Record remaineth to be found in *Euſebius*, who would not have omitted ſome memorial thereof, if it had been true, therefore I refer the ſame to the free judgment of the Reader, to find ſuch credit as it may. This *Claudius* reigned but two years, after whom came

Claudius Emperor. {Anno 270.}

Quintilianus his Brother, next Emperor, and a quiet Prince, who continued but only ſeventeen days, and had to his Succeſſor *Aurelianus*; under whom *Oroſius* in his ſeventh Book doth number the ninth Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*.

Quintilianus Emperor.

The ninth Perſecution.

The ninth perſecution. *Aurelianus* Emperor.

Hitherto from the Captivity of *Valerian*, the Church of Chriſt was in ſome quietneſs till the death of *Quintilianus*, as hath been declared; after whom *Aurelianus* the next Succeſſor poſſeſſed the Crown; who in the firſt beginning of his Reign (after the common manner of all Princes) ſhewed himſelf a Prince moderate and diſcreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a conſtant courſe agreeing to the ſame. Of nature he was ſevere, and rigorous in correcting, diſſolute in manners; inſomuch as it was ſaid of him in a vulgar Proverb, *That he was a good Phyſician, ſaving that he gave too bitter Medicines.* This Emperor being ſick, never ſent for Phyſician, but cured himſelf with abſtinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the Commonwealth, ſo neither was he any great Diſturber of the *Chriſtians*, whom he did not only tolerate in their Religion, but alſo their Councils; and they being the time time aſſembled at *Antioch*, he ſeemed not to be againſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuance of time, through ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certain about him, (as commonly ſuch are never abſent in all places from the ears of Princes) his nature, ſomewhat inclinable to ſeverity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny firſt he ſhewed, beginning with the death of his own Siſters Son, as witneſſeth *Eutropius*. After that he proceeded either to move, or at leaſt to purpoſe Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*; albeit that wicked purpoſe of the Emperor the merciful working of God his hand did ſoon overthrow. For as the Edict or Proclamation ſhould have been denounced for the perſecuting of the *Chriſtians*, and the Emperor now ready to ſubſcribe the Edict with his hand, the mighty ſtroke of the hand of the Lord ſuddenly from above did ſtop his purpoſe, binding, (as a man might ſay) the Emperors hands behind him, declaring (as *Euſebius* ſaith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence againſt the Servants of God, unleſs his permiſſion do ſuffer them, and give them leave. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 30. *Eutropius* and *Vopiſcus* affirm, that as the ſaid *Aurelianus* was purſuing to raiſe Perſecution againſt us, he was ſuddenly terrified with Lightning, and ſo ſtopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fifth or ſixth year of his Reign, he was ſlain between *Biſance* and *Heraclea*, in the way of our Lord two hundred ſeventy and eight. Thus *Aurelianus* rather intended than moved perſecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this Perſecution in ancient Hiſtories and Records of the Church: wherefore I marvail the more that *Vincentius*, collecting out of the *Martyrologies*, hath comprehended ſuch a great Catalogue of ſo many Martyrs, which in *France* and in *Italy* (ſaith he) ſuffered death and torments under this Emperor *Aurelianus*; whereunto *Oroſius* alſo ſeemeth to agree in numbring this to be the ninth Perſecution under the faid *Aurelian*.

A Proverb; A good Phyſician, but he giveth too bitter medicines. Abſtinence the beſt phyſick.

The Counſel of Antioch.

The good beginning of *Aurelian* The Emperor altered by wicked counſel.

A notable example of Gods hand ſtopping perſecution

No power againſt the people of God, except God give leave. The death of *Aurelianus*. {Anno 276.}

Next after *Aurelianus* the ſucceſſion of the Empire fell to *Publius Annius Tacitus*, who reigned but ſix months; him ſucceeded his Brother *Florianus*, who reigned but three-ſcore days; and after him followed *Marcus Aurelius*, ſirnamed *Probus*. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) ſhall appear.

Eutropius, Tacitus Emperor. *Florianus* Emperor.

In the mean time, within the compaſs of theſe Emperors falleth in a ſtory recorded of *Euſebius*, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to underſtand the faithful diligence of good Miniſters, what good it may do in a Common-wealth.

Mention is made before of *Euſebius* the Deacon of *Dionyſius*, whom God ſtirred up to viſit and comfort the Saints that were in priſon and bands, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made Biſhop (as is ſaid) of *Laodicea*. But before he came to *Laodicea* to be Biſhop there, it chanced, the ſaid *Euſebius* remaining as yet at *Alexandria*, the City to be beſieged of the *Romans*, *Pyrrochius* being their Capitain. In which ſiege half of the

City

City did hold with the *Romans*, the other half withstood them. In that part which went with the *Roman* Captain was *Eusebius*, being also in great favour with the Captain for his worthy fidelity and service shewed: with the other half that resisted the *Romans* was *Anatholius* Governor or Moderator then of the School of *Alexandria*, who also was Bishop, after the said *Eusebius*, of *Laodicea*. This *Anatholius*, perceiving the Citizens to be in miserable distress of Famine and Destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sendeth to *Eusebius* being then with the *Romans*, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the City, instructing him moreover what to do in the matter: *Eusebius*, understanding the case, repaireth to the Captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the City from their Enemies, might be licensed to escape and freely to pass, which was to him effoons granted. As *Eusebius* was thus labouring with the Captain; on the other side *Anatholius* for his part laboured with the Citizens, moving them to assemble together, and perswading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the *Romans*. But when the Citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Yet (said *Anatholius*) with this I truth you will be contented if I shall counsel you in this miserable lack of things to avoid out of your City all such superfluities and unnecessary Impediments unto you, as old Women, young Children, aged Men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and less if they live, for spending the Victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the City. The Senate hearing this Sentence, and understanding moreover the grant of the Captain promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. Then *Anatholius* having a special care to them that belonged to the Church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and perswading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the City, and not only them, but also a great number of other more; who perswaded by him under that pretence, changing themselves in women Apparel, or faining some impotency, so escaped out of the City. At whose coming out, *Eusebius* on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole City of *Alexandria* was preserved from destruction. *Eusebius* The piety of *Anatholius* and *Eusebius* to their County.

Eusebius Decon of *Alexandria*. *Anatholius* Rector of the University of *Alexandria*.

Euseb. lib 7. cap. 32. The Prelates of *Rome* are clean contrary to their good Prelates.

lib. 7. cap. 32.

By this little History of *Eusebius* and *Anatholius*, described in the seventh Book of *Eusebius*, *cap.* 32. and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayst partly understand the practise of the Prelates, what it was in those days in the Church, which was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the Common weals wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons *Eusebius* and *Anatholius* may well appear. Unto the which practise if we compare the practice of our later Prelates of the Church of *Rome*, I suppose no little difference will appear.

Marcus Aurelius Probus Emperor.

The next Emperor to *Florianus* (as is said) was *Marcus Aurelius Probus*, a Prince both wise and vertuous, and no less valiant in martial Affairs, than fortunate in the successe of the same. During his time we read of no Persecution greatly stirring in the Church, but much quietness as well in matters of Religion, as also in the Commonwealth. Insomuch that, after his great and many Victories, such peace insued, that his saying was, *There needed no more Souldiers, seeing there were no more Enemies to the Common-wealth to fight against*. It was his saying also, *That his Souldiers need not to spend Corn and Victual, except they laboured to serve the Common-wealth*. And for the same cause he caused his Souldiers to be set a work about certain Mountains in *Smyrna* and in *Messia* to be planted with Vines, and not so much as in Winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slain, after he had reigned the space of six years and four months, in the year of our Lord two hundred eighty and four, *Europ.*

Peace in the Church.

The saying of *Marcus Aurelius*.

Souldiers brought up in idleness can abide no labour. *Marcus Aurelius* slain.

An. 284. *Carus* with his two sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus* Emperors. *Carus* Emperor slain with lightning.

Carus, with his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, succeeded next after *Probus* in the Empire: the Reign of which Emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which Three first *Carus*, warring against the *Persians*, was slain with Lightning. Of *Numerianus* his Son, being with his Father in his Wars against the *Persians*, we find much Commendation in *Eutropius*, *Vopiscus*, and other Writers, which testified him to be a valiant Warrior, and an eloquent Orator, as appeared by his Declamations and Writings sent to the Senate; thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This *Numerianus*, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his Father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he keeping close was slain not long after of his Father in law, named *Aper*; who, traytorously aspiring to the Empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, *For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, till at length by the stinch of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.*

In the life this Emperor *Carus* aforesaid, written by *Eutropius* in the later Edition set forth, by *Frobenius*, I find (which in other Editions of *Eutropius* doth not appear) that *Numerianus*, the Son of this *Carus*, was he that slew *Babylas* the holy Martyr, whose History before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the Narration of *Chrysostome*, and also for that *Urspergensis* declaring the same History, and in the same words, as it is in *Eutropius*, saith that it was *Cyrillus* whom *Numerianus* killed, the Story whereof is this: What time *Carus* the Emperor, in his Journey going toward the *Persians*, remained at *Antioch*, *Numerianus* his Son would enter into the Church of the *Christians*, to view and behold their Mysteries. But *Cyrillus* their Bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the Church, saying, *That it was not lawful for him to see the Mysteries of God, who was polluted with Sacrifices of Idols.* *Numerianus* full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of *Cyrillus*, in his fury did slay the godly Martyr. And therefore justly (as it seemed) was he himself slain afterward by the hands of *Aper*.

Corruption through much peace and prosperity crept into the Church.

Cyrillus Bishop of Antioch slain.

Thus *Carus* with his Son *Numerianus* being slain in the *East* parts, as is declared, *Carinus* the other Son reigned alone in *Italy*; where he overcame *Sabinus* striving for the Empire, and reigned there with much wickedness, till the returning home of the Army again from the *Persians*, who then set up *Diocletian* to be Emperor; by whom the foresaid *Carinus* for the wickedness of his life, being forsaken of his Host, was overcome, and at length slain with the hand of the Tribune, whose wife before he had defloured. Thus *Carus* with his two Sons, *Numerinus* and *Carinus*, ended their lives, whose Reign continued not above three years.

Carinus Emperor slain. *Carinus* Adultery punished.

All this mean space we read of no great Persecution stirring in the Church of Christ, but it was in mean quiet state and tranquility, unto the nineteenth year of the Reign of *Diocletian*; so that in counting the time from the latter end of *Valerian* unto this aforesaid year of *Diocletian*, the peace of the Church, which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue above four and forty years. During the which time of peace and tranquility, the Church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by Persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the *Gentiles* in all quarters, both *Greeks* and barbarous; insomuch that (as *Eusebius* in his seventh Book describeth) amongst the Emperors themselves, divers there were which not only bare singular good will and favour to them of our Profession, but also did commit unto them Offices and Regiments over Countries and Nations, so well were they affected to the Christine, that they priviledged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speak of them which not only lived under the Emperors in liberty; but also were familiar in the Court with the Princes themselves, intertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other Servitors of the Court? As was *Dorotheus*, with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, highly accepted and advanced in the Palace of the Emperor; also *Gorgonius* in like manner with divers others more, who, for their Doctrine and Learning which they professed, were with their Princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the Bishops of Cities and Dioceses with the Presidents and Rulers where they lived: who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God his favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and Congregations assembling

An. 303. *Lib. 8. cap. 1.* The year of the Conviction of *Paleus* & the ten Persecutions called for and forty years.

The wrath of God toward his people.

together in every City, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common Oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great Churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith *Eusebius*) by process of time did the Church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could enchant, neither the crafty policy of mans wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God his heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Christian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it self unruly and untoward, always seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuseth the same: so here likewise it happned with these men, which through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish unto idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most despiteful manner; Bishops against Bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another, besides also cursed hypocrisie and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God after his wonted manner (whilst yet the congregation began to multiply) began by a little and a little to visit our men with Persecution, falling first upon our Brethren, which were abroad in warfare; but when that touch the other nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease Gods wrath and call for his mercy; but wickedly thinking with our selves, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which seemed to be our Pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one against another. And thus whilst they were given only to the study of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutual hatred and discord, every man seeking his own ambition, and persecuting one another after the manner of tyranny: then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of *Jeremy*, took away the beauty of the Daughter of *Sion*, and the glory of *Israel* fell down from Heaven, neither did he remember the footstool of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of *Israel*, and destroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the saying of the Psalm, subverted and extinguished the Testament of his servant, and prophaned his Sanctuary in destruction of his Churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the help of his sword from her, nor aided her in the battel, but ceased from the purging of her and her seat. He stroke down to the ground, and diminished her days, and over all this poured upon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the Temples raced from the top to the ground, and the Sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the Pastors of the Church to hide themselves, some here, some there; some other, taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enemies, when also according to the saying of the Prophet in another place, Contempt was poured out upon the Princes, and they caused to go out of the way, and not to keep the straight path.

Hatred and division among the Churchmen.

Christians persecuting one another

The Tenth Persecution.

The Tenth Persecution.

Diocletian Emperor. *Ran. Vigil.*

BY reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his Church) ensued the Tenth and last Persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the Pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious that never was any Persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This Persecution although it passed through the hands of divers Tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of *Diocletian*, who was Emperour, as is above noted, next after *Carus* and *Numerianus*. This *Diocletian*, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be Emperour. To whom *Dryas* his Concubine said, That first he should kill fesc't at these words, used much with hands to kill wild Boars: but seeing no success to come thereof, he used this Proverb, *Ego apros occido, alius pulpamenta fruitur*, that is, *I kill the Boars, but others do eat the flesh.* At length the said *Diocletian* being nominated to be Emperour, and seeing *Aper* (who had killed *Numerianus* the Emperour) standing thereby, sware to the Souldiers that *Numerianus* was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon *Aper* with his sword slew him: *Vopisc.* After this, he being stablished in the Empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first beginning of his reign he choseth for his Colleague *Maximianus*, Surnamed *Herculius*, Father of *Maxentius*. Which two Emperours, because of divers Wars that rose in many Provinces, chose to them two other Noblemen, *Galerius* and *Constantius*, whom they called *Cesars*. Of whom *Galerius* was sent into the East parts against the *Persians*. *Constantius* was sent over to *Britain*, to this our Country of *England*, to recover the tribute, where he took to Wife *Helena* the Daughter of King *Coill*, which was a Maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning, of whom was born *Constantinus* the Great.

Aper slain which slew *Numerianus*.

An. 290. *Maximianus Herculius*, fellow Emperor with *Diocletian*.

Galerius Constantius, *Cesars*, under *Diocletian* and *Maximian*.

Helena Daughter of *Coil*, married to *Constantius*.

All this while hitherto no Persecution was yet stirred of these four Princes against the Church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the Commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great Victories: *Diocletian* in *Egypt*, *Maximian* in *Africk*, and in *France*, *Galerius* in *Persia*, *Constantius* in *England*, and in *France* also. By reason of which Victories, *Diocletian* and *Maximian* puft up in pride, ordained a solemn Triumph at *Rome*, after which Triumph *Diocletian* gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the Sun and Moon, and adorning his shoos with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

Pride in the *Diocletian*.

And not long after by the judgment of God, for certain enormities used in the Church, above touched, began the great and grievous Persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of *Diocletian*, which was about the Nineteenth year of his reign, who in the Month of *March*, when the Feast of *Easter* was nigh at hand, commanded all the Churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the Books of holy Scripture to be burned.

An. 302. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.* Persecutions against the Christians.

Cruelty following upon.

Thus most violent Edicts and Proclamations were set forth, for the overthrowing, as is said, of the Christians Temples throughout all the *Roman* Empire. Neither did there want in the Officers any cruel execution of the same Proclamations. For their Temples were defaced even when they celebrated the Feast of *Easter*, *Euseb. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.* And this was the first Edict given out by *Diocletian*. The next Proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the Books of the Holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open Market-place as before: then next unto that were Edicts given forth for the displacing of such as were Magistrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whosoever bear any office, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the Heathen Religion: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras* also in his second Tome. And these were the beginning of the Christians evils.

Christian Temples destroyed. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.*

Books of the Scriptures burned.

Christian Magistrates displaced. Christian subjects imprisoned. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras Tom. 2.*

It was not long after but that new Edicts were sent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the first: for the casting of the Elders and Bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundry kinds of punishments to offer unto their Idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution amongst the Governours of the Church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversly, some scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some with sacks and rasings of the flesh intolerable were cruciated, some one way, some another way put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the unpure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Other some neither coming at all to their Altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were born in hand of them that flood by, that they had

Bishops and Elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Other, as dead men, were carried and cast away being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the Pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that Idolatry: and those, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the Souldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the Saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpose of the adverfary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant fervants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weak fort innumerable there were, which for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.

The noble courage and constancy of a christian Martyr.

At the first coming down of these Edicts into *Nicomedia*, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, being a noble man born; which moved by the zeal of God, after the Proclamation made at *Nicomedia* was set up, by and by ran and took down the fame, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two Emperors, then being in the City. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4.

death he with great faith and constancy endured even to the last gasp. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 5.*

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperors, being let loose against the Saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havock of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. First, *Diocletian* (which had purposed with himself to subvert the whole Christian Religion) executed his Tyranny in the East, and *Maximianus* in the West. But wily *Diocletian* began very subtilly; for he put the matter first in practise in his own Camp, among whom the Marshal of the field (as *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4.* affirmeth) put the Christian Souldiers to this choise, whether they would obey the Emperors commandment in that manner of sacrifice he commanded, and so both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Christian men couragiously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the Emperor.

Perfecution first begining in the Emperors Camp.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4.

A notable Religion and faith in Souldiers.

There might a man have seen very many which were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and which regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtil and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the Persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifestly to burst out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed with words what number of Martyrs, and what blood was shed throughout all Cities and Regions for

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 7.

the name of Christ. *Eusebius* in his Eighth Book, and seventh Chapter saith, that he himself knew the worthy Martyrs that were in *Palestina*. But in *Tyre* of *Phenicia* he declareth, in the fame, a marvellous Martyrdom made, where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild Beasts, were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those Lions, Bears, and Leopards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to devour them: which notwithstanding most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the Stage, who standing as they thought without danger of them, were first devoured. But the Christian Martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the Beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the Sea. At that time was martyred the Bishop of *Sidon*. But *Sylvanus* the Bishop of *Gaza*, with nine and thirty others were slain in the Metal-mines of *Phenicia*. *Pamphilus* the Elder of *Cæsarea*, being the glory of that Congregation, died a most worthy Martyr; whose both life and most commendable Martyrdom, *Eusebius* oftentimes declareth in his Eighth Book, and thirteenth Chapter, inforuach that he hath written the same in a Book by it self. In *Syria* all the chief Teachers of the Congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heavy and cruel spectacle to behold; as also the Bishops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were efteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6.* After that we read of another whose name was *Tirannion*, which was made meat for the Fishes of the Sea, and of *Zenobius* which was a very good Physician, which also was slain with Brickbats in the same place. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceasing: of some others that were brought to the sacrifices, and commanded to do sacrifice, which would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, than touch the prophane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others, that before they were apprehended, would cast down themselves from steep places, left that being taken they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two Virgins very fair and proper, with their Mother also, which had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy in all godliness, being long fought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their Keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a River: also of other two young Maidens being Sisters, and of a worthipful flock, indued with many goodly vertues, which were caft of Perfecutors into the Sea; and these things were done at *Antioch*, as *Eusebius* in his eighth Book, and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth. But *Sylvanus* the Bishop of *Emissa*, the notable Martyr together with certain others was thrown to the Wild Beasts, *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Martyrs of Syria.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. Cyrenius, Timotheus, Physician, Martyr.

Two Virgins with their Mother, Martyrs.

Two noble Maidens, Sisters, Martyrs.

Sylvanus Bishop of Emisa, Martyr.

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in *Mesopotamia* molested with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire strangled; and allo in *Cappadocia*, where the Martyrs had their legs broken: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Martyred Theotecnus, Thonas, Probus, Andronicus, Martyrs. Martyrs of Pontus.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*, as *Tharatus*, *Probus* and *Andronicus*: but yet the Martyrs in the Region of *Pontus* suffered far more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention, *Eusebius ibid.* So outragious was the beginning of the Persecution which the Emperor made in *Nicomedia* in *Bithinia*, as before is said, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the Children of Emperors, neither yet from the slaughter of the most chief Princes of his Court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own Children. Such another was *Peter*, which among divers and sundry torments (among whom he being naked, was lifted up, his whole body being fo beaten with Whips and torn, that a man might see the bare bones; and after they had mingled Vinegar and Salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly, roasted him at a soft fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat) as a victorious Martyr ended his life. *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, being in a great Authority and Office under the Emperor, after divers torments were strangled with a Halter: both which being of the Privy Chamber to him, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of *Peter* their houthold companion, Wherefore (say they) O Emperor, do you punish in *Peter* that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confess? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almoft with like pains to be tormented as *Peter* was, and afterwards hanged. *Euseb. Ruffin. lib. 8. cap. 6.* After whom *Anthimus* the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, after he had made a notable Confession, bringing with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus dispatched, the Emperor vainly thought that he might cause the reft to do whatever him lifted. To this end came *Lucianus* the Elder of the Congregation of *Antioch*, and was martyred, after he had made his Apology before the Emperor. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Martyred Nicomedia. Perfecution in Nicomedia.

Fears and valiant at conftant Martyrs.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Martyrs

Peter Bishop of Alexandria, Feofilus, Didius, Ammonius, Martyrs.

Anthime Bishop of Nicomedia, with a great multitude of Martyrs beheaded.

Lucianus the Elder of the Church of Antioch, Martyr.

Hermanus also, that monster, caused *Serena* the Wife of *Diocletian* the Emperor to be martyred for the Christian Religion:

Serena wife of Diocletian Emperor, Martyr.

Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14. Eutropius, Agape, Irene, Chionia, Anathasia, Martyrs.

Religion: so much did the rage of Perfecution utterly forget all natural affects. Other Martyrs of *Nicomedia* doth *Nicephorus* in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter recite, as *Eutropius* and *Eulampius*. *Agape*, *Irene*, *Chionia*, and *Anathasia*, who under *Hyerius*, chief Officer, were bound hand and foot to a post and burnt. *Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66.* and also *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6.* mentioneth such another like matter full of horror and grief. There assembled together in their Temple many Christian men to celebrate the memory of the Nativity of Christ, of every age and fort some. There *Maximianus* thinking to have been given a very fit occasion to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the Temple; the doors being thut and closed round about, thither come they with fire, but first they commanded the Cryer with a loud voice to cry, That whosoever would have life should come out of the Temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of *Jupiter*; they came to; and unless they would do this they should all be burnt with the Temple. Then one stepping up in the Temple, answered in the name of all the reft with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled and compassed about the Temple, and there were burnt of men, women and children, certain thousands. There were also in *Arabia* very many Martyrs slain with axes, as *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.* There was in *Phrygia* a City, unto which the Emperor sent his Edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the Gods, and worship Idols; all which Citizens, the Mayor himself, the Questor, and chief Captain, confessed that they were all Christians. The City upon this was belieged and set on fire, and all the people. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11.* In *Melitina* a Region of *Armenia*, the Bishops and Elders were cast in prison. *Euseb. eodem cap. 6.* In *Arabrace* a Region near adjoyning to *Armenia*, *Eustratius* was martyred, as *Nicephorus* declareth, *Lib. 7. cap. 14.* This *Eustratius* was that Countryman born, and very skilful in the Greek Tongue executing by the Emperors commandment the Sheriffs Office at *Licia* in the East, which also did execution there upon the Christians, and was a Scribe of great eftimation, called *Ordinis Ducalis*. This man beholding the marvellous constancy of the Martyrs, thirsted with the desire of Martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the Christian Religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily profested that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked Ethnicks. He therefore being carried away, was tyed up, being first most bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then bafted with falt and vinegar, and lastly fo scorched and brangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shels, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodness, afterward it was reftored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to *Sebastia*, where with his companion *Orestes* he was burnt. At that time also suffered *Eugenius*, *Aurentius*, *Mardarius*. *Nicephib. 7. cap. 14.* And in no less wife raged this perfecution throughout all *Egypt*, where *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.* maketh mention of *Peleus* and *Nilus* Martyrs and Bishops in *Egypt*. But at *Alexandria* especially were declared most notable conflicts of Christian and true confirmed Martyrs that suffered; which *Phileas* the Bishop of *Thumitan* doth describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this Perfecution of *Alexandria*, the principal that then suffered was *Peter* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, with the Elders of the same, most worthy Martyrs: as *Faustus*, *Didius*, and *Ammonius*, also *Phileas*, *Hesichius*, *Pachimius*, and *Theodorius*; which all were Bishops of the Congregations within *Egypt*, and besides them many other both famous and singular men. The whole Legion of Christian Souldiers, which lay at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, under the Christian Captain *Mauritius*, when they would not obey the Emperors commandment touching the worshipping of Images, were tythed to death once, and then again: and at last, through the exhortation of *Maurititius*, died all together like constant Martyrs. *Vincentius in Speculo, lib. 13. cap. 2.* Likewise at *Antino* divers Christian Souldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously diftwaded, suffered death together, among whom were *Asela*, *Philemon*, and *Apollonius*, *Ibidem cap. 50.* And also in the other parts of *Africa*, and *Mauritania*, was great Perfecution, as *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6.* Also in *Sammnium*, of which place *Chronicon* maketh mention, and *Sicilia*, where were seventy nine Martyrs slain for the profession of Christ. *Elenc. de Lerfordia.*

Peter Bishop of Alexandria, Feofilus, Didius, Ammonius, Phileas, Hesichius, Pachimius, Theodorius, Bishops and Martyrs.

Seventy nine Martyrs.

The Perfecution in Europe, Eupheme, Martyr.

Now let us come unto *Europe*: *Nicephorus* in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter saith, that at *Nicopolis* in *Thracia*, the Martyrs were in most miserable and pitiful wife handled, where *Lisias* had the execution thereof. In *Chalcedon* suffered *Euphemia* under *Briseus* the Proconful. *Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77.*

Henricus de Erfordia faith, that at *Rome*, *Joannes* and *Crispus* being Priests, had the execution of Martyrs. And at *Bohemia*, *Agricola* and *Vitalis*. *Vincent lib. 12. cap. 49.* And at *Aquileia* the Emperor commanded every man to kill the Christians. *Vincent. lib. eodem cap. 58.* And among those Martyrs he maketh mention of *Felices* and *Fortunatus*. *Regimus* also writeth that in other places of *Italy* the Perfecution became great, as at *Florentia*, *Pergamus*, *Naples*, *Campania*, *Benevventus*, at *Venusi* in *Apulia*, and in *Thuscie*. *Henricus de Erfordia* faith, also at *Verona*. In *France* doubtless *Rectinarus* appointed to that office, played the cruel Hellhound, of whole great cruelty against the Christians many Hiftories are full. At *Medicolanum* suffered *Victor*. And at *Massilia*, *Maximianus* set forth his Decree, that either they should all do sacrifice unto the Gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many Martyrs there died for the glory of Christ. *Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2.* In *Belsacia* suffered *Lucian.*

Perfecution in France, Victor, Martyr.

Lucianus, Martyr.

Vincentius and *Regimus* write of many places in *Spain*, where was great Perfecution, as at *Emerita*, where suffered *Eulalius*, of whom more followeth hereafter; and *Adula*, where also suffered *Vincentius*, *Sabina*, and *Christina*. At *Toletum* suffered *Leucadia* the Virginal *Cesarea Augusta*, where were put to death eighteen, besides a great number of other Martyrs which suffered under *Decianus* the Governour, which afflicted with Perfecution all the Coasts of *Spain*, as faith *Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 123, 124, 128, 130, 134.* The forefaid *Rectinarus* made fuch Perfecution at *Trevers* near the river of *Mofella*, that the Blood of the Christian men that were flain ran like fmall Brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this fuffice him, but from thence he fent certain Horfemen with his Letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all fuch as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they fhould immediately put them to death. *Vincentius lib. 13. cap. 136.*

Eulalia, Martyr.

Adula, Sabina, Christina, Martyrs.

Leucadia, Virgin, Martyr.

Eighteen Martyrs in Spain.

Rectinarus a notable Tyrant.

The blood of the Christians made rivers.

Also *Henricus de Erfordia* and *Regimus*, make mention of great perfecution to be at *Colonia*, where *Agrippina* and *Augusta* were martyred, as also in the Province of *Rhetia*.

Agrippina, Augusta, Martyrs.

The Perfecution of Britonny, or England.

Beda also faith, that this Perfecution reached even unto the *Britans*, in his Book, *De ratione temporum*. And the Chronicle of *Martinus*, and the *Nofegay of Time* do declare, that all the Christians in *Britany* were utterly destroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were fo great and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the Emperor by his subtility and wiliness rather dallied than fhewed his rigor, he threatned them with bands and imprifonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earneft, he devifed innumerable forts of torments and punishments, as whippings, and fcourgings, rackings, horrible fcrapings, fword, fire and fhipboats, wherein a great number being put were funk and drowned in the bottom of the Sea. *Euf. l. 8. c. 6. & 7.* Alfo hanging, them upon Groffes, binding them to the bodies of dead Trees, with their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon Gallows, till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to fuch kind of wild Beafts as would devour them; as Lions, Bears, Leopards, and wild Bulls. *Euf. l. 8. c. 8.* Pricking and thrufting them in with bodkins and talents of Beafts till they were almoft dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in *Thebaide* they did unto the women being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tyed and lifted on high, and fo hanging down with their bodies, which thing fo fee was very pitiful; with other devifed forts of punishments moft tragical, or rather tyrannical and pitiful to defcribe: As firft, the binding of them to Trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing afunder of their

Diocletianus did but dally in the beginning of the Perfecution.

Sundry forts of torments devifed against the Christians. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. & 7.*

The Women of Tyrannie Martyrs.

Euſeb. lib.8. cap.9. The Perſecution in Antioch.

members and joints, being tyed to the boughs and arms of trees. *Euſ.l.8..c.9.* The mangling of them with axes, the choaking of them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diſmembring of their hands, ears and feet,with other ſorts; as the holy Martyrs of *Alexandria* ſuffered the ſcorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed.With ſuch kind of torments the Martyrs at *Antioch* were afflicted. But in *Pontus*, other horrible puniſhments; and fearful to be heard, did the Martyrs of Chriſt ſuffer ; of which ſome had their fingers ends under the nails thruſt in with ſharp bodkins ; ſome all to beſprinkled with boiling lead, having their moſt neceſſary members cut from them ; ſome other ſuffering moſt filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members. *Euſeb. eodem cap.* 12.

Perſecution in Pontus.

Perſecution in Alexandria.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the Perſecution which reigned in *Alexandria* was,and with how many and ſundry kinds of new deviſed puniſhments the Martyrs were afflicted,*Phileas* the Biſhop of the *Thumitani*, a man ſingularly well learned,hath deſcribed in his Epiſtle to the *Thumitans*,the Copy whereof,*Euſeb.*hath,*l.8. c.10.* out of the which we mean here briefly to recite ſomewhat. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *every man might torment the holy Martyrs as they liſted themſelves, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thongs, and ſome with cords ; and this example of beating was in ſundriwiſe executed, and with much cruelty. For ſome of them having their hands bound behind their backs,were lifted up upon timber logs,and with certain inſtruments their members and ſomts were ſtretched forth,whereupon their whole bodies hanging were ſubject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their ſides only (like as homicides were) but upon their belliers,thighs and legs, they ſcratched them with the talons and claws of wild beaſts. Some others were ſeen to hang by one hand upon the Engin, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the reſt of their joints and members. Some others were in ſuch ſort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no ſtay under their feet,and were violently weighed down with the poiſe of their bodies.,that by reaſon of their ſtrict binding,they being drawn out might be more grievouſly tormented. And this ſuffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the Sheriff had to do with them,but alſo the whole day long. And whilſt the Judge went thus from one to another, he by his authority appointed certain Officers to attend upon thoſe he left, that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableneſs of the pain, or by the extremity of cold, they being near the point of death ſhould be let down,and ſo were they haled upon the ground. And further they were commanded that they ſhould ſhew not ſo much as one ſpark of mercy or compaſſion upon us, but ſo extremely and furiouſly did they deal with us,as though our ſouls and bodies ſhould have died together. And therefore yet another torment our adverſaries deviſed, to augment our former plagues. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them, they deviſed moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they being upright were ſtretched by both the feet above the fourth ſtep or hole with ſharp feels or ſhares ſtrewed under them, after a ſtrange kind of Engin to us here unknown. Otherſome were caſt down upon the pavement, where they were oppreſſed ſo thick, and ſo grievouſly with torments, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffered.*

Euſeb. lib.8. cap.10.

Strange kinds of torments.

Thus they lying in pains and torments,ſome died therewith not a little ſhaming and confounding their enemies by their ſingular patience. Some half dead and half alive, were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by pains and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again being cured of their wounds by their endurance in priſon,were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their curſed ſacrifice,and enjoy their wicked liberty, or elſe ſuſtain the ſentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembring with themſelves what is written in the Scriptures : He that ſacrificeth (ſaith he) *to ſtrange gods, ſhall be exterminated,* &c. Item, *Thou ſhalt have no ſtrange gods beſides me,* &c. Thus much wrote *Phileas* to the Congregation where he was Biſhop,before he received the ſentence of death,being yet in bands ; and in the ſame he exhorteth his brethren conſtantly to perſiſt after his death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed. *Euſeb.lib.* 8. *cap.*10.

Euſeb. lib.8. cap.10. Ex Sabel. Hex.lib.7. cap. 5.

Sabellicus in his Seventh *Enead*, and Eighth Book: ſaith that that Chriſtened man which tore and pulled down the wicked Edict of the Emperor in *Nicomedia*, being ſtript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after waſhed in ſalt and vinegar, was then ſlain with this cruel kind of torment. But *Platina* writeth that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* exhorted him to die ſo conſtantly.

An holy Martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

But as all their torments were for their horribleneſs marvellous and notable, and therewithal ſo ſtudiouſly deviſed, and no leſs grievous and ſharp ; ſo notwithſtanding, there, with were theſe Martyrs neither diſmaid nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and ſtrengthened ; ſo merrily and joyfully ſuſtained they whatſoever was put unto them. *Euſebius* faith, that he himſelf beheld and ſaw the huge and great Perſecution that was done in *Thebaide* ; inſomuch that the very ſwords of the Hangmen and Perſecutors being blunt with the great and often ſlaughter, they themſelves for wearineſs ſat down to reſt them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet all this notwithſtanding the murthered Chriſtians ſhewed their marvellous readineſs, willingneſs and divine fortitude, which they were endued with ; with ſtout courage, joy, and ſmiling, receiving the ſentence of death pronounced upon them, and ſing even unto the laſt gaſp, Hymns and Pſalms to God. So did alſo the Martyrs of *Alexandria*, as witneſſeth *Phileas* above mentioned. The holy Martyrs (ſaith he) keeping Chriſt in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, ſtained not only at one time whatſoever labour and deviſed puniſhments they had to lay upon them ; but now alſo the ſecond time have done the ſame, and have born all the menaces of the cruel Souldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatned them, but alſo whatſoever in deed and work they could deviſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomacks, excluding all fear, with the perfection of their unſpeakable love towards Chriſt, whoſe great ſtrength and fortitude cannot by words be expreſſed. And *Sulpitius* faith in the Second Book of his Sacred Hiſtory, that then the Chriſtians with more greedy deſire, preſſed and fought for Martyrdom, than now they do deſire Biſhopricks.

Euſebius & beholders and a vaſt multitude of them ſuffering.

The ſeverie blunt, and the ſlaughtmen exaſperated with ſlaughter.

The marvelous conſtancy of the Martyrs of God in perſecution, and at the time of death.

Although ſome there were alſo, as I have ſaid, that with fear and threatnings, and by their own infirmities were overcome and went back, *Euſeb.lib.*8. *cap.*4. among whom *Serotas* nameth *Miletius*, *Lib.*1. *cap.*6. and *Athanaſius* in his ſecond Apology, nameth the Biſhop of *Licus*, a City in little *Egypt*, whom *Peter* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* Excommunicated, for that in this Perſecution he ſacrificed unto the Gentiles gods. Of the faſt of *Marcellinus*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, I will ſpeak afterwards ; for he being perſwaded by others, and eſpecially of the Emperor *Dioclefian* himſelf, did ſacrifice, whereupon he was Excommunicated ; but afterwards he repenting the ſame, was again received into the Congregation, and made Martyr, as *Platina*, and the compiler of the Book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the Martyrs increaſed daily, ſometimes ten, ſometimes twenty were ſlain at once ; ſome whiles thirty, and oftentimes threeſcore, and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death. *Euſeb. lib.*8. *cap.* 9. Alſo *Damaſus*, *Beda*, *Oroſius*, *Honorius*, and others do witneſs, that there were ſlain in this Perſecution by the names of Martyrs, within the ſpace of thirty days, ſeventeen thouſand perſons, beſides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the Metal-mines and Quarries with like cruelty.

Martyrdom more deſired in the old time than Biſhopricks be now.

Chriſtians that denied in this Perſecution, returning to Chriſt's Faith,and Excommunicated. Marcellinus the Biſhop revolted, and cometh again to the Faith,and is Martyred.

An hundred Martyrs in one day.

Euſeb. lib.8. cap. 9.

At Alexandria with *Peter* the Biſhop, of whom I have made mention before, were ſlain with axes three hundred and above, as *Sabellicus* declareth, *Gereon* was beheaded at *Colonia Agrippina*, with three hundred of his fellows, as ſaith *Henricus de Erfordia*, *Mauritius* the Captain of Chriſtian Religion, with his fellows, ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and ſix. *Victor* in the City of *Troy*, now called *Xanthus*, with his fellows three hundred and threeſcore were ſlain, as ſaith *Otto Phriſingenſis*, *lib.*2. *cap.*45. *Regimus* receiveth the names of many other Martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

300 ſlain at one time in Cappadocia. Gereon his Martyrdom.

Maurice with 6666 Martyrs. Victor with 666 ſoldiers ſlain.

And for ſo much as mention here hath been made of *Mauritius* and *Victor*, the particular deſcription of the ſame Hiſtory I thought here to inſert, taken out of *Ado*, and other Story-writers, as enſueth.

Mauritius

The Hiſtory of Mauritius Captain of the Theban Souldiers.

Mauritius came out of *Syria* into *France* and *Italy*, being Captain of the band of the *Theban* Souldiers, to the number of Six thouſand ſix hundred and threeſcore, being ſent for of *Maximianus*, to go againſt the rebellious *Bangandes* ; but rather, as it ſhould ſeem, by the reaſon of the Tyrant, which thought he might better in theſe quarters uſe his tyranny upon the Chriſtians, than in the Eaſt part. Theſe *Thebans*, with *Mauritius* the Captain, after that they had entred into *Rome*, were there of *Marcellus* the bleſſed Biſhop, confirmed in the faith, promiſing by Oath, that they would rather be ſlain of their enemies, than forſake that faith which they had received ; who followed the Emperors Hoſt through the *Alps* even into *France*. At that time the *Ceſareans* were encamped not far from the Town called *Octodor*, where *Maximianus* offered ſacrifice to his Devils, and called all the Souldiers both of the Eaſt and Weſt to the ſame, ſtrictly charging them by the Altars of his gods, that they would fight againſt thoſe rebels the *Bangandes*, and perſecute the Chriſtian enemies of the Emperors gods : which his commandment was ſhewed to the *Thebans* hoſt, which were alſo encamped about the river of *Rode*, and in a place that was named *Agaune* ; but to *Octodor* they would in no wiſe come, for that every man did certainly appoint and perſwade with themſelves, rather in that place to die, than either to ſacrifice to the gods, or bear armour againſt the Chriſtians. Which thing indeed, very ſtoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their Oath before taken to *Maximianus*, when he ſent for them. Wherewith the Tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the ſword, whereto ſtrivingly and with great rejoycing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, *Mauritius* himſelf was a great encourager, who by and by with a moſt grave Oration, exhorted and animated his Souldiers both to fortitude and conſtancy. Which, being again called of the Emperor, anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, *We are, O Emperor, your Souldiers, but yet alſo, to ſpeak freely, the ſervants of God. We owe to thee ſervice of war, to him innocency : of thee we receive for our travel, wages : of him the begynning of life. But in this we may in no wiſe obey thee, O Emperor, to deny God our Author and Lord, and not only ours, but you Lord likewiſe, will ye, nill ye. If we be not ſo extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtleſs, as we have hitherto before, we will yet obey you : but otherwiſe we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands againſt any other enemies : but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. Theſe right hands of ours have ſkill to fight againſt the wicked and true enemies : but to ſpoil and murther the Godly and Citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand, for the defence of the Citizens, and not againſt them. We fought always for juſtice, piety, and for the health of innocents. Theſe have been always the rewards of our perils and travel. We have fought in the quarrel of faith,which in no wiſe we can keep to you, if we do not ſhew the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware upon the Sacraments of our God, then afterward to the King : and do you think the ſecond will avail us, if we break the firſt ? By us you would plague the Chriſtians, to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confeſs God the Author of all things, and believe in his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellows,and partakers of our labours and travels, to be put to the ſword, and we ſprinkled with their blood : of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoyced thereat, for that they have been counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreme neceſſity of death cannot move us againſt your Majeſty, neither yet any deſperation, O Emperor, which is wont in ventrous affairs to do much, ſhall arm us againſt you. Behold here we caſt down our weapons, and reſiſt not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill, and guiltleſs to die, than guilty to live. Whatſoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoyn us, we are here ready to ſuffer, yea, both fire and ſword, and whatſoever other torments. We confeſs our ſelves to be Chriſtians,we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor will do ſacrifice to your Deviliſh Idols.*

Every tenth ſlain in the Legion ſlain.

The Conſtancy of the Souldiers to the Emperor.

With which their anſwer, the King being altogether incenſed and moved, commanded the ſecond time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like caſe murthered. That cruelty alſo being accompliſhed, at length, when the Chriſtian Souldiers would in no wiſe condeſcend unto his mind, he ſet upon them with his whole hoſt, both footmen and alſo horſemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force ſet upon them ; they making no reſiſtance,but throwing down their armour,yielded their lives to the perſecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

Mauritius and his Company martyred.

Victor at the ſame time was not of that band, nor yet then any Souldier ; but being an old Souldier, was diſmiſſed for his age. At which time he coming ſuddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the ſpoils of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to ſit down with them : who firſt asking the cauſe of that their ſo great rejoycing, and underſtanding the truth thereof, deteſted the guefts, and refuſed to eat with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a Chriſtian or no ? openly confeſſed and denied not but that he was a Chriſtian, and ever would be. And thereupon they ruſhing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

The coſtliant bolde ſneſs of Victor in refuſing to eat with the cruel perſecutors, for the which, he was ſlain.

Victor Martyr.

Beda in his Hiſtory writeth, that this perſecution, being under *Dioclefian*, endured unto the ſeventh year of *Conſtantius*. And *Euſeb. lib. cap.* 6. ſaith, that it laſted until the tenth year of *Conſtantinus*. It was not yet one year from the day in which *Dioclefian* and *Maximinian*, joyning themſelves together, began their perſecution, when that they ſaw the number of the Chriſtians rather to increaſe than to diminiſh, notwithſtanding all the cruelty that ever they could ſhew, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cauſe of their firſt enterpriſe ; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the ſtedding thereof, they ceaſed at the laſt of their own accord to put any more Chriſtians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a fearing Iron,condemning them to the mines of metals, not ſo much for the uſe of their labour, as for the deſire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and releaſe of the cruelty of thoſe Princes, which ſaid that it was not meet that the Cities ſhould be deſiled with the blood of Citizens, and to make the Emperors Highneſs to be ſtayned with the name of cruelty, but to ſhew his Princely beneficence and liberality to all men, *Euſebius, lib.* 8. *cap.* 10.

The number of the Chriſtians encreaſed for all this perſecution.

Dioclefian and Maximinian, weary tired with perſecution, and gave up their Kingdoms.

Euſeb. lib.8. cap. 10.

When *Dioclefian* and *Maximinian* had reigned together Emperors one and twenty years (*Nicephorus* ſaith, two and twenty years) at length *Dioclefian* put himſelf from his Imperial dignity at *Nicomedia*, and lived at *Salona* ; *Maximinian* at *Mediolanum* ; and led both of them a private life in the three hundred and ninth year after Chriſt. This ſtrange and marvellous alteration gave occaſion (and ſo it came to paſs) that within ſhort ſpace after, there were in the *Roman* Commonwealth many Emperors at one time. } Ann 309.

The ſtrife of the Tyrants. Dioclefian and Maximinian Emperors depoſed. Galerius, Maximianus, Conſtantius, Emperors.

In the beginning of this perſecution, you heard how *Dioclefian* being made Emperor took to him *Maximinian*. Alſo how theſe two,governing as Emperors together, choſe out other two *Cæſars* under them, to wit, *Galerius Maximinus*, and *Conſtantius* the father of *Conſtantine* the Great. Thus then *Dioclefian* reigning with *Maximinian*, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, whoſe reign after the ſame continued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnaffle in the Tyrants mouth, that within two years after, he cauſed both him and *Maximinian* (for what cauſe he knoweth) to give over their Imperial function, and ſo to remain not as Emperors any more, but as private perſons. So that they being now diſplaced and diſpoſſeſſed, the Imperial Dominion remained with *Conſtantius* and *Galerius Maximinus*, which two divided the whole Monarchy between them ; ſo that *Maximinus* ſhould govern the Eaſt Countries, and *Conſtantius* the Weſt parts. But *Conſtantius* as a modeſt Prince, only contented with the Imperial title, refuſed *Italy* and *Africk*, contenting himſelf only with *France*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. Wherefore *Galerius Maximinus* choſe to him his two Sons, *Maximus* and *Severus*. Likewiſe *Conſtantius* took *Conſtantius* his Son *Ceſar* under him. In the mean

Maximinus, Severus, Conſtantius, Ceſars.

time while *Maximinus* with his two *Cesars* were in *Asia*, the *Roman* Souliders fet up for their Emperor *Maxentius* the fon of *Maximinian*, who had before depofed himfelf. Againft whom *Maximinus* the Emperor of the *Eaft* fent his fon *Severus*, which *Severus* was flain in the fame Voyage of *Maxentius*, in whofe place then *Maximinus* took *Licinius*. And thefe were the Emperors and *Cefars*, which fucceeding after *Diocleftan* and *Maximinian*, profecuted the reft of that perfecution, which *Diocleftan* and *Maximinian* before begun, during near the fpace of feven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen; fave only that *Conftantius*, with his fon *Conftantinus* was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a fupporter of the Chriftians. Which *Conftantius*, furnamed *Clorus* for his paleneſs, was the fon of *Eutropius*, a man of great nobility of the *Roman* nation, as *Letus* affirmeth. He came of the line of *Eneas* and *Claudia* the daughter of *Claudius Auguſtus*. This man had not the defire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the Empire with *Galerius*, and would rule but in *France*, *Britain* and *Spain*, refuſing the other Kingdoms for the troubleſome and difficult government of the fame. Otherwife he was a Prince, as *Eutropius* maketh defcription of him, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and defirous to do good unto thofe that had any private authority under him. And as *Cyrus* once ſaid, that he got treaſure enough, when he made his friends rich: Even ſo it is faid that *Conſtantius* would oftentimes fay, that it were better that his ſubjects had treaſure, than he to have it in his treaſure Houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſufficed with a little, in ſo much that he uſed to eat and drink in earthen veſſels (which thing was counted in *Agathocles* the *Sicilian* a great commendation) and if at any time cauſe required to garniſh his table, he would fend for plate and other furniture to his friends. To theſe vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the Word of God, as *Euſebius* in his eighth Book and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth: After which vertues enſued great peace and tranquility in all his Provinces. By which word he being guided, neither levied any wars contrary to piety and Chriſtian Religion, neither aided he any other that did the ſame, neither deſtroyed he the Churches, but commanded that the Chriſtians ſhould be preſerved and defended, and kept them ſafe from all contumelious injuries. And when that in the other jurifdictions of the Empire the Congregations were troubled with perſecution, as *Sozomenus* declareth in his firſt Book and ſixth Chapter, he only gave licence unto the Chriſtians to live after their acuſtomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, beſides others, do ſhew that he was a fincere Worſhipper, and of the Chriſtian Religion.

Maxentius Emperor. *Licinius Cefar.*

Anno 318. The commendation of *Conſtantius.*

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 6.

Thoſe which bare the chief offices amongſt the Ethnikes drave out of the Emperors Court all the Godly Chriſtians: Whereupon this enſued, that the Emperors themſelves, at the laſt, were diſtitute of help, when ſuch were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a Godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for their proſperous eſtate and health both of the Empire and Emperor. *Conſtantius* therefore, minding at a certain time to try what fincere and good Chriſtians he had yet in his Court, called together all his officers and ſervants in the ſame, fayning himſelf to chuſe out ſuch as would do ſacrifice to Devils, and that thoſe only ſhould dwell there and keep their offices, and that thoſe which would refuſe to do the ſame, ſhould be thruſt out and baniſhed the Court. At this appointment, all the Courtiers divided themſelves into companies: The Emperor marked which were the conſtanteſt and godlieſt from the reſt. And when ſome ſaid they would willingly do ſacrifice, other ſome openly and boldly denied to do the ſame; then the Emperor ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to do ſacrifice, and judged them as falſe Traytors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his Court, which were ſuch Traytors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them which refuſed to do ſacrifice, and confeſſed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a Prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty Counſellors and defenders both of his Perſon and Kingdom; ſaying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his aſſured friends, and that he meant to have them in more eſtimation, than the ſubſtance he had in his treaſury. *Euſebius* maketh mention hereof in his firſt Book of the like of *Conſtantinus*, and alſo *Sozomenus* in his firſt Book and ſixth Chapter.

Conſtantius proveth who were true Chriſtians in his Court, and who were not. *Ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 1. & Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

False Chriſtians diſcovered from true.

With this *Conſtantius* was joyned (as hath been aforeſaid) *Galerius Maximinus*, a man, as *Eutropius* affirmeth, very civil and a paſſing good ſouldier: Furthermore, a favourer of wiſe and learned men, of quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but his Drunkenneſs, whereof he would ſoon after repent him, as *Veſtor* writeth; whether he meaneth *Maximinus* the Father or *Maximinus* his Son, it is uncertain. But *Euſebius* far otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of him in his eighth Book and firſt Chapter. For he ſaith he was of a Tyrannical diſpoſition; the fearfulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magical ſuperſtition; in ſo much that without the Divinations and anſwers of Divels, he durſt do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the Citizens, liberal to thoſe that were flatterers, given to ſurfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious Drunkenneſs moſt like a mad-man, a ribaud, and adulterer, which came to no Citty, but he ravifhed virgins, and defiled mens Wives. To conclude, he was ſo great an Idolater, that he built up Temples in every City, and repaired thoſe that were fallen in great decay: And he choſe out the moſt worthy of his political Magiſtrates to be the Idols Prieſts, and deviſed that they ſhould execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and alſo with warlike pomp. But unto Chriſtian piety and Religion, he was moſt inceniſive, and in the Eaſt Churches exerciſed cruel perſecution, and uſed as executioners of the ſame, *Pencetius*, *Quintianus*, and *Theoteknus*, beſides others.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13. Conſtantius gracious to the Chriſtians.

Maximinus an Enemy to the Chriſtians.

The wicked deeds of Maximinus deſcribed.

Notwithſtanding he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the juſt Judgment and Puniſhment of God. For he was ſuddenly vexed with a fatal diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtrange, taking the firſt beginning in his fleſh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the privy members of his body, there happened unto him a fudden putrefaction, and after in the bottom of the ſame a botchy corrupt bile, with a Fiſtula conſuming and eating up his intrails, out of the which came ſwarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtink, that no man could abide him; and ſo much more, for that all the groſſneſs of his body by abundance of meat before he fell ſick, was turned alſo into fat; which fat now putrified and ſtinking, was ſo ugſome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the ſight thereof. By reaſon whereof, the Phyſitians which had him in cure, not able to abid the intolerable ſtink, ſome of them were commanded to be ſlain. Other ſome, becauſe they could not heal him, being ſo ſwoln and paſt hope of cure, were alſo cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that this diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethink the wickedneſs that he had done againſt the Saints of God, and ſo coming again to himſelf, firſt confeſſeth to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the Chriſtians: Requiring moreover that they ſhould ſet up his Emperial proclamations, for the reſtoring and reedifying of their Temples, and that they would obtain of the Chriſtians in their aſſemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the Emperor. Then forthwith was the perſecution ſtayed, and the Emperial Proclamations in every City were ſet up, containing the retraction or countermand of thoſe things which againſt the Chriſtians were before decreed, the copy whereof enſueth.

A terrible plague ſent by God on Maximinus.

Maximinus killeth his own Phyſitians.

Amongſt other things, which for the benefit and commodity of the commonweal we eſtabliſhed, we commanded to reform all things according to the ancient Laws and publick Diſcipline of the *Romans*, and alſo to uſe this policy, that the Chriſtians, which had forſaken the Religion of their forefathers, ſhould be brought again to the right

Maximinus his countermand in the behalf of the Chriſtians.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 16. & Cap. ſeqq.

right way. *For ſuch phantaſtical ſingularity was amongſt them, that thoſe things which their Elders had received and allowed, they rejected and diſallowed, deviſing every man ſuch Laws as they thought good, and obſerved the ſame, aſſembling in divers places great multitudes of People.*

Therefore, when our foreſaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penalty thereof, and many being troubled therefore, ſuffered many kinds of death. And becauſe we ſee yet that there be many which perſeverein the ſame, which neither give due worſhip unto the celeſtial Gods, neither receive the God of the Chriſtians, we have vouchſafed to our acuſtomed benignity, wherewith we are wont to ſhew favour unto all men, think good in this caſe alſo to extend our clemency, that the Chriſtians may be again tolerated, and appoint them places where again they may meet together, ſo that they do nothing contrary to the publick order diſciplin. By another Epiſtle we mean to preſcribe unto the Judges, what ſhall be convenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountiful clemency deſerveth, let them make interceſſion to God for our health, commonweal, and for themſelves; that in all places the ſtate of the commonweal may be preſerved, and that they themſelves may be able ſafely to live within their bounds.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

But one of his inferior officers, whoſe name was alſo *Maximinus*, was not well pleaſed, when this countermand was publiſhed throughout all *Aſia*, and the Provinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to repugne the pleaſure of thoſe Princes which had the chief authority, as *Conſtantinus* and *Maximinus*, ſet forth of himſelf no edict touching the ſame; but commanded his officers in the preſence of others, that they ſhould ſomewhat ſtay from the perſecution of the Chriſtians: Of which commandment of the inferior *Maximinus*, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellowes by their letters. But *Sabinus*, which then amongſt them all had the chiefeſt office and dignity, to the ſubſtitutes of every Country wrote by his letter, the Emperors pleaſure in this wiſe.

Sabinus in the favour of the Chriſtians publiſheth the decree.

The Majeſty of our moſt gracious and ſoveraign Lords the Emperors, hath lately decreed with ſpecial diligence and devotion, to induce all men to an uniform life, ſo that they, which ſeemed to diſſent from the Roman *cuſtom by a ſtrang manner of living, ſhould exhibit to the immortal Gods their due and proper worſhip; but the wilful and obſtinate mind of divers ſo much and ſo continually reſiſted the ſame, that by no lawful means they might be revoked from their purpoſe, neither made afraid by any terror or puniſhment. Becauſe therefore it ſo came to paſſ, that by this means many put themſelves in peril and jeopardy: The Majeſty of our ſoveraign Lords the Emperors, according to their Noble piety, conſidering that it was far from the meaning of their Princely Majeſties that ſuch things ſhould be, whereby ſo many men and much people ſhould be deſtroyed, gave me in charge, that with diligence I ſhould write unto you, that, if any of the Chriſtians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exerciſe of their Religion, in no wiſe ye moleſt the ſame, neither for that cauſe you do judge any man worthy of Puniſhment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared, that by no means they might be allured from ſuch wilfulneſs. It is therefore requiſite that your wiſdom write unto the Queſtors, Captains, and Conſtables of every City and villege, that they may know it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the preſcript of this commandment, neither that they preſume to attempt the ſame.* Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Perſecution ceaſeth for 3 years.

The Governors therefore of every Province, ſuppoſing this is to be the determinate pleaſure (and not fained) of the Emperor, did firſt adverſife thereof the ruſtical and pagan multitude: After that they releaſed and ſet at liberty, all ſuch priſoners as were condemned to the metal mines, and to perpetual impriſonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would pleaſe the Emperor. This therefore ſeemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to Travellers in a dark night. They gather themſelves together in every City, they call their Synods and Councels, and much marvel at the ſudden change and alteration. The infidels themſelves extol the only and true God of the Chriſtians. The Chriſtians receive again all their former liberties; and ſuch as fell away before in the time of perſecution repent themſelves, and after penance done, they returned again to the Congregation. Now the Chriſtians rejoyced in every City, praiſing God with Hymns and Pſalms: *Euſebius thinketh*, ſo. This was a marvellous ſudden alteration of the Church, from a moſt unhappy ſtate into a better: But ſcarce ſuffered *Maximinus* the Tyrant the ſame ſix monthes unviolated to continue. For whatſoever ſeemed to make for the ſubverſion of the ſame peace (yet ſcarcely hatched) that did he only meditate. And firſt of all he took from the Chriſtians all liberty and leave for them to aſſemble and Congiregate in Churchyards under a certain colour. After that he ſent certain miſcreants unto the *Athenians*, to ſollicit them againſt the Chriſtians, and to provoke them to aſk of him, as a recompence and great reward, that he would not ſuffer any Chriſtian to inhabit in their country: And amongſt them was one *Theotechnus*, a moſt wicked miſcreant, and inchanter, and a moſt deadly Enemy againſt the Chriſtians. He firſt made the way whereby the Chriſtians were put out of credit and accuſed to the Emperor; to which fraud alſo he erected a certain Idol of *Jupiter* to be worſhipped of the inchanters and conjurers, and mingled the ſame worſhip with ceremonies, full of deceiveable witchcraft. Laſtly, he cauſed the ſame Idol to give this found out of his mouth, that is: *Jupiter* commandeth the Chriſtians to be baniſhed out of the City and ſuburbs of the ſame, as Enemies unto him. And the ſame ſentence did the reſt of the Governors of the Provinces publiſh againſt the Chriſtians, and thus at length perſecution began to kindle againſt them. *Maximinus* appointed and inſtituted high Prieſts and Biſhops in every City to offer ſacrifice unto Idols, and inveigled all thoſe that were in great offices under him, that they ſhould not only ceaſe to pleaſure them and to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deviſed accuſations againſt them, at their pleaſure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They alſo did counterfeit certain practiſes of *Pilate* againſt our Saviour Chriſt full of blaſphemy, and ſent the ſame into all the Empire of *Maximinus* by their letters, commanding that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed and ſet up in every City and ſuburbs of the ſame, and that they ſhould be delivered to the School-maſters, to cauſe their Scholars to learn by rote the ſame.

The diſtoliſh practiſes of Theotechnus.

The vain practiſes of the brethren againſt Chriſt and his Religion.

After that, one named *Præfectus caſtrorum*, whom the *Romans* do call Captain, allured certain light women, partly by fear, and partly by puniſhment, dwelling at *Damaſcus* and *Phenicia*, and taken out of the Court where in they were accuſed, that they ſhould openly ſay in writing, that they were once Chriſtians, and that they knew what wicked and laſcivious acts the Chriſtians were wont to execute amongſt themſelves upon the ſundays, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the ſlander of the Chriſtians. The Captain ſhewed unto the Emperor their words, as though it had been ſo indeed: And the Emperor by and by commanded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout every City. Furthermore, they did hang in the middeſt of every City (which was never done before) the Emperors edicts againſt the Chriſtians, graven in tables of Braſs. And the Children in the Schools with great noiſe and clapping of hands, did every day reſound the contumelious Blaſphemies of *Pilate* unto Jeſus, and what other things foever were deviſed of the Magiſtrates, after a moſt deſpiteful manner.

A deviſed accuſation againſt the Chriſtians by barbarus.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3.

And to be ſaſtened to the Pillers, fraught with all arrogant and inſolent hate againſt God and Chriſt.

The copy of the recountermand made againſt the Chriſtians.

The weak and imbecil rebellion of mans mind (all obſcurity and blindneſs of ignorance ſet apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miſerable men, in the pernicious darkneſs of Ignorance) is now at the length able to diſcern, that the ſame is governed, as alſo corroborated by the providence of the immortal Gods, the lovers of vertue: Which thing, how acceptable it is to us, how pleaſant and grateful, and how much proof the ſame hath declared of your well diſpoſed willing minds, is incredible to be told: Although this was not unknown before, with what diligence and devotion ye ſerved the immortal Gods, whoſe wonderful and conſtant faith is not known by bare and naked words, but by your worthy and notable deeds. Wherefore worthily is your City called the Habita-

Habitation and Seat of the immortal gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, and prospereth by the presence of the celestial gods. For behold, your City not regarding your private businesses, nor esteeming that which should have been for the special Commodity thereof, when it perceived that cursed vanity to begin again to creep, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brandes thereof began to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay yed having recourse unto our Piety, as unto the Metropolitan of all Divine Worship and Religion, craved remedy and help; which wholsome mind, for your Pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods have indued you with. Therefore he, even that most mighty Jupiter, *I say, which preserveth your most famous City, to that intent he might deliver and make free your Country-gods, your Wives and Children, your Houshold gods and houses, from all detestable Corruption, hath inspired you with this wholsome and willing mind, shewing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthful a thing it is, to Worship and to Sacrifice to the immortal gods. For who is so void of reason and understanding that knoweth not that this thing happeneth unto us by the careful study of the goodness of our gods, that the ground denieth not to give her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the Husbandmans hope, nor that wicked War dare shew her face upon the Earth, nor that the Corruption of the Air is now cause of Pestilence; neither that the Sea swelleth with immoderate Winds, neither that sudden Storms are cause of hurtful Tempest: to conclude, that the Ground, which is as the Nurse and Mother of all things, is not swallowed up of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible Earthquakes; neither that the Hills, made level with the Earth, are not with gaping clifts devoured; all which Evils, and greater than these, before this time to have happened, every man knoweth. And all these mischiefs came upon us for the pernitious Errors sake of the extreams folly of those wicked men the* Christians, *when filthiness it self (as I may call it) so occupied their minds and over-ran the World. Let them behold the Fields now all about full of Corn, and overflown, as it were, with Wave of Corn. Let them view the pleasant Meadows clothed with Flowers, and moystened with Showers from Heaven, and also the pleasant and temperate Weather. Therefore let all men rejoyce, that by your Piety, Sacrifices and Worshipping, the majesty of the most stern god of Battel,* Mars, *is appeased, and that therefore we enjoy pleasant and firm peace. And how many soever have left that blind Error and straying of the* Christians *unfainedly, and be of a better mind, let them specially rejoyce, as men delivered out of a sudden great Tempest, and from a grievous Disease, and have afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtless if they had remained in that execrable vanity, far off had they been chased from your City and Suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your City by that means, according to your commendable diligence, cleansed from all Impurity and Impiety, may offer Sacrifices according to the meaning of the same; with due reverence of the immortal gods. And that you may perceive in how good part your Supplication was unto us (yea unasked and undesired) we are most willing and ready to further your honest Endeavours, and grant unto you for your Devotion, whatsoever ye ask of our Magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith ask and have. And this thing with all speed endeavour you to obtain, which shall be a perpetual Testimony of Piety exhibited of your City to the immortal gods, and shall be a President to your Children and Posterity, and withall you shall obtain of us, for this your willing desire of Reformation, condigne and worthy Rewards,* Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 7.

Wicked blasphemy.

The works of the living God fally imputed to dead stocks and idols.

Horrible blasphemy.

The like argument of weather and corn, and plenty made the unfaithful Jews, and also make now our faithless Papists.

Eusеb. lib 9. cap. 7.

Persecution renued afresh.

Thus came it to pass that at the length Persecution was as great as ever it was, and the Magistrates of every Province were very diligentful against the *Christians*, which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three *Christians* at *Emisa* in *Phenicia*, with whom *Sylvanus* the Bishop, a very old man, being forty years in the Ecclesiastical Function. was condemned to death. At *Nicomedia Lucianus* the elder of *Antioch*, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the Emperor his Apology concerning the Doctrine of the *Christians*, was cast in Prison, and after put to death. In *Amasea* a City of *Cappadocia*, *Bringes*, the Lieutenant of *Maximinus*, had at that time the executing of that Persecution. At *Alexandria*, *Petrus* a most worthy Bishop, was beheaded, with whom many other *Egyptian* Bishops also died, *Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus* the Bishop of *Sescianum*, having a Hand-Mill tied about his Neck, was thrown headlong from the Bridge into the Flood, and there a long while floted above the water, and when he opened his mouth to speak to the Lookers on, that they should not be dismaid with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned, *Chron. Euseb.* At *Rome* died *Marcellus* the Bishop, as saith *Platina*, also *Timotheus* the elder, with many other Bishops and Priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundry places every where were martyred, whose names the Book, Intituled, *Fasciculus temporum* declareth, as *Victorianus*, *Symphorianus*, *Castorius* with his wife, *Castulus*, *Cesarius*, *Memnas*, *Nabilis*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, *Petrus*, and other innumerable Martyrs, *Erasmus*, *Bonifacius*, *Julianus*, *Cosmas*, *Damianus*, *Basilissus*, *Felicianus*, *Philemon*, *Hirenеus*, *Januarius*, *Felix*, *Desiderius*, *Gregorius*, *Spoletanus*, *Agapes*, *Chionia*, *Hirenea*, *Theodora*, and two hundred threescore and ten other Martyrs. *Florianus*, *Primus* and *Felicianus*, *Vitus* and *Modestus*, *Crescentia*, *Albinius*, *Rogatianus*, *Donatianus*, *Pancratius*, *Catharina*, *Margarета*, *Lucia* the Virgin, and *Antheus* the King, with many thousand Martyrs more. *Simplicius*, *Faustinus*, *Beatrix*, *Pantbaleon*, *Georgius*, *Justus*, *Leocadia*, *Ambonia*, and other more (to an infinite number) suffered Martyrdom in this Persecution, whose names God hath written in the Book of Life. Also *Felix*, *Victor* with his Parents, *Lucia* the widow, *Gemenianus*, with threescore and nineteen others. *Sabinus*, *Anastasia*, *Chrysogonus*, *Felix* and *Audactus*, *Adrianus*, *Nathalia*, *Eugenia*. *Agnes* also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred. *Eusebius* in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter, rehearseth these kinds of Torments and Punishments: that is to say, Fire, wild Beasts, the Sword, Crucifyings, the bottom of the Sea, the cutting and burning of Members, the thrusting out of Eyes, dismembring of the whole Body, Hunger, Imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the Magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do Sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy use of their Bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves. Neither yet could the *Christians* live safely in the Wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, insomuch that this was a more grievous Persecution under *Maximinus* the Tyrant, than was the former cruel Persecution under *Maximianus* the Prince, *Eusеb. lib. 9. cap. 6.*

Several kinds of torments. Eusеb. lib. 8. cap. 15.

The clarity of the Christians to the Gentiles. *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.*

Eusеb. lib 9 cap. 6. In the rule of God is foretold the foresaid edict.

And for so much as ye have heard the cruel Edict of *Maximinus* proclaimed against the *Christians*, graven in brass, which he thought perpetually should indure to the abolishing of Christ and his Religion: now mark again the great handy work of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the Tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary that in the brazen Proclamation was contained. For where the foresaid Edict boasted so much of the Prosperity and Plenty of all things in the same time of this Persecution of the *Christians*, suddenly befel such unseasonable Drought, with Famine and Pestilence among the people, besides also the Wars with the *Armenians*, that all was found untrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which Famine and Pestilence the people were greatly consumed, insomuch that one measure of Wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of *Athens* Coin, by reason whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the Country and Villages, so that most part of the Husbandmen and Countrymen died up with the famine and

The proud and blasphemous presumption of the Emperor provoked God and caused him to send Famine and Pestilence.

Eusеb. lib 9 cap. 8.

Pestilence

Pestilence. Divers there were which bringing out their best Treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others selling away their Possessions, fell by reason thereof to extream poverty and beggery. Certain eating Grass, and feeding on other unwholsome Herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poyson their bodies. Also a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extream misery and penury, were constrained to depart the City, and fall to begging thorow the Country. Some others were weak and faint (as Images without breath) wandring up and down, and not able to stand for feebleness, fell down in the middle of the streets, and holding up their hands most pitiful, cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be given them, and being at the last gaspe, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer sort divers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves, as they which begged. By reason whereof, the Market-place, Streets, Lanes, and Alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them, wherefore many were eaten of Dogs, for which cause they that lived fell to the killing of Dogs, lest they running mad, should fall upon them, and kill them.

A horrible hunger among the Heathen persecuters described.

Pestilence among the persecutors.

In like manner the Pestilence scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no less consume them, especially those which through plenty of Victuals escaped Famine. Wherefore the rich Princes and Presidents, and other innumerable of the Magistrates, being the more apt to receive the Infection, by reason of their plenty, were quickly dispatched, and turned up their heels. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with Famine and with Pestilence, all places were full of Mourning, neither was there any thing else to be seen, but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for Famine and Pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole Housholds, two or three dead bodies being born out together from one house to one funeral.

Ex fastis Ecclesiæ.

Cyprian, Dionysius, Julius, with other Martyrs.

Two hundred threescore and ten Martyrs.

Generations with their sorts and Nations Martyrs.

These were the rewards of the vain braggs of *Maximinus* and his Edicts, which he did publish in all Towns and Cities against us, when it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the *Christians* were to them all in this their miserable extremity. For they only in all this time of distress, shewing compassion upon them, travelled every day, some in curing the sick, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their own fort were forsaken. Othersome of the *Christians* calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of Famine, distributed Bread unto them, whereby they ministred occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the *Christians*, and to confess them to be the true Worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason hereof, the great God and Defender of the *Christians*, who before had shewed his anger and indignation against all men, for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his Providence, so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceive God himself to be a perpetual Director of our doings, who many times chasteneth his people with Calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction again sheweth himself merciful and favourable to them which with trust call upon him.

By the Narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the story of *Eusebius*, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderful to mark and note, how those counsels and rages of the *Gentiles* atchieved against Christ and his *Christians*, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves. And whereby they thought most to confound the Church and Religion of Christ, the same turned most to their own confusion, and to the profit and praise of the *Christians* (God of his marvelous Wisdom so ordering and disposing the end of things.) For where the brazen Edict of the Emperor promised temperate weather, God sent drought: where it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them Famine and pestilence: where it promised health, God strook them even upon the same, with grievous Pestilence, and with other more Calamities, in such sort that the most relief they had, was chiefly by the *Christians*, to the great praise both of them, and to the honour of our God.

The wisdom and policy of man overthrown in his own turn.

Qui comprehendit sapientes in astutia.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true Promise of Christ to his Church, affirming and affirming us, That the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against his Church builded upon his Faith: as sufficiently may appear by these ten Persecutions above specified and described. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Satan and his malignant World have assayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the Church of Jesus: so must all men needs grant, that read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of Hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this Mount of *Sion*, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought, where so many Emperors and Tyrants together, *Diocletian*, *Maximinian*, *Galerius*, *Maximinus*, *Severus*, *Maximinus*, *Licinius*, with their Captains and Officers, were let loose, like so many Lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of all Christianity, and especially who when Laws were set up in brass against the *Christians*, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the Name and Religion of *Christians*? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

The promise of Christ verified. *Matth. 16.* The gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church: builded upon the Faith of Christ.

I shewed before how *Maximinian*, and the Son of *Maximinian*, was set up at *Rome* by the Pretorian Souldiers to be Emperor. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not consenting, yet for fear they were not resisting. *Maximinian* his Father, who had before deprived himself with *Diocletian*, hearing of this, took heart again to him, to resume his dignity, and so laboured to perswade *Diocletian* also to do the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repaireth to *Rome*, thinking to wrest the Empire out of his Sons hands. But when the Souldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to *Constantinus* in *France*, under pretence to complain of *Maxentius* his Son, but in very deed to kill *Constantinus*. Notwithstanding that Conspiracy being detected by *Fausta* the Daughter of *Maximinian*, whom *Constantinus* had married, so was *Constantinus* through the grace of God preserved, and *Maximinian* retired back. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of *Maximinian*.

The death of Maximinian.

Now let us return to *Maxentius* again, who all this while reigned at *Rome* with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another *Pharaoh* or *Nero*. For he slew the most part of his Noble men, and took from them their goods. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of *Rome* by his Souldiers, as *Eusebius* declareth, *lib. 8. cap. 14.* Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter-enemy of all womenly chastity, which used to fend the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonesty unto their Husbands (being worthy Senators) after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no Adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of deflowring of women. *Letus* declareth that he, being that time far in love with a noble and chaste Gentlewoman of *Rome*, sent unto her such Courtiers of his, as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation than any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the Common weal. These first fell upon her Husband and murthered him within his own house; then when they could by no means neither with fear of the Tyrant, or with threatning of death pull her away from him: at length she being a *Christian* desired leave of them to go into her Chamber, and after her prayers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her Chamber, under this pretence, she killed her self. But the Courtiers when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doors, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperor, who was so far past shame, that in stead of Repentance he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

The wicked-ness of Maxentius described. *Eusеb. lib. 8. cap. 14.*

A shameful act of incontinency.

A Christian Matron slayeth her self to hold the rule of Modesty.

He

A Monster in the likelihood of an Emperor.

He was also much addict to the Art Magical, which to execute, he was more fit than for the Imperial Dignity. Also sometime he would rip women when they were in labour, and would search the place where the infant lay, being born a little before. Often he would invocate Devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to break the Wars, which he knew *Constantinus* and *Licinius* prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his Reign he feigned himself to be a favourer of the Christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the People of *Rome* his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting the Christians. And he himself in the mean season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to shew himself an open persecuter of them: at which time as *Zonaras* writeth, he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which thing he in no less wise did, than *Maximinus*, as *Eusebius* in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter thereto to affirm. And *Platina* declareth in the life of *Marcellus* the Bishop, that he banished a certain Noble Woman of *Rome*, because she gave her goods to the Church.

A lively pattern of an Hypocrite.

Eusseb. lib. 8. cap. 15.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this *Maxentius*, the Citizens and Senators of *Rome*, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with Letters unto *Constantinus*, with much sute and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their Country and City of *Rome*: who hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by Letters to *Maxentius*, desiring and exhorting him to refrain his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no Letters nor exhortations would prevail, at the length pitying the woful case of the *Romans*, gathered together his power and Army in *Britain* and *France*, therewith to repress the violent rage of that Tyrant: thus *Constantinus* sufficiently appointed with strength of Men, but especially with strength of God, entred his journey coming towards *Italy*, which was about the last year of the Persecution, three hundred and eighteen. *Maxentius* understanding of the coming of *Constantinus*, and trusting more to his devilish Art of Magick, than to the good will of his Subjects, which he little deserved, durst not shew himself out of the City, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy Garrisons laid in wait for him by the way, in sundry straits as he should come. With whom *Constantinus* had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding *Constantinus* yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto *Rome*) for the Magical Charms and Sorceries of *Maxentius*, wherewith he had vanquished before *Severus* sent by *Galerius* against him, as hath been declared, which made also *Constantinus* the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming, which used to cut Women great with Child, to take his devilish Charms by the intrails of the Infants, with such other like feats of devillishness which he practised: these things (I say) *Constantinus* doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the City, and casting up his eyes many times to Heaven, in the South part, about the going down of the Sun, saw a great brightness in Heaven, appearing in the similitude of a Cross, with certain Stars of equal bigness, giving this Inscription like *Latine* Letters, *IN HOC VINCE*, that is, *In this overcome*. *Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Ursperg. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.* This miraculous Vision to be true, for the more credit, *Eusebius Pamphilus* in his first Book *De vita Constantini*, doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said *Constantinus* himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in Heaven, and also his Souldiers about him. At the light whereof when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his Men upon the meaning thereof, behold in the Night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same Cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his Wars before him, and so should he have the Victory.

Maxentius feared for his Magick and Sorcery

A Miracle of a Cross appearing to *Constantine* in Heaven.

In hoc vince. Eusseb. lib. 9. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Europ. l. 11. Sozom. l. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Ursperg. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. l. 11.

This Vision reported and testified by *Constantine* himself to be true.

An admiration concerning the material Cross not to be worshipped, but to be a memorial to bring to remembrance him which was crucified.

¶ Wherein is to be noted (good Reader) that this sign of the Cross, and these Letters added withal, *In hoc vince*: was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the Cross, as though the Cross it self had any such power or strength in it, to obtain Victory: but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is to be an admonition to him, to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified upon the Cross for the salvation of him, and of all the World, and so to set forth the glory of his Name, as afterwards it came to pass. This by the way. Now to the matter.

Eusseb. lib. 8. cap. 5.

The next day following after this Nights Vision, *Constantinus* caused a Cross after the same figuration to be made of Gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his Standard, and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from Heaven, speedeth himself toward his enemy. Against whom *Maxentius* being constrained perforce to issue out of the City, sendeth all his power to joyn with him in the field beyond the River of *Tyber*, where *Maxentius* craftily breaking down the Bridge called *Pons Milvius*, caused another deceitful Bridge to be made of Boats and Whirries, being joyned together, and covered over with Boards and Planks, in manner of a Bridge, thinking therewith to take *Constantine* as in a trap. But here it came to pass which in the seventh *Psalm* is written, *He digged a pit, and fell therein himself: let his working return upon his own head, and his unrighteousness upon his own pate.* Which here in this *Maxentius* was rightly verified. For after the two Hosts did meet, he being not able to sustain the force of *Constantine* fighting under the Cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigent, that in retiring back, for haste thinking to get the City, upon the same Bridge which he did lay for *Constantine*, was overturned by the fall of his Horse into the bottom of the flood, and there with the weight of his Armour, he with a great part of his beaten men, were drowned. Representing unto us the like example of *Pharaoh* and his Host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to bear a Prophetical figuration of this *Maxentius*. For as the Children of *Israel* were in long thraldome and Persecution in *Egypt* under Tyrants there, till the drowning of this *Pharaoh* their last Persecuter: so was this *Maxentius* and *Maximinus* and *Licinius* the last Persecuter in the *Roman* Monarchy of the Christians, whom this *Constantinus*, fighting under the Cross of Christ did vanquish and set the Christians at liberty, who before had bin persecuted now three hundred years in *Rome*, as hath been hitherto in this History declared.

Constantine with his Army approacheth toward Rome.

Maxentius beaten in the field.

Maxentius drowned in his own Bridge.

Pharaoh a figure of Maxentius the last persecuter in Rome.

Pharaoh and Maxentius conquered.

Wherefore as the *Israelites* with their *Moses* at the drowning of their *Pharaoh*, sung gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the Horse and the Horsemen into the Sea, so no less rejoycing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his People, and vanquishing his Enemies and Persecuters.

Exo. 15. The like form of the Old Testament verified in the new.

In Histories we read of many Victories and great Conquests gotten: yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any Victory so wholsome, so commodious, so opportune to Mankind as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the Posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some Persecution was yet stirring in the *East* Countrys by *Maximinus* and *Licinius*, as shall be declared; yet in *Rome*, and in all the *West* parts, no Martyr died after this heavenly Victory gotten. And also in the *East* parts the said *Constantinus* with the said Cross borne before him, consequently upon the same, so vanquished the Tyrants, and so established the peace of the Church, that for the space of a just thousand years after that, we read of no set Persecution against the Christians, unto the time of *John Wickliffe*, when the Bishops of *Rome* began with fire to persecute the true Members of Christ, as in further processe of this History (Christ granting) shall appear. So happy, so glorious (as I said) was this Victory of *Constantine*, [illegible] named

The glorious end of all persecution both of Church and Christ.

Persecution in the West ceased for a thousand years till the time of Wickliffe.

named the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the Citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the City of *Rome*, where he with the Cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together, having moreover in the Market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the Cross, with this Inscription: *Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudini indicio civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi*: that is, *With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our City from the yoke of the Tyrant.*

Eusseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

Eusebius, ibid.

By this heavenly Victory of *Constantinus*, and by the death of *Maxentius* no little tranquility came unto the Church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the *East* together quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season to return again to the West parts here in *Europe*, where *Constantinus* then had most to do, great tranquility followed, and long continued in the Church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together (to the time of *John Wickliff* and *Waldenses*, as is before touched) by the means of the godly beginning of good *Constantine*, who with his fellow *Licinius*, being now established in their dominion, effsoons set forth their general Proclamation or Edict, not constraining therein any man to any Religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoyn with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed of the *Romans*, and all wise men. The Copy of the Edict or Constitution here ensueth.

Note well these thousand years, and then read the 20 chap. of the Revelation. Zonaras was bound up for a thousand years, &c.

The Copy of the Emperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licinius*, for the establishing of the free worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.

The Copy of the Emperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licin. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

NOr long agone We weighing with Our Selves, that the liberty and freedom of Religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to do therein according to his will and mind, We have given Commandment to all men to qualifie matters of Religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the Opinions and Faith of their Religion: but because that many and sundry Opinions by the same our first licence, strange and increase through such liberty granted, We thought good manifestly to add thereunto, and make plain such things whereby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their observance be let or hindred. When therefore by prosperous success, I Constantinus Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus came to Mediolanum, and there sate in Council upon such things as served for the utility and profit of the Commonweal, these things amongst others We thought would be beneficial to all men, yea and before all other things We purposed to establish those things wherein the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended; that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what Religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestial grace, which is in every place received, may also be imbraced and accepted of all Our loving Subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure upon good advisement and sound judgment We have Decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian Observance or Religion: but that this liberty be given to every man, that he may apply his mind to what Religion he thinketh meet himself, whereby God may perform upon us all his accustomed care and goodness. To the intent therefore you might know that this is Our pleasure, We thought it necessary this to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in Our former Letters (being sent unto you in the behalf of the Christians) are contained, and which seem very undiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be made frustrate and annihilate. Now therefore firmly and freely We will and command, that every man have a free liberty to observe the Christian Religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be suffered to do the same. These things have we thought good to signifie unto you by as plain words as we may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their Religion. And for so much as this liberty is absolutely given of us unto them, to use and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same behoveth much to establish the publick tranquility of our time, every man to have licence and liberty to use and choose what Kind of worshipping he list himself. And this is done of us only for the intent, that We would have no man to be enforced to one Religion more than another. And this thing also among st others We have provided for the Christians, that they may have again the possession of their places, in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their Assemblies: so that if any have bought or purchased the same either of us, or of any other, the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay We will to be restored again unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from Us, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in their behalf, then let the Christians repair to the President (being the Judge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by Our benignity: All which things We will and command, that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence, unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the rights of their Congregation and Society: you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the Decree, whereof We have made mention, all delay set apart, Provided that the Order We have taken in the mean time be observed, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same Lands and Possessions, they shall not misdoubt, but be sure to be saved harmless by Us. In all these things sit shall be your part to imploy your diligence in the behalf of the foresaid company of the Christians, whereby this our Commandment may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by Our Clemency the common and publick peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as before We have said, the good will and favour of God towards Us (whereof in many cases We have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this Our Constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the Copy of these Our Letters be set up in all places, that Men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

By these Histories I doubt not (good Reader) but thou dost right well consider and behold with thy self the marvellous working of Gods mighty power; to see so many Emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose Names before we have recited, as *Diocletian*, *Maximinian*, *Galerius*, *Maximius*, *Maximinus*, *Severus*, *Licinius*, who having the subjection of the whole World under their Dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices, to extirpate the Name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of Man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented, which was not attempted? If Laws, Edicts, Proclamations, written not only in Tables, but ingraven in brass, could have flood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stand. First, of the taking away of *Maximinian* you have heard, also of the death of *Severus*, of the drowning moreover of *Maxentius*, enough hath been said. What a terrible Plague was upon *Galerius*, consuming his Privy Members with Lice, hath been also described. How *Diocletian* the

The confederation of Gods work to defend the long his Christians.

The Kings of the earth have risen, and Princes together against Christ. Psalm. 2. No counsel standeth against God.

The destruction of the cruel Emperours.

the *Quondam* being at *Salona*, hearing of the proceedings of *Conſtantinus*, and this Edict, either for ſorrow died, or as ſome ſay, did poyſon himſelf. Only *Maximinus* now in the Eaſt parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred againſt the Chriſtians, and no leſs expreſſed the ſame with mortal Perſecution, to whom *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* cauſed this Conſtitution of theirs to be delivered. At the ſight whereof although he was ſomewhat appaled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet for ſo much as he ſaw himſelf too weak to reſiſt the authority of *Conſtantinus* and *Licinius* the ſuperiour Princes, he diſſembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himſelf had tendered the quiet of the Chriſtians, directing down a certain Decree in the behalf of the Chriſtians, wherein he pretendeth to write to *Sabinus* aforementioned, firſt repeating unto him the former Decree of *Dioceſian* and *Maximinian* in few words, with the commandment therein contained touching the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. After that, he reciteth the Decree which he himſelf made againſt them, which came firſt to the Emperial Dignity in the Eaſt part joyned with *Conſtantinus*. Then the countermand of another Decree of his again, for the reſcuing of the Chriſtians, with ſuch feigned and pretenſed cauſes, as is in the ſame to be ſeen. After that, he declareth how he coming to *Nicomedia*, at the ſuit and ſupplication of the Citizens (which he alſo feigned, as may appear before) he applying to their ſuit, revoked that his former Edict, and granted them that no Chriſtian ſhould dwell within their City or Territories. Upon which *Sabinus* alſo had given forth his Letters, rehearſing withal the general countermand ſent forth by him, for the Perſecution again of the Chriſtians. Laſt of all now he ſendeth down again another ſurrecountermand, with the cauſes therein contained, touching the ſafety of the Chriſtians, and tranquility of them: commanding *Sabinus* to publiſh the ſame. Which Edict of his is at large ſet forth of *Euſebius lib.9. cap.9.* But this ſurrecountermand he then diſſembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit ſhortly after, he making Wars, and fighting a Battel with *Licinius*, wherein he loſt the Victory, coming home again, took great indignation againſt the Prieſts and Prophets of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whoſe anſwers he truſting, and depending upon their inchantments, began his War againſt *Licinius*. But after that he perceived himſelf to be deceived by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceivers, and ſuch as had betrayed his ſafety and perſon, he killed and put them to death. And he ſhortly after, oppreſſed with a certain diſeaſe, glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſervation of them, with franchiſe and liberty: the Copy whereof enſueth:

The effect of the Decree which *Maximinus* made againſt his will, or Ecclecountermand for fear of *Con.* and *Licin.* In the behalf of the Chriſtians.

Ex *Euſeb. lib.9. cap.9.* The ſurrecountermand of *Maximinus* diſſembled.

The unfeigned repentance and feigned Decree of *Maximin.* for the Chriſtians.

IMperator Cæſar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus, *It is neceſſary that We always carefully provide and ſee unto the benefit and commodity of ſuch as be Our Subjects, and to exhibite ſuch things unto them, whereby they may beſt obtain the ſame. But we ſuppoſe that there are none of you ſo ignorant, but know and underſtand what things make beſt for the proſit and commodity of the Commonweal, and beſt pleaſe every mans diſpoſition. But it is meet and convenient that every man have recourſe to that which they have ſeen done before their eyes, and that all ſorts of men conſider the ſame, and bear it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, upon the occaſion that Dioclesianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitors of famous memory, commanded the Aſſemblies and Meetings of the Chriſtians to be cut off, there were many of them ſpoiled and robbed of our Officials; which thing we alſo perceive is now put in practice againſt our Subjects, that they in like caſe may be ſpoyled of their Goods and Subſtance, which thing chiefly to prevent is our only endeavour. By our Letters ſent to the Governors of our Provinces the year paſt, we ordained, that if any man were diſpoſed to lean unto the Chriſtian Religion, he might without any injury done unto him, accompliſh his deſire, neither to be of any man either let or moleſted, and that he might without any fear or ſuſpicion, do whatſoever he therein thought good. But now alſo we underſtand that there be certain Judges which have neglected our commandment, and have put Our Subjects in doubt, whether that hath been Our pleaſure or not; which thing they did, that ſuch men might be the better adviſed, how they entred into ſuch Religion: wherein they followed their own phantaſie. To the intent therefore, that after this, all ſuſpicion, doubt and fear may be taken away: We have thought good to publiſh this our Edict, whereby it may be made manifeſt to every man, that it ſhall be lawful for all ſuch as will follow that Religion, by the benefit of this Our Grant and Letters Patents, to uſe what Religion they like beſt: And alſo hereby we grant* A large Grant of *Maximinus* to the Chriſtians. *to them licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this Our Grant may more amply extend unto them, We vouchſafe to Appoint and Ordain, That whatſoever Lands and Subſtance before belonging and appertaining to the Chriſtians, and by the commandment of our Predeceſſor were tranſpoſed to our Revenue and Exchequer, or elſe in the poſſeſſion of any City, by means of the franchiſes of the ſame, or elſe otherwiſe ſold or given to any man: All and every parcel thereof We command ſhall be reſtored unto the proper uſe of the Chriſtians again, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence.* Euſeb.lib.9. cap. 10.

Maximinus then being conquered of *Licinius*, and alſo plagued with an incurable Diſeaſe in the Guts, ſent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adverſity to confeſs the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this Edict in the favour of thoſe Chriſtians whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never ſo ſtern and ſtout, at length to ſtoop, and mauger their hearts to confeſs him, as this *Maximinus* here did, who not long after, by the vehemency of his Diſeaſe ended his life. Whereby no more Tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the Church, but only *Licinius*. Of which *Licinius* and of his Perſecutions ſtirred up in the Eaſt parts againſt the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of ſtory to proſecute.

A ſtrict charge againſt the relieving of the impriſoned Chriſtians. *Euſeb.lib.1. de vita Con.*

Secret perſecution for fear of *Conſtantine.*

A.Mund. 3103 Conſtantin ends his cruelty to the Chriſtian.

The end and death of *Maximinus.*

This *Licinius* being a *Dane* born, and made firſt *Ceſar* by *Galerius*, as is above ſpecified, was afterwards joyned with *Conſtantinus* in government of the Empire, and in ſetting forth the Edicts, which before we have deſcribed: although it ſeemeth all this to be done of him with a diſſembling mind. For ſo is he in all Hiſtorys deſcribed, to be a man paſſing all others in deſire of inſatiable riches, given to lechery, haſty, ſtubborn and furious. To Learning he was ſuch an enemy, that he named the ſame a poyſon and a common peſtilence, and eſpecially the knowledge of the Laws. He thought no Vice worſe became a Prince than Learning, becauſe he himſelf was unlearned. *Eutropius, Lætius, Ignatius, Euſeb.lib.8. cap.13.*

The ſtate of the Church under *Licinius.*

An enmy to learning.

Euſeb.lib.8. cap.13.

There was between him and *Conſtantinus* in the beginning great familiarity, and ſuch agreement, that *Conſtantinus* gave unto him his Siſter *Conſtantia* in Matrimony, as *Aurelius Victor* writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been any other Religion than *Conſtantinus* was of, he ſeemed in all things ſo well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a Decree with *Conſtantinus*, in the behalf of the Chriſtians, as we have ſhewed: *Euſebius lib. 9. cap. 9.* And ſuch was *Licinius* in the beginning; but after arming himſelf with Tyranny, began to conſpire againſt the perſon of *Conſtantinus*, of whom he had received ſo great benefits; neither favourable to the law of Nature, nor mindful of his Oaths, his Blood, nor promiſes. But when he conſidered that in his Conſpiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he ſaw *Conſtantinus* was preſerved and ſafely defended of God: and partly being puffed up with the Victory againſt *Maximinus*, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the Chriſtian Religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. He faid he would become an enemy to the Chriſtians, for that in their Aſſemblies and Meetings they prayed not for him, but for *Conſtantinus*. Therefore firſt by little and little, and that ſecretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Chriſtians, and baniſhed them his Court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his Kingdom. Then he commanded that all thoſe ſhould be deprived which were Knights of the honourable Order, unleſs they would do

Euſeb.l.10. cap.8.

Euſeb.lib.10.cap.8. ſacrifice to Devils: The ſame Perſecution afterward ſtretched he from his Court, into all his Provinces, which with moſt wicked and deviſed laws he ſet forth. Firſt, that for no cauſe the Biſhops ſhould in any matter communicate together: neither that any man ſhould come at the Churches next unto them, or to call any aſſemblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and utility of the Church.

After, that the Men and Women together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the Women ſhould come in thoſe places where they uſed to preach and read the Word of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the Biſhop, but ſhould chooſe out ſuch Women amongſt them as ſhould inſtruct them. The third moſt cruel and wickedeſt of all was, that none ſhould help and ſuccour thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhould beſtow any Alms or Charity upon them, though they ſhould die for hunger; and they which ſhewed any compaſſion upon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whom they ſhewed the ſame ſhould be. *Euſebius libro primo de vita Conſtantini.* Theſe were the moſt horrible Conſtitutions of *Licinius*, which went beyond and paſſed the bounds of nature.

After this he uſed violence againſt the Biſhops, but yet not openly, for fear of *Conſtantinus*, but privily and by conſpiracy, by which means he ſlew thoſe that were the worthieſt men amongſt the Doctors and Prelates. And about *Amaſea* and other Cities of *Pontus*, he raced the Churches even with the ground. Otherſome he ſhut up, that no man ſhould come after their accuſtomed manner to pray and worſhip God; and therefore, as we ſaid before, his Conſcience accuſing him, all this he did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for *Conſtantinus*, and not at all for him. And from this place in the Eaſt parts to the *Lybians*, which bordered upon the *Egyptians*, the Chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of *Licinius*: which he had conceived againſt them. *Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Sozomenus lib.1.cap.8.

Furthermore, the flattering Officers that were under him, thinking by this means to pleaſe him, ſlew and made out of the way many Biſhops, and without any cauſe put them to death, as though they had been homicides and hainous offenders; and ſuch rigorouſneſs uſed they towards ſome of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and ſmall pieces in manner of a Butcher, and after that threw them into the Sea to feed the Fiſhes, *Euſebius lib. 10. cap.8.* What ſtall we ſpeak of the exiles and confiſcations of good and vertuous Men? For he took by violence every mans ſubſtance, and cared not by what means he came by the ſame; but threatned them with death, unleſs they would forgo the ſame. He baniſhed thoſe which had committed none evil at all. He commanded that both Gentlemen and Men of Honour ſhould be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters that were unmarried to Varlets and wicked ones to be defloured. And *Licinius* himſelf (although that by reaſon of his years his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefully did he vitiate many Women, Mens Wives and Maids. *Euſeb. lib. 1. de vita Conſtantini.* Which cruel outrage of him cauſed many godly men of their own accord to forſake their houſes; and it was alſo ſeen, that the Woods, Fields, deſert places and Mountains were faign to be the habitations and reſting-places of the poor and miſerable Chriſtians. *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap.14.* Of thoſe worthy men and famous Martyrs which in this Perſecution found the way to Heaven, *Nicephorus lib.7. cap.10.* firſt ſpeaketh of *Theodorus*, who firſt being hanged upon the Croſs, had Nails thruſt into his Arm-pits, and after that, his head ſtricken off. Alſo of another *Theodorus* being the Biſhop of *Tyre*; the third was a man of *Forga*; *Baſilius* alſo the Biſhop of *Amaſenus*, *Nicolaus* the Biſhop of *Mirorus*, *Gregorius* of *Armenia* the great; after that *Paul* of *Neocæſarea*, which by the impious commandment of *Licinius*, had both his hands cut off with a fearing iron. Beſides theſe were in the City of *Sebaſtia* forty worthy men, and Chriſtian Soldiers in the vehement cold time of Winter ſowſed and drowned in a Horſe-Pond, when *Locias* as yet, of whom we ſpoke before, and *Agricolaus* executing the Sheriffs office under *Licinius* in the Eaſt parts, were alive, and were in great eſtimation, for inventing of new and ſtrange torments againſt the Chriſtians. The Wives of thoſe forty good

The violent wrongs of *Licinius.*

Euſeb.l.1.de vita Conſt. The Chriſtian ſtarlets to the Wilderneſs. Hot perſecution renewed.

Theodorus. Another *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Cyrus.* A man of *Forga.* *Nicholaus* Biſhop of *Mirorus.* *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Armenia.* *Paulus* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea* with forty other Martyrs. Forty good men and their wives Martyrs. *Moyſes* with forty wives of forty men Martyrs. The wicked purpoſe of *Licinius*, had he not been prevented by God, and ſlain by *Conſtantine.*

Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 9. *Licinius* a Perſecutor.

The ſentain of Apoſtacy.

Knights of the order deprived for not obeying Edicts.

men were carried to *Heraclea* a City in *Thracia*, and there, with a certain Deacon whoſe name was *Ammes*, were (after innumerable torments by them moſt conſtantly indured) ſlain with the ſword. Theſe things writeth *Nicephorus*. Alſo *Sozomenus* in his ninth Book and ſecond Chapter maketh mention of the ſame Martyrs. And *Baſilius* in a certain Oration ſeemeth to intreat of their Hiſtory, ſaying that in the circumſtances he ſomewhat varieth. And ſurely *Licinius* was determined, for that the firſt face of this Perſecution fell out according to his deſire, to have overrun all the Chriſtians, to which thing neither counſel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted, unleſs God had brought *Conſtantinus* into thoſe parts where he governed; where, in the Wars which he himſelf began (knowing right well that *Conſtantinus* had intelligence of his Conſpiracy and Treaſon) joyning Battel with him he was overcome.

Divers Battels between them were fought, the firſt fought in *Hungary*, where *Licinius* was overthrown; then he fled into *Macedonia*, and repairing his Army was again diſcomfited. Finally, being vanquiſhed both by Sea and Land, he laſtly, at *Nicomedia* yielded himſelf to *Conſtantine*, and was commanded to live a private life in *Theſſalia*, where at length he was ſlain by the Souldiers.

Licinius ſi-vercome by Battel by *Conſtantine.*

Thus have ye heard the end and concluſion of all the ſeven Tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and laſt Perſecution againſt the true People of God. The chief Captain and incentor of which Perſecution was *Dioceſian*, who died at *Salena*, as ſome ſay, by his own poyſon, in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteen. The next was *Maximinian*, who (as is ſaid) was hanged of *Conſtantine* at *Maſilia*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died *Galerius*, plagued with an horrible Diſeaſe ſent of God. *Severus* was ſlain by *Maximinian*, father of *Maxentius* the wicked Tyrant, who was overcome and vanquiſhed of *Conſtantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen. *Maximinus* the ſixth Tyrant not long after, who being overcome by *Licinius*, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Laſtly, how this *Licinius* was overcome by *Conſtantine* and ſlain, in the year of our Lord, Three hundred twenty and four, is before declared. Only *Conſtantius* the Father of *Conſtantine* being a good and a godly Emperor, died in the third year of the Perſecution, in the year of our Lord Three hundred and ten, and was buried at *York*. After whom ſucceeded after his godly Father *Conſtantinus*, as a ſecond *Moſes* ſent and ſet up of God to deliver his people out of this ſo miſerable captivity, into liberty moſt joyful.

The end & death of the Tyrants which were the authors of this Tenth perſecution.

Here remaineth after the end of theſe Perſecutors thus deſcribed, to gather up the names and ſtories of certain particular Martyrs, which now are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpecial memory, for their ſingular conſtancy and fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferings and cruel torments. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth Perſecution, being in number infinite, in vertue moſt excellent, it is impoſſible here to comprehend; but the moſt notable, and in moſt approved Authors expreſſed, we thought here to inſert, for the more edification of other Chriſtians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, firſt beginning with *Albanus*, the firſt Martyr that ever in *England* ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

A brief ſtory of the moſt notable Martyrs of this Tenth Perſecution.

Albanus Martyr.

At what time *Dioceſian* and *Maximinian* the Pagan Emperors had directed out their Letters with all ſeverity for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians; *Alban* being then an Infidel, received into his houſe a certain Clerk, flying from the Perſecutors hands, whom when *Alban* beheld, continually both day and night to perſevere in watching and prayer, ſuddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life; whereupon by little and little he being inſtructed by his wholeſome exhortation, and leaving the blindneſs of his Idolatry, became at length a perfect Chriſtian. And when the forenamed Clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked Prince, that this good man and Confeſſor of Chriſt (not yet condemned to death) was harbour'd in *Albans* houſe, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the Souldiers to make moſt diligent inquiſition of the matter. Who as ſoon as they came to the houſe of *Alban* the Martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his gueſt and maſter was appa-

Proof of Hoſpitality to be noted.

Albanus firſt confeſſor, and by what occaſion.

relled (that is, a garment at that time used, named *Caracalla*) offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who binding him, brought him forthwith to the Judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed *Alban* was brought unto the Judge, they found the same Judge at the Altars offering sacrifice unto Devils, who as soon as he saw *Alban*, was straight ways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will, to offer himself to peril, and give himself a Prisoner to the Soldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured, and commanded him to be brought before the images of the Devils whom he worshipped having, *For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a Rebel, than to deliver him to the Officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy; look what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping.* But blessed *Alban*, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the Persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the Prince, but being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the Judge, *Of what stock or kindred art thou come? Alban* answered, *What is that to you? of what stock soever I came of, if you desire to hear the verity of my Religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a Christian, and apply my self altogether to that calling.* Then said the Judge, *I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay.* Then said he, *My Parents named me* Alban, *and I worship the true and living God, which hath created all the World.* Then said the Judge, fraught with fury, *If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this present life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to these mighty Gods:* *Alban* replieth, *These Sacrifices which ye offer unto Devils, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants; but rather shall they, whatsoever they be, that offer Sacrifice to these Idols, receive for their meed everlasting pains of Hell fire.* The Judge when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy Confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, which had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay, rather joyfully for the Lords sake. Then when the Judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worship of Christian Religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

Alban offereth himself to death for another.

The words of the Judge to *Alban*.

The constancy and zeal of *Alban*.

The confession of *Alban*.

The suffering and Martyrdom of *Alban*.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of *Beda*, as of drying up the River, as *Alban* went to the place of his execution; then of making a Well-spring in the top of the Hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious Miracles mentioned in his story) because they seem more Legend-like than Truth-like; again, because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof, I leave them to the free judgment of the Reader, to think of them as cause shall move him.

Superfluous Miracles in his story written by *Beda* omitted.

The like estimation I have of the long story, wherein is written at large, a fabulous discourse of all the doings and Miracles of St. *Alban*, taken out of the Library of St. *Albans*, compiled (as there is said) by a certain Pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to *Rome*, there to be baptised. But because in the beginning or Prologue of the Book, the said Writer maketh mention of the ruinous Walls of the Town of *Verolamium*, containing five miles of *Albanus*, and of his bitter punishments; which Walls were then falling down for age, at the writing of the said Book, as he saith; thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the Martyrdom of *Alban*, either by a *Britain*, or by an *English* man. If he were a *Britain*, how then did the *Latine* Translation take it out of the *English* Tongue, as in the Prologue he himself doth testifie: If he were an *English* man, how then did he go up to *Rome* for Baptism, being a *Pagan*, when he might have been baptised among the Christian *Britains* more near at home.

The legend of St. *Alban* disproved.

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this Legendary Story of Saint *Alban*, nothing maketh more against it, than the very story it self: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy Martyr to speak unto the people after it was smitten off from the body. Also where he bringeth in the Angels going up, and coming down in a Pillar of Fire, and singing all the night long. *Item*, in the River which he saith St. *Alban* made dry, sixth as were drowned in the same before in the bottom were found alive. With other such like Monkish-Miracles and gross fables, wherewith these Abby-Monks were wont in times past to deceive the Church of God, and to beguile the whole World for their own advantage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithful Martyr of God, who was the first that I did ever find in this Realm, to suffer Martyrdom for the testimony of Christ. And worthy no doubt of condign condemnation, especially of us here in this Land; whose Christian Faith in the Lord, and Charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish moreover, that the stories both of him, and of all other Christian Martyrs might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these Abbey-like additions of Monkish-Miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such Saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

St. *Alban* the first Martyr in this Realm of *England*.

The Clergy as baldrich of *Romanes*.

The furie of the Saints enraged with him.

As touching the name of the Clerk mentioned in this story, whom *Alban* received into his house, I find in the *English* stories to be *Amphibalus*, although the *Latine* Authors name him not, who the same time flying into *Wales*, was also fetcht from thence again to the same Town of *Verolamium*, otherwise called *Verlancaster*, where he was Martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thrust in with swords and daggers; and at last was stoned to death, as the forefaid Legend declareth.

Amphibalus Martyred. Fiens hift.

The Martyrdom of *Amphibalus*.

Moreover the same time with *Alban* suffered also two Citizens of the aforesaid City of *Verlancaster*, whose names were *Aaron* and *Julius*; beside others, whereof a great number the same time no doubt, did suffer, although our Chronicles of their names do make no rehearsal.

Aaron, Julius Martyrs.

The time of Martyrdom of this blessed *Alban* and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third year of this Tenth Persecution, under the Tyranny of *Diocletian*, and *Maximinianus Herculius*, bearing then the rule in *England*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and one, before the coming of *Constantius* to his Government. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this Realm of *Britain* being so christened before, yet never was touched with any other of the Nine Persecutions, before this Tenth Persecution of *Diocletian* and *Maximinian*. In which Persecution our stories and Polychronicon do record, that all Christianity almost in the whole Iland was destroyed, the Churches subverted, all Books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithful, both Men and Women were slain; among whom the first and chief Ring-leader (as hath been said) was *Albanus*. And thus much touching the Martyrs of *Britain*. Now from *England* to return again unto other Countries, where this Persecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffered in this Persecution, (which were impossible) but of certain moft principal, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later Histories; beginning first with *Romanus* the notable and admirable Souldier and true Servant of Christ, whose History set forth in *Prudentius*, doth thus proceed; so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with dry cheeks to hear it.

Persecution in the Realm of *Britain*.

Pitiless *Galerius* with his grand Captain *Asclepiades* violently invaded the City of *Antioch*, intending by force of Arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure Religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom *Romanus* hastily ran, declaring that the Wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian Flock: *But fear not*, faid he, *neither let this imminent peril disturb you my brethren.* Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in *Romanus*, that old Men and Matrons, Fathers and Mothers, young Men and Maidens were all of one will and mind, moft ready to shed ther blood in defence of their Christian profession. Word was brought unto the Captain, that the band of armed souldiers was not able to wreft the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason

The intolerable fury of *Romans* Martyrs.

reason that one *Romanus* so mightily did incourage them, that they ftick not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. *Seek out that Rebel* (quoth the Captain) *and bring him to me that he may answer for the whole Sect.* Apprehended he was, and bound as a Sheep appointed to the Slaughter-house, was presented to the Emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding him, faid, *What? Art thou the Author of this Sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the Gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the paines, wherewnto thou hast incouraged the hearts of thy fellows.* *Romanus* answered, *Thy sentence, O Emperor, I joyfully embrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren and that by as cruel means as thou mayst invent: and whereas thy Souldiers were repelled from the Christian Congregation, that so hapned, because it lay not in Idolaters and worshippers of Devils, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer.* Then *Asclepiades*, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be truffed up, and his bowels drawn out. The Executioners themselves more pitiful in heart than the Captain, faid, *Nor so, Sir, this man is of Noble Parentage, unlawful is it for us a Nobleman to so unnoble a deatb. Scourge him then with Whips* (quoth the Captain) *with knaps of lead at the ends.* Instead of tears, sighs and groans, *Romanus* fung Pfalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for Nobility sake; *Not the blood of my Progenitors* (faid he) *but Christian Profession maketh me Noble.* Then with great power of Spirit he inveighed against the Captain, laughing to scorn the false Gods of the Heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created Heaven and Earth, before whose Judicial Seat all Nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the Martyr were as oyl to the fire of the Captains fury. The more the Martyr spake, the madder was he, insomuch that he commanded the Martyrs sides to be lanced with Knives, until the bones appeared white again. *Sorry am I, O Captain,* (quoth the Martyr) *not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others.* The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his welbeloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of Idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words *Asclepiades* commanded the tormentors to strike *Romanus* on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciation at least wise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his Eye-lids torn with their Nails, his Cheeks scotched with Knives, the Skin of his Beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his seemly Face was wholly defaced. The meek Martyr faid, *I thank thee O Captain, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, wherein I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look how many Wounds I have, so many Mouths I have lauding and praising God.* The Captain astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threatneth cruel fire, he reviileth the noble Martyr, he blaspheneth God, saying, *Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterdays God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity.*

The noble patience of *Romanus* in his suffering.

The preaching of *Romanus* to the Captain.

Antiquity alledged of the Pagans.

Here again *Romanus* taking good occasion, made a long Oration of the Eternity of Christ, of his Humane Nature, of the Death and Satisfaction of Christ for all Mankind. Which done, he faid, *Give me a Child, O Captain, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say.* His request was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and fet before him. *Tell me my babe* (quoth the Martyr) *whether thou think it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship infinite Gods?* Unto whom the Babe answered, *That certainly, whatsoever it be that Men affirm to be God, must needs be one; which with one, is one and the same; and in as much as this one is Christ of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many Gods, we children cannot believe.* The Captain hereat clean amazed, faid,

The confession of a child against Idolatry.

Thou young Villain and Traitor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quoth the child) *with whose milk I sucked in this Lesson, that I must believe in Christ.* The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The Captain commanded the Child to be horled up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act, could not temper themselves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone flood by with dry cheeks: yea she rebuked her sweet Babe for craving a draught of cold water, she charged him to thirst after the Cup that the infants of *Bethlehem* once drank of, forgetting their Mothers Milk and Paps; she willed him to remember little *Isaac*, who beholding the Sword wherewith, and the Altar whereon he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender Neck to the dint of his Fathers Sword. Whilst this counsel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucket the skin from the Crown of his head hair and all. The Mother cried, *Suffer my child, anon thou shalt paft to him that will adorn thy naked head with a Crown of eternal glory.* The mother counselleth, the child is counselled; the mother incourageth, the babe is incouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The Captain perceiving the Child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the filly foul, the blessed babe, the child unchenilled, to the ftinking Prison, commanding the torments of *Romanus* to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

A child martyred for the testimony of Christ.

An example of vertuous education.

A godly mother of a godly child.

Thus was *Romanus* brought forth again to new ftripes, the punishments to be renewed and received upon his old fores, in so much as the bare bones appeared, the flesh all torn away; wherein no pity was shewed, but the raging Tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a mad-man these words, cried out to the tormentors, saying:

Where is (quoth the Captain) Where is your might? What? are ye not able one body to spill? Scant meet it, so weak is it, stand upright: And yet in spite of us, shall it live still?

The cruel words of the Tyrant.

The Griph with Talen, the Dog with his Tooth, Could soon, ye daftards, this corps rent and tear: He scorneth our Gods in all that he doth, Cut, prick and pounce him, no longer forbear.

Yea, no longer could the Tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. *Is it painful to thee* (faith he) *to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of Rebellion shall be consumed into ashes.* *Romanus* and the Babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on *Romanus*, he looked back, saying, *I appeal from this thy Tyranny, O Judge unjuft, unto the righteous Throne of Christ that supreme Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments and mercileft handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody.* Now when they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her Arms; and she only kissing it, delivered the Babe; *Farewel*, she faid, *my sweet child.* And as the Hangman applied his Sword to the babes neck, she sang on this manner:

The Clergies cruelty against Christ.

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord we yield to thee:
To whom the death of all thy Saints,
We know moft dear to be.

Nature overcome of Religion.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, whereinto *Romanus* was cast, who said that he should not burn: wherewith a great storm arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The Captain gave in commandment that his Tongue should be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying, *He that speaketh Christ, shall never want a tongue; think not that the voice that uttereth Christ, hath need of the tongue to be the Minister.* The Captain at this, built out of his Wit, bare in hand that the Hang-man deceived the fight of the People by some subtil sleight and crafty convey-

The first quenched with rain that should burn *Romanus*.

Romanus speaketh after his tongue was plucked out.

ance. *Not so* (quoth the Hangman) *if you suffer't my deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue.* The Captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled. Where his forrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be reftored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no Tyrant shall have any power: *Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.*

Romanus after long torments strangled in prison. Prudent. in hymnis de coronis martyrum.

Gordius was a Citizen of *Cæsarea*, a worthy Souldier, and Captain of an hundred men. He in the time of extream Persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did chooſe of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert many years a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn Feast of *Mars* was celebrated in the City of *Cæsarea*, and much People were assembled in the Theater to behold the Games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the Theater, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the Apostle, *Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me have I openly appeared.* By which words he let it to be understood, that of his own accord he came unto those Games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the fights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be *Gordius*, and that the Crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the Sheriff, who at that instant was present, and ordained the Games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was; *I am come*, saith he, *to publish, that I set nothing by your Decrees against the Christian Religion, but that I profeſs Jeſus Chriſt to be my hope and safety; and when I understood with what cruelty he handled other men, I took this as a fit time to accompliſh my desire.* The Sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revengeth all his displeasure upon poor *Gordius*, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while Gibbet, and whatsoever torments else might be deviſed. Whereunto *Gordius* answered, saying, *that it should be to him an hinderance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Chriſt his cause.* The Sheriff being more offended with his boldneſs, commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there were. With all which, *Gordius*, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto Heaven, fingeth this saying out of the *Psalms*, *The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me:* and also this saying, *I will fear none evil, because thou Lord art with me.*

Gordius of his own accord uttered himself to be a Christian.

Gordius brought to examination The confession of Gordius.

After this, he against himself provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the Sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleneſs and inticing words, to turn the ſtout and valiant mind of *Gordius*. He promiſeth to him great and large offers if he will deny Chriſt; as to make him a Captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he desireth. But in vain (as the Proverb is) pipeth the Minstrel to him that hath no ears to hear, for he deriding the foolish madneſs of the Magistrate saith, *that it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which he worthy to have a place in Heaven.* The Magistrate with these words throughly angred and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the City to be burnt. There run out of the City great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution, some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiſs him, perſwading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom *Gordius* answered, *Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which always make War against the Christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchasing Hell fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; and ceaſe off further, I pray you, to moleſt and disquiet my setled mind. Truly* (saith he) *I am ready for the name of Chriſt, to suffer and endure a thousand deaths if need were.* Some other came unto him, which perſwaded him to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and to keep his Conſcience to himself, *My tongue* (saith he) *which by the goodneſs of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousneſs, and with the tongue we confeſs unto salvation.* Many more ſuch like words he ſpake; but eſpecially uttering to them ſuch matter, whereby he might perſwade the beholders to death, and to the deſire of Martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing ſo much as his colour, he willingly gave himſelf to be burnt. *Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.*

The story of Gordius a Centurion Martyr.

Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

None ought to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and confeſs him with his heart.

Not much unlike to the ſtory of *Gordius* is the ſtory alſo of *Menas* an *Egyptian*, who being likewiſe a Souldier by his profeſſion, in this Perſecution of *Dioclesian* forſook all, and went into the deſert, where a long time he gave himſelf to abſtinence, watching and meditation of the Scriptures. At length returning again to the City *Cotus*, there in the open Theater, as the people were occupied upon their Spectacles or Paſtimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and upon the ſame was brought to *Pyrrhus* the Preſident; of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this anſwer, *Convenient it is that I ſhould* (ſaith he) *confeſs God, in whom is light and no darkneſs, forſmuch as* Paul *doth teach that with heart we believe to righteouſneſs, with Mouth confeſſion is given to ſalvation.* After this the innocent Martyr was moſt painfully pinched and cruciat with ſundry puniſhments. In all which notwithſtanding he declared a conſtant heart, and faith invincible, having theſe words in his mouth being in the midſt of his torments: *There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven; neither is all the World, if it were weighed in ballance, able to be conferred with the price of one ſoul;* and ſaid, *who is able to ſeparate us from the love of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord? ſhall affliction or anguiſh? And moreover,* (ſaid he) *I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body and have no power to kill the ſoul, but to fear him rather, who hath power to deſtroy both body and ſoul in Hell fire.* To make the ſtory ſhort, after manifold torments born of him, and ſuffered, when the laſt ſentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded; *Menas* being then had to the place of Execution, ſaid, *I give thee thanks my Lord God, which haſt ſo accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and haſt not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt made me to remain conſtant in thy pure faith unto this my later end.* And ſo this bleſſed Souldier fighting valiantly under the Banner of Chriſt, loſt his head, and won his ſoul. *Simeon Metaphraſt. tom.* 5. In the which Author there followeth a long narration of the Miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

The constancy of Menas.

Menas Martyred.

Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 5.

Basilius in a certain Sermon of forty Martyrs reherseth this Story, not unworthy to be noted. *There came* (ſaith he) *into a certain place* (of which place he maketh no mention) *the Emperors Marſhal or Officer, with the Edict which the Emperor had ſet out againſt the Chriſtians, that whoſoever confeſſed Chriſt, ſhould after many torments ſuffer death.* And firſt they did privily ſuborn certain which ſhould detect and accuſe the Chriſtians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the Sword, the Gibbet, the Wheel, and the Whips were brought forth; at the terrible ſight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble. Some for fear did flie, ſome did ſtand in doubt what to do; certain were ſo terrified at the beholding of theſe Engines, and tormenting inſtruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the Game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of Martyrdom, but vanquiſhed at length, by the intolerable pain of their torments, made ſhipwrack of their conſciences, and loſt the glory of their confeſſion. Among others, forty there were at that time, young Gentlemen, all Souldiers, which after the Marſhal had ſhewed the Emperors Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the ſame, freely and boldly of their own accord confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, and declared to him their names. The Marſhal ſomewhat amazed at this their boldneſs of ſpeech, ſtandeth in doubt what was beſt to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertiſing them to conſider their youth, neither that they ſhould change a ſweet and pleaſant life, for a cruel and untimely death: after

Basilius in a certain Sermon of forty Martyrs.

Torments brought out to terrifie the Christians.

after that he promiſeth them Money and honourable Offices in the Emperors name. But they little eſteeming all theſe things, brake forth into a long and bold Oration, affirming that they did neither deſire life, dignity, nor money, but only the Celeſtial Kingdom of Chriſt, ſaying further, that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the Wheel, the Croſs and the Fire. The rude Marſhal being herewith offended, deviſed a new kind of puniſhment. He ſpied out in the middle of the City a certain great Pond, which lay full upon the cold Northern Wind, for it was in the Winter-time, wherein he cauſed them to be put all that Night; but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed puniſhment, and ſaid, as they were putting off their Cloaths: *We put off* (ſaid they) *now not our Cloaths, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of Concupiſcence; We give thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparel we may alſo put off by thy grace, the ſinful man; for by means of the Serpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jeſus Chriſt we now put him off.* When they had thus ſaid, they were brought naked into the place where they leſt moſt vehement cold; inſomuch that all the parts of their bodies were ſtark and ſtiff therewith. Aſſoon as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, where in they were conſumed, and their aſhes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not ſo near dead as the reſt, of whom the Executioners taking pity, ſaid unto his Mother ſtanding by, that they would ſave his life. But ſhe, with her own hands taking up her Son, brought him to the Pile of Wood, where the reſidue of his fellows (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admoniſhed him to accompliſh the bleſſed journey he had taken in hand with his companions. *Basil.*

Martyrdom and death for Christ preferred before life and riches of this World.

The Martyrs in a cold Pond all a Winters night.

The martyrs taken out of the Pond were cast into the fire.

The confession of Menas.

A like ſtory of forty Martyrs, which were married men, we read of in *Nicephorus & Sozom. l. 9. c. 2.* which were killed likewiſe in a Lake or Pond at *Sebaſtia*, a Town of *Armenia*, under *Licinius*, if the ſtory be not the ſame with this. *Niceph. Sozom.*

A good mother caring more for the ſoul, than for the body of her ſon. Ex Basil. in hom. de 40 martyribus.

In this fellowſhip and company of Martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the ſtory of *Cyrus*. This *Cyrus* was a Phyſician born in *Alexandria*, which flying into *Egypt*, in the Perſecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, led a ſolitary life in *Arabia*, being much ſpoken of for his Learning and Miracles, unto whoſe company after a certain time did *Joannes* born in the City of *Edeſſa*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, joyn himſelf, leaving the ſouldiers life which before that time he had exerciſed. But whilſt as yet the ſame Perſecution raged in a City in *Egypt* called *Canope*, there was caſt into Priſon for the confeſſion of their faith, a certain godly Chriſtian woman, called *Athanaſia*, and her three daughters, *Theoktiſte*, *Theodora* and *Eudoxia*; with whom *Cyrus* was well acquainted: at whoſe infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother *John*, came and viſited them for their better confirmation; at which time *Lirianus* was chief Captain and Lieutenant of *Egypt*, of whoſe wickedneſs and cruelty, eſpecially againſt Women and Maidens, *Athanaſius* maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lead a ſolitary life. This *Cyrus* therefore and *Joannes*, being accuſed and apprehended of the Heathen Men, asby whoſe perſwations the Maidens and Daughters of *Athanaſia* contumeliouſly deſpiſed the Gods and the Emperors Religion, and could by no means be brought to do ſacrifice, were after the publication of their conſtant confeſſion put to death by the ſword: *Athanaſia* alſo and her three daughters being condemned to death. This Hiſtory writeth *Simeon Metaphraſtes*.

Cyrus, Joannes.

Athanasia with her 3 daughters Theoktiste, Theodora, Eudoxia, Martyrs. The losing care of one Christian toward another.

Cyrus to do others good loſt his life.

The 40 Martyrs.

Sebaſtian being born in the part of *France* called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, was a Chriſtian, and was Lieutenant General of the Vaward of *Dioclesian* the Emperor, who alſo encouraged many Martyrs of Chriſt by his exhortations unto conſtancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accuſed to the Emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he ſhould be brought into the open field, where of his own ſouldiers he was thruſt through the body with innumerable Arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a Jakes or Sink. *Ambroſius* maketh mention of this *Sebaſtian* the Martyr in his Commentary upon the hundred and eighteenth *Pſalm*; and *Simeon Metaphraſtes* amongſt other Martyrs that ſuffered with *Sebaſtian* numbereth alſo theſe following: *Nicoſtratus* with *Zoe* his Wife, *Tranquillinus* with *Martia* his Wife, *Tranquillinus*, *Claudius*, *Caſtor*, *Tibertius*, *Caſtellius*, *Marcus* and *Marcellinus*, with others more.

The Martyrdom of Gordius. Ex Basil. in Gordium militem. Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 9.

The story of Sebastian Martyr. A worthy example of a Captain to be followed.

The compassion of Christians, and confession of their ſelf Martyrs.

Marcus, Marcellinus, Nicostratus with Zoe his Wife. Tranquillinus with Martia his Wife. Tranquillinus, Claudius, Castor, Tibertius, Castellius, Marcus, Marcellinus. What deſire the Heathen had by ſome means to alter the Chriſtians conſtancy.

Basilius in another Sermon alſo maketh mention of one *Barlaam*, being a noble and famous Martyr, which abode all the torments of the Executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the Tormentors ſaw, they brought him and laid him upon the Altar, where they did uſe to offer ſacrifices to their Idols, and put fire and ſtanke incenſe into his right hand, wherein he had yet ſome ſtrength, thinking that the ſame his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have ſcattered the burning Incenſe upon the Altar, and ſo have ſacrificed. But of that their hope, the peſtiferous tormentors were diſappointed: for the flame ran round about his hand, and the ſame endured as though it had been covered with hot Embers, when as *Barlaam* recited out of the *Pſalms* this ſaying: *Bleſſed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.*

Basilius in sermone in Barlaam martyrem.

To this Narration of *Baſilius*, touching the Martyrdom of *Barlaam*, we will annex conſequently another ſtory of *Ambroſe*. He making a certain exhortation to certain Virgins, in the ſame Oration commendeth the Martyrdoms of *Agricola* and *Vitalis*, who ſuffered alſo in the ſame Perſecution under *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* (as they affirm) at *Bononny*. This *Vitalis* was ſervant to *Agricola*, who both together betwen themſelves had made a compact to give their lives with other Martyrs for the Name of Chriſt. Whereupon *Vitalis* being ſent before of his Maſter, to offer himſelf to Martyrdom, fell firſt into the hands of Perſecuters, who laboured about him by all means to cauſe him to deny Chriſt. Which when he would in no caſe do, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the Confeſſion of his Faith, they began to exerciſe him with all kind of torments, ſo unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So *Vitalis*, in the midſt of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a ſhort prayer commended himſelf to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors ſet upon *Agricola* his Maſter, whoſe vertuous manners and gentle conditions, becauſe they were ſingularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his ſuffering therefore was the longer deferred. But *Agricola* not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adverſaries to quicken ſpeed, at length was faſtened unto the Croſs, and ſo finiſhed his Martyrdom, which he ſo long deſired. *Ambro. in exhortatione ad Virgines.*

Agricola Martyred with his ſervant Vitalis martyred. Ex Ambro. in Prologo Virgin.

Agricola deſired to be martyred, Agricola alſo Martyr upon the Croſs.

No leſs worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdom of *Vincentius*, whoſe Hiſtory here followeth: This *Vincentius* was a *Spaniard*, and a *Levite* moſt godly and vertuous, who at this time ſuffered Martyrdom at *Valence* under *Dacianus* the Preſident, as we may gather by *Prudentius* in his Hymn. *Bergomenſis* in his ſupplement reciteth theſe words concerning his Martyrdom, out of a certain Sermon of St. *Auguſtine*. Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitleſs ſight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great ſight and marvellous, and there with ſingular pleaſure received it, when the painful paſſion of victorious *Vincentius* was read unto us. Is there any ſo heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immoveable Martyr, ſo manly, or rather ſo godly, fighting againſt the craft and ſubtilty of that Serpent, againſt the Tyranny of *Dacianus*, againſt the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearſe the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expreſſed. Firſt, *Dacianus* cauſed the Martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joynts of his body to be diſtended and racked out, until they crackt again. This being done in moſt extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievouſly indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented) they miſerably vexed his fleſh with Iron Combs ſharply filed. And to the end the Tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild Martyrs fleſh, the tormentors themſelves alſo were vilely ſcourged at the Preſidents commandment. And leſt his paſſion through want of pains might ſeem imperfect or elſe too eaſie, they laid his body, being all out of joynt, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they ſeared it with fiery Plates, with hot

The cruel Martyrdom of Vincentius. Ex Augusti. in sermone.

The torments executed upon Vincentius.

burning Salt, ſprinkling the ſame. Laſt of all, into a vile Dungeon was this mighty Martyr drawn, the floor whereof firſt was thick ſpread with the ſharpeſt ſhells that might be gotten, his feet then being faſt locked in the ſtocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whoſe office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladneſs. Haſt thou prepared a terrible Rack (O cruel tyrant, O devouring Lion) for the Martyrs bed? the Lord ſhall make that bed ſoft and ſweet unto him. Racked thou his bones and joynts all aſunder? His bones, his joynts, his hairs are all numbred. Tormenteſt thou his fleſh with mortal wounds? the Lord ſhall pour abundantly into all his ſores of his cyl of gladneſs. Thy ſcraping combs, thy ſharp fleſhhooks, thine hot fearing irons, thy parched ſalt, thy ſtinking priſon, thy cutting ſhells, thy pinching ſtocks ſhall turn to this patient Martyr to the beſt. All together ſhall work contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy ſhall he reap into the Barn of his ſoul, out of this mighty harveſt of pains that thou haſt brought him into. Yea, thou ſhalt prove him *Vincentius* indeed; that is, a vanquiſher, a triumpher, a conqueror, ſubduing thy madneſs by his meekneſs, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully inriched.

The comfort of the Lord upon his ſaints.

In this catalogue or company of ſuch holy Martyrs, as ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth Perſecution, many more, and almoſt innumerable, there be expreſſed in Authors, beſide them whom we have hitherto comprehended, as *Philoromus*, a man of noble birth, and great poſſeſſions in *Alexandria*, who being perſwaded by his friends to favour himſelf, to reſpect his Wife, to conſider his Children and Family, did not only reject the counſels of them, but alſo neglected the threats and torments of the Judge, to keep the confeſſion of Chriſt inviolate unto the death, and loſing of his head: *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 9. *Nicephl. lib.* 7. *cap.* 9. of whom *Euſebius* beareth witneſs that he was there preſent himſelf.

Philoromus Martyr.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9. the confeſſion and martyrdom of Philoromus.

Of like eſtate and dignity was alſo *Procopius* in *Palæſtina*, who after his converſion brake his images of Silver and Gold, and diſtributed the ſame to the poor, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his fleſh, of goring and ſtabbing in, of firing, at length had his head alſo ſmitten off, as witneſſeth *Nicephl. lib.* 8. *cap.* 15.

The torments and conſtancy of *Procopius* to death. *Nicephl. lib.* 8 *cap.* 15.

To this may be joyned alſo *Georgius* a young man of *Cappadocia*, who ſtoutly inveighing againſt the impious idolatry of the Emperors, was apprehended and caſt into Priſon, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, ſtretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at laſt with a ſword had his head cut off. *Nicephadid.*

Georgius martyr. the kinds torments of *Georgius*.

With theſe aforenamed, add alſo *Sergius* and *Bacchius*, *Pamphelem* a Phyſician in *Nicomedia*, mentioned in *ſuperiora. lib.* 8. *Theodorus* of the City of *Amaſia* in *Helleſponto*, mentioned of *Vincentius lib.* 3. *Fauſtus* a Martyr of *Egypt*, mentioned of *Niceph. lib.* 8. *cap.* 5. *Gereon*, with three hundred and eighteen fellow Martyrs, which ſuffered about *Colour*, *Petr. de nat. lib.* 9. *cap.* 49. *Hermogenes* the Preſident of *Athens*, who being converted by the conſtancy of one *Menas*, and *Eugraphus* in their torments, ſuffered alſo for the like faith. *Item*, *Samonas Gurias* and *Abibus*, mentioned in *Simeon Metaphraſt*. *Hieron* alſo, with certain of his Conſeſſors, under *Maximinus*, mentioned in *Metaphraſtes*, *Judes* and *Domnas*, who ſuffered with many other Martyrs above mentioned at *Nicomedia*, as recorded *Metaphraſtes*. *Eucolaſius*, *Maximinus*, the Emperors officers, whom *Fauſta* the Virgin in her torments converted. Alſo *Thirſus*, *Lucius*, *Callinicius*, *Apollonius*, *Philemon*, *Aſilas*, *Lemides*, with *Arrianus*, Preſident of *Thebaide*. *Cyprianus* likewiſe, a Citizen of *Antioch*, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magician or Sorcerer, at length was converted and made a Deacon, then a Prieſt, and at laſt the Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Vincent. lib.* 12. *cap.* 120. of whom partly we touched ſomewhat before. This *Cyprian* with *Juſtina* a Virgin ſuffered among the Martyrs. *Item Glicerios* at *Nicomedia*, *Felix* a Miniſter, *Fortunatus*, *Achilleus*, Deacons in the City of *Valent*. *Arthemius* of *Rome*, *Ciriacus* Deacon to *Marcellus* the Biſhop, *Carpophorus* Prieſt at *Thuſcia*, with *Abundus* his Deacon. *Item*, *Claudius* *Sirinus Antoninus* which ſuffered with *Marcellinus* the Biſhop, *Sabel. Emead. lib.* 8. *Cucuſatus* in the City of *Barcinona*. *Felix* Biſhop of *Apulia*, with *Adauctus* and *Januarius* his Prieſt, *Fortunatus* and *Septimus* his Readers: who ſuffered in the City *Venuſina* under *Dioclesian*, *Bergom. lib.* 8.

Sergius, Bacchius, Pamphalem, Theodorus, Fauſtus, Gereon with 318 fellows.

Hermogenes, *Menas* a man of *Athens*. Eugraphus, Samonas, Gurias, Abibus, Hieron with his fellows Judes, Domnas.

Euolaſius, Maximinus, Thirſus, Lucius, &c. as in the text.

It were too long a travel or trouble to recite all and ſingular names of them particularly, whom this Perſecution of *Dioclesian* did conſume. The number of whom being almoſt infinite, is not to be collected or expreſſed. One hundry yet remaineth not to be forgotten of *Caſſianus*, whoſe pitiful ſtory being deſcribed of *Prudentius* we have here interted, rendring Meter for Meter, as followeth.

The ſtory of *Caſſianus* martyr. *Prudent. de Paſſion.*

THrough Forum, *as in* Italy, *I paſſed once to* Rome,
Into a Church by chance came I, and ſtood faſt by a Tomb;
Which Church ſometime a place had been, where cauſes great in law
Were ſcand and tried, and judgment given, to keep bruit men in awe.
Thus place Sylla Cornelius, *firſt built, he rais'd the frame,*
And call'd the ſame Forum, *and thus that City took the name.*
In prayer ſervent as I ſtood, cauſing mine eyes be aſide,
A picture in full piteous mood (imbrued) by chance I ſpi'd;
A thorſand wounded marks full bad, all mangled rent and torn;
The ſkin appear'd as though it had been jagg'd and prickt with horn.
A ſcull of pictured boys did band, about that loathſome ſight,
That with their ſharpened gads in hand, his members thus had dight.
Theſe gads were but their pens, wherewith their Tables written were,
And ſuch as Scholars often ſith, unto the Schools do bear.
Whom thou ſeeſt here thus pictur'd ſit, and firmly doſt behold,
No fable it, I do thee wit, unakt a Prelate told
That walks there by; but doth declare, the Hiſtory of one,
Which written, would good record bear, what faith was long agone,
A skilful Schoolmaſter this was, that here ſometime did teach;
The Biſhop once of Brixia *was, and Chriſt full plain did preach.*
He knew well how to comprehend, long talk in a few lines,
And is at length how to amend, by order and by times.
His ſharp precepts and his ſtern looks, his beardleſs boys did fear,
When bate in heart (yet for their books) full deadly they did bear.
The child that learns, I do ye weet, terms aye his Tutor cru'l;
No diſcipline in youth ſeems ſweet, count this a common rule.
Behold the raging time now here, oppreſſing ſo the faith,
Doth perſecute Gods children dear, and all that Chriſt bewraith.
This truſty teacher of the ſwarm, proſeſt the living God;
The chief good thing they count their harm, perhaps he ſhakes his rod.
What Rebel (cacks the Preſident) is he I bear ſo loud?
Unto our youth an inſtrument, they ſay, and loe they bound.
Go, bring the Caitiff forth, he bids, and make no long delay;
Let him be ſet the boys amids; they do as he doth ſay.
Let him be given unto them all, and let them have their will,
To do to him what ſlight they ſhall, ſo that they will him kill.
Even as they liſt let them him fray, and him deride ſo long,
Till wearineſs provokes their play, no longer to prolong.
Let them, I ſay, then uncontroul'd, both prick and ſcortch his skin;
To bathe their hands let them be bold, in the hot blood of him.
The Scholars hereat make great game, it pleaſeth them full well;
That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell.
They bind his hands behind his back, and naked they him ſtrip;
In Bodkin ſuſe at him they wack, they laugh to ſee him skip.
The private hate that each one hath in heart, it now appears,
They pour it forth in gawdy wrath, they wreak them of their tears.
Some caſt great ſtones, ſome other break their tables on his face;
Lo, here thy Latin, and thy Greek (oh barren boys of grace)
The blood runs down his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams,
Where notes by them were made (though loth) and well propoſed theams.
Some whet, ſome ſharp their pen/els points ſerving to write withal;
Some other gage his fleſh and joynts, as with a pointed nail.
Sometime they prick, ſometime they rent, his worthy Martyrs fleſh,
And thus by turns they dotormente this confeſſor afreſh.
Now all with one conſent on him their bloody hands they lay,
To ſee the blood from limb to limb drop down they make a play.
More painful was the pricking pang, of children oft and thick,
Than of the bigger boys that ſtang, and near the heart did ſtick.
For by the feeble ſtrokes of th'one, death was denied his will,
Of ſmart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill.
The deeper ſtrokes the great ones gave, and nearer touch'd the quick,
The welcomer he thought the ſame, whom longing death made ſick.
God make you ſtrong, he ſaith, I pray, God give you might at will,
And what you want in years, I ſay, let cruelty fulfil.
But whilſt the Hangman breathteth ſtill, and me with you doth match,
That weakly work, yet want no will, my life for to diſpatch;

My griefs was great: what groſs it thou now? ſaid ſome of them again,
In ſchool, adviſed well art thou, whom there thou muſt to pain?
Behold we pray, and now make good, as many thou ſmadſt ſtripes:
As when with weeping eyes we ſtood, in danger of thy gripes.
Art thou now angry at thy hand, that always crieſt write, write,
And never wouldſt that our right hand ſhould reſt in quiet plite?
We had forgot our playing times, thou churle deniedſt us of:
We now but prick and point our lines, and thus they grin and ſcoffe,
Correct good Sir, your viewed verſe, if ought amiſs there be:
Now uſeſt thy power and then rehearſe, that have not marked thee.
Chriſt pitying thy groaning man, with torments torn and tired,
Commands his heart to break even then, and life that was then hired,
He yields again to him that gave, and thus he makes exchange:
Immortal for mortal to have, that in ſuch pain did range.
This is, ſaith he, that this picture, thou ſo beholdſt, oh gueſt,
Of Caſſianus martyr pure, doth Preach I do Proteſt.
If thou prudence have ought in ſtore, in piety to deal, Caſſianus martyr.
In hope of juſt reward therefore, now ſhew thy loving zeal.
I could not but conſent, I weep, his tomb I do imbrace:
Home I return, and after ſleep, this pitiful Preface.
I write as a memorial, for ever to indure,
Of Caſſianus School-maſter, all others to allure,
To complacy under the croſs, of their profeſſion:
Accounting gain what ever loſs for Chriſt they take upon.

No leſs admirable than wonderful was the conſtancy alſo of Women and Maidens, who in the ſame perſecution gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, with no leſs boldnes of ſpirit, than did the men themſelves above ſpecified, to whom how much more inferior they were of bodily ſtrength, ſo much more worthy of praiſe they be, for their conſtant ſtanding. Of whom ſome examples here we mind (Chriſt willing) to infer, ſuch as in our Stories and Chronicles ſeem moſt notable, firſt beginning with *Eulalia*, whoſe ſtory we have taken out of the foreſaid *Prudentius*, as followeth.

In the Weſt part of *Spain*, called *Portugal*, is a City great and Populous, named *Emerita*, wherein dwelt, and was brought up a Virgin, born of Noble Parentage, whoſe name was *Eulalia*, which *Emerita* although for the ſituation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the Martyrdom, Blood, and Sepulchre of this bleſſed Virgin *Eulalia*. Twelve years of age was ſhe, and not much above, when ſhe refuſed great and Honorable offers in Marriage, as one not skilful, nor yet delighting in Courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleaſure in Purple and gorgeous Apparel, or elſe in Precious Balms, or Coſtly Ornaments and Jewels: But forſaking and deſpiting all theſe and ſuch like Pompous allurements, then ſhewed ſhe her ſelf moſt buſie in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly Patronage. Which *Eulalia*, as ſhe was modeſt and diſcreet in behaviour, ſage and ſober in conditions, ſo was ſhe alſo witty and ſharp in anſwering her Enemies. But when the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to joyn her ſelf amongſt Gods Children in the boſſhold of faith, and when the Chriſtians were commanded to offer incenſe and ſacrifice to Devils or dead Gods: Then began the bleſſed ſpirit of *Eulalia* to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a couragious Captain) to give a charge upon this ſo great and diſordered a battel: And ſo the filly woman, pouring out the Bowels of her inward heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and rage of her Enemies againſt her. But the godly care of her Parents, fearing leſt the willing mind of this Damoſel, ſo ready to die for Chriſts cauſe, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the Country, being a great way out of the City. She yet miſſliking that quiet life, and alſo deteſting to make ſuch delay, ſoftly ſtealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haſt leaving the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) paſſed through the thorny and briary places, accompanied yet with ſpiritual guard: And although dark and dreadful was the ſilent night, yet had ſhe with her, the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Iſreal coming out of *Egypt*, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guid in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; ſo had this Godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when ſhe flying and forſaking the place where all filthy Idolatry abounded, and haſtened her Heavenly journey, was not oppreſſed with the dreadful darkneſs of the night: But yet ſhe before the day appeared in this her ſpeedy journey, with her ſelf conſidered and muſed on a thouſand matters and more.

Eulalia martyr.

Eulalia diſcovereth the ſtratiues Judge.

The godly confeſſion of *Eulalia*.

Eulalia allured with fair promiſes.

Eulalia ſtirred up by the Devil.

The ſtaid and conſtant behaviour of *Eulalia*.

Eulalia giveth the on ſet, coming to ſacrifice to Devils.

Eulalia hear ſecret by her parents.

Eulalia eſcapeth and purſueth God in her tormentes.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage ſhe goeth unto the tribunal or Judgment-ſeat, and in the midſt of them all with a loud voice crying out, ſaid: I pray you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhly and without advizement to deſtroy and kill mens Souls, and to throw their bodies alive againſt the rocks, and cauſe them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you unfortunate) what I am? Behold, I am one of the Chriſtians, an Enemy to your deviliſh Sacrifices, I ſpurn your Idols under my feet, I confeſs God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. *Iſis*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*, what are they? *Maximinus* himſelf, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of mens hands; the other but a caſtawy, becauſe he worſhippeth the ſame work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be ſet by: *Maximinus* is a Lord of ſubſtance, and yet he himſelf falleth down before a ſtone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto thoſe that are much inferior to his Vaſſals. Why then doth he oppreſs ſo tyrannically, more worthy ſtomachs and courages than himſelf? He muſt needs be a good guid and an upright Judge, which feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of Godly men, doth rent and tear their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in deſtroying and ſubverting the faith.

Go to therefore thou Hang-man, burn, cut and mangle thou theſe earthly members. It is an eaſie matter to break a brittle ſubſtance, but the inward mind ſhalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canſt do. The Pretor then or Judge, with theſe words of hers, fet in a great rage, ſaith, *Hangman take her and pull her out by the hair of her Head, and torment her to the uttermoſt, let her feel the power of our country Gods, and let her know what the imperial Government of a Prince is. But yet, O thou ſtardy girle, faiſn would I have thee (if it were poſſible) before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedneſs. Behold what pleaſures thou maieſt enjoy by the honourable houſe thou cameſt of, thy fallen houſe and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable tears, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh doleful lamentation for thee. What meaneſt thou? Wilt thou kill thy ſelf ſo young a flower, and ſo near theſe Honourable marriages and great Dowaries thou maiſt injoy? Doth not the gliſtering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine anceſtors prick thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy raſhneſs and weakneſs grieveth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: Either ſhalt thou be beheaded with this ſword, or elſe with theſe wild beaſts ſhalt thou be pulled in pieces, or elſe thou being caſt into the fiery flames, ſhalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy Friends and kinſfolks) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to eſcape all this? If thou will but take and put with thy fingers a little ſalt and incenſers into the Cenſers, thou ſhalt be delivered from all theſe puniſhments.* To this *Eulalia* made no anſwer, but being in a great fury, ſhe ſpitteth in the Tyrants face, ſhe throweth down the Idols, and ſcurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incenſe prepared to the Cenſers. Then without further delay the Hang-men with both their ſtrengths took her, and pull one joynt from another, and with the talons of wild beaſts ſcotched her ſides to the hard bones: She all this while ſinging and prayſing God in this wiſe; Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: What a pleaſure is it for them, O Chriſt, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto theſe high dignities? and ſtill calleth upon that holy name, all ſtained and imbrued with her own blood. This ſang ſhe with a bold ſtomach, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry abandoning from her mind all heavineſs and grief, when as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with freſh blood bathed her white and fair ſkin. Then proceed they to the laſt and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her body with the Iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her fleſh, but burned on every ſide with flaming Torches, her tormented breaſts and ſides: Her hair hanging about her ſhoulders in two parts divided (wherewith her Phane-fac'd chaſtity and virginity was covered) reaching down to the

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdom of *Eulalia*.

the ground. But when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head: then ſhe deliring ſwift death, opened her mouth and ſwallowed the flame, and ſo reſted ſhe in Peace.

Ex Pruden. Then ſaid *Prudentius* and *Ado*, alſo *Aquilinus* add moreover, writing of a white Dove iſſuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, alſo of her body covered miraculouſly with ſnow, with other things more, whereof let every reader uſe his own Judgment.

As ye have heard now the Chriſtian life, and conſtant death of *Eulalia*, much worthy of praiſe and commendation: So no leſs commendation is worthy to be given to bleſſed *Agnes*, that conſtant damſel and martyr of God, who as ſhe was in *Rome* of honorable Parents begotten, ſo lieth ſhe there as honorably intombed and buried. Which *Agnes* for her unſpotted and undefiled virginity, deſerved no leſs praiſe, and commendation than for her willing death and Martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long diſcourſe, more in my judgment than neceſſary, reciting divers and ſundry ſtrange miracles by her done in the proceſs of her Hiſtory; which partly for tediouſneſs, partly for the doubtfulneſs of the author (whom ſome father upon *Ambroſe*) and partly for the ſtrangneſs and incredibility thereof, I omit, being ſatisfied with that which *Prudentius* briefly writeth of her, as followeth: She was (ſaith he) young and not marriageable, when firſt ſhe being dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked Edicts of the Emperor, left that through Idolatry ſhe might have defiled and forſaken the holy faith; but yet firſt proved by divers and ſundry policies to induce her to the ſame (as now with the flattering and inticing words of the Judge, now with the threatnings of the ſtorming Executioner) ſhe ſtood notwithſtanding ſtedfaſt in all couragious ſtrength: And willingly offered her body to hard and painful tormentes, not refuſing (as ſhe ſaid) to ſuffer whatſoever it ſhould be, yea though it were death it ſelf. Then ſaid the cruel tyrant, *If to ſuffer pain and torment be ſo eaſie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountеſt thy life nothing worthy, yet the ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and eſteemed of thee.* Wherefore this is determined, that unleſs thou wilt make obeyſance to the Altar of *Minerva*, and ask forgiveneſs of her for thy arrogancy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the common ſtews or brothel-houſe. *Agnes* the virgin with more ſpirit than vehemency inveigheth againſt both *Minerva* and her virginity: The youth in skuls flock and run together, and crave that they may have *Agnes* their ludibrious prey. Then, ſaith *Agnes*, Chriſt is not forgetful of thoſe that be his, that he will ſuffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chaſtity, neither will he leave them ſo deſtitute of help: He is always at hand and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamefac'd and chaſt Virgins, neither ſuffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chaſtity to be polluted. Thou ſhalt, ſaith ſhe, willingly bath thy ſword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt for any thing thou canſt do. She had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but he commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtreet (which place at that time, ſuch as were ſtrumpets commonly uſed) the greater part of the nultitude both forrowing and ſhaming to ſee ſo ſhameleſs a ſight, went their ways, ſome turning their heads, ſome hiding their faces. But one amongſt the reſt, with uncircumciſed eyes beholding the damſel, and that in ſuch opprobrious wiſe; behold a flame of fire like unto a flaſh of lightning falleth upon him, and ſtriketh his eyes out of his head: whereupon he for dead falling unto the ground, ſprawleth in the kennel-durt; whoſe companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewayled him as a dead man: But the Virgin for this her miraculous delivery from the dauger and ſhame of that place, fingeth praiſes to God and Chriſt.

There be (ſaith *Prudentius*) that report, how that ſhe being deſired to pray unto Chriſt for the party, that a little before with fire from Heaven for his incontinency was ſtricken, was reſtored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and ſight. But bleſſed *Agnes* after that ſhe had climbed this her firſt greeſe and ſtep unto the heavenly pallace, forthwith began to climb another: For fury ingendring now the mortal wrath of her bloody Enemy, wringing his hands he crieth out ſaying: I am undone, O thou the Executioner draw out thy ſword, and do thine office that the Emperor hath appointed thee. And when *Agnes* ſaw a ſturdy and cruel fellow (to behold) ſtand behind her, or approaching near to her with a naked ſword in his hand: I am now gladder, ſaith ſhe, and rejoyce, that ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce, ſtrong, and ſturdy ſouldier art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint ſhould come, or elſe any other young man ſweetly imbalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might deſtroy me with fained ſhame. Thus, even this, is he, I now confeſs, that I do love. I will make haſt to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing deſire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his ſword, and into my breſt will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus I being married unto Chriſt my ſpouſe, may ſurmount and eſcape all the darkneſs of this world, that reacheth even unto the ſkies. O eternal Governour, vouchſafe to open the gates of Heaven, once ſhut up againſt all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive (oh Chriſt) my ſoul that ſeeketh thee. Thus ſpeaking and kneeling upon her knees the prayeth unto Chriſt above in Heaven, that her neck might be the readier for the ſword, now hanging over the ſame. The executioner then with his bloody hand finiſheth her hope, and at one ſtroke cutteth off her head, and by ſuch ſhort and ſwift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the ſtories of Saints have been powdered and ſauced with divers untrue additions, and fabulous inventions of men, who either of a ſuperſtitious devotion, or of a ſubtil practiſe have ſo mangled-mangled their ſtories and lives, that almoſt nothing remaineth in them ſimple and uncorrupt, as in the uſual portues wont to be read for dayly ſervice, is manifeſt and evident to be ſeen; wherein few Legends there be able to abide the touch of Hiſtory, if they were truly tryed. This I write upon the occaſion ſpecially of good *Katharine*, whom now I have in hand: In whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life was great holineſs, in her knowledge excellency, in her death conſtancy: Yet that all things be true that be ſtoried of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound ſo to think: So many ſtrange fictions of her be fained diverſly of divers writers, whereof ſome ſeem incredible, ſome alſo impudent. As where *Petrus de natalibus* writing of her converſion declareth, how that *Katharine* ſleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Chriſt with his Mother *Mary* appeared unto her: And when *Mary* had offered her unto Chriſt to be his wife, he firſt refuſed her for her blackneſs. The next time ſhe being baptiſed, *Mary* appearing again, offered her to marry with Chriſt, who then being liked, was eſpouſed to him and married, having a Golden ring the ſame time put on her finger in her ſleep, &c. *Bergomenſis* writeth thus, that becauſe ſhe in the ſight of the people openly reſiſted the Emperor *Maxentius* to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore ſhe was commanded and committed upon the ſame to priſon, which ſeemeth hitherto not much to digreſs from truth. It followeth moreover, that the ſame night an Angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be ſtrong and conſtant unto the Martyrdom, for that ſhe was a Maid accepted in the ſight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whoſe honour ſhe did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wiſdom which her Enemies ſhould not withſtand: With many other things more which I here omit. As this alſo I omit concerning the fifty Philoſophers, whom ſhe in diſputation convicted, and converted unto our Religion, and dyed Martyrs for the ſame. *Item*, of the converting of *Porphyrius*, kinſman to *Maxentius*, and *Fauſtina* the Emperors wife. At length (ſaith the ſtory) after the proved the rack, and the four ſharp cutting wheels, having at laſt her head cut off with the ſword, ſo ſhe finiſhed her Martyrdom, about the year of our Lord (as *Antoninus* affirmeth) three hundred and ten. *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, writing of her, diſcourſeth the ſame more at large, to whom they may reſort which covet more therein to be ſatiſfied.

Among the works of *Baſil* a certain oration is extant concerning *Julitta* the Martyr, who came to her Martyrdom (as he witneſſeth) by this occaſion. A certain avaricious and greedy perſon of great authority, and (as it may appear)

appear) the Emperor his Deputy, or other like Officer (who abuſed the Decrees and Laws of the Emperor againſt the Chriſtians, to his own lucre and gain) violently took from this *Julitta* all her Goods, Lands, Chattels, and Servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the Judges: a day was appointed when the Cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoiled woman, and the ſpoiling Extortioner ſtood forth together; the woman lamentably declareth her cauſe, the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proved that of good right the Goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her: the wicked and blood-thirſty Wretch preferring vile worldly ſubſtance, before the precious ſubſtance of a Chriſtian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that the was an Outlaw in not obſerving the Emperors gods, ſince her Chriſtian Faith hath been firſt abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whereupon Incenſe and Fire were prepared for her to worſhip the gods, which unleſs ſhe would do, neither the Emperors Protection, nor Laws, nor Judgment, nor Life ſhould ſhe enjoy in that Common weal. When this Hand-Maid of the Lord heard theſe words, ſhe ſaid, *Farewel Life, welcome Death; farewel Riches, welcome Poverty. All that I have, if it were a thouſand times more, would I rather loſe, than to ſpeak one wicked and blaſphemous word againſt God my Creator. I yield thee thanks moſt hearty, O my God, for this gift of Grace, that I can contemn and deſpiſe this frail and tranſitory World, eſteeming Chriſtian Profeſſion above all Treaſures.* Henceforth when any queſtion was demanded, her anſwer was, *I am the Servant of Jeſus Chriſt.* Her Kindred and Acquaintance flocking to her, advertiſed her to change her mind. But that vehemently ſhe reſiſted, with deteſtation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Judge with the ſharp Sword of Sentence, not only cutteth off all her Goods and Poſſeſſions, but judgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruelly. The joyful Martyr imbraceth the Sentence as a thing moſt ſweet and delectable. She addreſſeth her ſelf to the flames, in countenance, geſture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy. To the women beholding her, ſententiouſly ſhe ſpake, *Stick not, O ſiſters, to labour and travel after true Piety and Godlineſs. Ceaſe to accuſe the frogility of Feminine nature. What? are not we created of the ſame matter that men are? Yea, after Gods Image and Similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not fleſh only God uſed in the creation of the Woman, in ſign and token of her infirmity and weakneſs, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhe muſt be ſtrong in the true and living God, all falſe gods forſaken; conſtant in Faith, all Infidelity renounced; patient in Adverſity, all worldly eaſe refuſed. Wax weary (my dear Siſters) of your lives led in darkneſs, and be in love with my Chriſt, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, which is the true Light of the World. Perſwade your ſelves, or rather the Spirit of the living God perſwade you, that there is a World to come, wherein the Worſhippers of Idols and Devils ſhall be tormented perpetually, the Servants of the High God ſhall be crowned eternally.* With theſe words ſhe imbraced the fire, and ſtreatly ſlept in the Lord.

There have been moreover beſide theſe above recited, divers godly women and faithful Martyrs, as *Barbara* a Noble woman in *Thuſcia*, who after miſerable Priſonment, harp Cords, and burning Flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded. Alſo *Fauſta* the Virgin which ſuffered under *Maximinus*, by whom *Euelaſius* a Ruler of the Emperors Palace, and *Maximinus* the Prelident were both converted, and alſo ſuffered Martyrdom, as witneſſeth *Metaphraſtes*. *Item*, *Juliana* a Virgin of ſingular beauty in *Nicomedia*, who after divers Agonies ſuffered likewiſe under *Maximinus*. *Item*, *Anaſia* a Maid of *Theſſalonica*, who under the ſaid *Maximinus* ſuffered, *Metaph. ibid.* *Fuſtina* which ſuffered with *Cyprianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, not to omit alſo *Tecla*; although moſt Writers do record that ſhe ſuffered under *Nero*. *Platina in vita Cai* maketh alſo mention of *Lucia* and *Agatha*. All which holy Maids and Virgins glorified the Lord Chriſt with their conſtant Martyrdom, in this tenth and laſt Perſecution of *Dioclеſian*.

During the time of which Perſecution, theſe Biſhops of *Rome* ſucceeded one after another, *Caius* who ſucceeded next after *Xiſtus* before mentioned, *Marcellinus*, *Marcellus* (of whom *Euſebius* in his ſtory maketh no mention), *Euſebius*, and then *Miltiades*: all which died Martyrs in the tempeſt of this Perſecution. Firſt, *Marcellinus* after the Martyrdom of *Caius*, was ordained Biſhop; he being brought by *Dioclеſian* to the Idols, firſt yielded to Excommunicated by the Chriſtians, he fell into ſuch Repentance, that he returned again to *Dioclеſian*, where he ſtanding to his former Confeſſion, and publickly condemning the Idolatry of the Heathen, recovered the Crown of Martyrdom, ſuffering with *Claudius*, *Cyrinus*, and *Antoninus*.

Marcellus likewiſe was urged of *Maxentius* to renounce his Biſhoprick and Religion, and to Sacrifice with them to Idols; which when he conſtantly refuſed, was beaten with Cudgels, and ſo expelled the City. Then he entring into the houſe of *Lucina* a widow, aſſembled there the Congregation; which when it came to the ears of *Maxentius* the Tyrant, he turned the houſe of *Lucina* into a ſtable, and made *Marcellus* the Keeper of the Beaſts; who with the ſtink thereof and miſerable handling, was put to death. *Euſebius* fate Biſhop of *Rome*, as *Euſeb. in Chro.* ſaith, ſeven months, *Mariaus Scotus* ſaith eight months, *Damaſus* affirmeth ſix years. *Sabellicus* allegeth certain Authors that ſay, that he was ſlain by *Maximianus*, but correcteth that himſelf, affirming that *Maximianus* died before him.

Miltiades by the teſtimony of *Platina*, and others that follow him, ſat three years and ſeven months, and ſuffered under *Maximianus*. But that ſeemeth not to be true, as both *Sabellicus* doth rightly note, affirming that the ſame cannot ſtand by the ſupputation of time: for ſo much as the ſaid *Galerius Maximianus* reigned but two years, and died before *Miltiades*. Alſo *Euſebius* manifeſtly expreſſeth the example of a Letter of *Conſtantine* written to this *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*, plainly convicting that to be falſe which *Platina* affirmeth.

In the Book collected of general Councils, among the decreetal Epiſtles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of *Marcellinus*: wherein the Maſters and Patrons of Popery in theſe our days take great hold to prove the Supremacy of the Pope to be above all general Councils, and that he ought not to be ſubject to the condemnation of any perſon or perſons, for that there is written, *Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec præſul facerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non judicabitur a quoquam, &c.* Although this ſentence of *Miltiades* ſeemeth apparently to be patched in rather by ſome *Heldibrandus* than by *Miltiades*, both for that it hangeth with little order of ſenſe upon that which goeth before; and again, becauſe that *Prima ſedes* here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the See of *Rome* before the Council of *Nice*, where the order and placing of Biſhops was firſt eſtabliſhed. But to let this ſentence paſs, yet notwithſtanding the circumſtance and proceeding of this judgment, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpoſe of theſe men. Neither is it true that the Biſhops of this Council of *Simuſſe*, did not condem *Marcellinus*, for the words of the Council be plain, *Subſcripſerunt igitur in ejus damnationem & damnaverunt eum extra civitatem*; that is, They ſubſcribed therefore to his Condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the City. Moreover by the ſaid Council were brought in the forty two Witneſſes againſt *Marcellinus*. In the ſaid Council, the Verdict of the ſame witneſſes was declared, and alſo received. Furthermore, *Quirinus* one of the Biſhops there openly proteſted, that he would not depart the Council, before the malice of the Biſhops was revealed: What doth all this declare, but that the Biſhop of *Rome* was called there, and did appear before the Judgment Seat of the Council, and there ſtood ſubject to their Sentence and Authority, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the words of the Council, whereupon our Papiſts ſtand ſo much, *Non enim noſtro, ſed tuo ipſius judicio condemnaberis, &c. Item, Tuo ore judica cauſam tuam, &c.* Theſe words import not here the Authority of the *Roman* Biſhop to be above the Council, neither do they declare what the Council could not do, but what they would and wiſhed rather to be done; that is, that he ſhould rather acknowledge his Crime before God and them,

them, with a voluntary yielding of his heart, then that the Confession of such an heinous Fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation, for that they saw to be expedient for his Souls health; otherwise their condemnation should serve him to small purpose; and so it came to pass. For he being urged of them to condemn himself, so did: prostrating himself and weeping before them. Whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the City. Now whether by this may be gathered that the Bishops of *Rome* ought not to be cited, accused and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent Reader judge simply.

The Bishop of *Rome* condemned by the Council.

As touching the decretal Epistles, which be intituled under the names of these foresaid Bishops, who so well adviseth them, and with judgment will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the Constitutions in them contained (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome days then present) may easily discern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times; especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting up, and to exalt the See of *Rome* above all other Bishops and Churches, and to reduce all Causes and Appeals to the said See of *Rome*. So the Epistle of *Caius* beginning with the Commendation of the Authority of his See endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all Provinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the See Apostolical. Moreover the greatest part of the said Epistle from this place *(Quicunque illi sunt, ita obeæcati, &c.* to the end of this period, *Quoniam sicut ait B. Apostolus, magnum est Pietatis, &c.)* is contained in the Epistle of *Leo*, unto *Leo* the Emperor: and so rightly agreeth in all points with the stile of *Leo*, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of *Leo*, and to be patched into the Epistle of *Caius* out of *Leo*.

The decretal Epistles and constitutions of these Bishops of *Rome* examined.

The chief scope of the constitutions decretal, to magnifie the Church of *Rome*.

The Epistle of *Caius*.

A great part of the Epistle of *Caius* taken out of the Epistle *Leo*, to *Leo* the Emperor.

Likewise the Epistle of *Marcellinus*, to get more Authority with the Reader, is admired with a great part of *Pauls* Epistle to the *Ephesians*, word for word. And how it is like that *Marcellinus*, which died in the twentieth year of *Diocletian*, could write of consubstantiality of the Divine Persons, when that controversie and term of consubstantiality was not heard of in the Church before the *Nicen* Council, which was twenty three years after him? But especially the two Epistles of *Marcellus* bewray themselves, so that for the consuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition therein doth appear, as it is eafie to be understood, not to proceed either from such an humble Martyr, or to favour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first Epistle written unto the Brethren of *Antioch*, and alledged in the Popes Decrees by *Gratianus* are these:

The Epistle of *Marcellinus*.

The Epistles decretal of *Marcellus*.

24. q. 1. Regantur sex fratres.

We desire you Brethren, that you do not teach nor conceive any other thing but as ye have received of the blessed Apostle Saint Peter, *and of other Apostles and Fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed, wherefore you must not forsake your own Father and follow others. For he is the Head of the whole Church, to whom the Lord said,* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. *Whose Seat was first with you in* Antioch, *which afterward by the Commandment of the Lord, was translated from thence to* Rome, *of the which Church of* Rome *I am this day placed (by the Grace of God) to be the Governor. From the which Church of* Rome, *neither ought you to separate your selves, seeing to the same Church all manner of Causes Ecclesiastical, being of any importance (Gods Grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred: by the same to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their first beginning, &c.* And followeth consequently upon the same, *And if your Church of* Antioch, *which was once the first, will not yield her self unto the See of* Rome, *there is no other Church else that will not subject it self to our Dominion: to whom all other Bishops whosoever, as they must needs do (according to the Decrees of the Apostles and of their Successors) ought to fly, as to have their Head, and must Appeal to the same, and there to have their Redress and their Protection, from whence they took their first Institution and Consecration, &c.*

In what chapter or leaf of all the Bible doth the Lord command the See of *Rome* to be translated from *Antioch* to *Rome*?

The Church of *Rome* ruleth to the Church of *Antioch* to yield unto her.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of *Marcellus* that blessed Martyr in those so dreadful days, I say no more, but only desire the (gentle Reader) to judge.

The fond Epistle of *Marcellus* written of *Maximus*.

In his second Epistle moreover, the said *Marcellus* writing to *Maxentius* the bloody Tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to do: to learn and seek the true Religion of God, to maintain his Church, to honour and reverence the Priests of God, and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from Persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to be true. But now mark (good Reader) what blanched fluff here followed withall: as where he alledging the Statutes and Sanctions of his Predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no Bishop nor Minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places again restored by the Law, before they were bound by the Law to answer to their Accusations laid in against them: and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a Council; the which Council notwithstanding without the Authority of the holy See, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it remain in his power to assemble certain Bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any Bishop, appealing to this his Apostolical See, before the Sentence definitive do proceed from the foresaid See, &c. And it followeth after, *And therefore* (saith he) *let no Bishop of what Crime soever he be attached, come to his Accusation, or be heard, but in his own ordinary Synod at his convenient time: the Regular and Apostolical Authority being joyned withall.* Moreover in the said Epistle writing unto *Maxentius*, he decreeth that no Lay-men, or any suspected Bishop ought to accuse Prelates of the Church: *So that if they be either Lay-men, or men of evil Conversation, or proved manifest Enemies, or incensed with any hatred, their Accusations against any Bishops ought not to stand.* With other such matters more, concerning the disposition of judicial Court. Which matter, if Pope *Gregory* the seventh had written unto *Henry* the third Emperor, or if Pope *Alexander* the third had written to the Emperor *Fredericus* the first, it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time. But now for *Marcellus* to write thefe Decrees in such Persecution of the Church, to *Maxentius* the Heathen and most cruel Emperor, how unlike it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the Reader may soon discern. And yet these be the Epistles and Constitutions decretal, whereby (under the pretensed Title of the Fathers) all Churches of late time, and all Ecclesiastical Causes have been, and yet are in this Realm of *England* to this day governed, directed, and disposed.

The Church of *England* governed by the Popes Canon Law without sufficient ground of antiquity.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other Epistles that follow of *Eusebius* and *Miltiades*, which all tend to the same scope, that no Prelate or Bishop ought to come to his answer (or *Ad litem contestatam*, as the words of their writing do term it) before they be orderly and fully restored again to their possessions. Who moreover in the said their Epistles still harp upon this Key of the Scripture, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Declaring moreover that this priviledge of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord, was given to this foresaid holy See of *Rome*, from time of the Apostles, and chiefly left with *Peter* the holy Key-keeper: so that although the election of the Apostles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to S. *Peter*, to have Prehemi-nence above the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, *Quod semper majores causæ, sicut sunt Episcoporum, & potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad unam beati Principis Apostolorum* Petri *sedem confluerent*; that is, That always all greater Causes, as be the matters of Bishops, and such other cares of weighty Importance, should be brought to the See of *Saint Peter*, the blessed Prince of the Apostles, &c. These be the words of *Miltiades* and *Eusebius*, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any Nose, what was ment the meaning of them which forged these Writings and Letters upon these ancient holy Martyrs.

The Epistle of *Miltiades* to *Maximus* blanched.

Eusebius and Miltiades.

This I cannot but marvel at, in the third Epistle of *Eusebius* the Bishop of *Rome*, that whereas *Marcellinus* his

A place of the third Epistle decretal of *Eusebius* bolted in.

his late Predecessor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expulsed the City by the Council of three hundred Bishops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid *Eusebius* in his third Epistle alledging that place of *Tu es Petrus*, bringeth in for a proof of the same, and saith, *Quia in sede Apostolica extra maculam semper est Catholica servata Religio, &c.* that is, For in the Apostolical See always the Catholick Religion hath been preserved without any spot or blemish.

The fall of *Liberius*.

Miltiades the last Bishop of *Rome* in danger of Persecution.

But howsoever the Forgers of these decretal Epistles have forgotten themselves, most certain it is, that these holy Bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men, and died blessed Martyrs. Of whom this *Miltiades* was the last among all the Bishops of *Rome* here in the *West* Church of *Europe*, that ever was in danger of Persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

The fall of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Chastisement.

The end of these Persecutions in all the *West* Churches.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed Saints, which suffered in the time of Persecution, from the nineteenth year of *Diocletian* to the seventh and last year of *Maxentius*, described with the deaths also and plagues upon these Tormentors and cruel Tyrants, which were the Captains of the same Persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ) the end of these Persecutions here in these *West* Churches of *Europe*, so far as the Dominion of blessed *Constantinus* did chiefly extend.

The reverence of *Vsthazares*.

Yet notwithstanding in *Asia* all Persecution as yet ceased not for the space of four years, as above is mentioned by the means of wicked *Licinius*, under whom divers there were holy and constant Martyrs, that suffered grievous Torments; as *Hermilus* a Deacon, and *Stratonicus* a Keeper of the Prison, both which after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the Flood *Iher*, *Metaph.* Also *Theodorus* the Captain, who being sent for of *Licinius*, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor; therefore was fastened to the Cross, and after being pierced with sharp Pricks or Bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also *Miles*, who being first a Souldier, was afterward made Bishop of a certain City in *Persia*; where he seeing himself could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the City and departed. Which City shortly after by *Sapores* King of *Persia* was destroyed.

The Persecution under *Licinius*, *Hermilus*, *Stratonicus*, Martyrs. *Theodorus* Captain, Martyr.

Miles Bishop and Martyr.

The fall of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Chastisement.

The fruit of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Chastisement.

In the same Country of *Persia*, about this time suffered under *Sapores* the King (as recordeth *Simeon Metaphrastes*) divers valiant and constant Martyrs, as *Actidimus*, *Pegasius*, *Anempodistus*, *Epidephorus*, also *Simeon* Archbishop of *Seleucia*, with *Crestphon* another Bishop of *Persia*, with other Ministers and religious men of that Region, to the number of one hundred twenty eight. Of this *Simeon* and *Crestphon* thus writeth *Sozomen. lib.* 2. That the Idolatrous Magicians in *Persia*, taking counsel together against the *Christians*, accused *Simeon* and *Crestphon* to *Sapores* the King, for that they were grateful and accepted unto the *Roman* Emperor, and bewraid to him such things as were done in the Land of *Persia*. Whereupon *Sapores*, being moved, took great displeasure against the *Christians*, oppressing them with Taxes and Tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their Priests with the Sword: after that calleth for *Simeon* the Archbishop, who there before the King declared himself a worthy and a valiant Captain of Christs Church. For when *Sapores* had commanded him to be led to suffer Torments, he neither shrunk for any fear, nor shewed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon: wherefore the King partly mavelling, partly offended, asked *Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?* *Simeon* to this answered, *For that, saith he, before this time I was not brought unto you in Bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the Order and Custom of the Realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our Religion and true Doctrine.* When *Simeon* thus had answered, the King persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship with him after his manner (promising to him many great Gifts, if he would so do) or if he would not, threatneth to him and to all the other *Christians* within his Land, destruction. But *Simeon*, neither allured with his Promises, nor terrified with his Threatnings, continued constant in his Doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to Idolatrous Worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his Religion. For the which cause he was committed into Bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the Kings pleasure further known.

The confluency of *Simeon*.

The fall of *Vsthazares*.

The wilful sufferers of *Simeon* go to the King.

It befel in the way as he was going to the Prison, there was sitting at the Kings Gate a certain *Eunuch*, an old Tutor or School-Master of the Kings, named *Vsthazares*, who had been once a *Christian*, and afterward falling from his Profession, fell with the Heathenish multitude to their Idolatry. This *Vsthazares* sitting at the door of the Kings Palace, and seeing *Simeon* passing by led to the prison, rose up and reverenced the Bishop. *Simeon* again with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which being once a *Christian*, would so cowardly revolt from his Profession, and to return again to the Heathenish Idolatry. At the hearing of thefe words the *Eunuch* forthwith hurfling out into tears, laying away his Courtly Apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning Weed, sitteth before the Court Gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself, *Woe is me, with what hope, with what face shall I look hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, when as this Simeon my familiar Acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?*

The answer of *Vsthazares* to the King.

Thefe words being brought to the ears of the King (as fuch Tale-carriers never lack in Princes Courts) procured against him no little Indignation. Whereupon *Sapores* the King sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly Promises began to speak him fair, asking him, *What cause he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house, which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?* Whereunto *Vsthazares* answering again, said, *That there was of nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire flood. Yea would God* (said he) *O King, any other grief or calamity in all the World, whatsoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do most justly mourn and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this Sun, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to Worship; for which cause double-wise I am worthy of death: First, for that I have denied Christ. Secondly, because I did dissemble with you.* And incontinent upon thefe words, sweating by Him that made both Heaven and Earth, affirmed moft certainly, that although he had played the Fool before, he would never be so mad again, as instead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to Worship the Creatures which he had made and cheated. *Sapores* the King being afronied at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himself whether to be angry with those luchunters or with him; whether to intreat him with gentleness or with rigor: at length in this mood commanded the said *Vsthazares* his old ancient Servant, and first Tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of Execution, he desired of the Executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the King, which was this (sent in by certain of the Kings moft trufty *Eunuchs*) desiring him, that for all the old and faithful Service he had done to his Father and to him, he would now require him with this one office again, to cause to be cried openly by a publick Crier in thefe words following, *That Vsthazares was beheaded, not for any Treasonry or Crime committed against the King or the Realm, but only for that he was a Christian, and would not as the Kings pleasure deny his God.* And to according unto his requeft, it was performed and granted. For this cause did *Vsthazares* so much desire the cause of his death to be published: because that as his shrinking back from Christ was a great occasion to many *Christians* to do the like; so now the same, hearing that *Vsthazares* died for no other cause but only for the Religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus the blessed *Eunuch* did consummate

Vsthazares the Kings Eunuch commanded to be beheaded.

The message of *Vsthazares* to the King.

The cries openly cried before *Vsthazares* were beheaded.

The end and martyrdom of *Vsthazares*

The Martyrdom of *Simeon* Archbishop.

consummate his Martyrdom. Of the which his said Martyrdom, *Simeon* being in prison hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks; who in the next day following, being brought forth before the King, and constantly refuting to condescend unto the Kings request, to worship vilible creatures, was likewise by the commandement of the King beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before *Simeon*, he standing by and exhorting them with comfortable words: Admonishing them to stand firm and stedfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, Resurrection, and true piety; and proved by the Scriptures that to be true which he had said, declaring moreover that to be true life indeed, for to die, and that to be death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of punishment: And added further, that there was no man alive, but needs once must die: *For so much as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end. But those things, which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternal, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. Put as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: So the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receive according to their doings in this present life immortal rewards: Such as have here done well of life and glory; such as have done contrary of perpetual punishment. As touching thereof our well doing here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God.* With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy Martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed *Simeon*, with two other Priests or Ministers of his Church: *Abdeesalaes* and *Ananias*, which also with him were partakers of the same Martyrdom.

The exhortation of *Simeon* the Archbishop to the Martyrs at their death, when he with himself should suffer.

Abdeesalaes, *Ananias*, Martyrs.

The story of *Pusices* Martyr.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that *Pusices* one of the Kings officers, and overseers of his artificers, was there present, who seeing *Ananias* being an aged old Father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: O father (said he) *a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God.* Upon these words thus spoken, *Pusices* immediately was apprehended and brought unto the King, who there constantly confessed himself to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the King in this cause of Christs faith, was extreamly and most cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdom. For in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and pluckt out his tongue out of his mouth, and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of *Pusices*, a Godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The free speech and boldness of *Pusices*.

The cruel Martyrdom of *Pusices*.

The Daughter of *Pusices* Martyr.

The next year following, upon the same day, when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords passion, which we call good friday before *Easter* (as witnesseth the faid *Sozomenus*) *Sapores* the King directed out a cruel and sharp Edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, whosoever confessed themselves to be Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant Magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in City and in Town: Some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, left they should seem by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians, that could be found, without pity were slain, and divers also of the Kings own Court and houshold. Amongst whom was also *Azades* an Eunuch, one whom the King did intirely love and favour; which *Azades* after that the King understood thereof, commanded after that no Christians should be slain, but them only which were the Doctors and Teachers of Christian Religion.

A cruel Edict of *Sapores* against the Christians.

Innumerable Martyrs in *Persia*.

Azades a noble Courtier, Martyr.

The occasion of his suffering.

The grace of God to save the Christians.

Trabula with her sister Martyrs.

Trabula the sister of *Simeon*.

False accusation rashly believed.

Trabula and her sister Martyrs.

In the same time it happened that the Queen fell into a certain disease; upon the occation whereof, the cruel Tyrant, with the wicked Magicians, fully and maliciously accused *Trabula*, the sister of *Simeon* the Martyr, a Godly Virgin, with another sister also of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the Queen, for the revenging of the death of *Simeon*. This accusation being received and believed, innocent *Trabula*, with the others were condemned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle, whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the Queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This *Trabula* was a Maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the Magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards, sent into the prison to win her to his pleasure; promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she utterly refuling to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die, than to betray either the Religion of her mind, or the Virginity of her body. *Sozom.*

The blind chance of the wicked Queen.

Example of a martyred Maiden in *Trabula*.

Now for so much as the King had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock; The Magicians and Archmagicians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecution was among the Bishops and teachers of the Church, which inall places went to slaughter, especially in the country of *Diobene*; for that part of *Persia* above all other, was most Christian. Where *Aceptimas* the Bishop with a great number of his flock and Clergy were apprehended and taken: Upon the apprehension of whom, the Magicians, to satisfie the Kings commandment, dimnified all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only *Aceptimas* the Bishop they retained, with whom one *Jacobus* a Minister, or Priest of his Church was also joyned; not of any compullion, but only as himself so defired and obtained of those Magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds to serve the aged Bishop, and to relieve (so much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been fore scourged before of the Magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the Sun: Which thing, because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this *Jacobus* was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise *Athalar* a Priest or Minister, also *Azadanes* and *Abdiesus* Deacons, were imprisoned, and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this the *Archimagus*, espying his time, complaineth unto the King of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the Sun) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the King, the Master *Magus* doth declare to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the Sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where *Aceptimas* strongly perfisting in the confession of Christ, indured to death. The other being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive; and because they would in no case turn from their constant sentence, were turned again into prison. Of whom *Athalas* in both the time of his whipping, was so drawn and racket with pulling, that both his arms being loosed out of the joynts, hanged down from his body: Which he so carried about without use of any hand to feed himself, but as he was fed of others.

Prosecution against the Bishops the teachers of the Church in *Persia*.

Aceptimus Bishop of *Diobene*.

Jacobus Priest Martyr.

Example of true Christian charity and singular glory in *Jacobus*.

Athalas Deacon, *Azadanes* Deacon, *Abdiesus* Deacon, Martyrs.

This *Archimagus* was promoted to *Magi* (as some think) by the fifth Council or order of Religion among the Persians which hall the grand Archbishop of *Magi*.

Athalas hid the space of both his arms being plucked from the joynts of his body. *Ex Basil. lib.* 2. *Ex Nicephor. lib.* 8. *cap.* 33.

Miserable, and almost innumerable were the slaughters under the reign of this *Sapores*, of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, Religious men, holy Virgins, and other Ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleave to the Doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same, the names of the Bishops besides the other multitude taken in the persecution, are recited in *Sozom. lib.* 2. and in *Niceph. lib.* 8. *cap.* 37. in this order following: *Barbasimes*, *Paulus*, *Gaddiabes*, *Sabinus*, *Marees*, *Mocius*, *Johannes*, *Hormisdas*, *Papas*, *Jacobus*, *Romas*, *Maares*, *Agas*, *Bochres*, *Abdas*, *Abiesus*, *Joannes*, *Abramius*, *Agdelas*, *Sahores*, *Isaac*, *Dausius*, *Bicor* alfo with *Manreenades* his fellow Bishop, and the reft of his Churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty perfons, which were the fame time apprehended of the Perfians, &c. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that fuffered in that perfecution, the manner of their apprehenfion, the cruelnefs of their torments, how, and where they fuffered, and in what places, it is not poffible for any Hiftory to difcharge. Neither are the Perfians themfelves (as *Sozomenus* recordeth) able to recite them. In fum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the fum of fixteen thoufand men and women.

The

The number of Martyrs that suffered also in Persia were 16. thousand.

Other forein Persecutions in *Persia*.

Abdes Bishop Martyr.

The story of *Hormisdas*, *Ex Theodor. lib.* 5. *cap.* 39.

The faithful confusion of *Hormisdas*.

Hormisdas banished out of the country of *Persia*.

Consultation the King of *Persia* gave unto to the King of *Persia* in the behalf of the afflicted Christians.

Ex Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 9. *cap.*

The rumor and noise of this fo miferable affliction of the Chriftians in the Kingdom of *Perfia*, coming to the ears of *Conftantinus* the Emperor, put him in great heavinefs, ftudying and revolving with himfelf, how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It fo befel the fame time, that certain Ambaffadors were then at *Rome* from *Sapores* King of *Perfia*; to whom *Conftantinus* did eafily grant and confent, fatisfying all their requefts and demands: thinking thereby to obtain the more friendfhip at the Kings hands, that at his requeft he would be good to the Chriftians; to whom he writeth his Epiftle in their behalf, and fendeth the fame by his meffengers, beginning thus:

The copy and effect of the Epiftle of *Conftantin* to *Sapores*.

Divinam fidem fervans veritatis lucem fortior. Veritatis luce doctus divinam fidem cognofco, Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agendas confirmat, fanctiffimam religionem cognitam reddo & hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis Sancti Dei habere confiteor, &c. *Euſebius, De vita Conſtantini. lib.* 4. *The contents whereof, briefly do tend to this effect. Declaring unto him how he ſhould ſtand much beholden to him, if at his requeſt he would ſhew ſome quiet and reſt to the Chriſtians, in whoſe Religion there was nothing which he could juſtly blame. For ſo much as in their ſacrifices they uſe to kill nothing, nor to ſhed blood, but only to offer up unbloidy Sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God; who delighteth not in bloodſhedding; but only in the Soul that loveth Vertue, and followeth ſuch doctrine and knowledge, which is arguing unto true piety. And therefore ſuch men as do lead him, and learn ſo to believe and to worſhip God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he aſſureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would imbrace the Godly piety and truth of the Chriſtians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the ſtories of* Galienus *and* Valerianus, *who ſo long as they were favourers of the Chriſtians, did proſper and flouriſh. But as ſoon as they moved any perſecution againſt them, it happened to them as it did to all other Emperors before them, that all went backward with them: Eſpecially might appear by* Valerianus, *who after he had raged ſo cruelly againſt the Chriſtians, was eftſoons overcome of the Perſians; the revenging hand of God falling upon him, Where he led ever a miſerable life, in wretched Captivity. Further alſo for the more evidence of the ſame, he referreth the examples of thoſe Emperors and Tyrants in his time, whom he vanquiſhed and ſubdued only by his faith in Chriſt, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battels, and triumph over great Tyrants; whereby he hath ſo enlarged the Dominion of the* Roman *Monarchy, from the Weſt ocean unto the uttermoſt parts well-near of all the Eaſt. To the doing and working whereof, he neither called to him the help of any charmer, or divination of ſoothſayer, nor uſed the killing of any ſacrifice; but only the following of the croſs, and prayer made to Almighty God, without any other bloody ſacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, &c. And in the end of the Epiſtle addeth theſe words.* What joy (ſaith he) what gladneſs would it be to my heart, to hear the ſtate alſo of the Perſians to flouriſh, as I with it to do, by imbracing this ſort of men, the Chriſtians, I mean? So that both you with them, and they with you in long proſperity may enjoy much felicity together as your hearts would deſire, and in ſo doing no doubt ye ſhall. For ſo ſhall you have God, which is the Author and Creator of all this univerſall world, to be mercifull and gracious to you. *Theſe men therefore I commend unto you upon your Kingly honour; and upon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them unto you, deſiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity, agreeing and convenient to your eſtate: Who in ſo doing ſhall now both procure to your ſelf grace through your faith, and alſo ſhall declare to me a great pleaſure and benefit worthy of thanks.*

The generall care of godly Emperors for all Chriſtians in all Places.

This example wrote *Conſtantinus* to King *Sapores*; ſuch care had this godly Prince for them that believed in Chriſt, not only in his own Monarchy, but alſo in all places of the world: Neither is it to be doubted, but this interceſſion of the Emperor, did ſomething mitigate the heat of the Perſians perſecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our Hiſtories.

Of other troubles and perſecutions we read, which happned afterward in the ſaid Country of *Perſia*, under *Iſdegerdes* the King, but theſe followed long after about the time of the Emperor *Theodoſius*. At which time ſuffered *Andas* their Biſhop, and *Hormiſdas*, a great noble mans ſon, and of great reputation among the Perſians; whom when the King underſtood to be a Chriſtian, and to deny to turn from his Religion, condemned him to keep his Elephants naked. In proceſs of time, the King looking out, and ſeeing him all ſwarted and tanned in the Sun, commanded him to have a ſhirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the King asked, If he would deny Chriſt. *Hormiſdas* hearing this, tore of his ſhirt from his body and caſt it from him, ſaying *If ye think that I will deny my faith to Chriſt for a ſhirt, have here your gift again, &c.* And ſo was upon that expelled the Country: *Theodor. lib.* 5.

Another there was that ſame time, named *Suenes*, which had under him an hundred ſervants. The King taking diſpleaſure with him for that he would not alter from his Religion and Godly truth, asked who was the worſt of all his ſervants, and him the King made ruler of all the reſt, and coupling him with his Maſters wife, brought alſo *Suenes* under his ſubjection, thinking thereby to ſubdue alſo the faith of *Suenes*: But it was builded upon a ſure foundation.

Suenes Martyr.

The conſtancy of *Suenes*.

Of *Benjamin* the Deacon, thus writeth the ſaid *Theodores* in his firſt Book, that after two years of his imprifonment, at the requeſt of the *Roman* Legate he was delivered: who afterward contrary to the Kings commandment preached and taught the Goſpel of Chriſt, and was moſt miſerably excamnificate, having twenty ſharp pricks of reeds thruſt under his nails; but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy yard he had a ſharp reed thruſt in with horrible pain; after that a certain long ſtalk ragged and thorny, being thruſt into his body by the nether part, was forced into him with the horribleneſs of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible ſouldier of the Lord gave over his life. *Theod. ibid.* And thus much concerning the Martyrs and perſecutions among the Perſians, although theſe perſecutions long not to this time, which came (as it is ſaid) long after the days of *Conſtantius*, about the year of our Lord, 425.

The ſtory of *Benjamin* Deacon and Martyr.

Benjamin tormented.

The Martyrdom of *Benjamin*.

Likewiſe under *Julian* the wicked *Apoſtata*, certain there were which conſtantly ſuffered Martyrdom by the heathen Idolaters: as *Emilianus* who was burned in *Thracia* and *Domitius* which was ſlain in his cave. *Theodorus* alſo for ſinging of a Pſalm at the removing of the body of *Babilas* (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was ſo examined with exquiſite torments, and ſo cruelly excruciate from morning almoſt to noon, that hardly he eſcaped with life. Who being aſked afterward of his friends, how he could abide ſo ſharp torments, ſaid, *That at the firſt beginning he felt ſome pain, but afterward there ſtood by him a young man, who as he* Ruff. lib. 3. cap. 11. *was ſweating, wiped away his ſweat, and refreſhed him with cold water-ſometimes: Wherewith he was ſo delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved to him more than before:* Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. ted. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The Martyrs under *Julian*.

Emilianus, *Domitius*, Martyrs.

The ſtory of *Theodorus* Martyr.

Ruff. lib. 5. *cap.* 11.

Artemius alſo, the Captain of the *Egyptian* ſouldiers, the ſame time loſt his head for his Religion indeed: Although other cauſes were pretended againſt him: *Theodor. Niceph. lib.* 10. *cap.* 11.

Artemius Martyr.

Add unto theſe moreover *Baſilius* and *Neſtabus*, two brethren, with *Nefor* alſo, who for their Chriſtianity were dragged through the ſtreets and murthered of the Idolatrous people of *Gaza*: *Sozom. lib. ecd. cap.* 11.

Baſilides, *Neſtabus*, brethren Martyrs.

Nefor, Martyr.

But eſpecially the cruelty of the *Arethuſians*, a people of *Syria*, exceeded againſt the Chriſtian Virgins, whom when they ſet out naked before the multitude to be ſcorned; and after that being ſhaven, they covered them with ſwill and draffe wont to be given to their Hogs, and ſo cauſed cruelly to drive their bowels and fleſh to be devoured of the hungry ſwine. This rage and fury of the wicked *Arethuſians*, *Sozomenus* ſuppoſeth to come of this, becauſe that *Conſtantius* before had broken them from their Country manner of fetting and robe forth and expoſing their Virgins filthily to whomſoever their eye luſted, and deſtroyed the Temple of *Venus* in *Heliopolis*, reſtraining the people there from their filthineſs and vile lewd whoredom. *Sozom. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

Arethuſius Biſhop, with other men of *Syria*, Martyrs.

Cyprianus, Martyr.

Arethuſius the people ſtoned to death for their Virgins of *Arethuſa* ſtabbed through with ſpits, cultures and ſwords for ſuffering their Virgins to be ſtript naked before them, and ſo ſeven of them ſlain.

K Of

Of the lamentable story, or rather tragedy of *Marcus Arethusius* their Bishop, thus writeth the said *Sozomenus*, and also *Theodoretus* in his third Book in these words as follow.

The story of *Marcus Arethusius*.

This tragedy (saith he) of *Marcus Arethusius*, doth require the eloquence and worthiness of *Æschilus* and *Sophocles*, which may, as the matter deserveth, set forth and beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commandment of *Constantinus*, pulled down a certain Temple dedicated to Idols, and in stead thereof built up a Church where the Christians might congregate. The *Arethusians* remembring the little good will that *Julianus* bare unto him, accused him as a Traytor and Enemy to him. At the first, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himself to flie: But when he perceived that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his vertuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with Doctrine and manners, first stript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they cast him into a foul filthy sink, and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust him in with sharpned sticks made for the nonce to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the Sun, as meat for wasps and flies to feed upon. And all this extremity they shewed unto him, for that they would inforce him to do one of these things; that is, either to build up again the Temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same: But even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do that they demanded of him. At length they taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he hanging in the basket wounded pitifully with the sharpned sticks of boys and children, and all to be bitten with wasps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus: It is as great wickedness to confer one half penny in cafe of impiety, as if a man should bestow the whole. Thus they being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way, for that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulness.

The true confidence of *Marcus Arethusius*.

Great cruelty shewed.

Contempt-ners the cause of cruelty.

A notable saying.

Although the tractation of these aforesaid stories and persecutions of *Persia*, above premised, do stray somewhat out of the order and course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of *Constantine*, nor pertinent to the Monarchy of *Rome*: Yet because in this present History we are in hand with the holy Martyrs and Saints of Christ; for so much as these also gave such a faithful testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to pass them over without some testimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the Primitive Church.

It may peradventure be marvelled of some, reading the History of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God Almighty director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only begotten Son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appear. To the which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of *Hierome*, *Non debemus iuspicare hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c.* We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the body: For so much as in the beginning of the World, we see *Abel* the just to be killed of wicked *Cain*, and afterward *Jacob* being thrust out, *Esau* to Reign in his fathers house: In like case the *Egyptians* with brick and tile afflicted the sons of *Israel*'s yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified of the *Jews*, *Barebas* the thief being let go? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wrack, the wicked flourishing and prevailing: *Hiero.* Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sins here in this life, or how else soever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old Law, by the affliction of the children of *Israel*, he hath prefigured these persecutions of the Christians. So by the words of Christ's own mouth in the Gospel he did forewarn his Church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the *Apocalyps* of *John* his servant; in the which *Apocalyps* he declared unto his Church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them; where and by whom they should come, but also in plain number, if the words of the prophesie be well understood, affigneth the true time. For how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For as there is no doubt, but by the breast with seven heads, bearing the Whore of *Babylon*, drunken with the blood of Saints, is signified the City of *Rome*: So in my Judgment the power of making of forty two months (in the thirteenth of the *Apocalyps*) is to be expounded, taking every month for a Sabbath of years, that is, reckoning a month for seven years, so that forty and two such Sabbaths of years being gathered together, make up the years just, between the time of Christs death to the last year of the persecution of *Maxentius*, when *Constantinus* fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the Monarchy of *Rome*. The number of which years by plain computation, come to two hundred ninety and four: to the which of two hundred ninety and four years, if ye add the other five years, under the persecution of *Licinius* in *Asia*, then it is filleth up full the three hundred years. And so long continued the persecution of Christs people, under the heathen Tyrants and Emperors, of the Monarchy of *Rome*, according to the number of the forty and two months which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of the *Apocalyps*. For the better explication whereof, because the matter being of no small importance, greatly appertaineth to the publick utility of the Church: and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine own: I thought good to communicate to the Reader, that which hath been imparted unto me, in the opening of these mystical numbers in the foresaid Book of Revelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

The wicked in this world do most flourish and prevail.

Perfection, crowned by persecution. Perfection of God's promises figured and forewarned of God.

The Church forewarned of Christ by special revelation in the Apocalyps. The Book of the Apocalyps.

The beast had power to make 42 months.

The persecuting state of the Primitive Church compared to the beast, which had 42 months power. The limits of ten years.

As I was in hand with these Histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these perfecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed Saints, so cruelly racked, rent, torn, and pluckt in pieces with all kind of tortures, pains and punishments that could be devised, more bitter than any death it self: I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind, behold their sorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. Wherein much like it hapned to me as did to *Titus Livius*; who writing of the wars of *Carthage*, was so moved in the writing thereof, *Ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset.* Further, I proceed in the story; and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my grief with them and for them increased: Not only pitying their woful case, but almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a fool with my self, why God of his goodness would suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence (as must needs be granted) why did the wicked so rage and flourish, and the godly go so to wrack? If sins deserved punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death above all other so sharp and bitter? At last why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to indure so long time against his poor Church, shewing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might indure out the same? As the Israelites in the captivity of *Babylon* had seventy years limited unto them: And under *Pharoah* they were promised a deliverance out. Also under the *Syrian* Tyrants three score and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in these perfecutions I could

find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliverance. Whereupon much marveling with my self, I searched the Book of *Revelation*, to see whether any thing there might be found; where although I well perceived the Beast there described to signifie the Empire of *Rome*, which had Power to overcome the Saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of these Persecutions under the Beast, I found nothing to satisfie my doubt. For albeit I read there of forty two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near the long continuance of these Persecutions, which lasted three hundred years. Thus being vexed and turmoiled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and years: it so hapned upon a *Sunday* in the morning, I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a Majesty, thus inwardly saying within me, *Thou Fool, count these months by Sabbaths, as the weeks of Daniel are counted by Sabbaths.* The Lord I take to witness, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty two months by Sabbaths: first of months, that would not serve: then by Sabbaths of years, wherein I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, efsoons I repaired to certain Merchants of mine acquaintance: of whom one is departed a true faithful Servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witnesses hereof. To whom the number of these foresaid forty two months being propounded and examined by Sabbaths of years, the whole sum was found to surmount unto two hundred ninety and four years, containing the full and just time of these foresaid Persecutions, neither more nor less.

Forty two months or three years and a half. Rev. 11.

Now this one Clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the Intelligent Reader to be understood. For where mention is made of three years and a half, of one time, two times and half a time, also of one thousand two hundred and threescore days, all these come to one reckoning and signifie forty and two months, by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these Primitive Persecutions, as here in order may appear.

The mystical Numbers in the *Apocalyps* opened.

1. One thousand two hundred and forty. Rev. 11. 12.

First, where mention is made, Apocalyps, *Chapter eleven, that the two Prophets shall Prophesie 1260 days; and also that the woman flying into the Desert, shall there be fed 1260 days: who knoweth not that 1260 days make three years and a half? that is, months* ——— 42

2. Three days and a half. Rev. 11.

Secondly, where we read, Chap. 11. the bodies of the two foresaid Prophets shall lie in the streets of the great City unburied the space of three days and a half, and after the said three days and a half they shall revive again, &c. let the hours of these three days and a half (which be 42) be reckoned every day for a Sabbath of years, or else every day for a month, and they come to months ——— 42

3. A time, times, and half a time. Rev. 12.

Thirdly, whereas in the same Book is expressed that the Woman had two wings given her to fly unto the Desert for a time, times and half a time: give for one time one year, or one day: for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year, or half a day; and so it is manifest, that these three years and a half, mount to months ——— 42

4. Forty two months or three years and a half. Rev. 11.

Fourthly, account these forty two months aforesaid (which the Beast had Power to make, Apoc. 11.*) by Sabbath of years; that is, seven years for a month, or every month for seven years, and it amounteth to the sum of years* ——— 294

And so have ye the just years, days, times, and months of these foresaid Persecutions under the Beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of *John Baptist* under *Herod* the *Roman* King, to the end of *Maxentius*, and of *Licinius*, the two last great Persecutors, the one in the *West*, the other in the *East*: who were both vanquished by godly *Constantinus*. And so peace was given to the Church, albeit not in such ample wise, but that divers Tumults and Troubles afterward infused, yet they lasted not long: and the chief brunt, to speak of these *Roman* Persecutions which the Holy Ghost especially confidered above all other in this his *Revelation* thus ended in the time of *Constantinus*. Then was the great Dragon the Devil, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail in any such fort, but that the Power and Glory of the Gospel by little and little increasing and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed that at length it got the upper hand and replenished the whole Earth, rightly verifying therein the water of *Ezechiel*, which issuing out of the right side of the Altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole Ocean Sea, and healed all the Fishes therein. No otherwise the course of the Gospel proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still his stream: the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran: by blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung: till at last out of Thraldom and Oppression so braft forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all Prosperity: had it so been that the *Christians* wisely and moderately could have used this liberty, and not abused the same, forgetting their former Estate to their own pride, pomp, and worldly ease, as it came afterward to pass: whereof more is to be seen and said (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient.

Ezech. 47.

From the first Persecution of the Primitive Church to the last Persecution two hundred ninety and four years.

Universal Perfection ariseth foe one thousand years in the Church.

Apoc. 20. From the time of *Licinius* to *Wickliffs* one thousand years.

Satan bound up for a thousand years. The time of Satans binding opened.

And thus much touching the prophetical numbers in the *Apocalyps*. Wherein is to be noted, and magnified, the eternal Wisdom and high Providence of Almighty God, so disposing and governing his Church, that no adversity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wisdom doth not fore-see before, and preordain; neither doth he preordain or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly perform, both fore-seeing the beginning of such perfecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to cease. In much like sort we read in the Books of *Genesis*, how the flock of *Israel* was four hundred years in the Land of *Egypt*. During the space of which four hundred years, after the death of *Joseph* (who beareth a plain figure of Christ) they were hardly intreated, and cruelly afflicted of the *Egyptians*, about the space of three hundred years, reckoning from after the death of *Joseph*, to their deliverance out of the bondage of *Egypt*: semblably as these *Christians*, after Christs time suffered the like bondage under the *Roman* Tyrants.

The perfecuted *Israelites* bearing a figure of the perfecuted Church of Christ.

Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, lest any should muse or take any offence in himself to see or read of the Church so long and so many years, to be under so miserable and extream Afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but only the fore-counsel and determination of the Lord so governed and disposed the same: who not only did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those Persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and years how long they should last, and when they should have an end, as by the foresaid forty two months in the thirteenth and eleventh Chapters of St. *Johns Apocalyps* hath been declared. Which months, containing two hundred ninety and four years, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time between the first year of the Persecution of Christ under the *Jews* and *Herod*, till the last year of Persecution under *Licinius*; which was from the Nativity of Christ, in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and four: from the first Persecution of Christ, in the year of our Lord, two hundred ninety and four, as is aforesaid. After the which year according to the preordinate Council of God, when his feverity had been sufficiently declared upon his house, it pleased him to shew mercy again, and to bind up Satan the old Serpent, according to the twentieth Chapter of the *Revelation*, for the space of a thousand years: that is, from this time of *Licinius*, to the time of *John Wickliffe* and *John Husse*. During all which time, albeit certain Conflicts and Tumults have been among *Christian* Bishops themselves in the Church: yet no universal murthering Persecution was stirring before the Preaching of *John Wickliffe*, of *Husse*, and such others, as in the further process of this History (Christ willing and aiding us) shall more appear hereafter.

Thus having at large discourfed these horrible Persecutions past, and heavy Afflictions of Christian Martyrs:

now by the Grace of God, coming out of this Red-Sea of bloody Perfecution, leaving *Pharaoh* and his Hoft behind: let us fing gloriously to the worthy Name of our God, who through the blood of the Lamb after long and tedious Afflictions, at length hath vifited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan (hort, hath fent his meek *Mofes* (gentle *Conftantine* I mean) by whom it hath fo pleafed the Lord to work Deliverance to his Captive people, to fet his Servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnifie the Church of his Son, to deftroy the Idols of all the World, to grant life and liberty (and would God alfo not fo much riches) unto them which before were the the abjects of all the World, and all by the means of godly *Conftantinus*, the meek and moft *Chriftian* Emperour, of whofe divine Victories, againft fo many Tyrants and Emperors, Perfecutors of Chrifts people, and laftly, againft *Licinius*, in the year of our Lord, three hundred twenty and four, of whofe other noble Acts and Prowefles, of whofe bleffed Vertues and his happy Birth and Progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaining (Chrift willing) to be declared.

Dxologia.

This *Conftantine* was the Son of *Conftantius* the Emperor, a good and vertuous Child of a good and vertuous Father; born in *Britany* (as faith *Eutropius*) whofe Mother was named *Helena*, Daughter indeed of King *Coilus*: although *Ambrofius* in his Funeral Oration of the death of *Theodofius* faith, fhe was an Inholders Daughter. He was a moft bountiful and gracious Prince, having a defire to nourifh Learning and good Arts, and did oftentimes ufe to read, write, and ftudy himfelf: He had marvelous good fucceffe and profperous atchieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) fuppofed to proceed of this, for that he was fo great a Favourer of the Chriftian Faith. Which Faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after moft devoutly and religioufly reverence, and command by fpecial Commiffion and Proclamation, that every man fhould profefs the fame Religion throughout all the *Roman* Monarchy. The worfhipping of Idols, (whereunto he was addict by the allurement of *Fauftа* his wife, infomuch that he did facrifice to them) after the difcomfiture of *Maxentius* in battel, he utterly abjured: but his Baptifm he deferred even unto his old age, becaufe he had determined a journey into *Perfia*, and thought in *Jordan* to have been baptized, *Euſeb. lib. de vita Conſtantini.*

The good qualities of *Conſtantinus.*

The caufe of all his profperous Succefs.

Conſtantius fometimes by means of his wife was an Idolater:

Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.

As touching his natural difpofition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good Philofopher, and in difputation fharp and ingenious. He was accuftomed to fay, that an Emperor ought to refufe no labour for the utility of the Common-weal; yea, and to adventure the mangling of his body for the remedy thereof; but if otherwife it may be holden, to cherifh the fame. This do *Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius Letus*, and *Ignatius* write of him. And *Aelius Lampridius* faith, writing upon the life of *Heliogabalus*; that *Conſtantines* was wont to fay, *That an Empire was given by the determinate purpofe of God, that he to whom it was given, fhould fo imploy his diligences, as he might be thought worthy of the fame at the hands of the Giver*; which fame faying alfo *Auguſtine* noteth in his third Book againft *Creſconius, Epiſt.* 49. & 50.

The common fpying of *Conſtantius.*

Auguſt. contra Creſcon. Epiſt. 49. 50.

He firft entered into the Empire by the merciifulnefs of God, minding after long waves of doleful Perfecution to reftore unto his Church peace and tranquility, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eleven, as *Euſebius* accounteth in his Chronicle. His Reign continued as *Eutropius* affirmeth, thirty years, *Latus* faith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great peace and tranquility injoyed the Church under the Reign of this good Emperor, which took great pain and travel for the Preſervation thereof. Firft, yea, and that before he had fubdued *Licinius*, he fet forth many Edicts for the reftitution of the goods of the Church, for the revoking of the *Chriſtians* out of exile, for taking away the diffention of the Doctors out of the Church, for the fetting of them free from publick Charges, and fuch like, even as the Copy of his Conftitutions here under declareth, which *Euſebius* in his tenth Book and fifth Chapter repeateth in this wife.

The Reign of *Conſtantinus.*

The effect of fome of his Conſtitutions.

The Copy of an Epiſtle of *Conſtantinus*, fent to his Subjects inhabiting in the *Eaſt*.

Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

VIctor Conſtantinus Maximus Auguſtus, *to our loving Subjects inhabiting throughout the* Eaſt *parts, ſendeth greeting. The thing it ſelf, which in the ſure and moſt firm Law of Nature is contained, doth give unto all men (even as God hath ordained the ſame) ſufficient perceivance and underſtanding, both of ſuch things as man ought to fore-ſee, as alſo what things preſently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted of ſuch as have their minds directed to the ſeely or meek ſpirit of perfect underſtanding: ſo that the perfect comprehending of found reaſon, and the perceivance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wiſe man be troubled, although he ſee divers men of divers diſpoſitions: for wiſdome which ſtringeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her ſelf with fond Elues, unleſs (that on the other ſide) the malice of perverſe filthineſs prolong her days, and cauſe the ſame Idiety to ſurvive. Wherefore aſſuredly the crowns and price of vertue lieth open unto all men, and the moſt mighty God ordereth the judgment of the ſame. I underbeedily (as manifeſtly as poſſible is) will indeavour my ſelf to teſtifie and confeſs unto you all the hope which is in me. I think verily that the Emperors which before this time have lately been, even for their tyranny had the Empire taken from them: and my Father only exerciſing and uſing all meekneſs and lenity in his affairs, calling upon God the Father with great devotion and humility, hath been exalted to the ſame: and all the reſt, as men wanting their wits, and in compariſon as ſavage Beaſts, rather did give themſelves to like cruelty, than to any lenity and gentleneſs towards their Subjects: in which tyranny every one for his time being mezzelled, utterly ſubverted the true and unfeilable Doctrine; and ſo great malice was there kindled in their breaſt, that when all things were in peaceable tranquility, they made and raiſed moſt cruel and bloody inteſtine or civil Wars. It is credibly informed us, that in thoſe days Apollo gave Anſwers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certain Cave and dark place (ſaying) That he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the juſt men and livers upon the earth; ſo that he could or would not for them declare the truth of ſuch things as others demanded. And hereby it came to paſs, that ſuch falſe Divinations were given from the Golden Tables in Apollos Temple. And this thing did his Prophetical Prieſt complain of, when he took up again the hair of his head, that other had contemptuouſly caſt down; and ſaid, That the neglecting of his divination was the cauſe of ſo many evils amongſt men. But let us ſee what was the end hereof. We now boldly, and without fear, invocate and worſhip the Omnipotent God. When I was a Child, I heard, that he which then was chief Emperor of Rome, unhappy, yea, moſt unhappy man, being ſeduced and brought into error by his Souldiers, curiouſly inquired who were thoſe juſt men upon the earth that Apollo meant? And one of his Prieſts which was neer about him, made anſwer, That they were the Chriſtians. This anſwer unto him being as delectable as honey unto the mouth, drew the Sword (given unto him to be a Revenger of evil Doers and Malefactors) againſt the Profeſſors of the irreprehenſible Sanctimony and Religion; and ſtraight-way he gave forth a Commiſſion (to bloody Homicides, as I may well call them) and gave Commandment to all the Judges that they ſhould indeavour themſelves with all the cunning they had, to the deviſing of more grievous and ſharper Puniſhments againſt the poor Chriſtians. Then, then I ſay, a man might have ſeen how greatly the honeſt Profeſſors of that Religion were moleſted with cruelty, and daily ſuffered no ſmall Injuries and Contumelies, and that alſo they ſuffered and ſuſtained the ſame with ſuch temperance, as though they had had no Injuries at all done unto them. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cauſe why the furious Citizens were the more mad and raging againſt them. What Fires, what Tortures, what kind of Torments were there, but they without reſpect either of Age or Sex were inforced to feel them?*

Then did the Earth, without doubt, her ſelf bewail her Children and the round World which containeth all things, being ſprinkled and imbrued with their blood, made doleful lamen-

The Law of nature made perfection ſorted with the knowledge of God.

The Emperors depoſed.

Tyranny

Bloody Tyranny, out of a Cave in the ground, that he was diſquieted by the juſt.

Apollo gave anſwer

The Sword given to be evenger-man of Malefactors.

A great commendation of the *Chriſtians.*

The Earth bewailed the Martyrs death.

lamen-

lamentation for them, and the day it ſelf provoked to mourn, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpoſe? Now the very barbarous Nations reſpect for their ſakes which received and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from us, keeping them, as it were, in moſt loving and amiable Captivity; and they ſaved not only their lives, but alſo were a defence for their Religion. And now alſo the Roman *Nation remembreth and hath before their eyes this blame and ſpot, which the* Chriſtians *that were of that time worthily gave unto them, when they by them were banished (as unfit members of that Common-wealth) amongſt the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearſal of the mourning lamentation, which the Heathen people themſelves throughout all the world made for the piteful murther and ſlaughter of them? After this it came to paſs, that they which were Authors of all theſe miſchiefs died alſo, and were committed for their reward to the moſt filthy and horrible dungeon of Hell. They being ſo intangled with inteſtine and civil Wars, left alive neither Name nor Kinſmen of their own, which thing undoubtedly had not chanced unleſs the wicked Divinations of* Apollo's *Oracles had deceived and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I pray: Oh moſt mighty God, that thou wilt vouchſafe to be merciful, and pardon all the* Eaſt *Parts and Inhabitants of the ſame, being oppreſſed with Calamity: and that by me thy Servant then will of thy goodneſs help and relieve the ſame. And theſe things raſhly crawel not at thy hands, O Lord, moſt mighty and holieſt God of all. For I being perſwaded by the only Oracles, have both begun and alſo finiſhed wholſome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and ſhewing of thine Enſign, have overcome a mighty and ſtrong Hoſt: and when any neceſſity of the Common-weal (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto (following thoſe ſigns and tokens of thy Vertues) I boldly go forth and fight againſt mine Enemies: and for this cauſe have I ſacrificed my Soul unto thee, purified and cleanſed both with thy love and fear. Yea truly, thy Name do I ſincerely love, and thy Power do I reverence, which by many Tokens and Wonders haſt ſhewed and confirmed thereby my Belief and Faith. Therefore will I do my endeavour, and bend my ſelf thereunto, that I may re-edifie thy moſt holy Houſe, which thoſe wicked and ungodly Emperors have with ſo great ruine laid waſte; thy people do I deſire to bring and eſtabliſh in firm peace and tranquility, and that for the publick utility of all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Thoſe which yet err, and are out of the way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietneſs, with and amongſt the number of the faithful ſort: for I truſt the reſtitution of the like ſociety and participation may be a means to bring them alſo that err into the perfect way of verity. Let no man therefore be grievous one unto another, but what every man thinketh beſt, that let him do: for ſuch as are wiſe, ought throughly to be perſwaded, that they only mean to live holily, and as they ſhould do, whom the Spirit of God moveth to take their delight and recreation in reading his holy Will: and if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleaving to the Synagogues of falſe Doctrine, they may at their own peril. As for us, we have the moſt worthy Houſe or Congregation of Gods verity, which he according to his own goodneſs and nature hath given us. And alſo we wiſh unto them, that with like participation and common conſent, they may feel with us the ſame delectation of mind. For this our Religion is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is an old or ancient belief the Creation of the World to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with ſuch Worſhip as hath ſeemed and pleaſed him: but all living men are lyars, and are deceived with divers and ſundry Illuſions. Thou, O God, for Chriſt thy Sons ſake, ſuffer not this wickedneſs again to rout: thou haſt ſet up a clear burning light, that thereby as many as thou haſt choſen may come unto thee, the holy Miracles approve the ſame. It is thy Power that keepeth us in innocency and fidelity. The Sun and the Moon run their appointed courſe. Neither yet in ranging-wiſe wander the Stars to what place of the World they liſt themſelves. The days, years, months, and times keep their appointed turns. The Earth abideth firm and unmoveable at thy Word: and the Wind at the time (by thee diredted) ſtormeth and bloweth. The ſtreaming watry Floods ebb in time according as they flow. The raging Sea abideth within her bounded limits: and for that the Ocean Sea ſtretcheth out her ſelf in equal length and breadth with the whole Earth, this muſt be wrought with ſome marvelous Workmanſhip of thine own hand. Which thing, unleſs it were at thy Will made and diſpoſed: without all doubt ſo great difference and partition between, would ere this time have brought utter ruine and deſtruction both to the life of man, and to all that belongeth to man beſide. Which for that they have ſuch great and huge Conflicts amongſt themſelves, as alſo the inviſible Spirits have; we give thee thanks, O Lord moſt mighty, God of all gods, that all Mankind hath not been deſtroyed thereby. Surely even as greatly as thy benignity and gentleneſs is manifeſted by divers and ſundry Benefits beſtowed upon us, ſo much alſo is the ſame ſet forth and declared in the Diſcipline of thy eternal Word, to thoſe that be heavenly wiſe, and apply themſelves to the attainment of ſincere and true Vertue. But if any ſuch there be that little regard, or have but ſmall reſpect unto the conſideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the ſame: for that Phyſick whereby Health is obtained, is manifeſtly offered unto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to ſubvert that, which experience it ſelf doth ſhew (of neceſſity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether uſe the participation of this Benefit beſtowed upon us; that is to ſay, the Benefit of Peace and Tranquility, ſetting apart all Controverſie. And let no man hurt or be prejudicial to his Fellow for that thing wherein he thinketh himſelf to have done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, he thinketh he may profit his Neighbour, let him do the ſame; if not, let him give over and remit it till another time: for there is a great diverſity betwixt the willing and voluntary imbracing of Religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of theſe things have I made a more large Diſcourſe, than indeed the ſcope of mediocrity requireth; eſpecially becauſe I would not have my Faith (touching the verity) to be hid; for that I bear there be ſome which complain that the Churches are in a manner ſtanding of their Temples, and that the power of ſuch Darkneſs is cut off and taken away. Which thing ſurely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent Rebellion of ſtagitious Error were ſo fixed in many mens hearts, whereby they thruſt after the utter ſubverſion of the Common-weal and Empire.*

The Prayer of *Conſtantinus* was fulfilled. Such thing in their Confeſſion preach the very and true God.

Such was the goodneſs of this Emperor *Conſtantinus*, or rather ſuch was the providence of Almighty God toward his Church in ſtirring him up, that all his care and ſtudy of mind was ſet upon nothing elſe, but only how to benefit and inlarge the commodities of the ſame. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the Church and people of God from outward vexation of forreign Tyrants and perſecutors. No leſs beneficial was his godly care alſo in quieting the inward diſſentions and diſturbance within the Church, among the *Chriſtian* Biſhops themſelves; according as we read of *Moſes* the deliverer of the *Iſraelites*, in agreeing the brethren together when he ſaw them at variance: *Exod.* 2. No leſs alſo did his vigilant ſtudy extend in erecting, reſtoring, and inriching the Churches of God in all Cities, and in providing for the Miniſters of the ſame. And therefore writing to *Anilinus* his cheif Captain, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the Churches of the *Chriſtians*, that he ſhould procure vigilantly for the ſame: that all ſuch goods, houſes, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, ſhould again be reſtored in all ſpeedy wiſe, and that he therein might be certified with ſpeed, &c.

Moreover, he writing to the ſaid *Anilinus* in another letter, ſignifieth unto him in this effect: that for ſo much as the contempt of God his reverend Religion, is and hath been ever the greateſt decay to the name and people of *Rome*, as contrarily the maintaining and reverencing the ſame hath ever brought proſperity to all Common weals: therefore he in conſideration thereof hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that Province where he hath to do, which was in *Africa* where *Ceciliannus* was Biſhop, he ſhould there

The Reign of *Conſtantinus* compared to *Moſes* in delivering the people, and ſtirring them together.

The letter of *Conſtantine* to *Anilinus* his Captain.

Another letter of *Conſtantine* to *Anilinus.*

The contempt of Gods Religion cheifeſt decay of common weals.

see and provide that all such Ministers and Clerks, whose Vocation was to serve in the Church, should be freed and exempted from all publick duties and burdens, whereby they being so priviledged, and all Impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.

Another letter of *Constantine* to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*.

Furthermore the said *Constantinus* in an other Letter writing to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Marcus*, declareth in his Letters to them how *Cecilianus* Bishop of *Carthage* hath been accused unto him by divers of his Colleagues and fellow Bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said *Cecilianus* with ten Bishops his Accusers, with ten other his Defendants should repair up to him at *Rome*; where in the present assistance of the foresaid *Miltiades*, *Rhetcius*, *Maternus*, *Marinus*, and of other their fellow Colleagues, the cause of *Cecilianus* might be heard and rightly examined, so that all Schism and Division might be cut off from among them, wherein the fervent desire of *Constantinus* to peace and unity may well appear.

The fervent desire of *Constantinus* to peace and unity.

The letter of *Constantine* to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracusa*.

Upon the like cause and argument also, he writeth to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracusa*; being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the Church, that he offereth to him, with his under Ministers and three Servants, his free carriage to come up to him unto the Council of other Bishops, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the Church.

He writeth also another Letter to the forenamed *Cecilianus* Bishop of *Carthage*.

The edict of *Constantine* to the rulers of the Province of *Palestine*.

To the Provinces likewise of *Palestina* and those parts about, he directeth his Edict in the behalf of the *Christians*, for the releasing of such as were in Captivity, and for the restoring again of them which had sustained any loss in the former Persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heretofore had been oppressed with any ignominy or prohibition for their confession sake; declaring in the said Edict how that this whole body, life and soul, and whatsoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the service of him &c.

The Letter of *Constantine* to *Alexander* and *Arrius*. *Eu. Eccles. de vita Constan. lib. 2.*

Moreover an other Letter he writeth to *Eusebius* for the edifying of new *Christian* Churches, and restoring of them which had been wasted before by foreign Enemies. And after he had collected the Synod of *Nice* for the study of peace and unity of the Church, he writeth upon the same to *Alexander* and *Arrius*. In which his Letters he moft lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the Church was broken, the Synod provoked and refilled, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord, and to seek tranquility. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others; yet the example of Philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or piece of a question, some might differ from others, yet in the unity of their Profession they did all join as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitless questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into publick Synods, to break therefore from the communion of the reverend Council: declaring moreover in the said Epistle, the first origin and occasion of this their contentious distention to rise upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes and light questions, and pieces rather of questions; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto, being moved; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be enquired. *Magisque puerilibus ineptiis, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ convenientia*; as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner of means he doth labour them, doth intreat them, and perswade them, not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobs, that they would restore peace again unto the Church, and quietness to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him) and they would return again to the communion of the reverend Council; who in so doing should open his way and purposed journey into the East parts: which otherwise hearing of their discord and distention, would be sorry to see with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears: with much more in the same Epistle contained, but this is the effect of the whole, *Eusebius. de vita Constant. lib. 2.* Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious *Constantine* might more notoriously appear to all Princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the Church of Christ, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the same.

Constantine set forth a spectacle to all Princes to follow.

Many other Edicts and Epistles written to other places and parties, he expressed at large in the second Book of *Eusebius*, *De vita Constantini*; wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperor toward the Church of Christ may appear: whereof in a brief recapitulation such Specialties we have collected as here followeth, and is to be seen in *Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8. 9.*

A brief recapitulation of Constantines acts were wrought by Constantine upon Christs Church.

First, he commanded all them to be set free, whosoever for the confession of Christ had been condemned to banishment, or to the Mines of metal, or to any publick or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Souldiers which before were deprived either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to serve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them again. The Goods and Possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should return to their Heirs or next of Kin, or for lack of them should be given to the Church. He commanded moreover that only *Christians* should bear Office; the other he charged and restrained, that neither they should Sacrifice nor exercise any more Divinations and Ceremonies of the *Gentiles*, nor set up any Images, nor keep any Feasts of the Heathen Idolaters. He corrected moreover and abolished all such unlawful manners and unhoneft usages in the Cities as might be hurtful any ways to the Church; as the custom that the *Egyptians* had in the flowing of *Nilus*, at what time the people used to run together like brute Beasts, both Men and Women, and with all kind of Filthiness and Sodomitry to pollute their Cities in celebrating the increase of that River. This abomination *Constantine* extinguished, casting that wicked Order called *Androgyne*, to be killed: by reason when of the River afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.

Where sodomites is punished, there godliness follows.

Among the *Romans* was an old Law, that such as were barren, having no fruit of Children, should be amerced of half their Goods. Also, that such as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbred in the same Priviledges with them that were married, neither should he Heirs to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kin. These Laws, because they seemed unreasonable (to punish the defect of Nature, or gift of Virginity by mans Law) he abrogated and took away. An other Order was among the *Romans*, that they which made their Wills being sick, had certain prescribed and conceived words appointed to them to use, which unless they followed, their Wills stood in no effect. This Law also *Constantine* repealed, permitting to every man in making his Testament to use what words or what Witnesses he would. Likewise among the *Romans* he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and fights, where men were wont with Swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy fathion of the *Arethusians* in *Phœnicia*, I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their Virgins to open Fornication before they should be married: which custom also *Constantine* removed away. Where no Churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same great Gifts and Revenues, not only of such Tributes and Taxes coming to him from certain fundry Cities, which he transferred unto the Churches, but also out of his own Treasures. When any Bishops required any Council to be had, he satisfied their Petitions; and what in their Councils and Synods they established, being godly and honeft, he was ready to confirm the same.

The liberality of Constantine in giving to Churches.

The

The armour of his Souldiers, which were newly come from gentility, he garnished with the arms of the Cross, whereby they might learn the sooner to forget their old superstitious Idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy Emperor he prescribed a certain form of prayer, in stead of a *Catechism* for every man to have, and to learn how to pray and to invocate God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth Book of *Eusebius De vita Constantini*, in words as followeth:

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant. The form of prayer appointed of Constantine for his Souldiers.

Te solum novimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adjutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victrices vias inimicorum constituimus, tibi præsentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices fumus omnes: imperatorem noftrum Constantinum, *ac pientissimos ejus filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum Dominum noftrum: Amen.* In English.

We acknowledge thee thee only to be our God, we confess thee to be our King, we invocate and call upon thee our only Helper, by thee we obtain our Victories, by thee we vanquish and subdue our Enemies, to thee we attribute whatsoever present Commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we direct all our Suits and Petitions, moft humbly beseeching thee to conserve *Constantine* our Emperor and his noble Children in long life to continue, and to give them Victory over all their Enemies, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

The Souldiers prayers.

In his own Palace he set up an house peculiar for Prayer and Doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his Wars he went not without his Tabernacle appointed for the same. The *Sunday* he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary Causes, from Markets, Marts, Fairs, and all other manual Labours, only Husbandry excepted: especially charging that no Images or Monuments of Idolatry should be set up.

The Sunday appointed to be kept holy.

Liberties and priviledges granted to the Clergy.

Men of the Clergy and of the Ministery in all places he indued with special Priviledges and Immunities, so that if any were brought before the civil Magistrate, and used to appeal to the Sentence of his Bishop, it should be lawful for him so to do, and that the Sentence of the Bishop should stand in as great force as if the Magistrate or the Emperor himself had pronounced it.

The profession and liberality of Constantine in endowing Schools.

But here is to be observed and noted by the way, that the Clerks and Ministers then newly creeping out of Perfection, were in those days neither in number so great, nor in order of life of the like disposition to those in our days now living.

No less care and provision the said *Constantinus* also had for the maintenance of Schools pertaining to the Church, and to the nourishing of good Arts and liberal Sciences, especially of Divinity: not only with Stipends and Subsidies furnishing them, but also with large Priviledges and Exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his own Law is to be seen and read as followeth, *Medicos, Grammaticos, & alios Professores literarum, & Doctores legum, cum uxoribus & liberis, &c.* In English; Physitians, Grammarians, and other Professors of liberal Arts, and Doctors of the Law, with their Wives and Children, and all other their Possessions which they have in Cities, we command to be freed from all civil Charges and Functions, neither to receive foreign strangers in Provinces, nor to be burthened with any publick Administration, nor to be cited up to civil Judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppressed with any Injury. And if any man shall vex them, he shall incur such punishment as the Judge at his discretion shall award him. Their Stipends moreover and Salaries we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in Arts and Sciences, &c.

The publick fees granted by Constantine to Universities and Schools.

The liberality of Constantine in giving to Churches.

Over and besides this, so far did his godly Zeal and Princely Care and Provition extend to the Church of Christ, that he commanded and provided Books and Volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in publick Churches to the use of Posterity. Whereupon writing to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* in a special Letter (recorded in the fourth Book of *Euseb. De vita Constant.*) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty Volumes of Parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out of the Scripture in a fair legible hand, such things as he thought necessary and profitable for the Instruction of the Church, and alloweth him for that business two publick Ministers: he also writeth concerning the same to the General of his Army, to support and further him with such Necessaries, as thereunto should appertain, &c.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant. Eccles. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 4. & de vita Constant. lib. 4. Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. divine Confess.

A gift of the author. admonitory to Princes.

¶ In viewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the Christian Zeal of this Emperor, I will that either this our printing and plenty of Books had been in his days, or that this so heroical heart toward Christian Religion, as was in this so excellent Monarch, might something appear in inferior Princes reigning in these our printing-days, &c.

The liberality of Constantine toward the poor and needy.

The liberal hand of this Emperor born to do all men good, was no less also open and ready toward the needy Poverty of such, which either by loss of Parents or other occasions were not able to help themselves: to whom he commanded and provided due subvention both of Corn and Rayment to be minifired out of his own Coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor Men, Women, Children, Orphans, and Widows, *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4.*

Constantine remitteth the fourth part of his revenues.

Finally, among all the other Monuments of his singular Clemency and Munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the Empire of *Rome* and Provinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such Taxes, Revenues and Impost, as publickly were coming to him, but also clearly remitted and releafed to the Contributors the fourth part of the same.

Donation of Constantine.

This present place would require something to be said of the Donation of *Constantine*, whereupon as upon their chiefeft Anchor-hold, the Bishops of *Rome* do ground their supream Dominion and Right over all the political Government of the *West* parts, and the Spiritual Government of all the other Sees and Parts of the World. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from *Constantine*, many Arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

Reasons and arguments proving the donation of Constantine to be falsified.

1. First, for that no ancient History, nor yet Doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

2. *Nauclerus* reporteth it to be affirmed in the History of *Isidorus*. But in the old Copies of *Isidorus* no such thing is to be found.

3. *Gratianus* the Compiler of the Decrees, reciteth that Decree, not upon any ancient Authority, but only under the Title of *Paleæ*.

4. *Gelasius* is said to give some testimony thereof, in *Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.* But that Clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient Books is not extant.

5. *Orbo Phrysingensis*, who was about the time of *Gratian*, after he hath declared the Opinion of the Favourers of the Papacy, affirming this donation to be given of *Constantine* to *Silvester* the Pope, induceth consequently the Opinion of them that favour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

6. How doth this agree, that *Constantine* did yield up to *Silvester* all the Political Dominion over the *West*, when as the said *Constantine* at his death, dividing the Empire to his three Sons, gave the *West* part of the Empire to one, the *East* part to the second, the middle part to the third?

7. How is it like that *Theodosius* after them, being a just and a religious Prince, would or could have occupied the City of *Rome*, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the Pope, and so did many other Emperors after him?

8. The phrase of this Decree, being conferred with the phrase and stile of *Constantine* in his other Edicts and Letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

9. Seeing the Papists themselves confess that the Decree of this Donation was written in *Greek*, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the *Grecians*, but to the *Romans*, and also *Constantine* himself for lack of the *Greek*-Tongue, was fain to use the *Latine*-Tongue in the Council of *Nice*?

10. The contents of this Donation (whosoever was the Forger thereof) doth bewray it self: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptized at *Rome* of *Silvester*, and the fourth day after his Baptism this Patrimony was given (which was before his battel against *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and seventeen, as *Nicephorus* recordeth) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the Donation, for him to have Jurisdiction given over the other four Principal

Sees

Sees of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, and *Hierusalem*? when as the City of *Constantinople* was not yet begun before the death of *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, and was not finished before the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of *Constantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred thirty and nine; or if it be true, as *Hierome* counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth year of his Reign, which was the year our of Lord three hundred thirty and four, long after this donation by their own account.

11. Furthermore, where in the said Constitution it is said that *Constantine* was baptized at *Rome* of *Silvester*; and thereby was purged of *Leproſie*; the Fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of History, for so much as *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *de vita Conſtantini*, *Hieronymus in Chron.* *Ruffin. lib.* 2. *cap.*11. *Socrates*, *lib.* 1. *cap.*39. *Theod. lib.*1. *cap.* 31. *Sozomenus*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 34. do all together conſent that he was baptized not at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia*; and that moreover, as by their teſtimony doth appear, not of *Silveſter*, but of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, not before his batrel againſt *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, but in the thirty firſt year of his Reign, a little before his death.

12. Again, whereas *Conſtantine* in this donation appointed him to have the Principality over the other four Patriarchal Sees, that maketh *Conſtantine* contrary to himſelf; who in the Council of *Nice* afterward agreed with other Biſhops, that all the four Patriarchal Sees ſhould have equal Juriſdiction, every one over his own Territory and Precinct.

13. In ſum, briefly to conclude: who ſo deſireth more abundantly to be ſatisfied touching this matter, let him read the Books of *Marſilius Patavinus*, intituled, *Defenſor pacis*, in the year of our Lord, 1324. of *Laurentius Valla*, *Anno* 1440. of *Antoninus* Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who in his Hiſtory plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old Books of the Decrees. Of *Cuſanus Cardinalis*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. writing to the Council of *Baſil*, *Anno* 1460. of *Aeneas Silvius In dialogo*: of *Herr. Paulus Caſtellanus*, *Anno* 1496. of *Raphael Wolaterranus*, *Anno* 1500. of *Lutherus*, *Anno* 1537. *&c.* All which, by many and evident probations, diſpute and prove this donation taken out of a Book, *De geſtis Silveſtri*, and tranſlated (as they ſain) by one *Bartholomeus Piceranus* out of *Greek* into *Latine*; not to proceed from *Conſtantinus*, but to be a thing untimely pretended, or rather a Fable imagined, or elſe to be the deed of *Pipinus* or *Charles*, or ſome ſuch other, if it were ever the deed of any.

Commendation of Conſtantine the Emperour.

And thus haſt thou (beloved Reader) briefly collected the Narration of the noble Acts and heavenly Vertues of this moſt famus Emperor *Conſtantine* the great; a ſingular Spectacle for all *Chriſtian* Princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual Memory in all Congregations of *Chriſtian* Saints: whoſe fervent Zeal and Piety in general, to all Congregations and to all the Servants of Chriſt, was notable; but eſpecially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had ſuffered any thing for the Confeſſion of Chriſt in the Perſecutions before; them had he principally in price and veneration, inſomuch that he imbraced and kiſſed their Wounds and Stripes, and their Eyes, being put out. And if any ſuch Biſhops or any other Miniſters brought to him any Complaints one againſt another (as many times they did) he would take their Bills of Complaint and burn them before their faces; ſo ſtudious and zealous was his Mind to have them agree, whoſe diſcord was to him more grief than it was to themſelves. All the vertuous Acts and memorable Doings of this divine and renowned Emperor to comprehend or commit to Hiſtory, it were the matter alone of a great Volume: wherefore contented with theſe above premiſed, becauſe nothing of him can be ſaid enough, I ceaſe to diſcourſe of him any further.

Conſtantine kiſſed the wounds of them that ſuffered for Chriſt.

Conſtantine ſometimes ſtirred up to ſtudies of Religion, and breaketh off ſtrivings among the Biſhops.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admoniſh the learned Reader, ſuch as love to be converſant in reading of ancient Authors; that in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, where in the latter end of the Book is added a certain Oration, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, under the name of *Euſebius Pamphilius*, here is to be underſtood, that the ſaid Oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of *Euſebius*, which in very truth is the Oration of *Conſtantinus* himſelf. For the probation whereof, (beſide the title and matter therein contained, and tractation heroical lively declaring the religious vein of *Conſtantine*) I alledge the very teſtimony of *Euſebius* himſelf in his fourth Book *De vita Conſtantini*, where he in expreſs words not only declareth that *Conſtantine* wrote ſuch an Oration, intituled, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, but alſo promiſeth in the end of his Book, to annex the ſame: declaring moreover what difficulty the Interpreters had to tranſlate the ſame from the *Roman* Speech, to their *Grecian* Tongue, *Euſeb. de vita Conſtantini*, *lib.*4. *pag.*211.

Note, that the Oration Ad conventum Sanctorum is wrongfully ſet forth in Euſebius, which is indeed a Oration of Conſtantine.

And here an end of theſe lamentable and doleful Perſecutions of the Primitive Church, during the ſpace of three hundred years from the Paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt, till the coming of this *Conſtantinus*; by whom as by the elect Inſtrument of God, it hath ſo pleaſed his Almighty Majeſty, by his determinate purpoſe, to give reſt after long trouble to his Church, according to that Saint *Cyprian* declareth before to be revealed of God unto his Church: that after darkneſs and ſtormy tempeſt, ſhould come peaceable, calm, and ſtable quietneſs to his Church, meaning this time of *Conſtantine* now preſent. At which time it ſo pleaſed the Almighty, that the murthering malice of Satan ſhould at length be reſtrained, and himſelf tied up for a thouſand years, through his great mercy in Chriſt; to whom therefore be Thanks and Praiſe now and for ever. *Amen.*

Satan bound up for a thouſand years.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK,

CONTAINING

The next Three hundred Years following, with ſuch things ſpecially touched as have happened in *England*, from the time of King *Lucius*, to *Gregorius*, and ſo after to the time of King *Egbert*.

BY theſe Perſecutions hitherto in the Book before precedent thou mayeſt underſtand (Chriſtian Reader) how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguiſh the Name and Religion of Chriſt: for what thing did lack that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of Hell could deviſe, all was to the uttermoſt attempted. And yet all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wiſdom of the world and ſtrength of men, doing, deviſing, practiſing what they could; notwithſtanding the Religion of Chriſt (as thou ſeeſt) hath had the upper hand: which thing I with thee greatly (gentle Reader) wiſely to note and diligently to ponder in conſidering theſe former Hiſtories. And becauſe thou canſt not conſider them, nor profit by them, unleſs thou do firſt read and peruſe them; let me crave therefore thus much at thine hands, to turn and read over the ſaid Hiſtories of thoſe Perſecutions above deſcribed, eſpecially above all the other Hiſtories of this preſent Volum, for thy eſpecial edification, which I truſt thou ſhalt find not unworthy the reading.

A Petition to the Reader diligently to read over the former Book of the Ten Perſecution.

Now becauſe the tying up of Satan giveth to the Church ſome reſt, and to me ſome leiſure to addreſs my ſelf to the handling of other Stories, I mind therefore (Chriſt willing) in this preſent Book, leaving a while the tractation of theſe general affairs pertaining to the univerſal Church, to proſecute ſuch Domeſtical Hiſtories as more nearly concern this our Country of *England* and *Scotland* done here at home, beginning firſt with King *Lucius*, with whom the Faith firſt began here in this Realm, as the ſentence of ſome writers doth hold. And for ſo much as here may riſe, yea and doth riſe a great controverſie in theſe our Popiſh days, concerning the firſt origine and planting of the Faith in this our Realm, it ſhall not be greatly out of our purpoſe ſomewhat to ſtay and ſay of this queſtion, Whether the Church of *England* firſt received the Faith from *Rome* or not? The which although I grant ſo to be, yet being ſo granted, it little availeth the purpoſe of them which would ſo have it. For be it that *England* firſt received the Chriſtian Faith and Religion from *Rome*, both in the time of *Eleutherius* their Biſhop 180 years after Chriſt, and alſo in the time of *Auguſtine* whom *Gregory* ſent hither, 600 years after Chriſt, yet their purpoſe followeth not thereby, that we muſt therefore fetch our Religion from thence ſtill, as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godlineſs. And yet as they are not able to prove the ſecond, ſo neither have I any cauſe to grant the firſt: that is, That our Chriſtian Faith was firſt derived from *Rome*, which I may prove by ſix or ſeven good conjectural reaſons. Whereof the firſt I take of the teſtimony of *Gildas* our Countryman, who in his Hiſtory affirmeth plainly, that *Britain* received the Goſpel in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, under whom Chriſt ſuffered. *Lib. de victoria Aurelii Ambroſii.* And ſaith moreover, that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, after diſperſion of the *Jews*, was ſent of *Philip* the Apoſtle from *France* to *Britain*, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and ſo with his fellows laid the firſt foundation of Chriſtian Faith among the *Britain* people, whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the ſame and increaſed it.

The firſt planting of Chriſtian Faith in England.

Queſtion.

Whether Chriſtian Religion in this Realm came firſt from Rome.

Anſwer.

1. Gildas.

The ſecond reaſon is out of *Tertullian*, who living near about, or rather ſomewhat before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his Book *Contra Judæos*, manifeſtly imporeth the ſame; where the ſaid *Tertullian* teſtifying how the Goſpel was diſperſed abroad by the ſound of the Apoſtles; and there reckoning up the *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Parthians*, and dwellers in *Meſopotamia*, *Jewry*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Aſia*, *Phrygia*, *Egypt*, *Pamphilia*, with many more, at length cometh to the Coaſt of the *Moorians*, and all the borders of *Spain*, with divers Nations of *France*; and there amongſt all other reciteth alſo the parts of *Britain*, which the *Romans* could never attain to, and reporteth the ſame now to be ſubject to Chriſt; as alſo reckoneth up the places of *Sarmatia*, of the *Danes*, the *Germani*, the *Scythians*, with many other *Provinces* and Iſles to him unknown; in all which places (ſaith he) reigneth the name of Chriſt, which now beginneth to be common. This hath *Tertullian*. Note here how among other divers believing Nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt places of *Britain* to be of the ſame number, and theſe in his time were Chriſtened, who was in the ſame *Eleutherius* time, as is above ſaid. Then was not Pope *Eleutherius* the firſt which ſent the Chriſtian Faith into this Realm, but the Goſpel was here received before his time either by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as ſome Chronicles record, or by ſome of the Apoſtles, or of their Scholars, which had been here preaching Chriſt before *Eleutherius* wrote to *Lucius*.

2. In Tertul. contra Judæos.

My third Probation I deduct out of *Origen*, *Hom.* 6. *in Ezechielem*, whoſe words be theſe, *Britannorum in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem.* Whereby it appeareth that the Faith of Chriſt was ſparſed here in *England* before the days of *Eleutherius*.

3. Ex Origene, hom. 6. in Ezech.

For my fourth Probation I take the teſtimony of *Beda*, where he affirmeth, that in his time, and almoſt a thouſand years after Chriſt here in *Britain*, *Eaſter* was kept after the manner of the Eaſt Church, in the full of the Moon, what day in the week ſo ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the firſt Preachers in this land have come out from the Eaſt part of the world, where it was ſo uſed, rather than from *Rome*.

4. Ex Beda.

Fifthly, I may alledg the words of *Nicephorus*, *lib.* 2. *cap.*40. where he ſaith that *Simon Zelotes* did ſpread the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Weſt Ocean, and brought the ſame unto the Iſles of *Britain*.

5. Ex Nicepho. lib.2. c.40.

Sixthly, may be here added alſo the words of *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, who writing to *Bernard*, affirmeth that the *Scots* in his time did celebrate their *Eaſter*, not after the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, *&c.* And as the ſaid *Britains* were not under the *Roman* order in the time of this Abbot of *Cluniack*; ſo neither were they nor would be under the *Roman* Legat, in the time of *Gregory*, nor would admit any primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be above them.

6. Ex Petro Cluniacenſi ad Bernardum.

For the ſeventh argument moreover I may make my Probation by the plain words of *Eleutherius*, by whole Epiſtle written to King *Lucius* we may underſtand that *Lucius* had received the Faith of Chriſt in this land, before the King ſent to *Eleutherius* for the *Roman* Laws; for ſo the expreſs words of the Letter do manifeſtly purport, as hereafter followeth to be ſeen. By all which conjectures it may ſtand probably to be thought that the *Britains* were taught firſt by the *Grecians* of the Eaſt Church, rather than by the *Romans*.

7. Ex Epiſt. Eleutherii ad Lucium.

Peradventure *Eleutherius* might help ſomething either to

to convert the King, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the People, but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our *English* stories confess, neither will I greatly stick with them therein; yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gain? in few words to conclude this matter, if so be that the Christian Faith and Religion was first derived from *Rome* to this our Nation by *Eleutherius*, then let them but grant to us the same Faith and Religion which then was taught at *Rome*, and from thence derived hither by the said *Eleutherius*, and we will desire no more; for then neither was any Universal Pope above all Churches and Councils, which came not in before *Bonifacius* time, which was 400 years after; neither any name or use of the Mass, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this Book following appeareth to be seen. Neither any Sacrifice Propitiatory for the sowring of Purgatory was then offered upon hallowed Altars, but only the Communion frequented at Christian Tables, where Oblations and Gifts were offered as well of the People as of the Priests to God, because they should appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord, as we may understand by the time of *Cyprian*. Neither was then any Transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand years after. Neither were then any Images of Saints departed set up in Churches; yea, a great number of the Saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet born, nor the Churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of *Irene* and *Constans* the Emperor. Likewise neither Relicks nor Peregrinations were then in use. Priests Marriage was then as lawful (and no less received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of *Hildebrand*, almost a thousand years after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth *Hierome*; the Sacraments ministred in both kinds as well to Lay-men as to Priests, the witness whereof is *Cyprian*. Yea and temporal men which would not then communicate at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and *Christmass*, were not then counted for Catholicks, the Popes own distinction can testifie. In Funerals, Priests then flocked not together, selling Trentals and Dirges for sweeping of Purgatory; but only a Funeral Concion was used, with Psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and Hallelujah sounding on high, which did shake the guilded Ceelings of the Temple, as witnesseth *Nazianzen*, *Ambrose*, with *Hierome*, &c.

What difference between the late Church of *Rome* and the old Church of *Rome*, and in what matters.

De consec. dist. 2.

In the Supper of the Lord, and at Baptism, no such Ceremonies were used, as now of late have been intruded: informach that as in this Story is shewed hereafter; both *Augustine* and *Paulinus* baptised then in Rivers, not in hallowed Fonts, as witnesseth *Fabianus*. The Portues of *Sarum*, of *York*, of *Bangor*, with Mattens and Evensong of the day; again, neither the Orders and Religions of Monks and Friers were not yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand years after, &c. So that, as I said, if the *Papists* would needs derive the Faith and Religion of this Realm from *Rome*, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that Faith and Religion, which then was taught and brought from *Rome* by *Eleutherius* (as now we differ nothing from the same) and we will define no better. And if they will not, then let the wise Reader judge where the fault is, in us, or them, which neither themselves will perfuit in the Antiquity of the *Romish* Religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit us so to do.

Fabian. cap. 219 & 220.

And thus much by the way to satisfie the forefaid objection, whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order and course of the History. Being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly flick upon, that the Christian Faith and Religion of this Realm was brought from *Rome*, first by *Eleutherius*, then afterward by *Augustine*; thus write the Chronicles of that matter.

Eleutherius Bishop of *Rome.*

Augustine The Fifth of Christ brought into this Realm.

About the time and year of the Lord 180. King *Lucius* son of *Coilus*, which builded *Colchester*, King of the *Britains*, first *Latins*, who then were the Inhabiters and Possessors of this Land (which now we *English* men call *England*) hearing of the Miracles and Wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places (as *Monumetensis* writeth) directed his Letters to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, to receive of him the Christian Faith; although about the computation of the year and time, great difference there is in Authors when this should be. *Nauclerus* saith it was *Anno* 156, but that cannot be, for so much as *Eleutherius* was not yet Bishop by the space of twenty years after that. *Henricus de Erfordia* saith, it was *Anno* 169, in the nineteenth year of *Verus* Emperor; but that agreeth not with approved Histories, which all consent that *Verus* reigned not nineteen years; and if he had, yet that year cometh not to the year of our Lord 169, but to the year 181. Some others say, that *Eleutherius* was made Bishop in the sixth year of *Commodus*, which was the year of our Lord 180. but that seemeth to go too far, but let the Authors agree as they can. Let us return to *Eleutherius* the good Bishop, who hearing the request of this King, and glad to see the godly towardnes of his well disposed mind, sendeth him certain Teachers and Preachers called *Fugatius*, or by some *Faganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dimianus*, which converted first the King and People of *Britain*, and baptised them with the Baptism and Sacrament of Christs Faith. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monuments of Gentility they subverted, converting the People from their divers and many Gods, to serve one living God. Thus true Religion with sincere faith increasing, Superstition decayed, with all other Rites of Idolatry. There were then in *Britain* 28 Head Priests which they called *Flamines*, and three Archpriests among them, which were called Arch-*Flamines*, having the overlight of their manners, and as Judges over the rest. These 28 *Flamines* they turned to 28 Bishops, and the three Arch-*Flamines* to three Archbishops, having their seats in three principal Cities of the Realm; that is, in *London*, in *York*, and in *Glamorgantia*, *Videlicet in urbe legionum*, by *Wales*. Thus the Countries of the whole Realm being divided every one under his own Bishop, and all things setled in a good order; the forefaid King *Lucius* sent again to the said *Eleutherius* for the *Roman* Laws, thereby likewise to be governed, as in Religion now they were framed accordingly unto whom *Eleutherius* again writeth after the tenor of these words ensuing:

Fugatius, Damianus.

Hospital mercy fo long to Poor.

Three Archbishops.

Hier. Hosting. lib. 1. What incommodity caused by lack of Succession.

The Epistle of *Eleutherius*, Bishop of *Rome*, sent to King *Lucius*.

Anno 169. *a passione Christi scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem Regis & procerum Regni Britanniæ*, and so forth as followeth in *English*.

Ex antiq. collectan. anglican.

Te require of us the Roman *Laws, and the Emperors to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in use here within your Realm. The* Roman *Laws and the Emperors were no way ever reproved, but the Law of God we may ever reprove, and have received of late through Gods mercy in the Realm of* Britany, *the Law and Faith of Christ; ye have with you within the Realm, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace, with the Council of your Realm take ye a Law, and by that Law (through Gods sufferance) rule your Kingdom of* Britain. *For you be Gods Vicar in your Kingdom, according to the saying of the Psalm,* Deus judicium tuum Regi da, &c. *that is,* O God give thy judgment to the King, and thy righteousness to the Kings son, &c. *He said not, the judgment and righteousness of the Emperor, but thy judgment and justice; that is to say, the Laws of God. The Kings sons be the Christian people and folk of the Realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your Kingdom, as the Gospel saith*, Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings, so doth the King his People. *The people and folk of the Realm of* Britain *be yours; whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the Faith and Law of Christ, and to the holy Church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A King hath his name of ruling, and not of having a Realm. You shall be a King while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name of a King shall not remain with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the Realm of* Britain, *that you may Reign with him for ever, whose Vicar you be in the Realm,*

The Title of Eleutherius to the Crown of Britain.

After

After this manner (as you have heard) was the Christian Faith either first brought in, or else confirmed in this Realm of *Britain* by the sending of *Eleutherius*, not with any Crosse or Procession, but only at the simple Preaching of *Fagan* and *Damian*, through whose Ministry this Realm and Island of *Britain* was ere[illegible] reduced to the Faith and Law of the Lord, according as was prophelied by *Isaiah*, as well of that as other Illands more, where he saith, *Chap.* 42. *He shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgment in earth, and Islands shall wait for his Law*, &c. The Faith thus received of the *Britains* continued among them and flourished the space of 216 years, till the coming of the *Saxons*, who then were Pagans; wherefore more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the mean time something to speak of this space before, which was betwixt the time of *Lucius*, and the first coming in of the *Saxons*: First, it is to be understood that all this while as yet, the Emperors of *Rome* had not received the Faith, what time the Kings of *Britain* and the subjects thereof were converted now, as is said, to Christ; for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was fought against them, not only here in *Britain*, but through all parts of Christendom by the Heathen Infidels. Insomuch that in the Persecution only of *Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, reigning both together within one month, 17000 Martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as hath been hitherto in the Book before sufficiently discoursed.

Ex Beda. Polychron. Mennmouth.

Thus therefore, although the forefaid *Lucius* the *Britain* King, through the merciful Providence of God was then Christened, and the Gospel received generally almost in all the land, yet the state thereof, as well of the Religion as of the Commonwealth, could not be quit, for that the Emperors and Nobles of *Rome* were Infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, it so happening that *Lucius* the Christian King died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the *Britains* (as it happeneth in all other Realms, and namely in this Realm of *England*, whensoever Succession ceaseth) that not only they brought upon them the Idolatrous *Romans*, and at length the *Saxons*, but also intrapped themselves in such misery and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is where a Prince or a King is in a Kingdom, there to lack Succession, as especially in this case may appear. For after the death of *Lucius*, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord within themselves upon Succession of the Crown, the *Romans* stept in and got the Crown into their own hands, whereupon followed great misery and ruin to the Realm. For sometimes the Idolatrous *Romans*, sometimes the *Britains* reigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve; one King murthering another, till at length the *Saxons* came and deprived them both, as in processe hereafter followeth to be seen.

In the mean season touching the story of King *Lucius*, here is to be reproved the fable of some Writers falsly feigning of him that he should after his Baptism received, put off all his Kingly honour, forsake the land, and be made a Preacher, who after long travel in Preaching and teaching in *France*, in *Germany*, in *Augusta*, and in *Suevia*, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Church of *Curiae*, where (as this Fable saith) he suffered Martyrdom. But this fancy of whomsoever it first did spring, disagreeth from all our *English* Stories, who with a full consent do for the most part concord in this, that the said *Lucius* after he had founded many Churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at *Glowcester* the fourteenth year after his Baptism, as the Book of *Flores Historiarum* doth count, which was the year of our Lord, as he saith 101, and reckoneth his conversion to be in the year 87. In some I find his decease to be the fourth, and in some the tenth year after his Baptism, and some hold that he reigned all the space of 77 years. And thus much concerning King *Lucius*.

The decease of King *Lucius*. Ex Rastalo.

Now to proceed in order of the story, briefly to touch the state of the forefaid land of *Britain*, between the time of King *Lucius*, and the entring of the *Saxons*, who were the Kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded one after another, this Catalogue here underwritten will shew.

Kings of *Britain* from the time of *Lucius* till the coming of the *Saxons*.	*Lucius*,	*Britain.*
	Severus,	*Roman.*
	Bassianus,	*Roman* by the Father.
	Cerausius,	*Britain.*
	Alectus,	*Roman.*
	Asclepiodotus,	*Britain.*
	Coilus,	*Britain.*
	Constantius,	*Roman.*
	Constantinus,	*Britain* by the Mother, named *Helena*, who being the daughter of *Coel*, and married to *Constantius*, father of *Constantinus*, is said to make the walls first of *London*, also of *Colchester*, much about the year of our Lord 305, and born in *Britain*.
	Octavius,	*Gewissian.*
	Maximianus,	*Roman* born, but his Mother a *Britain.*
	Gratianus,	*Roman.*
	Constantius,	*Britain* by the Mother.
	Constans,	*Roman* by the Father.
	Vortigernus,	*Gewissian* or *Britain.*
	Vortimerus,	*Britain.*
	Vortigernus,	Again.

Anno Dom. Ann. Scand. Fab. Ran. Ann. 438. Fab. 444. Ann. 446. Ann. 489.

By this Table may appear a lamentable face of a Commonwealth so miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in Country as in Religion; for when the *Romans* reigned, they were governed by the Infidels; when the *Britains* ruled, they were governed by Christians. Thus what quietnes was or could be in the Church in so unquiet and doubtful days, may easily be considered.

Although notwithstanding all these forefaid Heathen Rulers of the *Romans* which here governed, yet (God be praised) we read of no Persecution during all these Ten Persecutions above mentioned, that touched the Christian *Britains*, before the last Persecution only of *Diocletian* and *Maximinus Herculeus*, which here then exercised much cruelty. This Persecution, as it was the last among the *Roman* Christians, so it was the first of many and divers that followed after in this Church and Realm of *England*; wherefore we will hereafter Entreat (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall lead us. In the mean time this rage of *Diocletian* as it was universally through all the Churches in the world, fierce and vehement, so in this Realm of *Britain* also it was so fore, that as all our *English* Chronicles do testifie and record, all Christianity almost in the whole land was destroyed, Churches were subverted, all Books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women were slain. Among whom the first and chiefest was *Alhanus*, then *Julius*, *Aaron*, and *Amphibalus*, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how many they were that suffered besides, Stories make no rehearsal. And thus much thereof.

Diocletian Bishop never toucht with any Persecution before the time of *Diocletian*.

Now as concerning the Government of these abovenamed Kings of *Britain*, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this Ecclesiastical History, yet this is not to be past over. First, how in the order of these Kings cometh *Constantinus* the Great and worthy Emperor, who was not only a *Britain* born by his Mother sides, being King *Coilus* daughter, but also by the help of the *Britains Army* (under the power of God) which the said *Constantine* took with him out of *Britain* to *Rome*, obtained with great victory peace and tranquillity to the whole universal Church of Christ, having three Legions with him out of this Realm of *Britain* (as some Stories affirm) whereby the strength of the said Realm was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this Story followeth.

Constantine the Great born and bred in Britain.

The cruel love this Realm of *Britain* was first watched.

After him likewise *Maximian* following his steps, took with him also (as Stories record) all the power and strength

fivength which was left, and whatsoever he could make of able and fighting men to subdue *France*; besides the Garrisons which he had out with him before, sending for more to the number of an hundred thousand Souldiers at once to be sent to him out of *Britain* into *France*. At which time also *Conanus* his partner, being then in *France*, sent over for Virgins from *Britain*, to the number of 11000, who with *Ursula*, the Prince *Dionets* daughter being shipped over, many perished in the Sea, some were taken of the Infidels marching upon the borders; with whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably disperst (some one way, some another) so that none escaped.

Britain finlled of Souldiers, *Ursula* with 11000 Virgins.

Thus poor *Britain* being left naked and destitute on every side, as a maimed body without might or strength, was left open to his enemies, not able to succour it self without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then constrained to fly, especially to the *Romans*, to whom the *Britains* sent this word or message, *Scito ter consuli gemintes Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur.* But the *Romans* then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by *Gwanus* and *Melga*, had not *Gwetelinus* the Archbishop of *London* made over to lesser *Britain*, and obtaining their help, had brought *Constantinus* the Kings brother to rescue his Country against the Infidels. This *Constantinus* was brother to *Aldroenus*, King of little *Britain*, and father to *Constance*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Uter*, who after reigned Kings in *Britain*.

Gwetelinus Archbishop of *London*. *Ex Chronico Monemutensi*. Constantine, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uter Pendragon. The Saxons sent for to Britain.

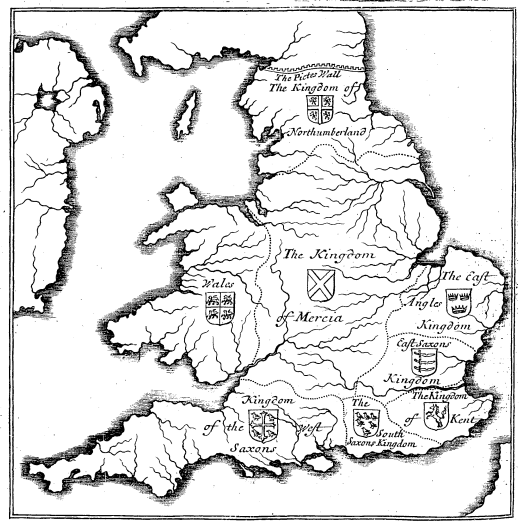
Thus by the means of the good Archbishop and *Constantinus*, the state of the Religion and Realm of *Britain* was in some mean quiet and safety, during the time of the said *Constantine*, and of the good Archbishop. But as the Realm of *Britain* almost from the beginning was never without Civil war, at length came wicked *Vortigerne*, who cruelly causing *Constance* his Prince to be murthered, ambitiously invaded the Crown; who then fearing the other two Brethren of *Constance*, which were *Aurelius* and *Uter*, being then in little *Britain*, did send over for the aid of the *Saxons*, being then Infidels; and not only that, but also married with an Infidel, the daughter of *Hengist*, called *Rowen*. Whereupon the said *Vortigerne* not long after by the said *Hengist* and the *Saxons* was with like treachery dispossessed of his Kingdom, and the people of *Britain* driven out of their Country, after that the *Saxons* had slain of their chief Nobles and Barons at one meeting (joyning together subtilty with cruelty) to the number of 271; some stories say 460. This wicked act of the *Saxons* was done at *Almesbury*, or at a place called *Stonehenge*. By the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble *Britains* there were buried.

King Constans slain by Vortigerne, who usurpeth the Kingdom. Hengist and Horsus Captains of the Saxons.

A wicked murther of the Lords.

This fabulous story of the *Welchmen*, of bringing these stones from *Ireland* by *Merlin*, I pass over. Some Stories record that they were slain being bid to a Banquet. Others say that it was done at a talk or assembly, where the *Saxons* came with privy Knives contrary to promise made; with the which Knives they giving a privy watch-word in their *Saxon* speech, *Neme your sexes*, slew the *Britains* unarmed. And thus far concerning the History of the *Britains*. As this great Plague could not come to the *Britains* without Gods permission, so *Gildas* therewith in his Chronicle the cause thereof, writing thus, *Quod Britones propter avaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & injustitiam judicum, propter desidiam praedicationis Episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse, &c.*

Heptarchia Angliæ Saxonica: Or, a Description of *England*, as it was divided in the *Saxons* time into Seven Kingdoms.



The

The Entring and Reigning of the Saxons *in the Realm of* England,

Aurelius and Uter, Sons to Constans.

THIS was the coming in first of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this Realm, being yet Unchristened and Infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as *William Malmsbury* testifieth, 469; the Captains of whom were *Hengistus* and *Horsus*. Although the said *Hengist* and *Saxons* at their first coming, for all their subtil working, and cruel attempt, had no quiet setling in *Britain*, but were driven out divers times by the valiantness of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and his Brother *Uter* above mentioned, who reigned after that among the *Britains*; yet notwithstanding they were not so driven out, but that they returned again, and at length possessed all, driving the *Britains* (such as remained) into *Cambria*, which we call now *Wales*. *Hengistus* (as some Chronicles record) reigned three and forty years, and died in *Kent*. *Galfridus in suo Britannico* saith, that he was taken in War by *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and beheaded at *Coningsburgh*, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.

Ex Galfrido in suo Britannico.

Ex Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The *Saxons* after they were setled in the possession of *England*, distributed the Realm among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his King; that is, the first to be the King of *Kent*; the second to be King of *Sussex* and *Southery*, holding his Palace at *Cicester*; the third King was of *Westsex*; the fourth King of *Essex*; the fifth King was of the *Eastangles*, that is, of *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; the sixth King of *Merceland*, or *Mercia*, and in his Kingdom were contained the Countries of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Warwick*, &c. the seventh King had all the Countries beyond *Humber*, and was called King of *Northumberland*.

Seven Kings ruling in England.

After the death of *Hengist*, his Son *Osca* reigned four and twenty years, leaving his Son *Octa*, to whose reign with his Son *Imenricus*, Histories do attribute three and fifty years, who also were slain by *Uter Pendragon*. *Polychronicon. lib. 5. cap. 4.*

Of the Seven Kingdoms, although they continued not long, but at length joyned all in one, coming all into the possession and subjection of the *Westsaxons*; yet for the space they continued (which was with continual trouble and wars among themselves) this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seen.

A TABLE describing the Seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons* reigning here in *ENGLAND*.

IN the time of Vortiger *above mentioned, began the Reign of the* Saxons *in this Land, the which coming out of three sorts of the* German *people (to wit) the* Saxons, *the* Jutes *and* Angles, *replenished the Land, of them called now* Anglia. *Of whom first* Hengistus *reigned in* Kent, *which Country of* Kent *he had obtained by* Rowen *his daughter, of King* Vortiger, *which was about the year of our Lord (as some do count)* 476, *or (as I find) in the computation of our* English *Tables* 456, *in some* 463. *After* Hengist *came in* Octha, *with* Esca, *or* Ise *his Kinsman; who afterward succeeded the said* Hengist *in* Kent. *Not long after came in another company of the* Saxons, *with* Elle *their Captain, which planted themselves in* Southfax. *And after them again another Garrison of the* Saxons, *with* Cerdice *their Captain, which did occupy the West part of the Land, called by them* Westfaxon. *And so likewise the other multitude of the* Saxons *after them, which as yet being Unchristened and Infidels, divided the whole Land among themselves into Seven Kingdoms, as in this Table followeth.*

(456) KENT.

The Kings of Kent, *with the years how long they reigned.*	
Hengistus slain.	31
Esca, or *Ise*	24
Octa, or *Octha*.	
Emenricus, or *Emericus*.	26
Ethelbert. the 1st of the *Saxon* Kings that received the Faith by *Augustin*, Anno.	35
Ethaldus.	56
Erconbertus.	24
Egebertus, or *Edbrichth*, slain.	9
Lotharius, slain.	12
Eadricbus.	6
Nidredus.	7
Wilbardus.	
Withredus.	33
Egbert, or *Egbert*.	23
Ethelbert.	11
Alricus.	34
Eadbertus, Surnamed *Pren*.	2
Cuthredus.	18
Baldredus, expulsed.	18

The Kings of Kent.

This *Ethelbert* first of all the *Saxons* received the Faith, and subdued all the other six Kings, except only the King of *Northumberland*.

Erconbert commanded *Lent* first to be fasted in his Dominion.

Egebert killed two Sons of his Uncle.

Unto the time of *Edrick* all the Bishops of *Canterbu*, were *Italians*.

Some Chronicles do place these two, *Nidredus* and *Wilbardus* after *Edrick*, and give to them seven years, some again do omit them.

Between the reign of *Alrick* & *Cuthred* some stories do insert the reign of *Eadbert*, which reigned two years.

In the reign of this *Baldred*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was translated to *Egbertus*, otherwise called *Egbrict*, King of the *Westsaxons*; who subduing the foresaid *Baldred*, in the year 822, gave the said Kingdom to *Athelstan* his younger Son. After whose decease it came to *Ethelwolf* the Elder Son of *Egbrict*, and so was united to the *Westsaxons*, who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This Kingdom began near about the year of our Lord 456, and continued 342 years, and had fifteen Kings.

(478) Southfax, *now called* Sussex.

The Kings of Southfax, *with the years of their Reign.*	
Elle, or *Alle*.	31
Cissa.	
Nanaanleus, or *Nancanleodus*.	
Porth.	
Ethelwolfus.	
Redwallus.	
Condebertus.	
Ethelredus, or *Etherus*.	

The Kings of Sussex.

Of this *Cissa* came *Cicester*, which he builded, and where he reigned.

This *Nathanleod* seemeth by some old stories to be a *Britain*, and the chief Marshal of King *Uter*, whom *Porth* the *Saxon* slew.

This *Porth* a *Saxon* came in at the Haven, which now is called of him *Portsmouth*.

Because I find but little mention of these two, I think it rather like to be the same *Ethelwold*, or *Ethelwaldus*, which after followeth.

Of *Condebertus* & *Ethelred* I find no mention but in one table only, supposing therefore, that the true names of these

L *Adelwold*

were *Ercombertus*, and *Egbertus*, which were Kings of *Kent* the ſame time, and peradventure might then rule in *Suſſex*.

Adelwold, or *Ethelwaldus* ſlain. — This *Adelwold* was the firſt King of *Suſſex* Chriſtened, and as *Febian* ſaith, the fourth Kin. of the *Southſaxons*; as others ſay the ſeventh, ſo uncertain be the Hiſtories of this Kingdom.

Adelbrich, or *Berethunus* ſlain. 5
Adhunus. 15

This Kingdom endured the ſhorteſt ſeaſon of all others, and ſoonеſt paſſed into other Kingdoms, in the days (as ſome write) of *Ina* King of *Weſtſax*, and ſo endured not above an 112 years under ſeven, or at moſt eleven Kings, beginning firſt in the year of the Lord 478, and about the thirtieth year of the firſt coming of the *Saxons*.

(522) *Weſtſax.* — *The Principal Kingdom of the* Weſtſaxons, *and of their Reigns.*

Cerdicus, or *Credicus*. 17 — This Kingdom contained *Sommerſetſhire*, *Barkſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Cornwall*, &c.
Kenricus. 26
Chelmgus. 30, 33
lib. cycl.
Celricus, or *Ceolfricus*. 5
Celwulfus, or *Ceolulfus*. 14
Kinigilſus, and *Quicelmus*. } 32 — This *Kinigilſus* was firſt King Chriſtened in that Province, converted by *Birinus*, after made Monk.
Kinewalkins. 31
Sexburga. 1
Eſcewinus, *Aſcewinus*, or *Elkewinus*. 2
Centwinus died at *Rome*. 7
Cedwallus. 3 — *Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there was Chriſtened, and died.
Ina, or *Ine*. 35 — *Ina* alſo went to *Rome*, and was made Monk.
Edelardus, or *Athelardus*. 14
The Kings of *Weſtſax*.
Cuthredus, or *Cuthbert*. 16
Sigebertus, or *Sigbertus*, ſlain. 1 — *Sigebert* for his pride and cruelty was depoſed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithful Counſel, giving him wholſome counſel; ſo after was he ſlain of the ſame Counſellers Swineherd, as he hid himſelf in a Wood.
Kinulfus, or *Kinewulfus*, ſlain. 31
Britbricus. 13 — This *Egbert* was firſt expelled by *Britbricus*, who after returned again and reigning, was much derided and ſcorned with mocking rimes (for a Coward) of *Bermilfus* K. of *Mercia*. At length the ſaid *Egbert* ſubdued him firſt, then all the reſt to his Kingdom: cauſing the whole land to be called no more *Britain*, but *Anglia*. Concerning the other Kings after him in that Lordſhip, hereafter followeth.
Egbertus, or *Egbrichtus*, otherwiſe *Athelbertus*, or *Athelbrich*, &c. 37

This *Egbert* ſubdued all the other ſeven Kingdoms, and firſt began the Monarchy of all the *Saxons*, which after by *Alured* was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This Kingdom of the *Weſtſaxons* began the year of Grace 522; and as it ſubdued all the others, ſo it did the longeſt continue, till about the coming of *William* the Conqueror, which is about the time of 554 years.

(547) *Northumberland.* — *The Kings of* Northumberland, *with the years of their Reign.*

Ida. 12 — This *Ida* of his Wife had ſix Children. *Adda*, *Elfricus*, *Osmerus*, *Theodledus*; of Concubines other ſix.

The Kings of *Northumberland.*

After *Ida* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was divided into two Provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*.

Alle or *Elle*, Deirorum. 20 — This *Alle* was the Son of *Iffe*, and reigned in *Deira*.
Adda, Bernicorum. 7 — 20
Some Chronicles ſet under *Adda*, to reign in *Bernicia*, theſe Kings, *Glappa* or *Clafpa*, *Theonulfus*, or *Huffa*, or *Theonvalnus*, *Frihulfus*, *Theodoricus*.
Alricus, or *Alfricus* Deiorum. 5 — This *Alfricus* was the Son of *Ida*, and reigned five years.
Ethelfridus Bernicorum. — This *Ethelfridus* was he that flew the Monks of *Bangor*, to the number of 2200, which came to pray for the good ſucceſs of the *Britains*; and by his Wife *Accan*, the daughter of *Ella*, he had ſeven Sons, *Eanfridus*, *Oſualdus*, *Oſwius*, *Oſtacus*, *Oſmundus*, *Oſa*, *Offa*. Flor. Hiſtor.
Edwinus Northumberland ſlain. 17 — This *Edwinus* was the firſt of the *Northumberland* Kings, which was converted and Chriſtened by *Paulinus* Biſhip of *London*.
Ofricus Deirorum ſlain. — Theſe two are put out of the race of Kings, becauſe they revolted from the Chriſtian faith, and were both ſlain miſerably by *Cedwalla* a *Britain*, which then reigned in *Northumberland*, and in *Mercia*.
Eanfridus Bernicia, ſlain.
Oſwaldus, of *Northumberland* ſlain. — This *Oſwaldus*, called S. *Oſwald*, fought with *Cedwalla*, and *Penda* with a ſmall army, and by ſtrength of prayer vanquiſhed then in the field. He ſent for *Aidanus* into *Scotland* to preach in his Country, and as he preached in *Scotiſh*, the King expounded in *Engliſh*. He was a great giver of alms to the poor. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.
Oſwius, *Northumberland.* 28 — This *Oſwius* fighting againſt *Penda*, vowed to make his Daughter *Elfred* a Nun, giving with her twelve Lordſhips to build twelve Monaſteries, ſix in *Bernicia*, ſix in *Deira*.
Oſwinus reigned together with *Oſwius* in *Deira*, ſlain. 7 — The ſame *Oſwius* in the beginning of his reign took one *Oſwinus* the Son of *Edwin* to be his partner over the Country of *Deira*. Afterward cauſing him to be killed, took to him another called *Edelwald*, the Son of *Oſwald*. Of this *Oſwinus* more followeth hereafter to be declared.
Egfridus Northumberland, ſlain. 15 — This *Egfrid* married *Ethelthrida*, who being twelve years married to him, could after by no means be allured to lie with him, but obtaining of him license, was made Nun, and then Abbeſs of *Ely*. She made but one meal a day, and never wore linnen. At laſt the ſame *Egfrid*, fighting againſt the *Scots*, was ſlain in the field by a train of the *Scots*, fainting themſelves to fly.
Alfridus, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 20 — Of this *Alfride*, *Beda* in his Hiſtory teſtifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly ſeen in the holy Scriptures, and recovered much that his Predeceſſors had loſt before. *Bed. lib.4.c.24.* Some ſay he reigned not 18 years.
Oſred, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 11 — *Oſred* began his reign being but eight years old, and reigned the ſpace of ten years.
Kenredus, *North.* 2
Ofricus, *North.* 20 — Some affirm that *Ofricus* reigned but 11 years.
Celulfus, *Northumberl.* made a Monk. 9 — This *Celulfe* after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him *Beda* wrote his Story.
Egbertus, or *Ealbertus*, *Northumberla.* Monk. 21
Oſulfus, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 1
Mollo, or *Ethelwold*, *Northumb.* 11 — *Mollo* by the ſubtil train of *Alfredus* was made away, which *Alfredus* alſo himſelf after he had reigned ten years, was expulſed by his own people.
In ſome Chronicles this fix years.
Alredus, *Northumber.* expulſed. 10 — In ſome Chronicles this *Alredus* reigned but eight years.
Ethelbertus, or *Edelbeus*, *Northumberland*, expulſed. 5
Alfwoldus, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 11
Ofredus.
Ethelbertus, or *Adelwaldus*, *North.* ſlain. 16

After this *Ethelbert*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* ceaſed the ſpace of 25 years, till *Egbertus* King of the *Weſtſaxons* ſubdued alſo them, as he did the other *Saxons* to his Dominion. After the which *Egbert* K. of the *Weſtſaxons* ſucceeded in *Northumberland* his Son.

Ethelwolfus. *Ethelbaldus*. } Kings of *Weſtſaxons*, reigning in *Ethelbertus*. *Ethelredus*. } *Northumberland*.

In the time of this *Ethelredus*, there were two under-Kings in *Northumberland*, *Ella* and *Osbright*, whom the *Danes* overcame, and reigned in their place, whoſe names were theſe:

Erbertus. *Gurthred*. }
Richſi. *Gurthrid*. } *Danes*.
Egebert. }

After the reign of theſe foreſaid *Danes* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* came into the hands of the *Weſtſaxons*, in the time of *Athelſtane*, and his Brother *Edmund*. It began firſt in the year 547, and ſo endured 409 years. It contained *Yorkſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Copeland*, and others.

(561) *Mercia.* — *The Kings of* Mercia, Merceland, *with the years of their Reign.*

Gridas, or *Creodda*. 25
Wibba. 20
Ceorlus. 10
Penda, ſlain. 30 — *Penda* ſlew in battel, *Edwin* and *Oſwald* Kings of *Northumberland*. Alſo *Sigebert*, *Edrike* and *Anna*, Kings of the *Eaſtangles*. Alſo he drove out *Kenwalkins*, King of the *Weſtſaxons*. Under *Peda* and *Wiferus* Chriſts Faith was received in thoſe parts, they being converted by *Finianus*, Biſhop. The ſame *Peda* reigned in a part of *Mercia*, with his Brother *Wiferus*, who were both the Sons of *Penda*.
Peda, or *Weda*, ſlain by his Wife. — *Wiferus*. 29 — This *Wiferus* by his Wife *Ermeburg*, had three Daughters, *Milburg*, *Mildrith*, and *Mildgith*, holy Virgins.
Adelredus, or *Ethelred*, made a Monk. 30, or 19 — This *Adelredus*, or *Ethelredus*, was Monk of *Bardneie*, whoſe Siſters were *Kinedrid*, and *Kingwith*, holy Virgins.
Kenredus made alſo Monk at *Rome*. 5
Ceolredus, or *Kelredus*. — In the time of this *Ceolred* was *Guthlake*, otherwife called St. *Guthlake*, the Popiſh Hermit of *Crowland*.
The Kings of *Mercia*. — *Ethelbaldus*, ſlain. 41 — Under *Ethelbaldus* died *Beda*. *Ethelbald* gave that all Churches ſhould be free from all exactions and publick charges.
Bernredus. 1 — This *Bernred* for his pride and ſtoutneſs toward his people, was by them depoſed, and the ſame year by the juſt judgment of God burned. *Hiſtor. Cavienſ.*
Offa. 39 — *Offa* cauſing or conſenting to the death of good *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſtangles*, peaceably coming to marry his Daughter, for repentance cauſed the *Peter-pence* firſt to be given to *Rome*, and there did his penance.
Egfredus. 1
Kenulphus, ſlain. 20 or 16 — This *Kenelm* being of ſeven years of age, was wickedly ſlain, after he had reigned ſix months.
Kenelm murthred.
Ceolwulfus expelled. 1, or 3.
Bernulfus ſlain. 3
Ludecanus ſlain. 2 — This *Ludecane* after the ſecond year of his reign, was ſlain of *Egbert*, King of the *Weſtſaxons*, by whom the reſt of the *Saxons* were alſo ſubdued.
Some Chronicles here inſert *Athelfred*, *Wilaſtus*, or *Withlacus* beheaded. 12

This *Withlacus* in the beginning of his reign was vanquiſhed by *Egfrid* King of *Weſtſax*, to whom he became Tributary with his Succeſſors here following.

Berthulfe 12. *Celulfus* 1. } Some Writers ſay that theſe Kings
Buthredus 20. *Elfredus* 1. } were ſubdued by the *Danes*.

After this *Elfride* the Kingdom of the *Mercians* was tranſlated unto the *Weſtſaxons*, in the later time of King *Alfred*, or in the beginning of *Edwardus Senior*, and ſo was adjoyned to the *Weſt-Saxons*, beginning in the year 561. It endured for the ſpace of 250 years, till about the later end of *Aluredus*, by whom it was joined to the Kingdom of *Weſtſaxons*. This Kingdom ſtretched out to *Huntingdonſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſter*, *Worwick*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Cheſter*, *Derbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shrewſbury*, *Oxford*, *Buckingham*, *Dorceter*, *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, &c.

(561) *Eaſtſaxons.* — *The Kings of the* Eaſtſaxons, *with the years of their Reign.*

Erchewinus. 35
Sledda. 17
Sebertus, or *Sigebertus*. 14 — This *Sebertus*, Nephew to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, among theſe Kings was firſt Chriſtened by *Mellitus*, which made the Church of *Pauls*.
Sexredus and *Sewardus*, Brethren, ſlain. — *Sexred* and *Seward*, and *Sigebert* expelled *Mellitus*, the Biſhop, becauſe he would not miniſter to them the Sacramental Bread, they being not Baptized.
Sigebertus Parvus. 23 — This *Sigebertus Parvus* with his Brother *Sebertus* were ſlain of *Kinegilſus*, and *Swithelimus* his Brother,

The Kings of *Eastsaxons.*

Segebertus Bonus, or *Sibertus*, flain.		by the juſt judgement of God, for they revolted again from their faith, and expelled *Melitus* Biſhop of *London*.
		This *Segebertus Bonus*, or *Sibertus*, much reſorting to *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, by his perſwation was brought to Chriſtian Baptiſm, Baptiſed of *Finianus* Biſhop, to whom alſo was ſent *Ceolde* with other Miniſters to Preach and to Baptiſe in his Country. At laſt he was ſlain of his men about him, uſing too much to ſpare his enemies, and to forgive their injuries that repented. *Flor.*
Swithelmus.	14	
Sigherius, Son of *Segebertus Parvus.*		
Sebbi Son of *Seswardus*, which was made a Monk.		This *Sigherius* and *Sebbi* firſt fell to Idolatry, then through the means of *Wolferus* King of *Mercia* were reduced, and at laſt *Sebbi* became a Monk.
Sigehardus, and *Suefridus*, Brethren.	8	
Offa.	5	*Offa* after he had reigned a while became a Monk at *Rome.*
Sebredus, or *Colredus*, flain.	35	
Swithredus.		

This *Swithredus* was ſubdued unto *Egbert* King of *Weſtſaxons*, albeit *London* remained under the *Mercians* to the time that they alſo were ſubdued to the *Weſtſaxons*. This Kingdom began in the year 501, and ſo continued till the time of *Egbertus*. *Stow* Stories ſay it continued to the time of *Edward* Son of *Alured*us, about the coming of the *Danes*, and contined under it the Lordſhip of *Middleſex* and *London*. The Metropolitan See of this Province of *Eaſtſaxons* was *London*, where the famous Church of St. *Paul* was builded by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and *Sigebert* King of *Eſſex*, whom *Ethelbert* had lately before turned to Chriſts faith; whereof the firſt Biſhop was *Adulfus*, the ſecond Biſhop was *Ceddus*, the third came in by Simony, whoſe name was *Wine*. *Malmesbulle vitis Pont.* After him was *Erkeswaldus*, of whom writeth *Beda*, that he being diſeaſed in his legs that he could not go nor ride, yet would be carried about in a Litter to preach in his Dioceſs, *&c.* Although *William Malmesbury* writing of the Biſhops of *London* in his Book *De vitis Pont.* ſaith that *Mauritius*, firſt the Kings Chancellor, then Biſhop there, did firſt begin this ſo large and famous building of the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*; which work after him *Richard* his Succeſſor did proſecute, beſtowing all the rents of his Biſhoprick upon the ſame, and yet was ſcarcely ſeen. Yet herein may be anſwered peradventure, that the Church builded before by King *Ethelbert* and King *Sigebert*, might be overthrown by the *Danes*, and afterward was re-edified by theſe Biſhops above mentioned.

(501) *Eaſtangles.*

The Kings of Eaſtangles, *with the years of their Reign.*	
Uffa, or *Uffa.*	30
Titulus, or *Titila.*	13
Redwaldus.	12
Erpwaldus, or *Corpwaldus*, flain.	38
Sigebertus or *Sibreſt*, firſt a Monk, flain.	3
Egricus, or *Egricus*, flain.	3

The Kings of *Eaſtangles.*

Of this *Uffa* the people of *Northfolk* were then called *Uffkins.*

Redwaldus firſt was converted in *Kent*; afterward through the wicked perſwations of his Wife and others, he joined Idolatry with Chriſtianity.

Notwithſtanding his Son *Erpwaldus* through the means of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, was brought to the perfect faith of Chriſt, and therein faithfully did continue.

This *Sigebert* made himſelf a Monk, and afterward brought out to fight againſt *Penda* with a white ſtick in his hand, was ſlain in the field.

Anna, flain.	3	The Daughters of *Anna* were *Sexburga*, *Ethelburga*, and *St. Etheldreda.*
Adelbere, or *Adelredus*, ſlain.	2	
Adelwoldus, or *Ethelbaldus.*	9	This *Etheldreda* for her holineſs and godly vertues is counted for a Saint; ſhe innocently coming to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, to marry with *Alfbrid* his Daughter by the unjuſt ſuſpition of *Offa*, and wicked counſel of *Kineſwina* his Wife, was cruelly put to death in the houſe of *Offa.* For the which cauſe *Offa* afterward repenting went to *Rome*, where he made himſelf a Monk.
Adulphus.	25	
Elkwoldus.	12	
Beorna.	26	
Ethelredus, ſlain.	52	
Ethelbritus, ſlain.	5	

After this ſinful murther of *Ethelbert*, the Kingdom of *Eaſtangles*, during the time of certain years, was in great trouble and deſolation, under divers Kings and Tyrants; ſometimes the King of *Weſtſax*, ſometimes of *Kent*, or of *Mercia*, having dominion over them, till the coming of St. *Edmund*, which was the laſt King there ruling under the *Weſtſaxons.*

St. *Edmund*, Martyred. 16

After the death of St. *Edmund*, being ſlain of the Infidel *Danes*, the Kingdom remained with the *Danes* fifty years till at length *Edward* King of the *Weſtſaxons* expulſed the *Danes*, and joined it to his Kingdom. It began about the year of our Lord 501, and continued near about 377 years, *Fabian* numbreth but twelve Kings, but in others I find more.

The Metropolitan See of this Province of *Eaſtangles* was firſt at a Town called *Dunmoke*, or *Dunwich*, which in times paſt hath been a famous and populous Town, with a Mayor and four Bailiffs, and alſo divers Pariſh Churches and Hoſpitals, whereunto great Priviledges by divers Kings have been granted: which Town is now fallen into ruin and decay, and more than half conſumed by the eating in of the Sea, as alſo greatly impoveriſhed by loſs of the Haven, which heretofore hath flouriſhed with divers tall Ships belonging to the ſame, (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themſelves to repair it without the help of other good people); where the firſt Biſhop was *Felix*, a *Burgundian*, who ſat there fourteen years. After this, unto the time of *Egebert* King of *Weſtſax*, this Province was ever ruled by two Biſhops, whereof the one had his See at *Dunmoke*, now called *Dunwich*; the other at *Hemaham*, where twelve ſat one after another. From thence it was tranſlated to *Thetford*, where ſat three Biſhops. At laſt by Biſhop *Herbert* it was removed to *Norwich*, where he erected a Monaſtery of Monks.

This Province ſtandeth in the order and race of the *Saxon* Kings, reigning together with the *Britains* in this Realm. Now followeth the deſcription of the *Britain* Kings, reigning with the *Saxons* in like manner.

Although the miſerable *Britains* thus were bereaved of their land, by the cruel fidelity of the *Saxons*, yet were they not ſo driven out or expelled, but that a certain Kingdom remained among them in ſome part of the land, namely about *Cornwall*, and the parts of *Cambria*, which is divided in two parts, *Southwales* called *Demetie*, and *Northwales* called *Venedocia*. The ſaid *Britains* moreover through the valiant acts of their Kings, ſometimes reigned alſo in other Countries, diſplacing the *Saxons*, and recovering again their own, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, till the time of *Cadwallader*, when as the *Britains* being depoſed by *Germanudas* (whoſe help they themſelves ſent for out of *Ireland* againſt *Cadwallader* their wicked King) utterly loſt their Land and Kingdom; being thence driven utterly into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, in the year of our Lord 570. What the order of theſe Kings was, what were their acts, their names and times when they reigned, in this brief Table under written is expreſſed. Wherein firſt is to be premonſhed that *Conſtantinus ſecundus* had three Children, to wit, *Conſtans*, which was made a Monk in *Winchester*, and after made a King; the ſecond was *Aurelius Ambroſius*; *Uther* the third was *Uter Pendragon*. This being premiſed, we will now enter the deſcription of our Table, beginning with *Vortiger*.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britain *which reigned together with the* Saxons, *after their coming into their land.*

Kings of *Britain* which here reigned in the time of the *Saxons.*	*Vortiger.* *Vortimer.* *Vortiger* again. *Aurelius Ambroſius.* *Uter Pendragon.* *Arthur.*	*Conſtantinus* 3. *Aurelius.* *Conanus.* *Vorigerius.* *Malgo.* *Careticus.*

Here is to be underſtood that theſe *Britain* Kings above mentioned did not ſo reign here in this land, from the time of *Vortiger*, that they had the full Government over all the whole Realm, but only over parcels or parts, ſuch as by force of Arms they could either hold or win from the *Saxons*; which coming in daily, and growing upon them, did ſo enfeeble the land with multitudes of them, that the *Britains* at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they loſt; leaving example to all Ages and Countries, what it is firſt to let in foreign Nations into their Dominion, but eſpecially what it is for Princes to joyn in Marriage with Infidels, as this *Vortiger* did with *Hengiſts* daughter, which was the mother of all this miſchief; giving to the *Saxons* not only ſtrength, but alſo occaſion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this unconſidered before of the *Britain* Lords and Nobility, who worthily being therewith offended, juſtly depoſed their King, and Enthroned *Vortimer* his Son in his room. By the which *Vortimer* being a puiſſant Prince, the *Saxons* were then repulſed, and driven again into *Germany*, where they ſtayed a while till the death of *Vortimer*, whom *Rowen* daughter of *Hengiſt* cauſed traiterouſly to be poyſoned. Then *Vortiger* being reſtored again to his Kingdom, through the entreaty of *Rowen* his wife, ſent into *Germany* again for *Hengiſt*, who effoons making his return, came in with a Navy of 300 Ships well appointed. The Nobles of *Britain* hearing this, prepared themſelves on the contrary ſide in all forceable wiſe to put them off. But *Hengiſt* through *Rowen* his daughter ſo laboured the King, excuſing himſelf, and ſaying that he brought not the multitude to work any violence either againſt him or againſt his Country, but only thinking that *Vortimer* had yet been alive, whom he minded to impugn for the Kings ſake, and to take his part. And now forſomuch as he heareth of the death of *Vortimer* his enemy, he therefore commiteth both himſelf and his people to his diſpoſition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remain within his land; the reſt ſhould return. And if it ſo pleaſed the King to appoint day and place where they might meet and talk together of the matter, both he and his would ſtand to ſuch order as the King with his Council ſhould appoint. With theſe fair words the King and his Nobles well contented, did aſſign to them both day and place, which was in the Town of *Ambry*, where he meant to talk with them; adding this condition withal, that each part ſhould come without any manner of weapon. *Hengiſt* ſhewing himſelf well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence of his ſide, that each man ſhould carry with him ſecretly in his Hoſe a long Knife, with their watch-word alſo given unto them when they ſhould draw their Knives, wherewith every *Saxon* ſhould (and ſo did) kill the *Britain* with whom he talked, as is above declared. The *Britains* Lords being ſlain, the *Saxons* took *Vortiger* the King and bound him; for whoſe ranſome they required to be delivered to them the Cities of *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Winchester*, with other the moſt ſtrongeſt holds within the land; which being to them granted, they begin to make ſpoil and havock of the *Britain* Nation, deſtroying the Citizens, plucking down Churches, killing up the Prieſts, burning the Books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work, which was about the year of our Lord 462. The King ſeeing this miſerable ſlaughter of the people fled into *Wales*.

This while *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and *Uter Pendragon*, Brethren to King *Conſtans* above mentioned, whom *Vortiger* wickedly cauſed to be killed, were in little *Britain*. To whom the *Britains* ſent word deſiring their aid in

Example what it is to let in ſtrange Nations.

Marriage with Infidels what deſolation it worketh.

The ſecond return of *Hengiſt* into *Britain.*

The differing words of the Saxons to deceive the *Britains.*

Note your feats, the watchword. All the Nobility of the *Britains* deſtroyed in one day.

The King reinforced. The *Saxons* more poſſeſſion of the land. The Chriſtians *Britains* perſecuted of the Infidel *Saxons.*

Anno 462.

helping their Country. *Aurelius* underſtanding the woful ſtate of the Realm, ſpeedeth him over to ſatisfie their deſire, and to reſcue (what in him was) their neceſſity. Who at his firſt coming eſtſoons being Crowned for their King, ſeeketh out wicked *Vortiger*, the cauſe of all this trouble and murther of King *Conſtans* his Brother. And finding him in *Wales* in a ſtrong Tower, wherein he had immured himſelf, ſetteth him and his Caſtle on fire. That done he moved his power againſt the *Saxons*, with whom and with *Elle* Captain of the *Southſaxons* (who then was newly come over) he had divers Conflicts.

Aurelius Ambroſius returneth into *Britain.*

Aurelius Crowned King of *Britain.*

Vortiger burned in his Tower.

Our *Engliſh* old Chronicles make record that *Horſus* the Brother of *Hengiſt* was ſlain before in the time of *Vortimer*. The ſame alſo do record that this *Hengiſt* was taken priſoner in the field, fighting againſt *Aurelius Ambroſius*; who then conſulting with his Nobles and Barons what was to be done with him, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, called *Eldadus*, ſtanding up, gave this counſel, ſaying, That if all men would deliver him, yet he with his own hands would cut him in pieces; alledging the example of *Samuel* againſt *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, taken by King *Saul* in the field, whom the ſaid *Samuel* cauſed to be cut in pieces. Even ſo (ſaith he) do you to this *Agag* here; that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, ſo his mother may be made this day of him likewiſe. And ſo was *Hengiſt* taken out of their City by *Eldad* Conſul or Mayor of *Glouceſter*, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to theſe our old *Britain* Stories, whereof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may ſuſpect the truth thereof, which was about the year of our Lord 480. *Henr. Hunting. Galf. cum aliis.*

Horſus ſlain by *Hengiſt* in the field.

Hengiſt beheaded. Anno 490. *Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſis, Galfrido, & Chronico quodam Canuſio.*

A certain ancient written Hiſtory I have in *Latin*, compiled in the fourteenth year of King *Richard* the Second, and by him cauſed to be written as the Title declareth; which becauſe it beareth no name of the Author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this Book, with many other likewiſe without name, *Hiſtoria Cariana*. This Hiſtory recordeth that *Hengiſt* died in *Kent* the two and thirtieth year of his reign; which if it be true, then is it falſe that he was taken at *Cuninburgh*, and ſlain in the North. This *Aurelius Ambroſius* before mentioned, is thought of *Polydorus Virgilius*, citing the authority of *Beda*, to deſcend of the ſtock of the *Romans*; which as it is not unpoſſible to be true, ſo this is certain by the full accord of all our old written Stories, that both the ſaid *Aurelius* and his Brother *Uter Pendragon*, being the Sons of *Conſtantinus*, Brother to *Ambrosius* King of little *Britain*, were nurſed and brought up in *England* in their tender age, and inſtructed by *Guitelinus* Archbiſhop of *London*, and after the murther of *Conſtans* their Elder Brother were conveyed from hence to little *Britain*; whereby it is manifeſt that they were born in this land; and though their Father were a *Roman*, as *Polidorus* pretendeth, yet like it is that they were *Britains* born, and had a *Britain* to their Mother.

The uncertainty of our old *Britain* Stories.

Ex Hiſtoria Cariana.

Aurelius Ambroſius King.

After the death of *Aurelius*, who (as the Story ſaith) was poyſoned by the crafty means of *Paſcentius* Son of *Vortigere* (ſubduing one under the weed of a Monk to play the Phyſician, and ſo to poyſon him); next ſucceeded his Brother *Uter*, Sirnamed *Pendragon*, about the year of our Lord 497, who fighting againſt *Octa* and *Coſa*, took them and brought them to *London* there to be kept; but they breaking out of priſon returned into *Germany* for more aid. In this mean time daily recourſe was of *Saxons*, with great Companies coming out of *Saxony*, with whom the *Britains* had divers and ſundry conflicts, ſometimes winning, ſometimes loſing. Not long after *Octa* and *Coſa* renewing their power in *Germany*, in all moſt ſpeedy haſt did return again and joyn with the other *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*. Here began the ſtate of miſerable *Britain* more and more to decay, while the Idolatrous *Saxons* prevailed in number and ſtrength againſt the Chriſtian *Britains*; oppreſſing the people, throwing down Churches then and Monaſteries, murthering the Prelates, ſparing neither age nor perſon, but waſting Chriſtianity almoſt through the whole Realm. To theſe miſeries it fell moreover, that *Uter* their King was ſick and could not come out; notwithſtanding being grieved with the lamentable deſtruction of his people, he cauſed his Bed to

Uter Pendragon Britains King.

Remember the words of *Gildas*, 533. *Hiſt. Cantz.*

The Chriſtians *Britains* perſecuted by the Heathen *Saxons.*

be brought into the Camp, where God gave him Victory. *Offa* and *Cofa* there being slain. After this Victory in short space *Uter* died of poyson (as is said) put into a fountain, whereof the King was wont to drink, about the year of our Lord 516. *Flor. Hist.* {Ann. 516.}

About which time and year came in *Stuph* and *Wigarius* two Nephews of *Certhice* King of *Westsaxons*, with their companies, so violently upon the *Britains*, that they of the Welt part of the Realm were not able to relist them. Then the merciful providence of Almighty God raised up for them King *Arthur*, the son of *Uter*, who was then Crowned after him, and victoriously reigned. To this *Arthur* the old *Britain* Histories do ascribe twelve great Victories against the Heathen *Saxons*; whole notorious and famous Conquests mentioned in the *Britain* Stories, I leave as I find them, referring them to the credit of their Authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I do not think contrary, but God by the foresaid *Arthur* gave to the *Britains* some stay and quietness during his life, and certain of his successors; so touching certain of his great Victories and Conquests, not only over this Land, but also over all *Europe*, I judge them more fabulous, than that any credit should be given unto them; and more worthy to be joyned with the *Iliads* of *Homer*, than to have place in any Ecclesiastical History. After *Arthur* next King of the *Britains* was *Constantinus* the third. After him *Aurelius Conanus*. Then *Vortiporius*; after whom followed *Malgo*, noted in stories to be a *Sodomite*. And after him the last King of the *Britains* was *Careceius*, all given to Civil War, execrable to God and Man. Who being chased out by the *Britains* themselves, the Land fell to possession of the *Saxons*, about the year of our Lord 568, by whom all the Clergy and the Christian Ministers of the *Britains* were then utterly driven out: insomuch that *Thomus* Archbishop of *London*, and *Thadesseus* Archbishop of *York*, seeing their Churches all wasted, and Parishes disperled with their carriages and monuments, left their Seas in *Britain*, and fled into *Cambria*, which we now call *Wales*. Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruine of the *Britains* Kingdom, the first fountain and origine thereof partly before is declared; where was shewed in the time of *Constantinus Magnus* and *Maximian*, how these Noble Princes with other more, atchieving their venturous affairs in other Countries, took with them great Multitudes and Armies out of *Britain*; through the occasion whereof the Land was greatly impaired and deprived of the most chief and principal Nobles, being carried away to serve in Foreign Wars (which was no small cause, why the Realm of *Britain* being so wasted) was the lels able to help it self against their enemies. Although this was not the chief occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his just judgment suffered this plague and overthrow to fall upon that people; as here out of an old Author, and partly out of *Gildas* I have found it, so I thought to annex it in his own words, first in *Latine*, then afterward *Englished* the same for the more credit of that which shall be alledged, in tenor as followeth:

King Arthur

Constantinus the third, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, Malgo, Careceius Kings of Britain.

The Archbishop of London and the Archbishop of York, fly into Wales.

Ex Historia gentium Britannicarum.

Nobiliores totius Regni præditos Duces sequuti fuerunt, & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cæpissent, extulerunt se ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam divitiarum superbi caperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, ut Gildas historicus testatur, non solum hoc vitium, sed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere solent, & præcipue quod totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate, exceptatio Sathanæ pro Angelo lucis: ungebantur reges, non propter dominum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores essent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniæ subversorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solum hæ seculares viri, sed & ipse grex Domini, ejusque pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam præditio modo maculabant.

The cause of the destruction of the Britains declared.

In *English* thus:

The Nobles of this Realm, following the Princes and Captains above named; by reason thereof the vulgar and rascal sort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the rooms and places of the Nobles, they advanced themselves above that their dignity required. And through their abundance of riches, they surprised with pride, began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as Gildas *the Hiſtoriographer witnesseth, not into vice only, but also into all manner of wickedneſs, whereto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the overthrow of all good effects, the hatred of the truth, love of lies, imbracing of evil inſtead of goodneſs, regarding of miſchief inſtead of vertue, receiving of the Devil inſtead of an Angel of light. They anointed Kings, not ſuch as could well rule a Commonwealth, but thoſe which exceeded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceived to be ſomewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favour the truth than the reſidue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and deſtroyer of Britain. All things whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed Gods they regarded alike. And not ſeculer men only did thus, but alſo the Congregation of the Lord and their Biſhops and Teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled that ſuch people ſo degenerating and going out of kind ſhould loſe that Country, which they had after this manner defiled.*

In English thus: The English Hist.

And thus much hitherto concerning the Hiſtory of the *Britains*, till (by the grace of Chriſt) the order of time ſhall bring usthereafter to the Treatiſe of *Cedwalla* and *Colwalladrus*. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the *Saxons*, to diſcourſe particularly, that which before in the Table above we have ſummarily comprehended.

In this order and race of the *Saxon* Kings above ſpecified, which had thus chaſed out the *Britains*, and now divided their Land in ſeven Kingdoms; as there were many naughty and wicked Kings (whoſe pernicious examples, being all ſet on War and bloodſhed, are greatly to be deteſted and eſchewed of all true godly Princes) ſo ſome there were again (although but few) very fincere and good. But none almoſt from the firſt to the laſt, which was not either ſlain in war, or murthered in peace, or elſe conſtrained to make himſelf a Monk. Such was the rage then, and the tyranny of that time. Whether we ſhould impute it to the corruption of Mans Nature, or to the juſt judgment of Gods hand, ſo diſpoſing the matter, that as they had violently and falſly diſpoſſeſſed the *Britains* of their right; ſo they moſt miſerably were not only vexed of the *Danes*, and conquered at laſt by the *Normans*; but alſo more cruelly devoured themſelves, one warring ſtill againſt another, till they were never able to help themſelves, nor yet to reſiſt others. Of them which are noted for good among theſe *Saxon* Kings, the firſt and principal is *Ethelbertus*, or *Ethelbricſt* the firſt King in *Kent* above ſpecified: who by the means of *Auſtin*, and partly through his Wife named *Berda*, firſt received and preferred the Chriſtian Faith in all this Land of the *Engliſh Saxons*; whereof more followeth hereafter to be ſaid (the Lord ſo permitting) as place and opportunity ſhall require. The next place I give to *Oſwaldus* of *Northumberland*, who not only did his endeavour in furthering the faith of Chriſt amongſt his People; but alſo being King, diſdained not himſelf to ſtand up, and interpret to his Nobles and Subjects the preaching of *Aidanus*, preaching Chriſt to them in his *Scotiſh* language. In the ſame commendation alſo like as in the ſame line, cometh his Uncle *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, a good Prince, and the firſt receiver of Chriſts faith in that Land, by the means of his Wife, and *Paulinus* Biſhop. Add to theſe alſo *Sigebert*, firſt chriſtened King of the *Eaſtangles*, and *Sebert*, firſt chriſtened King of *Eſſex*: of whom the one was a great furtherer of Religion, and ſetter up of Schools; the other, which is *Sebert* or *Serbricht*, was Nephew to *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, under whom he ruled in *Eſſex*. By the which *Ethelbert*, in the time of the ſaid *Sebert*, the Church of *Pauls* was builded at *London*, and Chriſtian Faith much enlarged, &c. Of the ſame name there was alſo another *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſtangles*, a good Prince; who by the advice of his Council perſwaded to marriage (though againſt his will) went

went peaceably to King *Offa* for diſpouſage of *Athilrid* his Daughter; where the good King meaning innocently, through the ſiniſter and deviliſh counſel of King *Offa*'s Wife, was ſecretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon *Offa*, through repentance thereof, made the firſt *Peter-pence* to be given to S. *Peters* Church in *Rome*.

Peter-pence how they firſt came to be paid to Rome.

In the Catalogue of theſe good Kings is alſo to be numbred *Kenelmus* King of the *Mercians*, and *Edmundus* King of the *Eaſtangles*; of the which two, the firſt was falſly and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the means of his cruel Siſter and his Tutor, as he was in his hunting at *Corfecaſtle*. The other which is called King *Edmund* the Martyr, was ſlain at *Bury*, or (as ſome write) at the Caſtle of *Halefdom* by the *Danes*: upon what occaſion, Hiſtories do vary. The Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* ſaith, it was by reaſon of one *Lothbroke* a *Dane*, who being of the Kings bloud, and being with his Hawk on the Sea ſide in a little Boat, was driven by the force of the Weather into the Coaſt of *Northfolk*, where he being preſented to King *Edmund*, was retained in the Court with great favour; till at length one *Berick* the Kings Falconer, envying and deſpighting him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murther him in a Wood. This being at laſt eſpied, as Murther lightly will come out, *Berick* was ſet in *Lothbroke*'s Boat alone, without all tackling, to be committed unto the Sea; and, as it chanced, was driven into *Denmark*, who there being ſeen in *Lothbroke*'s Boat, was finckly examined of the party. He then to excuſe himſelf, falſly ſaid he was ſlain by the commandment of the King. Upon the occaſion whereof, *Ingvar* and *Hubba*, ſons to the ſaid *Lothbroke*, gathering an Army of *Danes*, invaded firſt *Northumberland*, after that burſting into *Northfolk* on every ſide, ſent this Meſſage to King *Edmund* after this tenor: *Signifying that* King Ingvar *the victorious Prince* [dread both by Sea and Land] *as he had ſubjected divers other Lands under him, ſo arriving now to the Coaſts of* Northfolk, *where he intendeth to Winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treaſuries, and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule under him; which if he would not do, but would contemn his power ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with ſuch an Army, he ſhould be judged as unworthy both of Kingdom and Life, &c.* The King hearing this Meſſage, not a little aſtoniſhed hereat, calling his Council about him, conſulted with them, eſpecially with one of his Biſhops being then his Secretary, what was beſt to be done; who fearing the Kings life, exhorteth him by words and divers examples to agree to the Meſſage. At this the King a while holding his peace, at length thereto made anſwer again in theſe words, ſaying, *God* (ſaith he) *ſell your Lord, and let him know that* Edmundus *the Chriſtened King, for the love of this temporal life, will not ſubject himſelf to a Pagan Duke, unleſs before he become a Chriſtian, &c.* The Meſſenger taking his Anſwer was not ſo ſoon out of the Gates, as *Ingvar* meeting him and bidding him to be ſhort in declaring his anſwer, cauſed all the Kings Garriſon to be ſet round about. Some ſay, that the King flying to *Theford* three pitcht a Field with the *Danes*; but the *Danes* prevailing, the good King from thence did fly to the Caſtle of *Halefdom* above mentioned; where he being purſued of the *Danes*, was there taken, and at length being bound to a ſtake, there, of the raging *Danes* was ſhot to death. And thus much for the good Kings.

Kenelmus King of the *Mercians*. *St. Edmund* King of the *Eaſtangles*.

The meſſage of Ingvar to King Edmund.

Now as concerning thoſe Kings which made themſelves Monks, which in number be ſeven or eight, although the example be rare and ſtrange, and much commended of the Chroniclers of that time; yet I cannot raſhly aſſent to their commendation, albeit the cafe thereof is no matter of our Hiſtory. Firſt, in altering their eſtate from Kings to Monks, if they did it to find more eaſe, and leſs trouble thereby, I ſee not how that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to change his publick vocation for reſpect of private commodity. If fear of jeopardy and danger did drive them thereunto, what praiſe or commendation deſerve they in ſo doing? let the Monkiſh Hiſtories judge what they liſt. Me ſeemeth ſo much praiſe as they deſerve in providing their own ſafety, ſo much they deſerve again to be diſcommended in forſaking the Commonwealth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holineſs ſake, thinking in that kind of life to ſerve and pleaſe God better, or to merit more toward their ſalvation than in the eſtate of a King, therein they were far deceived; not knowing that the ſalvation which cometh of God, is to be meaſured and eſteemed, not by Mans merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one than another, but only by the free grace of the Goſpel, which freely juſtifieth all them that faithfully believe in Chriſt Jeſus. But here will be ſaid again; peradventure, in the ſolitary life of Monkery be fewer occaſions of evils than in Kings Courts, wherefore that life ſeverth more to holineſs, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this I anſwer, To avoid the occaſions of evil is good where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſt; but otherwiſe, where duty and charge bindeth to tarry; there to avoid the occaſions of evil, where rather they are to be reſiſted, rather declareth a weakneſs of the Man than deſerveth any praiſe. As is it truly ſaid of *Truly*, *Out of* Aſia (ſaith he) *to live a good life is no Godamer-ey*; but in Aſia, *where ſo great occaſions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praiſe worthy.* With the like reaſon I may infer, if a Man be called to be a King, there not to change the vocation for avoiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keep his vocation, declareth a good and perfect Man. But of theſe by-matters hitherto ſufficient.

Anſwer. Where vocation ſtandeth, evil is a good mans part. *Occaſions of evil.*

Theſe things now thus premiſed, concerning the order and reign of Kings, as is above prefixed; conſequently remaineth to enter the tractation of ſuch things, as in the time and reign of the aforeſaid Kings happened in the Church; firſt putting the Reader again in mind of the former Perſecutions within the Realm, partly before touched in the time of the *Britain* Kings, which eſpecially were three or four before the coming of *Auſtin* into *England*. Four Perſecutions in Britain before the coming of *Auſtin* into England.

1. The firſt was under *Dioceſian*, and that not only in *England*, but generally throughout all the *Roman* Monarchy, as is above ſpecified. In this Perſecution *Alphabanus*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, with a great number more of other good Chriſtian *Britains* were Martyred for Chriſts Name. This Perſecution of *Dioceſian* began the year of our Lord 280.

2. The ſecond Perſecution or deſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, was by the invading of *Gnavius* and *Melga*, whereof the firſt was Captain of the *Huns*, the other of the *Picts*. Theſe two Tyrants, after the cruel daughter of *Urſula*, and other 11000 noble Virgins made their Rode into *Britain*, hearing the fame to be deſtitute of the ſtrength of Men. At what time they made miſerable murther of Chriſts Saints, ſpoiling and waſting Churches, without mercy either of Women or Children, ſparing none. The Perſecution of *Gnavius* and *Melga*.

3. The third Perſecution came by *Hengiſt*, and the *Saxons*; who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the Chriſtian Congregations within the Land, like raging Wolves flying upon the Sheep, and ſpilling the blood of Chriſtians, till *Aurelius Ambroſius* came, and reſtored again the Churches deſtroyed. The Perſecution of *Hengiſt* in Britain.

4. The fourth deſtruction of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion was by *Gurmundus* a Pagan King of the *Africans*; who joyning in League with the *Saxons*, wrought much grieveſs to the Chriſtians of the Land. Inſomuch that *Theonus* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thadioceus* Biſhop of *York*, with the reſt of the People, ſo many as were left, having no place wherein to remain with ſafety, did fly ſome to *Cornwall*, and ſome to the Mountains of *Wales* about the year of our Lord 550. And this Perſecution remained to the time of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, in the year five hundred eighty nine. The fourth deſtruction of Chriſtian Faith in Britain by *Gurmundus Africanus*, in the year 585. This *Gurmundus*, as ſome ſtories record, was King of *Africa*.

In the Reign of this *Ethelbert*, which was then the fifth King of *Kent*, the Faith of Chriſt was firſt received of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh* Men, by the means of *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Rome*, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old Hiſtories collected and recorded. Ethelbert poſſeſſeth Kingdom at home to his brother, ſaid he would ſucceed his Kingdom of Chriſt.

Firſt then to joyn the order of our Hiſtory together; the Chriſtian Faith firſt received of King *Lucius*, indured in *Britain* till this time, near upon the ſeaſon of 400 years and odd, when by *Gurmundus Africanus*, (as is ſaid) the ſtabling with the *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*, it was near extinct in all the Land, during the ſpace of about forty four years. So that the firſt ſpringing of Chriſts Goſpel in this Land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the *Saxons* was in the year of 449, or 450. The coming of *Auſtin* was in the year 596. From the firſt entring in of the *Saxons* to their compleat Conqueſt, and the driving out of the *Britains* (which was about Years before the coming of *Auſtin*. The compaſſation of the time between the coming of Chriſt in the Goſpel to the coming of *Auſtin* into England. The continuance and decay of Chriſts Goſpel between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*

about the later time of *Cadwalader*) were two hundred and forty years. In sum, from Christ to *Lucius* were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the Gospel from *Lucius* to the entring of the *Saxons*, was three hundred and two years. The decay of the same to the entring of *Austin*, was one hundred forty three years, which being added together make from *Lucius* to *Austin* four hundred forty five years; from Christ to *Austin* they make five hundred ninety eight years. In this year then

Anno 598. followed ninety eight, *Austin* being sent from *Gregory*, came into *England*; the occasion whereupon *Gregory* sent him hither was this:

Beda. Polychron. lib. 12. ca. 8. Malmesburiensis de regib. Henr. Hunt. lib. 5. Fabian. p. 5. cap. 119. Libri historiales Turn.

In the days of *Pelagius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Gregory* chancing to see certain Children in the Marker-place of *Rome* (brought thither to be sold out of *England*) being fair and beautiful of visage, demanded out of what Country they were? And understanding they were heathenish out of *England*, lamented the case of the Land, being so beautiful and Angelical, so to be subject under the Prince of darkness. And asking moreover out of what Province they were? It was answered out of *Deira* a part of *Northsaxons*; whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call *Deirham* taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of *Deira*, *These people* (saith he) *are to be delivered* De Dei ira, which is, *From Gods Wrath*. Moreover understanding the Kings name of that Province to be *Alle* (above mentioned) alluding likewise to his name, *There* (saith he) *ought* Alleluja *to be sung to the living God*. Whereupon he being moved, and desirous to go and help the Conversion of that Country, was not permitted of *Pelagius* and the *Romans* for that time to accomplish his desire. But afterward, being Bishop himself next after *Pelagius*, he sent thither the foresaid *Austin* with other Preachers near about to the number of forty. But by the way, how it happened I cannot say, as *Austin* with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entred into their hearts that (as *Antoninus* saith) they returned all. Others write that *Austin* was sent back to *Gregory* again, to release them of that Voyage so dangerous and uncertain, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then *Gregory*, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with Letters both to the Bishop of *Arelatensis*, willing him to help and aid the said *Austin* and his company, in all whatsoever his need required. Also other Letters he directed to the foresaid *Austin*, and to his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lords work, as by the tenor of the said Epistle here following may appear.

Dinham in Northumberland.

Episcopus Arelatensis.

Ex Hist. Hunin. l. 5.

GRegorius Servus Servorum Dei, servis Domini nostri. *Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab iis quæ capta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, &c.*

In *English*:

The Epistle of *Gregory* to them which went to preach in *England*.

GRegory *the servant of Gods servants, to the servants of the Lord. Forsomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun to think to revolt back from the same again, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dear Children) but with all fervent study and labour must needs go forward in that good business, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appall you, but that with all instance and fervency ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand; knowing that your great travel shall be recompenced with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here* Austin *to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your Governour, so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable so for your souls, whatsoever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal Country the fruit of your labour; that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keep you safe, most dear and welbeloved Children. Dated the Tenth before the Kalends of Au-*

gust, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Mauricius *most vertuous Emperor, the fourteenth of his Empire.*

The Bishop of Rome cal-leth them to-gether his Lord.

Thus they emboldned and comforted through the good words of *Gregory*, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the Isle of *Thenet*, lying upon the East side of *Kent*. Near to the which landing place was then the Manory or Palace of the King, not far from *Sandwich* (Eastward from *Canterbury*) which the Inhabitants of the Ile then called *Richborough*, whereof some part of the ruinous Walls is yet to be seen. The King then Reigning in *Kent*, was *Ethelbert*, as above appeareth, the fifth King of that Province, who at that time had married a Wife a *French* Woman, being christened, named *Berda*, whom he had received of her Parents upon this condition, that he should permit her with her Bishop committed unto her, called *Lebardus*, to enjoy the freedom of her Faith and Religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and Doctrine of Christ. Thus *Austin* being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the King, signifying that such a one was come from *Rome*, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation eternally to Reign in Heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if he would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

Austin and his company cometh to England.

Ethelbert King of Kent.

Berda.

What goodness cometh to have a good and godly Wife.

The King who had heard of this Religion before by means of his Wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where *Austin* was, to speak with him; but that should be without the House, after the manner of his Law. *Austin* against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a Banner of the Crucifix (such was then the grosness of that time) and preached to him the Word of God. The King answering again, saith in effect as followeth, *The words are very fair that you preach and promise; nevertheless because it is to me uncouth and new, I cannot soon start away from my Country Law wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding for that ye are come (as ye say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well intreated, hearing all things to you munificent necessary for your sup-portation. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our People and Subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your Religion.*

The King answereth to *Austin.*

The King saith upon oth *Ethen.*

When they had received this comfort of the King, they went with Procession to the City of *Dorobernia*, or *Canterbury*, singing *Alleluja* with the Letany, which then by *Gregory* had been ued at *Rome* in the time of the great Plague reigning then at *Rome* mentioned in old stories. The words of the Letany were these, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a civitate ista, & de domo sancta tua quoniam peccavimus, Alleluja*; that is, *We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may cease from this City, and from thy holy House, for we have sinned, Alleluja*. Thus they entring into the City of *Dorobernia*, the head City of all that Dominion at that time, where the King had given them a Mansion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptising such as they had converted in the East side of the City in the old Church of Saint *Martin* (where the Queen was wont to resort) unto the time that the King was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the King had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the Miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he, heard them more gladly; and lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified five hundred eighty six, and the thirty sixth year of his Reign. After the King was thus converted, innumerable other daily came in and were adjoyned to the Church of Christ; whom the King did specially embrace, but compelled none; for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gave to *Austin* a place for the Bishops See at Christs Church in *Dorobernia*, and builded the Abby of S. *Peter* and *Paul* in the East side of the said City, where after *Austin* and all the Kings of *Kent* were buried, and that place is now called St. *Austin*.

The Letany of Austin.

Miracles wrought by God before the conversion of the Kentish Land.

Austins Archbishop.

In

In this while *Austin* sailed into *France* unto the Bishop *Arelatensis*, called *Etherius*, by him to be consecrated Archbishop by the commandment of *Gregory*, and so was. Also the said *Austin* sent to *Rome Laurentius* one of his company, to declare to *Gregory* how they had sped, and what they had done in *England*; sending withal to have the counsel and advice of *Gregory* concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his Questions or Interrogations, with the Answers of *Gregory* to the same, here follow in *English* briefly translated.

Ex decret Gregorii prim. lib. 7. consilium. 2.

The Questions of *Austin* an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent to *Gregory*, with the Answer again of *Gregory* to the same.

The first Interrogation.

The first interrogation.

MY *first Question (reverend Father) is concerning Bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their Clerks; or of such Oblations, as the faithful offer upon the Altar, what portions or dividents ought to be made thereof?*

The Answer

The Answer.

How a Bishop ought to behave himself in the Congregation, the holy Scripture testifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, especially in the Epistles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, wherein he laboureth to inform the said *Timothy* how to behave his conversation in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the See Apostolick to warn and charge all such as be ordained Bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given to make four partitions. One to the Bishop for Hospitality and receiving comers in; another to the Clergy; the third to the Poor; the fourth to the repairing of Churches. But because your brotherhood instructed with rules of Monastical Discipline, cannot live separated from your Clerks about you, therefore in the *English* Church (which now through the Providence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe this Institution concerning your Conversation, which was in the first Fathers in the beginning of the Primitive Church; among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to be his own proper of all that he did possess: but all was common among them.

Dilabitation of the Church Goods.

The 2d. Interrogation.

The second Interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed, whether Clerks, that cannot contain, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the Secular State again or no?

The Answer

The Answer.

If there be any Clerks out of Holy Orders, which cannot contain, let them have their Wives, and take their stipends or wages without. For we read it so written of the forefaid Fathers, that they divided to every person according as their work was. Therefore as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under Ecclesiastical Discipline, to live a godly Conversation, to employ themselves in singing Psalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart and body (by the grace of God) from all things unseemly and unlawful. As for the vulgar and common sort which live after the common condition of men, to describe what partitions to make, what Hospitality to keep, or what works of Mercy to exhibite, to such I have nothing to say, but to give (as our Master teacheth) in all our deeds of mercy of that which aboundeth: *Of that* (saith he) *which aboundeth or is overplus, give Alms, and behold all things be clean unto you.*

The gloss upon the 12. q. 1. Paragraph. Quidam that rith now holdeth not and alledgeth the Rasre de elect. coming ex Jur. Can. Whereby now lose the Popes Decrees be expugned to themselves.

Luke 11.

The third Interrogation.

The 3d. Interrogation

Seeing there is but one Faith, how happeneth it then the Ceremonies and Customs of Churches to be so diverse: as in the Church of Rome *there is one custom and manner of Mass, and the* French *Church hath another?*

The answer

The Answer.

The Custom of the Church of *Rome*, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the Church of *Rome*, or any *French* Church, where ye find any thing that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the *English* Church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and pickedst things chosen out of many Churches: for things are not to be loved for the place sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good; wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of *English* men.

Note a worthy saying of Gregory.

The fourth Interrogation.

The 4th. Interrogation

I pray you, what punishment judge you for him that shall steal or pilfer any thing out of the Church?

The Answer

The Answer.

This your brotherhood may soon discern by the person of a Thief, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, that having sufficient to live upon, yet do steal. Others there be which steal of meer necessity. Wherefore considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is, that some be corrected by loss of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easie; yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with Charity, and with no fury; for in punishing offenders, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perish in Hell fire. And so ought Discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good Fathers in punishing their Children, whom both they chasten for their evil, and yet being chastened, they look to have them their Heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this Charity must be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never do any thing without the rule of reason. Ye add moreover, with what recompence of measure things ought to be required again, which be stollen out of Churches? But God forbid that the Church should ever require again, with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seek her gain by endamaging others.

The fifth Interrogation.

The 5th. Interrogation

Item, *Whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?*

The answer

The Answer.

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The sixth Interrogation.

The 6th. Interrogation

Item, *To what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred, or whether it is lawful to marry with the Stepmother and her kinsfolks?*

The answer

The Answer.

A certain terrene law amongst the old *Romans* doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the son and daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by the experience we learn, that the issue of such Marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Also the holy Law of God forbiddeth to reveal the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore necessary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the second (being an unlawful) they must needs refrain. To be coupled with the stepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in

To what degree of kindred a man may marry.

the

the law: *Thou shalt not reveal the turpitude of thy father.* For so much then as it is so written in the law: *And they shall be two in one flesh*; the son then that presumeth to reveal the turpitude of his Step-mother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but reveal the turpitude of his own father? Likewise it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinswoman, which by her first Marriage was made one flesh with thy brother; for the which cause *John* the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet for so much, as Christ saith, *I am the truth*: therefore in that *John* Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ.

By this rule the Marriage of King Henry with Queen Katharine Dowager was unlawful.

The seventh Interrogation.

The 7th. Interrogation.

Item, *Whether such as so be coupled together in filthy and unlawful Matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy Communion?*

The Answer.

The Answer

Because there be many of the Nation of *Englishmen*, which being yet in their infidelity, were so joyned and coupled in such execrable Marriage; the same coming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstain from the like, and that they know the same to be a grievous sin: that they dread the dreadful judgment of God, left for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal punishment. And yet notwithstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christs body and blood: left we should seem to revenge those things in them, which they before their Baptism through ignorance did commit. For in this time the Holy Church doth correct some faults more fervently, some faults she fusfereth again through mansuetude and meekness; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble; that many times the evil, which she doth detest through bearing and dissembling the may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this case is tolerable: so in them again it is strongly to be inforced, which knowing they do nought, yet fear not to commit.

A differet saying of Gregory to be noted.

The eighth Interrogation.

The 8th. Interrogation.

Item, *To this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deal or do with the Bishops* of France, *and of* Britain?

The Answer.

The Answer

As touching the Bishops in *France*, I give you no authority or power over them. For the Bishops of *Arelas*, or *Orleance* hath by the old time of our Predecessors received the Pall, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore when your brotherhood shall go unto the Province of *France*, whatsoever ye shall have there to do with the Bishop of *Orleance*, to do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore-elders. But as concerning the Bishops of *Britain*, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected.

Greg. lib. 25. epist. in Gallianum.

The ninth Interrogation.

The 9th.

Whether a woman being great with child, ought to be baptised; or after she hath children, after how long time she ought to enter into the Church? Or else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive Baptism? Or after how long time after her Child-birth is it lawful for her Husband to resort to her? Or else, if she be in her monthly course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the Church, and receive the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or else her Husband after the lying with his Wife, before he be washed with water, whether is it lawful for him to enter the Church, and to draw unto the mystery of the holy Communion? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The Answer.

The childing or bearing Woman, why may she not be baptised, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first Parents in Paradise, after they had transgressed, left their immortality by the just judgment of God, which they had taken before. Then because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish, because of his fall (although he left now his immortality for his trespass) yet of his benign pity, left notwithstanding to him the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of mans nature, which is conserved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptism?

The Answer

As concerning the Churching of Women, after they have travelled, where ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the Church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a Man child thirty three days, after a Woman child sixty and three days be appointed her to keep in: albeit this you must take to be understood in a Mystery. For if she should the hour after her travel enter into the Church to give thanks, the committed therein no sin: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travel and pain of the flesh is sin. In the conjunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the travel and bringing forth of the child is pain and groaning; as unto the Mother of all it is said. *In sorrow thou shalt travel.* Therefore if we forbid the Woman after her labour to enter into the Church, then what do we else but count the same punishment given unto her for sin? Therefore for the Woman after her labour to be baptised, either that which she hath travelled forth (if present necessity of death doth so require) yea, in the self same hour, either she that hath brought forth, either that which is born in the same hour when it is born, to be baptised we do not forbid.

The Church's ling of women.

He speaketh here after the rules of the time.

Moreover, for the Man to company with his Wife, that he must not, before the Child that is born be wained. But now there is a lewd and naughty Custom risen in the condition of married folks, that Mothers do conterm to nurse their own children which they have born, but set them to other Women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cafe of incontinency: for while they will not contain themselves, therefore they put from them their Children to nurse, &c.

Mothers that nurse not their own children.

As concerning the Women in their menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the Church? To this I answer: She ought not to be forbid. For the superfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it just that she should be deprived of her access to the Church, for that which she suffered against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lords Coat in the time of her bloody issue; why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person down in her infirmity? Therefore to receive the Mystery of the Holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so for presume in her great infirmity, she is to be praised, but if she do receive, she is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good mind in some manner to acknowledge her sins there, where is no sin: because many times that is done without fault, which cometh of fault. As when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithstanding it cometh by the fault of our first father to us that we are hungry, &c.

Where ye ask, if a man after the company with his Wife may resort to the Church, or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water? The law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his Wife) should be purified with water, and also should tarry the Sun-set before he came to the Congregation. Which seemeth to be underfood spiritually: for then moit true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is joyned to unlawful Concupifcence in his heart and cogitation. At that time, before the said fire of Concupifcence shall be removed, let the person think himself unworthy the entrance to the Congregation, through the viciousness of his filthy will. But of this matter sundry Nations have every one their sundry customs: some one way, and some another. The ancient manner of the *Romans* from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselves with water, then for a little they abstain reverently, and so resort to the Church, &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he setteth. *But if any person not for voluptuousness of the flesh, but for procreation of children do company with his Wife, that man concerning either the coming to the Church, or the receiving the Misteries of the Lords Body and Blood, is to be left to his own judgment; for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, which when he lieth in the fire, will not burn, &c.*

There is another question also to these adjoyned, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our *English* ears sufficient.

To return now to the story again; *Gregory* after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of *Austin*, sendeth moreover to the Church of *England* more coadjutors and helpers, as *Melitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus* and *Rusticanus*, with Books and such other implements as he thought necessary for the *English* Church. He sendeth moreover to the foresaid *Austin* a Pall with Letters, wherein he setteth an order between the two Metropolitan Sees, the one to be at *London*, the other to be at *York*. Notwithstanding, he granteth to the said *Austin* during his life, to be the only chief Archbishop of all the Land: and after his time, then to return to the two foresaid See of *London* and *York*, as is in the same Letter contained, the Tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as ensueth.

Gregory sendeth the Emperor his Lord.

Besides this, the said *Gregory* sendeth also another Letter to *Melitus* concerning his judgment, what is to be done with the idolatrous Temples and Phanes of the *English* men newly converted, which Phanes he thinketh not best to pluck down, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their Sacrifices, and killing of Oxen, how the same ought to be ordeted, and how to be altered, disputing by the occasions thereof, of the sacrifices of the old *Egyptians*, permitted of God unto the *Israelites*, the end and use thereof being altered, &c.

A Letter of Gregory to Melitus.

He sendeth also another Letter to the foresaid *Austin*, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puft up for the Miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the People of *England*, but rather to fear and tremble, left so much as he were puft up by the outward work of Miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of his heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament, than to rejoice for the other. *Not all the elect of God* (saith he) *work Miracles, and yet have they their names written in the Book of Life.* And therefore he should not count so much of those Miracles done, but rather rejoyce with the Disciples of Christ, and labour to have his name written in the Book of Life, where all the Elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that rejoycing. And whatsoever Miracles it hath pleased God by him to have been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their convertion, whose salvation God fought thereby, &c.

A Letter of Gregory to King Ethelbert.

Item, he directed another Epistle to King *Ethelbert*, as is expressed at large in the Chronicle of *Henry Huntington. lib. 3.* in the which Epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodness of the King, by whom it pleased God so to work such goodness of the People. Secondly, exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christs faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude; in destroying the Temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation, after the godly example of the Emperor *Constantine* the great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that regneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen (though not in his days) yet before the terrible day of Gods judgment. Wherefore he willeth him always to be solicitous for his soul, and suspectful of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the same, when that judgment shall come. In the end he desireth him to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from *Rome*, &c.

{ Anno 595. Polychron. li. 5. cap. 9. Fabian. part. 3. cap. 119.

Austin thus receiving his Pall from *Gregory*, as is aboveSaid, and now of a Monk being made an Archbishop, after he had baptized a great part of *Kent*; he afterward made two Archbishops or Metropolitans, by the commandment of *Gregory*, as witnesseth *Polychron*, one at *London*, another at *York*.

Archbishops of London and of York made by Austin. Matthew Westminster lib. 8. Bishop of London.

Melitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the *Eastsaxons* in the Province of *Essex*, where after he was made Bishop of *London*, under *Sigebert*, King of *Essex*; which *Sigebert*, together with his Uncle *Ethelbert* first builded the Church and Minster of St. *Paul* in *London*, and appointed it to *Melitus* for the Bishops See. *Austin* (associate with this *Melitus* and *Justus* through the help of *Ethelbert*) assembled and gathered together the Bishops and Doctors of *Britain* in

in a place, which taking the name of the said *Austin*, was called *Austins Oke*. In this Assembly he charged the said Bishops, that they should preach with him the Word of God to the *English* men, and also that they should among themselves reform certain Rites and Usages in their Church, specially for keeping of their *Easter*tide, baptising after the manner of *Rome*, and such other like. To this the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree, refusing to leave the Custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of *Beda*, *Ceſtrenſis* in *Polychron. Huntingtonenſis*, *Jornalenſis*, *Fabianus*, and others more, write of a certain Miracle wrote upon a blind *Engliſhman*; whom when the *Britains* could not help, *Auſtin* kneeling down, and praying, reſtored the blind man to ſight before them all, for a confirmation (as theſe Authors ſay) of his opinion in keeping of *Eaſter*. But concerning the credit of this Miracle, that I leave to the Authors of whom I had it.

The Britains and Scots uſed not the Rites of *Rome*.

Then *Auſtin* gathered another Synod, to the which came ſeven Biſhops of *Britain*, with the wiſeſt men of that famous Abbey of *Bangor*. But firſt they took counſel of a certain wiſe and holy man amongſt them what to do; and whether they ſhould be obedient to *Auſtin* or not. And he ſaid, *If he be the ſervant of God, agree unto him. But how ſhall we know that*, ſaid they? To whom he anſwered again, *If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the ſervant of God.* To this they ſaid again, *And how ſhall we know him to be humble and meek of heart? By this* (quoth he) *ſeeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your Synod riſe up, and courteouſly receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man; but if he ſhall contemn and deſpiſe you (being as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you him again.* Thus the *Britain* Biſhops entring into the Council, *Auſtin* after the *Romiſh* manner keeping his Chair would not remove. Whereat they being not a little offended, after ſome heat of words, in diſdain and great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whom then *Auſtin* ſpake, and ſaid, *That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they ſhould receive War with their enemies; and if they diſdained to preach with them the way of life to the* Engliſh *Nation, they ſhould ſuffer by their hands the revenge of death.* Which not long after ſo came to paſs by the means of *Ethelfride*, King of *Northumberland*, who being yet a Pagan, and ſtirred with a fierce fury againſt the *Britains*, came with a great Army againſt the City of *Cheſter*, where *Brocmaile* the Conſul of that City, a friend and helper of the *Britains* ſide, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the ſame time at *Bangor* in *Wales* an exceeding great Monaſtery, wherein was ſuch a number of Monks, as *Galfridus* with other Authors, do teſtifie, that if the whole company were divided into ſeven parts, in every of the ſeven parts were contained not ſo few as three hundred Monks; which all did live by the ſweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their Ruler, named *Dino*. Out of this Monaſtery came the Monks of *Cheſter*, to pray for the good ſucceſs of *Brocmaile*, fighting for them againſt the *Saxons*. Three days they continued in faſting and prayer. When *Ethelfride* the foreſaid King, ſeeing them ſo intentive to their prayers, demanded the cauſe of their coming thither in ſuch a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their Conſul; *Then* (ſaith he) *although they bear no weapon, yet they fight againſt us, and with their prayers and preachings they perſecute us.* Whereupon after that *Brocmaile* being overcome, did flie away, the King commanded his men to turn their weapons againſt the ſilly unarmed Monks, of whom he flew the ſame time, or rather martyred, eleven hundred, only fifty perſons of that number did fly and eſcape away with *Brocmaile*, the reſt were all ſlain. The Authors that write of this lamentable Murther, declare and ſay how the foreſpeak'ng of *Auſtin* was here verified upon the *Britains*, which becauſe they would not joyn peace with their friends, he ſaid ſhould be deſtroyed of their enemies. Of both theſe parties the Reader may judge what he pleaſeth; I cannot ſee but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one, ſo I cannot defend the other. Firſt *Auſtin* in this matter can in no wiſe be excuſed; who being a Monk before, and therefore a Scholar and profeſſor of humility, ſhewed ſo little humility in this Aſſembly, to ſeven Biſhops and an Archbiſhop, coming at his commandment to the Council, that he thought ſcorn once to ſit at their coming in. Much leſs would his Phariſaical Solemnity have girded himſelf, and waſhed his brethrens feet after their travel, as Chriſt our great Maſter did to his Diſciples; ſeeing his Lordſhip was ſo high, or rather ſo heavy, or rather ſo proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and an humble heart. Again, the *Britains* were as much or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpiritual duty, in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to joyn their helping labour, to turn the idolatrous *Saxons* to the way of life and ſalvation, in which reſpect all private cauſes ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cauſe, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the ſtroke of Gods puniſhment did light upon them, according to the words of *Auſtin*, as is before declared. But eſpecially the cruel King in this fact was moſt of all to blame ſo furiouſly to fly upon them which had neither weapon to reſiſt him, nor yet any will to harm him. And ſo likewiſe the ſame or like happened to himſelf afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlain in the field by Chriſtian *Edwin*, who ſucceeded him, as he had ſlain the Chriſtians before, which was about the year of our Lord ſix hundred and ten. But to return to *Auſtin* again, who by report of Authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after he had baptiſed and chriſtened ten thouſand *Saxons* or *Angles* in the Weſt River, that is called *Swale*, beſide *York* on a *Chriſtmas* day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a Succeſſor named *Laurentius* to rule after him the Archbiſhops See of *Dorobernia*. Where note by the way, (Chriſtian Reader) that whereas *Auſtin* baptiſed then in Rivers, it followeth, there was then no uſe of Fonts. Again, if it be true that *Fabian* ſaith, he baptiſed ten thouſand in one day; the Rite then of baptiſing at *Rome* was not ſo ceremonial, neither had ſo many Trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince: or elſe it could not be that he could baptiſe ſo many in one day.

Abbey of *Bangor*. *Ex libro Tremalenſis, Fabianus, & alijs.*

Ethelfride King of *Northumberland.*

Brocmaile Conſul of *Cheſter.*

The Monaſtery of *Bangor*. *Galfridus Monumetenſis. Polychron. lib.5. cap.10. Liber bibliotheca Tremalenſis. Guil. Malmesburienſ. lib.2. de reg. Fabian. p.5. cap.119, 120.*

A pitiful ſlaughter of the unarmed Monks of *Bangor*.

Whether *Auſtin* be the cauſe in this caſe were not to blame.

Laurentius Archbiſhop after *Auſtin*.

Baptiſing in Rivers, not in Fonts. Baptiſing among the old *Romans* was not ſo full with ſo many ceremonies as ſince.

In the mean ſeaſon, about this time departed *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Rome*, of whom it is ſaid, that of the number of all the firſt Biſhops before him in the Primitive time, he was the baſeſt; of all them that came after him, he was the beſt. About which time alſo died in *Wales*, *David*, Archbiſhop firſt of *Kaerleon*, who then tranſlated the See from thence to *Menevia*, and therefore is called *David* of *Wales*. Not long after this alſo deceaſed the foreſaid *Auſtin* in *England*, after he had ſit there fifteen or ſixeeen years; by the which count we may note it, not to be true that *Henry Huntington* and others do witneſs, that *Auſtin* was dead before that Battel of *Ethelfride* againſt the Monks of *Bangor*. For if it be true that *Polychronicon* teſtifieth of this murther, to be done about the year of our Lord ſix hundred and nine, and the coming of *Auſtin* firſt into the Realm to be *Anno* five hundred ninety ſix, then *Auſtin* enduring ſixteen years, could not be dead at this Battel. Moreover *Galfridus Monumetenſis* declareth concerning the ſame Battel, that *Ethelbert* the King of *Kent*, being (as is ſaid) converted by *Auſtin* to Chriſts faith: after he ſaw the *Britains* to diſdain and deny their ſubjection unto *Auſtin*, neither would aſſiſt him with preaching to the *Engliſh* Nation; therefore ſtirred up he the foreſaid *Ethelfride* to war againſt the *Britains*; but that ſeemeth rather ſuſpicious than true, that he being a Chriſtian King, either could ſo much prevail with a *Pagan* Idolater, or elſe would attempt ſo far to commit ſuch a cruel deed; but of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to ſay, much leſs to judge.

S. Dauids Wales, therefore called *Dauid*.

Conteſtation of this examined.

Galfrid. Monumenſis.

About this preſent time above prefixed, which is *Anno* ſix hundred and ten. I read in the ſtory of *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, the Writer of *Polychronicon*, of *John* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whom for his rare example of hoſpitality and bountifulneſs to the poor, I thought no leſs worthy to have place amongſt good men, than I ſee the ſame now to be followed of few. This *John* (being before belike a hard and ſparing man)

{ Anno 610. Polychron. lib.6. cap. 8. A ſtory of John Patriarch of Alexandria.

Mercy may live a maiden, for no man will marry her. This *John* was ſo bountiful in giving, that he afraid to ſtrive in a manner with the Lord, whether the Lord ſhould give more, or he ſhould diſtribute more alſmes than which was given.

as he was at his prayer, upon a time, (it is ſaid) there appeared to him a comely Vigin, having on her head a garland of Olive leaves, which named her ſelf *Mercy*, ſaying to him, and promiſing, that if he would take her to wife, he ſhould proſper well. This, whether it were true or not, or elſe invented for a morality; I would wiſh this flouriſhing damſel to be married to more than to this *John*, that ſhe ſhould not live ſo long a Virgin as now ſhe doth, becauſe no man will marry her. But to return to this Patriarch, who after that day (as the ſtory recordeth) was ſo merciful and ſo beneficial, eſpecially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his Maſters, and himſelf as a ſervant and ſteward unto them: This Patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to ſit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to ſet unity where was any variance. One day it happned, as he was ſitting all the day before his gate, and ſaw no man come, he lamented, that all that day he had done no good: To whom his Deacon ſtanding by, anſwered again, that he had more cauſe to rejoyce, ſeeing he had brought the City in that order and in ſuch peace, that there needed no reconcilement amongſt them. Another time as the ſaid *John* the Patriarch was at ſervice, and reading the Goſpel in the Church, the people (as their uſed manner is) went out of the Church to talke and jangle: He perceiving that, went out likewiſe, and ſat amongſt them; whereat they marvelled to ſee him do ſo. My children (ſaid he) *where the ſhock is, there ought the Shepheard to be: Wherefore either come you in, that I may alſo come in with you; or elſe if you tarry out, I will likewiſe tarry out together with you*, &c.

The acts of Gregory the firſt.

As touching the acts and deeds of *Gregory*, above mentioned, how he withſtood the ambitious pride of *John* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which would be the univerſal Priеſt, and only chief Biſhop of all others, declaring him to be no leſs than the forerunner of Antichriſt, that would take that name upon him: How, and with what reaſons he anſwered again the letters of the Emperor *Mauricius* in that behalf, ſufficient relation is made thereof in the firſt entry and beginning of this Book. This *Gregory* among many other things induced into the Church (the ſpecialties whereof hereafter ſhall follow, Chriſt willing, more at large) firſt began and brought in this title among the *Roman* Biſhops, to be called, *Servus Servorum Dei*: Putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleneſs, and alſo of their duty in the Church of Chriſt. Moreover, as concerning his act for the ſole life of Prieſts firſt begun, and then broken again: Alſo concerning the order of *Gregories* maſs Book to be received in all Churches: Hereof who ſo luſteth to read more, ſhall find the ſame in other places hereafter, namely, when we come to the time of Pope *Adrian* the firſt.

Whereupon the *Roman* Biſhops uſe in their ſtile. *Servus Servorum Dei.*

Sabinianus Biſhop of *Rome*.

After the death of *Gregory* above mentioned, firſt came *Sabinianus*, who, as he was a malicious detractor of *Gregory*, and of his Works, ſo he continued not long, ſcarce the ſpace of two years. After whom ſucceeded next *Bonifacius* the third, which albeit he Reigned but one year, yet in that one year he did more hurt than *Gregory* with ſo much labors, and in ſo many years, could do good before. For that which *Gregory* kept out, he brought in, obtaining of *Phocas* the wicked Emperor, for him and his ſucceſſors after him, that the See of *Rome* above all other Churches ſhould have the preeminence, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould be the univerſal head of all Churches of Chriſt in Chriſtendom: Alledging for him this frivolous reaſon, that Saint *Peter* had and left to his ſucceſſors in *Rome*, the keys of binding and looſing, &c. And thus began firſt *Rome* to take an head above all other Churches, by the means of *Bonifacе* the third, who, as he lacked no boldneſs nor ambition to ſeek it, ſo neither lacked he an Emperor fit and meet to give ſuch a gift. This Emperors name was *Phocas*, a man of ſuch wickedneſs and ambition (moſt like to his own Biſhop *Bonifacе*) that to aſpire to the Empire, he murthered his own Maſter, the Emperor *Mauricius* and his Children. Thus *Phocas* coming up to be Emperor, after his deteſtable villany done, thinking to ſtabliſh his Empire with friendſhip and favour of his people, and eſpecially with the Biſhop of *Rome*, quickly condeſcended to all his petitions, and ſo granted him (as it is ſaid) to be that he would, the univerſal and head Biſhop over all Chriſtian Churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, ſo it came to paſs on the ſaid *Phocas*. For as he had cruelly ſlain the Lord and Emperor *Mauricius* before, ſo he in like manner (of *Heraclius* the Emperor ſucceeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and ſo was caſt into the Sea. And thus wicked *Phocas*, which gave the firſt Supremacy to *Rome*, loſt his own. But *Rome* would not ſo ſoon loſe his Supremacy once given, as the giver loſt his life: For ever ſince, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the ſame ſtill, and yet doth to this preſent day, by all force and policy poſſible. And thus much concerning *Bonifacе*, whom by the words of *Gregory*, we may well call the runner before Antichriſt. For as *Gregory* brought in their ſtile, *Servus Servorum Dei*; This *Bonifacе* brought in their heads firſt, *Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac præcipimus.* That is: *We will and command*, &c.

How Rome began firſt to take an head above other Churches.

Phocas traytor and murtherer of his Emperor.

Blood revenged with blood.

Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac præcipimus. brought in by *Bonifacе* the third.

Mention was made a little before of *Ethelbert* King of Kent, and alſo of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northſaxon* or *Northumbria*. This *Ethelbert* having under his ſubjection all the other *Saxon* Kings unto *Humber*, after he had firſt received himſelf, and cauſed to be received of others, the Chriſtian faith by the Preaching of *Auſtin*, and this *Ethelbert* at the prayer of the Citizens of *Dorobernia* tranſlated to the ſaid City: *Malmesburienſis lib. de Pontific.* Wherefore ſuch authors as ſay, that *Paul* was builded by *Sigebert*, ſay not amiſs, which *Sigebert* was the King of *Eſſex*, in which Province ſtandeth the City of *London*. This *Ethelbert* alſo founded the Church of Saint *Andrew* in the City of *Dorubres* in *Kent*, now called *Rocheſter*, of one *Roſ*, diſtant from *Dorobernia* four and twenty miles. Of this City *Juſtus* was Biſhop, ordained before by *Auſtin*. Moreover the forenamed *Ethelbert* ſtirred up a dweller of *London*, to make a Chapel or Church of Saint *Peter* in the Weſt end of *London*, then called *Thorny*, now the Town of *Weſtminſter*, which Church or Chapel was after by *Edward* the Confeſſor inlarged or new builded: Laſtly, of *Henry* the third it was newly again reedified and made as it is now, a large Monaſtery, &c. After theſe Chriſtian and worthy acts, this *Ethelbert*, when he had Reigned the courſe of fifty and ſix years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord, 616. whom ſome ſtories ſay to be ſlain in a fight between him and *Ethelfrid* King of *Nortlſaxons*.

Ethelbert and Sigebert builders of *Paul's* Church. The Archbiſhops See tranſlated from *London* to *Dorobernia*. *Malmesburienſis lib. de Pontific. Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 8. Hunting. lib. 3.*

This Edward was the third of that name before the conqueſt. The monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*. { Anno 616

In the mean time the foreſaid *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, after the cruel murther of the Monks of *Bangor*, eſcaped not long unto his hire: For after he had Reigned four and twenty years he was ſlain in the field of *Edwin*, who ſucceeded in *Northumberland* after him.

Blood revenged with blood.

This *Edwin* being the ſon, not of *Ethelfrid* (as *Galfridus Monumetenſis* ſaith) but rather *Alla* (as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſeemeth to witneſs more truly) was firſt a Panim or Idolater; afterward by *Paulinus* was Chriſtened, and the firſt Chriſtened King in *Northumberland*. The occaſion of which his calling or converſion, as is in ſundry ſtories contained, was this.

Edwin firſt Chriſtened King in *Northumberland*. *Giraldus Cambrenſis.*

Edwin being yet a Pagan, married the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, called *Edelburga* a Chriſtian woman, otherwiſe called *Tace*. But before this marriage, *Edwin* being yet young, *Ethelfrid* the King conceiving envy againſt him, perſecuted him ſo fore, that he was forced to flie to *Redwaldus*, King of *Eaſtangles*, as in the table of the Kings is expreſſed; The which *Redwaldus* what for fear, what with bribes being corrupted of *Ethelfrid*, at length privily had intended to have betrayed *Edwin*. But as Gods Will was, *Edwin* having warning thereof by a ſecret friend of his, was moved to flie, and to ſave himſelf, being promiſed alſo of his friends to be ſafe y conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom *Edwin* ſaid, Whether ſhall I flie, that have ſo long ſeen the heads of mine Enemies, through all Provinces of the Realm? And if I muſt needs be ſlain, I had rather he ſhould do it, than another unworthy perſon. Thus

The order obſerved in the converſion of the Realm of *Edwin* to the faith of Chriſt.

The troubles of *Edwin*.

he remaining by himself alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certain stranger to him unknown, and said; I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this fear, and should reconcile King *Redwald* to thee again? I would give him (said *Edwin*) all that I ever could make. And he said again: And what if I make thee a mightier King than was any of thy Progenitors? He answered again as before. Moreover (saith he) And what if he shew thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was shewed to any of thine Ancestors before thee; wilt thou obey him and do after his counsel? Yea, (said *Edwin*) promising most firmly with all his heart so to do. Then he laying his hand upon his head: When (said he) this token hapneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as *Edwin* was sitting alone by himself pensive and sad, his forefaid friend, which moved him before to flie, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; For the heart (said he) of King *Redwaldus*, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsel of the Queen, and is fully bent to keep his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon. To make the story short, *Redwaldus* the King (although *Fabian* following *Henry Huntington*, saith it was *Edwin*) with all convenient speed assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly coming upon *Ethelfrid*, gave battel unto him about the borders of *Mercia*, where *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, with *Reiner*, *Redwaldus* son, was slain in the field. By reason whereof *Edwin* (his Enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of *Northumberland*. All this while yet *Edwin* remained in his old *Paganism*, albeit his Queen (as is above declared) King *Ethelberts* daughter, a Christian woman, with *Paulinus* the Bishop, ceased not to stir and perswade the King to Christian faith. But he taking counsel with his Nobles and Counsellors upon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose to bring all good things to pass, sent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: For by affliction God useth commonly to call them whom he will save, or by whom he will work salvation unto others. So his divine wisdom thinketh good to make them first to know themselves before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with *Paul* (who was stricken down before he was lifted up) with *Constantinus*, *Edwinus*, and many more. How long was *Joseph* in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our Queen now being (Queen *Elizabeth*) by whom notwithstanding it hath pleased God to restore this his Gospel now Preached amongst us? In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was *M. Luther*, before he came to preach the justification of Christ openly? And so be all they most commonly, which come to any lively feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

But to return to *Edwin* again. The occasion of his trouble was this. *Quicelinus* with *Kinegilsus* his brother, Kings of *Westsaxons* (as above is mentioned in the table of the *Saxon* Kings) conspiring the death of *Edwin*, now King of *Northumberland*, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day, a sword-man, named *Emmer*, privily to slay the faid *Edwin*. This sword-man or cut-throat, came to a City beside the water of *Darwent* in *Derbishire*, there to wait his time: And lastly, found the King (mally accompanied, and intended to have run the King thorow with a sword invenomed. But one *Lilla*, the Kings trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his Master, start between the King and the sword, and was stricken thorow the body and died, and the King was wounded with the same stroke. And after he wounded also the third, which was a Knight, and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to work that treason. The other Knight that was secondly wounded, died, and the King lay after long sick ere he were healed.

After this, about *Whitsuntide*, the King being scantly whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the King of *Westsaxons*, promising to Christ to be Christened if he would give him victory over his Enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter, born of *Edelburge* the same *Easter* day when he was wounded, named *Eufled*, to be Baptised, with twelve others of his family, of *Paulinus*. Thus *Edwin* proceeded to the battel against *Quiceline* and *Kinegilsus* with *Kenwolcus* and other Enemies, who in the same battel being all vanquished and put to flight, *Edwin* through the power of Christ returneth home victor. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgat his promise made, and had little mind thereof, save only that he by the Preaching of *Paulinus* forsook his Maumetry; and for his excuse said, that he might not clearly deny his old Law, which his Forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be Christened without authority and good advice of his counsel.

About the same season Pope *Boniface* the fifth sent also to the faid *Edwin* letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from *Rome* to him, and to *Edelburge* the Queen: But neither would that prevail. Then *Paulinus* seeing the King so hard to be converted, poured out his Prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him by the holy Ghost, the oracle above mentioned, which was shewed to the King when he was with *Redwaldus*, King of the *Eastangles*. Whereupon *Paulinus* coming after to the King on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the Kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The King hearing this, and remembring well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But *Paulinus* not suffering that, did lift him up again, saying unto him: *Behold, O King, you have vanquished your Enemies, you have obtained your Kingdom; now perform the third thing which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him.* Whereupon the King conferring with his Counsel and his Nobles, was Baptised of *Paulinus* at *York*, with many of his other Subjects with him. In so much that *Coifie*, the chief of the Prelates of his old Maumetry, armed himself with his Idolatrous Bishops, and beside good Horses, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but only a Mare: And so destroyed all the Altars of the Maumetry, and their Temple of Idols, which was at *Godmondham*, not far from *York*. And this was in the eleventh year of his Reign.

From that time forth, during the life of *Edwin*, which was the term of six years more, *Paulinus* Christened continually in the rivers of *Gwenie* and *Swala*, in both provinces of *Deira*, and in *Bernicia*, using the faid Rivers for his Fonts, and Preached in the shire of *Lincesete*, where he builded also a Church of stone at *Lincoln*.

In this time was so great peace in the Kingdom of *Edwin* after his conversion, that a woman laden with Gold, might have gone from the one side of the Sea to the other, and no man molest her. Moreover by the high way sides, through all his Kingdom he caused by every Well or spring to be chained a dish or boll of brass, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bolls of brass there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said *Edwin*. Such was then the tender care and study of Christian Princes, for the refreshing of their Subjects. But that was then the brasen world, which now is grown to Iron and Lead, called *Ætas ferrea*, or rather *Plumbea*.

This *Edwin* who first brought in the faith, in the *North* parts continuing after his baptism six years, at length was slain in battel by *Cedwalla*, King of the *Britains*, and by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, with his son *Offricus* also, in the field called *Hatfield*.

This *Paulinus* was the first Archbishop of *York*, and as he was of *Justus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, ordained Archbishop of the See of *York*; so he again after the decease of *Justus*, ordained *Honorius* to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Paulinus after the death of godly *Edwin*, seeing unmerciful *Cedwalla* or *Cadwallon*, with his *Britains*, and wicked *Penda* with the Idolatrous *Mercians*, to spoyl the land in such fort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor Sex, nor Religion, was compelled to fly with *Edelburge* the Queen and *Eufled* her daughter by water into *Kent*, where the faid Archbishop *Paulinus*, remained Bishop of *Rochester*, the faid space of nineteen years. And so the Church of *Northumberland*, lacked a Bishop for the space of thirty

The marvellous calling of *Edwin*.

Edwin miraculously delivered.

W. Malmesburiensis lib. de reg.

This Queen was *Ethelburge*, daughter to King *Ethelbert* the christened King of *Kent*.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

Another danger of *Edwin*.

{ Anno 627 } *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.*

Fabianus part. 5. A part of a trusty servant.

thirty years after. Notwithstanding he left there one *James* his Deacon, a good man, who continued there Baptising and Preaching in the *North* parts, till that peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increasing, the Church came again to his stay. *Hunting. lib. 2.*

By means of this *Edwin*, *Erpwaldus* King of the *Eastangles*, son to *Redwaldus* above mentioned, was reduced to Christs faith.

After the decease of *Edwin* and his son *Offrick*, both slain in battel, Reigned *Osriens* and *Eanfridus*, the one in *Deira*, the other in *Bernicia*. *Ofricus* was the son of *Elfricus* which was brother to *Ethelfrid*. *Eanfridus* was the Eldest son of *Ethelfrid*; for *Ethelfrid* had three sons, to wit, *Eanfridus*, *Oswaldus*, and *Ofricus*. These two Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, *Osricus*, and *Eufrid*, being first christened in *Scotland*, after being Kings, returned to their Idolatry: and so in the year following were slain one after the other by the forefaid *Cedwalla* and wicked *Penda*, as is in the table above expressed.

After whom succeeded in *Northumberland*, the second son of *Ethelfrid*, named *Oswaldus*, having rule on both the provinces, as well *Deira*, as *Bernicia*. Whereof when the forefaid *Cedwalla* (or *Cadwallo*) the *Britain* King had understanding, who before had made havoke of the *Saxons*, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of *England*; he kept King *Penda* with a mighty host of the *Britains*, thinking to slay also *Oswald* as he had before slain his brother *Eufrid*, and King *Edwin* before them. But *Oswald*, when he was warned of the great strength of this *Cedwal* and *Penda*, made his Prayers to God, and besought him meekly of help to withstand his Enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus after *Oswald* had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named *Denesburg*, some say *Hevenfield*, where was fought a strong battel. But finally, the army and power of *Penda* and *Cedwal*, which were far exceeding the number of *Oswalds* host, was chased, and most part slain of *Oswaldus*: After he reigned over the *Britains* two and twenty years, leaving after him a son, whom *Gunfridus* called *Cadwaladrus*, the last King of the *Britains*.

Of this *Oswald* much praise and commendation is written in Authors, for his fervent zeal in Christs Religion, and merciful pity towards the poor, with other great vertues more. As touching the miracles of S. *Oswald*, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in stories certain, that he being well and vertuously disposed, to the setting forth of Christ's faith and Doctrine, sent into *Scotland* for a certain Bishop there called *Aidanus*, which was a famous Preacher. The King at what time he was in *Scotland* banished, had learned the *Scotish* Tongue perfectly: Wherefore as this *Aidanus* Preached in his *Scotish* Tongue to the *Saxons*, the King himself interpreting that which he had said, disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his Nobles and Subjects in the *English* Tongue.

Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderness was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then *Easter* day, he sitting with the said *Aidanus* at meat, and served after the manner of Kings, in silver: There cometh to him one of the Servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor People sitting in the street, which desired some Alms of the King. He hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his table to be carried unto them, but also taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces and sent it amongst them, and so relieved his poor Subjects, not only with the meat of his table, but with dishes also. *Aidanus* the Bishop, seeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: *This hand* (saith he) *I pray God may continue and never putrifie.* What the stories say more concerning this hand of *Oswald*, I intend not to meddle further than simple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In those days, and partly by the means of the said *Oswald*, *Kingisilsus* King of the *Westsaxons* was converted to Christs faith; especially through the godly labour of *Berinus*, which was sent by Pope *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, and was then made Bishop of *Dorchester*. To whom *Quicelinus*, brother of *Kinigilsus*, after

James a godly Deacon. A Deacon then might baptise.

Erpwaldus otherwise named *Carpwaldus* King of *Eastangles* converted to the Faith of Christ.

Edwin forgetteth his promise to Christ. Prosperity forgetful. Old customs in matters of Religion not to be followed, but only truth. Old custom hard to be left. Edwin to be Christened.

S. Oswald King of Northumberland.

A miracle of God in the conversion of King *Edwin*.

{ Anno 636. } *Galfridus Malmesburiensis. Polycron. Historia Ironalensis. Fabian.*

The part of a godly Christian exemplified in *Paulinus*.

Strength of prayer overcometh enmies.

Edwin baptised. He was baptised in S. *Peters* Church at *York*, which he first caused to be made of wood, which after by S. *Oswald* was builded of stone.

Penda beaten in the field.

{ Anno 628. }

The commendation of King *Oswald*.

Note Paulinus christened Infidels.

What true justice of a good Prince may do in a realm.

Great peace and truth among the people in the days of *Edwin*.

King Oswald disdained not to expound and Preach the Gospel to his People.

The goodness and charity of *Oswald* toward the Poor.

Bibliotheca Wolmesiensis. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12.

{ Anno 634. }

Archbishop of Canterbury and York, do not ordain the other.

Ex Flor. Hist.

Kinigilsus King of the *Westsaxons* converted to Christs faith.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Fabian part. 5.

Lands given to *Wimbesters.*

Of this *Berinus*, *Malmesbury*, *Polychronicon*, with divers other writers do report a thing strange and miraculous; which if it be a Fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same: The matter is this, This *Berinus* being sent as is said, by *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, promiseth him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to Preach the Gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard: Thus he setting forward in his journey, passeth through *France*, and so to the Sea side; where he found a passage ready, and the wind served so fair, that he was called upon in such haste, that he had no leasure to remember himself to take all things with him which he had to carry: At length he was on the sea saying and almost in the middle course of his passage, he remembred himself of a certain relick left behind him for haste, which *Honorius* had given him at his coming out. *Malmesburiensis* calleth it *Corporalia*, *Historia Tornalensis* calleth it *Pallulam super quam corpus Christi confecratur*, which we call a Corporas or such a like thing, and what else inclosed within it I cannot tell. Here *Berinus* in great sorrow could not tell what to do: If he should have spoken to the heathen Mariners to turn their course back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore as the stories write, he boldly stepped into the Sea, and walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company again, having not one thred of his garments wet. Of his miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the Reader judge as he thinketh; because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holiness in the Man or in the Corporas, but a special gift for the conversion of the Heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This *Berinus*, being received in the ship again with a great admiration of the Mariners, who were therewith converted and baptised, was driven at last by the weather to the coast of the *Westsaxons*, where *Kinigilsus* and his brother *Quicelinus* above mentioned did reign. Which two Kings the same time by the Preaching of *Berinus* were converted and made Christian men, with the people of the Country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time when the forefaid Kings should be Christened, that *Oswaldus* (mentioned a little before) King of *Northumberland*, was then present, and the same day married *Kinigilsus* his daughter, and also was Godfather to the King.

Malmesburiensis lib. de pontif. Angli. Cofroensis lib. 3. Eccles. Fornalensis.

Hunting. lib. 3. *Berinus* walking on the Sea, with life and all.

Oswaldus and Godfather and son to *Kinigilsus* and all in one day.

Thus *Oswald* after he had Reigned nine years in such holiness and perfectness of life, as is above specified, was slain at length in the field called *Marfield* by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*: Which *Penda* at length after all his Tyranny was overcome and slain by *Oswy* brother to *Oswald* next King after *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, notwithstanding he had thrice the people which *Osuy* had. This *Penda* being a Panim, had three sons. *Wolferus*, *Weda*, and *Egfridus*. To the second son *Weda*, *Osuy* had before time married his daughter, by consent of *Penda* his Father: The which *Weda* by help of *Osuy* was made King of *Southmercia*, the which Lordship is severed from *Northmercia* by the River of *Trent*. The same *Weda* moreover, at what time he married the daughter of *Osuy*, promised to him that he would become a Christian man: Which thing he performed after the death of *Penda* his father; but afterward within three years of his Reign, he was by reason of his wife slain. And after him the Kingdom fell to *Wolferus* the other brother; who being wedded to *Ermenilda* daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened King of *Mercia*. This *Wolferus* conquered *Kenwalcus* King of *Kent*, and got the *Isle of Wight*, which after he gave to *Sigbert* King of the *Eastangles*, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the *Eastangles* which as before had expulsed *Melitus* their Bishop, as is declared, recovered again the Christian faith under *Sigbert* their

King *Oswald* slain in the field. { Anno 643. }

Penda King of Mercians slain.

Osuy King of Northumberland.

The conversing of the Mercians to the faith of Christ. Which thing he performed after the death of *Penda* his father; but afterward within three years of his Reign, he was by reason of his wife slain. And after him the Kingdom fell to *Wolferus* the other brother; who being wedded to *Ermenilda* daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened King of *Mercia*. This *Wolferus* conquered *Kenwalcus* King of *Kent*, and got the *Isle of Wight*, which after he gave to *Sigbert* King of the *Eastangles*, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the *Eastangles* which as before had expulsed *Melitus* their Bishop, as is declared, recovered again the Christian faith under *Sigbert* their

The *Eastangles* reduced to the Christian faith.

King, who by the means of the forefaid *Wolferus* was reduced and baptiſed by *Finianus* the Biſhop.

Oſwy and *Oſwine* Felloe Kings in Northumberland.

But to return again to *Oſwy*, from whom we have a little digreſſed, of whom we ſhewed before how he ſucceeded after *Oſwald* in the Province of *Bernicia*, to whom alſo was joyned *Oſwine* his Coſin over the Province of *Deira*, and there, with his fellow *Oſwy* Reigned the ſpace of ſeven years. This *Oſwine* was gentle and liberal to his people, and no leſs devout toward God: Who upon a time had given to *Aidanus* the Biſhop above mentioned, a princely Horſe with the Trappers, and all that appertained thereto, becauſe he ſhould not ſo much travel on foot, but ſometimes eaſe himſelf withal. Thus *Aidanus* the *Scotiſh* Biſhop as he was riding upon his highe Horſe, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man, asking and craving his charity. *Aidanus* having nothing elſe to give him, lighted down and giveth to him his Horſe trapped and garniſhed as he was. The King underſtanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entring to dinner with the faid *Aidanus*: *What meant you Father Biſhop* (ſaid he) *to give away my Horſe I gave you, unto the begger? Had not I other Horſes in my ſtable that might have ſerved him well enough, but you muſt give away that which of purpoſe was picked out for you amongſt the chieveſt?* To whom the Biſhop made anſwer again, ſaying, or rather rebuking the King: *What be theſe words* (O King ſaith he) *that you ſpeak? Why ſee you more price by an Horſe, which is but the ſole of an Horſe, than you do by him which is the ſon of Mare, yea, which is the ſon of God?* He ſaid but this, when the King forthwith ungirding his ſword from about him (as he was then newly come in from Hunting) falleth down at the feet of the Biſhop, deſiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after ſpeak word to him for any treaſure he ſhould afterward give away of his. The Biſhop ſeeing the King ſo meekly affected, he then taking him up, and chearing him again with words, began ſhortly after to weep and to be very heavy. His Miniſter asking the cauſe thereof, *Aidanus* anſwered in his *Scotiſh* Language, ſaying to him: *I weep* (ſaith he) *For that this King cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have ſuch a Prince, as he is to Reign amongſt them.* And ſo as *Aidanus* ſaid, it came to paſs. For not long after *Oſwy* the King of *Bernicia* diſdaining at him, when *Oſwine* either was not able, or not willing to joyn with him in battel, cauſed him Trayterouſly to be ſlain. And ſo *Oſwy* with his Son *Egfrid*, reigned in *Northumberland* alone.

Note the worthy liberality in the King, and no leſs in the Biſhop.

H. Hunting. *de hiſtoria Anglicana, lib 3.* Example of true alms.

A perfect example of humility in a Prince.

Oſwine trayterouſly murthered

Anno 651.

In the time of this *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, was a certain man named *Benedict*, who was the bringer up of *Bede* from his youth, and took him to his inſtitution when he was but ſeven years old, and ſo taught him during his life. This *Benedict* or *Benet*, deſcending of a noble ſtock and rich kin, and in good favour with *Oſwy*, forſook ſervice, houſe, and all his kindred to ſerve Chriſt, and went to *Rome* (where he had been in his life time five times) and brought from thence Books into Monaſteries, with other things which he thought then to ſerve for devotion. This *Benedict*, ſurnamed Biſhop, was the firſt that brought in the Art and uſe of glaſing into this Land; for before that, Glaſs-windows were not known either in Churches or in Houſes.

Benedict or *Benet*, the bringer up of *Bede*.

The uſe of glaſing firſt brought into this Realm.

Boniphus, *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, *Colmannus*, *Cuthbertus*, *Jarumannus*, *Cedda*, *Wilfridus*.

In the Reign of the forefaid *Oſwy* and *Egfrid* his ſon, was *Botulphus Abbat*, which builded in the *Eaſt* part of *Lincoln* an Abbey. Alſo *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, and *Colmannus*, with three *Scotiſh* Biſhops of *Northumberland* holy Men, held with the *Britains* againſt the Romiſh order for the keeping of *Eaſter* day. Moreover *Cuthbertus*, *Jarumannus*, *Cedda*, and *Wilfridius* lived the ſame time: Whom as I judge to be Biſhops of holy converſation, ſo I thought it ſufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made Saints in the Popes Kalender, ſeeing they are not written in the Goſpel, nor in my Creed, but in certain old Chronicles of that age, ſo they are no matter of my Faith: Notwithſtanding as touching their converſation, this I read, and alſo do credit, that the Clergy both of *Britain* and *England*, at that time pliſd nothing that was worldly, but gave themſelves to Preaching and Teaching the Word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they Preached by giving of good example. And over that, as our Hiſtories accord, they were to voyd of covetouſneſs, that they received no poſſeſſions or territories which were forced upon them.

O quanta mutatio! *Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Honing. Peregrinus, Jornalenſis, Ailred.*

About this ſeaſon or not much before, under the Reign of *Oſwy* and *Oſwine* Kings of *Northumberland*, another Synod or Council was holden againſt the *Britains* and the *Scotiſh* Biſhops, for the right obſerving of *Saſter* at *Sternhalt*. At what time *Agilbertus* Biſhop *Weſt-Saxons* came to *Northumberland*, to inſtitute *Wilfrid Abbat* of *Ripon*, where this queſtion for *Eaſter* day began to be moved: For *Colman*, then Biſhop of *Northumberland*, followed not the coſtom of *Rome*, nor of the *Saxons*, but followed the *Britains* and the *Scotiſh* Biſhops, his Predeceſſors in the ſame See before. Thus on the one ſide was *Colman* the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Hilda* the Abbeſs of *Sternhalt*, which alleadged for them the doings and examples of their Predeceſſors, both godly and reverend Biſhops, as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, Archbiſhops of that See of *York* before them, and divers more, who had uſed always to celebrate the *Eaſter* from the fourteenth day of the firſt month, till the eight and twentieth of the ſame. And ſpecially, for that S. *John* the Evangeliſt at *Epheſus* kept and obſerved that day, &c. On the other ſide was *Agilbert* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *James* the Deacon of *Paulinus* above mentioned, *Wilfrid Abbat* of *Ripon*, and King *Alfrid*, *Oſwies* ſon, with his Queen, holding on the ſame ſide. The full contents of which diſputation here followeth, according as in the ſtory of *Beda* at large is deſcribed, with their reaſons and arguments on both ſides, as enſueth, &c.

Anno 654.

Controverſie about *Eaſter* day.

The queſtion of *Eaſter* and of ſhaving, and other eccleſiaſtical matters being moved, it was determined, that in the Abbey which is called *Sternhalt*, of the which *Hilda* a devout woman was Abbeſs, a Convocation ſhould be had, and this queſtion there determined. To the which place came both the Kings, the Father and the Son, Biſhop *Colman* with his Clergy of *Scotland*, *Agilbert*, with *Agathon* and *Wilfrid* Prieſts. *James* and *Roman* were on their ſides; *Hilda* the Abbeſs with her company was on the *Scotiſh* part, and the reverend Biſhop *Cedda* was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King *Oſwy* began firſt with an Oration, declaring that it was neceſſary for ſuch as ſerved one God, to live in one uniform order, and that ſuch as looked for one Kingdom in Heaven, ſhould not ſuffer in celebration of the heavenly Sacraments, but ſhould rather ſeek for the true Tradition, and follow the ſame. This ſaid, he commanded his Biſhop *Colman* to declare what the rite and cuſtom was in this behalf that he uſed, and from whence it had the original. Then *Colman*, obeying his Princes commandment, ſaid: *The Eaſter which I obſerve, I received of my Anceſtors that ſent me hither a Biſhop, the which all our Forefathers, being men of God, did celebrate in like manner: And leſt it ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed of any man, it is manifeſtly apparent to be the very ſame which the holy Evangeliſt S. John (a Diſciple eſpecially beloved of the Lord) did accuſtomably uſe in all Churches and Congregations where he had authority.* When *Colman* had ſpoken many things to this effect, the King commanded *Agilbert* to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to ſhew the order that he then uſed, from whence it came, and by what authority he obſerved the ſame. *Agilbert* requeſted the King that his Scholar *Wilfrid* a Prieſt might ſpeak for him, in as much as they both with the reſt of his Clergy were of one opinion herein, and that the ſaid *Wilfrid* could utter his mind better, and more plainly in the *Engliſh* Tongue, than he himſelf could. Then *Wilfrid* at the Kings commandment began on this ſort, and ſaid: *The Eaſter which we keep, we have ſeen at Rome, whereas the holy Apoſtles*, Peter and Paul, *did live and teach, did ſuffer and were buried.* The ſame alſo is uſed in *Italy* and in *France*; The which Countries we have travelled for Learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In *Aſia* alſo and in *Africk*, in *Egypt* and in *Greece*, and finally in all the world, the ſame manner of *Eaſter* is obſerved that we uſe, ſave only by theſe here preſent with their accomplices, the *Picts* and the *Britains*: With the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condeſcend and ſtrive fooliſhly in this order againſt the univerſal World. To whom *Colman* replied, ſaying: *I marvel you will call this order fooliſh, that ſo great an Apoſtle as was worthy to lie in the Lords lap, did*

Anno 654.

Controverſie about *Eaſter* day.

Why Paul circumciſed Timothy.

Example of Peter al leaged, but no proof thereof.

Peter and John did not agree in the celebration of *Eaſter*.

In the counſell of Nice no ſuch matter appeareth.

Wilfrid refelleth.

Colman anſwereth.

Univerſall yalledged.

Colman ſpeaketh.

The obſervation of Eaſter *and other Ceremonies Controverſed.* 137

did uſe, whom all the World doth well know, to have lived moſt wiſely. And *Wilfrid* anſwered, *God forbid that I ſhould reprove S. John of his Folly, who kept the rites of Moſes Law, according to the letter (the Church being yet* Jewiſh *in many points) and the Apoſtles not as yet able to abdicate all the obſervations of the law before ordained. As for example, they could not reject Images invented of the Devil, the which all men that believe on Chriſt, ought of neceſſity to forſake and deteſt, leſt they ſhould be an offence to thoſe Jews that were amongſt the* Gentiles. *For this cauſe did S. Paul circumciſe* Timothy, *for this cauſe did he ſacrifice in the Temple, and did ſhave his head with* Aquila and Priſcilla, at Corinth: *All which things were done to none other purpoſe, than to eſchew the offence of the Jews. Hereupon alſo ſaid* James *to* Paul, *Thou ſeeſt Brother, how many thouſand* Jews *do believe, and all theſe be Zealous (notwithſtanding) of the law. Yet ſeeing the Goſpel is ſo manifeſtly Preached in the World, it is not lawful for the faithful to be Circumciſed, neither to offer ſacrifice of carnal things to God. Therefore* John *according to the cuſtom of the Law, the fourteenth day of the firſt month at even-ing, did begin the Celebration of the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *nothing reſpecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other Ferial day. But* Peter *when he Preached at* Rome, *remembring that the Lord did ariſe from death on the firſt day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the Reſurrection, thought good to obſtitute* Eaſter *on that day, and not after the uſe and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the firſt month: Even ſo* John *looking for the Moon at night, if it did ariſe, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the* Eaſter *of the Lord in the evening, like as we uſe to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the ſixteenth day, or ſeventeenth, or on any other day unto the one and twentieth, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy Solemnity of* Eaſter *on the evening next before the Sabbath. And ſo it came to paſs, that* Eaſter *was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the one and twentieth: Neither doth this tradition of the Apoſtle break the Law, but fulfil the ſame.* In the which it is to be noted, that *Eaſter* was inſtituted from the fourteenth day of the firſt month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening; the which manner all S. *Johns* ſucceſſors in *Aſia* after his death did follow, and the Catholick Church throughout the whole World. And that this is the true *Eaſter*, and only of all Chriſtians to be obſerved, it was not newly decreed, but confirmed by the Council of *Nice*, as appeareth by the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Whereupon it is manifeſt that you (*Colman*) do neither follow the example of S. *John*, as ye think, nor of S. *Peter*, whoſe tradition you do willingly reſiſt, nor of the Church, nor yet of the Goſpel, in the celebration of *Eaſter*. For S. *John*, obſerving *Eaſter* according to the Precepts of the Law, kept it not on the firſt day after the Sabbath; but you preciſely keep it only on the firſt day after the Sabbath. *Peter* did celebrate *Eaſter* from the fifteenth day of the Moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep *Eaſter* from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; ſo that you begin *Eaſter* oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the Law nor the Goſpel maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day, either did eat the old Paſſover at night, or elſe did celebrate the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, in the remembrance of his death and paſſion. You do alſo utterly reject from the celebration of *Eaſter*, the one and twentieth day, the which the Law hath chiefly willed to be obſerved: And therefore as I ſaid, in the keeping of *Eaſter*, you neither agree with S. *John*, nor with *Peter*, nor with the Law, nor yet with the Goſpel. Then *Colman* again anſwered to theſe things, ſaying: *Did then* Anatholius *a godly man, and one much commended in the foreſaid eccleſiaſtical ſtory, againſt the Law and the Goſpel, who writeth that the* Eaſter *was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or ſhall we think that* Columba, *our reverend Father and his ſucceſſors, being men of God, who obſerved the* Eaſter *after this manner, did againſt the holy Scripture? Whereas ſome of them were men of ſuch godlineſs and vertue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles.* (*And I hereby nothing doubting of their holineſs*) *do endevour to follow their life, order and diſcipline.* Then ſaid *Wilfrid*: *It is certain that* Anatholius *was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him ſeeing you obſerve not his Order? For he following the true rule in keeping his* Eaſter, *obſerveth the circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or if you do, you condemn the common order obſerved in the univerſal Church of Chriſt. And moreover, the ſaid* Anatholius *doth ſo count the fourteenth day, in the obſervation of* Eaſter, *as he confeſſeth the ſame to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the* Egyptians, *and likewiſe noteth the twentieth day, to be in the feaſt of* Eaſter, *the one and twentieth in the evening: The which diſtinction that you know not, by this may appear, for that you keep the* Eaſter, *on the thirteenth day before the full Moon. Or otherwiſe I can anſwer you touching your Father* Columba *and his ſucceſſors, whoſe Order you ſay you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wiſe,* that the Lord will anſwer to many that ſhall ſay in the day of Judgment, that in his name they have prophefied and caſt out Divels, and have done many Miracles, &c. That he never knew them. *But God forbid that I ſhould ſay ſo of your Fathers, becauſe it is much better to believe well of thoſe we know not, than ill. Whereupon I deny not that they were the ſervants of God, and holy Men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude ſimplicity: And I think that the Order which they uſed in the* Eaſter, *did not much hurt them, ſo long as they had none amongſt them that could ſhew them the right obſervation of the ſame for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your Fellows, if you refuſe the Order of the Apoſtolical See, or rather, of the univerſal Church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you do ſin. And though your Forefathers were holy Men, what is their fewneſs, being but a corner of an Iſland, to be preferred before the univerſal Church, of Jeſus Chriſt, diſperſed throughout the whole World? And if* Columba *your Father (and ours alſo, being of Chriſt* Jeſus) *were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the Prince of the holy Apoſtles? To whom the Lord ſaid,* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Wilfrid refelleth.

The King concludeth.

Wilfrid having thus ended his argument, the King ſaid to *Colman*: *Is it true that the Lord ſpake theſe things to S.* Peter? And *Colman* anſwered, *Yea.* Then ſaid the King, *Can you declare any thing that the Lord gave to* Colman? *Colman* anſwered, *No.* Then quoth the King, *Do both of you agree and conſent in this matter without any controverſie, that theſe words were principally ſpoken to* Peter, *and that the Lord gave him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven?* And they both anſwered, *Yea.* Then concluded the King on this wiſe, *For ſo much as S.* Peter *is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainſay him; But in that I am able, I will obey his Orders in every point, leſt when I come to the gates of Heaven, he ſhut them againſt Me.*

The authority of men is not to be ſticked unto for their doing of miracles.

Example of them that follow not for lack of teaching example not them which being taught will not follow.

Yea Sir, *Suffragio eccleſiæ non numerandus eſt, ſed tenebrandus.* Aug.

Nobile munus *datur Pompeio cum principi vulgus.*

Egfrid ob ſerved of Northumberland.

Malmeſbu rien. Hunting. Fab. cap. 19.

Wilfrid Archbiſhop of York.

Upon this ſimple and rude reaſon of the King, the multitude eſtſoons conſented, and with them alſo *Cedda* was contented to give over, only *Colman* the *Scot*, being then Archbiſhop of *York*, in diſpleaſure left the Realm, and departed into *Scotland*, carrying with him the bones of *Aidanus*. *Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25.* And thus much concerning this matter of *Eaſter*.

After the deceaſe of *Oſwy*, *Egfrid* his Son was King after him in *Northumberland* fifteen years. By this *Egfrid* *Cuthbert* was promoted to the Biſhoprick of the See of *Farne*: And *Wilfrid* which before had been Archbiſhop of *York*, was diſplaced through the means of *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Cedda* poſſeſſed that See. *Wilfrid*, when he was put out, went to *Rome*, and complained of him to *Agathon* the Biſhop, and was well allowed in ſome things. But the King and *Theodorus* had there ſuch Proctors and Friends, that he returned without ſpeeding of his cauſe. Wherefore he returned into the *South-Saxons*, and builded an Abbey in *Siſeſie*, and Preached unto the *South-Saxons*, fifteen years. The King of

the *South-Saxons* at that time was *Ethelwold*, to whom we declared a little before that *Wolferus* King of the *Mercians* gave the Ile of *Wight* upon condition that he would be Christened, and so was baptized by *Berinus*: the said *Wolferus* being his Godfather, and Son in Law, both in one day. Wherefore *Wolferus* now being licenfed by *Ethelwold* the King, preached unto his Nobles and people of *South-Sax*, and converted them to Christ. In the mean time of whose baptiling, the rain which before they lacked three years together, was given them plentifully, whereby their great Famine flacked, and the Country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenneſs: insomuch that (as in ſome ſtories it is ſaid) the people perured with Famine, would go forty together upon the Rocks by the Sea-ide, and taking hands together would throw themſelves down to the Sea. Moreover, where they lacked before the Art of Filhing, the forefaid *Wilfride* taught them how with Nets to fiſh.

South-Saxons converted to Chriſtian Faith.

H. Hunting. lib. 3.

The Ile of Wight converted to Chriſt.

¶ And thus by proceſs have we diſcourſed from time to time how and by what means the Idolatrous people were induced to the true Faith of Chriſt: of whom the *South-Saxons* with the *Iſle of Wight* were the laſt.

Aſtrid King of *Northumberland.*

After *Egfride*, who was ſlain in the ſtraits of *Scotland*, next ſucceeded *Alfride* his Brother, and Baſtard Son to *Oſwy*, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in *Northumberland*. This *Alfride* reſtored again the foreſaid *Wilfride* to the See of *York*, whom his Brother had before expelled, and put in *Cedda*. Notwithſtanding the ſame King within five years after, expulſed the ſaid *Wilfride* again, and ſo went he to *Rome*. But at length by *Oſrick* his Succeſſor was placed again the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Cedda* was ordained by *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mercia*. The which Province of *Mercia*, the ſaid *Theodorus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Synod holden at *Hatfield*, did after divide into five Biſhopricks: that is, one to *Cheſter*, the ſecond to *Worceſter*, the third to *Lichfield*, the fourth to *Cederna* in *Lindſey*, the fifth to *Dorcheſter*, which was after tranſlated to *Lincoln*.

Wilfride reſtored again to the See of York.

Mercia divided into five Biſhopricks.

Near about this time in the year of our Lord, 666. the deteſtable Sect of *Mahumet* began to take ſtrength and place. Although *Polychronicon* differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this Sect ſomewhat before, but the moſt diligent Searchers of them which write now, refer it to this year, which well agreeth with the number of that Beaſt, ſignified in the *Apocalypſe*, χξ∈ that is, 666. Of this *Mahumet* came the Kingdom of *Agarens* (whom he after named *Saracens*) to whom he gave ſundry Laws, patched of many Sects and Religions together: he taught them to pray ever to the *South*; and as we keep the *Sunday*, ſo they keep the *Friday*, which they call the day of *Venus*. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many Concubines as they liſt; to abſtain from the uſe of Wine, except on certain ſolemn days in the year; to have and worſhip only one God Omnipotent, ſaying that *Moſes* and the Prophets were great men, but Chriſt was greater, and greateſt of all the Prophets, as being born of the Virgin *Mary* by the Power of God without mans ſeed, and at laſt was taken up to Heaven, but was not ſlain, but another in his likeneſs for him, with many other wicked Blaſphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the *Saracens* began to be conquered of the *Turks*, and in proceſs of time wholly ſubdued to them.

The wicked Sect of Mahumet.

Apoc. 13.

Anno 666.

Ex Polycron. & Vincile Cambrenſi. Ex Stephano Conqueranſi.

But now to return again to the time of our *Engliſh Saxons*: In this mean ſeaſon *Theodorus* was ſent from *Italy* into *England*, by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and with him divers other Monks of *Italy*, to ſet up here in *England Latine* Service, Maſſes, Ceremonies, Letanies, with ſuch other *Romiſh* ware, &c. This *Theodorus* being made Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of *Canterbury*, began to play the *Rex*, placing and diſplacing the Biſhops at his pleaſure. As for *Cedda* and *Wilfride* Archbiſhops of *York*, he thruſt them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully conſecrated, notwithſtanding they were ſufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed againſt their wills. Wherefore *Wilfride*, as is before touched, went up to *Rome*, but could have no redreſs of his Cauſe. Yet to ſhew what modeſty this *Wilfride* uſed againſt his Enemy being ſo violently moleſted as he was, becauſe the words of his complaint are expreſſed in *William Malmeſbury*, I thought here to expreſs the ſame both for the commendation of the party, and alſo for the good Example of others, in caſe any ſuch be, whom good Examples will move to well-doing.

Theodorus Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

This *Wilfride* therefore, having ſuch injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of *Theodore*, although he had juſt cauſe to do his uttermoſt; yet in proſecuting his Complaint how he tempered himſelf, what words of modeſty he uſed, rather to defend his Innocency, than to impugne his Adverſary, by this his ſuggeſtion offered up to the Biſhop of *Rome*, may appear, whoſe words in effect were theſe, *Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus ſanctiſſ. Archiepiſcopus (me ſuperſtite in ſede, quam licet indignus diſponſabam) abſque conſenſu cujuſlibet Epiſcopi ex ſua auctoritate (mea humilitate non acquieſcente) ordinaverit tres Epiſcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejuſdem viri reverentia, conducit. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſummitate directius aſſ. accuſare non audeo, &c.* In *Engliſh*: How it chanceth that *Theodorus* the moſt holy and reverend Archbiſhop (my ſelf being alive in the See, which I thought unworthy did rule and diſpoſe) hath of his own Authority without the conſent of any Biſhop (neither having any ſimple voice agreeing to the ſame) ordained three Biſhops, I had rather paſs over in ſilence, than to ſtir any further therein, becauſe of the reverence of that man, and no leſs thought I it my duty ſo to do. The which man for that he hath been directed by the See Apoſtolical, I will not, nor dare not here accuſe, &c. Thus the cauſe of the faid *Wilfride* albeit it was ſufficiently known in the Court of *Rome*, to be well allowed for juſt and innocent; yet it was not then redreſſed. In ſuch elimination was this *Theodorus* then among the *Romans*. Upon this Controverſie of theſe two Biſhops I may well here infer the words of *William Malmeſbury*, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be theſe in his *Latine* ſtory, *Ubi videri & doleri poteſt humana miſeria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis ſanctitate polleat, non ad plenum perviacaces mores exuat, &c.* That is, In the which *Theodore* (ſaith he) the weak and miſerable infirmity of man be ſeen and alſo lamented; conſidering, that although a man be never ſo holy, yet in the ſame man is found ſomething, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his ſtubborn conditions, &c.

Gall. Mal. malmenſis lib. 1. de geſtis Pontif. Anglorum.

Beda lib. 5. c. 22.

Cuthlace a Pupill Bilfile.

Cuthlace the courteour.

Lying Miracles.

What ſtrange fights this Brithwold or Biſhelme did ſee after his death, read the ninth Book of Henry Huntington.

Gall. Malmeſ. lib. 5. de Pontif.

In the in this *Theodorus*, and by the means of him, in Provincial Synod was holden at *Thetford*, mentioned in the ſtory of *Beda*: the Principal Contents whereof were theſe:

Anno 680.

First, That *Eaſter-day* ſhould be uniformly kept and obſerved through the whole Realm, upon one certain day, *videlicet prima, 14. Luna menſis primi.* 1.

Secondly, That no Biſhop ſhould intermeddle within the Dioceſs of another. 2.

Thirdly, That Monaſteries conſecrated unto God ſhould be exempt and free from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops. 3.

Fourthly, That the Monks ſhould not ſtray from one place (that is) from one Monaſtery to another, without the licence of their Abbot: alſo to keep the ſame Obedience which they promiſed at their firſt entring. 4.

Fifthly, That no Clergy-man ſhould forſake his own Biſhop, and be received in any other place, without Letters Commendatory of his own Biſhop. 5.

Sixthly, That foreign Biſhops and Clergy-men coming into the Realm, ſhould be content only with the benefit of ſuch Hoſpitality, as ſhould be offered them: neither ſhould intermeddle any further within the Precinct of any Biſhop, without his ſpecial permiſſion. 6.

Seventhly, That Synods Provincial ſhould be kept within the Realm at leaſt once a year. 7.

Eighthly, That no Biſhop ſhould prefer himſelf before another, but muſt obſerve the time and order of his Conſecration. 8.

Ninethly, That the number of Biſhops ſhould be augmented, as the number of the people increaſeth, 9.

Tenthly, That no Marriage ſhould be admitted, but that which was lawful; no Inceſt to be ſuffered; neither any man to put away his Wife for any cauſe, except only for Fornication, after the rule of the Goſpel. And theſe be the principal Chapters of that Synod, &c.

In

In the next year following was the ſixth general Council kept at *Conſtance*, whereat this *Theodore* was alſo preſent under Pope *Agatho*: where marriage was permitted to *Greek* Prieſts, and forbidden to the *Latine*. In this Council the *Latine* Maſs was firſt openly ſaid by *John Portuenſis*, the Popes Legat, before the Patriarch and Princes at *Conſtantinople*, in the Temple of Saint *Sophie*.

After the deceaſe of *Alfride* King of *Northumberland* (from whom it was digreſſed) ſucceeded his Son *Oſwulfus*, reigning eleven years, after whom reigned *Kenreder* two years, and next *Oſcrius* after him eleven years.

Anno 705.

Oſwulfus, Kenredus, Oſcrius Kings of Northumberland. The Kingdom of Britain deſcribed. Iſle of Ieta, or Ima King of Weſt-Saxons. Polychron. lib. 5. cap 21.

In the time and reign of theſe four Kings of *Northumberland*, King *Ina* or *Inas* reigned in *Weſt-Sax*, who ſucceeding after *Cadwallader*, the laſt King of *Britains*, began his Reign about the year of our Lord, 689. and reigned with great valiantneſs over the *Weſt-Saxons* the term of 37 years. Concerning whoſe Acts and Wars maintained againſt the *Kentiſh-Saxons* and other Kings, becauſe I have not to intermeddle withall, I refer the Reader to other Chroniclers.

About the ſixth year of the Reign of this *Ina*, or *Ive*, *Polychronicon* and others make mention of one *Cuthlacus*, whom they call S. *Cutblake* a Confeſſor, who about the four and twentieth year of his age, renouncing the Pomp of the World, profeſſed himſelf a Monk in the Abbey of *Repingdon*, and the third year after went to *Crowland*, where he led the life of an *Anchorite*. In the which Ile and place of his burying was builded a fair Abbey, called afterward for the great reſort and gentle entertainment of Strangers, *Crowland the courteous*. But why this *Cuthlake* ſhould be ſainted for his doings, I ſee no great cauſe: as neither do I think the fabulous Miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to believe, that he incloſed the Devil in a boyling-Pot, and cauſed wicked Spirits to erect up houſes, with ſuch other Fables and lying Miracles. Among which lying Miracles alſo may be reckoned that which the ſtories mention in the eleventh year of the Reign of *Iva*, to be done of one *Brithwold* or *Brithelme*, who, being dead a long ſeaſon, was reſtored to life again, and told many wonders of ſtrange things that he had ſeen, cauſing thereby great Alms and deeds of Charity to be done of the people: and ſo he, diſpoling of his goods given in three parts, went to the Abbey of *Malmes*, where he continued the reſt of his life.

Moreover, about the ſixteenth year of the ſaid *Iva*, *Ethelbred* King of *Mercia*, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of *Bardney*.

King Ethelred made Abbot of Bardney.

Adelmus.

And about the eighteenth year of the Reign of *Ive*, died the worthy and learned Biſhop *Adelmus*, firſt Abbot of *Malmeſbury*, afterwards Biſhop of *Schirborne*, of whom *William Malmeſbury* writeth plenteouſly with great commendation, and that not unworthily, as I ſuppoſe: eſpecially for the noble praiſe of Learning and Vertue in him above the reſt of that time (next after *Beda*) as the great number of Books and Epiſtles, with Poems by him ſet forth, will declare. Although concerning the Miracles which the ſaid Author aſcribeth to him; as firſt in cauling an Infant of nine days old to ſpeak at *Rome*, to declare Pope *Sergius*, which was then ſuſpected the Father of the ſaid Child; alſo in hanging his Caſule upon the Sunbeams: *Item*, in making whole the Altar-ſtone of marble brought from *Rome*: *Item*, in drawing a length one of the Timber pieces, which went to the building of the Temple in *Malmesbury*: *Item*, in ſaving the Mariners at *Dover*, &c. As concerning theſe and ſuch other Miracles, which *William Malmeſbury* to him attributeth, I cannot conſent to him therein: but think rather the ſame to be Monkiſh devices, forged upon their Patrons to maintain the dignity of their houſes. And as the Author was deceived (no doubt) in believing ſuch Fables himſelf, ſo may he likewiſe deceive us through the dexterity of his ſtile and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the World now adays more wiſdom, in not believing ſuch practiſes. This *Adelmus* was Biſhop of *Schirborne*, which See after was united to the See of *Winton*. In which Church of *Winchester* the like Miracles alſo are to be read of Biſhop *Adelwold* and S. *Swithine*, whom they have canonized likewiſe for a Saint.

Gall. Malmeſ. lib. 5. de Pontif.

Malmesbury commended for his ſtile. Lying Miracles reported.

Adelme Biſhop. Beda lib. 5. cap. 23. & Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 21.

Moreover, near about the five and twentieth of *Ive*, by the Report of *Beda*, Saint *John* of *Beverly*, which was then Biſhop of *York*, died, and was buried at the Porch of the Minſter of *Deirwood* or *Beverley*. In the which Porch it is recorded in ſome Chronicles, that as the ſaid *John* upon a time was praying, being in the Porch of Saint *Michael* in *York*, the Holy Ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Dove fate before him upon the Altar in brightneſs ſhining above the Sun. This brightneſs being ſeen of others, firſt cometh one of his Deacons running unto the Porch, who beholding the Biſhop there ſtanding in his Prayers, and all the place replenished with the Holy Ghoſt, was ſtricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop by and by cured the face of his Deacon again, charging them (as the ſtory ſaith) not to publiſh what he had ſeen during his life time, &c. Which tale ſeemeth as true as that we read about the ſame time done of S. *Egwine*, in *Polychron*, Abbot of *Eſſham* and Biſhop of *Worceſter* (then called *Wilts*) who upon a time when he had fettered both his feet in Irons fait locked for certain ſins done in his youth, and had caſt the Key thereof into the Sea, afterward a Fiſh brought the Key again into the Ship, as he was ſailing homeward from *Rome*.

Another lyke fable of S. Egwine.

Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 23.

But to leave theſe Monkiſh Phantaſies, and return to the right courſe again of the ſtory: In the time of this foreſaid *Ive*, began firſt the right Obſervation of *Eaſter-day* to be kept of the *Picts* and of the *Britains*. In the obſervation of which day (as is largely ſet forth in *Beda* and *Polychronicon*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 17. & 22.) three things are neceſſary to be, obſerved: Firſt, the *full Moon* of the firſt month, that is, of the month of *March*. Secondly, the *Dominical letter*. Thirdly, the *Equinoctial day*, which *Equinoctial* was wont to be counted in the *Eaſt* Church, and eſpecially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the ſeventeenth day of *March*. So that the *full Moon* on the *Equinoctial day*, or after the *Equinoctial day* being obſerved, the next *Dominical day* following that *full Moon*, is to be taken for *Eaſter-day*. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: Firſt, the fulneſs of the *Moon* muſt be perfectly full, ſo that it be the beginning of the third week of the *Moon*, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the *Moon*. Secondly, it is to be noted, that the ſaid perfect fulneſs of the *Moon*, beginning the third week, muſt happen either in the very evening of the *Equinoctial day*, or after the *Equinoctial day*: for elſe if it happen either on the *Equinoctial day* before the evening, or before the *Equinoctial day*, then it belongeth to the laſt month of the laſt year, and not to the firſt month of the firſt year, and ſo ſerveth not to be obſerved.

Beda lib. 5. de geſtis Anglo. Polychronic. lib. 5. cap. 22.

A general rule ſerving for the obſervation of Eaſter-day.

This rule of Eaſter ſeemeth to be taken out of the Book of Numbers. And they going out of Rameſſy the firſt month, the next day after held their Eaſter, &c.

This rite and uſage in keeping *Eaſter-day* being received in the *Latine* Church, began now to take place among the *Picts* and *Britains*, through the buſie travel of *Theodorus Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monk, as they term him, and of *Colfrid* Abbot of *Sirwin* in *Northumberland*, which wrote to *Naracanus*, or *Naitonus* the King of *Picts*, concerning the ſame: who alſo among other things writeth of the ſhaven Crowns of Prieſts, ſaying, that it was as neceſſary for the vow of a Monk, the degree of a Prieſt, to have a ſhaven Crown for reſtraint of their luſt; as for any Chriſtian man to bleſs him againſt Spirits, when they come upon him, *Beda lib.* 5. The Copy of which Letter as it is in *Beda* I have here annexed, not for any great reaſon therein contained, but only to delight the Reader with ſome paſtime, in ſeeing the fond ignorance of that Monkiſh age: the Copy of the Letter thus proceeded.

Why Prieſts Crown were ſhaven

Beda de geſt. lib. 5.

Of the ſhaving of Prieſts, out of the fifth Book of *Beda*, the 21. Chapter.

Concerning the ſhaving of Prieſts (whereof you writ alſo unto me) I exhort you that it be decently obſerved according to the Chriſtian Faith. We are not ignorant that the Apoſtles were not all ſhaven after one manner, neither doth the Catholick Church at this day agree in one uniform manner of ſhaving, as they do in Faith, Hope and Charity. Let us conſider the former time of the Patriarchs, and we ſhall find that Job (an example of Patience) even in the very point of his Afflictions, did ſhave his head: and he proveth alſo, that in the time of his Proſperity, he uſed to let his hair grow. And Joſeph an excellent

The copy of a Monkiſh Letter of *Biſhop* to King of *Naits* for the ſhaving of Prieſts crowns. How proveth he that the Apoſtles, Job and Joſeph were ſhaven. Much fild, nothing proved.

excellent Doctor and Executor of Chastity, Humility, Piety, and other Vertues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven: whereby it appeareth, that whilst he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold both those, being men of God, did use an order in the habit of body one contrary to the other, whose Consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like Grace of Vertues. But to speak truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure Faith in the Lord, and sincere Charity towards their Neighbour: especially for that there was never any Controversie amongst the Catholick Fathers about the diversity thereof, as there hath been of the difference of the Celebration of Easter *and of Faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the Church or else-where, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said,* Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. *And contrariwise there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used, to whom the same* S. Peter *said,* Thy money be with thee to thy destruction, because thou thinkest to possess the Gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. *Neither ought we to be shaven on the crown only, because* S. Peter *was so shaven, but because* Peter *was so shaven in remembrance of the Lords Passion: therefore we that desire by the same Passion to be saved, must wear the sign of the same Passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every Church, that is made a Church by the death of the Saviour, doth use to bear the sign of the holy Cross in the front, that it may the better by the defect of that Banner, be kept from the invasions of evil Spirits; and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucifie the flesh with the concupiscence of the same: in like manner it behoveth such as have the vows of Monks, and degrees of the Clergy, to bind themselves with a visible bit of continency for the Lords sake. And as the Lord have a Crown of Thornes on his head in his Passion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins: so must every one of us by shaving our heads, patiently bear, and willingly suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for his sake, that we may receive the Crown of eternal Life,* which God hath promised to all that love him, *and shall by shaving their corporal crowns, bear the Adversity, and contemn the Prosperity of this World. But the shaving which* Simon Magus *used, what faithful man doth not detest, together with his Magical Art? The which at the first appearance hath a shew of a shaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you shall find it cut tailed in such wise, as you will say, it is rather meet to be used of the* Simonists, *than of the* Christians. *And such (of foolish men) be thought worthy of the Glory of the eternal Crown; whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also of eternal Salvation. I speak not this against them that use this kind of shaving, and live Catholickly in Faith and good Works, but surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men; amongst the which is* Adamnan, *the Abbot and worthy Priest of the* Columbians: *who when he came Ambassador from his Country unto King* Alfrid, *desired greatly to see our Monastery: where he declared a wonderful Wisdom, Humility, and Religion both in his manners and words. Amongst other talk, I asked him,* Why he that did believe to come to the Crown of Life that should never have end, did use contrary to his belief a definite Image of a Crown on his head? And if you seek *(quoth I)* the Fellowship on his head? And if you seek *(quoth I)* the Fellowship of S. *Peter,* why do you use the fashion of his Crown whom S. *Peter* did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally? Adamnan *answered, saying,* You know right well Brother, though I use *Saying.* more manner of shaving, after the custom of my Country, yet do I detest, and with all my heart abhor his Infidelity. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the Footsteps of the holy Apostle as far forth as my power will extend. *Then said I,* I believe it is so: but then it is apparent you imitate those things which the Apostle *Peter* did from the bottom of your heart, if you use the same upon your face that you know he did; for I suppose your Wisdom

Diversity of Rites hurteth not the Church.

See how theefs shavelings would father their having upon Peter, which is neither found in Scripture, nor any approved Historys, but only in painted cloathes.

Why Prelats and Monks be shaven in the crown.

The shaving of the crown what it reprehendeth.

How doth the sight of the cross defend Churches from evil spirits, when it cannot keep them from evil Priests?

If shaving of the crown doth teach men patience in suffering, how cometh it that we see more wolfish and lireful than their shaven generations of Monkish vigere? *Simon Magus* shavers, in his faith.

understandeth that it is right descent to differ in the trimming your face or shaving, from his, whom in your heart you abhor. And contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a * Mediator between God and you, so it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving. *Thus much said I to* Adamnan, *who seemed then well to like our Churches: insomuch that he returning into* Scotland, *reformed many of his Churches there after our Celebration, albeit he could not do so amongst the Monks, with whom he had special Authority. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving if he had been able. And now* (O *King*) *I exhort your Majesty to labour together with your people, over whom the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath made you Governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the Catholick and Apostolical Churches. So shall it come to pas, that in the end of this your Temporal Kingdom, the most blessed Prince of the Apostles shall open you the Gates of the heavenly Kingdom; together with the other Elect of God. The Grace of the eternal King preserve you most dearly beloved Son in Christ.*

* There is but one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.

When this Letter was read before King *Naiton* with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper Language, he seemed to rejoyce very much at the Exhortation thereof, insomuch as riting up from among his Noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a Present out of *England*, and so caused it forthwith by publick Proclamation to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the Provinces of the *Picts*, defacing the Errors that had been used there by the space of 704 years. For all the Ministers of the Altar and all Monks were shaven on the Crown, and all the people rejoyced for the new Discipline of the most blessed Prince of the Apostle S. *Peter*, which they had received.

¶ By this Monkish Letter above prefixed, void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of History, thou maist note, gentle Reader, how this vain tradition of shaven Crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion: which in very deed was none other but certain mocking phantasies of Monks of that time, fully grounded upon the example of *Peter*, when by no old Monument of any ancient Record they can ever prove, either *Peter* or *Simon Magus* to have been shaven. Moreover, in the said Letter also is to be noted, how the *Scottish* Clergy at that season, did wear no such Priestly crowns as our *English* Churchmen then did.

A note to admonish the Reader.

But to cut off this matter of shaving, more worthy to be laughed at, than to be storied; let us now again return where as we left at King *Ive*, of whom *William Malmesbury* and *Fabian* in his Chronicle do record, that when the foresaid *Ive* had ruled the *West-Saxons* by the term of thirty seven years, by the importunate perswasion and subtil policy of his wife *Ethelburga*, he was allured to go to *Rome*, there to be made a Monk. Which *Ethelburga* after she had a long time laboured him to leave the World, and could not bring about her purpose, upon a season, when the King and she had rested them in a fair Palace richly hanged, and were upon the morrow thence departed; she by her commandment, caused the Palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and Hogs and vile Beasts therein to be laid, as well in the Chambers, as other Houses of Office; and in their own Chamber where they did lie, there was a Sow laid with her young Pigs. And when she knew that this Palace was thus deformed, being a certain space out of the Town, she besought the King to visit the said Palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, she said to him, *I pray you my Lord, behold now this house, where are now the rich Tapets and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Apparel and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Arparel and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Apparel and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Apparel and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Ap

as is before declared. The faid *Egbert* alſo erected a noble Library in *York*, whoſe Example I wiſh other Biſhops would follow.

An. 747. *Ex Matth. lib. de geſtis pontif. Anglo. Cuthberto Archiepiſcopo Cantuar.*

About the beginning of the Reign of this *Egbert*, was *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who collected a great Synod of Biſhops and Prelates, in the year of our Lord, 747. in the month of *September*, near to the place called *Clouſho*. In the which Synod aſſembled theſe Decrees were Enacted.

1. Firſt, That Biſhops ſhould be more diligent in feeing to their Office, and in admoniſhing the people of their faults.

2. That they ſhould live in a peaceable mind together, notwithſtanding they were in place diſſevered aſunder.

3. That every Biſhop once a year ſhould go about all the Pariſhes of his Diocels.

4. That the ſaid Biſhops every one in his Diocels ſhould moniſh their Abbots and Monks to live regularly: and that Prelates ſhould not oppreſs their Inferiors, but love them.

5. That they ſhould teach the Monaſteries which the ſecular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.

6. That none ſhould be admitted to Orders, before his life ſhould be examined.

7. That in Monaſteries the reading of holy Scripture ſhould be more frequented.

8. That Prieſts ſhould be no Diſpoſers of Secular buſineſs.

9. That they ſhould take no money for baptiſing Infants.

10. That they ſhould both learn and teach the Lords Prayer and Creed in the *Engliſh*-Tongue.

11. That all ſhould joyn together in their Miniſtery after one uniform Rite and Manner.

12. That in a modeſt Voice they ſhould ſing in the Church.

13. That all Holy and Feſtival days ſhould be celebrated at one time together.

14. That the Sabbath-day be reverendly obſerved and kept.

15. That the ſeven Hours Canonical every day be obſerved.

The Rogation days had not then that ſuperſtition in them which they had afterward.

16. That the Rogation-days, both the greater and leſſer ſhould not be omitted.

17. That the Feaſt of S. *Gregory* and S. *Auſtin* our Patron ſhould not be omitted.

18. That the Faſt of the four times ſhould be kept and obſerved.

19. That Monks and Nuns ſhould go regularly apparelled.

20. That Biſhops ſhould ſee theſe Decrees not to be neglected.

21. That the Church-men ſhould not give themſelves unto drunkenneſs.

22. That the Communion ſhould not be neglected of the Church-men.

23. *Item*, that the ſame alſo ſhould be obſerved of Lay-men, as time required.

24. That Lay-men firſt ſhould be well tried before they entred into Monkery.

25. That Alms be not neglected.

26. That Biſhops ſhould ſee theſe Decrees to be notified to the people.

27. They diſputed of the profit of Alms.

28. They diſputed of the profit of ſinging Pſalms.

29. That the Congregation ſhould be conſtituted, after the ability of their Goods.

30. That Monks ſhould not dwell among Lay-men.

31. That publick Prayer ſhould be made for Kings and Princes.

Boniface an Engliſh man Archbiſhop of Mentz.

Theſe Decrees and Ordinances being thus among the Biſhops concluded, *Cuthbert* the Archbiſhop ſendeth the Copy thereof to *Boniface*, otherwiſe named *Winfride*, an *Engliſh* man born, was then Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and after made a Martyr, as the Popiſh ſtories term him.

Ethelbald King of *Mercia land.*

This *Boniface* being, as is ſaid, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the time of this foreſaid Synod, wrote a Letter to *Ethelbald* King of *Merceland*: which *Ethelbald* was alſo preſent in the ſame Synod, of whom *Beda* maketh mention in his Hiſtory, calling him proud *Ethelbold*, and the greateſt of the *Saxon* Kings in his time. Firſt this *Ethelbald*, after the departing of *Celulfe* into his Monkery, invaded and ſpoiled the Country of *Northumberland*. Moreover, he exerciſed mortal and horrible War a long ſpace with *Cadred*, otherwiſe of ſome named *Cuthbert*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*: Furthermore, he with other *Saxon* Kings ſo impugned the *Britains*, that from that time they never durſt provoke the *Saxons* any more. At length the ſaid *Cudred*, refuſing the intolerable Exactions of proud *Ethelbald*, doth incounter with him in battel: where notwithſtanding the great Power that *Ethelbald* had to him adjoyned, of the *Mercians*, of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and of the *Cantuarites*; yet the ſaid *Cudred* through Gods Power, and the means of a certain valiant Warrior, called *Edelbirn*, a Conſul, overthrew the pride of *Ethelbald*, after a ſore and terrible conflict. Which *Ethelbald* notwithſtanding repairing his Power again the next year after, renewed battel with the foreſaid *Cudred*; in the which battel *Ethelbald* (after he had reigned one and forty years in *Mercia*) was ſlain by one *Beornered*, who after reigned in that *Dition* but a ſmall time. For *Offa*, Nephew to the ſaid *Ethelbald*, expelled the ſaid *Beornered*, and ſucceeded King in that Province of *Mercia*, where he reigned nine and thirty years, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jeſus ſpeeding therein our purpoſe) to be declared, as place and time ſhall require. In the mean ſeaſon, not to forget the Letter before mentioned of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, ſent unto this *Ethelbald*; I thought the ſame not unworthy here to be inſerted (at the leaſt the effect thereof) not ſo much for the Authors ſake, as for that ſome good matter, peradventure, may be picked thereout for other Princes to behold and conſider.

Edelbirn a ſtrong and valiant warriour. Pride overthrown.

The Copy and Tenor of the Letter of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Martyr of God (an *Engliſh* man) ſent to *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, freely and yet charitably admoniſhing him of his Adulterous life, and Oppreſſion of Churches.

Regi & filio chariſſimo, & in Chriſti amore cæteris regibus Anglorum *præferendo* Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius *Archiepiſcopus legatus* Germanicus Romanæ *Eccleſiæ perpetuam in Chriſto charitatis ſalutem. Conſiſtentes coram Deo, qui novit an vere atque ex animo dicam: quando proſperitatem veſtram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid adverſum vel in eventu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoſcimus, triſtamur. Audivimus enim quod Eleemoſynis intentus, furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defenſor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium ſpernis, ſi pro caſtitate facetes, eſſet laudabile: ſed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum ſanctimonialibus voluptatis, eſt vituperabile & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ veſtræ coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter Idolatras conſtituit, quia Templum Dei violaſti. Quapropter fili chariſſime panitere, & memorare oportet, quam turpe ſit, ut tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus ſis libidinis ſervus. Audivimus præterea quod opimates pene omnis gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deſerant, & adulteras & Sanctimoniales conſuprent. Quod quam ſit peregrinum ab honeſtate, docent vos alienæ gentis inſtitutio. Nam in antiqua* Saxonia *ubi nulla eſt Chriſti cognitio, ſi virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, ſub conjuge fuerit adultera, manu propria ſtrangulatam cremant, & ſupra foſſam ſepulta corruptorem ſuſpendunt, aut cingulo tenui (veſtibus abſciſſis) flagellant eam caſtæ matronæ & cultellis pungunt; & de villa in villam miſſæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Inſuper & Vinuli, quod eſt fœdiſſimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mortuo ſe in rogo crematis pariter arſura præcipiet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum caſtitatis habent, quid tibi convenit fili chariſſime, qui Chriſtianus & Rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quod ſi gens* Anglorum (*ſicut in* Francia, *&* Italia, *& ab ipſis* Pagauis *nobis improperatur*) *ſpretæ legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficit, naſciturque ſit ex ea commixtione gens ignava & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam poſſundet: ſicut*

Nihil eſt bonum quod non ſubeat primo malum. Cato.

ſicut Burgundionibus & Provincialibus, & Hiſpanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infeſtarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum eſt nobis, quod multa privilegia Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum auferent, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo provoces. Sed recogita quæſo quam terribilem vindictam Deus in Anteriores Reges exercuit, ejuſdem culpæ conſcios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædeceſſorum tuum ſtupratorem Sanctimonialium, & Eccleſiaſticorum privilegiorum fraftorem ſplendide cum ſuis comitibus equalantem ſpiritus malignus arripuit: & ſine confeſſione & viatico, cum diabolo ſermocinanti, & gem Dei deteſtanti animam extorſit. Ofredum quoque regem Deiorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum regem egit, ut regnum & juventem ætatem contemptibilis morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum, Monaſteriorum multorum everſor, & Eccleſiaſticarum pecuniarum in uſus proprios commutator, longa torſione, & verenda morte conſumptus eſt. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili chariſſime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut non deſpicias conſilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celſitudinem tuam appellare ſatagunt. Nihil enim boni regi ſalubrius, quam ſi talia commiſſa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit diſciplinam, diligit ſapientiam. Ideo, fili chariſſime, offendentes conſilium, juſtum, conteſtamur & obſecramus per viventem Deum, & per filium ejus Jeſum Chriſtum, & per ſpiritum ſanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva ſit vita præſens, & quam brevis & momentanea delectatio ſtuprcæ carnis: & quam ignominioſum ſit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum poſteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus viram componere, & præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celſitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

The corrupt life of Nuns noted.

In this Epiſtle here is to be ſeen and noted, firſt the corruption and great diſorder of life which alway from time to time hath been found in theſe Religious Houſes of Nuns, whoſe profeſſed Vow of co-acted Chaſtity hath yet never been good to the Church, nor profitable to the Common-wealth, and leaſt of all to themſelves. Of ſuch young and wanton Widows S. *Paul* in his time complaineth, 1 *Tim.* 5. which would take upon them the wilful Profeſſion of ſingle life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxury, deſerved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for theſe laſcivious Nuns not to have refuſed the ſafe yoke of *Chriſtian* Matrimony, than to intangle themſelves in this their ſuperſtitious Vow of perpetual Maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep?

Secondly, No leſs are they alſo to be reprehended, which maintained theſe ſuperſtitious Orders of unprofitable Nuns and of other Religions. In the number of whom was this foreſaid *Boniface*, otherwiſe called *Winfride*, who, although in this Epiſtle he doth juſtly reprehend the vicious Enormities both of ſecular and of religious Perſons; yet he himſelf is not without the ſame or rather greater reprehenſion, for that he gave the occaſion thereof in maintaining ſuch ſuperſtitious Orders of ſuch laſcivious Nuns and other Religions, and refraining the ſame from lawful Marriage. For ſo we find of him in ſtories that he was a great ſetter up and upholder of ſuch blind Superſtition, and of all Popery. Who being admitted by Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, Archbiſhop of *Magunce*, and indued with full Authority legantine over the *Germans*, brought divers Countries there under the Popes Obedience, held many great Councils, ordained Biſhops, builded Monaſteries, canonized Saints, commanded Relicks to be worſhipped, permitted religious Fathers to carry about Nuns with them a preaching. Amongſt all other he founded the great Monaſtery of *Fluda* in *Germany* of *Engliſh* Monks, into the which no women might enter but only *Lieba* and *Tecla*, two *Engliſh* Nuns. *Item*, by the Authority of the ſaid Archbiſhop *Boniface*, which he received from Pope *Zachary*, *Childericus*, King of *France*, was depoſed from the Right of his Crown, and *Pipinus*, betrayer of his Maſter, was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this *Boniface* proceeded that deteſtable Doctrine which now ſtandeth regiſtred in the Popes Decrees, *Diſt.* 40. *cap. Si Papa*. Which in a certain Epiſtle of his is this, that in caſe the Pope were of moſt filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himſelf, and of the whole Chriſtianity, in ſuch ſort, that he led innumerable Souls with him to Hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in ſo doing, for he hath (ſaith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

The Popiſh ſelfs and doings of *Boniface* hereſiarch King of Nuns.

The Monaſtery of *Fluda* in Germany, builded only *Engliſh* Nuns.

Childericus the French King depoſed, and *Pipinus* intruded. *Diſt.* 40. *cap.* Si Papa.

In the time of this Archbiſhop, Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, and alſo Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, wrought great Maſſe-worſhipping againſt the *Greek* Emperors *Philippicus* and *Leo*, and others for the maintaining of Images to be ſet up in Churches. Of whom *Philippicus* loſt both his Empire, and alſo his eyes: *Leo* for the ſame cauſe likewiſe againſt him was Excommunicate of *Gregory* the third. This *Gregory* the third (ſo far as I can conjecture) was he that firſt wrote the four Books of *Dialogues* in *Greek*, falſly bearing the name of *Gregory* the firſt, which Books afterward, called the *Dialogues* of *Gregory*, were tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latine*. *Item*, the ſaid *Gregory* the third, firſt brought into the Maſs-Canon the Clauſe for Relicks, beginning *Quorum ſolemnitates hodie in conſpectu, &c.* *Item*, brought into the ſame ſacrifice for ſaid Canon the Memorial, the Offering and Sacrifice for the dead, the Deed: like as *Zachary* brought in the Prieſts Veſture and Ornaments, and as the foreſaid *Conſtantinus* alſo was the firſt that gave his feet to be kiſſed of the Emperors. But to turn again into the courſe of our *Engliſh* ſtory.

Images in Churches diſcovered by Emperors, maintained by Popes. *Philippicus* for holding againſt images loſt his Empire and his eyes. The Author of the Book called the *Dialogues* of *Gregory*. Memorial of reliefs, offering and ſacrifice for the dead, brought in to the Maſs-Canon. The Popes firſt kiſſed of the Emperors.

In the time of this *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, *Sigebert* or *Sigbert* reigned in *Weſt-Saxony*, a man of ſo cruel tyranny to his Subjects (turning the Laws and Cuſtoms of his fore-Fathers after his own Will and Pleaſure) that when he was ſomewhat ſharply advertiſed by one of his Nobles, an Earl called *Combranus*, to change his manners, and to behave himſelf more prudently toward his people; he therefore maliciouſly cauſed him to be put to cruel death. Wherupon the ſaid King *Sigebert* continuing his cruel Conditions, by his Subjects conſpiring againſt him, was put from his kingly Dignity, and brought into ſuch deſolation, that wandering alone in a Wood without comfort, was there ſlain, even by the *Swineherd* of the ſaid Earl, whom before he had ſo wrongfully murthered, as partly is above touched. Whereby is to be ſeen the cruel tyranny of Princes never to proſper well, without the juſt revenge both of God and man.

Sigebert King of *Weſt-Saxons*. Cruel tyranny with like cruelty requited. *Kenulphus* King of *Weſt-Saxons*. An. 748.

This *Sigebert* being ſlain, in his place ſucceeded *Kenulphus*, in the year of our Lord, 748. who with the agreement of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was one of the chief doers againſt *Sigebert* his Maſter. This *Kenulphus* kept ſtrongly his Lordſhip againſt *Offa*, and againſt the power of all his Enemies, till at length after that he had reigned, as *Fabian* ſaith, one and thirty years, he reforting to a Paramour which he kept at *Merton*, was there beſet, and likewiſe ſlain by the train and means of a certain kinſman of the foreſaid *Sigebert*, named *Clito* or *Cliton*, in revengement of King *Sigebert*'s death.

Murther revenged with murther.

Moreoever, in the Reign of the foreſaid *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, and in the eighth year of *Kenulphus*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*; *Offa*, after he had ſlain the Tyrant *Beorredus*, which before had ſlain *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, and Uncle to this foreſaid *Offa*, reigned King of that Province.

Offa King of *Mercia*.

Of this *Offa* are told many notable Deeds; which becauſe they concern rather Political Affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpoſe of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I omit here to recite; As his Wars and Victories againſt *Egbert*, King of the *Northumbers*, as alſo againſt *Ethelred* King of *Eaſt-Angles*. *Item*, againſt *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, otherwiſe called *Wren*, whom (as *Fabian* ſaith) he took Priſoner, and led bound with him to *Mercia*. *Malmeſbury* witneſſeth otherwiſe this to be done not by *Offa*, but by *Kenulphus*, as Chriſt willing, hereafter ſhall appear. After theſe Victories, *Offa* had ſuch diſpleaſure unto the Citizens of *Canterbury*, that he removed the Archbiſhops See, and Lands of *Lambrith* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (by the agreement of Pope *Adrian*) unto *Litchfield*. He alſo chaſed the *Britains* or *Welſhmen* into *Wales*, and made a famous Ditch between *Wales* and the utter bounds of *Mercia*, or middle of *England*, which was called *Offa*'s ditch, and builded there a Church, which long time after was called *Offa*'s kirke. This

An untruth noted in the ſtory of *Malmeſbury*.

The primacy of *Canterbury* removed to *Litchfield*. *Lambrith* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Offa

Offa also married one of his Daughters to *Brightricus* that was a King of *West-Saxons*. And for that in his time was variance between him and the *French*-men, insomuch that the passage of Merchants was forbidden; therefore he sent *Alcuinus* a learned man unto *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, to commune the means of peace: which *Charles* had after that the said *Alcuinus* in great favour and estimation, and afterwards made him Abbot of *Turonia* in *France*.

This *Alcuinus* is commended for his learning next to *Aristotle* and Birds above all Saxons.

About the later time of the Reign of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* being then King of *East-Angles* (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of *Offa*, provoked by the counsel of his Nobles to sue for the marriage of his Daughter, well accompanied like a Prince with his men about him. Whereupon the Queen conceiving a false suspition, and fearing that which was never minded, that *Ethelbert* with his Company, under the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to work some violence against her Husband, and the Kingdom of *Mercia*; so the perswaded with King *Offa* and certain of her Council that night, that the next day following, *Offa* caused him to be trained into his Palace alone from his Company, by one called *Grimbertus*: who took him and Company, and there struck off his head, which forthwith was presented to the King and Queen. And thus with he then presented to the King and Queen. And thus the Innocent King *Etheldred* was wrongfully murthered, about the year of our Lord, 793. but not without a just Revenge at Gods hands. For, as the story recordeth, the foresaid Queen, worker of this Villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was fain to bite and rent her Tongue in pieces with her own teeth. *Offa* understanding at length the Innocency of this King, and the hainous cruelty of his Fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy Church; and to the Church of *Hereford*, in the remembrance of this *Ethelbert*, he bestowed great Lands. Moreover, he builded the Abbay of *S. Albans*, with certain other Monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to *Rome* for his Penance, where he gave to the Church of *S. Peter* a peny through every house in his Dominion, which was called commonly *Romefloat*, or *Peter-pence*, paid to the Church of *S. Peter*: and there at length was transformed from a King to a Monk, about the year of our Lord, 749. with *Kenredus* King of *Northumberland* above-mentioned, although some stories deny that he was a Monk.

Ethelbert King of *Estanglies* wrongfully murthered by *Offa*. The vain suspition and wicked counsel of a woman.

Ex Hist. Hermanni & Matthew Parisiens. Cruel murther revenged.

Offa and *Kenredus* of Kings made of Monks at *Rome*.

After *Offa* King of *Mercia*, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, succeeded his Son *Egfretus*, who reigned but four months, of whom thus writeth the foresaid *Alcuinus*, *Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis* Egfretus *propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione Regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit, &c.* that is, This Noble young man died not so much for offences of his own, as for that his Father had spilled much blood to confirm him in his Kingdom.

Egfretus King of *Mercia*. *Alcuinus*[?] *heres patricius.* The Fathers fault punished in the Child.

Next to which *Egfretus* succeeded *Kenulphus* in the said Kingdom of *Mercia*, which *Kenulphus* keeping and retaining the hatred of *Offa* his Predecessor against the *Cantuarits*, made War upon them, where he took *Egbert* their King, otherwise called *Wren*, whom he bound and led Prisoner to *Mercia*. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with Princely Clemency in the Town of *Winchcombe*, where he had builded the same time a Church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteen Bishops, and of *Cuthert*, whom he had placed in the same Kingdom of *Canterbury* before, and ten Dukes, and many other great Estates, King *Kenulphus* brought the said *Egbert* King of *Kent*, out of Prison into the Church, where he inlarged him out of Imprisonment, and restored him to his place again. At the light whereof, not only *Cuthert* the foresaid King rejoyced, but also all the Estates and people being there present, made such an Exclamation of joy and gladness, that the Church (and not only the Church, but also the Streets) rang withall. At which time such bountifulness of Gifts and Jewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although *Fabian* reserveth this story to King *Offa*, yet caules there be why I assent rather unto *Malmesbury* and to *Polychronicon*, which attribute the same to *Kenulphus* the Second King of *Mercia* after *Offa*.

Egbert King of *Kent* taken prisoner. A Princely example of clemency in a noble King. The Church of *Winchcombe* builded by King *Kenulphus*. *Egbert* King of *Kent* released out of prison.

A place of *Fabian* doubted.

A little before in speaking of certain Bishops of *Rome*, mention was made of Pope *Constantine* the first, Pope *Gregory* the second, Pope *Gregory* the third, and of Pope *Zachary*, which deposed *Childerick*, and set up *Pipinus* the *French* King, &c. Next after this *Zachary* in order, followed Pope *Stephan* the second, to whom the foresaid *Pipinus*, to gratifie again the See of *Rome* for this their benefit shewed to him, gave and contributed to the said See of *Rome*, the *Exarchat* or Princedome of *Ravenna*, the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and many other great Possessions of *Italy*, with all the Cities thereto adjoyning unto the borders of *Venice*. And this donation of *Pipin*, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsly hath been thought to be the donation of *Constantine*. For else how could it be that the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna* could belong all this while to the Emperors of *Constantinople*, if *Constantine* before had given it and all *Italy* from the Empire of the See of *Rome*?

Pope Stephan the first. Anno 1444.

The donation of *Pipin* to the See of *Rome* taken to be the donation of *Constantine*.

To this *Pipinus*, as witnesseth *Polychronicon*, was sent first into *France*, the invention of the *Organs* out of *Grecia*, by *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the year of our Lord, 757.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 19.

Next to this *Stephan* the second, succeeded *Paul* the first, who following his Predecessors, thundered out great Excommunication against *Constantinus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, for abrogating and plucking down Images set up in Temples. Notwithstanding this *Constantine* neglecting the Popes vain Curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying Idolatry till the end of his life. Then came to be Pope, *Constantinus* the second, a Lay-man, and Brother to *Desiderius* the King of *Lombardy*; for the which cause he was thortly deposed, and thrust into a Monastery, having his eyes put out.

Pope Paul the first. Images again violently set up by Popes.

A Layman Pope, who was deposed and had his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded *Stephan* the third, who Ordained after, That no Lay-man should be Pope: condemning moreover the Council of *Constantinople* the seventh for Heretical, because in that Council the worshipping of Images was reproved and condemned. Contrary to the which Council, this Pope not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in *Christian* Temples, but also advanced their Veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this time *Carolus Magnus*, called *Charles the Great*, a little before mentioned, began to Reign, by whom this Pope caused *Desiderius* the *Lombard* King to be deprived.

Note well the practise of Prelates in planting their Popish Mass.

Pope Stephan the third. Images again violently set up by Popes.

Then in this Race of Popes, after this *Stephan* the third, cometh *Adrianus* the first, who likewise following the steps of his Fathers the Popes, added and attributed to the Veneration of Images more than all the other had done before, writing a Book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for Laymens *Kalendars*, holding moreover a Synod at *Rome* against *Felix*, and all others that spake against the setting up of such Stocks and Images. And as *Paul* the first before him made much of the body of *Petronilla* S. *Peters* Daughter: so this *Adrian* clothed the body of S. *Peter* all in silver, and covered the Altar of S. *Paul* with a Pall of gold. This Pope *Adrian* was he whom we declared in the former part of this Treatise, to ratifie and confirm by Revelation the Order of S. *Gregories* above the Order of S. *Ambrose* Mass: for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord, 780. the Lyturgy of S. *Ambrose* was more used in the *Italian* Churches. The story whereof, because it is regifted in *Durandus*, *Naucleru*, and *Jacobus de Voragine*. I thought here to infert the same to this especial purpose, for the Reader to understand the time when this usual Mass of the Papists began first to be Universal and Uniform, and generally in Churches to be received. Thus it followed in the story by the foresaid Authors set forth. *Jacobus de Voragine*, in the life of Pope *Gregory* the first, telleth a Tale concerning this matter.

The Idol of the Sun taken down by Pope Adrian, which a Pope had set up before.

Pope Adrian the first. Anno 780.

In times past (saith he) when the Service which *Ambrose* made, was more frequented and used in Churches, than was the Service which *Gregory* had appointed, the Bishop of *Rome*, then called *Adrian*, gathered a Council together: in the which it was Ordained, That *Gregories* Service should be observed and kept universally. Which determination of the Council, *Charles* the Emperor did diligently put in Execution, while he ran about by divers Provinces,

Provinces, and informed all the Clergy, partly with threatnings, and partly with punishments to receive that Order. And as touching the Books of *Ambrose* Service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many Priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed *Eugenius* the Bishop coming unto the Council, found that it was diffolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding through his Wisdom, he so perswaded the Lord Pope, that he called again all the Prelates that had been present at the Council, and were now departed by the space of three days. Therefore when the Council was gathered again togéther, in this all the Fathers did consent and agree, that both the *Mass-Books* of *Ambrose* and *Gregory* should be laid upon the Altar of blessed Saint *Peter* the Apostle, and the Church-doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the Signets of many and divers Bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night give themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and shew unto them by some evident sign or token, which of these two Services he would have used in the Temples. Thus they doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the Church-doors, and found both the *Missals* or *Mass-Books* open upon the Altar: or rather (as some say) they found *Gregories Mass-Book* utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered over all the Church. As touching *Ambrose* Book, they only found it open upon the Altar in the very same place where they before laid it. This Miracle Pope *Adrian*, like a wise Expounder of dreams, interpreted thus, That as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the Church over, so should *Gregories* Book be used throughout the World. Whereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the Service which *Gregory* had made, ought to be set abroad and used throughout the World, and that *Ambrose* his Service should only be observed and kept in his own Church of *Mediolanum*, where he sometime was Bishop.

Gregories Mass taketh place in Europe.

Thus hast thou heard (Brother Reader) the full and whole Narration of this mystical Miracle, with the Popes Expolition upon the same, which seemeth to be as true as that which *Daniel* speaketh of, how the Idol Bell did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night. *Daniel* 14. Concerning the which Miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practises of these night-Crows, to blind the World with forged inventions in stead of true stories. Albeit to grant the Miracle to be most true and unfallible, yet as touching the Exposition thereof, another man beside the Pope percase might Interpret this great Miracle otherwise, as thus, That God was angry with *Gregories* Book, and therefore rent it in pieces, and scattered it abroad; and the other as good, lay found, untouched, and at the least so to be preserved. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of this Miracle with the Exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that *Gregories* Service had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of *Europe*, the Service of *Ambrose* being excluded. And thus much touching the great Act of Pope *Adrian* for the setting up of the Mass. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at least to understand how that commonly in Christian Nations abroad, as yet no uniform Order of any *Missal* or *Mass-Book* was received, as hath been hitherto discoursed.

Carolus Magnus beneficial to the See of Rome.

Now from the Popes to return again to the Emperors, from whence we digreffed: like as *Pipinus* the Father of *Charles* (as hath been before sufficiently told) had given to the See of *Rome* all the Princedom of *Ravenna*, with other Donations and Revenues and Lands in *Italy*: so this *Carolus* following his Fathers devotion did confirm the same, adding moreover thereunto, the City and Dominion of *Venice*, *Histria*, the Dukedom *Forojulien*se, the Dukedom *Spoletanum*, and *Beneventanum*, and other Possessions more, to the Patrimony of S. *Peter*, making him the Prince of *Rome* and *Italy*. The Pope again to recompence his so gentle kindness, made him to be intituled *Most Christian King*, and made him *Patricium Romanum*, moreover, ordained him only to be taken for Emperor of *Rome*. For these and other causes more, *Carolus* bare no little affection to the said *Adrian* above all other Popes: as may well appear by this Letter of *Carolus Magnus* sent to King *Offa*, what time the said *Offa* (as is above prefixed) sent to him *Alcuinus* for Intreaty of Peace: whereto the foresaid *Carolus* answereth again to the Message of *Offa* in a Letter, the Contents whereof be these.

Rex Christianissimus, Imitator Dei Franciæ.

The tenor of a Letter sent by *Carolus Magnus* to King *Offa*, answering to his requeft concerning the treatise of peace between them.

A Letter of *Charles* the *Great* sent to King *Offa*.

CArolus *Rex* Francorum & Longobardorum, *patricius* Romanorum, *viro venerando, & fratri charissimo* Offæ *Regi* Merciorum *salutem. Primo gratias agimus Omnipotenti Deo, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religiosi non fervienes, sed lucra sectantes inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime, Et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos, vel nostros judices, & plenam justitiam jubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes Episcopales Regni vestri vel* Ethelredi *direximus, in Eleemosynam Domini Apostolici* Adriani, *deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Jesus gratuita petenti concesse aliquid per Metropolitanas civitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum, & unum gladium, & duo Pallia serica, &c.*

Et tamen ipse communem placentem. Terent.

The cause why this *Carolus* writeth so favourably of *Adrian*, partly is touched before; partly also was, for that *Caroloman* his elder Brother being dead, his Wife called *Bertha* with her two Children came to *Adrian*, to have them confirmed in their Fathers Kingdom, whereunto the Pope to shew a pleasure to *Carolus* would not agree: but gave the Mother with her two Children, and *Desiderius* the *Lombard* King with his whole Kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said *Carolus*, who led them with him Captive into *France*, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

How the Pope heare eth the cry of poor widows and Orphans.

The Empire translated from Greece to *France*.

Thus *Carolus Magnus* being proclaimed Emperor of *Rome*, through the preferment of *Adrian* and Pope *Leo* the third, which succeeded next after him, the Empire was translated from the *Greeians* about the year of our Lord, 801. unto the *Frenchmen*, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of *Conradus* and his Nephew *Otho*, which were *Germans*: and so hath continued after them among the *Almans* unto this present time. This *Charles* builded so many Monasteries as there be letters in the row of *A B C*, he was beneficial chiefly to the Church-men, alfo mercifull to the Poor, in his Acts valiant and triumphant, skil'd in all Languages; he held a Council at *Frankford*, where was condemned the Council of *Nice* and *Irene*, for setting up and worshipping Images, &c.

Images written against, as contrary to the true Faith.

Concerning which Council of *Nice*, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall think the detesting of Images to be any new thing now begun) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written History of *Roger Hoveden*, called *Continuationes Bedæ*: his words in *Latine* be these, *Anno 792.* Carolus *Rex* Francorum *misit Synodalem librum ad* Britanniam, *sibi a* Constantinopoli *directum. In quo lib. Heu proh dolor, multa inconvenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperimtur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus quam 300 vel eo amplius Episcoporum unanimi assertione confirmatum fit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit* Albinus *Epistolaris ex authoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex persona Episcoporum ac Principum nostrorum, Regi* Francorum *attulit. Hæc ille:* That is, In the year of our Lord, 792. *Charles* the *French* King sent a Book containing the Acts of a certain Synode, unto *Britain*, directed unto him from *Constantinople*. In the which Book (lamentable to be told) many things were found inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true Faith. This Alcuinus was Abbot of Turonia in France.

consent of almoſt all the learned Biſhops of the *Eaſt* Church, not ſo few as three Hundred, it was there agreed, that Images ſhould be Worſhipped; which thing the Church of God hath always abhorred. Againſt which Book *Alkinus* wrote an Epiſtle, ſubſtantially grounded out of the Authority of holy Scripture, which Epiſtle with the Book, the ſaid *Alkinus*, in the name and Perſon of one Biſhops and Princes, did preſent to the *French* King

The Biſhops and Princes of England againſt Images.

And thus much by the way of *Romiſh* matters: Now to return again to the *Northumberland* Kings, where we left at *Egbert*, which *Egbert* (as is before declared) ſucceeded after *Celulphus*, after he was made Monk. And likewiſe as the ſaid *Egbert* alſo following the devotion of his Uncle *Celulphus*, and *Kenredus* before him, was likewiſe thom Monk, after he had Reigned twenty years in *Northumberland*; leaving his Son *Oſulphus*, after him to ſucceed. About which time, and in the ſame year, when *Oſulphus*, *Midla*, other wiſe called *Adelwald*, *Alcredus*, or *Alnredus*, *Ethelbert* otherwiſe called *Adelard* or *Eardulph*, *Alfwold*, *Ofredus*, *Adelred* again Kings of Northumberland.

King Egbert made a Monk.

{ Anno 757.

{ Anno 764.

Oſulphus deceaſed in his Monaſtery, which was the year of our Lord, 764, divers Cities were burnt with ſudden fire, as the City of *Wenta*, the City of *London*, the City of *York*, *Doncaſter*, with divers other Towns beſides: *Roger Hoveden*, *lib. comin. poſt Bedam.* Who the firſt year of his Reign, which was the year of our Lord 757. being innocently ſlain, next to him followed *Mollo*, otherwiſe called *Adelwald*, who likewiſe being ſlain of *Alcredus*, after he had Reigned eleven years, departed. After, *Alcredus* when he had Reigned ten years, was expulſed out of his Kingdom by his people; Then was *Ethelbert*, otherwiſe named *Adelred*, the Son of the foreſaid *Mollo*, received King of *Northumberland*: Which *Ethelbert* or *Adelred* in like ſort, after he had Reigned five years, was expulſed. After whom ſucceeded *Alfwold*, who likewiſe, when he had Reigned eleven years, was unjuſtly ſlain. So likewiſe after him his Nephews, and the Son of *Alcredus*, named *Oſredus*, Reigned one year, and was ſlain. Then the foreſaid *Ethelbert*, the Son of *Mollo*, after twelve years Baniſhment, Reigned again in *Northumberland* the ſpace of four years, and was ſlain. The cauſe whereof (as I find in an Old written ſtory) was, that forſaking his Old Wife, he married a new. Concerning the reſtoring of whom, *Alcuinus* writeth in this manner. *Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de carcere proceſſit in ſolium, & de miſeria in majeſtatem, cujus regni novitate detenti ſumus ne veneremus ad vos, &c.* And afterward the ſame *Alcuinus* again ſpeaking of his death, writeth unto King *Offa* in theſe Words, *Sciat veneranda dilectio veſtra quod dominus Carolus amabiliter & fideliter ſepe mecum locutus eſt de vobis, & in eo habetis fideliſſimum amicum. Ideo & veſtræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per epiſcopales ſedes regni veſtri, ſimiliter & Edelredo regi, & ad ſuas epiſcoporum ſedes direxit dona. Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & epiſtolis in manus miſſorum, ſupervenit triſtis legatio per miſſos qui de Scotia per nos reverſi ſunt, de infidelitate gentis, & nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus eſt contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam & perverſam, & homicidam dominorum ſuorum, pejorem eam paganis æſtimans, ut niſi ego intercеſſor eſſem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abſtrahere potuiſſet, & mala machinari, jam feciſſet, &c.*

{ Anno 780.

The Kingdom of Northumberland *ceaſeth.*

Northumberland Kingdom ceaſeth.

Thus as you have heard, after the Reign of King *Egbert* before mentioned, ſuch trouble and perturbation was in the Dominion of *Northumberland*, with ſlaying, expulſing and depoſing their Kings one after another, that after the murthering of this *Edelred* above ſpecified, none durſt take the Government upon him, ſeeing the great danger thereupon inſuing. Inſomuch that the foreſaid Kingdom did lie void and waſte, the ſpace of three and thirty years together; after the term of which years, this Kingdom of *Northumberland*, with the Kingdoms alſo of the other *Saxons* beſides, came altogether into the hands of *Egbert*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*, and his Progeny; which Monarchy began in the year of our Lord 827. and in the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of the ſaid *Egbert*; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Of this troubleſome and outragious time of *Northumberland* peopleſpeaketh alſo the ſaid learned man *Alcuinus*, otherwiſe called *Albinus*, in the ſame Country born, writing out of *France* into *England*, and complaining of the ſame in divers his letters, as firſt to *Offa*, where he thus writeth: *Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reverti. Sed melius viſum eſt propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, niſi ſciens quid feciſſem inter vos, ubi nullus ſecurus eſſe, vel in ſalubri conſilio proficere poteſt. Eccleſia ſanctæ a paganis vaſtata, Altaria perjuriis fœdata, Monaſteria adulteriis violata, terra ſanguine Dominorum & Principum fœdata, &c.* Moreover, the ſaid *Alcuinus* writing to the foreſaid *Edelred* a little above mentioned, after the ſame Tenor reporteth: *Ecce Eccleſia ſanctæ Cutberti ſacerdotum Dei ſanguine aſperſa (omnibus ſpoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et ubi primum poſt deceſſum S. Cutberti ab Eboraco, Chriſtiana religio in noſtra gente ſumpſit exordium, ibi miſeriæ & calamitatis cæpit initium, &c.*

The troubles of the Kingdom of Northumberland deſcribed by *Alcuinus*.

Item, writing to *Osbert* a Noble Peer of the *Mercians*, complaining on the ſame matter, ſaith: *Regnum noſtrum Northumbrorum pene periit, propter inteſtinas diſſenſiones, & falſaces conjurationes, &c.*

Item, in another place the ſaid *Alcuinus* writing to *Adelard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, complaineth moreover: *Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus inſulæ noſtræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata eſt noſtris, Legitur in libro Gildæ ſapientiſſimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter avaritiam & rapinam Principum, propter iniquitatem & injuſtitiam Judicum, propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hæc eadem vitia noſtris temporibus inoleſcere, quatenus beneditto divina nobis patriam conſervet in proſperitate bona quam nobis miſericordiſſima pietate perdonare dignatus eſt, &c.*

Kenulphus King of Mercia, innocently ſlain.

Coel. Iphus, Kenulphus, Kings of Mercia. The Kingdom of Mercia ceaſeth.

Over and beſides, the ſame Author *Alcuinus*, writing unto the foreſaid *Edelred* King of *Northumberland*, maketh record of ſtrange ſight which he himſelf did ſee the ſame time in the City of *York*, it rained Blood: Whereof his words which he wrote, concerning the ſame unto the ſaid King *Edelred* be theſe: *Quid ſignificat pluvia ſanguinis, quam quadrageſimali tempore in Eboraco civitate, quæ caput eſt totius regni, in eccleſia beati principis Apoſtolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus (ſereno aere) de ſummitate minanter cadere? Nonne poteſt putari, a borealibus partibus venire ſanguinem ſuper terram?* That is, What ſignifieth the rain Blood which in time of *Lent*, in the City of *York*, the chief City of that Dominion, and in the Church of S. *Peter* the chief of the Apoſtles, we our ſelves did ſee to fall from the Church top (the Element being cleer) out of the North parts of the Temple, &c. This wondrous ſight teſtified by *Malmeſburienſis*, is thought of *Fabian* to happen in the ſecond year of the Reign of *Brightricus* (as with the time doth well agree) which was the year of our Lord, ſeven hundred and eighty, and is thought of ſome Expoſitors to betoken the coming of the *Danes* into this Land, which entred ſhortly after about ſeven years, in the ninth year, of the Reign of *Brightricus* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Which *Brightricus* in defence thereof ſent forth his Steward of his houſhold with a ſmall company, which ſhortly was ſlain: But by the ſtrength of the ſaid *Brightricus* and the other *Saxon* Kings, they were compelled to void the Land for that time, which was in the year 790. To this *Brightricus*, King *Offa*, as is aforeſaid, gave his Daughter *Edelburga* to Wife, by whom he at length was impoyſoned, beſides certain other of his Nobles, upon whom the ſaid Queen before him had Practiſed the ſame wickedneſs. Who then after that fled over to *Charles* the Great, into *France*: Where ſhe being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his Son, becauſe ſhe chooſed rather to live a Nun, married neither the one, nor yet the other; but was thruſt into a Monaſtery, where ſhe, then playing the Harlot with a Monk, was expulſed from thence, and ended her life in Penury and miſery.

Malmeſburienſis.

How it rained Blood in York.

{ Anno 780.

Brightricus King of Weſt-Saxons.

Edelburg Daughter to Offa poyſoned her Husband.

Wickedneſs revenged.

In the mean time, while this *Edelburga* was thus working her Feats in *England*, *Irene* Empreſs of the *Greeks*, was as buſie alſo for her part at *Conſtantinople*: Who firſt through the means of Pope *Adrian* took up the body of *Conſtantine*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, her own Husbands Father. And when ſhe had burned the ſame

Alcuinus, otherwiſe called Albinus.

Alcuinus o-therwiſe called Albinus.

Irene.

{ Anno 784.

ſame, ſhe cauſed the Aſhes to be caſt into the Sea, becauſe he diſanulled Images. Afterwards reigning with her Son *Conſtantine* the ſixth, Son to *Leo* the fourth (whom alſo we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away Images) being at diſſention with him, cauſed him to be taken and laid in Priſon; who afterward through power of Friends being reſtored to his Empire again, at laſt ſhe cauſed the ſame her own Son to be caſt into Priſon, and his eyes to be put out ſo cruelly, that within ſhort ſpace he dyed. After this the ſaid *Irene* Empreſs, with the Council of *Theraſius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, held a Council at *Nicæa*, where it was decreed, that Images ſhould again be reſtored unto the Church; which Council after was repealed by another Council holden at *Francford* by *Charles the Great*. At length the was depoſed by *Nicephorus* (who Reigned after) and was expulſed the Empire: Who after the example of *Edelburga* above mentioned (condignly puniſhed for her wickedneſs) ended likewiſe her life in much Penury and Miſery.

Images reſtored again by *Irene* at *Conſtantinople*.

The ſecond Council at *Nice*.

The wickedneſs of *Irene* condignly rewarded.

About the time when the foreſaid *Brightricus* was impriſoned by *Edelburga* his Wife, died alſo King *Offa*, which was about the year of our Lord 795. or (as ſome ſay) 802. After which *Offa* (as is aforeſaid) ſucceeded *Egbert*, then *Kenulphus*, after whom ſucceeded *Kenelmus* his Son, who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his Siſter *Quinreda*, and *Askebertus*, about the year of our Lord 819. and in the Church of *Winchcombe* was counted for an holy Martyr. After him ſucceeded his Uncle *Ceolulphus*, whom *Bermulphus* in the firſt year of his reign expulled, and reigned in his place. Who likewiſe in the third year of his Reign was overcome, and expulſed by *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and afterward ſlain by the *Eaſtangles*. And the Kingdom of *Mercia* alſo ceaſed, and came into the hands of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou ſeeſt good Reader) the confuſed and turbulent reigns of theſe ſeven *Saxon* Kings, who after the expullion of the *Britains*, ruled and reigned ſunder in ſundry quarters of this Land together, unto this preſent time of *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by whom it ſo pleaſed God to begin to reduce and unite all theſe ſcattered Kingdoms, into one Monarchical form of Dominion. Wherefore, as in the aforeſaid *Egbert*, beginneth a new alteration of the Commonwealth, here in this Land among the *Saxons*: So my purpoſe is (the Lord willing) with the ſame *Egbert*, to enter a new beginning of my third Book, after a brief recapitulation firſt made of ſuch things as in this ſecond Book before are to be collected and noted, eſpecially touching the Monaſteries builded, the Kings who have entred the life and profeſſion Monaſtick; alſo Queens and Queens Daughters, which the ſame time profeſſed ſolitary life in Monaſteries, which they or their Anceſtors had Erected.

The concluſion of the ſtory Precedent, concerning the ſeven Kingdoms of the Saxon *Kings, above mentioned.*

And thus haſt thou (Gentle Reader) concerning the ſeven Kingdom of theſe *Saxons*, ruling all together in *England*, the courſe and Order of their doings briefly deſcribed, and diſcourſed unto thee, in ſuch Order, as the matter being ſo intricate, in ſuch confuſion and diverſity of things incident together, would permit: Following eſpecially in this ſtory hitherto the line of the *Northumberland* Kings, as the other ſtories moſt follow the line of *Weſt-Saxon* Kings. The which ſeven Kingdoms of theſe ſaid *Saxons*, after they had untruly expulſed and chaſed out the *Britains* from their Land, like as they never were in quietneſs among themſelves, Reigning thus together, till the time of this *Egbert*, ſo alſo after the Reign of *Egbert*, the whole Realm being reduced into one Regiment, no leſs were they impugned and afflicted by the *Danes* continually from time to time, till the laſt Conqueſt of *William* the *Norman*. Thus is pleaſed God (ever lightly) to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjuſt dealings of men with juſt and like retribution. But of this let the Chriſtian Reader conſider, as Gods Grace ſhall work in him. In the mean time we, as much as in us did lie, ſatisfying the part of an Hiſtorian, have thus hitherto ſet forth and declared concerning theſe ſeven foreſaid Kingdoms: Firſt, the names and lineal deſcent of the Kings ſeverally by themſelves, as by the Table Precedent may appear: Then what were the doings and acts of the ſame, how firſt being Pagans, they were converted to the Chriſtian faith; what things in their time hapned in the Church, how many of them, of Kings were made Monks; how devout they were then to holy Church and to the Church-men, and eſpecially to the Church of *Rome*. But the Church-men then were much otherwiſe, in life than afterward they declared themſelves to be. Through which devotion of the ſaid Kings, firſt came in the Peter-pence or Rome-ſchots in this Realm, as by *Ive* firſt in his Dominion, then by *Offa* in his Lordſhip, and afterwards by *Adelwulph* brought in and ratified through the whole Realm: Where alſo is to be noted, that by the foreſaid Kings and Queens of the ſaid *Saxons*, the moſt part of the greateſt Abbeys and Nunneries, in this Realm, were firſt begun and builded, as partly by the names of ſome here follow to be ſeen.

Unluckineſs of men ſlaying reverenced.

Firſt the Church or Miniſter of S. *Paul* in *London*, was founded by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and *Sigebert* King of *Eſſex*, about the year of our Lord, 604. Paulis Church.

The firſt Croſs and Altar within this Realm, was firſt ſet up in the North-parts in *Hevenfeld*, upon the occaſion of *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland*, fighting againſt *Cadwalla*, where he in the ſame place ſet up the ſign of the Croſs, kneeling and praying there for victory: *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.* The firſt Altar and Croſs ſet up in England.

The Church of *Winchceſter* was firſt begun, and founded by *Kingelſius* King of *Mercians*, having nine miles about it: After finiſhed by his Son *Kenwalcus*, where *Wine*, of *Engliſhmen* was firſt Biſhop. *An. 636. Guliel. Malmſ. lib. de geſtis pont. Ang.* The Church of Wincheſter.

The Church of *Lincoln* firſt founded by *Paulinus* Biſhop. *An. 629.* The Church of Lincoln.

The Church of *Weſtminſter* began firſt by a certain Citizen of *London*, through the Inſtigation of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, which before was an Iſle of Thornes, *Bed. An. 614.* The Church of Weſtminſter.

The common Schools firſt Erected at *Cambridge*, by *Sigebert* King of *Eaſtangles*, *An. 636.* The Schools at Cambridge.

The Abbey of *Knoviſburgh* builded by *Furceus* the *Heremit*, *An. 637.* Abbey of Knoviſburgh.

The Monaſtery of *Malmeſbury* by one *Meldulphus* a *Scot*, about the year of our Lord 640. afterward inlarged by *Agilbert* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Malmeſbury

The Monaſtery in *Gloceſter*, firſt builded by *Ofricus* King of *Mercia*, as *Ceſtrenſis* ſaith; but as *William Malmeſbury* writeth by *Ulfcrus* and *Ethelred*, Brethren to *Kineburga* Abbeſs of the ſame Houſe, *An. 679.* Abbey of Gloceſter.

The Monaſtery of *Mailroſe*, by the Floud of *Twide*, by *Aidanus* a *Scotiſh* Biſhop. Mailroſe.

The Nunnery of *Heorenten* by *Hevi*, who was the firſt Nun in *Northumberland*, *Beda lib. 4. cap. 1.* Heorenton.

The Monaſtery of *Hetefey* by *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, who alſo with his Daughter *Elfrid* gave poſſeſſions for twelve Monaſteries in the parts of *Northumberland*, *An. 656.* Hetefey.

The Monaſtery of S. *Martin* in *Dover*, builded by *Whitred* King of *Kent*. The Monaſtery of S. Martin at Dover.

The Abbey of *Leſtingy* by *Ceadda* (whom we call S. *Ced*) through the Grant of *Oſwald*, Son to S. *Oſwald*, King of *Northumberland*, *An. 653.* Leſtingy.

The Monaſtery of *Whitby*, called otherwiſe *Stenhalt* by *Hilda*, Daughter to the nephew of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, *An. 657.* Whitby. This Hilda was firſt converted to the faith by Finanus a godly and learned woman out of her Monaſtery came five Biſhops, Aidan, Finanus, Colmanus, Joannes and Wilfridus.

Item, another Monaſtery called *Hacanos*, not far from the ſame place, builded by the ſaid *Hilda* the ſame year. Hacanos.

The Abbey of *Abbington*, builded by *Siſſa* King of *South-Sex*, *An. 666.* Abbington.

Item, an Abbey in the Eaſt-ſide of *Lincoln*, called *Joanno*, by S. *Botulph*, *Polychlib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.* Joanno.

The Monaſtery in *Ely*, founded by *Etheldred* or *Ethelbrida* Daughter of *Anna* King of *Eaſtangles*, and the Wife of *Elfride*, King of *Northumberland*, *An. 674.* Ely, Hexamus, Abbington, Joanno at Lincoln, Ely Abbey.

The Monaſtery of *Cherſey* in *Southery*, founded by *Erkenwald*, Biſhop of *London*, *An. 674.* thrown down by the *Danes*, after reedified by King *Edgar*. Cherſey.

Berking. *Item*, The Nunery of *Berking* edified by the said *Erkenwaldus* Bishop of *London* about the same time.

Peterborough. The Abbey of *Peterborough*, called otherwise *Modehamsted*, founded by King *Ethelwald*, King of the *Mercians*, *Anno* 675.

Bardney. *Bardney* Abbey by *Ethelredus* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 700.

Glastenbury. *Glastenbury* by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, and after repaired and inriched by King *Edgar*, *Anno* 701.

Ramsey. *Ramsey* in the time of King *Edgar*, by one *Ailwinus* a Nobleman, *An.* 973. King *Edgar* builded in his time forty Monasteries, who reigned, *An.* 901.

Winburne. The Nunery of *Winburne* builded by *Cuthberga* Sister to *Ingulfus*, King *Ina* his Brother, *An.* 717.

Sealesey. The Monastery of *Sealesey* by the Isle of *Wight*, by *Wilfridus* Bishop of *York*, *An.* 678.

Wincombe. The Monastery of *Wincombe* by *Kenulphus* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 737.

S. Albans. Saint *Albans* builded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 755.

Eusham. The Abbey of *Eusham* by *Edwinus* Bishop, *An.* 691.

Ripon. *Ripon* in the North by *Wilfridus* Bishop, *An.* 709.

Ecclingbey. The Abbey of *Ecclingbey*, by King *Alured*, *An.* 891.

Shaftsbury. The Nunery of *Shaftsbury* by the same *Alnredus*, the same year.

Thus ye see what Monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the *Saxon* Kings, newly converted to the Christian Faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these forefaid Kings: first, that they which began to erect these Monasteries and Cels of Monks and Nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of Matrimony, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd Enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publickly to the Church of Christ, and privately to their own Souls: secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joyned like Knowledge and Doctrine in Christs Gospel, especially in the Article of our free Justification by the Faith of Jesus Christ; because of the, lack whereof, as well the Builders and Founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christs Gospel; for so much as they did these things seeking thereby Merits with God, and for remedy of their Souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own Records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this Chart (if it please thee gentle Reader) of King *Ethelbald* his donation, given to Churches and religious persons; which *Ethelbald* was the builder (as is said) of *Peterborough*. The words of his Record and Instrument be these.

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monkish Monasteries.

The Article of free justification not known.

The Donations and Priviledges granted and given by King *Ethelbald* to religious men of the Church.

Ex chronicis Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 1.

PLerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint, fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla considerationis rationis periculose dissipentur, nisi authoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ commissantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus *Rex Merciorum pro amore cælestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia Monasteria & Ecclesiæ Regni mei, a publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absolvantur; nisi institutionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli unquam prosunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne minuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant, &c.*

By the Contents hereof may well be understood (as where he saith, *Pro amore cælestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutione delictorum, &c.*) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was; who, lacking no zeal, only lacking knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehension of them; but rather to put us in mind and memory, how much we at this present are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-Ancestors, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to have such Works, and to lack our Faith, and us to have the right Faith, and to lack their Works. And this blind ignorance of that Age, thus above pre-noted, was the cause not only why these Kings builed so many Monasteries upon zealous Superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of Princely Regiment, gave themselves over to Monastical profession, or rather wilful Superstition. Concerning the names and number of which Kings that were professed Monks, is sufficiently in the story before declared: the names of whom we shewed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of Kings and Princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in Queens and Kings Daughters, with other Noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As *Hilda* Daughter to the Nephew of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, Abbess of *Ely*. *Erchengoda* with her Sister *Ermenilda*, Daughters of *Ercombertus* King of *Kent*, which *Erchengoda* was professed in Saint *Brigets* Order in *France*. *Item*, *Edelberga* Wife and Queen to King *Edwin* of *Northumberland*, and Daughter of King *Anna*, which was also in the same house of Saint *Briget* made a Nun. *Item*, *Etheldreda*, whom we term Saint *Eldred*, Wife to King *Ecfride* of *Northumberland*, who being married to two Husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a Virgin, and was professed Nun at *Helinge*. *Werburga* was the Daughter of *Ulferus* King of *Mercians*, and made Nun at *Ely*. *Kenreda* Sister of King *Ulferus* and *Kinefwida* her Sister, were both Nuns professed. *Sexburga* Daughter of King *Anna* King of *Mercians*, and Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was Abebss at *Ely*. *Elfrida* Daughter of *Oswy* King of *Northumberland* was Abbess of *Whitney*: *Mildreda*, *Milburga*, and *Milgnida*, all three Daughters of *Merwardus* King of *West-Mercians*, entred the Profession and Vow of Nunish Virginity. *Kineburga* Wife of *Alfride* King of *Northumberland*, and Sister to *Ofricus* King of *Mercians*, and Daughter of King *Penda*, was professed Abbess of the Monastery in *Gloucester*. *Elfleda* Daughter of *Oswy* King, and Wife of *Peda*, Son of King *Penda*, likewise inclosed her self in the same Profession and Vow of *Romish* Chastity. Likewise *Alfritha* Wife to King *Edgar*, and *Editha* Daughter to the said *Edgar*, with *Wolfride* her Mother, &c. All which holy Nuns with divers more, the *Romish Catholicks* have canonized for Saints, and put the most part of them in their *Kalendar*, only because of the Vow of their Chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which Chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to sweare for them. But whether they so kept it or not; if this Gift of Chastity which they professed, were given them of God, small praise worthy was it in them to keep it. And if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently have painted out to the World the Demeanor of these holy Votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh Saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true Faith in him.

A brief Catalogue of Queens and Kings Daughters which leaving their estates, were made Nuns.

Hilda. Erchengoda. Ermenilda. Edelberga. Edelburga.

Werburga. Kenreda. Kinefwida. Sexburga. Elfrida. Mildreda. Milburga. Milgnida. Kineburga. Elfleda. Alfritha. Wolfride. Editha.

Likewise remaineth, that as we have declared the devotion of these Noble women, which professing Monastick life, have cast off all worldly Dignity and Delights: so we should also intreat of such Noblemen, who among the *Saxon* Kings in like zeal of devotion, have given over themselves from the World (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of Monkish Profession. The Names of whom as in the Catalogue of the *Saxon* Kings before is described, be these, to the number of Nine.

A Table

A Table of such Saxon *Kings as were after made Monks.*

Kings made Monks.

1. *Kinigilsus*, King of *West-Saxons*.
2. *Ina*, King of *West-Saxons*.
3. *Ceolulfus*, King of *Northumberland*.
4. *Edbertus*, King of *Northumberland*.
5. *Ethelredus*, King of *Mercia*.
6. *Kenredus*, King of *Mercia*.
7. *Offa*, King of *East-Saxons*.
8. *Sebbi*, King of *East-Saxons*.
9. *Sigebertus*, King of *East-Angles*.

Of which Kings and their doings, what is to be judged, look (gentle Reader) before.

By these Histories it is apparent, what Mutations, what Perturbations, and what Alterations of State hath been in this Realm of *Britain*, first from *Britains* Kings, to *Romans*; then to *Britains* again; afterward to the *Saxons*. First, to seven altogether reigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not only happened in the Civil Government, but also followed in the State Ecclesiastical. For as in the *Britains* time the Metropolitan See was in *London*, so in the *Saxons* time, after the coming of *Austin*, it was removed to *Canterbury*: the Catalogue and Order of which Metropolitans, from the time of *Austin* to *Egbertus*, is thus, as in the History of *Malmesburiensis* is described.

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* from *Augustine*, to the time of King *Egbert*.

1. *Augustinus.*	16
2. *Laurentius.*	5
3. *Mellitus.*	5
4. *Justus.*	3
5. *Honorius.*	25
6. *Deusdedit.*	19
7. *Theodorus.*	22

Hitherto from Augustine *all the Archbishops of* Canterbury *were* Italians *and Foreigners.*

8. *Berctualdus* *English*	37	In his time the Monastery of S. *Martin* was builded in *Dorobernia*, by *Wirtredus*, and his Brother Kings of *Kent*.
9. *Tacuinus.*	3	This *Cuthert* after his death forbad all Funeral Exequies or Lamentation for him to be made. *William Malm. De vitis, lib.* 1.
10. *Nothelmus.*	5	
11. *Cuthertus.*	17	
12. *Berguinus.*	3	
13. *Lambrightus* or *Lambertus.*	27	In his time King *Offa* translated the Metropolitan See from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* by the Grant of Pope *Adrian*, being overcome with Apostolical Argument, as saith *Flor. Hist.* that is, with money.
14. *Ethelardus.*	13	This *Ethelardus* by his Epistles to Pope *Leo*, obtained the Metropolitan See again to *Canterbury*.
15. *Ulfredus.*	28	
16. *Feologeldus.*	3	
m		
17. *Celnothus.*	41	

During the course of these seventeen Archbishops of *Canterbury*, in *Rome* passed in the mean time four and thirty Popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, ruling together in *England*, from the Reign of *Hengist* unto *Egbert*, the first King and Monarch of the whole Land, after the Expulsion of the *Britains*.

NOw remaineth (by the Grace of Christ) in the next Book following, to prosecute the Order of such Kings as principally reigning alone had this Realm in their possession, from the time of *Egbert* King of *West-Saxons*, to the coming of *William Conqueror the Norman*; comprehending therein the rest of the next 300 years, with the acts and state of Religion, as in that space was in the Church: wherein may appear the declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, preparing the way to *Antichrist*, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean time, Satan (as is said) was bound up from his raging and furious violence; counting from the time of *Constantinus*, to the next kooling out of Satan, which was foretold by the Revelation of S. *John* above mentioned, to be a thousand years; whereof by the order of the History (Christ granting) more shall be said hereafter.

The End of the Second Book.

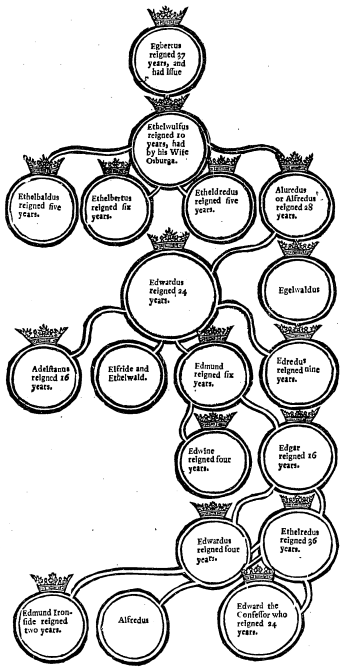
THE THIRD BOOK,

CONTAINING

The next three hundred years, from the Reign of King *Egbertus* unto the time of *William Conqueror*.

NOw remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the defcent and diverfity of the feven Kings, all together reigning and ruling in this Land: fo to profecute in like order the lineal Succeffion of them, which after *Egbertus* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, governed and ruled folely, until the Conqueſt of *William* the *Norman*; firſt expreſſing their Names, and afterwards importing ſuch Acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the Acts and Doings of theſe Kings, becauſe they are fufficiently and at large deſcribed, and taken out of *Latine* Writers into the *Engliſh*-Tongue by divers and fundry Authors, and namely in the Hiſtory or Chronicle of *Fabian*; I ſhall not ſpend much travel thereupon, but rather refer the Reader unto him or to ſome other, where the troubleſome tumults between the *Engliſh*-men and the *Danes* at that time may be ſeen, who ſo liſteth to read them. Only the Table of their Names and Reign, and Acts done under their Reign, I have compendiouſly abridged, uſing ſuch brevity as the matter would ſuffer.

A TABLE of the *Saxon* Kings, which ruled alone from King *Egbert* unto *William Conqueror*.



Here

Here is to be noted, that before the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the *Danes* obtained the Crown under their Captain *Canutus* who reigned years 19
Haraldus Harefoot Son of *Canutus* 4
Hardeknutus, Son of *Canutus* 2
Edward the Confeſſor, an *Engliſh* man, Son of *Etheldred* 24
Haraldus, Son of *Earl Goodwin* an Uſurper 1
William Conqueror a *Norman*.

King *Egbertus*.

Egbert King of the Weſt-Saxons, afterward Monarch and King of the whole Realm.

IN the Reign of *Brightricus* a little before mentioned, about the year of Grace, 795. there was in his Dominion a Noble Perſonage, of ſome called *Egbert*, of ſome *Ethelbert*, of ſome *Ethelbright*: who being feared of the ſame *Brightricus*, becauſe he was of Kingly blood, and near unto the Crown, was by the force and conſpiracy of the forenamed *Brightricus*, chaſed and purſued out of the Land of *Britain* into *France*, where he indured till the death of the ſaid *Brightricus*. After the hearing whereof, *Egbert* ſped him eſſoons out of *France*, unto his Country of *Weſt-Saxe*, where he in ſuch wiſe behaved himſelf, that he obtained the Regiment and Governance of the above-ſaid Kingdom.

In this time came in the Danes firſt into the North parts and were driven out again.

{Anno 809.} *Bernulphus*, King of *Mercia* above mentioned, with other Kings, had this *Egbert* in ſuch deriſion, that they made of him divers ſcoffing Jeſts, and ſcorning Rimes, all which he ſuſtained for a time. But when he was more eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and had proved the minds of his Subjects, and eſpecially God working withall, he afterward aſſembled his Knights, and gave to the ſaid *Bernulphus* a battel in a place called *Elinden* in the Province of *Hampton*; and notwithſtanding in that fight was great odds of number, as ſix or eight againſt one, yet *Egbert* (through the might of the Lord which giveth Victory as pleaſeth him) had the better, and won the field; which done, he ſeized that Lordſhip into his hand; and that alſo done, he made War upon the *Kentiſh-Saxons*, and at length in likewiſe obtained the Victory. And as it is in *Polycronicon* teſtified, he alſo ſubdued *Northumberland*, and cauſed the Kings of theſe three Kingdoms to live under him as Tributaries, or joyned them to his Kingdom: *Ex Flor. hiſt.* This *Egbert* alſo won from the *Britains* or *Welſhmen* the Town of *Cheſter*, which they had kept poſſeſſion of till this day. After theſe and other Victories, he peaceably injoying the Land, called a Council of his Lords at *Wincheſter*, where by their advices he was crowned King, and chief Lord over this Land, which before that day was called *Britain*: but then he ſent out into all coaſts of the Land his Commandments and Commiſſions, charging ſtraightly, that from that day forward, the *Saxons* ſhould be called *Angles*, and the Land *Anglia*.

Example what it is to deſpiſe others. Example of patience.

{Anno 826.}

Of this victory went a proverb. *Rarus erravit rabit, rarius reſtituit ſua tabulis.*

This Land firſt called *Anglia*.

{Anno 833. Danes now the ſecond time entred in this land.} About the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the Heatheniſh people of the *Danes*, which a little before had made horrible deſtruction in *Northumberland*, and eſpecially in the Iſle of *Lindeſarne*, where they ſpoiled the Churches, and murthered the Miniſters, with Men, Women and Children, after a cruel manner, entred now the ſecond time with a great Hoſt into this Land, and ſpoiled the Iſle of *Sheppy* in *Kent*, or near to *Kent*: where *Egbert* hearing thereof, aſſembled his people, and met with them at *Carrum*. But in that Conflict he ſped not ſo well as he was wont in times before, but with his Knights was compelled to forſake the field. Notwithſtanding in the next battel, the ſaid *Egbert*, with a ſmall Power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and ſo drave them back. The next year following, the ſaid *Danes* preſuming upon their Victory before, made their return again into the Land Weſtward, where joyning with the *Britains*, by the help and power of them, they affailed the Lands of *Egbert*, and did much harm in many places of his Dominion, and elſewhere; ſo that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realm of *England* or other, till the time of *Hardeknutus* laſt King of the *Danes* blood, ſo that many of them were married to *Engliſh* women, and many that now be, or in times paſt were called *Engliſh*-men, are deſcended of them. And albeit that they were many and ſundry times driven out of the Land, and chaſed from one Country to another, yet that notwithſtanding, they ever gathered new ſtrengths and powers, that they abode ſtill within the Land.

{Anno 834. Polydor. eap. 28. Fab. Hiſtor. lib. 5. cap. 2.}

England five times plagued by other nations.

And thus, as by the ſtories appears, this troubleſome Land of *Britain*, now called *England*, hath been hitherto by five ſundry outward Nations plagued. Firſt, by the *Romans*; then by the *Scots* and *Picts*; thirdly, by the *Saxons*; fourthly, by the *Danes*, of whoſe outragious cruelty and hoſtility, our *Engliſh* Hiſtories do moſt exclaim and complain; fifthly, by the *Normans*, which I pray God be the laſt. *Ex R. G. Hoveden. lib. 3.*

Then it followeth in the ſtory, that the time of this Perſecution of the foreſaid *Pagans* and *Danes* continuing, King *Egbert*, when he had ruled the *Weſt-Saxons*, and over the more part of *England*, by the term of ſeven and thirty years, died, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, leaving to his Son *Ethelwulfe* his Kingdom, which firſt was Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (as *Hoveden* recordeth) and after upon neceſſity made King, leaving withall, and pronouncing this ſaying to his Son, *Felicem fore ſi regnum, quod multa rexerat induſtria, illæ conſueta genti illi non interrumperet ignavia.*

King *Ethelwulfus*.

{Anno 837.} *Ethelwulfus*, the Son of *Egbert*, in his former age had entred into the Order of Sub-Deacon, as ſome others ſay, was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but afterwards, being the only Son of *Egbert*, was made King through the Diſpenſation (as *Fabian* ſaith) of Pope *Paſchalis*: but that cannot be, for *Paſchalis* then was not Biſhop: ſo that by the computation of time, it ſhould rather ſeem to be *Gregory* the fourth. This *Ethelwulfe* (as being himſelf once nuzled in that Order) was always good and devout to holy Church and religious Orders, inſomuch that he gave to them the Tythe of all his goods and lands in *Weſt-Saxony*, with liberty and freedom from all ſervage and civil Charges. Whereof his chart Inſtrument beareth teſtimony after this tenor proceeding, much like to the donation of *Ethelbaldus*, King of *Mercians* above mentioned.

a place in *Fabian* to be amended.

Gallet. lib. de geſt. Anglor. ſaith, this Pope was Leo the fourth.

The Priviledges and Donations given by King *Ethelwulfus* to the Clergy.

{Anno 844.} Privileges and temporalties granted to the Church by King *Ethelwulfe*.

Ex Flor. hiſtor.

Pro remiſſio.

RE*gnante Domino noſtro in perpetuum. Dum in noſtris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum noſtrarum, necnon & vaſtationum crudeliſſimas depræ dationes hoſtium barbarorum, pegan arumque gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum uſque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculoſa. Quamobrem, ego* Ethelwulfus *Rex occidentalium* Saxonum, *cum conſilio Epiſcoporum & principum meorum, conſilium ſalubre, & uniforme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam, Deo & ſanctæ* Mariæ, *& omnibus ſanctis jure perpetuo poſſidendam concedam. Scilicet partem terræ meæ, ut ſit tuta & immunis ab omnibus ſecularibus ſervitiis, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus ſive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witterden: ſit q; libera omnium rerum, pro remiſſione animarum & peccatorum noſtrorum, ad Deo ſoli deſerviendum, ſine expeditione, & pontis conſtructione, & arcis munitione: ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces ſine ceſſatione fundant, quo eorum ſervitutem in aliqua parte levigamus, &c.*

Hereby may it appear, how and when the Churches of *England* began firſt to be indued with Temporalties and Lands, alſo with Privileges and Exemptions inlarged: moreover (and that which ſpecially is to be conſidered and lamented) what pernitious Doctrine this was, wherewith they were led, thus to ſet remiſſion of their ſins, and remedy of their ſouls, in this donation, and ſuch other deeds of their donation, contrary to the information of Gods Word, and with no ſmall derogation from the Croſs of Chriſt?

Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in thoſe days.

Theſe things thus done within the Realm, then the ſaid *Ethelwulfe* the King, taking his Journey to *Rome* with *Alfred* his youngeſt Son, committed him to the bringing up of Pope *Leo* the fourth, where he alſo re-edified the *Engliſh* School at *Rome*: which being founded by King *Offa*, or rather by *Ive*, King of *Mercians* (as in the *Flowers of Hiſtories* is affirmed) was lately in the time of King *Egbert* his Father, conſumed with fire. Further and beſides, this King gave and granted there unto *Rome*, of every fire-houſe a penny to be paid through his

Peter-power through the Realm granted to *Rome*. Money beſtowed to burn day-lights.

his whole Land, as King *Ive* in his Dominion had done before. Alſo he gave and granted yearly to be paid to *Rome* 300 Marks; that is, to the maintaining of the light of Saint *Peter*, 100 Marks, to the light of Saint *Paul*, 100 Marks, to the uſe of the Pope alſo another hundred. This done, he returning home through *France*, married there *Judith*, the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, the *French* King: whom he reſtored afterward (contrary to the Laws of *Weſt-Saxons*) to the Title and Throne of a Queen. For before it was decreed among the *Weſt-Saxons* (by the occaſion of wicked *Ethelburga*, who poiſoned *Brigibricus* her own Husband) that after that no Kings wife ſhould have the name or place of a Queen.

And for ſo much as I have here entred into the mention of *Judith*, Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*; the occaſion thereof putteth me in memory here to inſert by the way, a matter done, although not in this Realm, yet not impertinent to this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And firſt to deduct the Narration hereof from the firſt Original; the Father of this *Carolus Calvus*, whoſe name was *Ludovicus*, firſt of that name called *Pius*, King of *France*, had two wives: whereof by the firſt he had three Sons, *Lothary*, *Pipin*, and *Lewis*: Which three Sons unnaturally and unkindly conſpiring againſt their Father and his ſecond wife, with her Son their youngeſt Brother, perſecuted him ſo, that through a certain Council of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, they depoſed the ſame their natural and right godly Father, diſpoſſeſſing and diſcharging him of all Rule and Dominion. Moreover, cauſed him to renounce his Temporal habit, incloſing him in the Monaſtery of S. *Mark*, for a Monk, or rather a Priſoner. All which done, they divided his Empire and Kingdom among themſelves.

Note here th holy and wholeſome councils and doings of the ſpiritual Lords.

Ludovicus Pius Emperor, King of *France*.

Thus was *Ludovicus Pius*, of impious Sons left deſolate. But the power of God which worketh, when as all earthly power ceaſeth, of his divine mercy ſo aided and recovered him out of all his tribulation to this Imperial dignity again; that it was to all his enemies confuſion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his ſecond wife, whoſe name was *Judith*, he had this *Charles the Bald* here mentioned. Which *Judith* was thought, and ſo accuſed to the Pope, to be within ſuch degree of alliance, that by the Popes Law, ſhe might not continue his wife without the Popes diſpenſation. It ſo fell out in the mean time, that this *Ludovicus* the Emperor had promoted a young man named *Frederick*, to be Biſhop of *Utricht*; and to him had given fair and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the conſtancy of his predeceſſors, would maintain right and truth without all exception of any perſon, and puniſh miſdoers, with excommunication, as well the rich as the poor with ſuch like words of godly counſel. *Frederick* hearing the King thus ſay, ſitting at dinner with him as the manner was, being newly inveſted, in theſe words anſwered the Emperor again: *I thank your Majeſty*, (ſaith he) *which with your ſo wholeſome exhortation put me in mind of my profeſſion. But I beſeech you of your benign favour and patience, that I may freely diſcloſe that which hath long incumbred and pierced my conſcience.* To whom leave being given, thus he began, *I pray you (Lord Emperor) to ſhew me herein your mind* (pointing to the fiſh before him) *whether it is more according to attain this fiſh here preſent, beginning firſt at the head or at the tail? What a tale is this* (quoth the Emperor) *of the taile and of the head?* At the *head* (quoth he.) Then *Frederick* taking thereof his occaſion, proceedeth, *Even ſo let it be Lord Emperor* (ſaith he) *as you have ſaid.* Let Chriſtian Faith and Charity firſt begin with your ſelf, as with the head, admoniſhing you to ceaſe from your Fact and Error, that your Subjects by that example be not boldned to follow your miſdoing. Wherefore firſt forſake you your unlawful Wedlock, which you have made with *Judith* your near Kinſwoman. Theſe words of the new Biſhop, although they moved *Ludovicus* the Emperor not a little, yet he with a gentle modeſty, and modeſt ſilence was contented, ſuffering the Biſhop to go home in peace. But the word being uttered in ſuch an audience, could not be ſo concealed, but ſpread and burſt out in much talk in the whole Court, and eſpecially among the Biſhops, conſulting earneſtly with themſelves about the matter. Through whoſe counſel and labour ſo at length it fell, that the Emperor was conſtrained to leave the company of his Wife, till he had purchaſed a Licence of the Biſhop of *Rome* to retain her again, who then forgave the ſaid Biſhop all that was paſt. But the woman lured two Knights that flew him in his Veſtments, when he had ended his Maſs. *Ranulphus* and *Gul. lib. de Pontificib.* gave forth this ſtory in his great Commendation, that he died a Martyr. Whereof I have not to judge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I think him to be commended in his dying, than the woman for her killing.

Biſhop Frederick openly admoniſheth the Emperor at the table.

Note, there were two *Judiths*, one the mother of *Carolus Calvus*, the other, his daughter whom King *Ethelwulfe* did marry.

And for ſo much as mention hath been made of *Ludovicus Pius*, here is to be noted, that in *France* then was uſed of Prieſts and Church-men, precious and ſhining Veſtures, and golden and rich ſtaring Girdles, with Rings and other Ornaments of gold. Wherefore the ſaid *Lewis* purchaſed of the Biſhop of *Rome* a Correction for all ſuch as uſed ſuch diſordinate Apparel, cauſing them to wear brown and ſad colours, according to their eſtates. *Fob.*

Of this *Lewis* the Papiſts do feign, that becauſe he converted certain of their Church-goods and Patrimony to the wages of his Souldiers, his body (ſay they) was carried out of his Tomb by Devils, and was no more ſeen.

And thus a little having digreſſed out of our courſe, now let us return out of *France* into *England* again. King *Ethelwolfus*, coming now from *Rome* by the Country of *France*, was now returned again into his own Dominion, where he continued not long after.

This *Ethelwolfus* had eſpecially about him two Biſhops, whoſe counſel he was moſt ruled by, *Swithinus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Adelſtanus* Biſhop of *Shireborne*. Of the which two, the one was more skilful in temporal and civil Affairs touching the Kings Wars, and filling of his Coffers, and other furniture for the King. The other (which was *Swithinus*) was of a contrary ſort, wholy diſpoſed and inclined to Spiritual meditation, and to miniſter Spiritual counſel to the King: who had been School-Maſter to the King before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this Kings nature, among his other Vertues, not only in following the Precepts and Advertiſements of his old School-Maſter, but alſo in that he like a kind and thankful Pupil did ſo reverence his Bringer up, and old School-Maſter (as he called him) that he ceaſed not, till he made him Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by the confecration of *Celnoch* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But as Concerning the Miracles which are read in the Church of *Wincheſter*, of this *Swithinus*, them I leave to be read together with the *Iliads* of *Homer*, or *Tales* of *Robinhood*.

Frederick Biſhop of *Utricht*.

Swithinus Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Example of a kind ſcholar to his School-Maſter.

Monkiſh infancies fained of *Swithinus*.

This *Gregory* the Fourth, here in this preſent Chapter above mentioned, was the third Pope which ſucceeded after *Paſchalis* the firſt, being but four years betwixt them: which *Paſchalis* ſucceeded after *Stephan* the Fourth, who followed after *Leo* the Third, next Pope unto *Adrian* above in our Hiſtory mentioned, whereas we inteated of *Charles the Great*. From the time of that *Adrian* the firſt, unto Pope *Adrian* the third, the Emperors had ſome ſtroke in the Election (at leaſt in the Confirmation) of the *Roman* Pope. Notwithſtanding, divers of thoſe foreſaid Popes in the mean time began to work their Practiſes to bring their Purpoſe about. But yet all their devices could take no full effect, before the ſaid *Adrain* the third, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. So that the Emperors all this while bare ſome Rule in chooſing the Popes, and in aſſembling general Councils. Wherefore by the Commandment of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, in the time of this *Gregory* the fourth, a general Synod was commenced at *Aquiſgrane*, where it was decreed by the ſaid *Gregory* and his Aſſiſtants: Firſt, that every Church ſhould have ſufficient of his own proper Lands and Revenues to find the Prieſts thereof, that none ſhould need to lack or go about a begging. *Item*, that none of the Clergy, of what Order or Degree ſoever he be, ſhould uſe any Veſture of any precious or ſcarlet colour. Neither ſhall wear Rings on their Fingers, unleſs it be when Prelates be at Maſs, or give their Conſecrations. *Item*, that Prelates ſhould not keep too great Ports or Families, nor keep great Horſes, uſe Dice or Harlots: and the Monks ſhould not exceed meaſure in Gluttony or Riot. *Item*, that none of the Clergy being either anointed or ſhaven, ſhould uſe either gold or ſilver in their Shooes, Slippers, or Girdles, like to *Heliogabalus*. By this it may be conjectured, what Pomp and Pride in thoſe

Pope Leo the third. Stephen the fourth. Paſchalis the firſt. Eugenius the ſecond. Valentius the firſt. Gregory the fourth.

A general Synod at *Aquiſgrane*.

Every Church to have ſufficient to find his own Prieſts.

Great Families not priviledged for men of the Clergy.

Rings and Gold in their Shoes forbidden.

The Feaſt of *All Saints* firſt ordained.

Pope Sergius the ſecond. Whether the Popes name be gin firſt to be altered.

Agnus Dei what it is, and ſung at the Maſs.

The Maſs divided into three parts. Pope Leo the fourth. His Bishop by the Popes Law to be condemned under three-ſore and two witneſſes.

The golden Croſs firſt born before the Pope.

A woman Pope called Joan the eighth.

The Church of Rome after their Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt may err.

those days was crept into the Clergy. Moreover, by the ſaid Pope *Gregory* the fourth, at the Commandment of *Ludovicus* Emperor, the Feaſt of *All Saints* was firſt brought into the Church.

After this Pope, came *Sergius* the ſecond, which firſt brought in the altering of the Popes names, becauſe he was named before *Os porci*, that is *Swine-ſnout*: which alſo ordained the *Agnus* thrice to be ſung at the Maſs, and the Hoſt to be divided into three parts.

After him was Pope *Leo* the fourth, to whom this King *Ethelwolfe* (as in this preſent Chapter is above ſpecified) did commit the tuition of his Son *Alured*. By this Pope *Leo* it came in, and was firſt enacted in a Council of his, that no Biſhop ſhould be condemned under threeſcore and twelve witneſſes, according as ye ſee, in the witneſſes at the condemnation of *Stephen Gardiner*, orderly practiſed.

Item, contrary to the Law of *Gregory* the fourth his Predeceſſor, this Pope ordained the Croſs (all ſet with gold and precious ſtones) to be carried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth and cometh in the Whore of *Babylon* (rightly in her true colours, by the permiſſion of God, and manifeſtly without all tergiverſation) to appear to the whole World: and that not only after the ſpiritual ſenſe, but after the very letter, and the right form of an Whore indeed. For after this *Leo* above mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary Election (after a ſolemn maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. to the perpetual ſhame of them and of that See) in ſtead of a man Pope, elected an Whore indeed to miniſter Sacraments, to ſay Maſſes, to give Orders, to conſtitute Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops; to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to conſecrate Churches and Altars, to have the Reign and Rule of Emperors and Kings: and ſo the did indeed, called by name *Joan* the eighth. This womans proper name was *Gilberta* (a *Dutch* woman of *Magunce*) who went with an *Engliſh* Monk out of the Abbey of *Fulda* in mans Apparel unto *Athens*, and after through her dexterity of wit and learning was promoted unto the Popedom, where ſhe ſate two years and ſix months. At laſt openly in the face of a general Proceſſion, ſhe fell in labour and travel of child, and ſo died, by reaſon whereof, the Cardinals yet to this day do avoid to come near by that ſtreet where this ſhame was taken. By *Benedictus* the third, who ſucceeded next in the whoriſh See, was firſt ordained (as moſt Writers do record) the Dirge to be ſaid for the Dead. Albeit before him, *Gregory* the third had done in that matter worthily for his part already.

Pope Nicholas the firſt.

After him ſate Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, who inlarged the Popes Decrees with many Conſtitutions, equalling the authority of them with the writings of the Apoſtles. He ordained that no ſecular Prince, nor the Emperor himſelf, ſhould be preſent at their Councils, unleſs in matters concerning the Faith; to the end that ſuch as they judged to be Hereticks, they ſhould execute and murther. Alſo, that no Lay-men ſhould ſit in Judgment upon the Clergy-men, or reaſon upon the Popes Power. *Item*, that no Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſhould have any Power upon any Prelate, alledging that a Prelate is called God. *Item*, that all Church-Service ſhould be in *Latine*, yet notwithſtanding, diſpenſing with the *Sclavonians* and *Polonians* to retain ſtill their vulgar Language. Sequences in the Maſs were by him firſt allowed. By this Pope Prieſts began to be reſtrained and debarred from marrying: whereof *Huldericke* Biſhop of *Ausbrough* (a learned and an holy man) ſending a Letter unto the Pope, gravely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth againſt his undiſcreet proceedings touching that matter. The Copy of which Letter, as I thought it unworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo I judged it here worthy and meet for the better inſtruction of the Reader to be inſerted. The words thereof here follow out of *Latine* into *Engliſh* tranſlated.

The marriages of Prieſts began to be forbidden.

A learned Epiſtle of *Huldrike* Biſhop of *Auſburgh*, ſent to Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, proving by Probations ſubſtantial, that Prieſts ought not to be reſtrained from Marriage.

Anno 867.

Nicholas *Domino & Patri, pervigili Sanctæ* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ proviſori*, Huldericus *ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut ſervus. Cum tua (O Pater & Domine) decreta ſuper Clericorum continentiam, &c.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Letter written to Pope Nicholas concerning Prieſts not to refrain from marriage.

Hulderike *Biſhop only by name, unto the reverend Father* Nicholas *the vigilant Proviſor of the holy Church of* Rome, *with due commendation ſendeth love as a Son, and fear as a Servant. Underſtanding (reverend Father) your Decree which you ſent to me concerning the ſingle life of the Clergy, to be far diſcrepant from all diſcretion, I was troubled partly with fear, and partly with heavineſs. With fear for that (as it is ſaid) the Sentence of the Paſtor, whether it be juſt or unjuſt, is to be feared. For I was afraid leſt the weak hearers of the Scripture (which ſcarcely obey the juſt Sentence of their Paſtor, much more deſpiſing this unjuſt decreement) through the onrous and importable tranſgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhew themſelves diſobedient. With heavineſs I was troubled, and with compaſſion, for that I doubted how the members of the body ſhould do, their Head being ſo greatly out of frame. For what can be more grievous or more to be lamented, touching the ſtate of the Church, than for you, being the Biſhop of the Principal See, to whom appertaineth the Regiment of the whole Church, to ſwerve never ſo little out of the right way? Certes in this you have not a little erred, in that you have gone about to conſtrain your Clergy to ſingleneſs of life, through your imperious Tyranny: whom rather you ought to ſtir up to the continency of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny to the judgment of all wiſe men, when a man is compelled by your Decrees to do that which is againſt the Inſtitution of the Goſpel and the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt? Seeing then there be ſo many holy Examples both of the Old and New Teſtament, teaching us (as you know) due Information: I deſire your patience not to think it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.*

Prieſts marriage in the old Law permitted.

Firſt, in the old Law, *the Lord permitteth marriage unto the Prieſts, which afterward in the* new Law *we do not read to be reſtrained, but in the Goſpel thus he ſaith,* There be ſome Eunuchs which have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heaven, but all men do not take this Word; he that can take it, let him take it. *Wherefore, the Apoſtle ſaith,* Concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord, but only I give counſel. *Which counſel alſo all men do not take, as in the Commandment of the Lord before, but many there be falſe Diſſemblers and Flatterers, going about to pleaſe men, and not God, whom we ſee under a falſe pretence of continency to fall into horrible wickedneſs: ſome to lie with their Fathers wives, ſome to be Sodomites, and not to abſtain to play the beaſts with brute Beaſts. And therefore leſt through the infection of this wicked Peſtilence, the ſtate of the Church ſhould too much go to ruine: therefore he ſaid,* Becauſe of Fornication, let every man have his own wife. *Touching which ſaying, our falſe Hypocrites falſly do lye and feign: as though only it pertained to the Laity, and not to them. And yet they themſelves, ſeeming to be ſet in the moſt holy Order, are not afraid to abuſe other mens wives, and as we ſee (with weeping eyes) all they do outrage in the foreſaid wickedneſs.*

The Incontinency of ſingle life.

Theſe men have not rightly underſtood the Scripture, whoſe Breaſts while they ſuck ſo hard, inſtead of milk they ſuck out blood. For the ſaying of the Apoſtle, Let every man have his own wife, *doth except none in every deed, but him only which hath the gift of Continency, profeſſing with himſelf to keep and continue his Virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (O reverend Father) it ſhall be your part to cauſe and overſee, that whoſoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a Vow of Continency, and afterward would forſake, either ſhould be compelled to keep his Vow, or elſe by lawful Authority ſhould be depoſed from his Order.*

The ſaying of the Apoſtle.

Prieſts wives.

And

And to bring this to paſs, you ſhall not only have me, but alſo all other of my Order, to be helpers unto you. But that you may underſtand, thoſe ſuch which know not what a Vow doth mean, are not to be violently compelled thereunto, bear what the Apoſtle ſaith to Timothy, A Biſhop *(ſaith he)* muſt be irreprehenſible, the Husband of one Wife. *Which ſentence left you ſhould turn and apply only to the Church; mark what he inferreth after,* He that knoweth not *(ſaith he)* to rule his own Houſhold and Family, how ſhould he rule the Church of God? And likewiſe the Deacons *(ſaith he)* let them be the Husband of one Wife, which have knowledge to govern their own Houſe and Children. *And this Wife, how ſhe is wont to be bleſt of the Prieſt, you underſtand ſufficiently, I ſuppoſe, by the decrees of holy* Sylveſter *the Pope.*

This Decree is contrary to the Biſhops and Prelates in Queen Mary time.

To theſe and ſuch other holy ſentences of the Scripture agreeth alſo he that is the Writer of the rule of the Clergy, writing after this manner, A Clerik muſt be chaſt and continent, or elſe let him be coupled in the Bands of Matrimony, having one Wife. *Whereby it is to be gathered, that the Biſhop and Deacon are noted infamous and reprehenſible, if they be divided in more women than one: otherwiſe, if they do forſake one under the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Biſhop as the Deacon be here condemned by the Canonical Sentence, which ſaith,* Let no Biſhop or Prieſt forſake his own Wife, under the colour and pretence of Religion. If he do forſake her, let him be Excommunicate. And if he ſo continue, let him be dragged. *Saint* Auguſtine *alſo (a man of diſcreet holineſs) ſaith in theſe words,* There is no offence ſo great or grievous, but it is to avoid a greater evil.

Furthermore, we read in the ſecond Book of the Tripartite Hiſtory, *that when the Council of* Nice, *going about to eſtabliſh the ſame Decree, would Enact, that Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, after their Conſecration, either ſhould abſtain utterly from their own Wives, or elſe ſhould be depoſed; then* Paphnutius *(one of thoſe holy Martyrs, whom the Emperor* Maximus *had put out the right eye, and hocks their left legs) riſing up amongſt them, withſtood their purpoſed decreement: confeſſing Marriage to be honourable, and calling the Bed of Matrimony to be Chaſtity, and ſo perſwaded the Council from making that Law, declaring thereby what occaſion might come to themſelves and their wives of Fornication. And thus much did* Paphnutius *(being unmarried himſelf) declare unto them. And the whole Council commending his Sentence, gave place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulſion, to the will of every man, to do therein as he thought fit.*

Notwithſtanding there be ſome, which take Saint Gregory *for their defence in this matter, whoſe temerity I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantly deceived, how dangerous the decree of this Hereſie was (being made of S.* Gregory*) who afterwards well revoked the ſame, with condigne fruit of Repentance.*

More than ſix thouſand heads of Infants found in the Popes Mote through the wicked Decreer of the ſingle life of Prieſts. Let Prieſts note well the ſaying of Gregory.

For upon a certain day, as he ſent into his Fiſh-pond to have fiſh, and did ſee more than ſix thouſand Infants heads brought to him, which were taken out of the ſame Pond or Mote, he did greatly repent in himſelf the Decree made before touching the ſingle life of Prieſts, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purging the ſame with condigne fruit of Repentance, eſtored again the things which he had decreed before, commending that counſel of the Apoſtle, which ſaith, It is better to marry than to burn; *adding moreover of himſelf thereunto, and ſaying,* It is better to marry than to give occaſion of death.

Peradventure if theſe men had read with me thus which ſo haſted, I think they would not be ſo raſh in their doing and judging; fearing at leaſt the Lords Commandment, Do not judge, that you be not judged. *And* Saint Paul *ſaith,* Who art thou that judgeſt another mans Servant? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to his own Maſter: but he ſhall ſtand; for the Lord is mighty and able to make him ſtand. *Therefore let your Holineſs ceaſe to compel and inforce thoſe, whom only you ought to admoniſh, leſt through your own private commandment (which God forbid) you be found contrary as well to the* Old Teſtament, *Auguſt. ad Donatum.* are to the New. *For as Saint* Auguſtine *ſaith to* Donatus, This is only that we do fear in your Juſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of Chriſtian lenity, but for the grievouſneſs and greatneſs of tranſgreſſions committed) you be thought to uſe violence in executing puniſhment of that, which only we do deſire you, (by Chriſt) not to do. For tranſgreſſions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the life of the Tranſgreſſors may repent. *Alſo another ſaying of Saint* Auguſtine *we would have you to remember, which is this,* Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter; *that is,* Let no thing be done through the greedineſs of hurting, but all things through the charity of profiting; neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing ungently. Item, *of the ſame* Auguſtine *it is written,* In the fear and name of Chriſt I exhort you, which of you ſoever have not the goods of this world, be not greedy to have them. Such as have them, preſume not too much upon them. For, I ſay, to have them is no damnation, but if you preſume upon them, that is damnation; if for the having of them you ſhall ſeem great in your own ſight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellency of any thing you have. Uſe therefore them due diſcretion, tempered with moderation, the which Cup of diſcretion is drawn out of the Fountain of the Apoſtolick Preaching, which ſaid, *Art thou looſe from thy wife? Do not ſeek for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seek not to be looſed from her.* Where alſo it followeth, *Such as have wives, let them be as though they had them not, and they that uſe the world, let them be as not uſing it.*

Note well the ſaying of Aug.

Item, *concerning the Widow, he ſaith,* Let her marry to whom ſhe will, only in the Lord. *To marry in the Lord, is nothing elſe but to attempt nothing in contracting of Matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid.* Jeremy *alſo ſaith,* Truſt not in the words of lyes, ſaying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord. *The which ſaying of* Jeremy, Hierome *expounding, ſaith thus, This may agree alſo, and be applied to ſuch Virgins, which brag and vaunt of their Virginity with an impudent face, pretending Chaſtity, when they have another thing in their Conſcience, and know not how the Apoſtle deſineth the Virgin, that ſhe ſhould be holy in body, and alſo in ſpirit. For what availeth the chaſtity of the body, if the mind inwardly be deſlowred? Or if it have not the other Vertues, which the Prophetical Sermon doth deſcribe? The which Vertues, for ſo much as we ſee partly to be in you; and becauſe we are not ignorant, that this diſcretion, although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life is kept honeſtly of you, we do not deſpair, but you will alſo ſoon amend the little lack which is behind. And therefore with as much gravity as we can, we ceaſe not to call upon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although, according to our common calling, a Biſhop is greater than a Prieſt, and* Auguſtine *was leſs than* Hierome; *notwithſtanding the good correction proceeding from the leſſer to the greater, was not to be refuſed or diſdained; eſpecially when he which is corrected is found to ſtrive againſt the truth, to pleaſe men. For as Saint* Auguſtine *ſaith, writing to* Boniface, *The Diſputations of all men, be they never ſo Catholick or approved perſons, ought not to be had in ſtead of the Canonical Scriptures. So that we may diſprove or refuſe (ſaving the honour and reverence which is due unto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there be found contrary to truth. And what can be found more contrary to the truth than this? When as the truth it ſelf, ſpeaking of continency, not of one only, but of all together (the number only excepted of them which have profeſſed continency) ſaith,* He that can take, let him take: *the which ſaying, theſe men (moved, I cannot tell by what occaſion) do turn and ſay,* He that cannot take, let him be accurſed. *And what can be more ſoliſh amongſt men, than when any Biſhop or Archdeacon run themſelves headlong into all kind of luſt, to Adultery and Inceſt, and alſo* Sodomitry? *Yet ſhame not to ſay, that the chaſt marriage of Prieſts doth ſtink before them: and, as void of all compaſſion and true righteouſneſs, do not deſire or admoniſh their Clerks, as their fellow-ſervants to abſtain, but command them, and enforce them as ſervants, willingly to abſtain. Unto the which imperious Commandment of theirs, or Counſel (whether you will call it) they add alſo this ſoliſh and filthy ſuggeſtion, ſaying,* That it is more honeſt, privily to have to do with many women, than apertly in the fight and conſciences of many men to be bound to one wife. *The which truly they would not ſay, if they were either of him, or in him, which ſaith,*

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a Virgin is by the diſtinction of the Apoſtle.

Auguſt. ad Bonifacium.

Inconſtitut. Apoſtolic. lib. viii. (Auctore Iacobo Epiſc. Eliberitano) & Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 3. Auguſt. de Bono Viduit. cap. 8. Hieronym. in Epiſt. ad Ocean. de Epiſcopis.

The chief ſaying of contrary doing of Papiſts.

Woe to you *Phariſees*, which do all things before men. *And ſo the* Phariſies, Becauſe they pleaſe men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath deſpiſed them. *Theſe be the men, who ought to perſwade us that we ſhould rather ſhame to ſin privily in the ſight of him, to whom all things be open, than ſeem in the ſight of men to be clean. Theſe men therefore, although through their ſinful wickedneſs they deſerve no counſel of godlineſs to be given them: yet we, not forgetting our humanity, ceaſe not to give them counſel by the authority of Gods Word, which ſeeketh all mens ſalvation; deſiring them by the bowels of Charity, and ſaying with the words of Scripture,* Caſt out *(thou Hypocrite)* firſt the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt the mote out of the eye of thy Brother.

Gregorius.

Moreover, this alſo we deſire them to attend, what the Lord ſaith of the adulterous woman, Which of you that is without ſin, let him caſt the firſt ſtone againſt her. *As though he would ſay,* If Moſes *bid you, I alſo bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent Miniſters and Executors of the Law, take heed what you add thereunto; take heed alſo (I pray you) what you are your ſelves: for if (as the Scripture ſaith) thou ſhalt well conſider thy ſelf, thou wilt never deſame or detract another.*

Moreover, it is ſignified unto us alſo, that ſome there be of them, which (when they ought like unto good Shepherds to give their lives for the Lords Flock) yet are they puffed up with ſuch pride, that without all reaſon they preſume to rend and tear the Lords Flock with whippings and beatings, whoſe unreaſonable doings Saint Gregory *bewailing, thus ſaith,* Quid fiat de ovibus quando Paſtores Lupi fiunt? *that is,* What ſhall become of the Sheep when the Paſtors themſelves be Wolves? *But who is overcome, but he which exerciſeth, cruelty? Or who ſhall judge the Perſecutor, but he which gave patiently his back to ſtripes? And this is the fruit which cometh to the Church by ſuch Perſecutors, alſo which cometh to the Clergy by ſuch deſtructful handling of their Biſhops, or rather Infidels. For why may you not call them Infidels, of whom Saint* Paul *thus ſpeaketh, and writeth to* Timothy? That in the later days there ſhall certain depart from the Faith, and give heed to Spirits of Error and Doctrine of Devils: that ſpeak falſe through hypocriſie, having their Conſciences marked with an hot Iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, &c. *And this is (if it be well marked) the whole handful of the Darnel and Cockel growing amongſt the Corn: this is the Covens of all madneſs; that whiles they of the Clergy be compelled to relinquiſh the company of their own lawful Wives, they become afterward Fornicators and Adulterers with other women, and wicked Miniſters of other ſinful filthineſs. Theſe be they which bring into the Church of God this Hereſie (as blind Guides leading the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the* Pſalm *ſpeaketh of, as fore-ſeeing the Errors of ſuch men, and accuſing them after this manner,* Let their eyes be blinded, that they ſee not, and bow down always their backs. *For ſo much then (O Apoſtolical Sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your diſcretion had underſtood and ſeen what poiſoned peſtilence might have come into the Church through the Sentence of this your Decree, you would never have conſented to the ſuggeſtions of certain wicked perſons. Wherefore we counſel you by the fidelity of our due ſubjection, that with all diligence you would put away ſo great ſlander from the Church of God: and through your diſcreet Diſcipline, you will remove this Phariſaical Doctrine from the Flock of God: ſo that this only* Sunamite *of the Lords (uſing no more adulterous Huſbands) do not ſeparate the holy people, and the Kingly Prieſthood from her Spouſe which is Chriſt, through an unrecoverable Divorcement: ſeeing that no man without Chaſtity (not only in the Virgins ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of Matrimony) ſhall ſee our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.*

Pope Adrian the firſt. John the fifth. Martin the ſecond. Adrian the third. Stephan the fifth.

¶ By this Epiſtle of Biſhop *Huldericke* (above prefixed) the matter is plain (gentle Reader) to conceive what was then the Sentence of learned men concerning the marriage of Miniſters: but that here by the way, the Reader is to be admoniſhed, that this Epiſtle which by Error of the Writer is referred to Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, in my mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of *Nicholas* the ſecond, or *Nicholas* the third.

After this Pope *Nicholas* ſucceeded *Adrianus* the ſecond, *Joannes* the ninth, *Martinus* the ſecond, After whom came *Adrian* the third, and *Stephan* the fifth. By this *Adrian* it was firſt decreed, That no Emperor after that time ſhould intermeddle or have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperors firſt decay, and the Papacy to ſwell and riſe aloft. And thus much concerning *Romiſh* matters for this time.

Then to return where we left, touching the ſtory of King *Ethelwolfe*. About the later end of his Reign, the *Danes* which before had invaded the Realm, in the time of King *Egbert*, as is above declared, now made their reentry again, with three and thirty Ships arriving about *Hamſhire*: through the barbarous tyranny of whom, much bloodthed and murther happened here among *Engliſh*men, in *Dorſetſhire*, about *Portſmouth*, in *Kent*, in *Eaſt-Angle*, in *Lindſie*, at *Rocheſter*, about *London*, and in *Weſt-Sex*, where *Ethelwolfe* the King was overcome, beſides divers other Kings and Dukes, whom the *Danes* daily approaching, in great multitudes, in divers Victories had put to flight. At length King *Ethelwolfe*, with his Son *Ethelbaldus*, warring againſt them in *Southery*, at *Okley*, drave them to the Sea; where they hovering a ſpace, after a while braſt in again with horrible rage and cruelty, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared, ſo much as to our purpoſe ſhall ſerve, profeſſing in this Hiſtory to write of no matters extern and politick, but only pertaining to the Church. The cauſe of this great Affliction ſent of God unto this Realm, thus I found expreſſed and collected in a certain old written ſtory, which hath no name: the words of which Writer, for the ſame cauſe as he thought to recite them, writing (as he ſaith) *Ad cautelam futuro-rum*, I thought alſo for the ſame here not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his Commendation I do not fully with him accord. The words of the Writer be theſe:

Ex veruſta Angelo-Saxonica Hiſtoria Cant. exon. MS.

In Anglorum *quidem Eccleſia primitiva, religio clariſſime reſplendauit: ita ut Reges & Reginæ, & Principes ac Duces, Conſules, & Barones, &c.*

In Engliſh thus:

In the Primitive Church (ſaith he) *of the* Engliſh-*men, Religion did moſt clearly ſhine, inſomuch that Kings, Queens, Princes and Dukes, Conſuls, Barons, and Rulers of Churches, incenſed with the deſire of the King dom of Heaven, labouring and ſtriving among themſelves to enter into Monkery, into voluntary exile and ſolitary life, forſook all, and followed the Lord. Where, in proceſs of time all vertue ſo much decayed among them, that in fraud and treachery none ſeemed like unto them: neither was to them any thing odious or hateful, but Piety and Juſtice. Neither any thing in price or honour, but civil War and ſhedding of innocent blood. Wherefore Almighty God ſent upon them* Pagan *and cruel Nations, like ſwarms of Bees, which neither ſpared Women nor Children, as* Danes, Norwegians, Gothes, Suevians, Vandals, *and* Friſians. *Who, from the beginning of the Reign of King* Ethelwolfe, *till the coming of the* Normans, *by the ſpace near of two hundred and thirty years, deſtroyed their ſinful Land from the one ſide of the Sea to the other, from man alſo to beaſt. For why? They invading* England *oft-times, of every ſide, went not about to ſubdue and poſſeſs it, but only to ſpoil and deſtroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be overcome of* Engliſh-men, *it availed nothing, when as other Navies ſtill with greater Power in other places were ready upon a ſudden and unawares, to approach upon them, &c.* Hiſtoria Cariana.

The cauſe of Gods wrath whereby the Realm of England was flourged by the Danes.

Thus far have you the words of mine Author, declaring the cauſe which provoked Gods anger: whereunto may be adjoyned the wickedneſs, not only of them but of their fore-Fathers alſo before them, who falſely breaking the Faith and Promiſe made with the *Britains*, did cruelly murther their Nobles, wickedly oppreſſed their Commons, impiouſly perſecuted the innocent *Chriſtians*, injuriouſly poſſeſſed their Land and Habitation: chaſing the Inhabitants out of Houſe and Country, beſides the violent murther of the Monks of *Bangor*, and divers foul Slaughters among the poor *Britains*, who ſent for them

to

to be their Helpers. Wherefore Gods juſt recompence falling upon them from that time never ſuffered them to be quiet from foreign Enemies, till the coming of *William* the *Norman*, &c.

Another cauſe rendred, why *England* was ſcourged of the *Danes*.

Moreover, concerning the outward occaſions given of the *Engliſhmens* parts, moving the *Danes* firſt to invade the Realm, I find in certain ſtories two moſt ſpecially aſſigned. The one unjuſtly given, and juſtly taken. The other not given juſtly, and unjuſtly taken. Of the which two, the firſt was given in *Northumberland*, by the means of *Osbright*, reigning under-King of *Weſt-Saxons*, in the North parts. This *Osbright* upon a time journeying by the way, turned into the houſe of one of his Nobles called *Bruer*. Who having at home a wife of great beauty (he being abſent abroad) the King after his dinner (allured with the excellency of her beauty) took her to a ſecret Chamber, where he forceably (contrary to her will) did raviſh her: whereupon ſhe being greatly diſmayed, and vexed in her mind, made her moan to her Husband returning, of this violence and injury received. *Bruer* conſulting with his Friends, firſt went to the King, reſigning into his hands all ſuch ſervice and poſſeſſions which he did hold of him: that done, he took ſhipping and ſailed into *Denmark*, where he had great Friends, and had his bringing up before. There making his moan to *Cobrinus* the King, deſired his aid in revenging of the great villany of *Osbright* againſt him and his wife. *Cobrinus* hearing this, and glad to have ſome juſt quarrel to enter that Land, levied an Army with all ſpeed, and preparing all things neceſſary for the ſame, ſendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba*, two Brethren, his chief Captains, with an innumerable multitude of *Danes* into *England*; who firſt arriving at *Holdernes*, there burnt up the Country, and killed without mercy, both Men, Women and Children, whom they could lay hands upon. Then marching towards *York*, entred their battel with the foreſaid *Oſbright*, where he with the moſt part of his Army was ſlain. And ſo the *Danes* entred the poſſeſſion of the City of *York*. Some others ſay, and it is by the moſt part of ſtory-writers recorded, that the chief cauſe of the coming of *Inguar* and *Hubba* with the *Danes*, was, to be revenged of King *Edmund*, reigning under the *Weſt-Saxons* over the *Eaſt-Angles* in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: for the murthering of a certain *Dane* being Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, which was falſely imputed to King *Edmund*. The ſtory is thus told.

Example, what miſchief cometh by Adultery.

Cobrinus King of Denmark.

Inguar and *Hubba* Captains of the *Danes*.

Another cauſe of the coming of the *Danes*.

A certain Nobleman of the *Danes* of the Kings ſtock, called *Lothbroke*, Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, entring upon a time with his Hawk into a certain Schiffe or Cockbote alone; by chance through tempeſt was driven with his Hawk to the coaſt of *Norfolk* named *Rodham*, where he being found and detained, was preſented to the King. The King underſtanding his Parentage, and ſeeing his cate, entertained him in his Court accordingly, and every day more and more perceiving his Activities and great Dexterity in hunting and hawking, bare ſpecial favour unto him. Inſomuch that the Kings Falkoner, or Maſter of his Game, bearing privy envy againſt him, ſecretly as they were hunting together in a Wood did murther him, and threw him into a buſh. This *Lothbroke*, being murthered, within two or three days began to be miſſed in the Kings houſe: of whom no tidings could be heard, but only by a Dog or Spaniel of his, which continuing in the Wood with the corps of his Maſter, at ſundry times came and fawned upon the King: ſo long that at the length they following the trace of the Hound, were brought to the place where *Lothbroke* lay. Whereupon inquiſition being made, at length by certain circumſtances of words and other evidences, it was known how and by whom he was murthered, that was by the Kings Huntſman named *Berike*. Who thereupon being convicted, was ſet into the ſame Bote of *Lothbroke*, alone and without any tackling to drive by Seas, either to be ſaved by the weather, or to be drowned in the deep. And as it chanced, *Lothbroke* from *Denmark* to be driven to *Norfolk*, ſo it happened that from *Norfolk* he was carried into *Denmark*, where the Bote of *Lothbroke* being well known, hands were laid upon him, and inquiſition made of the party. In fine in his torments, to ſave himſelf, he uttered an untruth of King *Edmund*, ſaying, *That the King had put him to death in the Country of* Norfolk. Whereupon grudge firſt was conceived, then an Army appointed, and great multitudes ſent into *England* to revenge that Fact, where firſt they arriving in *Northumberland*, deſtroyed (as is ſaid) thoſe parts firſt. From thence ſailing into *Norfolk* they exerciſed the like tyranny there, upon the Inhabitants thereof, eſpecially upon the innocent Prince, and bleſſed Martyr of God, King *Edmund*. Concerning the farther Declaration whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt our Lord ſo permitting) more to be ſpoken, as place and obſervation of time and years ſhall require.

Lothbroke Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*.

What miſchief envy worketh.

Murther will out.

In the mean ſeaſon, King *Ethelwolfe* in this Chapter here preſently touched, when he had chaſed the foreſaid *Danes*, (as is above rehearſed) from place to place, cauſing them to take the Sea, he in the mean while departeth himſelf both from land and life: leaving behind him four Sons, which reigned every one his order, after the deceaſe of their Father. The names of whom were *Ethelbaldus*, *Ethelbrightus*, *Ethelredus* and *Alueredus*.

King Ethelwolfe ſendeth for the *Danes*.

King *Ethelbald*.

KIng *Ethelbald* the eldeſt Son of *Ethelwolfe*, ſucceeding his Father in the Province of *Weſt-Sax*, and *Ethelbright* in the Province of *Kent*, reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other. Of the which two, *Ethelbald* the firſt left this Infamy behind him in ſtories, for marrying and lying with his ſtepmother, wife to his own Father, named *Judith*. After theſe two ſucceeded *Ethelred*, the third Son, who in his time was ſo incumbred with the *Danes*, burſting in on every ſide, eſpecially about *York* (which City they then ſpoiled and burnt up) that he in one year ſtood in nine battels againſt them, with the help of *Alured* his Brother. In the beginning of this Reign, the *Danes* landed in *Eaſt-England*, or *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. But (as *Fabian* writeth) they were compelled to forſake that Country, and ſo took again ſhipping, and ſailed *Northward*, and landed in *Northumberland*: where they were met of the Kings then there reigning, called *Osbright* and *Ella*, which gave to them a ſtrong fight. But notwithſtanding, the *Danes*, with the help of ſuch as inhabited the Country, won the City of *York*, and held it a certain ſeaſon, as is above foretouched.

{ Anno 855.

King Ethelbald. King Ethelbright. { Anno 857.

Ethelred ſucceeded by the Danes.

In the Reign of this *Ethelred*, the *Northumberlanders* rebelling againſt the King thought to recover again the former ſtate of their Kingdom out of the *Weſt-Saxons* hand; by reaſon of which diſcord (as happeneth in all Lands where diſſention is) the ſtrength of the *Engliſh* Nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the *Danes* the more thereby prevailed.

What diſcord doth in a Commonwealth.

About the later time of the Reign of this *Ethelred*, which was about the year of our Lord, 870. certain of the foreſaid *Danes* being thus poſſeſſed of the North Country (after their cruel Perſecution and murther done there, as partly is touched before) took ſhipping from thence, intending to fail toward the *Eaſt-Angles*, who by the way upon the Sea met with a Fleet of *Danes*; whereof the Captains or Leaders were named *Inguar* and *Hubba*. Who joyning altogether in one Council, made all one courſe, and laſtly landed in *Eaſt-England* or *Northfolk*, and in proceſs of time came to *Thetford*. Thereof hearing *Edmund*, then under-King of that Province, aſſembled an Hoſt that gave to them battel. But *Edmund* and his Company was forced to forſake the Field; and the King with a few perſons fled unto the Caſtle of *Framingham*, whom the *Danes* purſued. But he in ſhort while after yielded himſelf to the perſecution of the *Danes*: anſwering in this manner to the Meſſenger, that told him in the name of *Inguar* Prince of the *Danes*, which moſt victoriouſly (ſaith he) was come with innumerable Legions, ſubduing both by Sea and Land many Nations unto him: and ſo now arrived in thoſe parts requireth him likewiſe to ſubmit himſelf, yielding to him his hid Treaſures, and ſuch other goods of his Anceſtors, and ſo to Reign under him: which thing if he would not do, he ſhould (ſaid he) be judged unworthy both of life and reign. *Edmund* hearing of this proud meſſage of the *Pagan*, conſulted with certain of his friends; and among others, with one of his Biſhops, being then his Secretary; who ſeeing the preſent danger of the King, gave him counſel to yield to the conditions. Upon this the King pauſing a little with himſelf, at length rendred this anſwer, bidding the meſſenger go tell his Lord in theſe words, That *Edmund* a Chriſtian King, for the love of temporal life, will not ſubmit himſelf to a Pagan Duke, unleſs he before would be a Chriſtian. Incontinent upon the ſame, the wicked and crafty *Dane*, approaching in moſt haſty ſpeed upon the King, encountred with him in battel (as ſome ſay) at *Thetford*; where the King being put to the worſe, and ſpitying the terrible ſlaughter of his men, thinking with himſelf rather to ſubmit his own perſon to danger, than his people ſhould be ſlain, did flie (as *Fabian* ſaith) to the Caſtle of *Framingham*, (or as mine Author writeth) to *Haleſdon*, now called St. *Edmundſbury*, where this bleſſed man being on every ſide compaſſed of his cruel enemies, yielded himſelf to their perſecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Chriſt and his Laws, they therefore moſt cruelly bound him unto a Tree, and cauſed him to be ſhot to death; and laſtly, cauſed his head to be ſmitten from his body, and caſt into the thick buſhes. Which head and body at the ſame time by his friends was taken up, and ſolemnly buried at the ſaid *Haleſdon*, otherwiſe now named St. *Edmundſbury*. Whoſe Brother named *Edwoldane* (notwithſtanding of right the Kingdom fell next unto him) ſetting apart the liking and pleaſure of the world, became an Hermite of the Abbey of *Cerum* in the Country of *Dorſet*.

The perfection and death of St. Edward K. of the Eaſt-angles.

K. Edmund martyr.

After the Martyrdom of this bleſſed *Edmund*, when the cruel *Danes* had ſufficiently robbed and ſpoiled that Country, they took again their Ships, and landed in *Southery*, and continued their journey till they came to the Town of *Reading*, and there won the Town with the Caſtle, where (as *Cambrenſis* ſaith) within three days of their thither coming, the foreſaid *Inguar* and *Hubba* Captains of the *Danes*, as they went in purchaſing of their preys or booties, were ſlain at a place called *Englefield*. Which Princes of the *Danes* thus ſlain, the reſt of them kept whole together, in ſuch wiſe that the *Weſt-ſaxons* might take of them none advantage. But yet within few days after, the *Danes* were holden ſo ſhort, that they were forced to iſſue out of the Caſtle and to defend themſelves in plain battel. In the which (by the induſtry of King *Ethelred*, and of *Alured* his Brother) the *Danes* were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain; which diſcomfort made them fly again into the Caſtel, and there he kept them for a certain time. The King then committing the charge of them to *Ethelwold* Duke of *Baroke*, or *Barkſhire*, ſo departed. But when the *Danes* knew of the Kings departure, they brake ſuddenly out of their Hold, and took the Duke unprovided, and ſlew him, and much of his people. And ſo adjoyning themſelves with others that were ſcattered in the Country, imbattelled them in ſuch wiſe, that of them was gathered a ſtrong Hoſt.

Reading taken from the *Danes*.

Inguar and *Hubba* ſlain.

Duke Ethelwold ſlain.

As the tidings hereof was brought unto King *Ethelred*, (which put him in great heavineſs) word alſo was brought the ſame time of the landing of *Oſrike* King of *Denmark*, who with affiſtance of the other *Danes* had gathered a great Hoſt, and were imbattelled upon *Aſhdon*. To this battel King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alured* (forced by great need) ſped themſelves to withſtand the *Danes*. At which time the King a little ſtaying behind, being yet at his ſervice, *Alured* which was come in before, had entred already into the whole fight with the *Danes*; who ſtruck together with huge violence. The King being required to make ſpeed (he being then at ſervice and meditations) ſuch was his devotion, that he would not ſtir out one foot before their ſervice was fully compleat. In this mean while, the *Danes* ſo fiercely invaded *Alured* and his men, that they won the hill, and the Chriſtian men were in the valley, and in great danger to loſe the whole field. Nevertheleſs through the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the King coming from his ſervice, with his freſh Soldiers recovered the hill of the Infidels, and ſo diſcomfited the *Danes* that day; that in flying away not only they loſt the victory, but moſt part alſo of them their lives. Inſomuch that their Duke or King *Oſrike*, or *Oſege*, and five of their Dukes, with much of their people were ſlain, and the reſt chaſed unto *Reading* Town.

Oſrike King of Denmark, lands in England.

Ex Guil. Malmeſb. Ex Hiſtoria Jornalenſi. Ex Fabiano & alijs.

Invocation and prayer profitable in time of battel.

The Danes overthrown at *Aſhdon*.

After this the *Danes* yet reaſſembled their people, and gathered a new Hoſt; ſo that within fifteen days they met at *Baſingſtoke*, and there gave battel unto the King, and had the better. Then the King again gathered his men, which at that field were diſparkled, and with freſh Soldiers to them accompanied, met the *Danes* within two months after at the Town of *Merton*, where he gave them a ſharp Battel, ſo that much people were ſlain as well of the Chriſtians as of the *Danes*, but in the end the *Danes* had the honour of the field, and King *Ethelred* there was wounded, and therefore fain to ſave himſelf.

Another battel fought with the *Danes* at *Merton*.

After theſe two fields thus won by the *Danes*, they obtained great circuit of ground, and deſtroyed man and child that would not yield to them. And Churches and Temples they turned to the uſe of Stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the King being beſet with enemies on every ſide, ſeeing the land ſo miſerably oppreſſed of the *Danes*, his Knights and Soldiers conformed, his own Land of *Weſt-ſaxons* in ſuch deſolation, he being alſo wounded himſelf, but eſpecially for that he ſending his Commiſſions into *Northumberland*, into *Mercia*, and *Eaſtanglia*, could have of them but ſmall or little comfort (becauſe they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the *Danes* than of their King) was ſore perplexed there withal, as the other Kings were both before him and after him at that time. So that as *Malmeſbury* witneſſeth, *Magis optarent honeſtum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium*: that is, They rather wiſhed honeſtly to die, than with ſuch trouble and ſorrow to reign. And thus this King not long after deceaſed, when he had reigned (as *Fabian* ſaith) eight years, or as *Malmeſbury* writeth, but five years. During which time of his reign, notwithſtanding his great troubles and vexations in Martial affairs (as is in ſome Stories mentioned) he founded the Houſe or Colledg of Canons at *Excester*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Wimborne* or *Woborne*. After whoſe deceaſe, for lack of iſſue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his Brother *Alured*.

What diſcord and rebellion doth in a Realm.

The death of *Ethelred*.

The Abbey of *Excester* founded.

King *Alured*, otherwiſe called *Alfred*.

{ Anno 872.

Alured King of *England*.

AMONG the *Saxon* Kings hitherto in this Story aforementioned, I find few or none to be preferred (or almoſt to be compared) to this *Alured* or *Alfred*, for the great and ſingular qualities in this King, worthy of high renown and commendation; whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travels which he continually from time to time ſuſtained againſt his enemies in wars, during almoſt all the time of his reign, for the publick preſervation of his people; or whether we conſider in him his godly and excellent vertues, joyned with a publick and tender care, and a zealous ſtudy for the common peace and tranquility of the weal publick; appearing as well in his prudent Laws by him both carefully ſet forth, and with the like care executed; as alſo by his own private Exerciſes touching the vertuous inſtitution of his life. Or whether we reſpect that in him, which with equal praiſe matcheth with both the other before; that is, his notable knowledg of good Letters, with a fervent love and Princely deſire to ſet forth the ſame through all his Realm, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his Heroical properties, joyned together in one Prince, as it is a thing moſt rare, and ſeldom ſeen in Princes now a days; ſo I thought the ſame the more to be noted and exemplied in this good King. Thereby either to move other Rulers and Princes in theſe our days to his imitation; or elſe to ſhew them what hath been in times paſt in their anceſtors, which ought to be, and yet is not found in them. Wherefore of theſe three parts to diſcourſe either part in order, firſt will enter to intreat of his acts and painful travels ſuſtained in defence of the Realm publick, againſt the raging tyranny of the *Danes*, as they be deſcribed in the *Latin* Hiſtories of *Roger Hoveden*, and *Huntington*; whom *Fabian* alſo ſeemeth in this part ſomewhat to follow. King *Alfred* therefore the firſt of all the *Engliſh* Kings, taking his Crown and Unction at *Rome* of Pope *Leo* (as *Malmeſbury* and *Polychronicon* do record) in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his Lords and people much waſted and decayed, by the reaſon of the great wars of *Ethelred* had againſt the *Danes*, yet as well as he could, gathered a ſtrength of men unto him, and in the ſecond month that he was made King, he met with the *Danes* beſide *Wilton*, where he gave them Battel

Ex Rog. Hoved. & Huntingd. Polychronico & Fabiano.

Burthered expulſed his Kingdom, went to Rome, and there died in the Engliſh houſe.

But being far over-matched through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worſe; although not without a great ſlaughter of the Pagan Army. Which Army then of the *Danes*, after that victory, by compaction made with King *Alfred* to depart out of his Dominion of *Weſtſax*, removed from *Reading* to *London*, where they abode all that Winter. Where *Halden* their King, true with *Burthred* King of *Mercians*, the next year following voided thoſe parts, and drew to *Lindſey*, robbing and ſpoiling the Towns and Villages as they went, and holding the common people under their ſervage. From thence after to *Repingdon*, where they joyning with the three other Kings of the *Danes* (called *Surdrim*, *Osketell*, and *Hamond*) grew thereby in mighty force and ſtrength. Who then dividing their Army in two parts, the one half remained with *Halden* in the Country of *Northumberland*; the reſidue were with the other three Kings, wintring and ſojourning all the next year at *Granthridge*, which was the fourth year of King *Alfred*. In the which year King *Alfred* his men had a conflict on the Sea with ſix of the *Danes* Ships, of which one they took, the other fled away.

Rollo a Dane firſt Duke of Normandy.

In this year went *Rollo* the *Dane* into *Normandy*, where he was Duke thirty years, and afterward was Baptized in the Faith of Chriſt, and named *Robert*. The foreſaid Army of the three *Dane* Kings above mentioned from *Grantbridge* returned again to *Weſtſaxony*, and entred the Caſtle of *Warrham*; where *Alfred* with a ſufficient power of men was ready to aſſault them. But the *Danes* ſeeing his ſtrength, durſt not attempt with him, but fought delays, whiles more aid might come. In the mean ſeaſon they were conſtrained to entreat for truce; leaving alſo ſufficient pledges in the Kings hand, promiſing moreover upon their Oath to void the Country of the *Weſtſaxons*. The King upon the ſurety let them go. But they falſely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward *Exceſter*. In which journey they loſt ſix ſcore of their ſmall Ships, by a tempeſt at *Sandwich*, (as *Henry Huntington* in his Story recordeth.) Then King *Alfred* followed after the Horſemen of the *Danes*, but could not overtake them before they came to *Exceſter*, where he took of them pledges and fair promiſes of peace, and ſo returned. Notwithſtanding the number of the Pagans did daily more and more increaſe, in ſo much (as one of my Authors ſaith) that if in one day thirty thouſand of them were ſlain, ſhortly after they increaſed double as many again. After this truce taken with King *Alfred*, the *Danes* then voided to the Land of *Mercia*, whereof part of that Kingdom they kept themſelves, part they committed to one *Ceolulphus*; upon condition that he ſhould be vaſſal to them, and at their commandment, with his people at all times.

{ Anno 879. } The next year enſuing, which was the ſeventh year of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* now having all the rule of the North part of *England*, from the river of *Thames*, with *Mercia*, *London*, and *Eſſex*, diſdained that *Alfred* ſhould bear any Dominion on the other ſide of *Thames* Southward. Whereupon the foreſaid three Kings, with all the forces and ſtrength they could make, marched toward *Chippenham* in *Weſtſex*, with ſuch a multitude, that the King with his people was not able to reſiſt them; inſomuch that the people which inhabited there, ſome fled over the Sea, ſome remained with the King, divers ſubmitted themſelves to the *Danes*. Thus *Alfred* being overſet with multitude of enemies, and forſaken of his people, having neither hand to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had loſt, withdrew himſelf with a few of his Nobles about him, into a certain Wood-country in *Somerſetſhire* called *Etheling*; where he had right ſcant to live with, but ſuch as he and his people might purchaſe by hunting and fiſhing. This *Edeling* or *Etheling*, or *Ethelingſey*, ſtandeth in a great marith or moor, ſo that there is no acceſs unto it without Ship or Boat, and hith in it a great Wood called *Selwood*, and in the middle a little Plain about two acres of ground, in which Ile is Veniſon, and other wild Beaſts, with Fowl and Fiſhes, great plenty. In this Wood King *Alfred* at his firſt coming eſpied a certain deſert cottage of a poor Swineherd, keeping Swine in the Wood, named *Dunwolfus*; of whom the King then unknown was entertained and cheriſhed, with ſuch poor fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which King *Alfred* afterward ſet the poor Swineherd to learning, and made him Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

K. Alfred flieth into a deſert Wood.

Etheling, which is to ſay, the Ile of Nobles.

A Swineherd made Biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the mean ſeaſon, while King *Alfred* accompanied with a few was thus in the deſert Wood, waiting the event of theſe miſeries, certain Stories record of a poor Beggar, which there came and asked his Alms of the King; and the night following he appeared to the King in his ſleep, ſaying, his name was *Cuthbert*, promiſing (as ſent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories againſt the *Danes*. But to let theſe dreaming Fables paſs, although they be teſtified by divers Authors, as both *Wilhelmus lib. de Reg. Polychronicon*, *Reg. Hovedon*, *Fornalenſis*, and others more. Notwithſtanding the King in proceſs of time was ſtrengthened and comforted more, through the Providence of God; reſpecting the miſerable ruin of the *Engliſh* men. Firſt, the Brother of King *Halden* the *Dane* before mentioned, coming in with three and thirty Ships, landed about *Devonſhire*; where by chance being reſiſted by a Buthment of King *Alfreds* men (who for their ſafeguard there lay in Garriſon) were ſlain to the number of 1300 men, and their Enſign called the *Raven* was taken. *Hovedennis* in his Book of *Continuationes* writeth, that in the ſame conflict both *Inguar* and *Hubba* were ſlain among the other *Danes*. After this King *Alfred* being better cheared, ſhewed himſelf more at large; ſo that daily reſorted to him men of *Wiltſhire*, *Sommerſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, till that he was ſtrongly accompanied.

Hiſtor. Bas. Engliſh. & Higden. deſcr.

Then the King put himſelf in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth *Wilhelmus lib. de Reg. Polychron.* and *Fabian*, which followeth them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a Minſtrel (as he was very skilful in all *Saxon* Poems) with his inſtrument of Muſick entred into the Tents of the *Danes*, lying then at *Eddendun*; and in ſhewing there his Interludes and Songs, eſpied all their ſloth and idleneſs, and heard much of their counſel; and after returning to his company, declared unto them the whole manner of the *Danes*. Shortly upon the ſame, the King ſuddenly in the night fell upon the foreſaid *Danes*, and diſtreſſed and ſlew of them a great multitude, chaſed them from that coaſt. Inſomuch that through his ſtrong and valiant aſſaults upon his enemies out of his Tower of *Edeling* newly fortified, he ſo incumbred them, that he clearly voided the Country of them, between that and *Selwood*. His ſubjects eſtſoons hearing of theſe his valiant victories and manful deeds, drew to him daily out of all coaſts. Who through the help of God, and their aſſiſtance, held the *Danes* ſo ſhort, that he won from them *Wincheſter*, and divers other good Towns. Briefly, at length he forced them to ſeek for peace; the which was concluded upon certain Covenants. Whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed *Gutrum* their King ſhould be Chriſtened. The other was, that ſuch as would not be Chriſtened, ſhould depart and void the Country.

A bold ſtratagem or Attempt of K. Alfred, returning himſelf in the habit of a Tome of the *Danes*.

Ex Fabian.

Upon theſe Covenants, firſt the ſaid *Gutrum* the *Daniſh* Prince coming to *Wincheſter*, was there Chriſtened with twenty of his greateſt Dukes or Nobles. To the which *Gutrum* King *Alfred* being his Godfather at his Baptiſm, named him *Athelſtan*. Who after a certain ſeaſon that he had feaſted the ſaid *Danes*, he according to his promiſe before made, gave unto their King the Country of *Eaſtanglia*, containing *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, and part of *Cambridgeſhire*. Moreover (as ſaith *Polychronicon*) he granted to the *Danes* that were Chriſtened, the Country of *Northumberland*. So the reſidue that would not be Chriſtened, departed the land, and ſailed into *France*; where what vexation and harm they wrought, the Chronicles of *France* do partly comprehend.

Gutrum firſt Prince of the Danes was Chriſtened.

K. Gutrum named Athelſtan.

Norfolk, and Suffolk given to K. Gutrum.

King *Athelſtan* thus having the poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, had all *Eaſtangles* under his obedience. And albeit that he held the ſame Province as in fee of the King, and promiſed to dwell there as his liege man, yet that notwithſtanding, he continued more like a Tyrant by the term of eleven years, and died in the twelfth year. During the which ſpace, King *Alfred* having ſome more reſt and peace, repaired certain Towns and ſtrong Holds afore by the *Danes* impaired. Alſo he builded divers Houſes of Religion, as the Houſe of *Nuns* at *Shaftſbury*; another Religious Houſe at *Etheling* he founded. Item, another in *Wincheſter*, named the New Monaſtery. Item, he endued richly the Church of St. *Cuthert* in *Dirham*. He ſent alſo to *India* to pay and perform his Vows to St. *Thomas* of *Inde*, which he made during the time of his diſtreſs againſt the *Danes*.

The Names of Shaftſbury buildred.

The Monaſtery of Etheling.

The New Monaſter at Wincheſter beſieged of the Danes.

About

About the fifteenth year of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* returning from *France* to *England*, landed in *Kent*, and ſo came to *Rocheſter* and beſieged that City; and there lay ſo long that they builded a Tower of timber againſt the Gates of the City. But by ſtrength of the Citizens that Tower was deſtroyed, and the City defended, till King *Alfred* came and reſcued them. Whereby the *Danes* were ſo diſtreſſed, and ſo neer trapped, that for fear they left their Horſes behind them, and fled to their Ships by night. But the King when he was thereof aware, ſent after them and took ſixteen of their Ships, and ſlew many of the ſaid *Danes*. This done, the King returned to *London*, and repaired the ſame honourably (as ſaith *Hovedenus*) and made it habitable, which before was ſore decayed and feebled by the *Danes*.

{ Anno 891. } The third year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of King *Alfred*, the foreſaid *Athelſtan* the *Daniſh* King of *Northfolk* (which by *Alfred* was Chriſtened before) deceaſed. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth year of this Kings reign, the *Danes* again landed in four places of this land; which was in *Eaſt-England*, in the North, and in the Weſt, in two places. Before the landing of theſe *Danes* it chanced King *Alfred*, hearing of the death of King *Athelſtan*, and of other complaints of the *Danes*, was then in *Eaſt-England* when theſe tidings came to him.

The Danes driven from Northfolk.

When King *Alfred* was hereof aſcertained, for ſo much as ſome of the *Danes* were landed in that Coaſt, thinking with themſelves the further they went in thoſe parts the leſs reſiſtance to have, and the more ſpeed, as they were wont to have before; *Alfred* therefore ſending meſſengers in all haſt to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, to aſſemble to him an Hoſt to withſtand the *Danes* which landed in the Weſt, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in *Eaſtanglia*, whom he purſued ſo ſharply, that he drove them out from thoſe parts. They then landed in *Kent*, whither the King with his people ſped him, and in like manner drave the *Danes* from thence, without any great fight, ſo far as in our Authors we can ſee. After this, again the *Danes* took ſhipping, and ſailed into *Northwales*, and there robbed and ſpoiled the *Britains*, and from thence returned by the Sea into *Eaſtanglia*, with an hundred Ships, and there reſted them, for ſo much as the King then was gone Weſtward.

The Danes return again to Northwales.

The Danes driven out of Chester.

The fourth Hoſt of the *Danes* the ſame year came to *Cheſter*, which at length they won; but then the Country adjoyning preſſed ſo ſore upon them, and beſieged them ſo long, keeping themſelves within the City, that at the laſt the *Danes* wearied, with the long ſiege, were compelled to eat their own Horſes for hunger. But by appointment at laſt they gave over the Town, and went about by *Northwales* to *Northumberland*, which was about the three and twentieth year of King *Alfred*. Which *Alfred* in the mean while with his Hoſt ſped him thitherward. Then the *Danes* leaving their ſtrong Holds and Caſtles, garniſhed with men and victual, took again ſhipping, and ſet their courſe in ſuch wiſe that they landed in *Suſſex*, and ſo came to the Port of *Lewes*, and from thence toward *London*, and builded a Tower or Caſtle near unto the River of *Ly*, twenty miles from *London*. But the *Londoners* hearing thereof, manned out a certain number of men of Arms, who with the aſſiſtance of them of that Country, put the *Danes* from that Tower, and after beat it down to the ground. Soon after the King came down thither, and to prevent the dangers that might enſue, commanded the River of *Ly* to be divided in three ſtreams; ſo that where a Ship might ſail in times before, there a little Boat might ſcantly row. From thence the *Danes* leaving their Ships and Wives, were forced to flie that Country, and took their way again toward *Wales*, and came to *Quadrage* near to the River of *Severn*; where upon the borders thereof they builded them a Caſtle, there reſting themſelves for a time, whom the King eſtſoons with his Army purſued. In the mean time the *Londoners* at *Ly* taking the *Danes* Ships, ſome of them they brought to *London*, the reſt they fired. During all theſe three years, from the firſt coming of the *Danes* to *Ly*, *England* was afflicted with three manner of ſorrows, with the *Danes*, with peſtilence of men, and mortain of beaſts. The which troubles notwithſtanding, yet the King manfully reſiſted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God always, what trouble ſoever fell to him, or unto his Realm, and ſuſtained it with great patience and humility. Theſe three years overpaſt, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* divided their Hoſt, of whom part went to *Northumberland*, ſome to *Northfolk*, part ſailed over to *France*, ſome other came to *Weſtſax*, where they had divers conflicts with the *Engliſh* men, both by land, and eſpecially upon the Sea; of whom ſome were ſlain, many by ſhipwrack periſhed, divers others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their Ships were taken.

The Danes driven out of Cheſter.

The River of Ly divided into three ſtreams.

Three Plagues in England.

The Danes Ships taken.

Not long after this, King *Alfred*, when he had reigned nine and twenty years and ſix months, changed this mortal life. And thus much (and more peradventure than will ſeem to this our Eccleſiaſtical Story appertaining) touching the painful labours and travels of this good King; which he no leſs valiantly atchieved, than patiently ſuſtained for the neceſſary defence of his Realm and ſubjects.

{ Anno 899. }

Now if there be any Prince who liſteth to ſee and follow the vertuous and godly diſpoſition of this King, both touching the inſtitution of his own life, and alſo concerning his careful Government of the Common-weal, thus the Hiſtories of him do record. That at what time he being young, perceiving himſelf ſome what diſpoſed to the vice of the fleſh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purpoſes, did not as many young Princes and Kings Sons in the world be now wont to do, that is, to reſolve themſelves into all kind of carnal licenſe, and diſſolute ſenſuality, running and following without bridle whither ſoever their licenſe given doth lead them (as therefore not without cauſe the common Proverb reporteth of them, that Kings Sons learn nothing well elſe but only to ride.) Meaning thereby, that Princes and Kings Sons having about them flatterers, which bolſter them in their faults, only their Horſes give to them no more than to any other; but if they fit not faſt, they will caſt them. But this young King ſeeing in himſelf the inclination of his fleſhly nature, minding not to give himſelf ſo much as he might take, but rather by reſiſtance to avoid the tentation thereof, befought God that he would ſend to him ſome continual ſickneſs, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publick buſineſs of the Common-wealth, and more apt to ſerve God in his calling. *Ceſtren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Feth. cap. 17.*

The vertues and godly life of King Alfred deſcribed.

The inclination of nature corrected in K. Alfred.

The Godly Petition of K. Alfred.

Then at Gods Ordinance he had the Evil called *Fiene*, till he came to the age of twenty years, whereof at length he was cured (as is faid in ſome Stories) by the Virgin called *Modwen*, an *Iriſh* woman. After this ſickneſs being taken away, to him fell another, which continued with him from the twentieth year of his age to forty and five (according to his own Petition and requeſt made unto God) whereby he was the more reclaimed and attempered from the other more great inconveniencies, and leſs diſpoſed to that which he did moſt abhor.

Modwen.

Moreover, to behold the bountiful goodneſs joyned with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and diſpoſing his riches and rents, it is not unworthily to be recited, how he divided his goods in two equal parts; the one appertaining to uſes ſecular, the other to uſes ſpiritual or Eccleſiaſtical. Of the which two principal parts, the firſt he divided into three portions, the firſt to the behoof of his houſe and family; the ſecond upon the workmen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight and cunning; the third upon ſtrangers. Likewiſe the other ſecond half upon Spiritual uſes, he did thus divide in four portions, one to the relieving of the poor, another to the Monaſteries, the third portion to the Schools of *Oxford*, for the maintaining of good Letters; the fourth he ſent to foreign Churches without the Realm. This alſo is left in Stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and ſufferance, that when he had builded the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, and afterward his Son *Edward* had purchaſed of the Biſhop and the Chapter a ſufficient piece of ground for certain Offices to be adjoyned unto the ſame, and had given for every foot of ground, *Marcam auri pleni ponderis*, (which was as I think a mark of Gold, or more) yet *Alfred* therewith was not greatly diſcontented to ſee his Coffers ſo waſted.

Goods in two parts. Polychron. lib 5. cap. 1. Guiſel. lib de Regibus.

The liberal heart of K. Alfred.

Over and beſides how ſparing and frugal he was of time, (as of a thing in this Earth moſt precious) and how far

How well and godly this King spent his time.

from all vain pastimes and idleness he was this sloth well declare, which in the three parts of *William de Reg.* and other Writers is told of him. That he so divided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars and other great business, that eight hours he spent in study and learning, and other eight hours he spent in prayer and almes-deeds, and other eight hours he spent in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needs of the Realm. The which order he kept duly by the burning of waxen Tapers kept in his Closet by certain persons for the same purpose. *Guliel.*

The God'ly Laws of K. *Alfred.*

How studious he was and careful of the Common-wealth, and maintenance of publick tranquillity, his Laws most godly set forth and devised by him may declare.

A notable example of thievery and felony inured this Realm.

Wherein especially by him was provided for the extirpating and abolishing out all theft and thieves out of the Realm. Whereby the Realm through his vigilant care was brought into such tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in every cross or turning way he made to be set up a golden Brouch, at least of silver gilded, through his Dominions, and none so hardy neither by day nor night to take it down; for the more credit whereof the words of the *Latin* story be these, *Armillas aureas tuberet suspendi, quas viantium aviditatem irritaret, dum non essent qui eas abriperent*, &c. *Guliel. lib. de regibus Angl.* And no great marvel therein, if the Realm in those days was brought into such an order, and that justice then was so well minister'd, when the King himself was so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his Judges and Officers. Whereof thus also we read in the said Author testified: *Judiciorum a suis hominibus factorum inquisitor perpetam actorum aspernimus corrector.* i.e. He was (saith mine Author, speaking of the King,) a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his Judges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings. *Fornalensis* also writing upon the same, thus saith, *Facta ministrorum suorum & potissime judicum diligenter investigavit, adeo ut quos ex avaritia aut imperitia errare cognoscerat, ab officio removebat*: that is, He did diligently search out the doings of his Officers, and especially of his Judges, that if he knew any of them to err either through covetousness or unskilfulness, them he removed from their office.

Ex Historia Fornalensi.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble vertues of this worthy Prince; whereunto although there were no other ornaments adjoyning besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Now besides these other qualities and gifts of Gods grace in him above mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledg of good letters, wherein if he not only was excellently expert himself, but also a worthy maintainer of the same through all his Dominions; where before no use of Grammar or other Sciences was practised in this Realm, especially about the West parts of the land, there through the industry of the King, Schools began to be erected, and studies to flourish. Although among the *Britains*, in the Town of *Chester* in *Southwales*, long before that in King *Arthurs* time, as *Galfridus* writeth, both Grammar and Philosophy, with other Tongues was then taught. After that some other Writers record that in the time of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, this Iland began to flourish with Philosophy. About which time some also think that the University of *Grantchester*, near to that which now is called *Cambridg*, began to be founded by *Beda*, following this conjecture therein, for that *Alcuinus* (before mentioned) which after went to *Rome* and from thence to *France*, in the time of *Charles* the Great, where he first began the University of *Paris*, was first trained up in the exercise of studies at the same School of *Grantchester*. *Beda lib.* 111. *cap.* 8. Writing also of *Sigebert* King of *Eastanglers*, declareth how the said *Sigebert* returning out of *France* into *England* (according to the examples which he did there see) ordered and disposed Schools of Learning through the means of *Felix* then Bishop, and placed in them Masters and Teachers, after the use and manner of the *Cantuarits*. And yet before these times, moreover it is thought that there were two Schools or Universities within the Realm, the one *Greek* at the Town of *Greglade*, which afterward was called *Kirkelade*; the other for *Latin*, which place was then called *Latimlade*, afterward *Lethelade* near to *Oxford*.

King Alfred commended for Learning.

When Learning first began to be set up in England.

Chester a place of Learning.

The University at *Grantchester* by *Cambridg*.

The University at *Paris* first began by four, *Rabanus*, *Alcuinus*, *Claudius*, and *Johannes Scotus*.

Sigebert K. of *Eastanglers* a Secter of Schools.

Two ancient Schools in England one for *Greek*, the other for *Latin*.

But howsoever it chanced that the knowledg and study of good Letters being once planted in this Realm, afterward went to decay; yet King *Alfred* deserveth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they have ever since continued, albeit not continually through every age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to have a Prince learned himself, who feeling and tasting the price and value of Science and knowledg, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subjects, from a rude barbarity, to a more civil congruency of life, and to a better understanding of things, as we see in this famous Prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing up, although it was somewhat late before he entred any Letter, yet such was the apt towardness and docility of his nature, that being a child, he had the *Saxon* Poems (such as were used then in his own tongue) by heart and memory. Who afterwards with years and time grew up in such perfection of learning and knowledg, in so much that (as mine Author saith) *Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior.* The which thing in him the more was to be marvelled, for that he was twelve years of age before he knew any Letter. Then his Mother, careful and tender over him, having by chance a Book in her hand, which he would fain have, promised to give him the same, so that he would learn it. Whereupon he for greediness of the Book, effoons learned the Letters, having to his School-master *Pleimundus*, after Bishop of *Canterbury*. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledg, that at length, as mine Author saith, *Plurimam partem Romanæ Bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convertens*: that is, A great part of the *Latin* Library he translated into *English*, converting to the uses of his Citizens a notable prey of foreign ware and Merchandize &c. Of which Books by him and through him translated, was *Orosius*, *Pastorale Gregorii*, the History of *Beda*, *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ*. Also a Book of his own making, and in his own tongue, which in the *English* speech he called, *A Hand-book*; in *Greek* called it, *Enchiridion*, in Latin, *A Manual*. Besides the History of *Beda* translated into the *Saxons* Tongue, he also himself compiled a story in the same Speech, called, *The Story of Alfred*, &c. which both Books in the *Saxons* Tongue I have seen, though the Language I do not understand. And as he was learned himself excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his Countrymen to the love of Liberal Letters, as the words of the Story reporteth, *Illes præmiis, his minis hortando nemimum illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem assurgere permittens*: that is, He exhorted and stirred his people to the study of Learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignity in the Court except he were learned. Moreover another Story thus saith, speaking of his Nobles, *Optimates quoque sua ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum provocavit, ut filii filios suos, vel satem si filios non haberent, servos suos, literis commendarent*: that is, Also his Nobles so much he did allure to the imbracing of good Letters, that they set all their Sons to School; or if they had no Sons, yet their servants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common Proverb may be found not so common as true, *Such as is the Prince, such be the subjects*. He began moreover to translate the *Psalter* in *English*, and had almost finished the same, had not death prevented him. *Guliel. de Regib. Angl.* In the Prologue of the Book, Intituled, *Pastorale Grego.* thus he writeth, declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good Books from *Latin* into *English*, shewing the cause thereof why he so did, as followeth: *Quod Ecclesiæ in quibus innumeræ prisce Bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensæ sint: quodque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitum esset, ut quisque minus timeret capitis periculum, quam studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis sua consulere*, &c. that is, The cause was for that innumerable ancient Libraries which were kept in Churches, were consumed with fire by the *Danes*; and that men had rather suffer peril of their life than to follow the exercises of studies; and therefore he thought thereby to provide thereby for the people of the *English* Nation, *&c.*

Books translated out of *Latin* by K. *Alfred.*

Ex Historia Guliel. de Regib. Ang.

Pleimundus Teacher to King *Alfred* and after Bishop of *Canterbury*.

None permitted to have any dignity in the Court except he were learned. *Polydor. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

The *Psalter* translated into *English* by King *Alfred*.

The cause why the King turned Latin Books into *English*.

It is told of him both in *Polychronicon*, *Malmesbury*, *Fornalensis*, and other stories more, whereof I have no names, that he seeing his Country (namely Westward) to be so

so desolate of Schools and Learning, partly to profit himself, partly to furnish his Country and subjects with better knowledg, first sent for *Grimbaldus* a learned Monk out of *Fraunce* to come into *England*. Also he sent for another learned man out from the parts of *Wales*, whose name was *Asserius*, whom he made Bishop of *Shireborne*. Item, out of *Mercia* he sent for *Werefridus* Bishop of *Worcester*, to whom he put the Dialogues of *Gregory* to be translated. But chiefly he used the counsel of *Neotus*, who then was counted for an holy man, an Abbot of a certain Monastery in *Cornwal*. By the advisement of which *Neotus*, he sent for these learned men above recited; and also ordained certain Schools of divers Arts, first at *Oxford*, and also franchised the same with many great liberties. *Guliel. Fornalens. Fab. c.* 171. Whereof perhaps the School, now called the New Colledg (first then begun of this *Neotus*) might take his name, which afterward peradventure the Bishops of *Winchester* after a larger manner did re-edifie and enlarge with greater possessions.

Learned men sent for and placed about the King.

The Dialogues of *Gregory* translated. Mates an Abbot.

The Schools and Universities of *Oxford* first began by King *Alfred*.

The new Colledg in *Oxford*.

Moreover, among other learned men, which were about King *Alfred*, Historians make mention of *Joannes Scotus* (a godly Divine, and a learned Philosopher) but not that *Scotus* whom now we call *Duns*. For that *Johannes Scotus* came after this many years. This *Johannes* is described to be of a sharp wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the *Greek* Tongue, pleasant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers his doings and answers. First, he coming to *France* out of his own Country of *Scotland*, by reason of the great tumults of war, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of *Carolus Calvus* the *French* King; whom he commonly and familiarly used ever to have about him, both at Table, and in Chamber. Upon a time the King sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this *John Scot*) which seemed not very Courtly, cast forth a merry word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a *Scot* and a Sot? Whereunto the *Scot* sitting over against the King somewhat lower, replied again suddenly, rather than advisedly (yet merrily) saying, *Mensa tantum*, that is, the Table only; importing thereby himself to be the *Scot*, and so calling the King a Sot by craft. Which word how other Princes would have taken of stomach, I know not: but this *Charles*, for the great reverence he bear to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his Nobles, and so let it pass.

Johannes Scotus

The nature of *Johannes Scotus* to the *French* King.

Another time the same King being at dinner was served with a certain dish of Fish, wherein were great fishes and a little one. After the King had taken thereof his repast, setteth down to *Johannes Scotus* the foresaid Fish, to distribute unto the other two Clerks sitting there with him, which were two tall and mighty persons, he himself being but a little man. *Johannes* taketh the Fish, of the which the two great he taketh and carveth to himself, the little Fish he reacheth to the other two. The King perceiving his division thus made, reprehended the same. Then *Johannes* whole manner was ever to find out some honest matter to delight the King, answered to him again, proving his division to stand just and equal: For here (saith he) be two great, and a little, pointing to the two great fishes and himself; and likewise here again is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish, and two great persons. I pray you (saith he) what odds is there, or what distribution can be more equal? Whereat the King with his Nobles being much delighted, laughed merrily.

Johannes Scotus translated *Hierarchiam Dionysii* from Greek into Latin.

At the request of this *Charles* Surnamed *Bald*, the *French* King, this *Scotus* translated the Book of *Dionysius*, intituled, *De Hierarchia*, from *Greek* into *Latin*, word for word, *Quo fit* (as my Author saith) *ut vix intelligatur Latina litera, quam nobilitate magis Græca, quam positione construitur Latina.* He wrote also a Book, *De corpore & sanguine Domini*, which was afterward condemned by the Pope, *in concilio Vercellensi.*

The Book of *Johannes Scotus* called Hell su-ccary.

The same *Johannes Scotus* moreover compiled a Book of his own, giving it a *Greek* Title, Περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρέσεων, that is, *De naturæ divisione*. In which Book (as saith my forefaid Author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions; but so that he is thought to follow the *Greek* Church rather than the *Latin*, and for the same was counted of some to be an Heretick; because in that Book some things there be which in all points accord not with the *Romish* Religion. Wherefore the Pope writing to the said King *Charles* of this *Scotus*, complaineth, as in his own

Johannes Scotus added more to the Greek Church than the Latin.

Johannes Scotus accused of the Pope for an Heretick.

words here followeth: *Relatum est Apostolatui nostro, quod opus Dionysii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus, & de cælestibus ordinibus, Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Joannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, juxta morem Ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, & nostro judicio debuit approbari; præsertim quum idem Joannes (licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non sane sapere, in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur*, &c. That is, Relation hath been made unto our Apostleship, that a certain man called *Johannes* a *Scotish* man, hath translated the Book of *Dionysius* the *Areopagit*, of the names of God, and of the Heavenly Orders, from *Greek* into *Latin*. Which Book, according to the Custom of the Church, ought first to have been approved by our judgment; namely, seeing the said *John* (albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath been noted by common rumor to have been a Man not of upright or found Doctrine, in certain points, &c. For this cause, the said *Scotus* being confirmed to remove from *France*, came into *England*, allured (as some testifie) by the Letters of *Alured* or *Alfred*, of whom he was with great favour entertained and conversant a great space about the King: till at length (whether before or after the death of the King, it is uncertain) he went to *Malmesbery*, where he taught certain Scholars a few years; by the which Scholars at last most impiously he was murthered and slain with their Penknives, and so died, as Stories say, a Martyr, buried at the said Monastery of *Malmesbury* with this Epitaph.

Johannes Scotus Slain by his own Scholars.

John Scotus a Martyr.

Claudiitur in tumulo sanctus sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam virens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi confecit regnum
Qui meruit, regnans secli per secula cuncta.

King *Alfred* having these helps of learned men about him, and no less learned also himself, part over his time not only to great utility and profit of his subjects, but also to a rare and profitable example of other Christian Kings and Princes for them to follow. This foresaid *Alfred* had by his wife, called *Ethelwitha*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Ethelward*; and three Daughters, *Elfleda*, *Ethelgora*, and *Ethelguida*: *Quæ omnes liberalibus fecit artibus eruditi*; that is, Whom he set all to their Books and study of Liberal Arts, as my Story testifieth. First, *Edward* his Eldest Son succeded him in the Kingdom; the second Son *Ethelward* died before his Father: *Ethelgora* his middle Daughter was made a Nun, the other two were married, the one in *Mereland*, the other to the Earl of *Flanders*. Thus King *Alfred* the valiant, vertuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Christianly governed the Realm the term of nine and twenty years, and six months, departed this life, 5 *Cal. Novemb.* and lyeth buried at *Winchester*, *Anno Dom.* 901. Of whom this I find moreover greatly noted and commended in History, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this *Alfred*, that wheresoever he was, or whithersoever he went, he bear always about him in his bosom or pocket a little Book containing the *Psalms* of *David*, and certain other Orisons of his own collecting. Whereupon he was continually reading or praying, whensoever he was otherwise vacant, having leisure thereunto. Finally, what were the vertues of this famous King, this little Table here under written, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthy and memorable life, doth sufficiently in few lines contain.

This *Ethelwitha* bore the house of Nuns at *Winchester*.

The children of K. *Alfred*.

All his Daughters learned.

The decease of King *Alfred*. { Anno 901. }

In Regis Alfredi, & virtutis illius claram memoriam.

Famosus, bellicosus, victoriosus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperumq; provisor studiosus; Poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus; suæ gentis charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, justitia præditus; in infirmitate, qua continue laborabat, patientissimus; in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servicio Dei vigilantissimus & devotissimus, Anglosaxonum Rex Alfredus, pissimi Ethelulfi filius 29.

annis sexquis mensibus regni sui peractis mortem obiit. Jacuit. 4. quinto cal. Novemb. Feria quarta, & Wintonia in novo Monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis stolam, & resurrectionis gloriam cum justis expectat, &c.

Moreover in the History of *Henricus Huntingtonensis* these Verses I find written in the commendation of the fame *Alfred* made (as I suppose, and by his words appeareth) by the faid Author, whereof I thought not to defraud the Reader, the words whereof here follow:

Epitaphium Regis *Alfredi.*

Nobilitas innata tibi probitate bonorum,
Armipotens Alfrede, dedit, probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella parabas,
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sicca cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum sit cuus regnare, probarunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis nil respirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finisse dolores.
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique labores,
Christus ei sit vera quies, sospirumque perenne.

Etheredus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Ulfelmus, Odo Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the story of this *Alfred*, a little above mention was made of *Pleimundus* Schoolmaster to the faid *Alfred*, and alfo Bifhop of *Canterbury*, fucceeding *Etheredus* there Bifhop before him. Which *Pleimundus* governed that See the number of thirty and four years. After *Pleimundus* fucceeded *Athelmus*, and fat twelve years. After him came *Ulfelmus* thirteen years. Then followed *Odo* a *Dane* born in the faid See of *Canterbury*, and governed the fame twenty years, being in great favour with King *Ethelftan*, King *Edmund*, and *Edwin*, as in procefs hereafter (Chrift willing) as place and order doth require, fhall more at large be expreffed.

As touching the courfe and proceedings of the *Romifh* Bifhops there, where I laft entred mention of them, I ended with Pope *Stephan* the fifth. After his time was much broil in the Election of the Bifhops of *Rome*, one contending againft another; insomuch that within the fpace of nine years, were nine Biſhops. Of the which, firſt was *Formoſus*, who ſucceeded next unto the forenamed *Stephan* the fifth, being made Pope againſt the mind of certain in *Rome*, that would rather *Sergius*, than Deacon of the Church of *Rome* to have been Pope. Notwithſtanding *Marx* and Money prevailed on *Formoſus* part. This *Formoſus*, of whom partly alſo is mentioned in other places of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, being before Biſhop of *Pontinale*, had in times paſt (I know not on what cauſes) offended Pope *John* the eighth of that name, by reaſon whereof, for fear of the Pope, he voided away, and left his Biſhoprick. And becauſe he being ſent for again by the Pope, would not return, therefore was he Excommunicated. At length coming into *France* to make there his ſatisfaction unto the Pope, he was degraded from a Biſhop into a ſecular mans habit, ſwearing to the Pope that he would no more re-enter into the City of *Rome*, nor claim his Biſhoprick again, ſubſcribing moreover with his own hand to continue from that time in the ſtate of a ſecular perſon. But then Pope *Martin* (the next Pope after *John*) releaſed the faid *Formoſus* of his Oath, and reſtored him again unto his Biſhoprick; whereby *Formoſus* entred not only into *Rome* again, but alſo obtained ſhortly after the Papacy. Thus he being placed in the Popedom, arofe a great doubt or controverſie among the Diviſes of his Conſecration, whether it was lawful or not; ſome holding againſt him, that forſomuch as he was ſolemnly depoſed, degraded, unprieſted, and alſo ſworn not to reiterate the State Eccleſiaſtical, therefore he ought to be taken no otherwiſe than for a ſecular man. Others alledged again, that whatſoever *Formoſus* was, yet for the dignity of that Order, and for the credit of them whom he ordered, all his Conſecration ought to ſtand in force, eſpecially ſeeing the ſaid *Formoſus* was afterward received and abſolved by Pope *Martin* from that his perjury and degradation, &c. In the mean time (as witneſſeth *Sigebertus*) this *Formoſus* ſendeth for King *Arnulphus* for aid againſt his adverſaries; who then marching toward *Rome*, was there reſiſted by the *Romans* from entring. But in the ſiege (ſaith the Author) the *Romans* within ſo plaid the Lions, that a poor Hare (or ſuch a like thing) coming toward the City, the Hoſt of *Arnulphus* followed after with ſuch a main cry, that the valiant *Romans* upon the walls for very fear (where there was no hurt) caſt themſelves deſperately over the walls, ſo that *Arnulphus* with little labour ſcaled the walls, and got the City. Thus *Arnulphus* obtaining the City of *Rome*, reſcueth Pope *Formoſus*, and beheadeth his adverſaries; whom the Pope to gratifie with like recompence again, bleſſeth and Crowneth him for Emperor. Thus *Formoſus* fitting faſt about the ſpace of four or five years, followed his Predeceſſors; after whoſe time (as I ſaid) within the ſpace of nine years were nine Biſhops, as followeth. But in the mean time, concerning the ſtory of this *Formoſus* declared by *Sigebert*, and many other Chronicles; this thing would I gladly aſk, and more gladly learn of ſome indifferent good Catholick perſon, which not of obſtinacy, but of ſimple error being a Papiſt, would anſwer his conſcience; Whether doth he think the holy Order of Prieſthood, which he taketh for one of the ſaven Sacraments, to be *Character indelebile*, or not? If it be not *indelebilis*, that is, If it be ſuch a thing as may be put off, why then doth the Popes Doctrine ſo gladly call and ſo hold the contrary, pretending it to be *Indelebilis*, unremoveable? If it be indeed ſo as they teach and affirm, *Indelebilis character*, why then did Pope *John*, or could Pope *John* annihilate and evacuate one of his ſeven Pope-holy-Sacraments, making of a Prieſt, a non-Prieſt, or layman, uncharactering his own Order, which is (as he ſaith) a Character, which in no wiſe may be blotted out, or removed? Again, howſoever Pope *John* is to be judged in this matter to do either well or not well; this would I know, if he did well in ſo diſpriesting and diſcharacthering *Formoſus* for ſuch private offences? If yea, how then ſtandeth his doing with his own Doctrine which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then ſtandeth his Doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Synod of Cardinals cannot err? Moreover, if this Pope *John* did not err in his diſordering *Formoſus*, how then did *Martinus* his Succeſſor not err in repealing the ſaid doing of his Predeceſſor? or how did not Pope *Formoſus* err himſelf, who being unprieſted by Pope *John* afterward, without reiterating the character or order of Prieſthood, took upon him to be Pope, and made Acts and Laws in the Church? Again, if *Formoſus* now Pope did not err, how then did Pope *Stephan* his Succeſſor afterward not err, who did annihilate the Confecration, and all other Acts of the ſaid *Formoſus* as erroneous? Or again, if we ſay that this *Stephan* with his Synod of Cardinals did right, then how could it be that Pope *Theodore*, and Pope *John* the tenth, which came after the foreſaid *Stephan*, did not plainly err, who approving the Confecration of *Formoſus*, did condemn and burn the Acts Synodal of *Stephan* and his Cardinals, which before had condemned *Formoſus*, according as in ſtory here conſequently may appear?

After *Formoſus* had governed the See of *Rome* five years, ſucceeded firſt *Bonifacius* the ſixth, who continued but five and twenty days. Then came *Stephan* the ſixth, who ſo envied the name of his Predeceſſor *Formoſus*, that he abrogated and diſſolved his Decrees, and taking up his body after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right hand, and commanded them to be caſt into *Tiber*, and then buried the body in a private or lay-mans Sepulchre.

Thus after *Stephan* had ſat in the Chair of Peſtilence one year, ſucceeded in the ſame Chair Pope *Romanus*, and ſat three months, repealing the Acts decreed by *Stephan* his Predeceſſor againſt *Formoſus*. Next to whom came *Theodorus* the ſecond, who likewiſe taking part with *Formoſus* againſt the foreſaid *Stephan*, reigned but twenty days. Then ſat Pope *John* the tenth, who did fight and repugn againſt the *Romans*, and to confirm the cauſe of *Formoſus* more ſurely, did hold a Synod at *Ravenna* of 74 Biſhops, with the *French* King *Eudo*, and his Arch-Biſhops being preſent at the ſame. At the which Council were ratified all the Decrees and doings of *Formoſus*, and the contrary Acts of the Synod of *Stephan* the ſixth were burned. This Pope lived not long after fully two years,

Pope Sheldrake the fourth. Pope Leo the fifth imprisoned & deposed by his own Chaplain.

Pope Christopher the fifth.

Pope Sergius.

Pope Formoſus after his death beheaded of Pope Sergius.

A falſe fained Miracle upon the body of Formoſus.

People Mistaken easy to be credited.

Bearing of Candles on Candlemas day how it came up.

Pope Anaſtaſius the third.

Pope Lando the firſt.

Pope John the 11th.

Firebrands at this time rained all at Rome.

Pope Leo the ſixth.

Pope Stephen the ſeventh.

Pope John the 12th.

Pope John the 13th. ſuffered.

years, after whom ſucceeded *Benedictus* the fourth, who kept the Chair three years. After whom *Leo* the firſt was next Pope, who within forty days of his Papacy, was with ſtrong hand taken and caſt in Priſon by one *Chriſtopher* a poor, his own houſhold Chaplain, whom he had long nourished before in his houſe. Which thing (ſaith *Platina*) could not be done without great conſpiracy and much ſlaughter of men. Which *Chriſtopher*, being Pope about the ſpace of ſeven Months, was likewiſe himſelf hoyſted from his Papal Throne by *Sergius*, like as he had done to his Maſter before. And thus within the ſpace of nine years had been nine Popes one after another. Then *Sergius* after he had thruſt down Pope *Chriſtopher*, and ſhorn him Monk into a Monaſtery, occupied the room ſeven years. This *Sergius* a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruel, had before been put back from the Popedom by *Formoſus* above mentioned. By reaſon whereof, to revenge *Formoſus* again being now in his Papacy, he cauſed the body of *Formoſus* where it was buried, to be taken up; and afterward, ſitting in the Papal See (as in his *Pontificalibus*) firſt degraded him, then commanded his Head to be ſmitten off, with the other three fingers that were left (as *Sigebertus* writeth) which done, he made his body to be thrown into *Tiber*, depoſing likewiſe all ſuch as by the ſaid *Formoſus* before had been conſecrated and invefted. This body of *Formoſus*, thus thrown into *Tiber*, was afterward (as our Writers ſay) found and taken up by certain Fiſhers, and ſo brought into St. Peter's Temple. At the preſence whereof (as they ſay) certain Images there ſtanding by, bowed down themſelves, and reverenced the ſame, with lie and all. But ſuch deceivable Miracles of Stocks and Images, in Monkiſh and Friery Temples, be to us no news, eſpecially here in *England*, where we have been ſo inured with the like and ſo many, that ſuch wily practices cannot be to us inviſible, though this Crown-from generation think themſelves to dance in a Net. But the truth is, while they think to deceive the ſimple, theſe wily beguilers moſt of all deceive themſelves, as they will find, except they repent. By this Pope *Sergius* firſt came up the uſe to bear about Candles on *Candlemas* day, for the purifying of the Bleſſed Virgin; as though the Sacred Conception of Jeſus the Son of God, were to be purified as a thing impure, and that with Candle light.

After *Sergius* entred Pope *Anaſtaſius*, in whoſe time the body of *Formoſus* aforenamed, is thought to be found of Fiſhermen in the River of *Tiber*, and ſo brought (as is ſaid) into the Temple to be ſaluted of the Images; which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought, that the body of *Formoſus* ſo long dead before, and now lying ſeven years in the River, could remain whole all that while, that Fiſhers might take it up, and diſcern it to be the ſame? After *Anaſtaſius* had fate two years, followed Pope *Lando*, the father (as ſome hiſtories think) of Pope *John*, which *John* is ſaid to be the Paramour of *Theodora*, a famous Harlot of *Rome*, and ſet up of the ſame Harlot, either againſt *Lando*, or after *Lando* his father ſucceeded in his room. There is a Story-writer called *Luitprandus*, who writing *De Imperatorib. l.* 2. *cap.* 13. maketh there mention of this *Theodora* and Pope *John* the Eleventh, and ſaith moreover, that this *Theodora* had a Daughter named *Marozia*, which *Marozia* had by Pope *Sergius* above mentioned, a Son which afterward was Pope *John* the twelfth. The ſame *Marozia* afterwards chanced to marry with *Guido* Marqueſs of *Toſcia*, through the means of which *Guido* and his friends at *Rome*, the brought to paſs that this Pope *John* the Eleventh was ſmothered with a Pillow laid to his mouth after he had reigned thirteen years, and ſo the foreſaid *John* the twelfth (for ſo that might ſucceed next after him. But becauſe the Clergy and People of *Rome* did not agree to his Election, therefore was Pope *Leo* the ſixth in his place ſet up. Thus Pope *John* the Son of *Sergius*, and *Marozia* being dejected, reigned Pope *Leo* ſeven months. After him Pope *Stephan* two years, who being poyſoned, then was Pope *John* the twelfth above rehearſed, the ſon of *Sergius* and *Marozia* ſet up again in the Papacy, where he reigned near the ſpace of five years. Of the wickedneſs of this Strumpet *Marozia*, how ſhe married two brethren, one after the death of the other, and how ſhe governed all *Rome*, and the whole Church at that time I let it paſs. Although the *Latine* Verſes wherewith the faid *Luitbprandus* doth invey againſt ſuch Women as marry two brethren, were neither worthy here to be recited, and perhaps might be further applied than to that *Marozia* of *Rome*; but for ſhortneſs I let them alſo paſs. After *John* the twelfth, followed Pope *Stephan* three years, Pope *Leo* three years and four months. Pope *Stephan* the eighth three years and four months. Pope *Martin* three years and ſix months; after him Pope *Agapetus* eight years and ſix months. About whoſe time, or a little before, began firſt the Order of Monks, called *Ordo Cluniacenſis*, &c. But now to leave off theſe monſtrous matters of *Rome*, and to return again to our Country of *England*, where we laſt left before.

Luitbprandus. Ann. Victorini. Pope *Stephen the 7.* Pope *Leo the ſeventh.* Pope *Stephen the 8.* Pope *Martin the 3d.* Pope *Agapetus the 3d.* *Ordo Cluniacenſis begun.*

King Edward *the elder.*

After the Reign of the famous King *Alfred*, his Son *Edward* ſucceeded, ſirnamed the Elder: where firſt is to be noted, that before the Conqueſt of the *Normans*, there was in *England* three *Edwards*; firſt, this *Edward* the Elder; ſecondly, *Edward* the Martyr; thirdly, *Edward* the Confeſſor; whereof here after (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall follow in order as place ſhall give to be declared. This *Edward* began his Reign the year of our Lord 901. and governed the Land right valiantly and nobly four and twenty years. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his Father, otherwiſe in Princely Renown, in Civil Government, and ſuch like Martial Proweſs, he was nothing inferiour, but rather excelled him; through whoſe valiant acts firſt the Princedom of *Wales* and Kingdom of *Scotland*, with *Conſtantine* King thereof, were to him ſubdued. He adjoyned moreover to his dominion, the Country of *Eaſtanglia*, that is, of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*. All *Merceland* alſo he recovered, and *Northumberland* out of the hands of the *Danes*. In all his Wars he never lightly went without Victory. The Subjects of his Provinces and Dominions were ſo inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of War, that when they heard of any enemies coming (never tarrying for any bidding from the King or from his Dukes) ſtraightways they encountred with them, both in number and knowledge of the order of War excelling always their adverſaries. *Guliel. de regi. Ita hoſtes militibus contemptui, regi vifui erant; ſo that, ſaith he, ſo was the coming and aſſaulting of their enemies, to the people and common ſouldiers but a trifle, to the King but a ridicle.* Among other adverſaries which were bufie rather than wiſe, in aſſailing this King, was one called *Clito Ethelwoldus* a young man, King *Edwards* Uncles ſon, who firſt occupying the Town of *Wimborn* (taking thence a Nun with him, whom then he had married) fled by night to *Northumberland*, to adjoyn himſelf unto the *Danes*, who was made chief King and Captain over them. Then chaſed from thence, he fled over into *France*, but ſhortly returning again into *England*, he landed in *Eaſtengland*, where the ſaid *Clito* with a company of *Danes* of that Country gathered to him, deſtroyed and pilled much of the Country about *Crokesford* and *Crikeland*. And ſo paſſing over *Thames*, after he had ſpoiled the land there to *Bradenſtock*, returned again to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he meeting with an ambuſhment of *Kentiſh* men, which dragged and tarried after the main Hoſt of *Edward*, contrary to his commandment, incloſed them in, and ſlew the moſt part of them. Soon after, the two Hoſts meeting together, between the two Ditches of S. *Edmunds* land, after a long fight, *Clito* with many of the *Danes* were ſlain, and the remnant were conſtrained to ſeek for peace, which upon certain conditions, and under a Tribute was to them granted.

Clito Ethelwold rebelleth againſt King Edward. A. 904.

In proceſs about the twelfth year of his Reign, the *Danes* repenting them of their Covenants, and minding to break the ſame, aſſembled an Hoſt, and met with the King in *Staffordſhire*, at a place called *Tetenhall*, and ſoon after at *Wodenfield*, at which two places, the King ſlew two Kings, two Earls, and many thouſands of *Danes* that occupied the Country of *Northumberland*. A. 911.

Thus the importunate rage of the *Danes* being aſſwaged, King *Edward* having now ſome leiſture given from Wars to other ſtudies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of Cities, Towns and Caſtles, that by the *Danes* were

A compariſon between Alfred and his ſon Edward.

Edward builded many things and repaired others.

Ex Chronico Sigeberti.

Schiſmes among the Popes.

Pope Formoſus firſt Pope.

Nine Popes in nine years at Rome.

were raced, ſhattered and broken. As firſt of *Cheſter*, which City he double enlarged to that it was before, compaſſing the Caſtle within the Walls of the ſame, which before ſtood without. That done, the King builded a ſtrong Caſtle at *Hereford*, in the edge of *Wales*. Alſo for the ſtrengthning of the Country, he made a Caſtle at the mouth of the water of *Aven*, and another Caſtle at *Buckingham*, and the third fait thereby upon the River of *Ouſe*. Moreover, he builded or re-edified the Towns of *Tocceſter* and *Wigmor*, and deſtroyed the Caſtle that the *Danes* had made at *Demesford*. Likewiſe upon the River of *Trent*, againſt the old Town of *Notingham*, he builded a new Town on the South ſide, and made a Bridge over the River between the ſaid two Towns. Alſo by the River of *Merce* he builded a City or Town in the North end of *Mercia*, and named it *Thilwal*, and after repaired the City of *Mancheſter*, that fore was defaced with Wars of the *Danes*.

Cheſter repaired and enlarged. The Caſtle of *Hereford* builded upon the River of *Aven* and *Ouſe*. The Towns of *Tocheſter* and *Wigmor* builded. The new Town of *Notingham* builded. *Thilwal*. *Mancheſter* repaired.

In this renewing and building of Towns and Caſtles, for the more fortifying of his Realm, his Siſter *Elfleda*, daughter of King *Alfred*, and married to the Duke of *Mercia* (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of this *Elfleda*, it is firmly of Writers affirmed, that ſhe being (as is ſaid) married to *Ethelred*, Duke of *Mercia*, after ſhe had once aſſaied the pains of Women in travelling with her child, ſo much ſhe abhorred ever after the embracing of her Husband, that it ſeemed to her (ſhe ſaid) not ſeemly for a Noble Woman to uſe ſuch fleſhly liking, whereof ſo great ſorrow and travel ſhould enſue. And yet notwithſtanding, the ſame *Elfleda* for all her delicate tenderneſs, in eſchewing the natural paſſion which neceſſity giveth to Women, was ſo hardy in Warlike dangers which nature giveth not to Women, that fighting againſt the *Danes* (ſo venturous ſhe was of ſtomach) four of her next Knights, which were guardians of her body, were ſlain faſt by her. This *Elfleda*, among her other noble acts, whereby ſhe deſerved praiſe, was a great helper and ſtirrer up of her brother *Edward*, who builded and newly repaired many Caſtles and Towns, as *Tamworth* beſides *Lichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, *Watrisbury*, *Eldisbury*, beſides *Cheſter* in the Foreſt now deſtroyed. Alſo in the North end of *Mercia*, upon the River of *Merce*, a Caſtle called of *Mercia*, upon the River of *Merce*, a Caſtle called *Brimmis-Rimcern*; alſo a Bridge over *Severn*, named *Brimmisbury* Bridge.

The laws of King *Alfred* and K. *Edward*.

As touching the Laws and Statutes of this *Edward*, as alſo of his father *Alfred*, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waſte of time: yet notwithſtanding this admonition, by the way I think good to note, that in thoſe days of theſe ancient Kings reigning in *England*, the authority then both of conferring Biſhopricks and ſpiritual Promotions, and alſo of preſcribing Laws as well to the Churchmen, as to the Laity, and of ordering and intermedling in matters meerly ſpirituall, was then in the hands of Kings ruling in the Land, and not only in the hand of the Pope, as appeareth by theſe Laws of *Alfred*.

Si quis fornicetur cum uxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadrageſima ſanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.
Ut Chriſtiani Deum diligant & paganiſmo renuncient, &c.
Si quis Chriſtianitatem mutet, &c.
Si quis ordinatus ſacris furetur, &c.
Si Presbyter ad rectum terminum ſanctum chriſma, &c.
Si duo fratres vel cognati cum una aliqua fornicentur, &c.

Note how Kings of *England* in times paſt had authority in ſpiritual cauſes.

By theſe and other ſuch like Conſtitutions of King *Alfred* it may appear, how the governance and direction of the Church in thoſe days depended not upon *Monſieur le* Pope of *Rome*, but upon the King which here in their time (under the Lord) did govern the Land. To this alſo the example of King *Edwards* time gives teſtimony; which *Edward* with *Pleimundus* (above mentioned) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and with other Biſhops in a Synod aſſembled, aſſigned and elected ſeven Biſhops in ſeven Metropolitan Churches of the Realm. Which were, the firſt *Fridelſtan*, the ſecond *Adelſtan*, the third *Werſtan*, the fourth *Adeleme*, the fifth *Edulfus*, the ſixth *Dernegus*, the ſeventh *Kenulphus*; in which Election, the Kings Authority ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient, &c.

This *Edward* (as in the beginning was ſaid) reigned 24 years, who had three Wives, *Egwin*, *Elfled* and *Ethelwild*. Of *Egwin* he had his eldeſt Son, *Adelſtan*, who next ſucceeded in the Kingdom, and a Daughter, married after to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Of *Elfled* he received two Sons and ſix Daughters, to wit, *Ethelwald* and *Edwin*. *Ethelwald* was excellently well ſeen in all knowledge of learning, much reſembling both in countenance and conditions his Grandfather *Alfred*, and died ſoon after his father. Of his ſix Daughters, two of them, *Elfled* and *Ethelhida* were made Nuns, the other four were married, *Edgina* to *Charles* the *French* King in his Fathers time, *Ethilda*, by King *Ethelſtan* was married to *Hugo* the Son of Duke *Robert*. *Edgitha* and *Algina*, were both ſent to *Henricus*, Prince of *Almains*. Of which two ſiſters, the ſecond, the ſaid *Henricus* married to his Son *Otho*, who was the firſt Emperor of the *Almains*. The other ſiſter, which was *Edgitha*, the foreſaid *Henricus* married unto a certain Duke, about the border of the *Alps* in *Italy*. Of his third Wife *Ethelwida*, he received two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, both which reigned after *Adelſtan*, and two Daughters, *Egburga*, whom he made a Nun, and *Eadguina*, who was married unto *Ludovicus*, Prince of *Aquitania* in *France*. Theſe Sons and Daughters King *Edward* thus brought up; his Daughters he ſet to ſpinning, and to the Needle: *Guliel. de reg.* his Sons he ſet to the ſtudy of learning, *Ut quaſi Philoſophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non ſam rudes procederent*: that is, *To the end, that they, being at firſt made Philoſophers, ſhould be the more expert thereby to govern the Commonwealth.*

{Anno 926. The children of King *Edward* the elder. Prince *Ethelwald* excellent in learning.

Guliel. de regib. The bringing up of King *Edwards* children.

King Ethelſtan, *or* Adelſtan.

King *Ethelſtan* or *Adelſtan*.

Ethelſtan or *Adelſtan*, after the death of *Edward* his Father, began his Rein in *England*, and was crowned at *Kingſton*. He was a Prince of worthy memory, valiant and wiſe in all his acts, nothing inferiour unto his Father *Edward*. In like worldly renown of Civil Government, joyned with much proſperous ſucceſs, in reducing this Realm under the ſubjection of one Monarchy. For he both expelled the *Danes*, ſubdued the *Scots*, and quieted the *Welſhmen*, as well in *Northwales*, as alſo in *Cornwal*. The firſt enemy againſt this *Ethelſtan*, was one *Elfredus*, who, with a faction of ſeditious perſons, conſpiring againſt the ſaid *Ethelſtan* at *Winchester*, incontinently after the death of his Father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding, the King at eſcaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. *Elfred* upon the ſame being accuſed, fled to *Rome*, there before the Pope to purge himſelf by his Oath. Who being brought to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there ſwearing (or rather forſwearing) himſelf to be clear, which indeed was guilty thereof, ſuddenly upon his Oath fell down, and ſo being brought to the *Engliſh* houſe in *Rome*, within three days after departed. The Pope ſending word unto King *Ethelſtan*, whether he would have the ſaid *Elfred* buried among Chriſtians or no? at length, through the perſwaſions of his friends and kinſfolks, it was concluded that he ſhould be buried in Chriſtian Burial. This ſtory, although I find it in no other Writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of *Guliel. lib. de regib.* much as it beareth the witneſs and words of the King himſelf, as teſtified in an old deed of gift, given to the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, I thought the ſame the more to be of credit. The words of the King proceed in this tenor as followeth.

Duke *Elfred* falſely ſuborned by the King of *Scots* to forſwear himſelf, is puniſhed by the hand of God for Perjury.

The

The Copy of an old Writing of King *Etheiſtan*, teſtifying of the miraculous death of Duke *Elfred*, ſuddenly ſtricken by the hand of God for Perjury.

The Copy of an old charter of King *Ethelſtan*.

Sciant ſapientes regionis noſtræ, non hæ præfatas terras me injuſte rapuiſſe, rapinamque Deo dediſſe: Sed ſic eas accepi, quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates Regni Anglorum. Inſuper & Apoſtolicus Papa Romanæ Eccleſiæ Joannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui noſtræ falſicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ iniquorum noſtrorum conſentiens; quando me voluerunt (parte defuncto) exæare in urbe Wintonia, ſi non me Deus ſua pietate eripuiſſet. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remiſſus eſt ad Romanam Eccleſiam, ut ibi ſe coram Apoſtolico Joanne jurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram Altare ſancti Petri. Sed facto juramento, cecidit coram Altare, & manibus famulorum ſuorum portatus eſt ad ſcholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc Apoſtolicus ad nos renaſit, & quid ile eo agerentur a nobis conſuluit, an cum cæteris Chriſtianus corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis noſtræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, ut corpus illius per noſtram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Chriſtianorum. Noſque flagitationi illorum conſentientes Romam remiſimus; & Papa conſentiente, poſtea eſt ad cæteros Chriſtianos, quamvis indignus. Et ſic judicata eſt mihi tota poſſeſſio ejus in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prænotavimus, ne quando aboleatur, unde mihi præfata poſſeſſio, quam Deo & ſancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec juſtius novi, quam Deo & ſancto Petro hanc poſſeſſionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conſpectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi proſperitatem Regni largiti ſunt, &c.

{Anno 927.

In the ſecond year of the Reign of King *Ethelſtan*, for an unity and peace to be had between the King and the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, he married to *Sitherica* their King, his ſiſter, whereof mention is made before; but ſhortly after, within one year, this *Sitherica* died. After whoſe death, King *Ethelſtan* ſeized that Province into his own hands, putting out the ſon of the foreſaid *Sithericus*, called *Alanus*, who with his brother *Godfridus* fled, the one into *Ireland*, the other unto *Conſtantine*, King of the *Scots*. And when he had thus accorded with the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, he ſhortly made ſubject unto him *Conſtantine* King of the *Scots*. But the ſaid *Conſtantine* meeked himſelf ſo lowly to the King, that he reſtored him to his former Dignity, ſaying, *that it was more honour to make a King, than to be a King.*

Northumberland ſubdued to King *Ethelſtan*.

The Scots ſubdued to the King of *England*, but more honour to make a King than to be a King.

Not long after, the ſaid *Conſtantine*, King of *Scots* did break Covenant with King *Ethelſtan*; wherefore he aſſembled his Knights, and made towards *Scotland*, where he ſubduing his enemies, and bringing them again unto due ſubjection, returned into *England* with Victory. Here by the way, in ſome Story-writers (who, forgetting the office of Hiſtoricians, ſeem to play the Poets) is written and recorded for a marvel, that the ſaid *Ethelſtan*, returning out of *Scotland* into *England*, came to *York*, and ſo into the Church of Saint *John* of *Beverly*, to redeem his Knife, which before he had left there for a Pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God, and to St. *John* of *Beverly*, that he might leave there ſome remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the *Scots* by right ſhould be ſubdued to the *Engliſh* men, ſmote with a Sword (they ſay) upon a great hard ſtone ſtanding near about the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, that with the ſtroke thereof the ſtone was cut a large Ell deep, with a lieu leſs deep alſo than was the ſtroke in the ſtone. But of this poetical or fabulous ſtory, albeit *Polychronicon*, *Fabian*, *Formilenſis*, and others more conſtantly accord in the ſame, yet in *Guliel.* and *Henricus* no mention is made at all. But peradventure, he that was the inventor firſt of this tale of the ſtone, was diſpoſed to lie for the Whetſtone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it.

A fabulous Miracle falſly reported of King *Ethelſtan*.

Of like truth and credit ſeemeth alſo to be this that followeth, about the ſame year and time under the Reign of King *Ethelſtan*, being the eighth year of his Reign, of one *Briſtanus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſucceeded *Frichſtanus* in the ſame See, and governed that Biſhoprick four years. This *Briſtanus* being a devout Biſhop in prayer and contemplation, uſed much among his ſolitary walks, to frequent late the Church-yard, praying for the ſouls there, and all Chriſtian ſouls departed. Upon a time the ſaid *Briſtanus* after his wonted manner proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to *Requieſcant in pace*. Whereunto ſuddenly a great multitude of ſouls anſwering together with one voice, ſaid *Amen*. Of this Miracle albeit I have not much to ſay (haſting to other matters) yet this queſtion would I aſk of ſome indifferent *Papiſt*, which were not wilful, but of ignorance deceived; Whether this multitude which here anſwered, *Amen*, were the ſouls of them buried in the Church-yard, or not? If yea, then how were they in Purgatory, what time they were heard in that place anſwering *Amen*? Except we ſhould think Purgatory to be in the Church-yard at *Wincheſter*, where the ſouls were heard then ſo many anſwering and praying, *Amen*. And yet this ſtory is teſtified by the accord of Writers of that time, *Guliel. Polybron. Hovedenus, Jornalenſis*, and others more. Much like Miracles and Propheſies alſo we read of *Elpleegus* which ſucceeded him; but becauſe we haſte to other things, let theſe Fables paſs.

Biſhop *Briſtanus* Biſhop. {Anno 933.

A ridiculous Miracle forged upon *Briſtanus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

A Miracle of ſouls anſwering, *Amen*.

Ye heard a little before, how King *Ethelſtan* after the death of *Sitherices* King of *Northumberland*, ſeized that Land or Province into his own hand, and put out his ſon *Alanus*, who after flying into *Swetland*, married the daughter of *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*. By whoſe ſtirring and exhortation he gathered a company of *Danes*, *Scots*, and others, and entred the mouth of *Humber* with a ſtrong Navy of ſix hundred and fifteen Ships.

A fore Battel fought at *Brunford*.

Whereof King *Ethelſtan*, with his brother *Edmund*, having knowledge, prepared his Army, and at length joyned in fight with him and his people, at a place called *Brimamburuch* or *Brimford*, where he fighting with them from morning till evening, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides (as the like hath not been ſeen lightly in *England*) had the Victory. In the which Battel were ſlain five ſmall and under-Kings, with *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, and twelve Dukes, with the moſt part of all the ſtrangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here alſo our Writers put in another Miracle in this Battel, how King *Ethelſtans* Sword miraculouſly fell into his ſheath, through the prayer of *Odo* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Another like Miracle of King *Ethelſtan* found *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Concerning this Battel, I find in a certain written Chronicle theſe Verſes, which becauſe they ſhould not be loſt, I thought not unworthy here of rehearſal.

Tranſierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Ture regens cives, ſubigens virtute tyrannos:
Cum redit illa lues Europæ nocua labes.
Jam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Et jacet in campis pelago pirata relicto.
Illicitæ torvaſque minas Analanus anhelans,
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat aſſenſum borealis terra ferenum,
Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aere verbis.
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota ſuperbis.
Nam quia Rex noſter fidens alacriſque juventa,
Emeritus pridem detriverat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fadabunt omnia prædis
Urgentes miſeros injeſtis ignibus agros,
Mareuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra ſeges cunum deſolerat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit pedium, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium concuſſus quadrupedantum.
Excivit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne ſe cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quod ſua barbaricæ ceſſiſſent arma ſecuri,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia ſigna cohortes,
Explicat inventum vexilla ferocia centum,
Junctis virum virtus, decies bis millia quinta,
Ad ſtadium belli comitantur prævia ſigna.
Hicque ciet ſtrepitus armaturum legiones,
Terruit inſignis venientum fama latrones,
Ut poſita propriis præda repetant regiones:
At vultus reliquum miſerandæ ſtragis peremptum,

Ini-

Analanus.

Infecit hibulas terris nidoribus auras,
Fugit Analanus *de tot modo millibus unus*, &c.

After this Victory thus obtained of the *Danes* and *Scots*, King *Ethelstan* also subdued (or at least quieted the North *Britains*, whom he conventing together at *Hereford* (or thereabouts) forced them to grant unto him as a yearly tribute, twenty pounds of Gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and of heads of Neat five and twenty hundred, with Hawks and Dogs, to a certain number. This done, he went to *Exceſter*, and there likewise subduing the South *Britains* about *Exceſter* and *Cornwal*, repaired the Walls of *Exceſter* with sufficient strength, and so returned.

The North Britains brought to Tribute.

The South Britains subdued.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this King, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended; (that is) the innocent death and murther of his brother *Edwin*. The occasion thereof was this. King *Edward* aforenamed their Father, in the time of his youth coming by a certain Village or Grange where he had been nursed and brought up of a Child, thought of courtelie to go to see how his Nurse did, where he entering into the house, espied a certain young Damsel beautiful and right seemly attired, *Egwina* by name. This *Egwina*, before, being a poor mans daughter, had a Vision by night, that of her body sprang such a bright light of the Moon, that the brightnes thereof gave light to the Realm of *England*, by reason whereof she was taken into the foresaid house, and daintily brought up instead of their own daughter, for hope of some commodity to ensue thereby, as afterward it came to pass. For King *Edward* (as is declared) coming into the house, and ravished with the beauty of the Maiden, begat of her the same Night this *Ethelſtan*. Wherefore the said *Ethelſtan* being thus basely born of *Egwina*, the first Wife to *Edward* (as is said) before he was Married to her, and fearing his next Brother *Edwin*, which was rightly born, especially being stirred thereunto through the smiſter suggestion of his Mother) did cast such displeasure to the foresaid *Edwin* his Brother, being yet but young, that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten Boat in the broad Sea (only with one Esquire with him) without any tackling or other provision to the same. Where the young and tender Prince being dismaid with the rage of Winds and of the Floods, and now weary of his life, cast himself over-board into the Sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the Esquire shifting for himself as he could, and recovering the body of his Master, brought it to *Sandwich*, where it was buried. Which done, the King, afterwards coming to the remembrance of himself, was stricken with great repentance the space of seven years together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuser of his Brother. This accuser (as is said) was the Kings Cup-bearer, who (as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it) upon a certain solemn Feast, bearing the Cup unto the King, chanced in the middle of the Floor to stumble with one foot, helping and recovering himself with the other, saying in these words, *Thus one brother (as you see) helpeth another*, the sword being thus spoken in the hearing of the King, so moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his Brother, to be had out to execution. Whose just recompence I would with to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord between Brother and Brother.

King Ethelſtan seeketh the death of his own brother.

A note to learn not to sow discord between brother and brother.

Ethelſtan (brsides his seven years lamentation for this act) builded the two Monasteries of *Midleton* and of *Michlenes* for his Brothers sake, or (as the stories say) for his Soul. Whereby it may appear what was the cause much special in those days of building Monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sins both of them deported, and them alive: which cause, how it standeth with the grace and verity of Christs Gospel, and of his passion, let the Christian Reader try and examine with himself. This cruel fact of the King towards *Edwin*, caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other Brethren and Sisters left in his hands unmarried. Which Sisters, as is partly in the Chapter before declared, he richly bestowed in great Marriages; as one to the King of *Northumberland*, *Sithericus*; another he gave unto *Lewis* King of *Aquitania*; the third to *Henricus*, Duke of *Almain* for his Son *Otho*, who was the first Emperor of the *Germans*. Whereby it is to be understood, that the Empire at this time began first to be translated from *France* (where it remained about one hundred years and an half) unto *Germany*, where it hath ever since continued.

The cause of building Athles examined.

Otho 1st Emperor of the Germans.

The fourth of his Sisters being a Virgin of singular beauty, *Hugo* the *French* King required to be given unto him, sending to King *Ethelſtan* precious and flumptuous Presents, such as were not before seen in *England*. Among the which Presents and Gifts, besides the rare odors of fundry favours, and fine Spices; and besides the precious and costly Gems, namely, of Smaragds of moſt redolent green; besides, also many and great Coursers and Palfries richly trapped; especially of one Jewel (as Writers make mention) which was a certain Vessel finely and subtilly made of the Precious Stone *Onychinus*, so radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively Corn growing, and Mens Images walking, &c. Over and besides was sent also the Sword of *Conſtantine* the great, with the name of the possessor, written in Golden Letters, where in the Hast of the same all beaten in Gold, was one of the iron Nails wherewith our Saviour on the Cross was nailed. Of the verity wherefore I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect; but that this in the Ecclesiastical story of *Euſebius* is evident, that two of the aforesaid Nails of Christ were spent on the Bridle of *Conſtantine*, the third he cast into the Sea in a raging Tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed with four Nails, perhaps, this Nail might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I see not how this story can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth Nail can stand with the truth. Among the rest moreover, was the Spear (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Saviour was opened, which also the said *Conſtantine* was wont to carry in the field against his enemies: with a portion likewise of the holy Cross inclosed in Christal, also a part of the Crown of Thorn in like manner inclosed, &c. Of the which Reliques, part was given to *Vinchester*, part to the Church of *Malmesbury*, where King *Ethelſtan* was buried. As this King was endued and inlarged by the gift of God (the setter up and disposer of all Kings) with great Victories of worldly Renown, having under his subjection both *Scots* and *Britains*, and the whole Monarchy of the Land: so he devised divers good and wholsome Laws for the government of the same, as well concerning the state of the Orders Ecclesiastical, as also of the Secular or Lay-people. Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome*, did not then extend it self so largely, nor so proudly to derogate from the authority of Kings and Princes, but that every one in his own Dominion had (under God, and not under the Pope) the doing of all matters within the same his Dominion contained, whether they were causes temporal or spiritual, as by the Decrees and Constitutions of this King (and also of other as well before him, as after him) may evidently be testified, as where he amongst other Laws thus ordaineth touching the Bishop, in words as follow.

Presents sent by King Hugo to King Ethelſtan from the French King.

Episcopo jure pertinet, omnem veritatis inem promovere, Deo videlicet, ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinationem inſtruere, quid ei ſit agendum jure, & quid hominibus ſecularibus judicare debeant.

Kings of England by custom have had the nomination to Bishoprics.

Ecclesiastical causes belonging to the Bishop.

Debet etiam ſedulo pacem & concordiam operari cum ſeculi judicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alii perperam agat in jurejurando, vel ordalio.

*Nec pati debet aliquam circumventionem injuſtæ mensuræ, vel injuſti ponderis. Sed convenit ut per conſilium & teſtimonium ejus omne legis rectum & burgi menſura, & omne pondus ſit ſecundum * ditionem ejus, inſtitutum * Alia. eſtimatum. valde rectum; ne quis proximum ſuum ſeducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.*

Et ſemper debet Chriſtianis providere contra omnia quæ prædicta ſunt, & ideo debet ſe de pluribus intromittere: ut ſciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum cuſtodire ſuſcepit, ne Diabolus cum dilanet, nec malum aliquod ſuper ſeminet. Nunquam enim erit populo bene conſultum, nec digne Deo converſabitur, ubi lucrum impium & magis falſum diligitur. Idea debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum eſt enervare, & quod juſtum eſt elevare, nec pati

pati ut propter falſum, & pecuniæ quæſtum homines ſe forſaciane erga vere ſapientem Deum, cui diſpliceat omnis injuſtitia.

Chriſtianis autem omnibus neceſſarium eſt, ut rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent, & ſaltem ſacra ordinibus evecti juſtum ſemper erigant, & prava deponant.

Hinc debent Epiſcopi cum judicibus judicia diſſituare, & intereſſe, ne permittant (ſi poſſint) ut illinc aliqua pravitatum gramina pullulent. Et ſacerdotibus pertinet in ſua diœceſi, ut ad rectum ſedulo quemcumque juvent, nec patiantur (ſi poſſint) ut Chriſtianus aliquis alii noceat, non patiens impotenti, non ſummus infirmo, non prælatus

5. *Alii minutius. cæliusque. ut dictum. & alia ſic ſeyrum cui e præeſt.*

b *ſubditis, non dominus hominibus ſuis, ſervis, aut liberis.*

Et ſecundum c *ditionem, & per menſuram ſuam, conveniat*

d *alia ſic ſeyrum cui e præeſt.*

Et rectum eſt ut non ſit aliqua menſurabilis virga longior quam alia, ſed per f *Epiſcopi menſuram omnes inſtituta ſint, & exequatæ per ſuam & diœceſim. Et omne pondus conſtet ſecundum ditionem ejus, & ſi aliquid controverſiarum interſit, diſcernat Epiſcopus.*

f *Alii ſcaſſus menſuras.*

Uniuscujuſque Domini proprium eſt & neceſſe, ut ſervis g *in ſua juriſdictione.*

A Law how that matters ought to condemned and hear sometimes with their Servants.

Unuscujuſque Domini proprium eſt & neceſſe, ut ſervis condescendat & compatiatur, ſicut indulgentius poterit: quia Domino Deo viventi ſunt æque chari ſervus, & liber. Et omnes uno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes ſumus Deo neceſſario ſervi, & ſic judicabit nos, ſicut ante judicavimus eos, in quos proteſtatem judicii in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus eſt ut eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, & tanic manuitendmus in Dei Omnipotentis proprio judicio: Amen.

Concerning one of the mills when with our Saviour Christ was crucified.

The said *Ethelſtan* besides, prescribed other Constitutions also, as touching Tithes giving, where he saith and proclaimeth: *Ego Ethelſtanus Rex, conſilio Uſfalini Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum Epiſcoporum, mandlo præpoſitis omnibus in Regno meo, in nomine Domini & ſanctorum omnium, ut imprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in vivente capitali, quam in mortuis frugibus terræ: & Epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciant de ſuo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & præpoſiti mei, &c.* That is, I Ethelſtan King, charge and command all my Officers through my whole Realm, to give Tithes unto God of my proper Goods, as well in living Cattel, as in the Corn and Fruits of the ground, and that my Biſhops likewiſe of their proper goods, and mine Aldermen, and my Officers and Headmen ſhall do the ſame.

The Law of King Ethelſtan concerning Tithes.

Tithes.

Item, *this I will, that my Biſhops and other Headmen do declare the ſame to ſuch as be under their ſubjection, and that to be accomplished at the Term of St.* John the Baptist. *Let us remember what* Jacob *laid unto the Lord*, Of all things that thou giveſt to me I will offer Tithes unto the Lord, &c. *Alſo what the Lord ſaith in the Goſpel of St.* Matthew, To him that hath it ſhall be given, and he ſhall abound. *We muſt alſo conſider how terrible it is written in Books, that we will not offer our tenths, from us nine parts ſhall be taken away, and only the tenth part ſhall be left us, &c.* And in the ſame place, after that he hath affigned the Church Rights to be paid in the place whereto they belong, it followeth thus: *Facite etiam ut mihi mea propria capitalia, quæ mihi poteritis reſte acquirere. Nolo ut aliquid mihi injuſte conquiratis. Sed omnia veſtra comedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea ſimiliter exopteris. Cavete ſimul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & tranſgreſſione mea.*

The King would have no more goods wrongfully.

Among his other Laws and Ordinances, to the number of 35 divers things be comprehended, pertaining as well to the Spiritual, as also to the Temporal Juriſdiction.

The Law of K. Ethelſtan concerning Witches that make away Children.

Out of the Laws of this King first sprang up the Attachment of Thieves, that such as stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old, should not be spared.

Sed Vindex. ubi ſuſpicio ſtrepitus erit. Cum regem credo pretium illi fore.

And thus much briefly concerning the Hiſtory of King *Ethelſtan*, and things in his time done; who reigned about the space of sixteen years. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his Brother *Edmund*, the year of our Lord 940, who reigned six years.

Anno 940.

King Edmund.

Edmund the son of *Edward* the Elder by his third Wife (as is declared) and brother of *Ethelſtan*, being of the age of 20 years, entred his Reign, who had by his Queen *Elgina* two sons, *Edwin* and *Edgarus*, surnamed *Pacificus*, which both reigned after him as followeth. This *Edmund* continued his Reign six years and an half. By him were expelled the *Danes*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and all foreign enemies out of the Land. Such Cities and Towns which before were in the poſſeſſion of frangers, as *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, he recovered out of their hands. Thus the Realm being cleared of Foreign power for a time; then the King set his study and mind in the redreſſing and maintaining the state of the Church; which all stood then in building of Monasteries, and furnishing of Churches, either with new poſſeſſions, or with restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this *Edmund*, this I find in an old written story borrowed of *William Carey*, a Citizen of *London*, a worthy Treasurer of moſt worthy Monuments of Antiquity. The name of the Author I cannot alledge, because the Book beareth no Title, lacking both the beginning and the later end; but the words thereof faithfully recited be these. *Hoyar Regis tempore facta eſt diſperſio Monachorum Euſhmenſis exemſit, cum ſubſtitutione canonicorum per Athelmum & Ulricum laicos, & Oſulphum epiſcopum, &c.* that is, *In the time of this King, there was a scattering or diſperſion made of the Monks out of the Monaſtery of* Euſham, *and Canons ſubſtituted in their place, through the doing of* Athelmus *and* Ulricus *Lay men, and of* Oſulfus *Biſhop, &c.*

Ex Historia Coriensa.

Monks put out of Eusham, in the year of our Lord 941.

Where, as concerning this matter between Monks and others of the Clergy, first it is to be underſtood, that in the Realm of *England* heretofore, before the time of *Dunſtan*, the Biſhops Sees and Cathedral Churches were replenished with no Monks, but with Priests and Canons, called then Clerks or Men of the Clergy. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a Sect between these two parties in strictness of life, and in habit; so that they which lived after a strict rule of holiness were called Monks, and professed Chastity, that was, to live from Wives (for so then was Chastity then defined to those blind days) as though holy Matrimony were no Chastity, according as *Paphnutius* did well define it in the Council of *Nice*. The other sort which were no Monks but Priests or Men of the Clergy so called, lived more free from those Monkish Rules and Observances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfully married) and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular state of other Christians. By reason whereof great disdain and emulation was among them, in so much that in many Cathedral Churches, whereas Priests were before, there Monks were put in: and contrary, sometime whereas Monks were intruded, there Priests and Canons again were placed, and Monks thrust out; whereof more shall appear hereafter (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of *Dunſtan*. In the mean time, something to satisfie the cogitation of the Reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or else would know of the first coming in of Monks into this Realm and Church of *England* in the *Saxons* time; this is to be noted, according as I find in old Chronicles, namely in the *Latine* History of *Guliel. de geſtis Pontificum Anglorum*, recorded touching the same. About this time of King *Edmund*, or shortly after, when hardneſs and strictness of life joyned with superstition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holiness; men therefore, either to win publick fame with men, or merits with God, gave themselves to lead a strict life, thinking thereby (the stranger their conversation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people) the more perfect to be towards God and Man. There was at that time (and before that) a Monastery in *France* named *Floriake*, after the order and rule of *Benedict*: from the which Monastery did spring a great part of our *English* Monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into *England*, did congregate men daily to their profession. And so, partly for strangeness of their rule, partly for outward holiness of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, were in great admiration, not only with the rude sort, but with

Guliel. de Pontif. lib. 3.

The Monastery of Floriake.

with Kings and Princes, who founded their Houſes, maintained their Rules, and enlarged them with poſſeſſions. Among the which Order of Monks coming from *Floriake*, eſpecially was one *Oſwaldus*, firſt a Monk of *Floriake*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *York*, a great Patron and fetter up of Monkery. Touching the which *Oſwaldus*, *William* in his Book *De pontifc.* writing of his Hiſtory, hath theſe words: *Familiaris per id temporis Anglis contuetudo fuit, ut ſi qui boni affluxiſſent deſiderio, in beatiſſimi Benedicti Monaſterio cenobialem ſuſciperent habitationem, a quo Religionis hujuſce manavit exordium, &c. tum, a quo Religionis hujuſce manavit exordium, &c.* That is, *It was a common cuſtom at that time among* Engliſhmen, *that if any good men were well affected or minded toward Religion, they went to the Monaſtery of bleſſed* St. Benedict *in* France, *and there received the Habit of a Monk, whereupon the firſt origine of this Religion began, &c.* But of this *Oſwald* Biſhop of *York*, and *Dunſtan* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, how they replenished divers Monaſteries and Cathedral Churches with Monks; and how they diſcharged married Prieſts and Canons out of their Houſes, to plant in Monks in their Cells, more ſhall be ſpoken (by the grace of Chriſt) hereafter. Now let us return again to the matter where we left, of King *Edmund*; who, beſides his noble Victories againſt his enemies, and recovering the Cities above expreſſed into his own hands, did alſo ſubdue the Province of *Cumberland*. And after he had put out the eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmail* King of *Cumberland*, he committed the government thereof to *Malcolmus* King of the *Scots*, upon promiſe of his truſty ſervice and obedience, when the King ſhould ſtand in any need of him. In the time of this King, *Dunſtan* was not yet Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but only Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, of whom many fabulous narrations paſs among the Writers, importing more vanity than verity, whereof this is one of the firſt. What time *Edgarus* called *Pacificus* was born, *Dunſtan* being the ſame time Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* (as the Monkiſh Fables dream) heard a voice in the Air of certain Angels ſinging after this tenor and ſaying, *Now peace cometh to the Church of* England *in the time of this Child, and of our* Dunſtan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the Chriſtian Reader might the better ponder with himſelf the impudent and abominable fictions of this *Romiſh* Generation. But of the ſame mint alſo they have forged, how the ſaid *Dunſtan* ſhould hear the Angels ſing the *Kyrieleſon*, uſed to be ſung at Even-ſong in the Church: *Guliel. de pontif. lib.* 1. Which is as true as that the Harp, hanging in a Womans Houſe played by it ſelf the tune of the Antheme, called *Gaudent in cæliis, &c.* What would not theſe deceivers feign in matters ſomething likely, which in things ſo abſurd and ſo inconvenient ſhame not to lie and to forge ſo impudently and alſo ſo manifeſtly? Through the motion of this *Dunſtan*, King *Edmund* builded and furniſhed the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, and made the ſaid *Dunſtan* Abbot thereof.

Oſwaldus Biſhop of *York* a great Patron of Monkery. *Guil. lib.* 3. *de Pontif.*

The originе of Monkery & how it firſt began in *England*.

Dunſtan Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*.

The ſons of K. *Edmund*.

The impudent vanity of the Popes Church in forging falſe Miracles.

Guitlel. lib. de pontif. The Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*.

Dunſtan Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*.

The Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* was builded by King *Ina* by the counſel of *Adelmo* after being deſtroyed by the *Danes*.

Concerning the end and death of this King, ſundry opinions there be. *Alfridus* and *Marianus* ſay, that while this King *Edmund* endeavoured himſelf to ſave his Sewer from the danger of his enemies, which would have ſlain him at *Pulcher* Church, the King in parting of the fray was wounded, and died ſhortly after. But *Gulielmus de regib. lib.* 2. ſaith, that the King being at a Feaſt at *Pulcher* Church upon the day of St. *Auguſtine*, ſpied a Felon ſitting in the Hall named *Leof*, whom he before for his Felony had exiled; and leaping over the Table did ſlie upon him, and plucked the Thief by the hair of the head to the ground. In which doing, the Felon with a Knife wounded the King to the death, and alſo with the ſame Knife wounded many other of the Kings ſervants, and at length was all to-hewed, and died forthwith.

Guliel. lib. 2. *de regib.*

By the Laws of King *Edmund* (ordained and ſet forth, as well for the redreſs of Church matters, as alſo of civil Regiment) it may appear, that the ſtate both of cauſes Temporal and likewiſe Spiritual, appertained then to the Kings Right (the falſe pretended uſurpation of the Biſhop of *Rome* notwithſtanding) as by theſe Laws is to be ſeen: where he, by the advice of his Lords and Biſhops did enact and determine concerning the chaſtity and pure life of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, and ſuch as were in the Orders of the Church, with the penalties alſo for them which tranſgreſſed the ſame.

The Laws of King *Edmund* touching as well the ſtate ſpiritual as temporal.

Item, *For Tithes to be paid for every Chriſtian Man, and for the Church fees, and Alms fees, &c.*

Item, *For deſtouring of Women profeſſed, which we call Nuns, &c.*

Item, *For every Biſhop to ſee his Churches repaired of his own proper Charge; and boldly to admoniſh the King, whether the Houſes of God were well maintained, &c.*

Item, *For flying into the Church for Sanctuary, &c.*

Item, *Concerning caſes and determinations ſponſal or matrimonial, &c.*

All which Conſtitutions declare what intereſt Kings had in thoſe days in matters as well Eccleſiaſtical as others, within their dominion, and that not only in diſpoſing the Ordinances and Rites, ſuch as appertained to the Inſtitution of the Church, but alſo in placing and ſetting Biſhops in their Sees, &c.

In the time of this *Edmund*, was *Ulfſanus* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which *Odo* being a *Dane* born (as is before touched) was promoted to that See by King *Etheldſtan*, for that (as they ſay) he being firſt Biſhop of *Wilton*, and preſent with King *Etheldſtan* in the Field againſt *Analanus* before mentioned, what time the ſaid *Etheldſtan* had loſt his Sword, he through his interceſſion up to Heaven, did ſee a Sword from Heaven come down into the Sheath of the King. Where of relation being made unto the King by the foreſaid Biſhop, *Etheldſtan* upon the ſame was ſo affected towards *Odo*, that not only he counted him for a patron of his life, but alſo made him Primate of *Canterbury* after the deceaſe of *Ulfelmus*. This *Odo* was the firſt from the coming of the *Saxons* till his time, which was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being no Monk. For all the other before him were of the profeſſion of Monks, of whom a great part had been *Italians* unto *Bertualdus*. Notwithſtanding, this *Odo*, being alſo a ſtranger born, after he was elected into the Biſhoprick, to anſwer to the old cuſtom of others before him, failed over into *France*, and there at *Floriake* (after the uſual manner above mentioned of *Engliſhmen*) received the Profeſſion and Habit of Monkiſh Religion, as ſaith my foreſaid Author. And like as the ſaid *Odo* firſt being no Monk, was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; ſo alſo *Oſſanus*, the ſame time being Biſhop of *York* and of *Worceſter*, differed from divers his Predeceſſors before him in Profeſſion and Habit; of whom the forenamed Author thus writeth in his third Book, ſpeaking of *Ulfanus*; *Qui ſanctitate diſcrepabat & habitu*; that is, *He differed in ſanctimony and in habit.* Whereby it is to be collected, that in thoſe days was a difference in Habit and Garment, not only between Monks and Biſhops, but alſo between one Biſhop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I do not find. But I return again to *Odo*, who by the deſcription of his manners might ſeem not to be the worſt that occupied that place, were it not that our lying Hiſtories, feigning falſe Miracles upon him (as they do of others) make him indeed to ſeem worſe than he was. As where they imagine that he ſhould fee from Heaven a Sword fall into the Scabbard of King *Etheldſtan*. Item, where he ſhould cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury* with his Prayers from Rain. And alſo where he ſhould turn the Bread of the Altar (as the Writer termeth it) into lively fleſh, and from fleſh into bread again, to confirm the People which before doubted in the ſame. Where note again (good Reader) that albeit this Miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet is it to be noted, that in thoſe days was a great doubt amongſt *Engliſhmen* of the *Popiſh* Sacrament, and that Tranſubſtantiation was not received into the Chriſtian Creed. The like judgment is to be given alſo of that, where our *Engliſh* Writers, telling of the fame *Odo*, ſay that he ſhould prophecy long before of *Dunſtan* to be his Succeſſor in the Church of *Canterbury*. But to let theſe phantaſies and idle ſtories paſs, this which we find of *Odo* his own writing is certain, that the ſaid *Odo*, in the Reign of King *Edmund*, had a Synod commenced of the chief Prelates and men of the Clergy in his time, to whom he directed this Letter here following: the Copy whereof I thought to expreſs, for the Reader to ſee what zealous care reigned in Archbiſhops then toward the Church of the Lord. The words of his Epiſtle proceed in this tenor.

Ulfanus Archbiſhop of *York*. *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Guliel. de Pontif. lib. 3. *Polydor. lib.* 6. *anno* 8. this made Monk at *Floriake*, *ſi. de* his ſay Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Guliel. de pontif. lib.

Guliel. lib. 2. *de pontif. Edm.*

The diſference of habit and garment among men of the Church.

Fables of King Edm. turning upon the A note to the Reader.

Tranſubſtantiation not yet received.

Elfinus Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elect. S. *Edmunds bury*.

The children of K. *Edmund*.

{ Anno 946. }

The death of K. *Edmund*.

The Letter or Epiſtle of *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent to the other Biſhops and Men of the Clergy.

The Letter of *Odo* Archbiſhop, to the Prelates.

Mirabile cunctis-potentis polorum præſulis clementia opitulante, Ego Odo Eccleſiæ ſalvatoris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Archiepiſcopus Dovernenſis civitatis Metropolitanus, coepiſcopis fidei Catholicæ compagatoribus, ſpiritualis charitatis vigore meis confratribus, præſentium proſperitatem æthereique decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The ſame in *Engliſh*.

By the divine grace of God, I Odo of the Church of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the City of Dover, *to my fellow Biſhops and fellow planters of the Catholick Faith, and my fellow brethren in the ſpiritual bond of charity, with greeting, with proſperity in this world preſent, and in the world to come felicity. If it were ſo, or by any means could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, ſo that I being Emperor had all things univerſally under my ſubjection, all thoſe things would I gladly give, yea and my ſelf alſo would offer willingly for the health of your ſouls, as which alſo do deſire and truſt likewiſe my ſelf to be ſtrengthened with the fervency of your holineſs, as appertaining to thoſe things wherein the Lord our God hath ſet us to be workmen, &c.*

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heavy burthen of his office, it followeth after this manner.

Wherefore moſt humbly and one unworthy, but yet a devote fellow brother of yours, I beſeech and exhort your holineſs, that you will not ſhew your ſelves cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of ſouls, ſo that in the time of the fearful judgment, the Lord do not complain of you ſaying, My Shepherds did not feed my Flock, but they fed themſelves. *And again,* They were Princes of my Flock, and I knew not of it. *But rather let us take heed and be diligent over the Houſhold of the Lord, over which he hath ſet us to be the leaders, to give them meat and true meaſure of Corn in time convenient, that is to ſay, wholeſome Doctrine. And although upon mine own demerits or worthineſs, I do not preſume to comfort or exhort any man; but as one being unworthy and faulty in tranſgreſſions innumerable, am glad, and ſtand in need rather to be ſtrengthened by your brotherly admonitions; yet for the ancient authority of my Predeceſſors, as of Auguſtine of happy memory, and alſo of all other Saints, by whoſe induſtry the rule of Chriſtianity did firſt flouriſh and ſpring from this Metropolitan See unto all quarters of* England; *therefore I have thought good to direct unto you theſe my Letters to the profit of you all; eſpecially, for that our Renowned and Princely King* Edmund, *with all his People, doth joy to follow that which he hear-eth in you and of you; and alſo for ſo much as all his Subjects, which be under his imperial Dominion, do love and delight to follow moſt joyfully the ſame, and report of your ſincere converſation, &c.*

This *Odo* continued Biſhop the ſpace of twenty years. After whom *Elſinus* was elected and ordained by the King to ſucceed through favour and money; but in going to *Rome* for the Popes Pall, in his journey through the *Alps*, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon ſucceeded *Dunſtan*, as in time and place (by the leave of Chriſt) followeth to be declared.

This *Edmund* gave to St. *Edmund* the Martyr before mentioned, the Town of *Bredricheshworth*, which is now called S. *Edmundsbury*, with great Revenues and Lands appertaining to the ſame. But concerning the frivolous Miracles which our Monkiſh ſtory-writers here feign of this good *Edmund*, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them paſs.

And thus much concerning the Reign of King *Edmund*, who after he had reigned ſix years and an half, was ſlain, as is ſaid, at *Pulcherchurch*, and buried at *Glaſtenbury* of *Dunſtan*; leaving behind him two Children, *Edwin* and *Edgar*, by his Wife *Elgina*. But becauſe the foreſaid Children were yet young, and under age, therefore *Edred* Brother to King *Edmund*, and Uncle to the Children, governed as Protector about the ſpace of nine years and an half, till *Edwin* the eldeſt Son came to age. This *Edred* with great moderation and fidelity to the young Children behaved himſelf, during the time of his Government. In his time *Dunſtan* was promoted through the means of *Oda* the Archbiſhop, from Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* to be Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and after of *London*. By the counſel of this *Dunſtan*, *Edred* was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted; inſomuch that the foreſaid *Edred* is reported in Stories to ſubmit himſelf unto much fond penance and caſtigations, inflicted to him of the ſaid *Dunſtan*. Such zealous devotion was then in Princes, and more blind ſuperſtition in Biſhops. And here again is another Miracle as fantaſtical as the other before, forged of *Dunſtan*, that when that *Edred* being ſick ſent for *Dunſtan* to be his Confeſſor, by the way *Dunſtan* ſhould hear a Voice declaring to him before, that *Edred* was already departed, at the declaring whereof *Dunſtan*'s Horſe fell immediately dead under him, with ly and all.

Edred Governour of the Realm.

Dunſtan made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and after of *London*.

With lie and all.

King Edwin.

{ Anno 955. }

Edwin the eldeſt Son of King *Edmund* afore mentioned, after his Uncle *Edred*, began his Reign about the year of our Lord 955. being crowned at *Kingſton* by *Odo* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Of this *Edwin* it is reported of divers Writers, that the firſt day of his Coronation, ſitting with his Lords, he brake ſuddenly from them, and entred a ſecret Chamber, to the company of a certain Woman whom he inordinately retained (being, as ſome ſay, another mans Wife) whoſe Husband he had before ſlain, as others ſay, being of his alliance, to the great miſliking of his Lords, and eſpecially of the Clergy. *Dunſtan* was yet but Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*; who, following the King into the Chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accuſed him to *Odo* the Archbiſhop, cauſing him to be ſeparate from the company of the foreſaid party; by the which *Oda* the King was for his fact ſuſpended out of the Church. By reaſon whereof the King, being with *Dunſtan* diſpleaſed, baniſhed him his Land, and forced him for a ſeaſon to flie into *Flanders*, where he was in the Monaſtery of St. *Amandus*. About the ſame ſeaſon the Monaſtical Order of *Benedict* Monks, or black Monks (as they were called) began to multiply and increaſe here in *England*. Inſomuch that where before time other Prieſts and Canons had been placed, there Monks were in their rooms ſet in, and the Secular Prieſts (as they then were called, or Canons) put out. But King *Edwin* for that diſpleaſure he bare to *Dunſtan*, did ſo vex all the Order of the ſaid Monks, that in *Malmesbury*, *Glaſtenbury*, and other places more, he thruſt out the Monks, and ſet in Secular Prieſts in their ſtead.

K. *Edwin*.

The King ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop.

Edwin an enemy unto Monks.

Monks put out, and ſecular prieſts placed in their rooms.

Notwithſtanding, it was not long but theſe Prieſts and Canons were again removed, and the ſaid Monks in their ſtead reſtored, both in the foreſaid Houſes, and in divers other Churches Cathedral betides, as in the next Story of King *Edgar* (Chriſt willing) ſhall more at large appear.

In fine, King *Edwin* being hated, by reaſon of certain his demeanors, of all his Subjects (eſpecially the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*) was by them removed from his Kingly Honour, and his Brother *Edgar* in his ſtead received; ſo that the River of *Thames* divided both their Kingdoms. Which *Edwin*, after he had Reigned about the term of four years, departed, leaving no heir of his body. Wherefore the rule of the Land fell unto *Edgar* his younger Brother.

The death of K. *Edwin*.

King Edgar.

{ Ann. 959. }

Edgar the ſecond Son of *Edmund* and Brother to *Edwin*, being of the age of fifteen years, began his Reign over the Realm of *England*, in the year of our Lord 959. but was not Crowned till fourteen years after; the cauſes whereof hereunder follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his Reign he called home *Dunſtan*, whom King *Edwin* before had exiled. Then was *Dunſtan*, which before was Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and then of *London*. Not long

K. *Edgar* called Pacificus.

Dunſtan made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and of *London*.

long after, this *Odo* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased, after he had governed that Church 24 years. After whom *Brithilinus* Bishop of *Winchester* first was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that room, *Dunstan* was ordained Archbishop, the other sent home again to his old Church. Where note by the way, how in those days the donation and assigning of Ecclesiastical Dignities remained in the Kings hand; only they set their Pall from *Rome* as a token of the Popes Confirmation. So *Dunstan*, being by the King made Archbishop, took his journey to *Rome* for his Pall of Pope *John* the thirteenth, which was about the beginning of the Kings Reign. Thus *Dunstan* obtaining his Pall, shortly after his return again from *Rome*, intreateth King *Edgar*, that *Oswaldus* (who, as is said, was made Monk at *Floriake*, and was Nephew to *Odo* late Bishop of *Canterbury*) might be promoted to be Bishop of *Worcester*; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the said *Dunstan*, *Etheluoldus*, (whom stories do feign to be the great Patron of Monkery) first Monk at *Glastenbury*, then Abbot of *Abendon*, was also made Bishop of *Winchester*. Of this *Etheluoldus*, *Guliel. mus libro de gestis pontificum* recordeth, that what time he was a Monk in the House of *Glastenbury*, the Abbot had a Vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleep a certain great Tree, the branches whereof extended through all the four quarters of the Realm, which branches were all covered with many little Monks Cowls, where in the top of the Tree was one great Master Cowl, which in spreading it self over the other Cowls, inclosed all the rest; which Master Cowl in the Tree top, mine Author in the interpretation applieth to the life of this *Etheluold*. Of such prodigious fantaties our Monkish Histories be full; and not only our Historics of *England*, but also of the Heathen Stories of the *Gentiles* be stuffed with such kind of Dreams of much like effect.

Oswaldus Bishop of *Worcester*, and after of *York*, *Etheluoldus* Bishop of *Wint.* a great maintainer of Monkery. { Anno } { 963. }

Ex *Guliel. Malmesbur. de gest. pontif. Ang.*

Monkish dreams.

Of such a like Dream we read of the Mother of *Athelstan*, how the Moon did spring out of her Womb, and gave light to all *England*. Also of King *Charles* the Emperor, how he was led by a thred to see the torments of Hell. Likewise of *Furceus* the Hermite mentioned in the third Book of *Beda*, who saw the joys of Heaven, and the four fires that should destroy the World; the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at Baptism; the second fire was of the covetous; the third of disfention; the fourth was of the fire of impiety and wrongful dealing. *Item*, in like sort of the dream of *Dunstan*, and of the same *Etheluould*, to whom appeared the three Bishops, *Brithanus*, *Birinus*, and *Swithinus*, &c. Of the dream of the Mother of this *Etheluold*, who being great with him, did see a golden Eagle flie out of her mouth, &c. Of the dream likewise, or the Vision of King *Edgar* concerning the falling of the two Apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Also of King *Edward* the Confessor, touching the ruine of the Land by the conqueror of the *Normans*. We read also in the History of *Assiages*, how he dreamed of *Cyrus*, and likewise of many other dreams in the Books of the Monks, and of the Ethnike Writers. For what cannot either the idle vanity of mans head, or the lie ception of the lying Spirit work by man, in forethewing such earthly events as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to be understood between these earthly dreams, speaking of earthly things and matters of humane superstition; and between other spiritual revelations sent by God touching spiritual matters of the Church pertaining to mans salvation. But to our purpose, by this dream, and by the event which followed after, it may appear how and by what means the multitude of Monks began first to swarm in the Churches of *England*, that is, in the days of this *Edgar*, by the means of these three Bishops, *Dunstan*, *Etheluold* and *Oswald*. Albeit *Dunstan* was the chiefest ringleader of this race; yet *Etheluould* being now Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsel of these three forefaid, King *Edgar* is recorded in Histories to build either new out of the ground, or to reedifie Monasteries decaied by the *Danes*, more than forty. As the House of *Ely*, *Glastenbury*, *Abbington*, *Burga* by *Stamford*, *Thorney*, *Ramsey*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchcomb*, *Thamsteke* in *Devonshire*, with divers more. In the setting up and building of the which the forefaid *Etheluold* was a great doer, and a Founder under the King. Moreover through the motion of this *Dunstan* and his fellows, King *Edgar* in divers great Houses and Cathedral Churches, where Prebendaries and Priests were before, displaced the Priests and set in Monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicles of *Roger Hoveden*, in words and forme as followeth, *Hic namque Etheluoldus regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut Clericos a Monasteriis expelleret, & Monachos sanctimonialesque in eis collocaret, &c.* that is, Ethelwold *Bishop of* Winchester, *who was then one of the Kings Council, did urge the King chiefly to expel Clerks out of Monasteries, and in their rooms to bestow Monks and Nuns, &c.* Whereunto accordeth likewise *Historia Fornalensis*, containing the like effect in these words, *Hoc anno Etheluoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wigornienfis, Episcopi, justu Regis Edgari (Clericis de quibuldam magnorum Ecclesiis expulsis) Monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem Clericis & aliis Monachos in eisdem fecerunt. Guliel.mus* also writing of the time of *Dunstan*, maketh the matter somewhat more plain, where he saith, *Itaque Clerici multarum Ecclesiarum data opitione, ut aut amicitum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes: fuegebant itaque in tota insula Religiosorum Monesteria, cumulabantur mole pretiosa metalli sanctorum Altaria, &c.* Thus the Secular Priests being put to their choice, whether to change their Habit, or to leave their Rooms, departed out of their Houses, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the Houses and Monasteries of Religious Men through all the Realm went up apace, *&c.*

Ex *Hist. Ro. Hoveden.* Spiritual livings given by the Kings, and not by the Pope.

Difference of Dreams.

How and when Monks first began to swarm in *England*. *Dunstan*, *Etheluold*, *Oswald*, three fosterers up of Monkish Religion.

Forty Monasteries builded and repaired by King *Edgar*.

After the Kings mind was thus perswaded and incited by these Bishops to advance Monkery, then *Oswaldus* Bishop of *Worcester*, and also made Archbishop of *York* after the decease of *Oskitellus*, *Sui voti compos effectus* (as *Hoveden* writeth) having his See in the Cathedral Church there of Saint *Peter*, began first with fair perswations to assay the minds of the Canons and Priests, whether they could be content to change their Profession, and to be made Monks, or no. Which when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this policy with them: near to the said Church of Saint *Peter*, within the Church-yard, he erected another Church of our Lady, which when he had replenished with Monks, there he continually frequented; there he kept, there he fat, and was ever there conversant. By reason whereof the other Church was left naked and defolate, and all the People gathered there where the Bishop was. The Priests seeing themselves so to be left and neglected both of the Bishop and of the People, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driven of shame either to relinquish the House (such as would not enter the monkish Profession) or else to become Monks, such as had nothing else to stay upon. After the like Superstition (although not after the same subtilty) did *Etheluold* also drive out the Canons and Priests from the new Monastery in *Winchester*, afterward called *Hida*, and placed his Monks. So in *Oxford* and in *Mildune*, with divers other places more, the Secular Priests with their Wives were expelled, to give place to Monks. The cause whereof is thus pretended in certain Story-writers, whom I fee also *Fabian* to follow; for that the Priests and Clerks were thought slack and negligent in their Church Service, and set in Vicars in their stead, while they lived in pleasure, and mis-spent the Patrimony of the Church after their own lust. Then King *Edgar* gave to the Vicars the same Land which before belonged to the Prebendaries; who also not long after shewed themselves as negligent as the others. Whereforе King *Edgar* (as mine Authors write) by the consent of Pope *John* the thirteenth voided clearly the Priests, and ordained there Monks. Although certain of the Nobles, and some of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the Chapter following may partly appear.

Oswald Bishop of *Worcester*, and Archbishop of *York*.

The policy of *Oswaldus* driving out Priests to place in Monks. { Anno } { 969. }

Guliel. l. 3. de gest. pon. Ciu. Swonia. in vita Edgari.

Prebendaries and Priests slack in their duty.

Priests voided of Cathedral Churches, and Monks set in.

But

The Difference, order, and institution of Monks examined.

But for so much as we have entred into the mention of Monks and Nuns, and of their Profession, which I see so greatly in our Monkish Stories commended: left perhaps the simple Reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of Monks in all Histories of times to be such an ancient thing in Christian life (even from the Primitive Church after the Apostles time) both commonly recited and well received, therefore to help the judgment of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it shall not be unprofitable, in following the present occasion here given (by way of a little digression) to intermeddle somewhat concerning the original Institution of Monks, what they were in the old time which were called *Monachi*, wherein the Monks of the primitive time did differ from the Monks of the middle time, and from these our Monks now of this later Age; moreover, wherein all these three do differ from Priests (as we call them) and from men of the Clergy. Wherefore to answer to the superstitious scruple of such, which alledge the old antiquity of the name and Title of Monks; First I grant the Name and Order of Monks to be of old continuance, during near from the time of three hundred years after Christ. Of whom divers old Authors do record, as *Augustine*, *Hieronimus*, *Basilius Magnus*, who was also himself one of the first instituters and commenders of that superstition, *Chrysostomus*, *Nazianzanus*, *Evagrius*, *Sozomenus*, *Dionysius*, and divers others. In the number of these Monks (which then were divided into Hermits or Anchorits, and into Coenobits) were *Antonius*, *Paulus*, *Johannes*, with divers other recluses. Among the which was *Hieronie*, *Basil*, *Macharius*, *Isidorus*, *Pambus*, *Nilammon*, *Simeon*, with infinite others, both in *Palestina*, *Syria*, *Thebaide*, *Mesopotamia*, in *Egypt*, in *Africa*, and in *Scythia*. In so much that *Cassianus Lib.2. Cap.4. De Canon. Noctur. orat.* maketh mention of a certain Monastery in *Thebaide*, wherein were above five thousand Monks, under the government of one Abbot. And here also in *England* mention is made before of *Bangor*, wherein were two thousand and two hundred Monks under one mans ruling, in the year of our Lord five hundred ninety six. Whereby it appeareth that Monks were then, and two hundred years before, in the primitive time of the Church. But what Monks these were is to be considered; such as either by tyranny of Persecution were driven into solitary and desert places; or else such as not contrained of any, but of their own voluntary devotion (joyned with some Superstition among, for the love they had unto spiritual contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themselves from all company, either having nothing to themselves proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but Lay men; of which Lay men, there were two sundry sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which only were partakers of the Sacraments; the other, in following a Monastical kind of life, were called Monks, (being nothing but Lay men) leading a more fevere and stricter trade of life than the others, as may sufficiently appear, *Augustl. lib. de moribus ecclesiæ, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item, Epistola ad Aurelium.* Also by *Hieronie ad Heliodorum*, writing these words: *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum; Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, &c.* that is, *One thing pertaineth to Monks, another thing unto them of the Clergy; they of the Clergy feed their Flock, I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionysio.* Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided, *Ne Monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant*; that is, *That Monks should not intermeddle with matters of the Church, &c. Et Leo Epistola 62. vetat Monachos & Laicos, etsi sententiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.*

Two sorts of Monks in the Primitive Church.

Two sorts of Lay-men Monks in the old time were no other but Lay-men, leading a strict life. *Augustl. de mor. Eccles. lib. 1. & Hieron. ad Heliodor. Dist. vigil. Concil. Chalc. Can. 4.*

Monks forbidden to intermeddle with matters Ecclesiastical.

Monks differing from Priests.

Monks in the Primitive time differing from Monks in the second age of the Church. *Augustl. de beatitudine monachorum.*

By these forefaid Authors alledged, it is evident, that Monks in the former Age of the Church, albeit they lived a solitary life, yet they were then no other but only Lay men, differing from Priests, and differing from the other Monks which succeeded them afterwards in the middle Age of the Church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescript form, either of diet or apparel, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of Saint *Augustine*, which be these: *Neque inter hæc nemo urgetur in asperu, quæ ferre non potest: nulli quod recusat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur a cæteris, in quod eis imitandus se fatetur invalidum. Meminerunt enim quantopere commendata sit in scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia nouuda mundæ, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit. Itaque non rejiciendus generibus ciborum quasi pollutus, sed concupiscentiæ perdomandæ & dilectioni fratrum tenendæ inscriptum omne industria.* And *Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16.* speaking of the Monks of the same time, which in Cities had several Mansions from others, saith, *Alii in turba civitatum conversabantur, ut suspes gerentes, ut nullius momenti viderentur, & a multis nihil differrent, &c.* that is, *Some live in Cities so behaving themselves, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c.* The second point wherein they were discrepant from the later Monks was, in that they remained no other but in the Order of Lay Men (only being of a stricter life than the rest) and had nothing to do in matters and charges Ecclesiastical; which was afterward broken by Pope *Boniface* the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seen and said. Thirdly, the forefaid Monks of that Age (albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from Wives) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from Marriage. Of such as were married, speaketh *Athanasius in Epistola ad Dracontium qui ait se novisse & Monachos & Episcopos conjuges & liberorum patres, &c.* that is, *Which saith, that he knew both Monks and Bishops married Men, and Fathers of Children, &c.*

Ex *Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

Monks of the Primitive time were no Clerks, but meer Laymen.

Monks of the old time some married, some restrained from marriage.

Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de Canon. Dilect. frat.

And yet the said Monks of the old time, though they were better than the other which followed them; yet all that notwithstanding, Superstition with them, and among them began then to creep into the Church through the crafty subtilty of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples do declare the vain and prodigious superstition of these Monastical fort of men; which examples do not lack, if leisure rather, did not lack to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to infert, to the intent the mind of the godly Reader may the better consider and understand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his Apostles, the Doctrine of Christian Justification began to be forgotten, true Religion turned to Superstition, and the Price of Christs Passion to be obscured through the vain Opinion of mens Merits, &c. A certain Abbot named *Moses* thus testifieth of himself in the Collations of *Cassianus*, that he so afflicted himself with much fasting and watching, that sometimes for two or three days together, not only he felt no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driven also from sleep. In so much that he was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sleep to be given him some piece of the Night. In the same Author mention is made of a certain old man an Hermit, who because he had conceived in himself such a purpose never to eat meat, without he had some guest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstain five days together until Sunday, while he came to the Church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Superstition crept in with Monkery.

The ignorance of our free justification by Christ is the cause of all superstition.

Ex *Cass. cap 17. Collat. 2.*

Two other Examples yet more will I add out of the said *Cassianus*, to declare how the subtilty of Satan through Superstition, and false colour of holiness, blindeth the miserable eyes of such, which rather attend mens Traditions than the Word of God. In the fortieth Chapter of the said Author, in his Book *De gastrimargia*, is told of a certain Abbot named *Johannes*, in the desert Wilderness of *Scythia*, who sent two of his Novices with Figs unto one that was sick in the Wilderness, eighteen Miles off from the Church. It chanced these two young Novices, missing the way, wandred so long in the wild Forest or Wilderness, and could not find the Cell, that for emptiness and weariness they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they die than taste the Figs committed to them to carry,

Cassian. lib. de spiritu gastrimarg. cap. 40.

Superstition.

and so did; for shortly after they were found dead, their legs lying whole by them.

Cassan. l.6. cap. 2.

Another Story he also reciteth of two Monastical Brethren, who making their Progress in the Desert of *Thebaide*, purposed with themselves to take no sustenance but such as the Lord himself should minister unto them. It happened as they were wandring desolate in the Desert, and fainting almost for penury, certain *Mazazes*, a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of Humanity, came forth, and of their own accord offered Bread unto them; which Bread the one thankfully received as sent of God; the other, as counting it sent of Man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lack perished.

Hereunto might I also annex the story of *Macarius*, who, to declare his obedience, did not stick, at the commandment of his Abbot, to cast his Son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the Monks in those days drowned in Superstition. What is this, but for Mans Traditions and Commandments to transgress the Commandments of God, which saith, *Thou shalt do no murther; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?* What man is so blind, that seeth not by these and infinite examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this Monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep into the Church? Whereat I cannot marvel enough, seeing that Age of the Church had in it so many Learned Doctors, who not only did approve and follow these Monastical Sects of life, but also certain themselves were the Authors and Institutors of the same, yea, and of Mens Traditions, made the service of God. In number of whom may be reckoned *Basilius Magnus*, and *Nazianzenus*, who with immoderate Austerity did so pluck down themselves, that when they were called to the Office of Bishops, they were not able to sustain the labour thereof.

Monkery mother of superstition and hypocrisie.

Basilius Magnus. Nazianzen.

After these foresaid Monks of that time above rehearsed, followed other Monks of the middle Age of the Church; who, as in multitude, so also in Superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolate Dens in the vast Wilderness to approach more near to great Towns; where they had solemn Monasteries founded by Kings and Queens, and Kings daughters, and other rich Consuls, as is partly before touched; and the causes also touched withal, for the which they were first founded, as these, *Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remissione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro salute regnorum, quique meo subjacent regimini populorum, in honoren gloriosæ Virginis, &c.* For all these impious and erroneous Titles and Causes we find alledged in stories, as in *Malmesburiensis, Fornalensis, Hemicus*, and others more. In which Histories I also note, that the most part of these aforesaid Monasteries were erected first upon some great Murther, either by War in the Field, or privately committed at home, as shall well appear to them that read their Books whom I have alledged. But to return to our Monks again, who (as I said) first began to creep from the cold Field into warm Towns and Cloisters, from Towns then into Cities, and at length from their close Cels and Cities, into Cathedral Churches (as here appeareth by this Story of King *Edgar*) where, not only they did abound in Wealth and Riches (especially these Monks of our later time) but much more did swim in Superstition and Pharisaical Hypocrisie, being yoked and tied in all their doings, to certain prescript Rules, and formal Observances; in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, every man apparalled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the year did serve, but as the coasted Rules and Order of every Sect did enforce them. The number of which Sects was infinitely divers; some after *Basilius* Rule went in white; some after *Benets* Rule in black; some after *Cluniacenses*, first set up by *Otho* in the time of this King *Edgar*, wearing after the Rule of *Benets* Order; some after *Hieromes*'s Rule, leather girdled, and coped above their white Coat; some *Gregorians* Copper coloured; some *De valle umbrosa*, Grey Monks; some *Grandimontenses*, wearing a Coat of Mailes upon their bare bodies, with a black Cloak thereupon; some *Cisterciani*, who had white Rochets on a black Coat; some *Celestines*, all in blew, both Cloakl, Cowl and Cap; some Charter Monks, wearing Haircloth next their bodies; some *Flagellants*, going bare-foot in long white Linen Shirts, with an open place in the back, where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day before the peoples eyes, till the blood ran down, saying, that it was revealed to them by an Angel, that in so scourging themselves, within thirty days and twelve hours, they should be made so pure from sin, as they were when they first received Baptism; some starred Monks; some Jesuites, with a white Girdle and ruffet Cowl. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable Sects and disguised Orders of their Fraternities? some holding of Saint *Benet*, some of Saint *Hierome*, some of Saint *Basil*, some of Saint *Bernard*, some of Saint *Bridget*, some of Saint *Bruno*, some of Saint *Lewis*, as though it were not enough for Christians to hold of Christ only. So subject were they to servile rules, that no part of Christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunk in Superstition, that not only they had lost Christs Religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet government of reason in all outward doings, wherein one Rule can serve for all Men; the circumstance of time, place, person and business being so sundry and divers; contrary among these, no reason, but only the knock of a Bell ruled all their doings; their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating, their coming in, their going out, their talking, their silence, and altogether like insensible people, either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungrateful to God, neither injoying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet using the grace of Christs Liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monachi Flagellanti.

Monks of the middle and later age of the Church described.

Causes of the founding of Monasteries and Nunneries, tending to the derogation of Christs Passion and Christian Faith.

Most part of Monasteries were builded upon some Murther.

The Order of Monkes Cluniacs, by Otho set up in K. Edgar time.

Thus thou seest (gentle Reader) sufficiently declared, what the Monks were in the primitive time of the Church, and what were the Monks of the middle Age, and of these our later days of the Church. Whereunto joyn this withal, that where the Monks of elder time (as is said) were meer Lay-men and no Spiritual Ministers: afterward *Bonifacius* the Fourth made a Decree, in the year of our Lord six hundred and six, that Monks might use the office of Preaching, of Christening, of hearing Confessions, and also of absolving them of their sins, &c. So then Monks, who in the beginning were but Lay-men, and no Spiritual Ministers, forbidden by the General Council of *Chalcedon* (as is above related) to intermeddle with matters Ecclesiastical; afterward in process of time, did so much increach upon the office of Spiritual Ministers, that at length the Priests were discharged out of their Cathedral Churches, and Monks set in their places; because that Monks in those days, leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holiness among the People than the Priests, who then in the days of King *Edgar* had Wives (at least so many as would) no Law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of *Hildebrand*, now called *Gregory* the seventh, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the Book next following.

Monks made Spiritual Ministers contrary to the old decree and custom of the Church.

Priests in K. Edgars time had Wives.

And thus much by the way, as touching the Order and Profession of Monks. Now to turn in again from whence we digressed (that is) to the matter of King *Edgar*, who following the counsel and leading of *Dunstan*, and the foresaid *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, was somewhat thereby inclined to Superstition: but otherwise of his own nature well given to all vertues and Princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in justice, and sharp in correction of vices (as well in his Magistrates as other subjects) that never before his days was less Felony by Robbers, nor less Extortion or Bribery by false Officers. Such Provinces and Lordships, as were not yet come under the Kings subjection, he united and adjoyned to his Dominion; and so made one perfect Monarchy of the whole Realm of *England*, with all the Iflands and borders about the same. Such

The worthy acts of King Edgar.

Such as were wicked, he kept under, he repressed them that were Rebels, the godly he maintained, he loved the modest, he was devout to God, and beloved of his Subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did bless him with much abundance of peace and rest from all Wars, so that as the Story recordeth of him, *Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum sensit*, for the which he was called *Pacificus*. He neither rafted of any privy Treason among his Subjects, nor of any Invasion of Foreign Enemies. So studious he was of the publick profit of his Realm, and fruitful in his Government, that as the said story saith of him, *Nullus fere annus in chronicis præteriit, quo non magnum & necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No year passed in all the time of his Reign, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the Common wealth, &c.* A great maintainer he was of Religion and Learning, not forgetting herein the forefteps of King *Alfred* his Predecessor. Among his other Princely virtues this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other Princes commonly in much peace and quietness are wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them; this King in continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept ever with him such a watch, and a vigilant severity joyned with a seemly clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witness of our Story-writers, testifying of his diligent care over the Commonwealth, which was so great, *Ut nullum enjuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret*: that is, *That he would suffer no man, of what degree of Nobility so ever he were, to dally out his laws without condign punishment, &c.* And followeth more in the same Author, *Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas grassari propriæ vitæ dispendio, &c.* In all his time there was neither any privy picker, nor open thief, but he that in stealing other Mens goods, would venture and suffer (as he was sure) the loss of his own life, &c. *Guliel. de reg.*

England reduced to one full and perfect Monarchy.

Edgar no Pacifist. K. Edgar and K. Alfred compared together.

A note for men of Nobility to mark.

A notable example of a Prince, to admonish all Princes what to do. Wolves hath driven out of England.

Moreover, as the studious industry of this Prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent provision did not lack in this also, in driving out the devouring and ravening Wolves throughout all his Land. Wherein he used this policy, in casting *Ludwallus* Prince or King of *Wales*, to yield to him yearly by way of Tribute three hundred Wolves. By means whereof, within the space of four years after, in *England* and *Wales* might scantly be found one Wolf alive.

This *Edgar* among other of his politick deeds had in readiness three thousand six hundred Ships of War to scour the Seas in the Summer time, whereof one thousand two hundred kept the East Seas; as many defended the West side; again, as many were on the South Seas, to repulse the Invasion of Foreign Enemies. Moreover, in Winter season, the use and manner of this vertuous King was this, During all the time of his life, to ride over the Land in progress, searching and inquiring diligently (to use here the words of mine Author) *Quomodo legum jura, & fuorum statuta decretorum observaretur & ne pauperes a potentibus præjudicium passi opprimerentur*; that is, *How his Laws and Statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poor should suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed any manner of ways by the mightier, &c.* Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy Prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a Phenix to fly alone, that of all his Posterity so few there be that seek to keep him company. And although I have shewed more already of this King, than I think will well be followed, yet this more is to be added to the worthiness of his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the *Danes* dwelling in divers places of *England*, much excessive drinking was used, whereupon ensued drunkenness and many other vices, to the evil example and hurt of his Subjects; he therefore, to prevent that evil, ordained certain Cups with Pins or Nails set in them, adding thereunto a Law, that what person drank past the mark at one draught, should forfeit a certain peny, whereof one half should fall to the accuser, and the other half to the Ruler of the Borough or Town where the offence was done.

The proffession of King Edgar in keeping the Seas.

A notable example in a Prince, for all good Princes to mark and to follow.

The device of K. Edgar to avoid drunkenness

It is reported of this *Edgar* by divers Authors, that about the thirteenth year of his Reign, he being at *Chester*, eight Kings (called in Histories *Subregnli*) to wit, petty Kings, or under Kings, came and did Homage to him. Of whom the first was the King of *Scots*, called *Kinadius, Macolinus* of *Cumberland, Mackus* or *Maccusius* King of *Monia*, and of divers other Ilands, and all the Kings of *Wales*, the names of whom were *Dufnal*, or *Dunewaldus, Sifsell, Huwall, Jacob, Ulkell, Fuchal*. All which Kings, after they had given their fidelity to *Edgar*, the next day following (for a Pomp or Royalty) he entred with these aforesaid Kings into the River of *Dee*; where he, sitting in a Boat, took the rule of the Helm, and caused these eight Kings, every person taking an Ore in his hand, to row him up and down the River, to and from the Church of Saint *John*, unto his Palace again, in token that he was Master and Lord of so many Provinces; whereupon he is reported to have said in this manner, *Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriari, se Reges Angliæ esse, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruerentur.* But in my mind, this King had said much better, if he had rather said with Saint *Paul*, *Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*

Eight Kings do Homage to K. Edgar.

The glory of K. Edgar reprehended.

Wherein Kings ought to glory.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King *Edgar*, such reports as the old Monkish Writers thought to bestow upon him, as upon the great Patron of their Monkish Religion, who had builded so many Monasteries for them, as were Sundays in the year (as some say) or as *Edmer* reporteth, but forty eight.

K. Edgar a superstitious upholder of Monkery. Ex Eadmero.

Now on the other side, what Vices in him were reigning, let us likewise consider, according as we find in the said Authors described, which most wrote to his advancement. Whereof, the first Vice is noted to be Cruelty, as well upon others, as namely, upon a certain Earl, being of his secret Council, called *Ethelwold*. The story is this; *Ordgarus*, Duke of *Devonshire*, had a certain Daughter named *Elfrida*, whose Beauty being highly commended to the King, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid *Ethelwold* (whom he specially trusted) to the party, to see and to bring him word again, and if her Beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the Match between them. *Ethelwold* well viewing the party, and seeing her Beauty nothing inferiour to her fame, and thinking first to serve his own turn, told all things contrary unto the King. Whereupon the King withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to pass, that *Ethelwold* himself did marry her.

Vices noted in K. Edgar.

K. Edgar circumvented by one of his Council.

Not long after, the King understanding further by the complaints and rumors of certain, how he was prevented and beguiled, set a fair face upon the matter before *Ethelwold*; and merrily jesting with him, told him how he would come and see his Wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. *Ethelwold* the Husband, perceiving this matter to go hardly with him, made haste to his Wife, declaring to her the coming of the King, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; desiring her of all love, as she would save his life, to disgrace and deform her self with garments and such attire, as the King might take no delighting in her. *Elfrida* hearing this, what did she, but contrary to the request of her Husband and promise of a Wife, against the Kings coming trimmed her self at the Glass, and decked her in her best array. Whom when the King beheld, he was not so much enamored with her, as in hatred with her Husband, who had so deceived him. Whereupon the King shortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the Forest of *Harwood*, sent for *Ethelwold* to come to him under the pretence of Hunting, and there ran him through and slew him. After this, the Bastard Son of *Ethelwold* coming to him, the King asked him how he liked that hunting? Who answered again, *that which pleaseth the King, ought not to displease him*; for the death of which *Ethelwold, Elfrida* afterward builded a Monastery of Nuns in remission of sins.

Cruelty in K. Edgar noted.

Great detriment happening in this Realm by King Edgar.

Another fault which *Malmesbury* noteth in him, was the coming in of Strangers into this Land, as *Saxons*, *Flemings* and *Danes*, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of the Land, as the forefaid ftory of *Malmesbury* recordeth, whofe words be thefe: *Unde factum eſt, ut fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandricæ, ipſi etiam Dani huc frequenter anmavigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorum adventus magnum protinus exhibitum detrimentum peperit. Inde merito juxque reprehendunt eum literæ, &c.* That is, *Whereby it* W. Malmsb. *happened that divers ſtrangers out of foreign Countries allured by his fame came into the Land, as* Saxons, Flemings *and* Danes *alſo, all which he retained with great familiarity. The coming of which ſtrangers bred great damage to the Realm, and therefore is* Edgar *juſtly blamed in ſtories, &c.* With the which reprehention the *Saxon* ſtories alſo do agree.

The inconvenient life of K. Edgar.

The third vice to him objected, was, his incontinent and laſcivious luſt in deflouring Maids, as firſt of a Dukes Daughter being a Nun, and a Virgin named *Wilfrida*, or *Wilſtrud*, of which *Wilfrid* was born *Editha* a Baſtard Daughter of *Edgar*. Alſo of another certain Virgin in the Town of *Andevar*, who was privily conveyed into his Bed by this means: The laſcivious King coming to *Andevar*, not far from *Winchester*, and thinking to have his pleaſure of a certain Dukes Daughter, of whofe beauty he heard much ſpeaking, commanded the Maid to be brought unto him. The Mother of the Virgin, grieving to have her Daughter made a Concubine, ſecretly by night conveyed to the Kings Bed inſtead of her Daughter, another Maiden, of Beauty and Favour not uncomely; who in the morning riſing to her work, and ſo being known of the King what ſhe was, had granted unto her of the King ſuch liberty and freedom, that of a ſervant ſhe was made Miſtreſs both to her Maſter, and alſo to her Miſtreſs. *Ex Matthæo Pariſ. lib. de regib.*

Edith a baſt. Daughter of Wilfrid the Kings Semmin.

Edward born in Bedforde of Elfled, King Edwards Concubine.

Another Concubine he had alſo beſides theſe aforeſaid, which was *Egelfleda*, or *Elfleda*, called *Candida*, the white Daughter of Duke *Ordmere* (as *Guliel. Malmeſburienſ.* recordeth) ſhe being alſo a profeſſed Nun, of whom he begot *Edward* in Baſtardy; for the which he was injoyned by *Dunſtan* ſeven years Penance. After which Penance being compleat, then he took to him a lawful Wife (as *Malmesb.* faith) *Elfritha*, the Mother of *Edmund* and *Ethelred*, or otherwiſe called *Egelred*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord willing) hereafter.

King Edgar a great maintainer of Monkery

Over and beſides all theſe Vices noted and objected to King *Edgar* in our Monkiſh Story-writers, I alſo obſerve another no leſs, or rather greater Vice than the other afore recited, which was, blind Superſtition and idolatrous Monkery brought into the Church of Chriſt, with the wrongful expulſing of lawful married Prieſts out of their Houſes. Whereupon what inconveniences inſued after in this Realm, eſpecially in the Houſe of the Lord, I leave it to the conſideration of them which have heard of the deteſtable enormities of thoſe Religious Votaries: the occaſion whereof firſt and chiefly began in this *Edgar*, through the inſtigation of *Dunſtan* and his Fellows, who after they had inveigled the King, and had brought him to their purpoſe, they cauſed him to call a Council of the Clergy, where it was Enacted, that the Canons of divers Cathedral Churches, Colleginers, Parſons, Vicars, Prieſts and Deacons, with their Wives and Children, either ſhould give over that kind of life, or elſe give room to Monks, *&c.* For execution of which Decree, two principal Viſitors were appointed, *Athelwold* or *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, as is partly before touched. *Oſbernus in vita Dunſtani. Malmsbur. de vit. pontif. Rog. Hoved.*

King Edgar ſeduced by Dunſtan and Ethelwold Biſhop of Winchester. Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani, fol. 97. Malmsb. Houeden. & alibi.

And thus much concerning the Hiſtory of King *Edgar*, and of ſuch things as in his time happened in the Church, which *Edgar* after he had entered into the parts of *Britany* to ſubdue the Rebellion of the *Welſhmen*, and there had ſpoiled the Country of *Glamorgan*, and waſted the Country of *Odo*, within ten days after, when he had reigned the ſpace of ſixteen years, he died, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*, leaving after him two Baſtards, to wit, *Editha* and *Edward*, and one Son lawfully begotten, named *Ethelred*, or otherwiſe by corruption called *Egelred*, for *Edmund* the elder Son died before his Father.

The death of K. Edgar.

You heard before how King *Edgar* is noted in all Stories to be an incontinent liver in deflouring Maids and Virgins. Of which Virgins, three notoriouſly are expreſſed in Authors, to wit, *Wilſtrude* or *Wilfride*; the ſecond was the Dukes Maid at *Andevar*, near to *Winchester*; the third was *Elfled* Mother of *Edward*, for the which *Elfled* he was ſtayed and kept back from his Coronation by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the ſpace of ſeven years; and ſo the ſaid King beginning his Reign in the ſixteenth year of his Age, being the year of the Lord, nine hundred fifty nine, was Crowned at his Age one and thirty, *Anno Domini* 974. as is in the *Saxon* Chronicle of *Worceſter* Church to be proved. For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the Coronation of the King reſtrained, and the preſumptuous behaviour of *Dunſtan* againſt the King, and his Penance by the ſaid *Dunſtan* enjoyned, ye ſhall hear both *Oſbern*, *Malmesbur.* and other Authors ſpeak in their own words as followeth. *Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c.* After that *Dunſtan* had underſtanding of the Kings offence perpetrated with the profeſſed Nun, and that the fame was blazed amongſt the People, with great ire and paſſion of mind he came to the King, who ſeeing the Archbiſhop coming, eſtſoons of gentleneſs aroſe from his Regal Seat towards him, to take him by the hand, and to give him place. But *Dunſtan* refuſing to take him by the hand, and with ſtern countenance bending his Brows, ſpake after this effect of words (as Stories import) unto the King, *You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin Maid handfaſt to Chriſt, preſume you to touch of Dunſtan the conſecrated hands of a Biſhop? You have defiled to K. Edgar. the Spouſe of your Maker, and think you by flattering ſervice to paciſie the friend of the Bridegroom? No Sir, his friend will not ſo, which hath Chriſt to his enemy, &c.* The King terrified with theſe thundering words of *Dunſtan* and compunCted with inward repentance of his ſin perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feet of *Dunſtan*; who after he had raiſed him up from the ground again, began to utter to him the horribleneſs of his fact; and finding the King ready to receive whatſoever ſatisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoyned him this Penance for ſeven years ſpace, as followeth:

Ex Chron. Saxonico Ranulfo Higdenio.

Dunſtan refuſeth to take the King by the hand.

The words of Dunſtan

That he ſhould wear no Crown all that ſpace; that he ſhould faſt twice in the Week; he ſhould diſtribute his Treaſure left to him of his Anceſtors liberally unto the poor, he ſhould build a Monaſtery of Nuns at Shaftſbury, *that as he had robbed God of one Virgin through his tranſgreſſion, ſo ſhould he reſtore to him many again in times to come. Moreover he ſhould expel Clerks of evil life (meaning ſuch Prieſts as had Wives and Children) out of Churches, and place Covents of Monks in their room, &c.*

Penance injoyned to K. Edgar by Dunſtan.

It followeth then in the Story of *Oſbern*, that when the ſeven years of the Kings Penance were expired, *Dunſtan* calling together all the Peers of the Realm, with Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtical degrees of the Clergy, in the publick ſight of all the multitude, ſet the Crown upon the Kings Head at *Bath*, which was the one and thirtieth year of his Age, and the thirteenth year of his Reign; ſo that he reigned only but three years crowned King. All the other years beſides *Dunſtan* belike ruled the Land as he lifted. Furthermore, as touching the Son of the ſaid *Elfled*, thus the Story writeth, *Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, ſacro fonte regeneratum lavavit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium ſibi adoptavit*, Id eſt, *The Child alſo which was gotten of the Harlot, he baptiſed in the holy fountain of regeneration, and ſo giving his Name to be called* Edward, *did adopt him to be his Son. &c.* Ex Oſberno.

Elfled gave birth to Edward a Baſtard.

By

Errors in Malmsbury, and certain other monks ſtories.

By the which Narration of *Osbern*, agreeing alſo with the Story of the *Saxon* Book above mentioned, is convinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overſeen, or of purpoſe diſſembled in our later Monkiſh Story-writers, as in *Malmesbury*, *Matth. Paris*, *Matth. Weſtm.* and others more. Who, to conceal the fault of King *Edgar*, or to bear with *Dunſtan*'s fact, in ſetting up *Edward* for the maintenance of their Monkiſh Order, firſt do falſly affirm, that *Editha* the daughter of *Ulfride* was born after *Edward*, and that for her this Penance was injoyned to King *Edgar*. Which neither is, nor can be ſo, as in proceſs hereafter (the Lord willing) ſhall appear.

The firſt error. Editha the daughter of Ulfride was not King Edgar's Penance nor injoyned for Editha, but for Edward.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they affirm King *Edgar* to have two Wives, and that *Elfleda* the Mother of *Edward* was not a profeſſed Nun indeed, but diſſembled ſo to be to avoid the violence of the King: whereas indeed the truth of the Story both giveth her to be a Nun, and her Son to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelf never to be married unto the King.

The ſecond error. Elfled the Mother of Edward, proved to be a profeſſed Nun.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani.

The lying Miracles of Elfled, Dunſtan, and Edgar reproved.

Now forſomuch as we have hitherto entered mention of *Elfleda* and *Editha*, alſo of *Ulfred* and *Dunſtan*, here would not be let paſs to ſpeak ſomething of their lying Miracles, falſly forged, to the great ſeduction of Chriſtian People by ſuperſtitious Monks, who cared not what Fables and Lies they brought into the Church, ſo they might have the vantage of poor mens Purſes and Oblations. And firſt here cometh in the fabulous Miracles wrought at the Tomb of *Elfleda* the Kings Concubine, which *William Malmesbury* in theſe Verſes expreſſeth:

Idolatrous worſhipping the Tomb of Elfled.

Nam nonnullis paſſa annis morborum moleſtiam,
Deſecatam & excoſſam Deo dedit animam.
Funditur ergo vitæ fato beatas exuviæ,
Infinitis clemens ſignis illuſtravit Deitas:
Inops viſus & auditus ſi adorant tumulum,
Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum.
Reſtum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes,
Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locuples.

The *Engliſh* of which Verſes is needleſs here to be recited, Briefly, the effect is this; *That both the blind, deaf, halt, and ſuch as be mad, receive their health again, if they worſhip the Tomb of this* Elfleda, &c.

The like feignings and monſtrous Miracles we read alſo in Chronicles of doting *Dunſtan*, drowned in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked Sorcerer. Firſt, how he being yet a Boy, chaſed away the Divel, fet about with a great company of Dogs, and how the Angels did open the Church door for him to enter. Then how the Lute or Harp hanging upon the Wall did ſing or play without any finger thefe words, *Gaudent in cælis animæ ſanctorum, qui Chriſti veſtigiis ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro ejus amore ſanguinem fuderunt; ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum.*

The falſe fained and forged Miracles of Dunſtan. A doubt whether Dunſtan was a Sorcerer.

Item, where a certain great Beam or maſter-poſt was looſed out of the place, he with making the ſign of the Croſs, ſet it in right frame again. Moreover, how the ſaid *Dunſtan* being tempted upon a time, of the Devil with the cogitation of Women, caught the Devil by the Noſe with a hot pair of Tongs, and held him faſt. *Item*, How often Heavenly Spirits appeared to him, and uſed to talk with him familiarly. *Item*, How he prophefied of the Birth of King *Edgar*, of the death of King *Egelred*, of the death of *Editha*, and of *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Winchester*. Alſo how our Lady with her fellows appeared viſibly to him, ſinging this Song;

Dunſtan a Poſſeſſioner. Dunſtan caught the Devil by the Noſe with a hot pair of Tongs. Our Lady appeared to Dunſtan. What marvel, if certain books and fidles be fully be-ſtalled to the Deſtars, with the Pſalter ſtaves not to affrike other mens Verſes alſo to the vilain Harry ber ſtall?

King Edgar reigned but three years crowned King.

Elfled profeſſed a Nun, and Edward her ſon begotten a Baſtard.

Cantemus domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem;
Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio.

Again, how the Angels appeared to him, ſinging the Hymn called *Kyrie Rex ſplendens, &c.* And yet theſe prodigious Fantaſies with other more are written of him in Chronicles, and have been believed in Churches.

Among many other falſe and lying Miracles, forged in this corrupt time of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy Legend of *Editha* were not to be overpaſſed, if for ſhame and honeſty it might well be recited. But to caſt the dirt of theſe Pope-holy Monks in their own face, which ſo impudently have abuſed the Church of Chriſt, and ſimplicity of the People, with their ungratious vanities; let us ſee what this Miracle is, and how honeſtly it is told.

A fouls, filthy monkiſh Miracle in the ſtory of Editha.

Another Dream of Dunſtan.

Certain years after the death of *Editha*, faith *William* of *Malmesbury*, which years *Capgrave* in his new Legend reckoneth to be thirteen, the ſaid *Editha*, and alſo Saint *Dennis* holding her by the hand, appeared to *Dunſtan* in a Viſion, willing and requiring him that the body of *Editha* in the Church of *Wilton*, ſhould be taken up and ſhrined, to the intent it might be honoured here in Earth of her Servants, according as it is worſhipped of her Spouſe in Heaven. *Dunſtan* upon this coming from *Salisbury* to *Wilton*, where *Editha* was interred, commanded her body to be taken up with much Honour and Solemnity. Who there in opening her Tomb (as both *Malmesbury* and *Capgrave* with ſhame enough record) found all the whole body of this *Editha* conſumed to Earth, ſave only her Thumb, her Belly, and the part under the Belly. Whereof the ſaid *Editha* expounding the meaning, declared that her Thumb remained ſound, for the much croſſing ſhe uſed with the ſame. The other parts were incorrupted for a teſtimony of her Abſtinence and Integrity, &c. *Ex Malmesburienſ. & Capgravo.*

Ex W. Mal. & Capgrave in legenda ſua.

What Satan hath ſo envied the true ſincerity of Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine, ſo to contaminate the ſame with ſuch impudent tales, ſuch filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantaſies as this? Such Monks with their deteſtable Houſes, where Chriſts People were ſo abominably abuſed and ſeduced to worſhip dead Carcaſes of Men and Women, whether they believed not to be raced and pluckt down to the ground, let all chaſt Readers judge. But of theſe matters enough and too much.

The death of K. Edgar.

§ Here followeth the Epitaph written by *Henricus* of Archdeacon of *Huntington*, upon the praiſe and commendation of King *Edgar*.

An Epitaph commendatory of K. Edgar written by *H. Huntingdon.*

Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,
Sceptriger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
Quod cavuit bellis, clavuit inde magis.
Templa Deo, Templis Monachos, Monachis dedit agros,
Nequitiæ lapſum, juſtitiæque locum.
Novit enim Regno verum perquirere falſo,
Immenſum modico; perpetuumque brevi.

Among his other laws, this King ordained that the Sunday ſhould be ſolemnized, from Saturday at nine of the Clock, till Monday morning.

Sunday firſt hallowed From Saturday at nine of the clock to Monday morning.

King Edward *called the Martyr.*

AFTER the death of King *Edgar* no ſmall trouble aroſe among the Lords and Biſhops for ſucceſſion of the Crown; the principal caſe whereof roſe upon this occaſion, as by the Story of *Simon* of *Durham* and *Roger Hoveden*, is declared. Immediately after the deceaſe of the King, *Alfarus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles which held with *Egelred* or *Ethelred* the only right heir and lawful Son of *Edgar*, miſliking the placing and intruding of Monks into Churches, and the thruſting out of the Secular Prieſts, with their Wives and Children out of their ancient Poſſeſſions, expelled the Abbots and Monks, and brought in again the foreſaid Prieſts with their Wives.

{ Anno } 975. The ſtory of K. Edward. Ex Simone Dunelm.

Contention amongſt the Lords about the putting in of monkes

Wives. Against whom certain other there were on the contrary part that made resistance, as *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eastangles*, *Elfwoldus* his brother, and the Earl *Brithnothus*, saying in a Council together assembled, *That they would never suffer the Religious Monks to be expelled and driven out of the Realm, which held up all Religion in the Land*; and thereupon effsoons levied an Army, whereby to defend by force the Monasteries, such as were within the Precinct of *Eastanglia*.

Contention amongst the Lords for choosing the King.

In this hurly-burly amongst the Lords, about the placing of Monks, and putting out of Priests, rose also the contention about the Crown, who should be their King; the Bishops and such Lords as favoured the Monks, seeking to advance such a King as they knew would incline to their side; so that the Lords thus divided, some of them would have *Edward*, and some consented upon *Egelred* the lawful Son. Then *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Oswald* Archbishop of *York*, with other their fellow Bishops, Abbots, and divers other Lords and Dukes assembled in a Council together. In the which Council *Dunstan* coming in with his Crosse in his hand, and bringing *Edward* before the Lords, so perswaded them, that in the end *Edward* by *Dunstan*'s means was elected, consecrated and anointed for their King.

Edward the Bastard made King, and the right heir put back.

And thus hast thou (good Reader) the very truth of this story, according to the writing of Authors of most antiquity which lived nearest to that Age, as *Osbern* and others; which *Osbern*, living in the days of *William* the Conqueror, wrote this Story of *Dunstan* through the motion of *Lanfrancus*, and alledgeth, or rather translateth the same out of such *Saxon* Stories as were written before his time. Besides which *Osbern* we have also for witness hereof, *Nicholas Triwet*, in his *English* Story written in *French*, and also *Joannes Paris* in his *French* Story written in the *Latine* Tongue, where he plainly calleth *Edward*, *Non legitimum filium*, that is, *No lawful Son*. Whereunto add moreover, the testimony of *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, who in plain terms likewise report the same.

Ex Osbern. Nic. Triwet. Joan. Paris. Vincentius, Antonius.

Editha proved not to be the Child for whom King Edgar was enjoyn'd Penance.

Now having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later Writers do say, which write that *Editha*, and not *Edward*, was the Child for whom *Dunstan* enjoyned to the King seven years Penance, and also how truly they report *Edward* to be a lawful Heir, and *Elfled* to be a lawful Wife to King *Edgar*.

For first touching *Editha*, this is confessed by the said Writers themselves, that she was of good years at what time *Edgar* her Father was enjoyned his Penance. After the which seven years of his Penance expired, he lived at the most but three years and a half, which seven years, and three years and a half, do make in all but ten years and a half. But now the said Authors themselves do grant, that she was made Abbess by her Father, he being then alive. And how can this then stand with her Legend, which saith, that she was not less than fifteen years of Age? By which account it must needs fall out, that she could not be so little as five years old, before the birth of that Child for whom the King did Penance.

The years of Editha & Edward cast by the supputation of legends and stories.

And thus much touching *Editha*. Now in like manner to consider of the time of *Edward*. First, this by all Writers is granted, that he was slain in the fifteenth year of his Age. Which years do well agree to that Child which King *Edgar* begat in Bastardy, and for the which he did his Penance; for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the supputation of the years in this sort.

First the Penance of the King after the birth of this Child, lasted seven years. Then the King after the same lived three years and a half. After whose death *Edward* reigned other three years and a half, which in all make the full sum of fourteen years. About the count of which age, the said *Edward* going on his fifteenth year, by their own reckoning was slain.

And thus have ye by manifest demonstration proved by the right casting of the years, after their own grant and reckoning, that *Editha* Daughter of *Ulfride* in no case can be the Child which was born after *Edward*, and for whom the King was enjoyned Penance; but that *Edward* rather was born after *Editha*, and was the Child for whom the Penance was injoyned; contrary to the Opinion commonly received in the Church, which for ignorance of the Story hath hitherto holden *Edward* to be an Holy Martyr, and right Heir unto the Crown. Which Error and Opinion how it first sprang, and by whom, albeit it pertain not to my Story to discuss, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

K. Edward, called Martyr, proved to be a Bastard.

First, After that *Dunstan* and *Oswald* with other Bishops, Abbots, and certain Lords and Dukes of that Faction, for the maintenance of Monkery, had advanced *Edward* to be King, against Queen *Alfrith* Mother of *Ethelred*, and *Alfrus* Duke of *Mercia*, and certain other Nobles which held the contrary side of the Priests against the Monks; in process of time the Monks that came after to write Stories, perceiving *Dunstan* to be reputed in the Church of *Rome* for an holy Saint, and the said King *Edward* for an holy Martyr, and partly also to bolster up their own Religion of Monkery so much as they could; to the intent therefore that they might save both the credit of *Dunstan*, and of the King, and especially bearing favour to their own Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of *Rome* should not be disdained by opening the truth of this matter, either they did not see, or would not confess herein what they knew; but rather thought best to blanch the Story, and colourably to hide the simple truth thereof, making the People falsely believe that *Elfleda* the Mother of *Edward*, was Wife to King *Edgar*, and *Edward* to be lawfully born, and also that *Editha* was born after *Edward*, and to be the Child for which the King was enjoyned Penance. All which is false and contrary both to the order of time above declared, and also to the plain words of *Malmesbury*, which speaking of King *Edgar*'s last Concubine, saith in plain words, *Dilexit unice inhonestam*

Malmsb. in Hist. Angl.

tegram lecto uni differens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfthridem, Filiam Ordgari: that is, *He rem accepit Elfthridem, Filiam Ordgari*: that is, *He had a Concubine whom he loved intirely, keeping true faith of his Bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful Wife* Elfrid *the Daughter of Duke* Ordgar, &c. Whereby we have to understand, that whatsoever Concubine this was which *Malmesbury* speaketh of, certain it is, that *Edgar* lived in Whoredom till the time he married his lawful Wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these Arguments and Allegations above recited, let this also be perpended, how the said *Dunstan* with his Complices, after the killing of King *Edward*, leaving the right Heir of the Crown (which was *Ethelred*) went about (as *Cantgrave* and their own Legend confesseth) to set up *Editha* the other Bastard to possess the Crown, but that she, more wise than her Brother *Edward*, refused the same. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of *Dunstan*, and what should be the cause why he preferred both *Edward* and *Editha* to the Crown, rather than the lawful Heir, I leave to all indifferent Readers thereof to judge.

Dunstan abuseth Editha the Bastard, to take the crown from the right Heir. Cantgrav. in vita Sancti Dunstani.

After that *Dunstan* and his fellows had thus set up *Edward* for their King, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the Kingdom of Monkery for ever, through the help of the young King, and the Duke of *Eastangles*, and certain other Nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter passed not so well with them as they hoped. For shortly after the Coronation of the young King, *Alfrus* Duke of *Mercia*, who followed much the deeds of the Queen with other great Men, stoutly standing on the other side, drove out the Monks from the Cathedral Churches, which King *Edgar* before had set in, and restored again the Priests (as *Ranulphus* saith) with their Concubines; but in the History of the Library of *Jornal*, I find it plainly expressed with their Wives. The words of

Duke Alfrus.

Priests with their Wives restored.

of the very Author be these: *Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæterique plures, ejectis monachis de magnis monasteriis, quos Rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, Clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt*: that is, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, with other great men more, drove out the Monks from the great Monasteries whom King *Edgar* had there set in before, and restored again the Priests with their wives.

Historia Jornalensis in vita Edgari.

Whereby it doth evidently appear that Priests in those days were married, and had their lawful wives. The like before that in King *Inas* time is plain, that Bishops then had wives and children, as appeareth by the words of the Law then sent forth, extant in the History of the said *Jornalensis*, which be these, *Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrimum, si famile cognationi, & erefcat emendatio secundum Weram ejus Regi, sicut cognationi. Si de parentela sit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, sicut mandata Domini. Si Episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c.* And thus much by the way for Priests wives and their children.

Bishops and Priests in those days married in England.

Jornalens.

Now to the purpose again of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and Nobles of *England* expelled the Monks out of the Monasteries after the death of King *Edgar*; whereof let us hear what the Monkish story of the Abbey of *Crowland* recordeth: *Monachis de quibusdam Monasteriis ejectis, Clerici sunt introducti, qui statim Monasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ diftribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati eos contra monachos defensarent. Time de Monasterio Evesshamensi, monachis expulsis, Clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de terris Ecclesiæ præmiati sunt quibus Regina noverca nequitia, stans cum Clericis in Regis opprobrium, favebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & sancti Episcopi persisterent. Sed, tyranni, fultis regina favore & potentia, super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est. Ex Chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crowland*, &c. that is, The Monks being expelled out of certain Monasteries, the Clerks again were brought in, who distributed the Mannors or Farms of the said Monasteries to the Dukes and Lords of the land, that they being obliged to them, should defend them against the Monks. And so were the Monks of *Evesham* thrust out, and the secular-Clerks placed, and the lands of the Church given to the Lords; with whom the Queen, the Kings stepmother holding the same time, took part also with the said Clerks against the King. On the contrary part stood the King and the holy Bishops, taking part with the Monks. Howbeit the Lords and Peers of the Realm, staying upon the favour and power of the *Queen*, triumphed over the Monks, &c.

Ex Chronico Ingulphi in Crowland.

Great bustle in the land about placing of Monks, and displacing Priests.

A controversie between Priests and Monks. Priests Marriage noted for an old custom in England. The objection of Priests against the Monks. Galtul. de Regibus Ang.

Thus, as much ado there was through all quarters of the Realm about the matter among the Lords, so arose no less contention between the Priests and Monks of *England*. The Priests complaining to the King and *Dunstan*, said for themselves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea and unnatural, to put out an old known dweller for a new unknown; and that God was not pleased that that should be taken from the ancient possessor which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such injury to be done, lest peradventure the same thing, wherein he was prejudicial to another, might after revert and redound upon himself at length. The Monks on the other side said for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new comer, nor yet looked upon the person, but who so would take the Crosse of Penance upon him, and follow Christ in vertuous living, should be his Disciple.

The answer of Monks unto the Priests.

Married mens lives compared with the lives of Monks.

These and such other were the allegations of the Monks. But whether a Monks Cowl, or a wifeless life make a sufficient title to enter into other mens possessions or no, I refer it to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the necessary provision for House-keeping, the vertuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of poverty, and bearing of publick charges, with other manifest perturbations and combrances daily incident unto Matrimony, might rather appear to godly wife men to come nearer to the right Crosse of Penance, than the easie and loitering idleness of Monkery. In the end, upon this controversie was holden a Council of Bishops, and other of the Clergy. First, at *Reading* or at *Winchester* (as *Guliel.* saith) where the greater part both of the Nobles and Commons judged the Priests to have great wrong, and sought by all means possible to bring them again to their old possessions and dignities. *Jornalensis* here maketh rehearsal of an Image of the Crucifix, or a Rood standing upon the Frater-wall, where the Council was holden. To this Rood *Dunstan* required them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spiritual provision beforehand. In the midst of their prayer the Rood (or else some blind Monk behind it in a Trunk) through the wall, is reported to speak these words, *Absit hoc ut fiat; absit hoc ut fiat: judicabitis bene, mutatetis non bene.* In remembrance whereof these verses were written under the Roods feet.

{Anno 977.}

A vain miracle of *Dunstans* Rood that spake.

Here lacked a Thomas Cromwell to cry out false jugling.

Humano more crux præsens edidit ore,
Calitus affata, qua perspicis hic seharata,
Absit ut hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

Of this *Dunstanical*, or rather Satanical Oracle, *Henricus* maketh no mention, nor *Ranulphus*, nor yet *Hovedenus*, nor *Fabian* in their Histories. *Gulielmus* in his Book *De Regibus* reporteth it but by hear-say, in these words saying, *Aliæ literæ docent, &c.* Wherefore the less it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing else but *Dunstan* to be a Sorcerer, as *Polydore Virgil* also himself seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Another assembly called at *Calne*.

Notwithstanding, for all this yet the strife ceased not; insomuch that a new assembly of the Clergy and other was appointed after at a place called the Street of *Calne*, where the Council was kept in an upper loft. In this Council many grievous plaints were objected (as *Malmsb.* saith) against *Dunstan*; but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remove from that which he began to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed (if it be true that in the stories is written) suddenly the Joyces of the Loft failed, and the people with the Nobles fell down, so that certain were slain, and many hurt. But *Dunstan* (they say, only standing upon a post of the Sollar which remained unbroken) escaped without danger. Which thing whether it so happened to pretend before the ruin of the Realm and of the Nobles (as *Henry Huntington* doth expound it) which after infued by the *Danes*, or whether it was so wrought by *Dunstan*'s sorcery (as was not unpossible) or whether it were a thing but feigned of the Monkish writers, and not true; all this I leave to the Readers, to think therein what them liketh. The Stories say further, that upon this the matter ceased, and *Dunstan* had all his will.

Dunstan an enemy to Priests wives.

A sudden fall of the Council of *Calne*.

Henricus lib. 5. Guliel. Ranulph. Hovedenus & Fabian.

These things thus done at *Calne*, it happened not long after the same, that King *Edward*, whom the writers describe to be a vertuous and a meek Prince, much pitiful and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign came upon a season from hunting in the Forest alone, without the company of his servants to the place in the West Country, where *Alfrith* his mother with her son *Egelred* did lye. Where the Queen the mother was warned of his coming by her men, unto the calleth a servant of hers which was of her special trust, opening to him all her conceived counsel, and shewing him all points how and what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, the made towards the King, and received him with all courtesie, desiring him to tarry that night; but he in like courtesie excused himself, and for speed desired to see his Brother, and to drink upon his Horse sitting, the which was shortly brought.

The horrible wickedness of a Queen-mother.

Now while the Cup was at his mouth, the servant of the Queen (being informed) strake him in the body with a long two edged Dagger. After the which stroke the King took the Horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he supposed to meet with his company, but he bled so fore, that with faintness he fell from his Horse, his one foot being in the Stirrup. By reason whereof he was drawn of his Horse over fields and lands till he came to a place named *Corsgate*, where he was found dead; and for that neither the manner of his death, nor yet he himself was known to be the King, he was buried unhonourably at the Town of *Warham*, where the body remained the space of three years, and then after was taken up by Duke *Alfer* above mentioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly was removed to the Minster of *Shaftsbury*, and there bestowed in the place called *Shaftsbury-*

K. Edward found dead and buried, not known to be King. *Corf Castle.* The body of King Edward after three years honourably taken up and translated to *Shaftsbury.*

Edwards-

Edwardstow. Many tales run (more perchance than be true) concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our moſt common Hiſtories aſcribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the King was buried. As firſt, how a poor woman born blind received her ſight by the means of St. *Edward*, there where he did lie. Alſo how a pillar of fire from Heaven deſcended over the place of his burial. Then how the foreſaid Queen *Alfrith* taking her Horſe to go to the place, was ſtopped by the way, that neither her Horſe could be driven by any means, nor ſhe her ſelf on foot was able to approach near to the place where the Corpſe of St. *Edward* was. Furthermore, how the ſaid Queen in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two Nunneries, one at *Amesbury* by *Salisbury*; the other at *Werewell*, where ſhe kept her ſelf in continual repentance all the days of her life. And thus as ye have heard, was this vertuous young King *Edward* murthered, when he had reigned almoſt four years, leaving no iſſue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to *Egelredus* his Brother.

Two Nunneries founded upon murther.

§ But here by the way is to be noted (upon the name of this *Edward*) that there were three *Edwards* before the Conqueſt. The firſt was King *Edward* the Senior; the ſecond, King *Edward* the Martyr, which was this King; the third was King *Edward* called the Confeſſor, whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

{ Anno 979.

Three Edwards Kings before the Conqueſt.

Continuation of the Romiſh Biſhops or Popes.

In the order and courſe of the *Roman* Biſhops, mention was made laſt of *Agapetus* the ſecond, after whom next ſucceeded Pope *John* the thirteenth, of whom *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* received his Pall, as in the ſtory of King *Edgar* is before minded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleat from his firſt bringing up with abominable vices; a Whoremaſter, an Adulterer, Inceſtuous, Libidinous, a Gamſter, an Extortioner, perjured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruel and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, from ſome he cut off their tongues, ſome their fingers, ſome their noſes, *&c.* In a General Council before the Emperor *Otho* the firſt of that name (who was the firſt Emperor of the *Germans*) after the Empire was tranſlated out of *France* to *Germany* by Pope *Agapetus* (as is above Hiſtoried) theſe Objections were articulate againſt him. Firſt, that he never faid his Service; that in ſaying his Maſs he did not Communicate; that he Ordained Deacons in a Stable; that he committed Inceſt with two of his Siſters; that playing at Dice he called for the Devil to help; that for money he made boys Biſhops; that he deflowred Virgins and ſtrangers; that of the Palace of *Lateran* he made a Stews; that he lay with *Stephana* his Fathers Concubine; likewiſe with *Ramera*, and with *Anna* and her Neece; that he put out the eyes of the Biſhop *Benedict*; that he cauſed houſes to be ſet on fire; that he brake open houſes; that he drank to the Devil; that he never croſſed himſelf, *&c.* For the which cauſes (and worthily) he was depoſed by the conſent of the Emperor with the Prelates, and Pope *Leo* was ſubſtituted in his place. But after his departing (through the Harlots of *Rome*, and their great promiſes) the ſaid Pope *John* was reſtored again to his place, and *Leo* (ſet up by the Emperor) was depoſed. At length about the tenth year of the Popedom of this *John*, he being found without the City with another mans wife, was ſo wounded of her husband, that within eight days after he died.

Pope John the 13th. a wicked Pope.

Lutiprand. lib. 6.

As merry as Pope John, a Proverb.

Pope John the 13th. depoſed.

Pope John reſtored.

Pope John wounded in adultery.

Pope Benedictus the fifth.

After him the *Romans* Elected Pope *Benedictus* the fifth, without the conſent of the Emperor; whereupon the ſaid *Otho* the Emperor being not a little diſpleaſed for diſplacing of *Leo*, whom he had before promoted, and for the cheoling alſo of *Benedict*, came with his Army and laid ſiege to *Rome*, and ſo ſet up Pope *Leo* again, the Eighth of that name; which *Leo* to gratifie his Benefactor again, Crowned *Otho* for Emperor, and intituled him to be called *Auguſtus*. Alſo the power which *Carolus Magnus* had given before to the Clergy and people of *Rome*, this *Leo* by a Synodal Decree granted to the Emperor and his Succeſſors; that is, touching the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Emperor again reſtored to the See of *Rome* all ſuch Donations and Poſſeſſions which either *Conſtantius* (as they falſely pretend) or which *Carolus Magnus* took from the *Lombards*, and gave to them.

The election of the Biſhop of *Rome* given to the Emperor.

The Donations of *Carolus Magnus*, and *Otho* to *Rome*.

After Pope *Leo* had reigned a year and three months ſucceeded Pope *John* the Fourteenth, againſt whom (for holding with the Emperor) *Petrus* the Head-captain of the City, with two Conſuls, twelve Aldermen, and divers other Nobles, gathering their power together, laid hands upon him in the Church of *Lateran*, and clapt the Pope in priſon eleven months. The Emperor hearing this, with all ſpeed returned with his Army again to *Rome*; who after execution done upon the Authors and chief doers of that fact; among other committed the foreſaid *Petrus* to the Popes arbitrement, whom he cauſed firſt to be ſtript naked, then his beard being ſhaven, to be hanged by the hair a whole day together, after that to be ſet upon an Aſs (his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the Aſſes tayl) and ſo to be led through the City, that all men might ſee him; that done, to be ſcourged with rods, and ſo baniſhed the City. Thus ye ſee how the holy Father followeth the injunction of the Goſpel, *Diligite inimicos veſtros*, Love your enemies, *Luk. 6. &c.* From this Pope proceeded firſt the Chriſtening of Bells, *Anno.* 971.

Pope John 13th. depoſed.

The cruel revenge of the Pope.

Chriſtning of Bells firſt begun.

After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the Sixth, who in like manner was apprehended by *Cinthius* a Captain of *Rome*, and caſt in priſon, where he was ſtrangled, or as ſome ſay, famiſhed to death.

Pope Benedict 6th. caſt into priſon.

Then came Pope *Donus* the Second, after whom *Bonifacius* the Seventh was Pope, who likewiſe ſeeing the Citizens of *Rome* to conſpire againſt him, was conſtrained to hide himſelf, and feeing no place there for him to tarry, took the Treaſure of St. *Peters* Church, and ſo privily ſtole to *Conſtantinople*. In whoſe ſtead the *Romans* ſet up Pope *John* the Fifteenth. Not long after *Boniface* returning again from *Conſtantinople*, by his money and treaſure procured a Garriſon or Company to take his part: by whoſe means the foreſaid Pope *John* was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo thrown in priſon, where he was, as ſome ſay, famiſhed; ſome ſay he was ſlain by *Ferrucius*. Neither did *Boniface* reign many days after, but ſuddenly died, whoſe carcaſs after his death was drawn by the feet through the Streets of *Rome* after a moſt deſpightful manner, the people ſhrieking and exclaiming againſt him, *An.* 976.

Pope Donus the Second.

Two Popes together.

Pope John 15th.

Pope Boniface returned from *Conſtantinople*.

Next Pope after him was *Benedictus* the Seventh, by the conſent of the Emperor *Otho* the Second, and reigned nineteen years. In the time of this Pope *Hugh Capet* the *French* King took *Charles* (the right heir to the Crown) by the Treaſon of the Biſhop of *Laon*, and when he had impriſoned him, he alſo committed to priſon *Arnoldus* Archbiſhop of *Reims*, and placed in his room *Gilbertus* a Monk of *Floriack* (a Necromancer) who was Schoolmaſter to Doctor *Robert* the Kings Son. But this Pope *Benedictus* called a Council at *Reims* reſtored the ſaid *Arnoldus* again, and diſplaced *Gilbertus*, which after by the help of *Otho* was made Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and at length was Pope, as in proceſs hereafter (Chriſt granting) ſhall be declared.

Pope Benedictus 7th.

Hugh Capet.

The Treaſon of the Biſhop of Laon.

Gilbertus Necromancer made Archbiſhop.

After Pope *Benedictus* ſucceeded in the See of *Rome* Pope *John* the Sixteenth, and died the eighth month of his Papacy; next to whom came *John* the Seventeenth, and after him *Gregory* the Fifth in the year of our Lord 995. This *Gregory* (called before *Bruno*) was a *German* born, and therefore the more maliced of the Clergy and people of *Rome*. Whereupon *Crefcentius* with the people and Clergy conventing againſt the ſaid *Gregory*, ſet up *John* the Eighteenth. *Gregory* upon the ſame ſped himſelf in all convenient haſt to the Emperor *Otho* the Third in *Germany*; who hearing the complaint of *Gregory*, and underſtanding his wrongs, ſet forward with his Army well appointed to *Italy*, got the City, and there took both *Crefcentius* the Conſul, and *John* the Pope. Which *John* firſt having the eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. *Crefcentius* the Conſul was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and ears cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe-tayl, and afterward having his members cut off, was hanged upon a Gibbet.

Pope John 16th. depoſed.

Pope John 17th. depoſed.

Pope Gregory 5th.

Two Popes together in *Rome*.

Pope John 18th. depoſed.

Pope *Gregory* thus being reſtored to his former ſtate, reigned four years in his Papacy (although *Marianus Scotus*, and *Martinus* ſay that he ſat but two years, *&c.*) During the which time he aſſembled a Council in *Rome*, where he to ſtabliſh the Empire in his own Country (by the conſent and counſel of *Otho*) ordained ſeven Princes of *Germany* to be Electors of the Emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth. What be the

Pope Gregory 5th. ordained ſeven Electors of the Empire.

names

names of theſe Seven Electors, and what is their Office, thus I find in theſe Verſes expreſſed.

Maguntinenſis, Treverenſis, Colonienſis.
Quilibet imperii ſit cancellarius horum.
Et Palatinus dapifex, Dux portitor enſis,
Marchio præpoſitus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.

Theſe ſeven he ordained to be Electors, three Biſhops, three Princes; to wit, the Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſs *Brandenburgh*; to whom was added alſo the King of *Boheme* to give the odd voice, if the even voice could not agree. This Conſtitution being firſt begun *Anno* 997, was after eſtabliſhed in *Germany* by *Otho* the Emperor, the year of our Lord 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digreſſion, concerning the rages and tumults of the *Romiſh* Church. Now to our matter again.

King *Egelred*, or *Elred*.

King *Egelred*.

{ Anno 979.

KING *Edward* thus being murthered, as is aforeſaid, the Crown fell next to *Egelred* his younger Brother, and Son to King *Edgar* by the foreſaid Queen *Alfrith*, as we have declared. This *Egelred* had a long reign given him of God, which dured the term of eight and thirty years, but very unfortunate and full of great miſeries; and he himſelf (by the Hiſtories) ſeemeth to be a Prince not of the greateſt courage to govern a Commonwealth. Our *Engliſh* Stories writing of him, thus report of his reign, that in the beginning it was ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the later end. Of this *Egelred* it is read, that when *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop ſhould Chriſten him, as he did hold him over the Font, ſomething there happened that pleaſed not *Dunſtan*, whereupon he ſware, *Per ſanctam Mariam iſte ignavus homo erit*: By the mother of Chriſt he will be a Prince untoward and cowardly: *Chron. de Crowland.* I find in *William of Malmesbury*, *Lib. 2. de Regib.* that this *Egelred* being of the age of ten years, when he heard his Brother *Edward* to be ſlain, made ſuch ſorrow and weeping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, took Wax-candles (having nothing elſe at hand) wherewith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore (well near till he ſwounded) that after the ſame he could never abide any Wax-candles to burn before him. After this, about the year of our Lord 981, (the day of his Coronation being appointed by the Queen the mother, and the Nobles) *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who firſt refuſed ſo to do) with *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, were inforced to Crown the King, and ſo they did at *Kingſton*. In doing whereof, the report of Stories goeth, that the ſaid *Dunſtan* ſhould ſay thus, prophecying unto the King, That forſomuch as he came to the Kingdom by the death of his Brother, and through the conſpiracy of the wicked conſpirators, and other *Engliſhmen*, there ſhould not be without blood-ſhedding and ſword, till there came a people of an unknown tongue, and ſhould bring them into thraldom, neither ſhould that treſpaſs be cleanſed without long vengeance, *&c.*

The Iſle of Egelred.

{ Anno 981.

The Coronation of Egelred.

The Prophecie of Dunſtan as Matthew Paris gives it.

In the Chronicles of *Crowland* I find theſe words, *Quoniam aſcendiſti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, ſæviens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & interficiatum tranſferatur in regnum alienum: cujus ritum & linguam, gens tua non novit, nec expahitum niſi longa vindicta, & multa ſanguinis effuſione peccatum matris tuæ, peccatum virorum peſſimorum, qui conſenſerunt conſilio ejus nequam, ut mitterent manum in Chriſtum Domini ad effundendum ſanguinem innocentem.* Chron. de Crowland.

Not long after the Coronation of this King, a Cloud was ſeen throughout the land, which appeared the one half like blood, and the other half like fire, and changed after into ſundry colours, and vaniſhed at the laſt in the morning. Shortly after the appearance of this Cloud, in the third year of his reign the *Danes* arriving in ſundry places of the land, firſt ſpoiled *Southampton*, either ſlaying the inhabitants, or leading them captive away. From thence they went to the Iſle of *Thanet*, then they invaded *Cheſter*, from thence they proceeded to *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, and ſo to *Suſſex*, where in thoſe coaſts they did much harm, and ſo retired to their Ships again. *Roger Hoveden* writing hereof, ſaith, that *London* the ſame time, or (as *Fabian* ſaith) a great part of *London* was conſumed with fire. About this time fell a variance between the foreſaid *Egelred* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; inſomuch that he made war againſt him, and beſieged the City. And notwithſtanding that *Dunſtan* required the King, ſending him admonithment, to give over for the ſake of Saint *Andrew*; yet continued he his ſiege till the Biſhop offered him an hundred pounds of Gold; which he received, and ſo departed. The *Danes* ſeeing the diſcord that then was in the Realm, and eſpecially the hatred of the ſubjects againſt the King, roſe again, and did great harm in divers places of *England*; inſomuch that the King was glad to grant them great ſums of money for peace to be had. For the aſſurance of which peace, *Analafe* Captain of the *Danes*, became a Chriſtian man, and ſo returned home to his Country, and did no more harm. Beſides theſe miſeries before recited, a fore ſickneſs of the Bloody-flux, and hot Fevers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like Murren alſo among the Beaſts. Moreover for lack of juſtice, many thieves, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much miſery and miſchief.

Hoveden lib. Continuation.

London conſumed with fire.

The King withſtanding that *Rocheſter* aid againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

{ Anno 990.

The Bloody flux and hot Fevers reigned in this land.

About the eleventh year (ſome ſay the ninth year) of this Kings reign died *Dunſtan*. After whom ſucceeded *Ethelgarus*, or as *Fornalenſis* writeth, *Stilgerus*. After him *Elfricus*, as affirmeth *Guliel. lib. 1. de Pontif.* But as *Polydorus* ſaith, *Siricius*. After him *Elfricus* came; but *Siricius* after the mind of *Guliel. lib. 1.* but *Polydore* ſaith, *Alluricius*, then *Elphegus*, *&c.*

The death of *Dunſtan*. *Ethelgarus*, *Elfricus*, *Siricius*, *Alluricius*, *Elphegus*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*.

{ Anno 995.

The Biſhops See of *Duresm* ſtript.

About the ſame time in the year of our Lord 995, *Aldunus* Biſhop tranſlated the body of St. *Cuthbert* from *Cheſter* (which firſt was a Northern Iſland, then at *Rocheſter*) to *Durelme* or *Dunelme*. Whereupon the Biſhops See of *Duresm* firſt began.

Not long after the death of *Dunſtan*, the *Danes* again entred *England*, in many and ſundry places of the land; in ſuch ſort that the King was to ſeek to which coaſt he ſhould go firſt to withſtand his enemies. But in concluſion, for the avoiding of more harm, he was compelled to appeaſe them with great ſums of money. But when that money was ſpent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and aſſalling the land in divers places, not only about the Country of *Northumberland*, but alſo beſieged the City of *London* at the laſt. But being from thence repelled by the manhood of the *Londoners*, they ſtrayed to other Countries adjoyning, as to *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Hampſhire*, burning and killing wherſoever they went; ſo that for lack of a good Head or Governour many things in the land periſhed. For the King gave himſelf to the vice of lechery, and polling of his ſubjects, and diſinherited men of their poſſeſſions, and cauſed them to redeem the ſame again with great ſums of money; for he payed great tributes to the *Danes* yearly, which was called *Danegilt*. Which tributes ſo increaſed, that from the firſt tribute of ten thouſand pounds, it was brought at laſt in proceſs of five or ſix years to forty thouſand pounds. The which yearly (until the coming of St. *Edward*, and after) was levied of the ſubjects of this land.

London beſieged of the *Danes*.

The *Danes* poiled the land.

Great tribute levied of the *Engliſh* men. *Danegilt*.

To this ſorrow moreover was joyned hunger and penury among the Commons, inſomuch that every one of them was conſtrained to pluck and ſteal from others. So that what for the pillage of the *Danes*, and what by inward thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great miſery. Albeit the greateſt cauſe of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not ſo much to be imputed to the King, as to the diſſention among the Lords themſelves, who then did not agree one with another. But when they aſſembled in conſultation together, either they did draw divers ways; or if any thing were agreed upon any matter of peace between the parties, ſoon it was broken again; or elſe if any good thing were deviſed for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the *Danes* were warned thereof by ſome of the ſame counſel. Of whom the chief doers were *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Alfrike* the Admiral or Captain of the Ships, who betrayed the Kings Navy to the *Danes*. Wherefore the King apprehended *Alfagarus* Son of the ſaid *Alfrike*, put out his eyes, and ſo did he after to the two Sons of Duke *Edrike* in like manner.

The forreſtial affliction of the *Engliſh* Nation.

What diſſention and diſcord doth among the Nobles in a realm.

The

The pride and wretchedness of the Danes toward the Englishmen.

The *Danes* thus prevailing more and more over the *English* men, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the Husbandmen to ear and sow the land, and to do all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and servant. And when the Husbandmen came home, he should scantly have of his own, as his servants had; so that the *Dane* had all at his will, and sill, faring of the best; when the owner scantly had his sill of the worst. Thus the common people being of them oppressed, were in such fear and dread, that not only they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called every one of them

Lord Dane. in the house where they had rule, *Lord-Dane*. Which word after (in process of time when the *Danes* were voided) was for despight of the *Danes* turned of the *English* men to a name of opprobry, that when one *English* man would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him *Lurdane*.

Lurdane.

{ Anno 1000. } And thus hitherto (through the assistance of Christ) we have brought this History to the year of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries upon this *English* Nation, the land being brought into great ruin by the grievous tributes of the *Danes*, and also by sustaining the manfold villanies and injuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within the Realm; this year which was the year of our Saviour 1000, this *Egelred* through the council of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign, began a matter, which was occasion either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new Plague to infue upon the *Saxons*, who had driven out the *Britains* before; that was in joyning with the *Normans* in Marriage. For the King this year abovesaid, for the more strength (as he thought) both of him and the Realm, married *Emma* the daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. Which *Richard* was the third Duke of the *Normans*, and the first of that name. By reason of which Marriage King *Egelred* was not a little inbanced in his own mind; and, by presumption thereof, sent secret and brief commissions to the Rulers of every Town in *England*, that upon St. *Brices* day at an hour appointed, the *Danes* should be suddenly slain. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

Hen. Archidiac. lib. 6. The first joyning between the Normans and English men.

King Egelred married Emma the Duke's daughter of Normandy.

Richard Duke of Normandy.

The Danes by secret commission ill in every Town of England.

Swanus King of Denmark arriveth in England.

After that tidings came into *Denmark* of the murther of those *Danes*, anon after *Swanus* King of *Denmark* with a great Host and Navy landed in *Cornwal*; where by treason of a *Norman*, named *Hugh*, which by favour of Queen *Emma* was made Earl of *Devonshire*, the said *Swanus* took *Excester*, and after beat down the walls. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to *Wilton* and *Shireborne*, where they cruelly spoiled the Countries, and slew the people. But anon *Swanus* hearing that the King was coming to him with the power of his land, took his Ships and set about to *Northfolk*; where after much wasting of that Country, and spoiling the City of *Norwich*, and burning the Town of *Thetford* and destroying the Country thereabout, at length Duke *Uskatel* met him and beat him, and slew many of the *Danes*. Wherefore *Swanus* for that year returned to *Denmark*, and there made great provition to re-enter the land again the next year following; and so did, landing at *Sandwich* about the five and twentieth year of the reign of K. *Egelred*, and there spoiled that Country. And as soon as he heard of any Host of *English* men coming toward him, then he took Shipping again. So that when the Kings Army fought to meet him in one coast, then would he suddenly land in another. And when the King provided to meet with him upon the Sea, either they would feign to flee, or else they would with gifts blind the Admiral of the Kings Navy. And thus wearied they the *English* men, and in conclusion brought them into extream and unspeakable misery. Insomuch that the King was fain to take peace with them, and gave to King *Swanus* 30000 pounds. After which peace thus made, *Swanus* returned again to *Denmark*.

Excester beaten down.

Norwich spoiled and wasted by the Danes.

{ Anno 1004. }

A tribute paid to the Danes of 30000 l. to have peace.

But this peace continued not long, for the year next following, King *Egelred* made *Edricus* above mentioned Duke of *Mercia*, who was subtil of wit, gloling and eloquent of speech, untruly, and false to the King and the Realm. And soon after one *Turkillus* (a Prince of the *Danes*) landed in *Kent* with much people, and there did such harm that the *Kentish* men were fain to make peace with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this perfecution of the *Danes* (in one Country or other in *England*) never ceased, nor the King did ever give to them any notable battel. For when he was disposed to give them battel, this *Edricus* would ever counsel him to the contrary, so that the *Danes* ever spoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the *English* men ever poor and bare.

The perfecution of Turkillus Dane.

Evil counsel bringeth a King into hurt and death.

After this *Swanus* being in *Denmark*, and hearing of the increase of his people in *England*, brake his Covenants before made, and with a great Army and Navy, in most defensible wise appointed, landed in *Northumberland*, proclaimed himself to be King of this land. Where after much vexation when he had subdued the people, and caused the Earl with the Rulers of the Country to swear to him fealty; he passed the river of *Trent* to *Ganisburgh*, and to *Northwatling-street*, and subduing the people there, forced them to give him pledges; which pledges he committed with his Navy unto *Canutus* his Son to keep, while he went further into the land; and so with a great Host came to *Mercia*, killing and slaying. Then he took by strength *Winchester* and *Oxford*, and did there what him liked. That done, he came toward *London*, and hearing the King was there, passed by the river *Thames*, and came into *Kent*, and there besieged *Canterbury*, where he was refisted the space of twenty days. At length by Treason of a Deacon called *Almaricus* (whom the Bishop had preferred from death before) he won it, and took the Goods of the People, and fired the City, and tithed the Monks of Saint *Augustine*'s Abby (that is to mean, they slew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their slave.) So they slew there of religious men, to the number of 900 persons; of other men, women and children, they slew above 8000. And finally, when they had kept the Bishop *Elphegus* in strait prison the space of seven months, because he would not condescend to give unto them 3000 Pounds; after many villanies unto him done, they brought him to *Greenwich*, and there stoned him to death.

The land tilled of Danes.

Canterbury besieged by Danes, and taken by treason.

The goods of the Church, & cruel murther of the Monks.

Elphegus martyred by the Danes.

King *Egelred* in the mean time, fearing the end of this Perfecution, sent his wife *Emma*, with his two Sons *Alfred* and *Edward*, to the Duke of *Normandy*, with whom also he sent the Bishop of *London*. The *Danes* proceeded still in their fury and rage, and when they had won a great part of *Westsaxony*, they returned again to *London*. Whereof the *Londoners* hearing, sent unto them certain great gifts and pledges. At last the King about the five and thirtieth year of his reign, was chased unto the Isle of *Wight*, and with a secret company he spent there a great part of the winter; and finally, without cattel or comfort failed into *Normandy* to his wife. *Swanus* being ascertained thereof (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding Impositions upon the people. And among other he required a great sum of money of St. *Edmunds* lands, which the people there claiming to be free from Kings tributes, denied to pay. For this *Swanus* entred the territory of St. *Edmund*, and watled and spoiled the Country, despising the holy Martyr, and menacing also the place of his Sepulture. Wherefore the men of that Country fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after *Swanus* died suddenly, crying and yelling among his Knights. Some say that he was stricken with the Sword of St. *Edmund*, wherewith he died the third day after.

{ Anno 1013. } K. Egelred flieth from the Isle of Wight into Normandy.

Exil Judges wife in a common wealth than bloody Enemies.

Wicked officers.

Against wicked Judges.

Heavens of Christ upon perjury.

The last end of Swanus.

In fear whereof *Canutus* his Son, which ruled as King after his Father, granted them the freedom of all their Liberties; and moreover ditched the land of the said Martyr with a deep ditch, and granted to the Inhabitants thereof great freedoms, quitting them from all task or tribute; and after builded a Church over the place of his Sepulture, and ordained there an Houfe of Monks, and endued them with rich poffeffions. And after that time it was ufed, that Kings of *England* when they were Crowned, fent their Crowns for an offering to Saint *Edmunds* Shrine, and redeemed the fame again afterwards with a condigne price.

The fame Church of St. Edmund is in England.

When King *Egelred* heard of the death of *Swanus*, he made provition and returned into *England*. For whofe fudden coming *Canutus*, being unprovided, fled to *Sandwich*, and there cutting off the nofes and hands of the Pledges, which his Father left with him, failed into *Denmark*; who the next year returned again with a great Navy, and landed in the South Country. Whereof the

K. Egelred returneth into his Realm and causeth Canutus to flee with the loss of the noses and hands of the Pledges.

the eldeft Son of King *Egelred*, called *Edmund Ironfide*, made provifion with the aid of *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia* to meet him. But *Edrike* faining himfelf fick, came not, but deceived him. For as it was after proved, *Edrike* had promifed his Allegiance to *Canutus*. By reafon whereof, *Canutus* entred the Country of *Weftfaxon*, and forced the people to be fworn unto him, and to give him pledges. In this feafon, King *Egelred* being at *London*, was taken with great ficknefs, and there died, and was buried, in the North fide of *Pauls* Church, behind the Quire, after he had Reigned unprofperoufly thirty and fix years; leaving after him his faid Eldeft Son *Edmund Ironfide*, and *Elfred*, and *Edward* which were in *Normandy*, fent thither before, as is above reherfed. This *Egelred* although he was miferably Impugned and vexed of his Enemies, yet he with his Council gave forth wholefome Laws, whereof this is one parcel, containing good Rules and Leffons for all Judges and Juftices to learn and Follow.

Canutus taketh Weftfaxon.

Edmund Ironfide Son of Egelred, King.

A Leffon for all Judges and Juftices.

O *Minis judex juftus mifericordiam & judicium liberet in omnibus, & inprimis per reftitam fcientiam dicat emandationem fecundum culpam, & eam tamen admenfurat propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur a bonis judicibus fecundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per Dei mifericordiam condonandæ. Judicia debent effe fine omni haderung a quod non pereatur droits alieni vel egeno amico vel inimico, jus publicum recitans. Nihil autem injuftius eft, quam fufceptio muneris pro judicio fubvertendo: Quia munera excæcant corda fapientum & fubvertunt verba juftorum. Dominus Jefus dixit: In quo judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini. Tuveat omnis judex ac diligat Deum judicem fuum, ne in die judicii mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos judicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente judice. Et nullus dominus, nulla poteftas, ftultus aut improbos judices conftituant, quia ftultus per ignoviam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat quam dicicti, veritatem. Gravius enim laceramur potpores a pravis judicibus, quam a crudelitis hoftibus. Nullus hoftis acerbior, nulla peftis efficacior quam familiaris inimicus. Poteft aliquantes homo fuga, vel defenfione vitare pravos inimicos. Non ita poffunt judices, quoties adverfus fubditos malis defideriis inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni judices habent malos vicarios & miniftros nefandos, quorum reatibus ipfi domi conftringuntur, fi non eos coerceant, & a rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus & miniftet facultorum ait, Non folum male agentes, fed omnes confentientes digni funt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam pravi judices judicium pervertunt, vel refpectant, & non finiunt cauffas, donec volumtas eorum impleatur. Et quando judicant, non opera, fed munera confiderant. Impii judices, juxta verbum fapientum, ficut rapaces lupi vefpere nil refidunt ufque mane, id eft, de præfenti folum vita cogitant, defuturæ nihil confiderant. Malorum præpofitorum mos eft, ut, quicquid poffunt, auferant, & vix neceffariùm partum quid relinquunt fuftentationi. Iracundus judex non poteft attendere reftam judicii fatisfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perfpicit reftitudinis claritatem, Juftum judicium, ubi non perfona confideratur. Scriptum eft: Non attendas perfonam hominis in judicio, nec pro aliquo facies, ut a vero declines, & injuftè judices. Sufceptio muneris eft dimiffio veritatis.* Ex hiftoria bibliothecæ Jornal.

Briber.

A wicked Judge depofed and deprived by the King.

Of this King *Egelred* I find noted in the Book of *Roger Hoveden*, that he depofed and deprived from his Poffeffions a certain Judge or Juftitiar named *Walgeatus*, the Son of one *Leomer*, for falfe judgment and other proud doings, whom notwithftanding he loved above all others.

Edmund Ironfide *a Saxon, and* Canutus *a Dane, Kings together in* England.

{ Anno 1016. } AFter the death of *Egelred* variance fell between the *Engliffmen* for the Election of their King. For the Citizens of *London*, with certain other Lords, named *Edmund* the Eldeft Son of *Egelred* (a young man of lufty and valiant courage in Martial adventures both hardy and wife, who could very well indure all pains; wherefore he was furnamed *Ironfide*. But the more of the Lords favoured *Canutus* the Son of *Swanus*, efpecially the Abbats, Bifhops, and men of the fpiritualty, which before had fworn to his Father. By means whereof, between thefe two Martial Princes were fought many great Battels, firft in *Dorfetfhire*, where *Canutus* was compelled to fly the field. And after that they fought another Battel in *Worcefterfhire*, fo fore that none could tell who had the better; but either for wearinefs or for lack of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morrow fought again: But then *Canutus* was compelled to forfake the field. After this they met in *Mercia*, and there fought again; where *Edmund* (as ftories fay) by the Treafon of that falfe *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia* (whom he before had received to favour) had the worfe. Thus many great conflicts there were between thefe two Princes. But upon a feafon, when the hofts were ready to joyn, and a certain time of Truce was taken before battel, a Knight of the party of *Edmund* ftood up upon a high place, and faid thefe Words.

Edmund Ironfide a Saxon.

Canutus a Dane.

Two Kings fight hand to hand.

Daily we die, and none hath the victory! And when the Knights be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by need fhall accord, or elfe they muft fight alone. And this Kingdom is not fufficient for two men, which fometimes fufficed feven. But if the covetoufnefs of Lordfhip in thefe twain be fo great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other: then let them fight alone that will be Lords alone. If all men fight ftill, at the laft all men fhall be ſlain, and none left to be under their Lordfhip, nor able to defend the King that fhall be, againſt ſtrange Enemies and Nations.

A witty motion to flay blood between two Armies.

Theſe words were fo well allowed of both the Hofts and Princes, that both were content to try the quarrel between them two only. Then the place and time was appointed, where they both met in fight of both Hofts. And when either had affailed other with fharp fwords and ſtrokes; firſt by the motion of *Canutus* (as ſome write) haſtily they were both agreed, and kiſſed each other to the comfort of both Hoſts. And ſhortly after they agreed upon partition of the land; and after that, during their lives they loved as brethren. Soon after, a Son of wicked *Edricus*, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his Father, eſpied, when King *Edmund* was at the draught, and with a ſpear (ſome ſay with a long knife) thruſt him into the Fundament, whereof the ſaid *Edmund* ſhortly after died, after that he had Reigned two years. He left behind him two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, whom *Edrike* the wicked Duke after the death of their Father, took from their Mother (not knowing yet of the death of *Edmund* her Husband) and preſented them to King *Canutus*, ſaluting him in theſe words, *Ave rex ſolus*. Thus *Canutus* after the death of *Edmund Ironſide*, was King alone of the whole Realm of *England*, and afterward by the advice of his Council, he ſent the foreſaid Sons of *Edmund Ironſide* to his brother *Swanus* King of *Sweveland* to be ſlain, who, abhorring that deed, ſent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where *Edmund* being married to the Kings daughter, died; *Edward* was married to *Agatha* daughter of his brother *Henry* the fourth Emperor.

The wicked murther of King Edmund.

Two Sons of Edmund Ironſide.

When *Canutus* was ſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, he called a Parliament at *London*, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the Biſhops, Barons, and Lords of the Parliament there preſent, whether that in the compoſition made between *Edmund* and *Canutus*, any ſpecial remembrance was made for the children or brethren of *Edmund*, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the *Engliſh* Lords falſly flattering the foreign King, and ſpeaking againſt their own minds, as alſo againſt their native Country, anſwered and ſaid; Nay: Affirming moreover with an oath (for the Kings pleaſure) that they to the uttermoſt of their powers, would put off the blood of *Edmund* in all that they might. By reaſon of which anſwer and promiſe, they thought (many of them) to have purchaſed with the King great favour. But by the juſt retribution of God it chanced far otherwiſe. For many of them or the moſt part (ſuch eſpecially as *Canutus* did perceive to be ſworn before time to *Edmund*, and his heirs, and alſo conſidering that they were native Engliſhmen) he miſtruſted and diſdained ever after

Flattery, falſe fidelity and untruth in Engliſh Lords.

Falſehood and unconſtant mutability in Engliſh Lords well rewarded.

In ſo much that ſome he exiled, a great ſort he beheaded, and ſome by Gods puniſhment died ſuddenly. Among whom wicked *Edrike* alſo the Traytor (although with his ſugered words he continued a while in the Kings favour) at length eſcaped not condigne reward for his deceivable dealing. For (as the Hiſtory of *Yornalenſis* recordeth) as the King was in his Palace beyond *Thames*, this *Edrike* (being beſike acuſed, or elſe ſuſpected of the King before) coming unto him, began to reckon up his benefits and labours beſtowed for his ſake. Firſt, in forſaking and betraying *Egelred*, then in flaying King *Edmund* his Son, with many ſuch other deeds more, which all for his ſake he had done. Well, ſaith the King, thou haſt here rightly judged thy ſelf, and worthily thou ſhalt die for ſlaying thy natural Prince, and my ſworn brother. And ſo commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be thrown into the *Thames*. Some ſtories ſay, that when he had ſaluted the King with *Ave rex ſolus*, and ſhewed him the ſlaying of *Edmund*: *Canutus* (promiſing that he would make him therefore higher than all the Lords of the Realm) commanded his head to be ſtricken off, and to be ſet upon *London* Bridge, and his body to be caſt into the Town ditch: And thus with thanne ended he his wretched life, as all they commonly do, which with like diſſimulation ſeek the deſtruction of their Prince, and of their Country.

Duke Edrike, the falſe traytor and murtherer of his King, worthily rewarded for his wicked Falſhood.

The end of pernicious traytors.

The brother of *Edmund Ironſide*, baniſhed, reconciled, and laſtly ſlain. *Edward* and *Edward* two Sons of *Edward Ironſide* ſent out to be ſlain.

This *Canutus* (ſhortly after the death of King *Edmund*) by the Council of *Edrike* exiled *Edmund*, being brother unto King *Edmund*, called *Rex ruſticorum*, the King of Churles. But afterward he was reconciled again to the Kings favour, and laſtly ſlain by certain of the Kings Secretaries or Servants. Alſo through the Council of the ſaid *Edrike*, and of *Emma* his wife, he ſent the two Sons of *Edmund Ironſide* (*Edmund* and *Edward*) to his brother *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, to be ſlain, as is aboveſaid.

Canutus King of *Denmark*, *Canutus* married *Emma*, Wife before of *Egelred*. Laws of King *Edgar*.

In this mean time, *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, brother to *Canutus*, died. Wherefore that Land fell to *Canutus*, which anon after ſailed thither, and took thereof poſſeſſion. And after he had ſet it in an Order, he returned into *England*, and married *Emma*, late wife before of *Egelred*, and by her had a Son called *Hardeknight* or *Hardeknoutus*. Moreover, this *Canutus* aſſembled a Parliament at *Oxford*, where it was agreed that Engliſhmen and *Danes* ſhould hold the Laws made by King *Egdar*, becauſe they were thought ſo good and reaſonable above any other Laws.

Thus the *Danes* being in *England* began by little and little to be Chriſtian men. And *Canutus* went to *Rome*, and ſo, returning again to *England*, governed that Land the ſpace of twenty years, leaving after him two Sons, *Harold* and *Hardeknoutus*; which *Hardeknoutus* was made King of *Denmark* in his Fathers time.

Harold Hare *foot* King of *England* a *Dane*.

Harold (called *Harefoot* for his deliverneſs and ſwiftneſs) Son to *Canutus* by *Elgina* his firſt wife, began his Reign over *England*, in the year 1039. Of him his little left in memory (for he Reigned but four years) ſave that he baniſhed his ſtep-mother *Emma*, and took her Goods and Jewels from Her.

{ Anno 1039 }

Hardeknout laſt King of the *Danes* that reigned in *England*. Earl *Godwin*.

Hardeknoutus being King of *Denmark*, and ſecond Son to *Canutus* by his laſt wife *Emma*, was next King of *England*. In the time of theſe *Danijh* Kings, there was one *Godwin* an Earl in *England*, which had been before in great favour with *Canutus*, for his Acts done in *Denmark* againſt the *Norwegians*; and afterward married the Siſter (ſome ſay the Daughter) of *Canutus*. This *Godwin* was of a cruel and ſubtil wit, as he declared no leſs by the two Sons of King *Egelred*. For when theſe two aforeſaid (whoſe names were *Alfred* and *Edward*) came from *Normandy* into *England*, to viſit their Mother *Emma*, and brought with them a great company of *Normans*: This *Godwin* (having a Daughter called *Godith*, whom he thought to marry to *Edward*, and ſet him up to be King,) to bring his purpoſe about, uſed this Practice, that is, to perſwade King *Hardeknut*, and the Lords, not to ſuffer thoſe *Normans* to be within the Realm for Jeopardy, but rather to puniſh them for example: By which means he gat authority to order the matter himſelf. Wherefore he met them on *Guild-down*, and there moſt wretchedly murthered, or rather Martyred the moſt number of the *Normans*, and that innocently. For as *Swanus* before had tithed the Monks of *Canterbury*; ſo he, with the cruel company of *Engliſh* ſouldiers, ſlew nine of the ſaid *Normans*, and ſaved the tenth. And yet paſſing the fury of *Swanus* (as not contented with that tyranny) he tithed again the ſaid tithe, and ſlew every tenth Knight, and that by cruel torment, as winding their Guts out of their bodies, as writeth *Ranulphus*. And among others, he put out the Eyes of the Elder brother *Alfredus*, and ſent him to an Abbey of *Ely*; where he, being fed with Bread and Water, indured not long after. Of ſome writers it was recorded that he was there ſlain with the forenamed torment, and that *Edward* was conveyed by ſome other unto his Mother; who fearing the Treaſon of *Godwin*, ſent him ſoon over the Sea into *Normandy* again. This cruel Fact of *Godwin* and his men againſt the innocent *Normans*, whether it came of himſelf, or of the Kings ſetting on, ſeemeth to me to be the cauſe, why the Juſtice of God did ſhortly after revenge the quarrel of theſe *Normans*, in conquering and ſubduing the *Engliſh* Nation by *William Conqueror*, and the *Normans* which came with him. For ſo juſt and right it was, that as the *Normans*, coming with a natural *Engliſh* Prince, were murthered of Engliſh men: So afterward the Engliſhmen ſhould be ſlain and conquered by the *Normans*, coming with a foreign King, being none of their natural Country.

The Normans ſlain, and yet the tenths reſtored again.

Alfredus Son of *Egelred*, the right heir of the Crown, tormented with cruel death.

The cauſe why God ſuffered this Land to be conquered by the Normans.

Example of Gods juſtice on Judgment.

Then it followeth in the ſtory, that this King *Canute* or *Hardeknout*, when he had Reigned two years (being merry at *Lambeth*) ſuddenly was ſtricken Dumb, and fell down to the ground, and within eight days after died without Iſſue of his body; who was the laſt that Reigned in *England* of the blood of the *Danes*.

The death of King *Hardeknout*.

This foreſaid *Godwin*, had by the Daughter of *Canutus* his Wife, but one Son, which was drowned. Of his ſecond wife he received ſix Sons, to wit, *Swanus*, *Harold*, *Toſtius*, *Wilmotus*, *Sixthus* or *Surth*, and *Leofricus*, with one Daughter called *Goditha*, which after was married to King *Edward* the Confeſſor.

The Sons of Earl *Godwin*.

Concerning the ſtory of this *Alfred*, I find it ſomething otherwiſe reported in our *Engliſh* Chronicles, that it ſhould be after the death of *Hardeknout*; for ſo much peated. as the Earls and Barons after his death, aſſembled and made a Council, that never after any of the *Danes* blood ſhould be King of *England*, for the deſpight that they had done to Engliſhmen. For evermore before, if the Engliſhmen and the *Danes* had happened to meet upon a Bridge, the Engliſhmen ſhould not be ſo hardy to move a foot, but ſtand ſtill, till the *Dane* were paſſed forth. And moreover, if the Engliſhmen had not bowed down their heads to do reverence unto the *Danes*, they ſhould have been beaten and deriled. For the which deſpites and villanies they were driven out of the Land after the death of *Hardeknout*; for they had no Lord that might maintain them. And after this manner avoided the *Danes* out of *England*, that they never came again.

The ſtory of *Alfredus* repeated.

Taken out of the *Engliſh* ſtory or chronicle compiled of certain *Engliſh* Clerkes.

The Earls and Barons, by their common aſſent and Council, ſent unto *Normandy* for theſe two brethren, *Alfred* and *Edward*; intending to Crown *Alfred* the Elder brother, and to make him King of *England*. And to this the Earls and Barons made their oath: But the Earl *Godwin* of *Weſt-Sax* (falſly and traiterouſly) thought to ſlay theſe two brethren, as ſoon as they came into *England*, to the intent that he might make *Harold* his Son King: Which Son he had by his wife *Hardeknouts* Daughter, that was a *Dane*. And ſo this *Godwin* went privily to *South-Hampton*, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the Meſſengers that went (faith mine Author) into *Normandy*, found but only *Alfred* the Elder brother. For *Edward* his Younger brother was gone to *Hungary*, to ſpeak with his Couſin the Outlaw, which was *Edmund Ironſide*'s Son.

When *Alfred* had heard theſe Meſſengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all haſte ſped him to *England*, arriving at *South-Hampton*. There *Godwin* the falſe Traytor (having knowledge of his coming) welcomed and received him with joy, pretending to lead him unto *London*, where the Barons waited for to make him King, and ſo they together paſſed forth toward *London*. But when they came to *Guild-down*, the Traytor commanded all his men to ſlay all that were in *Alfreds* company, which came with him from *Normandy*; and after that, to take *Alfred*, and to lead him into the

Alfred ſon of King *Egelred*.

Flatterers and claw-backs about Princes.

Canutus charged the Sea to ſtand back, but it would not be.

A leſſon neceſſarie for Kings and Princes.

The miſerable wretchedneſs of *Godwin* againſt the *Normans*.

the *Iſle of Ely*, where they ſhould put out both his Eyes; and ſo they did. For they ſlew all the company that were there, to the number of twelve Gentlemen, which came with *Alfred*, from *Normandy*; and after that they took *Alfred*, and in the *Iſle of Ely* they executed their commiſſion. That done, they opened his body, took out his bowels, ſet a ſtake into the ground, and faſtened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needles of Iron they pricked his tender body, thereby cauſing him to go about the ſtake, till that all his bowels were drawn out. And ſo died this innocent *Alfred* or *Alured*, being the right heir of the Crown, through Treaſon of wicked *Godwin*. When the Lords of *England* heard thereof, and how *Alfred*, that ſhould have been their King, was put to death through the falſe Traytor *Godwin*, they were wonderous wroth; and ſware between God and them, that he ſhould die a worſe death than did *Edrith*, which betrayed his Lord *Edmund Ironſide*, and would immediately have put him to death, but that the Traytor fled thence into *Denmark*, and there held him four years and more, and loſt all his Lands in *England*.

God only the King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords.

Another Latin ſtory I have (bearing no name) which ſaith that this coming in of *Alfred* and the *Normans*, was in the time of *Harold*, *Canutus* Son. And how *Godwin* (after he pretended great amity to them) ſuddenly in the night came upon them at *Gilford*, and after he had tithed the *Normans*, ſent *Alfred* to *Harold* at *London*; who ſent him to the *Iſle of Ely*, and cauſed his Eyes to be put out.

Ex hiſtoria Ignoti auctoris.

Guildilda, wife to *Henricus* the Emperor.

And thus much of *Canutus*, and of his Sons, *Harold* and *Hardecanutus*. Beſides theſe two Sons, *Canutus* had alſo a Daughter named *Gunilda*, married to *Henricus* the Emperor. Of whom ſome write, that ſhe being accuſed to the Emperor of Spouſe-breach, and having no Champion or Knight that would fight for her, (after the manner of that Country) for trial of her cauſe, a certain little dwarfe or boy, whom ſhe brought with her out of *England* (ſtirred up of God) fought in her cauſe againſt a mighty big *German*, of a Monſtrous greatneſs, which ſilly dwarfe, cutting by chance the Sinews of his Leg, after ſtroke him to the ground, and ſo cut off his Head, and ſaved the life of the Queen, if it be true that *Gulielmus* and *Fabianus* reporteth.

Canutus went to Rome.

The Hoſpital built at *Rome* for *Engliſh* Pilgrims.

Rome ſhot confirmed by *Canutus*.

The Cathedral Church of *Vincheſter* is built of Free-ſtone.

Of this *Canutus*, it is ſtoried, that he following much the ſuperſtition of *Achelnotus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and there founded an Hoſpital for *Engliſh* Pilgrims. He gave the Pope precious gifts, and burdened the Land with a yearly tribute, called the *Rome-ſhot*. He ſhrived the body of *Berinus*, and gave great Lands and Ornaments to the Cathedral Church of *Vincheſter*; he builded S. *Benets* in *Norfolke*, which was before an Hermitage. Alſo S. *Edmundsbury*, which King *Athelſtan* before ordained for a College of Prieſts, he turned to an Abbey of Monks of Saint *Benets* Order.

S. Benets in Norfolke builded, Bury Abbey turned to Monks.

Henricus, Archdeacon of *Huntington*, *lib.* 6. maketh mention of this *Canutus*, as doth alſo *Polydor*, *lib.* 7. That he after his coming from *Rome*, walking upon a time by the Port of *Sout-Hampton*, but *Polydor* ſaith, and *Fabian* affirmeth the ſame, that it was by the *Thames* ſide of *London*, when his flatterers coming about him, began to exalt him up with high Words, calling him a King of all Kings (moſt mighty) who had under his ſubjection both the People, the Land, and alſo the Sea: *Canutus* revolving this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and reſel their flattering words) commanded his chair of ſtate to be brought to the Sea ſide, at what time it ſhould begin to flow. *Polydor* ſaith that no ſeat was brought; but ſitting upon his garments, being folded together under him, there charged and commanded the floods ariſing and coming towards his feet, that they ſhould touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinary courſe came neerer and neerer; firſt to his feet, and ſo growing higher, began to waſh him well favouredly. Wherewith the King abaſhed, and partly alſo afraid, ſtart back, and looking to his Lords; Lo (ſaith he) ye call me ſuch a mighty King, and yet can I not command back this little water to ſtay at my word, but it is ready to drown me. Wherefore all earthly Kings may know, that all their powers be but vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a King, but he alone which hath all things ſubject to the power and authority of his Word, which is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Creator above of all things, the Father of our Chriſt and Lord, who with him for ever is to be glorified: Him let us worſhip and extol for our King for ever. After this (as Hiſtories witneſs) he never ſuffered the Crown to come upon his head, but went to *Wincheſter*, or (as ſome ſay) to *Canterbury*; but both thoſe may be true; for his going to *Canterbury*, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power than he himſelf was, and therewithal to render up his Crown for ever. With that, *Egelnothus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* informed him of the Image of the Crucifix before mentioned, which diſſolved the matter between married Prieſts and life of Monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at *Wincheſter*. Wherewith the King, provoked to go to *Winchester* to the Rood, there reſigned up his regal Crown, and made the Rood King over all the Land.

The King Crown put on a Rood.

Here is alſo to be noted in this *Canutus*, that although (as is ſaid) he condeſcended in the beginning of his reign upon King *Edgars* Laws: Yet after in proceſs of time, he ſet forth peculiar Laws of his own. Among which, divers there be that concern as well cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo temporal. Whereby it may appear, that the government of ſpiritual matters did not depend then of the Biſhop of *Rome*: But appertained to the lawful authority of the temporal Prince, no leſs than of matters and cauſes temporal. As for example, by theſe ordinances of the aforeſaid *Canutus* may be well conſidered as here follow: *Pecunia ſepulturæ juſtum eſt ut aperta reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a ſua parœchia deferatur in aliam, pecunia ſepulturæ, &c.* In Engliſh.

Kings of *England* have as much right in cauſes of ſpiritual as temporal.

Certain Laws of King *Canutus* for the ordering of matters Eccleſiaſtical.

It is meet and right, that in Funerals, money be given for opening the Earth.

If any body, or corſe, be carried from his own Pariſh into another, the money of the burial ſhall pertain by the Law to his own Pariſh Church.

All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be obſerved as need in all things requiſite.

Upon the Sunday we forbid all publick Fairs or Markets, all Synods, or Conventicles, Huntings, or any ſuch ſecular Actions to be exercifed, unleſs urgent neceſſity compel thereunto.

Let every Chriſtian man prepare himſelf thrice a year, to approach to the receiving of the Lords body: So to eat the ſame as not to his Judgment, but to his wholeſome remedy.

If a Miniſter of the Altar do kill any man, or have intangled himſelf in any notorious Crime, let him be deprived both from his Order and Dignity.

Adulterers women to loſe their Ears and Noſes.

If any married woman (her Husband being alive) have committed adultery, and be found with the ſame; to her open ſhame in the World, let her have her Noſe and Ears cut off.

Let every widow, after the death of her Husband, ſo remain ſole twelve months; or if ſhe marry, let her loſe her Joynture.

And here is an end of the Daniſh Kings. Now to the *Engliſh* Kings again, whoſe right line cometh in again in *Edward* here Following.

◖ *King* Edward, *called the Confeſſor.*

{ Anno 1042 }

King Edward the Confeſſor, *England* afflicted by the *Danes*, the ſpace of 255. yeares.

FOr ſo much as God of his mercy and providence who is only the maker of heirs, thought it ſo good, after the woful captivity of this *Engliſh* nation, to grant now ſome reſpite of deliverance, in taking away the *Danijh* Kings without any Iſſue left behind them: Who reigning here in *England*, kept the *Engliſh* people in miſerable ſubjection, about the ſpace of eight and twenty years, and from their firſt Landing in the time of King *Brightricus*, waſted and vexed this land the term of 255. years. Now their Tyranny here coming to an end, the next Election and right of the Crown fell (as appertained) to *Edward* the younger Son of King *Egelred* and *Emma*, a meer Engliſhman: Who had been now long baniſhed in *Normandy*, as is above declared; a man of gentle and ſoft Spirit, more appliable to other mens council, than able to truſt to his own; of nature and condition ſo given from all War and Blood-ſhed, that being in his baniſhment

he wilhed rather to continue all his life long in that private eſtate, than by war or blood-ſhed to aſpire to any Kingdom. This *Edward*, after the death of *Canutus* the ſecond, or *Hardecanute*, being ſent for of the Lords into *Normandy*, to take poſſeſſion of the Realm, although he ſomething miſtruſted the unconſtant and fickle heads of Engliſhmen (yet having ſufficient Pledges laid for him in *Normandy*) came over, accompanied with a few *Normans*, and not long after was Crowned at *Wincheſter*, in the year 1043. by *Edſius* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And not long after that, he married *Godiſba*, or *Editha*, Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, whom he intreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet dealt with her ſtefhly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as moſt like it was) or for love of chaſtity, it remaineth uncertain. But moſt Writers agree, that he continued his life without offence with women; for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtory Writers, and called holy King *Edward*. After he had thus taken upon him the Government of the Realm, he guided the ſame with much wiſdom and juſtice, the ſpace of four and twenty years, lacking two months; from whom iſſued (as out of a fountain) much godlineſs, mercy, pity, and liberty toward the poor, gentleneſs and juſtice toward all men, and in all honeſt life he gave a vertuous example to his people. He diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great Tribute called Dane-gilt, which before time was yearly levied to the great Impoveriſhing of the people. He ſubdued the *Scots* and the Welſhmen, which in their borders began to rebel againſt him. In much peace he continued his Reign, having no forrein Enemy to aſſault him: Albeit, as ſome Chronicles do ſhew, certain *Danes* and *Norgwaines* there were, which intended to ſet upon *England*. But as they were taking ſhipping, there was brought to them firſt one Boul, then another, of *Miede* or *Methe*, to drink upon a boun Voyage. Thus one Cup coming after another, after drink came drunkenneſs, after drunkenneſs followed jingling, of jangling came ſtrife, and ſtrife turned unto ſtripes; whereby many were ſlain, and the other returned to their home again. And thus the merciful Providence of the Lord diſpatched that Journey.

King Edward Crowned.

Holy King *Edward* a virgin in marriage.

Methe in Greek ſignifieth drunkenneſs.

In the time of this *Edward*, *Emma* his Mother was accuſed to be familiar with *Alwin* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Upon which accuſation (by Counſel of Earl *Godwin*) he took from her many of her Jewels, and cauſed her to be kept ſome-deal more ſtrictly in the Abbey of *Warwel*, and the Biſhop commited to the Examination of the Clergy. *Polydor* ſaith they were both in Priſon at *Wincheſter*, where ſhe ſorrowing the deſame both of her ſelf and the Biſhop, and truſting upon her conſcience, delireth them of juſtice, offering her ſelf ready to abide any lawful trial, yea, although it were with the ſharpeſt.

Accuſation of the Arch-biſhop againſt *Emma* the Kings mother.

Then divers of the Biſhops made labour to the King for them both, and had obtained, had not *Robert* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtopped the ſuit. Who, not well contented with their labour, ſaid unto them; My brethren, how dare you defend her which is no woman but a beaſt? She hath defamed her own Son the King, and taken her Lecherous Leman the Biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the Prieſt, who ſhall then purge the woman, that is accuſed to be conſenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and procured venom to the poyſoning of her Son *Edward*? But whether ſhe be guilty or guiltleſs; if ſhe will go barefooted for her ſelf four ſteps, and for the Biſhop five, continually upon nine Plough ſhars fire hot; then if ſhe eſcape harmleſs, he ſhall be abſolved of this challenge, and ſhe alſo.

False accuſation purged by hot Iron.

To this ſhe granted: The day was appointed; at which day the King, and a great part of his Nobles were preſent, except only *Robert* the Archbiſhop. This *Robert* had been a Monk of a houſe in *Normandy*, and an helper of the King in his exile, and ſo, by the ſending for of the King, came over and was made firſt Biſhop of *London*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Then was ſhe led blindfold unto the place between two men, where the Irons lay burning hot, and paſſed the nine ſhares unhurt. At laſt, ſaith the: Good Lord, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that the was paſt the pain, ſhe kneeled down giving God thanks.

A ſtrange thing if it were true, and without falſe conveyance.

Then the King repented (ſaith the ſtory) and reſtored unto her, that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveneſs. But the Archbiſhop fled into *Normandy*.

Great ſtorm and tempeſt. Hugh. Pop. lond.

Near about this time, about the tenth year of his Reign, fell puffing great ſnow from the beginning of *January*, to the ſeventeenth day of *March*. After which inſued a great mortality of men, murren of cattel, and by lightning the Corn was wonderfully Blaſted and Waſted.

Not long after this, a certain Earl of *Bologne*, who had married King *Edwards* Siſter, came into *England*: Through the occaſion of whom, when execution ſhould be done upon the Citizens of *Dover*, for a fray between them and the Earls men, variance hapned between King *Edward*, and Earl *Godwin*; who perceiving that he could not withſtand the Kings malice (although he gathered a great company to work therein what he could) fled into *Flanders*, and was outlawed with his five Sons. King *Edward* repudiated his Wife, the Daughter of the ſaid *Godwin*: But the ſecond year after by mediators, he was reconciled to the King again and called from baniſhment, and for his good abearing he gave for Pledges his two Sons, *Biornon* and *Toſtius*, which were ſent to the *Duke* of *Normandy*, there to be kept.

Vexation between the King and Godwin.

Godwin with his five Sonnes baniſhed.

Godwine reconciled to the King upon pledges given.

During the time of the Outlawry of *Godwin*, *William* Baſtard Duke of *Normandy*, came with a goodly company into *England* to ſee King *Edward*, and was honourably received. To whom the King made great chear, and at his return inriched him with great gifts and pleaſures; and there (as ſome write) made promiſe to him, that if he died without iſſue, the ſaid *William* ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *England*.

William Duke of Normandy came to England.

Harold taken of the Normans. Harold promiſeth Duke William to marry his daughter, and to keep the Realm for his behoof.

In this Kings reign lived *Marianus Scotus* the ſtory-writer. As concerning the end of Earl *Godwin*, the cruel murtherer of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, although divers Hiſtories diverſly do vary, yet in this the moſt part do agree, that as he ſat at the Table with King *Edward* at *Windſor*, it happned one of the Cup-bearers, one of Earl *Godwins* Sons, to ſtumble and recover again, fo that he ſhed none of the drink, whereat *Godwin* laughed; and ſaid, how the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With which words the King calling to mind his brothers death that was ſlain by *Godwin*, beheld the Earl, ſaying, So ſhould my brother *Alfred* have holpen me, had not *Godwin* been. *Godwin* then, fearing the Kings diſpleaſure to be newly kindled, after many words in excuſing himſelf, ſaid; So might I ſafely ſwallow this Morſel of Bread, as I am guiltleſs of the deed. But as ſoon as he had received the Bread, forthwith he was ſtrucken dead. Then the King commanded him to be drawn from the Table, and ſo was conveyed by *Harold* his Son to *Wincheſter*, and there Buried.

Marianus Scotus, writer of this time. The end and death of ungodly Godwin.

Ex Tyrre. Malmeſbur. Polydor. Fabia. & alii.

Gods juſt Judgment upon Godwin for the murthering of Alfred.

Earl Leofrick ever true and faithful to his Prince. How Coventry was made free. Godina wife to Leofricus.

Perjury plagued.

The Abbey of Coventry builded by Leofricus.

About the thirteenth year of this Kings reign, the ſaid King *Edward* ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* to the Emperor *Henricus* the fourth, praying him that he would ſend to the King of *Hungary*, that his Coulin *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, might come into *England*, for ſo much as he intended to make him King after him, which was called *Edward* Outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into *England* with his Wife *Agatha*, and with his children, to wit, *Edgar Adeling*, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. But the year after, his return into this Realm, this *Edward* deceaſed at *London*, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, or as *Fornalenſis* ſaith, at *Paul* Church in *London*. After whole deceaſe the King then received *Edgar Adeling* his Son, as his own child, thinking to make him his heir. But fearing partly the unconſtant mutability of the Engliſhmen, partly the Pride and malice of *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, and of others (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo well to paſs) directed ſolemn Ambaſſadors unto *William* Duke of *Normandy* his kinſman, admitting and aſſigning him to be his lawful heir, next to ſucceed after him to the Crown.

Edward the Outlaw, Edgar, Adeling, Margaret Queen of Scots. Matild Queen of England. David King of Scots.

{ Anno 1057. The death of Edward Ironſide.

The death of King Edward. Weſtminſter repaired.

William Duke of Normandy admitted heir to the Crown.

After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* his Son waxed ſo in the Kings favour, that he ruled the moſt and greateſt cauſes of the Realm, and was Lieutenant of the Kings Army, who with his brother *Toſton* or *Toſtius* (ſent by the King againſt the Welſhmen) ſubdued their rebellion. But afterward, ſuch envy grew between theſe two brethren, for that *Toſtius* ſaw his brother *Harold* ſo greatly advanced in the Kings favour, that at *Hertford* the ſaid *Toſtius* ſlew all his Brothers men. Whom, when he had cut in pieces, he powdred their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of Salt, Vinegar, Wine, and other Liquors. That done, he made a Power againſt his Brother *Harold* (being King) with the aid of certain *Danes* and *Norwegians*, and fought a battel with him in the *North*, as after ſhall follow (God willing) to be ſeen. So ungracious were theſe wicked Children of Earl *Godwin*, that if they had ſeen any fair Manſion or Manor-place, they would play the Owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the poſſeſſion thereof themſelves.

The envy and diſlike of brethren.

Ungracious children of a wicked Father.

A place of Polydor Virgil examined.

At length it came in the mind of this *Harold* to ſail over the Sea (as *Polydor* ſaith) unto *Normandy*, to ſee his Brother *Wilnotus*, as alſo his couſin *Hacus*, whom the King had ſent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. *Polydor* ſaith, Theſe pledges were *Toſto* and *Biornon*; but that cannot be, for *Toſtius* was then in *England*. But as *Henricus* Archdeacon of *Huntington* ſaith, his Journey was into *Flanders*, as ſeemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that *Harold*, who was a doer in the cruel murther of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, would venture into *Normandy*: and therefore more like it is, that his ſailing was into *Flanders*. But as the ſtory proceedeth, he, being in the courſe of his ſailing, was weather driven by tempeſt into the Province of *Ponntith*, where he was taken as Priſoner, and ſent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, to whom he was made to ſwear, that he in time following ſhould marry his Daughter: and that, after the death of King *Edward*, he ſhould keep the Land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of *Edward* (after ſome Writers) and ſo to live in great Honour and Dignity next unto him in the Realm. This promiſe faithfully made to the Duke, *Harold* returneth into *England*, with his couſin *Hacus* the Son of his Brother *Swanus* being delivered unto him. But *Wilnotus*, Brother of *Harold*, the Duke keepeth ſtill for performance of the Covenants: Thus *Harold*, I ſay, returning home, (ſheweth the King all that he had done in the foreſaid matters, wherewith the King was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered, that King *Edward* was right well willing, that Duke *William* ſhould Reign after him, and alſo it ſeemeth not unlike, but that he had given him his promiſe thereunto before.

Among all that were true and truſty to King *Edward* of the *Engliſh* Nobility, none had like commendation, as had *Leofricus* Earl of *Mercia* and of *Cheſter*. This *Leofricus* purchaſed many great Liberties for the Town of *Coventry*, and made it free of all manner of things, except only of Horſe. Which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife *Godina*, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a ſtrange manner through the Town. This *Leofricus* with his wife *Godina* builded alſo the Abbey of *Coventry*, and indued the ſame with great Lands and Riches.

You heard a little before of the coming over of *Edward* called the *Outlaw*, Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, whom King *Edward* had purpoſed to have made King after him; but ſoon after his coming over, he deceaſed at *London*. This *Edward* had by his wife *Agatha*, a Son and a Daughter called *Edgar Adeling*, and *Margaret*. Which *Margaret*, being afterward married to the King of *Scots*, was the Mother of *Matild* or *Mawd* the Queen of *England*, and of *Dawid* King of *Scots*, &c.

This was that famous and liberall King *Edward*, after he had reigned three and twenty years and ſeven months, died, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*, which he had greatly augmented and repaired: but afterward was more inlarged after this form which it hath now, by *Henry* the third Son of King *John*.

They that write the Hiſtory of this King, here make mention of a Dream or Revelation that ſhould be ſhewed to him in time of his ſickneſs: how that becauſe the Peers and Biſhops of the Realm were Servants not of God, but of the Devil, God would give this Realm to the hand of others. And the King deſired utterance to be given him, that he might declare the ſame to the people, whereby they might repent. It was anſwered again, that neither would they ſo do; or yet if they did, it ſhould be given to another people. But becauſe it is a Dream, I let it paſs.

Galfrid. Malmeſ. Ex Tyrreliu. Ex Aſſerio Menevenſi. Ex Polydoro Virgilio. Ex Fabiano.

The Laws of King Edward.

Divers Laws were before in divers Countries of this Realm uſed, as the Law firſt of *Dunuallo Melmucius*, with the Laws of *Mercia*, called *Mercenelaga*: then the Laws of *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, as of *Ive*, *Offa*, *Alfred*, &c. which was called *Weſt-Saxenelaga*: the third were the Laws of *Canutus*, and of *Danes*, called *Danelaga*. Of all theſe Laws, which before were diverſly in certain particular Countries uſed and received, this *Edward* compiled one univerſal and common Law for all people through the whole Realm, which were called King *Edwards* Laws; which Laws being gathered out of the beſt and chieſeſt of the other Laws, were ſo juſt, ſo equal, and ſo ſerving the publick profit and wealth of all Eſtates, that, mine Authors ſay, The people long after did rebel againſt their Heads and Rulers, to have the ſame Laws again (being taken from them) and yet could not obtain them.

Ex Mat. Paris.

Furthermore, I read and find in *Matthew Paris*, that when *William Conqueror* at his coming in, did ſwear to uſe and practiſe the ſame good Laws of *Edward*, for the Common Laws of this Realm: afterward (being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom) he forſwore himſelf, and placed his own Laws in their room, much worſe and obſcurer than the other were, &c.

William Conqueror ſworn to King Edwards Laws, yet wrote from it.

Notwithſtanding, among the ſaid Laws of *Edward*, and in the firſt Chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient Records of the *Guildhall* in *London*; The Office of a King, with ſuch other appurtenances as belong to the Realm of *Britain*, ſet forth and deſcribed in the *Latine* ſtile; which I thought here not unmeet to be expreſſed in the *Engliſh* Tongue, for them that underſtood no *Latine*. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

De jure & appendiis regni *Britanniæ*, & quod ſit officium Regis.

Ex libro reg. antiquo tam in Pretorio London. The office of a King deſcribed in the Laws of King Edward.

Rex autem, quia vicarius ſummi Regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, ut Regnum terremm & populum Domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam ejus ueneretur Eccleſiam & regat, & ab injuriis defendat, & malefices ab eo avellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſperdat. Quod niſi fecerit, nomen Regis non in eo conſtabit. Verum Papa Johanne teſtante, nomen Regis perdit: cui Pipinus & Carolus *filius ejus (nec dum Reges, ſed Principes ſub Rege* Francorum *ſtulto) ſcripſerunt, quærentes, ſi ita permanere deberent* Francorum *Reges, ſolo Regio nomine contenti. A quo reſponſum eſt, illos decet vocare Reges, qui vigilanter defendum & regunt Eccleſiam Dei populum ejus, &c.* In Engliſh thus:

The Office of a King.

The King, becauſe he is the Vicar of the higheſt King, is appointed for this purpoſe, to Rule the earthly Kingdom, and the Lords people, and above all things to reverence his holy Church, to govern it, and to defend it from Injuries; to pluck away wicked doers, and utterly to deſtroy them. Which unleſs he do, the name of a King agreeth not unto him, but he loſeth the name of a King, as unthriftie Pope *John*: to the which Pope, *Pipinus* and *Carolus* his Son (being not yet Kings but Princes under the *French* King, being not very wiſe) did write, demanding this queſtion, whether the Kings of *France* ought ſo to continue, having but only the name of a King. Unto whom Pope *John* anſwereth again, that it was convenient to call them Kings, which vigilantly do defend and govern the Church of God and his people, following the ſaying of King *David* the *Pſalmograph*, *He ſhall not dwell in my houſe which worketh pride*, &c.

A King the Vicar of God in earth.

Moreover, the King by right and by his office, ought to defend and conſerve fully and wholly in all ampleneſs, without diminution, all the Lands, Honors, Dignities, Rights and Liberties of the Crown of his Kingdom. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate all ſuch things as have been diſperſed, waſted, and loſt, which appertain to his Kingdom. Alſo the whole and univerſall Land, with all Illands about the ſame in *Norway* and *Denmark*, to be appertaining to the Crown of his Kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the King, making one Monarchy and one Kingdom, which ſometime was called the Kingdom of *Britains*, and now the Kingdom of *England*: ſuch bounds and limits as is abovefaid be appointed and limited to the name of this Kingdom.

The limits of the Kingdom of England, how far they do extend.

The office of a King further described.

Moreover, in the forefaid Laws of this King *Edward*, it followeth in the fame Book, where the forefaid *Edward*, defcribing the office of a King, addeth in thefe words, *A King*, faith he, *ought above all things to fear God, to love and to obferve his Commandments, and caufe them to be obferved through his whole Kingdom. He ought alfo to keep, cherifh, maintain, and govern the holy Church within his Kingdom, with all integrity and liberty, according to the Conftitutions of his Anceftors and Predeceffors, and to defend the fame againft all Enemies, fo that God above all things be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought alfo to fet up good Laws and Cuftoms, fuch as be wholefome and approved: fuch as be otherwife to repeal them, and thruft them out of his Kingdom.* Item, *He ought to do Judgment and Juftice in his Kingdom, by the counfel of the Nobles of his Realm.* All thefe things ought a King in his own Perfon to do, taking his Oath upon the *Evangeliſt*, and the bleſſed Relicks of Saints, fwearing in the prefence of the whole State of his Realm (as well of the Temporalty as of the Spiritualty) before he be Crowned of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops. Three

Three ſtates and ſervants a King ought to have under his ſubjection.

ſtates and Servants the King ought to have under him as Vaſſals; fleſhly luſt, avarice, and greedy deſire, whom if he keep under as his Servants and Slaves, he ſhall Reign well and honourably in his Kingdom. All things are to be done with good adviſement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a King. For haſty raſhneſs bringeth all things to ruine, according to the ſaying of the Goſpel, *Every Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſhall be deſolate, &c.*

After the duty and office of Princes thus deſcribed, conſequently followeth the inſtitution of Subjects, declared in many good and neceſſary Ordinances very requiſite and convenient for publick Government. Of the which Laws *William Conqueror* was compelled, through the Clamor of the people, to take ſome, but the moſt part he omitted, contrary to his own Oath at his Coronation, inſerting and placing the moſt of his own Laws in his Language, to ſerve his purpoſe, and which as yet to this preſent day in the *Norman* Language do remain. Now (the Lord willing) let us proceed in the ſtory as in order followeth.

¶ King *Harold.*

Anno 1066. Harold laſt King of *Saxons.*

HArold the ſecond Son of Earl *Godwin*, and laſt King of the *Saxons*, notwithſtanding that divers of the Nobles went with *Edgar Adeling*, the next Heir after *Edmund Ironſide*: yet he through force and might contemning the young age of *Edgar*, and forgetting alſo his promiſe made to Duke *William*, took upon him to be King of *England*, *Anno* 1066. When *Harold Hareſagar*, Son of *Gunnutus*, King of *Norway* and *Denmark*, heard of the death of King *Edward*, he came into *England* with three hundred Ships or more: who then joyning with *Toſtius*, Brother to the ſaid *Harold* King of *England*, entred into the North parts, and claimed the Land after the death of *Edward*. But the Lords of the Country aroſe, and gave them battel, notwithſtanding the *Danes* had the Victory. And therefore *Harold* King of *England* prepared toward them in all haſt, and gave them another ſtrong battel, and there had the Victory, where alſo *Harold* King of *Denmark*, and *Toſtius* ſlain. *Harold* ſlew the *Dane* was ſlain by the hand of *Harold* King of *England*; and *Toſtius* was alſo ſlain in the battel. After this Victory, *Harold* waxed proud and covetous, and would not divide the prey to his Knights that had deſerved it, but kept it to himſelf; whereby he loſt the favour of many of his Knights and people.

In this mean time, *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, ſent Ambaſſage to *Harold*, King of *England*, admoniſhing him of the Covenants that were agreed between them: which was, to have kept the Land to his uſe after the death of *Edward*. But becauſe that the Daughter of Duke *William* (that was promiſed to *Harold*) was dead, *Harold* thought him thereby diſcharged, and ſaid, *That ſuch a nice fooliſh Promiſe ought not to be holden (concerning anothers laud) without the conſent of the Lords of the ſame: and eſpecially for that he was thereunto for need or for dread compelled.*

The Pope ſendeth a Banner to Duke *William* upon hope of Victory into *England.*

Upon theſe Anſwers received, Duke *William*, in the mean while that the Meſſengers went and came, gathered his Knights, and prepared his Navy, and had the aſſent of the Lords of his Land to aid and aſſiſt him in his journey. And over that ſending unto *Rome* to Pope *Alexander*, concerning his Title and Voyage into *England*, the Pope confirmeth him to the ſame, and ſent unto him a Banner, willing him to bear it in the Ship, wherein himſelf ſhould ſail. Thus Duke *William* being provided of all things concerning his journey, ſped him to the Sea-ſide, and took ſhipping at the Haven of S. *Valery*, where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient Wind, for the which his Souldiers murmured, ſaying, *It was a wondreſs, and a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to have another mans Kingdom by ſtrength; and namely, when God was againſt it in ſending contrary Wind, &c.* At the laſt, the Wind ſhortly after came about, and they took ſhipping with a great Company, and landed at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*. Duke William lands at the Haven of Haſtings.

For three Cauſes Duke *William* entred this Land to ſubdue *Harold*. One was, for that it was to him given by King *Edward* his Nephew. The ſecond was to take wreke for the cruel murther of his Nephew *Alfred*, King *Edwards* Brother, and of the *Normans*, which deed he aſcribed chiefly to *Harold*. The third was, to revenge the wrong done to *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which was exiled by the means and labour of *Harold*, in the time of King *Edward*. Three cauſes why Duke William entred into England.

Thus, while *Harold* was in the North, Duke *William* made ſo great ſpeed, that he came to *London* before the King; out of which he was holden, till he made good ſurety, that he and his people ſhould paſs through the City without tarrying: which promiſe he well obſerving, paſſed the Bridge, and went over to *Suſſex*, from whence he ſent a Monk unto *Harold*, and profered him three manner of ways. Firſt, either to render to him the poſſeſſion of the Land, and ſo to take it again of him under Tribute, reigning under him; Secondly, or elſe to abide and ſtand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both; or Thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own Perſon againſt the Duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of Sword, without any other blood-ſhedding. Three conditions offered to Harold by Duke William.

But *Harold* refuſed all theſe Offers, ſaying, *It ſhould be tried by dint of Swords, and not by one Sword:* and ſo gathered his people and joyned battel with the *Normans*, in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Suſſex*. In the beginning of which fight, the *Engliſhmen* kept them in good Array like to vanquiſh the *Normans*: wherefore Duke *William* cauſed his men to give back, as though they fled, whereby the *Engliſhmen* followed faſt, and broke their Array. Then the *Normans*, fiercely giving a Charge upon them, in concluſion obtained the Victory through the juſt providence of God. Where King *Harold*, who before had murthered *Alfred* the true Heir of the Crown, with his Company of *Normans* ſo cruelly, was now wounded of the *Normans* in the left eye with an Arrow, and thereof incontinent died: although *Gerardus* ſaith he fled away to *Cheſter*, and lived after that a Monk in the Monaſtery of S. *James*. Which is not like, but rather that he was there ſlain after that he reigned nine months, and was buried at *Waltham* (which proveth that he died not at *Cheſter*) and ſo was he the laſt that reigned in *England* of the blood of *Saxons*, the which continued (to reckon from *Hengiſtus* his firſt Reign in *Kent*) by the ſpace of 591 years, and if it be reckoned from the years of the *Weſt-Saxons*, then it indureth the ſpace of 565 years. The fight betwixt the Engliſh and Duke William. King Harold ſlain.

This Duke *William* and King *Edward* were by the Fathers ſide couſin germans removed. For *Richard* the firſt of that name, which was the third Duke of *Normandy* after *Rollo*, was Father to Duke *Richard* the ſecond of that name, and Brother to *Emma* Mother to King *Edward*. Which Duke *Richard* the ſecond was Father to Duke *Robert*, this Duke *Williams* Father. The coniunction betwixt King Edward and William the Conquerour.

Albeit in this matter other ſome may gather otherwiſe and better, perchance; yet if I may ſay what I think, verily I ſuppoſe, that there is no Conſanguinity ſo much the cauſe, why God of his unknown Judgments ſuffered the *Normans* here to prevail, as was rather the cruel murther of *Alfred* and of the innocent *Normans*, wrought by the cruel deſpight of *Harold* and the *Engliſhmen*, as is before declared. The which mercileſs murther, God here juſtly in this Conqueſt recompenſed. Murther puniſhed by the Conqueſt.

Now it remaineth alſo, to theſe foreign Affairs of Kings and Princes, to add ſomething likewiſe concerning the con- Archbiſhops of Canterbury.

tinuation of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, beginning there where we laſt left: that is, with *Elphegus*, whom we declared a little before to be ſtoned by the *Danes* at *Greenwich*. After which *Elphegus*, next ſucceeded *Lingus*, after him *Egelnothus* alſo above mentioned. Then *Robertus* a *Norman*, a great doer (as is declared) about King *Edward*, and a faithful Counſellor unto him; but he abode not long. After whom *Stigandus* invaded the See (as they report) by Symony, being both Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and alſo Abbot in another place, wherein he continued a great ſpace, gathering and heaping goods together; till at length Duke *William* clapt him in priſon, and there kept him, placing in his room *Lanfrancus* a *Lombard* born, of whom more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter to be declared. Lingus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Stigandus.

¶ Although the Church of Chriſt and ſtate of Religion, firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did not continually altogether remain in his primitive Perfection, wherein it was firſt inſtituted; but in proceſs of time began from better to worſe, to decreaſe and decline into much ſuperſtition and inconveniency; partly through the coming in of *Mahomet*, partly through the increaſe of wealth and riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge and diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the Guids of Chriſts Flock: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not ſo abound in ſuch exceſſive meaſure as afterward in the other later times now following, about the thouſand years expired after Chriſt, whereof we have to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About which time and year came *Sylveſter*, the ſecond of that name, who next ſucceeded after *Gregory* the fifth before mentioned; and occupied the See of *Rome* about the year of our Lord, 1000. lacking one or two. The decay of the Church. Pope Sylveſter the ſecond.

This *Sylveſter* was a Sorcerer, which after the ſort of them that work by Familiars (as they call them) and by Conjuration, compacted with the Devil to be made Pope. And ſo he was (through the operation of Satan) according to his requeſt. Which things, ſome Hiſtories ſay, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of *Johannes Stella*, a *Venetian*, tranſlated from *Latine* into *Engliſh*, concerning the ſaid *Sylveſter*; to the intent that our Inchanters and Sorcerers now adays (whereof there be too many in *England*) may the better through his example be admoniſhed. The words of *Stella* be theſe, agreeing alſo with the Narration of *Benno*, *Platina*, and many others. *Sylveſter*, the ſecond of that name, being Pope, and a *Frenchman*, called *Gilbertus*, fate in his Papacy four years, one month, and eight days. He entred into his Papacy through wicked and unlawful means: who from his youth being a Monk, and leaving his Monaſtery, gave himſelf wholly to the Devil, to obtain that which he required. And firſt coming to *Hiſpalis* a City in *Spain*; there he applied his Book and profited alſo, inſomuch that he was made Doctor, having amongſt his Auditors, *Otho* the Emperors Son, and *Robert* the *French* King, *Lotharius* Archbiſhop of *Senon*, with divers other more. By whoſe advancement he was promoted, firſt Biſhop of *Rheme*, afterward Biſhop of *Ravenna*, and at laſt, through the operation of Satan, was exalted to the Papacy of *Rome*; upon this condition, that after his death, he ſhould give himſelf to the Devil, by whoſe procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certain time he demanded an Anſwer of the Devil, how long he ſhould injoy his Poſedom. To whom he anſwered again, *Until thou ſay Maſs in* Jeruſalem *thou ſhalt live.* At length the fourth year of his Popedom, ſaying Maſs at *Lent* time in the Temple of the holy Croſs, being called then *Jeruſalem*, there he knew the time was come when he ſhould die. Whereupon being ſtruck with Repentance, he confeſſed his fault openly before the people, deſiring them to cut his body all in pieces (being ſo ſeduced by deceits of the Devil) and ſo being hewn in pieces, that they would ſay it upon a Cart, and bury it there whereſoever the Horſes would carry it of their accord. And ſo the ſaying is, That by the Providence of God (whereby the wicked may learn, that there is yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo that they will repent them in their life) the Horſes of their own accord ſtayed at the Church of *Lateran*, and there he was buried: where commonly by the ratling of Sylveſter the ſecond a fond Sorcerer. Johannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Premoſtratenſis, Naucclerus, Antoninus, Volaterran, Rovere, Johannes Baleus. Ex Johan. Stella.

his bones within the Tomb, is portended the death of Popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of *Johannes Stella* concerning *Sylveſter*. By whom our Sorcerers and Inchanters, or Magicians may learn to beware of the deceitful operation of Satan, who at the end deceiveth and fruſtrateth all them that have to do with him: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which uſe the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the Spirit of Jeſus our Redeemer, diſſolve the works of Satan, and preſerve the hearts of our Nobles, and all other *Engliſhmen* from ſuch Infection. *Amen.* An admoniſhion for Sorcerers and wicked Conjurers.

After *Sylveſter*, ſucceeded *John* the nineteenth, by whom was brought in (as *Volaterran* ſaith) the Feaſt of *All Souls* in the year 1004. through the means and inſtigation of one *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluniake*, to be celebrate next after the Feaſt of *All Saints*. This Monk *Odilo*, thinking that Purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the Mount *Aetna*, dreamed upon a time, in the Country of *Sicil*, that he by his Maſſes, had delivered divers Souls from thence: ſaying moreover, *That he did hear the voyces and lamentations of Devils, crying out for that the Souls were taken from them by the Maſſes and Dirges Funeral*, Ex Baleum thorpo. in profo. 4. lib. ſentent. And not long after him, came *John* the twentieth, and *Sergius* the fourth. After whom ſucceeded *Benedictus* the eighth; then *John* the one and twentieth, who being promoted by Art Magick, of *Theophylact* his Nephew, *Gratianus*, *Brazutus*, and other Sorcerers, brought in firſt the Faſt of the even of *John Baptiſt* and Saint *Laurence*. After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the ninth, likewiſe aſpiring to his Papacy by like Magick, practiſing Inchantments and Conjuration in Woods, after an horrible manner; who reſiſting the Emperor *Henricus* the third, Son to *Conradus*, and placing in his room *Petrus* the King of *Hungary* with this verſe, The Feaſt of All Souls brought into the Church. Benedictus the ninth.

Petra dedit Romam Petro, *tibi Papa coronam.*

Afterward, for fear of *Henricus* prevailing in battel, he was fain to ſell his Seat to his Succeſſor, *Gratianus*, called *Gregorius* the fixth, for 1500 *l.* At which time were three Popes together in *Rome*, reigning and raging one againſt another; *Benedictus* the ninth, *Sylveſter* the third, and *Gregorius* the ſixth. For the which cauſe *Henricus*, ſurnamed *Niger*, the Emperor coming to *Rome*, diſplaced theſe three Monſters at one time, placing for them *Clement* the ſecond, and there-upon inacting that there ſhould no Biſhop of *Rome* henceforth be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the Emperor. Which Conſtitution, though it was both agreeable, and alſo neceſſary for publick tranquility of that City, yet the Cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtil practice and open violence, as in proceſs (the Lord permitting) ſhall appear, in the time of *Henricus* the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, the *Romans* made an Oath to the Emperor, concerning the election of the Biſhops, themſelves to intermeddle no further therein, but as the aſſent of the Emperor ſhould go withall. Howbeit the Emperor departing thence into *Germany* again, by and by they forgat their Oath, and within nine months after, poiſoned the Biſhop. Which fact, ſome impute to *Stephen* his Succeſſor, called *Damaſus* the ſecond. Some impute it to *Brazutus*, who (as Hiſtories record) within 13 years poiſoned ſix Popes; that is, *Clement* the ſecond, *Damaſus* the ſecond, *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* the ſecond, *Stephanus* the ninth, *Nicholaus* the ſecond. Gregorius the ſixth. A conſtitution that no Pope ſhould be choſen, but by the confirmation of the Emperour. Pope Clement the ſecond.

Thus *Clement* being poiſoned, after him ſucceeded *Damaſus* the ſecond, neither by conſent of the people, nor of the Emperor elected, but by force and invaſion, who alſo within 23 days being poiſoned, in the year 1049. much contention and ſtriving began in *Rome* about the Papal ſeat. Whereupon the *Romans* through the counſel of the Cardinal ſent to the foreſaid Emperor, deſiring to give them a Biſhop; and ſo he did, whoſe name was *Bruno*, an *Alman*, and Biſhop of *Cullen*, afterward called *Leo* the ninth. This *Bruno* being a ſimple man, and eaſie to be led with evil counſel, coming from the Emperor towards *Rome* in his pontifical Apparel like a Pope; there meeteth him by the way, the Abbot of *Cluniack*, and *Hildebrand* a Monk, who, ſeeing him ſo in his *Pontificalibus*, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authority of the Emperor, and not rather of the Clergy of *Rome*, and the people thereof, as other his Predeceſſors were wont to do: and ſo Pope Damaſus the ſecond.

so counselled him to lay down that Apparel, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had his Election by them. *Bruno* following their counsel, and confelling his fault before the Clergy of *Rome*, obtained their favour, and so was nominate *Leo* the ninth, whereby *Hildebrand* was made a Cardinal, and put in high room. Under this Pope *Leo*, were two Councils; one kept at *Verfailis*, where the Doctrine of *Berengarius* against the real presence in the Sacrament was first condemned, although *Berengarius* yet recanted not, which nevertheless was done after in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Nicholas* the second, in the year 1060. The other was kept at *Moguntia*, where amongst many other Decrees it was inacted, That Priests should be excluded and debarred utterly from marriage. *Item*, that no lay-man might give Benefice or Bishoprick, or any Spiritual Promotion, &c.

Pope *Leo* the ninth.

Concilium Moguntinum. Nauclerus Cranz.

This *Leo*, being at *Wormes* with the Emperor upon *Christmas-day*, did Excommunicate the Sub-deacon; because in reading the Epistle, he did it not in the *Roman* tune, he being there present. The Archbishop, moved therewith, departed from the Altar (being then at Mass) saying, He would not proceed any further in his Service, unless his Sub-deacon were restored, whereupon the Pope commanded him to be released, and so they went forward in their Service.

Alb. Cranz. Saxo. lib. 4 cap. 45.

After the death of *Leo*, whom *Brazutus* poisoned the first year of his Popedom, *Theophylactus* did strive to be Pope: but *Hildebrand*, to defeat him, went to the Emperor (partly also being sent by the *Romans* for fear of the Emperors displeasure) who assigned another Bishop, a *German*, called *Victor* the second. This *Victor*, having a Council at *Florence*, deposed divers Bishops and Priests for Simony and Fornication: for Simony, in that they took of peculiar men their Dignities for money; for Fornication, in that, contrary to their Canon, they were married. &c. The second year of his Papacy, and little more, this Pope also followed his Predecessors, being poisoned by the forefaid *Brazutus*, through the procurement of *Hildebrand* and his Master.

Pope *Victor* the second.

Concilium Florentinum.

Here now began the Church and Clergy of *Rome* to wring out of the Emperors hand the Election of the Pope: electing *Stephen* the ninth for Pope, contrary to their Oath, and to the Emperors assignment. Here was the Church of *Millan* first brought to Obedience of the *Romish* Church, by this *Stephanus* the ninth Bishop of *Rome*; who also shamed not to accuse the Emperor *Henry* (of whom mention is made before) of Heresie, for minishing the Authority of the *Roman* See. So this was their Heresie at that time, not to maintain the ambitious Proceedings of the *Romish* Prelate. And Simony they called this, to take and injoy any Spiritual Living at a fecular mans hand. Wherefore *Stephen* hearing this Simony to reign in divers places, namely, in the Churches of *Burgundy* and *Italy*, sent forth the Cardinal *Hildebrand* to reform the matter, who was no less earneft in that kind of Commission to help the matter forward.

Pope *Stephen* the ninth.

The Church of *Millan* first brought under the Church of *Rome*.

The Emperor accused of Heresie.

Hildebrand sent in Commission for Simony.

Hildebrand beginneth to rise.

In the mean time *Stephanus* the Pope falling of *Brazutus* Cup fell sick. *Hildebrand*, hearing that, applieth home, with all poft speed. So being returned to *Rome*, he assembleth all the Companies and Orders of the Clergy together, making them to swear that they should admit none to be Bishop, but which should be appointed by the publick consent of them all together. This being done, *Hildebrand* taketh his journey into *Florence*, belike to fetch the Bishop of *Florence*, to stall him Bishop; the Clergy (swearing unto) him that no Bishop should be ordained before his return again. But the people of *Rome* not suffering the Election to stand so long, after the death of *Stephen*, elected one of their own City, called *Benedictus* the tenth. *Hildebrand*, hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to *Rome* with one *Garbardus* Bishop of *Florence*, he caused the Clergy to proceed to a new Election, saying, *That* Benedictus *was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing*. But the Clergy not daring to attempt any new Election at *Rome*, went to *Sene*, and there elected this *Garbardus* Bishop of *Florence*, whom *Hildebrand* brought with him. So were two Popes in *Rome* together: But *Garbardus*, named *Nicholas* the second, holding a Council at *Sutrium*, through the help of Duke *Godfrid* and *Guibert*, and other Bishops about *Italy*, caused the other Pope to be depofed. *Benedictus* understanding them to be fet against him through the means of *Hildebrand*, unpoped himself, and went to *Velitrae*; living there more quietly than he should have done at *Rome*.

Pope *Leo* the ninth.

Pope *Victor* the second.

Pope *Stephen* the ninth.

Hildebrand beginneth to rise.

Pope *Benedictus* the tenth.

Two Popes together at *Rome*.

Pope *Nicholas* the second.

Pope Benedictus unpoped himself.

Here is to be touched by the way the error of the gloss upon the three and twentieth Distinction, which falsely alledgeth out of the Chronicles, that *Benedictus* the tenth, which succeeded *Stephen*, was depofed: after whom came *Johannes* Bishop of *Sabine* for money, and he again depofed. *Benedictus* was then restored, and after displaced again, and then *Johannes* Archdeacon *Ad portam latinam*, was made Pope, and he again depofed by the Emperor, and all in one year. Which story neither is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth to any *Benedictus*, fave only that *Benedictus* the ninth, which was depofed, and then reigned three Popes together: *Benedictus* the ninth, *Sylvester* the third, and *Gregorius* the fixth, which before was called *Johannes ad portam latinam* (whom the Emperor depofed) all three together. But that *Benedict* neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed Pope *Stephen*, as the gloss recordeth. *Nicholas* thus being fet up without the mind both of the Emperor and of the people of *Rome*, after his fellow Pope was driven away, brake up the Synod of *Sutrium*, and came to *Rome*, where he assembled another Council, called *Concilium Lateranum*. In which Council firft was promulgate the terrible Sentence of Excommunication mentioned in the Decrees, and beginneth, *In nomine Domini noftri, &c.* The effect whereof is this: Firft, that he after a fubtil practife (as far and as plainly as he durft speak) undermineth the Emperors Jurisdiction, and transfereth to a few Cardinals, and certain Catholick Perfons, the full Authority of chufing the Pope. Secondly, againft all fuch as do creep into the Seat of Peter by money or favour, without the full content of the Cardinals, he thundereth with terrible blafts of Excommunication, accurfing them and their Children with Devils, as wicked perfons, to the anger of Almighty God, giving alfo Authority and Power to Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, to depofe all fuch Perfons, and call a Council-General, wherefoever they will againft them.

The gloss of the Popes Decrees refuted.

Concilium Lateranum. [1059. Dift. 23. cap. Sanc.]

Item, in the faid Council of *Laterane*, under Pope *Nicholas* the fecond, *Berengarius Andegavenfis*, an Archdeacon, was driven to the recantation of his Doctrine, denying the real fubftance of Chrifts holy body and blood to be in the Sacrament, otherwife than Sacramentally and in myftery.

A terrible Curfe of Nicholas

Berengarius driven to recantation.

In the fame Council alfo was hatched and invented the new found devife and term of Tranfubftantiation.

Tranfubftantiation brought in to the Church.

It were too long here to declare the Confederation between this *Nicholas* and *Robertus Guiscardus*, whom this Pope (contrary to all right and good Law, displacing the right Heir) made Duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Sicilia*, and Captain-General of S. *Peters* lands: that through his force and arms and violence he might the better fubdue all fuch as fhould rebel to his Obedience, and fo did. Now let all men, which be godly wife, judge and underftand how this ftandeth with the Doctrine of Chrift, the example of *Peter*, or the fpirit of a Chriftian Bishop, by outward arms and violence to conquer Chriftian men and Countries, under the Obedience of a Bishops See. Thus Pope *Nicholas* the fecond, well anfwering to his *Greek* name, by might and force continued three years and an half. But at length he met with *Brazutus* Cup, and fo turned up his heels.

Hollinshed Platina. Ann. 59.

Pope Nicholas the second.

Two Popes together at *Rome*.

Pope *Alexander* the fecond.

Two battels betwixt two Popes for S. *Peters* feat.

Robertus Guiscardus Duke of *Apulia*.

At the beginning of this *Nicholas*, or fomewhat before, about the year of our Lord, 1057. *Henry* the fourth, after the deceafe of *Henry* the third, was made Emperor, being but a Child, and reigned fifty years: but not without great molestation and much difquietnefs, and all through the ungracious wickednefs of *Hildebrand*, as hereafter (the Lord fo permitting) fhall be declared.

Heresies the fourth, Emperor.

Here by the way cometh to be noted an example, whereby all Princes may learn and underftand how the Pope is to be handled, whofoever looketh to have any goodnefs at his hand. If a man ftand in fear of his curfe, he fhall be made his flave; but if he be depifed of you, you fhall have him as you luft. For the Popes curfe may well be affimiled to *Domitians* thunder: If a man give ear to the noife and crack, it feemeth a terrible thing; but if you confider the caufes and effect thereof, it is a moft vain ridicle.

The Pope Curfe compared to *Domitian* thunder.

Alexander Archbishop of York.

In the Reign of this *Nicholas*, in the year, 1060. *Aldredus* Bishop of *Worcester*, after the deceafe of *Kinfius* his Predeceffor, fhould be made Archbishop of *York*; who coming to *Rome* with *Toftius* Earl of *Northumberland* for his Pall (as the manner was) could not obtain it, but was deprived of all his Dignity, for fome default (I cannot tell what) in his anfwer; and furthermore, after his reverfion home, was fpoiled alfo of all that he brought with him. Whereupon, he returning again to *Rome* with *Toftius* the forefaid Earl, there made his Complaint, but could not be heard: till *Toftius*, a man of ftout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the Pope to his face, *That his Curfe was not to be feared in far Countries, which his own Neighbours, yea and moft vile Vagabonds derided and defpifed at home.* Wherefore he required the Pope, either to reftore *Aldredus* again to his goods loft, or elfe it fhould be known that they were loft, through his means and fubtilty. And furthermore it would come to pafs that the King of *England* hearing this would debar him of S. *Peters* Tribute, taking it for a great fhame to him and his Realm, if *Aldredus* fhould come from *Rome* both deprived of Dignity, and fpoiled alfo of his goods, &c. In fine, the Pope thus perfwaded by the argument of his perfon, was content to fend home *Aldredus* with his Pall, according to his requeft.

Item *Toftius* perfwaded the Pope.

After the death of *Nicholas*, the *Lombards* being oppreffed before by Pope *Nicholas*, and brought under fear, were the more delirous, and thought it good to have a Bishop of their Company, and fo elected the Bishop of *Parmen*, called *Cadolus*, to be Pope: fending to the Emperor, and defiring his favour and fupportation therein, for the Election of the Pope (faid they) moft properly appertained unto him.

Cadolus a Lombard made Pope by the Emperor.

The Emperor, well pleafed and content, giveth his good leave and voice withall. *Hildebrand*, no lefs a wicked *Necromancer* than a ftout Maintainer of Popifh Liberties againft good Emperors, hearing this, fetteth up by a contrary Faction another Bishop, *Anfelmus*, after called *Alexander* the Second. *Cadolus*, thus elected by the Emperor and the Cardinals, fetteth forward to *Rome* with a fufficient Army and ftrength of men. *Alexander* alfo, no lefs prepared, there received him with another Army, where they had a great Conflict, and many flain on both fides. But *Cadolus* as he had the better caufe, fo he had the worfe fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himfelf and came again with a greater Power: albeit he prevailed not. The Emperor feeing this hurly burley, to take up the matter, fent thither his Ambaffador *Otho* Archbishop of *Cullen*: who coming to *Rome*, beginneth ftarply to chide the Pope for taking fo upon him without the leave or knowledge of the Emperor, declaring how the Election of that See ought chiefly to appertain to the right of the Emperor, as it hath done for the moft part in the time of his Predeceffors before. But *Hildebrand* all fet on wickednefs and ambition, and alfo puft up not a little with his late Victories, not fuffering the Ambaffador to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale; affirming, that if they fhould ftand to Law and Cuftom, the Liberty of that Election fhould rather belong to the Clergy than to the Emperor. To make fhort, *Otho* the Ambaffor bearing (belike) more with the Clergy than with the Emperor, was content to be perfwaded, only required this in the Emperors Name, a Council to be had, to decide the matter, whereat the Emperor fhould be prefent himfelf; and fo he was. In the which Council being kept at *Mantua*, *Alexander* was declared Pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this Council, amongft many other confultations, it was concluded concerning Priefts, That they fhould have no Wives: fuch as have Concubines to fay no Mafs: Priefts Children not to be feduled from holy Orders: no Benefices to be bought for money: *Alleluja* to be fufpended in time of *Lent* out of the Church, &c. This alfo was decreed (which made moft for *Hildebrands* purpofe) that no fpiritual man, whatfoever he be, fhould enter into any Church, by a fecular Perfon, and that the Pope fhould be elected only by the Cardinals, &c.

Pope *Alexander* the fecond.

Two battels betwixt two Popes for S. *Peters* feat.

Concilium Mantuanum

Alleluja fuſpended in the time of Lent.

A Decree that no fecular man fhould give a Spiritual Promotion.

Benno Cardinalis writeth thus of *Alexander*, that after he perceived the frauds of *Hildebrand*, and of other the Emperors Enemies, and understanding that he was fet up and inthronifed but only for a purpofe; being at his Mafs, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not fit in the place, unleſs he had the Licence of the Emperor. Which when *Hildebrand* heard, he was ftricken in fuch a furry, that fcarcely he could keep his hands off him, while Mafs was done. After the Mafs being finifhed, by force of Souldiers and ftrength of men he had him into a Chamber, and there all to be pommild Pope *Alexander* with his fifts, rating and rebuking him for that he would feek for favour of the Emperor. Thus *Alexander* being kept up in cuftody, and being ftinted to a certain allowance, as about five grotes a day, *Hilderand* incroacheth all the whole Revenues of the Church to himfelf, procuring thereby much treafure. At length *Alexander*, under the miferable indurance of *Hildebrand*, died at eventide after eleven years and a half of his Popedom.

Pope *Alexander* under bonds put by *Hildebrand*.

And thus much of *Romish* matters.

Thefe things thus difcourfed concerning the matters of *Rome*; now returning again to our own Country ftory, the order thereof would require to enter again into the Reign of *William Conqueror*, the next King following in *England*. But as a certain Oration of King *Edgars*, which fhould have been placed before, chanced in the mean time to come to my hands, not unworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this Book to infert the fame (although out of order) yet better I judge it out of order, than out of the Book.

The Oration of King *Edgar* to the Clergy.

BEcause GOD hath fhewed his great Mercy to work with us; it is meet (moft reverend Fathers) that with worthy Works we fhould anfwer his immortable Benefits. For we poffeſs not the Land by our own Sword, and our own Arm hath not faved us: but his right Hand and his holy Arm, becaufe he hath been delighted in us. Therefore it is meet that we fhould fubmit both our felves and our Souls to him, that hath fubjected all thefe things under our Government: and we ought ftcutly to labour, that they, whom he hath made fubject to us, might be fubject to his Laws. It belongs to me to Rule the Lay-people with the Law of Equity, to do juft Judgment between a Man and his Neighbour, to punifh Church-Robbers, to hold under Rebels, to deliver the helpleſs from the hand of the ftronger, the needy alfo and the poor from them that rob them. It belongs alfo to my care to provide neceffary things to the Miniſters of the Churches, to the flocks of the Monks, to the Company of Virgins, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whofe manners belongeth unto us; whether they live chaftly, if they behave themſelves honeſtly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods Service, if they be earneſt to teach the people, if they be ſober in eating and drinking, if they keep meafure in Apparel, and if they be diſcreet in judgment. If ye had regarded theſe things with a trial of them (O reverend Fathers, by your leaves I ſpeak) ſuch horrible and abominable things of the Clerks ſhould not have come unto our ears. I omit to ſpeak how their crown is not broad, nor their wounding convenient: the wantonneſs in your life, your pride in your geſture, the filthineſs in your words do declare the evil of the inward man.

Pſal. 43

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods Service, whence ſcarce they will be preſent at the holy Vigils? And when they come to Maſs, they ſeem rather to be gathered to play and laugh than to ſing. I will tell that, that good men be ſorry for, and the evil laugh at. I will ſpeak with ſorrow (if ſo be I may expreſs it) how they be vicious in Banquetings, in Chambering, Drunkenneſs and Unſhamefac'neſs: that now Clerks houſes may be thought to be a Stews of Harlots, and a Covent of Players. There be Dice, there is Dancing and Singing, there is watching to Midnight, with crying and ſhouting. Than the Goods of Kings, the Alms of Princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that precious blood is not eſteemed. Have our Fathers then ſpent their Treaſure for this purpoſe? Have the Kings Coffers decayed by taking away many Revenues, for this cauſe? Hath the Kings Liberality given Lands and Poſſeſſions to Chriſts Churches for this intent, that Clerks Harlots ſhould be decked with the ſame? that vicious Feaſts might be dreſſed? that Hounds and Hawks and ſuch other toys might be gotten? The Souldiers cry

out of these things: the people grudge, Minstrels sing and dance Gen. 34. *and yet ye regard it not: ye dissemble it. Where is the Sword of* Levi, *and the Zeal of* Simeon, *which killed the* Sichemites *and the circumcised, which bare the figure of them that defile Christs Church with filthy deeds, because they abused* Jacobs *Daughter as an Harlot? Where is* Moses *spirit, which spared not his own Kinsfolk that worshipped the head of the Calf?*

Where is Phineas *the Priests Dagger, which pacified* Exod. 32. Num. 25. Acts 5. 8. *Gods anger by holy zeal, when he killed him that played the Harlot with the* Midianite? *Where is* Peters *spirit, by whose power covetousness is destroyed, and simoniacal Heresie is condemned? Be earnest ye Priests, be earnest to follow the ways of the Lord, and the righteousness of our God. It is time to do against them that have broken the Law of God. I have* Constantines *Sword, and ye have* Peters *Sword in your hands; let us joyn right hands, let us couple Sword to Sword, that the Lepers may be cast out of the Temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the Sons of* Levi *may minister in the Temple, who said to his Father and Mother,* I know you not; *and to his Brother,* I know you not. *Go too diligently I pray you, lest we repent to have done that we have done, and to have given that we give, if we shall see that to be spent not in Gods Service, but on the riotousness of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, for lack of Chastisement. Let the relicks of holy Saints, which they despise, and the holy Altars before which they play the mad-men, move you. Let the great devotion of our Ancestors move you, whose Alms the madness of the Clerks doth abuse. My great Grandfather (as ye know) gave the tenth part of all his Lands to Churches and Abbies. My great great Grandfather,* Athelstan *of holy memory, thought it not meet to spare his Treasures, his Goods, nor Costs, nor Rents that he might inrich the Church. My Grandfather the elder,* Edward, *your Fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gave to the Churches. It becometh you to remember with what Gifts my Father and his Brothers did inrich Christs Altars. O Father of Fathers,* Dunstan, *behold (I pray thee) the eyes of my Father looking on thee, from that bright place of Heaven: hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine ears, thus pitifully lamenting,* O Father *Dunstan,* thou, thou *(I say)* gavest me counsel to build Abbies and Churches, thou wait my Helper and Fellow-worker in all things: I chose thee as a Shepherd and Bishop of my Soul, and a Keeper of my Manners. When did I not obey thee? What Treasures did I prefer in respect of thy counsels? What Possessions did I not despise, if thou baddest me? If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to the poor, I was ready. If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that Monks or Clerks wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that Alms lasted for ever, and that there was none more fruitful than that which was given to Abbies or Churches. For with that both Gods Servants are sustained, and that which remaineth is given to the Poor. O worthy Alms! O worthy price of the Soul! O wholsome remedy for our sins, which now doth stink in the sweet Furrs of Priests Lemmans, wherewith they adorn their Ears and deck their Fingers, apparelling their delicate Bodies with silk and Purple! O Father, is this the fruit of my Alms, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answer to this complaint of my Fathers? I know, I know: When thou didst see a Thief, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with Adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them: but words have been despised; now we must come to stripes of Correction. Thou hast here with thee, the Worshipful Father *Edward* Bishop of *Winchester*. Thou hast the Reverend Prelate *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*. I commit this business to you, that both by Bishoply Correction, and the Kings Authority, the filthy Livers may be cast out of the Churches, and they that live orderly may be brought in, &c.

The Ignorance and Superstition of the time of King Edgar noted.

In this Oration of King *Edgar* above prefixed three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that have judgment to mark and understand, to wit, The religious zeal and devotion of Kings, both in giving to the Church, and also in correcting the manners of Churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behaviour and wantonness of the Clergy, then abusing the great Donations and Patrimonies of Princes bestowed upon them. Thirdly, the blind Ignorance and Superstition of that time in both States, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, in esteeming Christs Religion chiefly to consist in giving to Churches, and in maintaining of Monkery; being falsely perswaded that remission of their Sins, and remedy of their Souls therein, did lie in building Monasteries, erecting Churches and Cloysters, and in placing Monks in the same, and such other Alms-deeds, and Works of devotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true Doctrine of Christs Faith, and of free Grace of the Gospel, which promiseth life, remedy, and justification, not by any devout Merits of ours, nor by any Works either of the Law of God, or of the Inventions of man, but only and freely by our Faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God, in whom only consisteth all the Promises of God. *Amen.*

The Doctrine of Justification unknown.

Justification by Faith in Christ.

Now remaineth as in the former Book before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the Order and Race of Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as we have done the Race of Kings, beginning with *Ethelredus*, who succeeded next after *Celnocke*, the seventeenth Archbishop of that See, mentioned where we left before.

The

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury, *from the time of King* Egbert *to* William Conqueror.

18. *Ethelredus.*	18	
19. *Pleimundus.*	29	This *Pleimundus* was School-Master to King *Alfred.*
20. *Athelmus.*	12	
21. *Ulfelmus.*	13	
22. *Odo.*	20	By the Prayers of this *Odo*, the Monkish stories say that the Sword of King *Ethelstan* was brought again into his Scabbard, as is noted before in that Kings time.
23. *Elfius*, or *Elfinus.*	1	This *Elfius*, first Bishop of *Winchester*, came to the See of *Canterbury*, by the Commandment of King *Edgar*, some say by Bribes, contrary to the mind of *Odo*. Whereupon in the first day of his Consecration, he insulting upon the Tomb of *Odo* with despite, shortly after went to *Rome* for his Pall, where in his journey upon the *Alpes* he died for cold, insomuch that his Horses being killed, and he put in their warm bellies, yet could he get no heat. *Malmesbur.*
24. *Dunstan.*	20	Of this *Dunstan* many Monkish Miracles be feigned, as of the Harp upon the Wall playing by it self, *Gaudent in Calis, &c.* Of our Lady with her company appearing to him singing, *Cantemus Domino sociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio.* Also of the Angels singing *Kyrieleison, &c. Item,*

Polydorus maketh *Dunstan* to be the 23 Archbishop.

A Dunstans Harp upon the Wall fal by a pin did hang a-Without mans help, with lye and all and byit self did twang o

		of holding the Devil by the Nose with a pair of Tongs, tempting him with Women, *Malmesb. Item,* of seeing the Holy Ghost at his Mass in liknesse of a Dove. *Item,* in delivering the Soul of *Edwin* from the Devil. *Item,* in foreseeing the death of King *Edred*, by the death and falling of his Horse. *Item*, of his Mother being great with *Dunstan*, when all the Candles of others went out, her only Candle remained light: and many other like Fables, &c.
25. *Ethelgarus.*	1	
26. *Elfricus.*	11	
27. *Siricius.*	5	This *Siricius* was the Counsellor to King *Egelred*, to redeem peace of the *Danes* with a great Tribute.
28. *Elphegus.*	6	*Elphegus*, because he denied to pay to the *Danes* a Tribute, was stoned to death at *Greenwich*, and of some is called a Martyr.
29. *Livingus.*	7	
30. *Egenoldus.*	17	
31. *Edsius.*	11	
32. *Robertus.*	2	This *Robertus* caused *Godwin* and his Sons to be banished, accusing them of Treason. But afterward they being restored, he went to *Rome*, and at his return died.
33. *Stigandus.*	17	*Stigandus* being an *Englishman*, in the time of *William Conqueror* the *Norman*, was by the craft of the said *William* conveyed into *Normandy*, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length the said *William* procured secretly the Popes Letters to depose him, that he might place *Lanfrancus* in his room. This *Stigandus* died at length in prison.
34. *Lanfrancus.*	19	

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CONTAINING

Other three hundred years from *William Conqueror*, to the time of *John Wickliffe*, wherein is described the proud and mis-ordered Reign of *Antichrist*, beginning to stir in the Church of CHRIST.

William Conquerer.

WIlliam Duke of *Normandy*, firnamed *Conqueror*, base Son of *D. Robert*, the sixth Duke of *Normandy*, and Nephew unto King *Edward*, after the foresaid Victory against *Harold* and the *English-men* obtained, was received King over the Realm of *England*, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity of time. For else the *Londoners* had promised their assistance to *Edgar Etheling* to the uttermost of their power. But being weakned and wasted so greatly in battels before, and the Duke coming so fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, submitted themselves. Whereupon the said *William* (of a Duke made a King) was Crowned upon *Christmas-day* in the year of our Lord, 1067. by the hands of *Aldredus* Archbishop of *York*; forasmuch as at that time *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the King. A little before the coming in of this Duke, a terrible blazing Star was seen the space of seven days, which was the year before. In record whereof, as well of the Conquest of the Duke, as of the blazing-Star, these Verses yet remain:

{Anno 1067}

A blazing Star.

Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,
Cum pereunt Angli stella monstrante Cometa.

Which King thus being Crowned, did Reign over the Realm of *England* the space of one and twenty years and one month, with great severity and cruelnes toward the *English-men*, burthening them with great Tributes and Exactions; which was, to pay of every Hide of ground containing twenty Acres, six shillings. By means whereof certain parts of the Land rebelled, and specially the City of *Excester*. But at last *William* overcame them, and won the City, and punished them grievously. But, for that and for other item deeds of *William*, divers of the Lords departed into *Scotland*: wherefore he kept the other Lords that tarried the fraiter, and exalted the *Normans*, giving to them the chief Possessions of the Land. And forsomuch as he obtained the Kingdom by force and dint of Sword, he changed the whole state of the Governance of this Common-wealth; and Ordained new Laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people; abolishing the Laws of King *Edward*, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before, to observe and maintain them. For the which, great Commotions and Rebellions remained long after among the people (as Histories record) to have the said Laws of King *Edward* revived again.

Tribute.

Rebellion. Earl Morcar, and Earl Edwin, Edgar Atheling, with his mother and two sisters Margaret and Christian fled into Scotland. New Kings, new Laws.

King William forsworn in abolishing King Edwards Laws.

Where by the way speaking of Laws, this is memorable, that even in this Kings time the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate was distinct from that of the Church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, and be assistant to the Bishops; whose Jurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by King *William* now holding the stern of Government in his hand, the words following do declare.

Turris Lond'.

Willielmus *Gratia Dei Rex* Anglorum, *comitibus, vicecomitibus & omnibus* Francigenis & Anglis, *qui in Episcopatu Remigii Episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis &c.* In English thus:

William *by the Grace of God King of* England, *to all Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and to all* French-born *and* English, *which in the Bishoprick of* Remigius *the Bishop have Lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithful Subjects which abide in* England, *that the Bishops Laws which have been not well, nor according to the Precepts of holy Canons, even to my time in the Kingdom of* England; *by the Common Council and the Council of mine Archbishops, and the rest of Bishops and Abbots, with all the Princes of my Kingdom I have judged to be amended. Wherefore I command, and by my Royal Authority give in Charge, That no Bishop or Archdeacon do hold any more Pleas of Law in the Hundred by the Bishops Laws, nor bring any Cause which pertaineth to the Cure of Souls unto the judgement of secular men: but whosoever, according to the Bishops Laws, about any Suit or Default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the Bishop shall have chosen and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Laws of the Bishop they shall do right unto God and to their Bishop. And if any puffed up with pride, being called once, twice, and thrice to the Court of Pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawn to amendment, let him be Excommunicate. And if need be, to correct and revenge this, let the Power and Justice of the Kings Under-Sheriff be used. And he, which being called or summoned to the Bishops Court, will not come, for every calling shall be put to his answer before the Bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine Authority forbid, that no Under-Sheriff, or Provost, or Officer of the King, nor any Lay-man meddle or make with the Laws belonging to the Bishop; nor that any Lay-man bring or sue another out of the Bishops Court of Justice unto Judgement. And as for Judgment, let it be given in no place but in the Bishops See, or in that place which in the behalf the Bishop shall appoint.*

The first Edict to establish Religion.

King William his Edict to establish Religion.

By this evidence of Record it is manifest (as you see) that Duke *William* (now King) having assumed unto himself the absolute Authority Royal, endeavoured to establish a form of Government both in the Church and Common-wealth answerable to his own mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed unto the Clergy a kind of Jurisdiction of conventing persons before them, and likewise of exercising such Ecclesiastical Discipline as the quality of that age and time did use. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our Story, as the Spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct us.

Over and besides this, the foresaid *William*, as he was a Warrior, so he delighting in Forts and Bulwarks, builded four strong Castles; two at *York*, one at *Nottingham*, and another at *Lincoln*, which Garrisons he furnished with *Normans*.

About the third year of his Reign, *Harold* and *Canutus* Sons of *Swanus*, King of *Denmark*, entred into the *North* Country. The *Normans* within *York*, fearing that the *English-men* would aid the *Danes*, fired the Suburbs of the Town. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong that it took into the City, and burnt a great part thereof, with the Minster of S. *Peter*, where no doubt many worthy Works and Monuments of

York rich City fired, & how burnt.

Books were consumed. In the time whereof the *Danes* by the favour of some of the Citizens entred the City, and slew more than three thousand of the *Normans*. But not long after King *William* chased them out, and drave them to their Ships, and took such displeasure with the inhabitants of that Country, that he destroyed the land from *York* to *Durham*, so that nine years after the Province lay waste and unmanured, only except St. *Johns* land of *Beverly*; and the people thereof were so strictly kept in penury by the war of the King; that (as our *English* story saith) they eat Rats, Cats, and Dogs, with other vermin.

The North Country wasted.

Horrible famine in the North parts of Northumberland.

Also in the fourth year of this King, *Malcolm* King of *Scots* entred into *Northumberland*, and destroyed the Country, and slew there many of the people, both of men, women and children, after a lamentable sort, and took some prisoners. But within two years after, King *William* made such war upon the *Scots*, that he forced *Malcolm* their King to do him homage.

Scots fields to King William.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this Realm under his foreign Conquerour, which is now the fifth time that the said land with the inhabitants thereof hath been scourged by the hand of God. First, by the *Romans* in the time of *Julius Cesar*; then by the *Scots* and *Picts* (as hath been shewed) afterward by the *Saxons*. Again, the *Saxons* or *Englishmen* did not enjoy the possession of *Britain* with long quiet, but were brought in as much subjection themselves under the *Danes*, as they had brought the *Britains* before (and that much more) insomuch that through all *England*, if an *Englishman* had met a *Dane* upon a Bridg, he might not stir one foot before the Lord *Dane* (otherwise *Lordane*) were past. And then if the *Englishman* had not given low reverence to the *Dane* at his coming by, he was sure to be sharply punished (with more) as above hath been declared. And this subjection continued almost from the reign of King *Ethelwolfus* 230 years, till the reign of King *Edward*. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred up the *Normans* against them, who conquered and altered the whole Realm after their own purpose; insomuch that besides the innovation of the Laws, Coyns, and Possessions, there was in no Church of *England* almost any *English* Bishop, but only *Normans* and foreigners placed through all their Diocels. To such misery was this land then brought, that not only of all the *English* Nobility not one house was standing, but also it was thought reproachful to be called an *Englishman*. This punishment of God against the *English* Nation, Writers do assign diversly to divers causes, (as partly before is touched) of whom some assign this to be the cause as followeth in the words of the story: *In primitiva Anglie Ecclesia religio elarissime splendebat, ita ut reges & reginæ, duces & episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: processu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam proditione & nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, &c.* The meaning whereof is this: That whereas Kings and Queens, Dukes and Prelates, in the primitive time of the *English* Church, were ready for Religion to forsake either Liberty or Country, and give themselves to a solitary life; in process of time they grew to such dissolutenes, that they left no other Realm unto them in iniquity, *&c.* Again, some writing of the Vision of King *Edward*, a little before the Invasion of the *Normans*, testifie how the King reporting of his own Vision, should hear that for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head-Dukes, Bishops and Abbots of the Realm, the Kingdom should be given to the hand of their enemies after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred years and one day. Which space was also seen by *William* the Conquerour, to be one hundred and fifty years; and that his progeny so long should continue. Again, some Writers intreating of this so great wrath of God upon the *English* people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: *Nam licut Angli Britones quos Deus dispersos minare, propulserat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliavernat, & a terra Angliæ minus justis fugaverant: sic justi duplici perfecutione, &c.* Like as the *Englishmen* did subdue the *Britains* (whom God propased for their defervings to exterminate) and them unjustly did dispossess of their land, so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution; first by the *Danes*, and after by the *Normans*, &c. Moreover to these injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the *Englishmen*, hitherto recited, let us add also the cruel villany of this Nation, in murthering and tything the innocent *Normans* before, who coming as strangers with *Alfred* the lawful heir of the Crown, were despightfully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be always just and right) did suffer the *Normans* so to prevail. By the coming in of the which *Normans*, and by their quarrel unto the Realm, three things we may note and learn. First, to consider and learn the righteous retribution and wrath of God from Heaven upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leave no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often do chance to Realms publickly by foreign marriage with other Princes, *&c.*

The cruel villanies of the English against all degrees of the Nation of England. Five Conquests which have been in this Realm. Romans, Scots and Picts, Saxons, Danes, Normans.

Ex Hen. Huntingdon. Lib. 6.

Ex Willielmo Jumiacf.

England scourged for their iniquity.

The Vision of King Edward.

Englishmen scourged for their wicked opposing of the Britains.

Englishmen justly scourged for their unjust cruelty against the Normans.

Three things to be noted.

Gods just judgment.

Lack of Succession.

Forraign Marriages.

In the same fourth year of this King, between *Easter* and *Whitsontide* was holden a solemn Council of the Clergy of *England* at *Winchester*. At the which Council were present two Cardinals sent from Pope *Alexander* the Second, *Peter* and *John*. In this Council, the King being there himself present, were deposed divers Bishops, Abbots and Priors, (by the means of the King,) without any evident cause; to the intent his *Normans* might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his Knights before to the rule of the Temporality, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was put down for three causes against him pretended.

{Anno 1070.}

A Council holden at Winchester. Might overcometh right.

Divers Bishops, Abbots and Priors deposed in England.

Stigandus Archbishop of Canterbury deprived, and the cause why.

The first was for that he had holden wrongfully that Bishoprick, while *Robert* the Archbishop (above mentioned) was living.

The second was for that he had received the Pall of *Benedict* Bishop of *Rome*, the fifth of that name. Which *Benedict*, for buying his Popedom had been deposed, as is shewed before.

The third cause, for that he occupied the said Pall without license and lawful authority of the Court of *Rome*.

Fair countenance not to be trusted.

Then *Stigandus* well proved the benevolence of King *William*. For where before the King seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence; then he changed all his mildnes into fiernes, and excuted himself by the Bishop of *Rome*'s authority. So that in the end, *Stigandus* was deprived of his dignity, and kept in *Winchester* as a prisoner during his life. This *Stigandus* is noted for a man so covetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his own, and swearing that he had not a peny, yet by a key fastened about his neck, was found great treasure of his under the ground.

A covetous Bishop.

At the same time was preferred to the Archbishoprick of *York*, *Thomas* a *Norman*, and Canon of *Baion*.

Thomas made Archbishop of York.

Lanfrancus an Italian, Archbishop of Canterbury.

At which time also *Lanfrancus*, Abbot of *Cadomnency* (a *Lombard* and *Italian* born) was sent for, and made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, between which two Archbishops, about their Confecration first began a contention, for giving and taking the Oath of obedience; but that contention was at that time appeased by the King; and *Thomas* was contented to subscribe to the Archbishop of *Canterburies* obedience.

The Minster of York builded.

After this it followed within short space, that the said *Lanfrancus* and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, who first builded the Minster of *York*, and gave possessions thereunto, came to *Rome* with *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorcester* for their Palls, as the manner was; without which no Archbishop nor Bishop could be confirmed, although their Election were never so lawful. This Pall must be asked no where but of the Pope or his assigns, and that within three months; also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily. *Dist.* 100. *cap. prisca.* Which as it was a chargeable thing to other Nations (especially such as were far from *Rome*) so it was no small gain to the *Romish* See, so as they did order it. For although at the beginning the Pall was given without money according to the Decree, *Dist.* 100. or for little, as percase in this time of *Lanfranke*; yet in processe of years it grew to such excess, that where the Bishoprick of *Mentz* was wont to give to *Rome* but ten thousand Florens; afterward it arose so, that he which asked his Confirmation, could not obtain it without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to five and twenty thousand, and at length to seven and twenty thousand Florens; with sum *Jacobus* Archbishop of *Mentz*, was preft to pay a little before the Council of *Basil*; insomuch that the said *Jacobus* at his departing (which was within four

The giving of the Pall. Dist. 100. cap. prisca. Ex lib. Gratiani. Decretal. Clementin.

Jacobus Archbishop of Mentz.

years after) said, that his death did not so much grieve him as to remember his poor subjects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the Popes Pall. Now by this, what riseth to the Pope in whole *Germany*, containing in it above fifty Bishopricks, it may be easily conjectured. *Lanfrancus* thus coming to *Rome*, with the other two Bishops; he for the estimation of his Learning obtained of *Alexander* two Palls, one of honour, the other of love. *Item*, he obtained for the other two Bishops also their Confirmation. At which time, they being there present before *Alexander*, the controversie began first to be moved (or rather renewed) for the Primacy betwixt the two Metropolitans, that is, betwixt the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Archbishop of *York*, whether of them should have preeminence above the other. For *Canterbury* challenged to himself the Prerogative and primacy over whole *Britain* and *Ireland*; the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two Churches, and was often renewed in the days of divers Kings after this; as in the reign of *Henry* the First, betwixt *Thurstinus* of *York*, and *Radulphus* of *Canterbury*. And again, in the seven and twentieth year of the said King, at his second Coronation. For *Radulphus* would not suffer the first Coronation to stand, because it was done by the Bishop of *York*, without his assent. Also in the reign of *Henry* the Second, where *Alexander* Pope made a Letter Decretal betwixt these two Metropolitans, for bearing the Cross in the year 1150. Also another time, in the reign of the said King, betwixt *Richard* of *Canterbury*, and *Roger* of *York*. Again, about the year of our Lord 1170, when *Thomas Becket* bearing the King to be Crowned of *Roger* Bishop of *York*, complained thereof grievously to Pope *Alexander* the Third. Item, another time in the year 1176, betwixt *Richard* and the said *Roger*, whether of them should sit on the right hand of Cardinal *Hugo* in his Council at *London*. Moreover, in the beginning of the reign of King *Richard*, in the year 1190, betwixt *Baldwinus* of *Canterbury*, and *Godfridus* of *York*, &c.

Now to proceed in the story hereof: After this question was brought (as is said) to the Popes presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into *England*, there to have their cause determined. Whereupon they speeding themselves from *Rome* to *England* in the year 1070, and in the sixth year (as is said) of this *William*, brought the matter before the King and the Clergy at *Windsor*. Whereas *Lanfranke* first alledging for himself, brought in from the time of *Austin* to the time of *Beda* (which was about 140 years) how that the Bishop of *Canterbury* had ever the Primacy over the whole land of *Britain* and *Ireland*; how he kept his Councils divers times within the precincts of *York*; how he did call and cite the Bishops of *York* thereto; whereof some he did constitute, some he did Excommunicate, and some he did remove; besides also he alledged divers privileges granted by Princes and Prelates to the Primacy of that See, &c.

To this *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* replieth again, and first beginning with the first original of the *Britains* Church, declareth in order of time how the *Britains*, &c.

Enea Silvius writeth that there be fifty Bishopricks in Germany.

Lucius the first King of Britain Christened.

Theonus first Archbishop of London.

Eu Chronic. Eyderi.

5. The *Britains* first possessioners of this Kingdom of *Britain*, which endured from *Brutus* and *Cadwalladar* 2076 years, under an hundred and two Kings, at length received the Christian Faith in the year 162, in the time of *Lucius* their King, *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome* sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* Preachers unto them; at which time after their conversion, they ordained in the Realm eight and twenty Bishops, with two Archbishops, *Theonus* the Archbishop of *London*, and *Theodosius* Archbishop of *York*. Under those Bishops and Archbishops the Church of *Britain* was governed after their conversion, almost three hundred years, till at length the *Saxons* being then Infidels, with *Hengistus* their King, subduing the *Britains* by fraudulent murther invaded their land, which was about the year of our Lord 440. After this the *Britains* being driven into *Cambria* (which we now call *Wales*) the *Saxons* over-running the land, divided themselves into seven Kingdoms. And so being Infidels and Pagans, continued till the time that *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* sent *Austin* to preach unto them; which *Austin* coming first to *Dover*, being then the head City of *Kent*, called in *Latin*, *Dorobernia*, and there planting himself, converted first the King of *Kent*, called *Ethelbertus*, who had then subdued certain other Kings unto *Humber*. By reason whereof *Austin* was made Archbishop of *Dover*, by the appointment of *Gregorius*, who sent him certain Palls with his Letter from *Rome*, as before is expressed. Which Letter being recited, then *Thomas* expounding upon the same, beginneth to declare for himself, how the meaning of *Gregory* in this Letter was, to reduce the new Church of *Saxons* or *Englishmen* to the order that was in the old time among the *Britains*; that is, to be under two Metropolitans, one of *London*, the other of *York*; for so the Church was ordered in the time of the *Britains*, as is before declared. Notwithstanding he giveth to *Austin* this prerogative during his life time, to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve Bishops, but upon all other Bishops and Priests in *England*. And after his decease then these two Metropolitans, *London* and *York*, to oversee the whole Clergy, as in times past amongst the *Britains*; whom he joyneth together after the death of *Austin*, to constitute Bishops, and to oversee the Church. And that he so meaneth *London* to be equal in authority with *York*, it appeareth by four arguments: First, That he willeth *London* to be consecrate by no Bishop, but of his own Synod. Secondly, In that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt *London* and *York*, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time. Thirdly, For that he matcheth these two together in common Council, and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult upon in the zeal of Christ Jesus; and that in such sort that one should not dissent nor discord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should govern together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthly where he writeth, that the Bishop of *York* should not be subject to the Bishop of *London*; what meaneth this, but that the Bishop of *London* should be equivalent with the Metropolitan of *York*, or rather superior unto him?

Dunwallo Molmucius King of Britain.

This was done by the procurement of S. Augustine.

If this similitude were framed into a syllogistical fashion, the major term and specially the minor were utterly false.

And thus he expounded the meaning of *Gregory* to be in the foresaid Letter. To whom *Lanfrancus* again answereth, That he was not the Bishop of *London*, and that the question pertained not to *London*. *Thomas* replieth, having on his part many fautors, that this priviledge was granted by *Gregory* to *Austin* alone, to have all other Bishops subject to him; but after his decease there should be equality of honour betwixt *London* and *York*, without all distinction of priority; save the only priority of time should make superiority between them. And although *Austin* translated the See from *London* to *Kent*; yet *Gregory*, if his mind had been to give the same prerogative to the Successors of *Austin* (which he gave to him) would expressly have uttered it in the words of his Epistle, writing thus to *Austin*: That which I give to thee *Austin*, I give also and grant to all thy Successors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his Successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.

Lanfrancus replieth.

Thomas replieth.

To this *Lanfrancus* argueth again: If this authority had been given to *Austin* alone, and not to his Successors it had been but a small gift, proceeding from the Apostolick See, to his special and familiar friend; especially seeing also that *Austin* in all his life did constitute no Bishop of *York*, neither was there any such Bishop to be subject to him. Again, we have priviledges from the Apostolick See, which confirm this dignity in the Successors of *Austin*, in the same See of *Dover*. Moreover, all *Englishmen* think it both right and reason to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where first they took the sparkle of right believing. Further, whereas you say that *Gregory* might have confirmed with plain words the same thing to the Successors of *Austin*, which he gave unto him; all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing prejudicial to the See of *Canterbury*. For, if you know your Logick, that which is true in the whole is also true in the parts and what is true in the more is also true in the less. Now the Church of *Rome* is as the whole, to whom all other Churches be as parts thereof; and as *Homo*, mankind

Lanfrancus replieth.

The right of Canterbury established by Gregory.

Well proved also out of the Bible.

A Letter of Lanfrancus sent to Pope Alexander.

mankind is *Genus*, the general in a certain respect to all his *Individua*, to all particular persons, yet in every particular person lyeth the property of the general; so in like manner the See of *Rome* in a certain respect is the general, and the whole to other Churches, and yet in every particular Church is contained the whole fulness of the whole Christian faith. The Church of *Rome* is greater than all Churches; that which is wrought in it ought to work in the less Churches also; so that the authority of every chief head of the Church ought to stand also in them that do succeed; unless there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore like as the Lord said to all Bishops of *Rome* the same thing which he said to *Peter*, so *Gregory* in like manner said to all the Successors of *Austin*, that which he said to *Austin*. So thus I conclude, Likewise as the Bishop of *Canterbury* is subject to *Rome*, because he had his faith from thence; so *York* ought to be in subjection to *Canterbury*, which sent the first Preachers thither. Now whereas you alledg that *Gregory* would *Austin* to be resident at *London*, that is utterly uncertain. For how is it to be thought that such a Disciple would do contrary to the mind of such a Master? But grant (as you say) that *Austin* removed to *London*, what is that to me, which am not Bishop of *London*? Notwithstanding all this controverse ceasing betwixt us, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me (all contention set apart) you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equity shall extend.

Order taken between Lanfrancus Bishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Bishop of York.

With these reasons of *Lanfranke*, *Thomas* gave over, condescending that the first of his Province should begin at *Humber*. Whereupon it was then decreed that *York* from that time should be subject to *Canterbury* in all matters appertaining to the Rites and Regiment of the Catholick Church; so that wheresoever within *England Canterbury* should or would hold his Council, the Bishop of *York* should resort thither with his Bishops, and be obedient to his Decrees Canonical.

Provided moreover that when the Bishop of *Canterbury* should decease, *York* should repair unto *Dover*, there to consecrate with others the Bishops that should be Elect. And if *York* should decease, his Successor should resort to *Canterbury*, or else where the Bishop of *Canterbury* should appoint, there to receive his Consecration, making his profession there, with an Oath of Canonical obedience. *Thomas* being content withal, *Lanfrancus* the *Italian* triumpheth with no small joy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remain to the posterity of his Successors. But yet that Decree did not long stand. For shortly after the same scar, so superficially cured, braft out again. Insomuch that in the reign of King *Henry* the First, *Anno Dom.* 1121. *Thurstinus* Archbishop of *York* could not be compelled to swear to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and yet notwithstanding by the Letters of *Calixtus* the Second, was Consecrated without any profession made to the said Bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to History, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity amongst the Christian Bishops; who enflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honour, that without meer forcement of Law no modesty could take place.

Thomas 2. yeeld.

Of such like contentions among Prelates of the Clergy for superiority, we read of divers in old Chronicles, as in the History intitled *Chronicon Hirfeldense*, where is declared a bloody conflict, which twice happened in the Church of *Gosparius*, between *Hecelon* Bishop of *Hildesheime*, and *Wedoratus* Bishop of *Fulda*, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the Emperor; the Emperor himself being there present, and looking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Thus I have described the troubulous contention between *Lanfrancus* and *Thomas* Metropolitan of *York*, in the days of *Alexander*, of which controverse, and of the whole discourse thereof *Lanfrancus* writeth to Pope *Alexander*, beginning thus:

Domino totius Christianæ religionis summo speculatori Alex. Pap. æ. Lanfrancus sanctæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ antistes, debitam cum omni servitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per vestram authoritatem coactum est, ubi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiscopi prolatæ & ventilatæ sunt, allata est Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum Historia, quam Eboracensis Ecclesiæ Presbyter, & Anglorum doctor composuit: and so forth, in a long process of words which follow. Among which in the middle of the Epistle, speaking of *Dover* and *Canterbury*, he hath these words: *Urbs namque quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipsis terræ incolis, Dorobernia vocabatur*, &c. With many other words in the said Epistle, which for brevity here I overpass.

In the story before of King *Egelred*, was declared about the year of our Lord, 1016, how the Bishoprick of *Lindaffarne*, otherwise named *Holyland*, in the flood of *Tweed*, was translated to *Durham*; so likewise in the days of this *Lanfrancus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1076, divers Bishops Sees were altered and removed from Townships to greater Cities. As the Bishoprick of *Selese* was removed to *Chichester*; out of *Cornwal* to *Exceter*; from *Wells* to *Bath*; from *Shireborne* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; from *Lichfield* to *Chester*; which Bishoprick of *Chester*, *Robert* being then Bishop, reduced from *Chester* to *Coventry*. Likewise after that in the reign of *William Rufus*, Anno 1095, *Herbert* Bishop of *Thetford* from thence reduced the See to *Norwich*, &c.

Bishops Sees translated inter Eng-Land.

As concerning *Dover* and *Canterbury*, whether the See was likewise translated from the Town of *Dover* to the City of *Canterbury* in the time of *Theodorus*; or whether *Canterbury* by old time had the name of *Dorobernia* (as the Letter of *Lanfrancus* to Pope *Alexander* above mentioned doth pretend) I find it not in Histories expressly defined; save that I read by the words of *William*, being yet Duke of *Normandy*, charging then *Harold* to make a Well of Water for the Kings use in the Castle of *Dorobernia*, that the said *Dorobernia* then was taken for that which we now call *Dover*; but whether *Dorobernia* and the City of *Canterbury* be both one or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I read in the Epistle of Pope *Bonifacius* to King *Ethelbert*, as also to *Justinus* Archbishop: Item, in the Epistle of Pope *Honorius* to Bishop *Honorius*: Item, of Pope *Vitalianus* to *Theodorus*; of Pope *Sergius* to King *Ethelred*, *Alfred* and *Adulphus*, and to the Bishops of *England*. Likewise of Pope *Gregory* the Third to the Bishops of *England*. Item, of Pope *Leo* to *Athelard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Of *Formosus* to the Bishops of *England*, and of Pope *John* to *Dunstan*; that the name of *Dorobernia* and of *Canterbury* indifferently are taken for one matter.

Dorobernia and Canterbury taken both for one.

In this time (and by the procuring of this *Lanfrancus*) the ninth year of this King, a Council was holden at *London*, where among the Acts thereof these were the principal things concluded:

A Council holden at London, and what were the Acts thereof.

First, For the order of sitting, that the Archbishop of *York* should sit on the right hand, and the Bishop of *London* on the left hand; or in the absence of *York*, *London* should have the right, and *Winchester* the left hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sitting in Council.

2. The second, that Bishops should translate their Sees from Villages into Cities, whereupon those Sees above named were translated.

3. That Monks should have nothing in proper; and if any so had, he dying unconfessed should not be buried in the Churchyard.

4. That no Clerk or Monk of any other Diocess should be admitted to Orders, or retained without Letters Commendatory or Testimonial.

5. That none should speak in the Council except Bishops and Abbots, without leave of the Arch-Metropolitans.

6. That none should marry within the seventh degree, with any either of his own kindred, or of his wives departed.

7. That none should either buy or sell any Office within the Church.

8. That no Sorcery or any Divination should be used or permitted in holy Church.

9. That no Bishop nor Abbot, nor any of the Clergy should be at the judgment of any mans death or dismembring, neither should be any fautor of the said Judicants.

Bishops of *England* abrout to drive out Monks, and to place Priests against their head.

Moreover in the days of this *Lanfrancus*, divers good Bishops of the Realm began to take part with Priests against the Monks, in displacing these out of their Churches, and to restore the married Priests again; insomuch that *Walkelmus* Bishop of *Winchester* had placed above forty Canons instead of Monks for his part; but this godly enterprize was stopped by stout *Lanfranke* the *Italian Lombard*. This lusty Prelate sat nineteen years, but at his latter end he was not so favoured of *William Rufus*, and died for sorrow. Although this *Italian Frank* being Archbishop had little leisure to write, yet something he thought to do to set out his famous learning, and wrote a Book against *Berengarius*, intituling it *Opus Scintillarum*. The old Church of *Canterbury* he plucked down and builded up the new.

Opus Scintillarum. Lanfranci.

{Anno 1074.} After the death of Pope *Alexander* above mentioned, next unto him followed *Hildebrand*, Simamed *Gregory* the seventh. This *Hildebrand* as he was a Sorcerer, so was he the first and principal cause of all this perturbation that is now and hath been since his time in the Church; by reason that through his example all this ambition, stoutnes, and pride entred first into the Church of *Rome*, and hath ever since continued. For before *Hildebrand* came to *Rome* working there his feats, setting up and displacing what Bishops he lifted, corrupting them with pernicious counsel, and setting them against Emperors, under pretence of Chastity destroying Matrimony, and under the title of liberty breaking peace, and resisting authority; before this (I say) the Church of *Rome* was in some order, and Bishops quietly governed under Christian Emperors, and also were defended by the same; as *Marcellus*, *Miltiades*, and *Sylvester* were subdued, and under obedience to *Constantinus*, Ann. 340. *Siricius* to *Theodosius*, Ann. 388. *Gregorius* to *Mauricius*, Ann. 600. *Hilarius* to *Justinian*, Ann. 528. *Adrianus* and *Leo* to *Carolus Magnus*. An. 801. *Paschalis* and *Valentius* to *Ludovicus Pius*, Ann. 830. *Sergius* the nine and twentieth to *Lotharius*, Ann. 840. *Benedictus* the third, and *Johannes* the ninth unto *Ludovicus*, Son of *Lotharius*, Ann. 856. But against this obedience and subjection *Hildebrand* first began to spurn, and by his example taught all other Bishops to do the like.

Hildebrand the cause of all the stoutness and pride in Prelates.

The o'ersight of Bishops in ancient time to Emperors.

Insomuch that at length they wrought and brought to pass that it should be lawful for a few Cardinals and Cardinals (contrary to ancient Ordinance and Statutes Decretal) to chuse what Pope they list, without any consent of the Emperor at all. And whereas before it stood in the Emperors gift to give and to grant Bishopricks, Archbishopricks, Benefices, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments within their own limits, to whom they list; now the Popes through much wrestling, wars, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands, and to their assigns; yea, have pluckt in all the riches and power of the whole world: and not content with that, have usurped and prevailed so much above Emperors, that (as before) no Pope might be chosen without the confirmation of the Emperor; so now no Emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the Pope, taking upon them more than Princes to place or displace Emperors at their pleasure for every light cause; to put down or set up when and whom they lifted; as *Fredericus Primus*, for holding the left Stirrup of the Popes Saddle, was persecuted almost to Excommunication. The which cause moveth me to strain more diligence here, in setting out the story, acts and doings of this *Hildebrand*, from whom as the first Patron and founder sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the *Roman* Church; to the intent that such as cannot read the *Latin* Histories may understand in *English* the original of evils; how and by what occasion they first began, and how long they have continued.

What Popes have done.

Popes more than Princes.

Frederick, the first stunt for holding the Popes left Stirrup.

And first how this *Hildebrand* hitherto had behaved himself, before he was Pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was then Pope indeed, and ruled the Popes and all their doings as him lifted. Item, what ways and fetches he had attempted ever since his first coming to the Court of *Rome*, to magnifie and maintain false liberty against true authority; what practice he wrought by Councils, what factions and conspiracies he made, in stirring up Popes against Emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have also expressed. Now let us see further (by the help of Christ) the worthy vertues of this Princely Prelate, after he came to be Pope, as they remain in Histories of divers and sundry writers described.

Hildebrandus sive Gregor. 7.

The Tragical History of *Gregory* the Seventh, otherwise named *Hildebrand*.

THE words of the *Latin* History be these, *Hactenus Pontifices Romani in comitiis curiatis calatis a sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu*, &c.

Gregory the Seventh. *Ex Anton.*

Ex Antonino qui hæc inserenda duximus. Priests given call'd Presbyters in old Charters.

In *English*.

Hitherto the Bishops of *Rome* have been elected by voices and suffrages of all sorts and degrees, as well of the Priests and the Clergy, as of the Nobility, people, and Senate, all conventing and assembling together. And this Election so I find to stand in force, if to be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of *Roman* Emperors who had authority to call and to assemble all these, as well as Bishops, together unto Councils as case required. Under the authority and jurisdiction of these Emperors were content tained both in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, and through the whole Dominion of *Rome*, all Patriarchs, Bishops, Masters of Churches and Monasteries, by the Decree of Councils, according to the old custom of our Ancestors, as is declared in a certain story in the life of *Carolus Magnus*. The holy and ancient Fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his Disciples and Apostles both taught and did) honoured and efteemed their Emperors as the supreme Potestate next under God on earth, let up, ordained, elected and crowned of God, above all other mortal men, and so counted them, and called them their Lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their subsidies, also prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they took as rebels and resisters against God, his Ordinance and Christian piety. The name of the Emperor then was of great Majesty, and received as given from God. Then these Fathers of the Church never intermedled nor intangled themselves with Politick affairs of the Commonweal; much less occupied they Martial arms and matters of Chivalry. Only in poverty and modesty was all their contention with other Christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them. And the more humblenesse appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The sharp and two edged-sword they took, given to the Church of Christ, to save, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, the life and light of men, and revoketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortal, immortal. Far were they from that, to thrust out any Prince or King (though he were never so far out of the way, yea an *Arrian*) from his Kingdom, or to curse him, to release his subjects from their Oath and their Allegiance, to change and translate Kingdoms, to subvert Empires, to pollute themselves with Christian blood, or to war with their Christian Brethren for Rule and Principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their Princes. Again, Princes loved them also like Fathers and fellow-Princes with them of the souls of men. Now this *Gregorius* the seventh, otherwise named *Hildebrandus*, trusting upon the *Normans*, which then ruffled about *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Campania*, intisting also upon the power of *Machtilda*, a stout woman there about *Rome*; and partly again bearing himself bold for the discord among the *Germans*; first of all others (contrary to the manner of Elders) contemning the authority of the Emperor, invaded the Cathedral See of *Rome*, vaunting himself, as having both the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulness of power was in his hand to bind and loose what so he lifted. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupy both the Regiments, to challenge all the whole Dominion, both of the East and West Church, yea, and all power to himself alone, abiding none to be equal, much less superior unto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himself their due right and honour, setting at light *Cesars*, Kings and Emperors, and who reigned but by his own Godamercy? Bishops and Prelates as his Underlings he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring up strife and wars, sowing of discord, making factions, releasing Oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their Princes. Yea, and if he had offended, or injured the Emperor himself, yet notwithstanding he ought to be feared, as he himself glorieth in a certain Epistle, as one that could not err, and had received of Christ our Saviour, and of *Peter*, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests then in those days had wives openly and lawfully (no Law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deed and writings of their Chapter-seals and Donations, which were given to Temples and Monasteries, wherein their wives also be cited with them for witnes, and were called *Presbyteriffæ*. Also for Bishops, Prelates, Parsons of Churches, Governours of the Clergy, Masters of Monasteries, and Religious Houses; all these were then in those times in the Emperors Ordination, to assign by voice or consent to whom he would. Now these two things *Gregorius* this Pope could not abide; for the which two causes only was all his striving and driving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of Priests, and to translate the Authority Imperial to the Clergy. For to this scope only tended all his labour, practises and devices, as appeared before in the Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Nicholas*, and also in the Council of *Mantua* under *Alexander*, making their marriage herese, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himself, to condemn Ministers that were married for *Nicholaitans*, and to receive any Spiritual Regiment of secular persons for simony, directing forth his Letters upon the same to *Henricus* the Emperor, to Dukes, Princes, Potestates, Tetrarchs; namely to *Berchtoldus*, to *Rodulphus* of *Suevia*, to *Welfo*, *Adalberon*, and their wives. Item, to Bishops, Archbishops, Priests, and to all the people; in the which Letters he denounceth them to be no Priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talk, to eat, to company with them, to pay them tythes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all others he directed special Letters to *Otho* Bishop of *Constance* concerning this matter. But *Otho* perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretence of *Hildebrand*, would never separate them that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry which were unmarried, *&c.*

Hildebrand a mortal enemy against Priests marriage.

The fact and mind of the old Church's times past.

Priests marriage made lawful.

Revenues and goods once in the Church given to prison.

Otho Bishop of *Constance*.

The name and vertue of the Emperors confessed.

The Copy of the Letter of *Hildebrand* sent to the Bishop of *Constance* against Priests Marriages.

GREGORY *Bishop, Servant of Servants of God, to the Clergy and Laity both more and less, within the Diocese of Constance, Salvation and Benediction. We have directed to our Brother Otho your Bishop our Letters Exhortatory; wherein we enjoyned him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the authority Apostolical, that he should utterly abolish out of his Church the hereste of Simony, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the Chastity of Priests. But he neither moved with reverence of St. Peter's precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do these things, whereunto we so fatherly have exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done clean contrary to our commandment (yea rather the commandment of blessed St. Peter) so that he hath permitted his Clergy, not only such as had wives, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grived therewith, have directed to him another Letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which Letters also we have cited him up to our Council at Rome, there to appear and give account of his disobedience in the audience of the whole Synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signifie this to you (our dear children) whereby in this behalf we might the better provide for your health and salvation. For if your Bishop shall continue so obstinately to repugn and resist against our Commandment, he is not mete to sit over you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed St. Peter, by our Apostolical authority, that if this your Bishop shall persist in his obstinacy, you that be his subjects hereafter geve to him no service nor obedience. For the which thing doing, we here discharge you before God and your souls. For if your Bishop shall seem contrary to the decreements and injunctions Apostolical, we through the Apostolical authority of St. Peter, discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworn to him, so long as he is a rebel against God and the Apostolick Seat, we loose you from the peril of your Oath, that you shall not need to fear therein any danger, &c.*

Otho Bishop of *Constance* thus being cited, whether he did appear personally himself, I do not read. Thus I read and find, that in the said Council holden at *Rome*, *Hildebrand* with other Bishops of *Rome* did then Enact among many others these three things most special: First, That no Priest hereafter should marry wives. Secondly, That all such as were married should be divorced. Thirdly, That none hereafter should be admitted to the Order of Priesthood, but should swear perpetual Chastity, *&c.* This Council of *Rome* being ended, forthwith the act of *Hildebrand* concerning the single life of Priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strait Commandment given to Bishops to execute the same.

Three evil things Enacted by *Hildebrand*. Here cometh in the vow of Chastity.

The Copy of his Bull sent into *Italy* and *Germany* was this.

GREGORY *the Pope, otherwise* Hildebrand, *the Servant of the Servants of God, sendeth the Apostles blessing to all them within the Kingdoms of* Italy *and* Germany, *that shew their true obedience to St.* Peter. *If there be any Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, that still will remain in the sin of fornication, we forbid them the Churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of St. Peter, till in time they amend and repent. But if they persevere in these sin, we charge that none of you presume to bear their service; for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord doth testifie to us by his Prophets,* I will turn your blessing, *&c.*

The Clergy of France repugning for divorcing from their wives.

The Bishops of *France* being called upon daily with the Popes Letters, were compelled to obey the Decree of the Council; but the residue of the Clergy manfully and stoutly withstanding the Popes Decree and inforcement of their Bishops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and said, that the Council did manifestly repugn against the Word of God, and that the Pope did take from Priests that which both God and nature had given them; and therefore that person to be an heretick, and author of a wicked Doctrine, which ruled and governed not by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. The Decree and Act set forth to tend directly against the Word of God and the saying of Christ. *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc*: All men have not the gift and capacity of this word. Item, to be against the found Doctrine of St. *Paul* writing these words, *As concerning virginity I have no Commandment of the Lord*, &c. Again, *He that cannot otherwise live continent, let him marry.* Item, that it was against the Canons both of the Apostles, and of the *Nicen* Council. Moreover, that it was against the course of nature which he required, that men being fequestred from their natural wives and women, should be coached to live as Angels; that is, to perform that which nature doth not give. And therefore the Bishop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanness and to fornication. In sum, giving up their answer, thus they concluded, That they had rather give up their Benefices than to forsake their natural and lawful wives against the word of Christ. And finally, if married Priests could not please them, they should call down Angels from Heaven to serve the Churches. But *Hildebrand* nothing moved, neither with honest reason, nor with the authority of holy Scripture, nor with the determination of the *Nicen* Council, nor any thing else, followeth this matter, calleth upon the Bishops still, with his Letters and legates doth follicite their minds, accuseth them of negligence and dastardnes, threateneth them with Excommunication, unless they cause their Preists to obey his Decree injoyned them. Whereupon a great number of Bishops, for fear of the Popes tyranny, laboured the matter with their Priests, by all means possible to bereave them of their accustomed Matrimony.

Amongst other, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, perceiving

Ex Antonino qui hæc inserenda duximus.

The Pope differeth for divine dis-ease.

Bishop of *Mutin. Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgen. in Hist. Germanorum.*

this act of taking away Priests marriage might breed him no little trouble, talketh with his Clergy gently, admonisheth them of the Popes mind and decree, and giveth them half a years respite to deliberate upon the case; exhorting them diligently to shew themselves obedient to the Pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they must be forced unto, and therefore of their own accord to stand content therewith, lest the Pope should be compelled to attempt ways of sharper severity. The time of deliberation expired, the Archbishop assembleth his Clergy at *Erpsford* the mouth of *Oſtober*, and there willeth them, according to the Pontifical Decree, either to abjure for ever all Matrimony, or else to abrenounce their Benefices and Ecclesiastical Livings. The Clergy again defend themselves against

The Priests of *Germany* stout against the Popes universal proceedings

Acts of General Councils, with examples of Ancestors, by divers strong arguments, declaring the Popes Decree not to be constant, nor ought to take effect. But the Archbishop said he was compelled so of the Pope, and could not otherwise do, but to execute that which was injoyned him.

The Clergy seeing that no reason nor prayer, nor disputation would serve, laid their heads together, consulting among themselves what was best to be done; some gave counsel not to return again to the Synod, some thought it good to return and to thrust out the Archbishop from his See, and to give him due punishment of death for his deserving, that by the example of him others may be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the Church, and the rightful liberty of Ministers. After that this was signified to the Archbishop by certain spies that were amongst them, what the Clergy intended to do, the Archbishop to prevent and salve the matter, sendeth to the Priests as they were coming out, certain messengers, bidding them be of good hope, and to return again to the Metropolitan, and they should have that should content their minds. So being perswaded, they come again to the Council. The Bishop promiseth he would do his endeavour what he could, to revoke and turn the mind of the Bishop of *Rome* from that sentence, willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their Cure and Ministry. The next year following, *Hildebrand* the Souldier of Satan fendeth his Legate (a certain Bishop called *Curiensis*) unto the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and assembled there a Council. In the which Council the Archbishop again propoſeth the matter, commanding all the Clergy, under pain of the Popes curse, there perpetually either to abrenounce their wives or their livings. The Clergy defendeded their cause again with great constancy. But when no defension could take place, but all went by tyranny and meer extortion, it burſt in the end to an uproar and tumult, where the Legate and the Archbishop being in great danger, hardly escaped with their lives, and so the Council broke up. By this schism and tumult it followed, that the Churches after that in chusing their Priests, would not send them to the Bishops (the enemies and suppressors of Matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselves, and so put them in their office without all leave or knowledg of the Bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no Priests, but such as should take an Oath of perpetual singleneſs, never to marry after. And thus first came up the Oath and profession of single Priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other Nations had followed the like constancy and concord of those *German* Ministers, the Devillish drift and decree of this *Hildebrand* (or rather *Helbrand*) had been frustrate and avoided. But this greediness of Livings in weak Priests made them to yield up their godly liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in their *Germans* to be noted, what concord can do in repressing the unordinate requests of evil

Single Priesthood how it began.

Examples of concord in Priests and Ministers.

Bishops, if they constantly stand to the truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of Matrimony.

Now let us proceed to the contents between wicked *Hildebrand* and the godly Emperor. But before, by the way of digreſſion, it ſhall not be much wide from the purpoſe to touch a little of the properties of this Pope, as we find them deſcribed in certain Epiſtles of *Benno* a Cardinal, writing to other Cardinals of *Rome*; which *Benno* lived in the ſame time of *Hildebrand*, and deteſteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monſtrous Pope.

Firſt, declaring that he was a Sorcerer moſt notable, and a Necromancer, an old companion of *Sylveſter*, of *Laurentius* and *Theophylactus*, called otherwiſe *Benedictus Nonus*. Amongſt others *Benno Cardinalis* writeth this Hiſtory of him: 'How upon a certain time this *Gregorius* 'coming from *Albanus* to *Rome*, had forgot behind him 'his familiar Book of Necromancy, which he was wont 'commonly to carry always with him. Whereupon re- 'membring himſelf, entring the Port of *Lateran*, he call- 'eth two of his moſt truſty familiars to fetch the Book, 'charging them at no hand to look within it. But they 'being ſo reſtrained, were the more deſirous to open it, 'and to peruſe it, and ſo did. After they had read a little 'the ſecrets of the Satanical Book, ſuddenly there came 'about them the meſſengers of Satan, the multitude and 'terrour of whom made them almoſt out of their wits. At 'length they coming to themſelves, the Spirits were inſtant 'upon them to know wherefore they were called 'up, wherefore they were vexed; quickly (ſaid 'they) tell us what ye would us to do, or elſe we will 'fall upon you, if ye retain us longer. Then ſpake one of 'the young men to them, bidding them go and pluck 'down yonder walls, pointing unto certain high walls 'there nigh to *Rome*, which they did in a moment. The 'young men croſſing them for fear of the Spirits (ſcarce re- 'covering themſelves) at length came to their Maſter.

Ex Benno Cardinali.

And it followeth moreover in the Epiſtle of the ſaid *Benno* to the Cardinals.

'We have made mention to you before of divers Col- 'ledges of the Church of *Rome* which refuſed to Commu- 'nicate with him; as *Leo* then Archpriest of the Cardi- 'nals, *Benno*, *Ugobaldus*, *Johannes* the Cardinal, *Peter* 'Chancellor and Cardinal, being all inſtituted before this 'Hildebrand. Theſe three alſo being Conſecrated by him, 'that is, *Natro*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*, forſook him, cur- 'ſing the deteſtable errors which he held. In like caſe *Theo- 'dinus* whom he conſtituted Archdeacon, and other Car- 'dals more, *Johannes* Simamed *Primicerius*, *Petrus Ob- 'lationarius*, with all that appertained to them, ſaving one 'only man. And now when this *Hildebrand* ſaw that 'the Biſhops alſo would forſake him, he called unto 'him the Laymen, and made them privy of his Council, 'thinking thereby to ſeparate the Biſhops, that they ſhould 'have no conference with the Cardinals. After that he 'called together thoſe Biſhops, and being guarded with 'bands of Lay-men he inforced the Biſhops partly for fear, 'and partly for his menacing words, to ſwear unto him, 'that they ſhould never diſagree unto that which he would 'have done, that they ſhould never defend the Kings quar- 'rel, and that they ſhould never favour nor obey the Pope 'that ſhould in his ſtead be inſtituted. Which thing be- 'ing done he ſent them by means of the Prince of 'Salernites into *Campania*, and thus did he ſeparate them 'from the company of the Cardinals, and from the City 'of *Rome*. And not only the Biſhops, but alſo the Prieſts 'of the City, and Clerks of inferior Orders, as alſo the 'Lay-men he bound by their Oaths, that at no time, nor 'for any cauſe they ſhould condeſcend unto the King.

Pope Hildebrand ſeparateth the Biſhops from the Cardinals.

Pope Hildebrand compelleth the Biſhops and Prieſts of *Rome* to ſwear unto him.

'As ſoon as Pope *Alexander* was dead, which died 'ſomewhat before night, the ſame day contrary to the 'Canons, he was choſen Pope of the Lay-men. But the 'Cardinals ſubſcribed not to his Election. For the Canons 'preſcribed (under pain of curſing) that none ſhould be 'choſen Pope before the third day after the burial of his 'Predeceſſor. But he (by miniſter means thus climbing to 'the See) removed the Cardinals of the ſaid See from be- 'ing of the Council. But with what perſons he conſulted 'night and day, *Rome* well heard and ſaw. And he now 'putting the Cardinals from his Council, his life, faith, and 'doctrine, no man could accuſe or bear witneſs of; whereas 'in the Canons is commanded, that in every place where- 'ſoever the Pope is, ſhould be with him three Cardinals 'being Prieſts, and two Deacons, becauſe of his Eccleſia- 'ſtical teſtimony, and ſtile of verity; of which Canonical 'Decree loose gentle Reader before. He violently wreſted 'the Sacred Scriptures to cover his falſhood, which kind 'of Idolatry how great it is, manifeſtly throughout all the 'Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the minds and conſe 'ſel of the Cardinals, and beſides the determinate order of 'pronouncing judgment by the Canons, he raſhly did Ex- 'communicate the Emperour, being in no Synod ſolemn- 'ly accuſed before. The ſentence of which Excommuni- 'cation

Pope Hildebrand pronounceth raſhly and unadvisedly ſentence againſt the Emperour.

'cation, after rehearſal of theſe preſents, ſhall alſo be ma- 'niſeſted (Chriſt willing) to the which Excommunica- 'tion, ſaith *Benno*, none of the Cardinals would ſub- 'ſcribe. As ſoon as he aroſe out of his Seat Papal, to Ex- 'communicate the Emperor, the ſame Seat (being made 'but a little before with big Timber) ſuddenly by the ap- 'pointment of God was rent and ſhivered in pieces; ſo 'that all men might plainly underſtand, what and how 'great and terrible Schiſms that Lubber had ſown againſt 'the Church of Chriſt, againſt the Seat of St. *Peter*, and 'how cruelly he had diſperſed the Chair of Chriſt, in de- 'ſiling the Laws of the Church, ruling by might and aufe- 'rity in that his ſo perilous and preſumptuous Excommu- 'cation.

The Pope clafe brake under him as he rode to excommunicate the Emperour.

'In the deſcription of the ſame Excommunication he 'inſerteth thoſe things wherein he himſelf erred, when he 'abſolved the Emperor being unjuſtly Excommunicate, and 'the Biſhops alſo communicating with him, and to the ut- 'termoſt thus cutting and mangling the Unity of the 'Church, and thoſe that communicated with them, did as 'much as in him lay to make two Churches.

The Pope diſſolveth the unity of the Church.

'Alſo the ſame bold Merchant commanded that the 'Cardinals ſhould faſt, to the intent that God would re- 'veal whoſe Opinion was better (either of the Church 'of *Rome*, or of *Berengarius*) touching the controverſie 'of the Lords Body in the Sacrament. And hereby he 'proved himſelf to be a manifeſt Infidel, for that in the '*Nicene* Council it is written, he that doubteth is an In- 'fidel.

Of this Miracle we read in no approved Hiſtory.

'Further, he fought for a Sign to eſtabliſh his Faith con- 'cerning the Article of the Lords Body; as did *Gregory* to 'confirm the Womans Faith, when the conſecrated Bread 'was tranſubſtantiated into the form of a fleſhly Finger. 'He alſo ſent two Cardinals (*Attones* and *Cunones*) unto '*Anaſtaſe*, that with the Archpriest of the ſame Church 'they ſhould begin a Faſt of three days ſpace, and that ev- 'ry of them (every day during thoſe three days) ſhould 'ſay over the Pſalter, and ſing Maſſes, that Chriſt would 'ſhew unto them ſome ſuch like ſign of his Body, as he 'did to the foreſaid *Gregory*; which thing they could not 'ſee.

The Pope kiſseth one to day the Emperour.

'The Emperor was wont oftentimes to go to St. *Maries* 'Church in the Mount *Aventine* to pray. *Hildebrand*, 'when he had by his Eſpials ſearched out and knew all 'the doings of the Emperor, cauſed the place where the 'Emperor was accuſtomed (either ſtanding or proſtrate on 'his face to pray) to be marked, and for Money he hired 'a naughty pack (like himſelf) to gather and lay toge- 'ther a heap of great ſtones directly over the place in the 'Vault of the Church, where the Emperor would ſtand, 'that in throwing the ſame down upon his Head, he 'ſhould ſlay the Emperor. About which purpoſe as the 'Hireling haſted, and was buſie, removing to the place 'a ſtone of great hugeneſs and weight, it broke the Plank 'whereon it lay, and the Hireling ſtanding thereupon, 'both together fell down from the Roof to the Pavement 'of the Church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in 'pieces. And after the *Romans* had underſtanding of 'the handling of this matter, they fattened a Rope to one 'of the feet of this Hireling, and cauſed him to be 'drawn through the Streets of the City three days to- 'ther in example to others. The Emperor notwithſtand- 'ing, according to his wonted clemency, cauſed him to be 'buried.

Hildebrand caſteth the Sacrament of the Lords Body in the fire, becauſe it would give him no anſwer.

'*Johannes* Biſhop of *Portua* (being one of the ſecret 'Council of *Hildebrand*) came up into the Pulpit of St. 'Peter, and amongſt other things in the hearing both of the 'Clergy and People, ſaid, *Hildebrand* and we have com- 'mitted ſuch a fact, and ſo horrible, for the which we are 'all worthy to be burned alive (meaning of the Sacrament 'of the Body of Chriſt) which Sacrament *Hildebrand*, 'when he thereof required a Divine Anſwer againſt the 'Emperor, and it would not ſpeak, threw into the fire 'and burned it, contrary to the perſwaſion of the Cardi- 'dinals that were there preſent, and would have reſiſted 'the fame.

'In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter-week, when the 'Clergy and the People were aſſembled at St. *Peter's* Church 'to hear Maſs, after the Goſpel he ſent up into the Pulpit 'as he was in his Pontifical Attire, and in the preſence of 'divers Biſhops and Cardinals (a great company both of 'the Senate and the People of *Rome* being gathered to- 'gether) openly preached (among many other words of 'Divination) that the King, whoſe name was *Henry*, 'ſhould die (without all peradventure) before the Feaſt 'of S. *Peter* next enſuing: or elſe at leaſtwiſe, that he 'ſhould be ſo dejected from his Kingdom, that he ſhould 'not be able any more to gather together above the num- 'ber of ſix Knights. This he preached to the Biſhops and 'Cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the 'Pulpit in theſe words, *Never accept me for Pope any* The Pope a falſe Prophet. *more, but pluck me from the Altar, if this Prophecie be not fulfilled by the day appointed.* About the ſame time 'he went about by help of privy Murtherers to kill the The Pope ſeeketh again to murther the Emperour. 'Emperor, but God preſerved him. And many there 'were even at that time, which thought Pope *Hildebrand* 'to be guilty, and to be the deviſer of the Treaſon, becauſe 'that then he (before the deed put in execution) pre- 'ſumed of the death of the King, being by him falſly pro- 'phecied of before; which words of his wounded many 'mens hearts. And it came to paſs that *Hildebrand* by 'his words was openly condemned in the Congregation, 'which (as is ſaid) gave judgment of himſelf to be no 'Pope, neither that he would be counted for Pope any 'longer, but thought to be both a Belier and a Traitor, 'unleſs that before the Feaſt of S. *Peter* next coming, the 'Emperor ſhould die, or elſe ſhould be deprived of all The Pope by his own mouth condemned for an heretick. 'Kingly Honour, inſomuch as he ſhould not be able to 'make above ſix Knights on his part. And thus by the 'appointment of God it came to paſs, that by his own 'mouth he was condemned for an Heretick.

'*Thus ſaith the Lord: The Prophet which of arrogan- 'cy will propheſie in my name thoſe things I have not 'commanded him, or elſe will propheſie in the name of 'other Gods, let him be ſlain. And if thou ſhalt ſay with 'thy ſelf, How ſhall I know what thing it is that the 'Lord hath not commanded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt 'thou have to know it by; Whatſoever things the Prophet 'in the Name of God, ſhall propheſie, and the ſame come 'not to paſs, that manyſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not 'ſpoken, but the Prophet hath imagined through the haugh- 'tineſs of his own mind, and therefore thou ſhalt not be a- 'fraid of him.*

The Emperor preſerved by the power of God from the Pope.

'When the time was expired that *Hildebrand* in his 'Divination had ſet, and that neither the King was dead, 'neither the power of the Empire impaired, and fearing 'leſt by the words of his own mouth he ſhould be repre- 'hended and condemned, ſubtilly he turned his Tale, fay- 'ing, and perſwading the ignorant People, *that he meant 'not of the Body of the King, but of his Soul*; as though 'the Soul of the King had loſt all, having ſix of his Knights 'or Souldiers, or elſe had been dead during that ſpace; and A ſubtill ſhift of *Hildebrand* to ſave his tydings Prophecy. 'thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. 'Againſt ſuch Prophets S. *Gregory* upon *Ezekiel* ſaith, *Be- 'tween true Prophets and falſe this difference there is, that 'true Prophets if they ſpeak any thing upon their own 'mind they be ſoon rebuked; but the falſe Prophets, both 'they tell lies, and not having the ſpirit of truth, they per- 'ſevere in their falſity.*

Three perſons before they were convict, put to execution by *Hildebrand* againſt all law.

'Over and beſide, the ſaid *Hildebrand* judged to death 'three men before they were convict, or elſe confeſſed 'their crime, without the ſentence of any Secular judge, 'and cauſed them to be hanged upon a pair of Gallows 'over againſt the Church of St. *Peter* in a place called *Pala- 'tiolum*, without any delay or adviſement, contrary to the 'Laws which command that every publick offender ſhould 'have thirty days ſpace before he be put to execution. Which 'thing even amongſt the Pagans is in use and obſerved, as 'teacheth the authority of S. *Ambroſe*, and the Martyrdom 'of holy *Marcellianus* and *Marcus*.

Centius taken by the Pope, and put into a Barrel of Nails.

'He caſt *Centius* the Son of *Stephan* the Alderman into 'Priſon, being before his truſty friend; and in a Veſſel be- 'ing thick ſet with ſharp Nails, he tormented him to the 'point of death, who, after that he was eſcaped, appre- 'hended the ſaid *Hildebrand*. Of this apprehenſion, be- The Pope taken of *Centius*. 'fore he was ſet at liberty, he openly forgave all the Con- 'ſpirators. Which thing afterwards, contrary to his fide- 'lity, he brake and revenged, and cauſed *Centius*, to whom *Centius* executed by the Pope contrary to promiſe and faith. 'he had forgiven all offences, to be taken, and hanged him 'and nine of his Men upon the Gallows before St. *Peter's* 'Porch.

There

'There was at the apprehenſion of Pope *Hildebrand* a certain Widows Son, to whom (and others more for their Penance) he enjoyned a years Baniſhment. Which time being expleat or run out, the Widow in token of more ample ſatisfaction, thinking thereby to have appeaſed the mind of *Hildebrand*, put a Halter upon her Sons Neck, and drawing her Son by the rope unto the foot of *Hildebrand*, ſaid, *My Lord Pope, at your hands will I receeive again my Son, which one whole year hath indured baniſhment, and other Penance, by your Holineſs injoyned.* Then the ſaid *Hildebrand* for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with him in company (diſſembling his wrath) delivered her her Son very churliſhly, ſaying, *Get thee hence Woman, I bid thee, and let me be in reſt.* After this, he ſent his Officers, and apprehended the Widows Son, and gave commandment to the Juſtices to put him to death; who all together making anſwer, ſaid, *That they could no more condemn or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the Pope, and abiden the baniſhment, and done the Penance by him injoyned.* Hereupon this glorious *Hildebrand*, diſpleaſed with the Judges, cauſed the foot of the Widows Son to be cut off; making neither Repentance, nor the Laws and Ordinances to be of any eſtimation with him; and thus his foot being cut off, he died within three days after with the pain thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this *Hildebrand*, upon whom the bloud of the Church crieth vengeance, ſhed by the Sword (that is) the miſerable treachery of his tongue: for which things (and that juſtly) the Church refuſed to communicate with him. *Hæc Benno.*

The villany of the Pope in killing a widows ſon whichebefore had done his penance.

Another Epiſtle of Benno *to the Cardinals.*

Another Letter of Benno.

TO the reverend Fathers of the Church of *Rome*, and to his beloved in Chriſt, and to his Brethren that ſtuff for ever be beloved, *Benno* the Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, witheth faithful ſervice, health, and communion with the ſervants of the Catholick Church. Of the which communion, diſcipline and power he vainly braggeth, that by the preſumption of his Authority ſhall unjuſtly bind or looſe any manner of perſon. And he doth unjuſtly bind whatſoever he be, that curſeth any man (being willing to make ſatisfaction, and bewailing his boldneſs, being alſo unconvict, and not confeſſing the crime) but rather curſing that party in vain, he curſeth and condemneth himſelf, turning his weapon upon his own perſon to his deſtruction. O ſtrange and new found treachery proceeding from the Sanctuary, nay rather, from him which as High-Prieſt ſeemeth to rule the Church, and to be a Judge over the Judges.

The deviliſh practice of *Hildebrand* in ſeizing the Biſhops againſt the Emperor.

'*Hildebrand* was earneſtly in hand with the Emperor, that he ſhould deprive thoſe Biſhops, which came in by Simony. The Emperor (thinking, as a zealous Prince, that this Commiſſion had proceeded from the Throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration, or judicial order, deprived certain Biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to *Hildebrand* he offered an acceptable Sacrifice to God; not knowing the craftly handling of him. But *Hildebrand* then again placed thoſe, whom the Emperor for Simony at his commandment had before depoſed, and thoſe whom by that means he made to bear a hateful heart to the Emperor, he reconciled again to himſelf in great familiarity; and by many and great Oaths taken of them, for their fidelity towards him, he promoted them above all the reſt. And thus by theſe pranks, the Imperial Seat of the King being ſhortly after impaired, and deſtitute almoſt of friends, he craftily purchaſing the friendſhip and favour of the greateſt Princes, the better to bring his matters to paſs; ſuddenly again, without any lawful accuſation, without any Canonical vocation, without all judicial order, he excommunicated the Emperor (ſo obedient always unto him) and ſet the Princes of the Empire all againſt him. And notwithſtanding (as the Apoſtle ſaith) that no Man ought to circumvent his Brother in his buſineſs, asmuch as in him lay, he rather mortified and killed him, than brotherly corrected him. Thus the Emperor being many ways circumvented, as excommunicated beſides the Canonical Order, and by the conſent and counſel of *Hildebrand*, ſpoiled of the greateſt part of his Imperial Honour, and overcharged with great Wars and Slaughters of his own Subjects, in vain deſired and ſued to have the Canon read and heard, cauſing him by force and violence at *Canuſium*, in the preſence of *Hildebrand*, to accuſe himſelf by his own confeſſion.

The Emperor cruſed by Hilde-brand to accuſe himſelf.

'Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as love juſtice, and love not to lean either upon the left hand, or elſe the right hand, in favour of any perſon; ſay your minds, whether that ſuch a confeſſion being forced upon never ſo poor a Man (much more upon an Emperor) ought at ſuch a time to be prejudicial or not? Or whether he, which extorted the ſame confeſſion is guilty of the Canon? Or elſe he, which being ſo perverſly judged, ſuffered the injury of a moſt perverſe Judge? Which alſo moſt patiently and publickly ſuffered this violence with lamentable affliction upon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, in the ſharp Winter, which never was ufed, and was three days together at *Canuſium* made a ſpectacle both of Angels and Men, and a ludibrious Mocking-ſtock to that proud *Hildebrand*. Never truſt me, if that fourteen Cardinals, the Archdeacon himſelf, and he that is called *Primicerius*, being all wiſe and religious Men, beſides many other of the Clerks of *Lateran* (to the judgment and priviledge of whoſe holy ſeat the whole World is obedient) weighing and conſidering his intolerable Apoſtaſie, departed not from participating, and refuſed communicating with him.

The great patience of the godly Emperor.

'This glorious *Hildebrand*, and his affinity, by their new Authority, breaking the Decrees of the *Chalcedon* Council, not only in words, but alſo in publick Writings have agreed, that it is tolerable both to baptiſe and communicate being out of the Church of God: and how blind theſe men were, and alſo what Hereticks they be, their own writings do declare. *What a miſchief is this* (ſaith *Benno*) *they preſume to judge of the Church, which ſwarm themſelves in all errors, who alſo eſteem the verity but as a lye; and leſt their poyſoned falſhood both in words and writings ſhould appear, they have like ſubtil poyſoners* (*the ſooner to deceive*) *mixed honey therewithal. A lie,* ſaith St. *Auguſtine, is every thing pronounced with the intent of deceiving of others.*

Monſtrum quid.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doings, and diabolical practices of Conjurings, Charms and filthy Sorceries, exerciſed between him and *Laurentius*, and *Theophylact*, otherwiſe named Pope *Benedict* the ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the foreſaid Epiſtle of *Benno* to the Cardinals, to be ſeen, to whom the Reader may repair, whoſo hath either leiſure to read or mind to underſtand more of the abominable parts and deviliſh acts of this *Hildebrand*.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of Sorcery and Conjurie.

Thus having ſufficiently alledged the words and teſtimonies of *Benno* and *Aventinus*, concerning the acts and facts of this Pope; now let us proceed (in the order as followeth in his ſtory) to ſet forth the miſerable vexation which the vertuous and godly Emperor ſuſtained by that ungodly perſon.

About what time *Hildebrand* was made Pope, *Henricus* the fourth Emperor was incumbred and much vexed with civil diſſention in *Germany*, by reaſon of certain grievances of the *Saxons* againſt him and his Father *Henricus* the third. Whereupon the matter growing to ſedition, ſides were taken, and great Wars enſued betwixt *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Henricus* the Emperor. This buſie time ſeemed to *Hildebrand* very opportune to work his feats, whoſe ſtudy and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the Dominion of the *Romiſh* ſeat above all other Biſhops, and alſo to preſs down the authority of the Temporal Rulers, under the Spiritual Men of the Church. And although he went about the ſame long before by ſubtil traines and acts ſet forth concerning Simony; yet now he thought more effectuouſly to accomplish his purpoſed intent after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himſelf the bolder, by the authority of St. *Peter*'s Throne, firſt he began to purſue the act ſet out by his Predeceſſor, as touching Simony, curſing and excommunicating, whoſoever they were, that received any ſpiritual living or promotion at Lay mens hands, as alſo all ſuch as were the givers thereof. For this he called then Simony, that under that colour he might defeat the Temporal Poſſeſſates of their right, and

Henricus Emperor.

Much like practiſe made of Peter Tirone, as his life hereafter ſet alone.

and ſo bring the whole Clergy at length to the lure of *Rome*. And forſomuch as the Emperor was the Head, thinking firſt to begin with him, he ſendeth for him by Letters and Legates to appear in the Council of *Lateran* at *Rome*. But the Emperor buſied in his Wars againſt the *Saxons*, had no leiſure to attend to Councils. Notwithſtanding *Gregorius* the Pope proceedeth in his Council, rendring there the cauſe and reaſon before the Biſhops, why he had Excommunicated divers of the Clergy, as *Hermannus* Biſhop of *Bamberge*, Chancellor to the Emperor, and other Prieſts more for Simony. And there moreover, in the ſaid Council he threateth to Excommunicate likewiſe the Emperor himſelf, and to depoſe him from his Regal Kingdom, unleſs he would abrenounce the Hereſie of Simony, and do Penance. The Council being ended, *Gimbertus* Archbiſhop of *Raverna* perſwaded with one *Centius* (a *Roman*, the Captains Son, whom the Pope had Excommunicated) to take the Emperors part againſt the Pope, who watching his time in the Temple of St. *Mary*, upon Chriſtmaſs day in the morning, taketh the Pope and poureth him faſt in a ſtrong Tower. The next day the People of *Rome* hearing this, harneſs themſelves with all expedition to help the Biſhop, whom when they looſed out of Priſon, they beſieged the Houſe of *Centius*, and pluckt it down to the ground; his Family having their Noſes cut off, were caſt out of the City; *Centius* himſelf eſcaping, fled to the Emperor. *Guibert* the Archbiſhop, pretending good will to the Pope, departed from *Rome*, who likewiſe had wrought with *Hugo Candidus* Cardinal, and with *Theobaldus* Archbiſhop of *Millain*, alſo with divers other Biſhops about *Italy*, to forſake the Pope and take the Emperors part. *Gregory* the Pope called *Hildebrand*, hearing the Conſpiracy, layeth the ſentence of Excommunication upon them all, and depriveth them of their Dignity. The Emperor being moved (not unworthily) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud Prelate, called together a Council at *Wormes*. In which Council all the Biſhops not only of *Saxony*, but of all the whole Empire of *Germans*, agree and conclude upon the Depoſition of *Hildebrand*, and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be given to him. This being determined in the Council, *Roulandus* a Prieſt of *Parmen*, was ſent to *Rome* with the ſentence, who in the name of the Council, ſhould command *Gregory* to yield up his Seat, and alſo charge the Cardinals to reſort to the Emperor for a new Election of another Pope. The tenor of the Sentence ſent by *Roulandus* was this.

Centius.

Hildebrand calls in the Turk.

Guibertus Archbiſhop of Ravenna.

The Sentence of the Council of *Wormes* againſt *Hildebrand*.

The Council of Wormes againſt the Pope.

FOrſomuch *as thy firſt ingreſs and coming in hath been ſo ſpotted with ſo many perjuries, and alſo through thine abuſe and new fangleneſs: moreover, becauſe thou haſt defamed thine own life and converſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſty, that we ſee no little peril or ſlander to riſe thereof; therefore the obedience, which yet we never promiſed thee, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou haſt never taken us yet for Biſhops* (*as thou haſt openly reported of us*) *ſo neither will we hereafter take thee to be Apoſtolick.*

Vale.

Gregory the Pope, tickled with this Sentence, firſt condemneth it in his Council of *Lateran* with Excommunication. Secondly, depriveth *Sigifridus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* of his Dignities and Eccleſiaſtical Livings, with all other Biſhops, Abbots and Prieſts, as many as took the Emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth *Henricus* the Emperor himſelf, depriveth him of his Kingdom and Regal poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all his Subjects of their Oath of Allegeance given unto him, after this form and manner.

The Council condemneth it in his Council of Lateran.

Henricus the Emperor excommunicated by Hildebrand.

The Tenor of the Sentence Excommunicatory, againſt *Henricus* the Emperor by Pope *Hildebrand*.

Ex Platina.

OBleſſed St. Peter *Prince of the Apoſtles, bow down thine ears I beſeech thee, and hear me thy Servant, whom thou haſt brought up even from mine infancy, and haſt delivered me until this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my faith in thee. Thou art my witneſs, and alſo the bleſſed Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, and thy Brother St. Paul, fellow partner of thy Martyrdom, how that I entred the Function not willingly, but inforced againſt my will; not that I take it ſo as a Robbery, lawfully to aſcend into thy Seat: but becauſe that I had rather paſs over my life like a pilgrim or private perſon, than for any fame or glory to climb up to it; I do acknowledge (and that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that thou charge over Chriſtian people, and thou power of binding and looſing is committed to me. Wherefore, truſting upon this aſſurance for the dignity and tuition of Holy Church in the Name of God Omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, I do here depoſe* Henry, *the Son of* Henry *once the Emperor, from his Imperial Seat, and Princely Government, who hath ſo boldly and preſumptuouſly laid hands upon thy Church. And furthermore, all ſuch as heretofore have ſworn to be his Subjects, I releaſe them of their Oath, whereby all Subjects are bound to the Allegiance of their Princes. For it is meet and convenient, that he ſhould be void of Dignity, which ſeeketh to diminiſh the Majeſty of thy Church. Moreover, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his People: and hath ſeparate himſelf from the fellowſhip of the Church (which he, through his ſeditions, ſtudieth to deſtroy) therefore I bind him by vertue of Excommunication, truſting and knowing moſt certainly, that thou art* Peter (*in the Rock of whom as in the true foundation*) *Chriſt our King hath built his Church.*

Mark this Ye Papiſts, that ſay, the Pope cannot err.

The Pope threatneth the kindneſs of St. Peter.

The Emperor, thus aſſaulted with the Popes cenſure, ſendeth abroad his Letters through all Nations to purge himſelf, declaring how wrongfully, and againſt all right he was condemned. The Princes of *Almany* partly fearing the crack of the Popes Thunderclap, partly again rejoycing that occaſion was renewed to rebel againſt the Emperor, aſſembled a Commenſement, where they did conſult and ſo conclude to elect another Emperor, and ſo fall from *Henry*, unleſs the Pope would come to *Germany*, and he would there be content to ſubmit himſelf and obtain his pardon.

The Saxons take the Popes part againſt the Emperor.

Wherein is to be conſidered the lamentable affections of the *Germans* in thoſe days, ſo to forſake ſuch a valiant Emperor, and ſo much to repute a vile Biſhop. But this was the rudeneſs of the World then, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperor, ſeeing the chief Princes ready to forſake him, promiſeth them with an Oath, that if the Pope would repair to *Germany*, he would ask forgiveneſs.

Upon this the Biſhop of *Triers* was ſent up in Commiſſion to *Rome*, to intreat the Pope to come into *Germany*. The Biſhop (at the inſtant of the Legat and of the Princes, was content. He entred into *Germany*, thinking to come to *Auguſta*. After he was come to *Vercellos* (the Biſhop of that City being the Chancellor of *Italy*, and deſirous to diſturb peace for the old grudge he had to the Emperor) falſly perſwaded with the Pope, that he was certain the Emperor was coming with a mighty great Army againſt him, counſelling him therefore to provide betimes for his own ſafeguard in ſome ſtronger place. Whereby the Popes mind being altered, he retired back to *Canuſium* or *Canuſſus*, a City being ſubject to *Matilda*, a Counteſs of *Italy*, where he ſhould not need to fear the Emperor.

Peace ſtabliſhed through wicked Counſels.

Henricus underſtanding the falſe fear of the Pope, and of his retire to *Canuſium*, incontinent (coming out of *Spires* with his Wife and his young Son, in the deep and ſharp of Winter) reſorteth to *Canuſſus*. All his Peers and Nobles had left him for fear of the Popes curſe, neither did any accompany him. Wherefore the Emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his Regal Ornaments)

came

A wonderous submission of a valiant Emperor to a vile Pope.

came barefooted with his Wife and Child to the Gate of *Canossus*, where he from Morning to Night (all the day fasting,) most humbly desireth absolution, craving to be let in, to the speech of the Bishop. But no ingress might be given him once within the Gates. Thus he continuing three days together in his petition and sute; at length answer came, that the Popes Majesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The Emperor nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the City, patient and with an humble mind abideth without the Walls, with no little grievance and painful labour; for it was a sharp Winter, and all frozen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate sute at length it was granted, through the intreating of *Matilda* the Popes Paramour, and of *Arelans* Earl of *Sebaudia*, and the Abbot of *Clumiake*, that he should be admitted to the Popes speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yieldeth to the Popes hands his Crown, with all other ornaments imperial, and confessed himself unworthy of the Empire, if ever he do against the Pope hereafter, as he hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The Pope answereth, he will neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his Excommunication, but upon conditions. First, to promise that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the Council, and to take such Penance as he shall injoyn him; also that he shall be prest and ready to appear, in what place or time the Pope shall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the Pope Judge of his cause, shall answer in the said Council to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall never seek any revengement herein. *Item*, that he (though he be quit and cleared therein) shall stand to the Popes mind and pleasure, whether to have his Kingdom restored, or to lose it. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he shall neither use his Kingly Ornaments, Scepter or Crown, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any Oath of Allegiance upon his Subjects, &c. These things being promised to the Bishop by an Oath, and put in writing, the Emperor is only released of Excommunication.

Notable patience in a Noble Emperor.

Proud conditions of the Pope.

Pope both accuser and Judge.

Here the Result of the Apocalyps apparels it self to the nature.



The form and tenor of the Oath, which *Henricus* made to the Pope.

HEnricus *King, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our Lord* Gregorius *the Seventh, promise to keep all Covenants and Bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the Pope go safely whereso∣ever he will, without any danger either to him, or to his Retinue; especially in all such places as be subject to our Empire. Nor that I shall at any time stay or hinder him, but that he may do that belongeth to his Function, where and whensoever his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind my self with an Oath to keep.* Actum Canos. 5. Calend. Februarii, indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided between them after the Popes own prescribement, the Emperor taketh his journey to *Papia*. The Pope with his Cardinals did vaunt and triumph with no little pride, that they had so quailed the Emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask them forgiveness. Yet notwithstanding, mistrusting themselves, and mistrusting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune should turn, and God give the Emperor to enjoy a more quiet Kingdom; therefore to prevent such dangers betime, they study and consult privily with themselves how to displace *Henry* clean from his Kingdom, and how that device might safely be conveied. They conclude and determine to derive the Empire unto *Rodulphus*, a Man of great Nobility amongst the chiefest States of *Germany*; and also to incite and stir up all other Princes and Subjects (being yet free and discharged from their Oaths) against *Henry*, and so by force of Arms to expel the Emperor out of his Kingdom. To bring this purpose the better to pass, Legates were sent down from the Pope, *Sigebardus* Patriarch of *Aquilia*, and *Altimanus* Bishop of *Padway*, which should perswade through all *France*, that *Henry* the Emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the Bishop of *Rome* their consents in chooling *Rodulphus* to be Emperor. This being done, there was sent to the said *Rodulphus*, Duke of *Suevia*, a Crown from the Pope with this Verse;

The crafty conspiracy of the Cardinals against the Emperor.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho.

The Verse.

The Rock gave the Crown to Peter,
Peter *giveth it to* Rodulph.

The gloss upon the Verse of Hildebrand.

Here by the way of digression (to make a little gloss upon this barbarous Verse) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lyeth upon Christ, the other, where he lyeth upon St. *Peter*. First, that Christ gave any Temporal Diadem to *Peter*, it is a most manifest lie, and

and against the Scriptures, when as he would not take it, being given to himself, and saith, *his Kingdom is not of the World*. Again, where he saith that *Peter* giveth it to *Rodulph*, here he playeth the Poet; for neither had *Peter* any such thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to *Rodulphus* from the right Heir; neither is it true that *Peter* did give it, because *Hildebrand* gave it. For it is no good argument, *Hildebrand* did give it, *Ergo*, *Peter* did give it; except we will say, *Hildebrand* stirred up great Wars and Bloudshed in *Germany*; *Ergo*, *Peter* stirred up great Wars in *Germany*. So *Peter* neither could, nor would, nor did give it to *Rodulphus*, but only *Hildebrand* the Pope; who after he had so done, he gave in commandment to the Archbishop of *Mentz* and of *Cullen* to elect this *Rodulphus* for Emperor, and to annoint him King, and also to defend him with all force and strength they might.

The Pope proved a double liar.

While this Conspiracy was in hand, *Henricus* the Emperor was absent, and the Popes Ambassadors with him also. In the mean space *Rodulphus* was elected Emperor, unknown to *Henry*. Upon this cometh the Bishop of *Straborough* unto the Emperor, certifying him what was done. He suspecting and seeing the stomach and doings of the *Saxons* to bent against him, musstereth his Men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to *Rome* (trusting upon the League betwixt him and his Pope) and requireth the Bishop to proceed with his Sentence against *Rodulphus*, for the rebellious Invasion of his Empire. But the Bishop, minding nothing less, sendeth word again, that it was not right to condemn any person, his cause being not heard; thus under pretence of the Law colouring his unlawful treachery. *Henricus*, thus disappointed and forsaken on every side, with his Men about him, attempteth Battel against *Rodulphus*. In which Battel a marvellous great slaughter was on both sides, but the Victory on neither part certain; so that both the Captains yet challenged the Empire. After the Battel, and great murther on both sides, they both sent to *Rome*, to know of the Popes determination, to whether of them two he judged the right Title of the Empire to appertain. The Bishop commanded them both to break up their Armies, and depart the Field, promising that he shortly would call a Council where this matter should be disputed; in the mean time they should cease from War. But before the Messengers returned again (their Armies being refreshed) they had another conflict together, but not Victory got on either part. Thus both the Captains being wearied in Wars, the *Romish* Beast the Bishop, which was the cause thereof, perceiving whither these cruel Wars would tend, to the great calamity not only of the *Germans*, but also of other Nations (trusting to find another way to help *Rodulphus* and his adherents) sendeth down a Commission by *Otho* Archbishop of *Trevers*, *Bernardus* Deacon, and *Bernardus* Abbot of *Massilia*, to whom he gave in charge that they should call together a Council or sitting in *Alimany*, and that there it should be defined to whether part the Empire should pertain, by moft right and publick consideration; promising that what they should therein determine, he flooking upon the matter through the authority of God omnipotent, and of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*) would ratifie the same. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the Legates by the way, he giveth with them Letters to the Princes and Nations of *Germany*; whereof the contents be declared briefly in *Platina*, if any lift to read them.

The Pope Traitor to the Emperor.

Great Wars stirred up by the Pope.

But the Emperor would not so permit the Legates to have any Council within *Germany*, except they would first deprive *Rodulphus* of his Kingdom. The Legates, considering that to be against the drift and intention of the Pope, returned again from whence they came. The Pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was so disappointed by the Emperor, draweth out another Excommunication against him, and again bereaveth him of his Kingdom; sending about his Letters Excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of *Rodulphus* the better. *Platina* hath in his Book the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this fort:

The Copy of the second Excommunication of *Hildibrand* against the Emperor.

BLessed St. Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, and thou* St. Paul *also, the teacher of the Gentiles, give ear unto me I beseech you a little, and gently hear me, for you are the disciples and lovers of truth. The things that I shall say are true. The matter I take in hand for truth sake, that my brethren (whose salvation I seek) may the more obediently obey me, and better understand how that I trust∣ing upon your defence (next to Christ, and his Mother the immaculate Virgin) resist the wicked, and am ready to help the faithful. I did not enter this Seat of mine own accord, but much against my will, and with tears, for that I accounted my self unworthy to occupy so high a Throne. And this I say, not that I have chosen you, but you have chosen me, and have laid this great burthen upon our shoulders. And now, whereas by this your assignment, I have ascended up this Hill, crying to the people, and shewing them their faults, and to the children of the Church their iniquities: the members of Satan have risen up against me, and have laid hands together to seek my blood. For the Kings of the Earth have risen up against me, and the Princes of this World, with whom also have conspired certain of the Clergy, Subjects against the Lord, and against us his anoint∣ed, saying,* Let us break asunder their bonds, and cast off from us their yoke. *This have they done against me, to bring me either to death or to banishment. In the number of whom is* Henricus, *whom they call* King, *the Son of* Henry *the Emperor, which hath lift up so proudly his horns and heel against the Church of God, making Conspiracy with divers other Bishops, both* Italians, French *and* Germans. *Against the pride of whom hitherto your authority hath resisted; who rather being broken than amended, coming to me in* Calsipistia, *made humble sute to me for Pardon and Absolution. I, thinking nothing else but true repentance in him, received him again to favour, and did restore him to the Communion only, from which he was Excommuni∣cate; but to his Kingdom (from which in the Synod of* Rome *he was worthily expelled) I did not restore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof, (that he might return to the Faith again) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpose, that if he should defer to fall to agreement with certain of his Neighbours whom he hath always vexed, and to restore again the Goods both of the Church and otherwise, then he might be compelled by the Censures of the Church, and force of Arms thereunto. Whereby divers and sundry Bishops and Princes of Ger∣many (such as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, Elected* Rodulphus *their Duke to be King in the place of* Henricus, *whom they for his trans∣gressions had removed and dispatched from his Empire. But* Rodulphus, *first in this matter using a Princely modesty and integrity, sent up his messengers to me, de∣claring how he was constrained (would he, wild he) to take that Regal Government upon him, albeit he was not so desirous thereof, but that he would rather shew him∣self obedient to us, than to the other that offered him the Kingdom; and whatsoever our arbitrement should be therein, he would be under obedience both of God and of us. And for more assurance of his obedience, he hath sent his own children hither for pledges. Upon this* Hen∣ricus *began to snuff, and first intreated us to refrain and inhibite* Rodulphus, *through the pain of our curse, from the usurpation of his Kingdom. I answered again, I would see whether of them had more right and title thereunto, and so send our Legates thither upon the same, to know the whole state of the matter; and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But* Henricus *would not suffer our Legates to come to take up the matter, and slew divers, both Se∣cular Men, and of the Clergy, spoyling and prophaning Churches; and so by this means hath endangered himself in the Bonds of Excommunication. I therefore trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and in the suppor∣tation of the Blessed Virgin, also upon your authority, do lay the Sentence of Curse upon the said* Henricus, *and all his adherents; and here again I take his Regal Go∣vernment from him, charging and forbidding all Christian Men that have been sworn unto him, whom I discharge here of their Oath, that hereafter they obey him in nothing,*

O prefile∣rous hypo∣crite.

The Pope prayeth St. Peter to ex∣pound the phanome like King.

And S. Peter bindeth the Pope to ho∣nour his King.

Creedsill lachrymæ. Scripture well appli∣ed.

A Figure called Ironia.

Cujus contrarium optimum eſt. Vim faciunt Scripturis, ut plenitudinem accipiant pe∣rpetuæ.

Let all Pa∣pists mark here well the holiness of their ho∣ly fathers.

As though he were not fet up by you, rather than by them.

him

The more to blame Emperors to suffer you to be so fancy with them.

but that they take Rodulphus *to their King, who is elected by many Princes of the Province. For so right it is and convenient, that as* Henry *for his pride and stubbornesse is deprived of his dignity and possession; so* Rodulphus, *being grateful to all men for his vertue and devotion, be exalted to the imperial Throne and Dominion.*

Nego argumentum.

Therefore, O you blessed Princes of the Apostles, grant to this, and confirm with your authority that I have said, so that all men may understand, if you have power to bind and loose in Heaven, you have also power in Earth to give and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, and whatsoever here in Earth belongeth to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in such matters as appertain to God: what then should we think you have of these inferiour and prophane things? And if it be in your power to judge the Angels, ruling over proud Princes, what then shall it beseem you to do upon their Servants? Therefore let the Kings understand by this example, and all other Princes of the World, what you be able to do in Heaven, and what you are with God; that thereby they may fear to contemn the Commandment of Holy Church. And now do you exercise this judgement quickly upon Henricus, *whereby all men may see this son of iniquity to fall from his Kingdom, not by any chance, but by your provision and only work. Notwithstanding this I would crave of you, that he, being brought to repentance through your intercession, yet in the day of judgment may find favour and grace with the Lord.* Actum Romæ, nonis Martii, indictione 3.

Cocker this clause with the history of the story hereafter. O double Hypocrites.

Guibertus Archbishop deputed.

Furthermore, *Hildebrand*, not yet content with this, interdicteth and deposeth also *Guibertus* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, for taking the Emperors part, commanding al Priests to give no manner of obedience to him, and sendeth thither to *Ravenna* another Archbishop with full authority.

The 4. battel betwixt Henry and Rodolph. Henricus Victor.

After and upon this, *Henricus* and *Rodulphus*, to try the matter by the sword, coped together in Battel, not without Bloudthed, where *Henricus*, by the favour of God, against the judgement of *Hildebrand*, had the Victory. *Rodulphus* there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the Army, and carried to *Hyperbolis*, where he commanded the Bishops and chief doers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said, *This is the Hand which gave the Oath and Sacrament unto* Henricus *my Prince, and which through your instigation so oft hath fought against him in vain; now go and perform your first Oath and Allegiance to your King; for I must to my fathers*, and so died. Thus the Pope gave Battel, but God gave the Victory.

Rodulphus at his death repenteth. The Pope giveth War. God giveth Victory.

Conciliorum Brixiense. Anno 1083.

Henricus (after his enemy being thus subdued, and Wars being ceased in *Germany*) forgat not the old injuries received of *Hildebrand*, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his Kingdom, and three days making humble sute (yea and that in sharp Winter) could find no favour with him. Besides that, he incited moreover, and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore he calleth together a Council or Assembly of divers Bishops of *Italy*, *Lombardy*, and *Germany* at *Brixia* 1083. where he purged himself, and accused the Bishop *Hildebrand* of divers crimes, to be an usurper, perjured, a Necromancer and Sorcerer, a fower of discord; complaining moreover of wrongs and injuries done by the Bishop and Church of *Rome*, in that the Church of *Rome* preferred the Bishop before him; when that his Father, being Emperor before him, had inthronized and set in divers and sundry Bishops there by his assignment, without all others Election. And now this Bishop, contrary to his Oath and Promise made, thrust in himself without the will and knowledge of him, being their King and Magistrate. For, in the time of his Father *Henricus* the third, this *Hildebrand* with other, bound themselves with a Corporal Oath, that so long as the Emperor, and his Son now being King, should live, they should neither themselves presume, nor suffer any other to aspire to the Papal Seat, without the assent and approbation of the foresaid Emperors; which now this *Hildebrand*, contrary to his Corporal Oath, had done. Wherefore the foresaid Council, with one agreement condemned this *Gregory*, that he should be deposed. The Tenor of which Condemnation is thus expressed in *Abbate Uspergensi*.

No Bishop of Rome can be chosen without consent of the Emperor.

Abbas Uspergensis.

The Sentence of the Council of *Brixia* against *Hildebrand*.

Because it is not unknown, this Bishop not to be elected of God, but to have intruded himself by fraud and money, who hath subverted all Ecclesiastical Order, who hath disturbed the government of the Christian Empire, menacing death of body and soul against our Catholick and peaceable King, who hath set up and maintained a perjured King, sowing discord where concord was, causing debate amongst friends, slanders and offences amongst brethren, divorcements and separation amongst the married, for he took away the Marriage of Priests, as Henr. Mutius *witnesseth, and finally disquieting the peaceable state of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the Name and Authority of God congregate together, with the Legates and hands of nineteen Bishops, the day of* Pentecost at Mentz, *do proceed in canonical judgement against* Hildebrand, *a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murthers, calling in question the Catholick Faith of the Body and Bloud of the Lord, a follower of Divination and Dreams, a manifest Necromancer, a Sorcerer, and infected with a Pythonical Spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, and we judge him to be deposed and expelled, and unlesse he hearing this, shall yield and depart the Seat, to be perpetually condemned. Enacted 7. Calend.* Julii, feria. 5. Indictione 3.

Henricus Mutius.

Note here the Pope judged and deposed of the council.

This being enacted and sent to *Rome*, they elected *Guibertus* Archbishop of *Ravenna* in the place of *Hildebrand*, to govern the Church of *Rome*, named *Clement* the third. But when *Hildebrand* neither would give over his hold, nor give place to *Clement*; the Emperor, gathering an Army to send to *Italy*, came to *Rome* to depose *Gregory*, and to place *Clement*. But *Hildebrand*, sending to *Matilda* the Countess before mentioned, required her (in remission of all her sins) to withstand *Henry* the Emperor, and so she did. Notwithstanding *Henricus* prevailing came to *Rome*, where he besieged the City all the Lent, and after *Easter* got it, the *Romans* being compelled to open the Gates unto him; so he coming to the Temple of St. *Peter*, there placeth *Clement* in his Papacy. *Hildebrand* straight flyeth into *Adrian's* Tower with his adherents, where he, being beset round about, at length sendeth for *Robert Guiscardus* his friend, a *Norman*. In the mean time, while *Robertus* collecteth his power, the Abbot of *Clumiake*, conferring with *Gregory*, exhorteth him to Crown *Henricus* Emperor in *Lateran*. Which if he would do, the other promiseth to bring about that *Henry* should depart with his Army into *Germany*; whereunto the People of *Rome* also did likewise move him. To whom *Gregory* answered, *That he was content so to do, but upon condition that the Emperor would submit himself to ask pardon, to amend his fault, and to promise obedience.* The Emperor not agreeing to those conditions, went to *Senae*, taking *Clement*, new stalled Pope with him.

The Pope forsaken for cour of his Patrones. The Soldiers unable to fight for oppression of Hildebrand.

Platina. Massæus. Sabellicus. Cromicles. Benny, &c.

After the return of the Emperor, the foresaid *Robert Guiscardus*, approaching with his Souldiers, burst in at one of the Gates, and spoileth the City. And not long after, delivereth *Hildebrand* out of his enemies hands, and carried him away to *Campania*; where he not long continuing, after died in Exile.

Hildebrand the first author and patron of all usurped drag followers after in Popes.

Antonius writeth, that *Hildebrand* as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chief Cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and misorder of his spiritual Ministery, in stirring up Discord, War and Dissention, whereupon he desired the Cardinal to go to the Emperor, and desire of him forgiveness, absolving from the danger of Excommunication both him and all his partakers both quick and dead.

Thus hath thou (gentle Reader) the full History of Pope *Gregory* the seventh, called *Hildebrand*; which I have laid out more at large, and desire thee to mark, because that from this Pope (if thou mark well) springeth all the occasions of mischief, of pomp, pride, stoutnesse, presumption and tyranny, which since that time hath reigned in his successors hitherto, in the Cathedral Church of the *Romish* Clergy. For here came first the subjection of the temporal regiment under the spiritual jurisdiction; and Emperors, which before were their Masters, now are made their

their underlings. Also here came in the suppression of Priests Marriage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in moreover the authority of both the Swords Spiritual and Secular into spiritual Mens hands. So that Christian Magistrates could do nothing in Election, in giving Bishopricks or Benefices, in calling Councils, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the Clergy, but only the Pope must do all. Yea moreover, no Bishop nor Pastor in his own Parish could excommunicate or exercise any discipline among his Flock, but only the Pope challenged that Prerogative to himself. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute Emperors and Kings with Rebellion and Excommunication, as the Clergy themselves hereafter do testifie and witness in proceeding against *Paschalis*. Thus these Notes being well observed, let us (by the grace of Christ) now repair again to our Country History of *England*.

The death of William the Conquerour.

About the death of Pope *Hildebrand* (or not long after) followed the death of King *William* the Conqueror, in the year 1090. after he had reigned in *England* the space of one and twenty Years, and ten Months. The cause of his sickness and death is said to be this: For that *Philip* the *French* King, upon a time (jesting) said, that *King* William *lay in Child-bed, and nourished his fat Belly*. To this the foresaid *William*, hearing thereof, answered again and said, *When he should be Churched, he would offer a thousand Candles to him in* France, *wherewithal the King should have little joy*. Whereupon King *William* in the Month of *July* (when the Corn, Fruit and Grapes were most flourishing) entred into *France*, and set on fire many Cities and Towns in the West side of *France*. And lastly, coming to the City of *Meaux*, where he burning a Woman being as a recluse in a Wall inclosed (or as some say, two Men Anchorites inclosed) was so fervent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of the year, thereby he fell into sickness, and died upon the same.

By the life and acts of this King it may appear true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guilefull; rich, but covetous; a fair speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory, and strong in arms, but rigorous in oppressing whom he overcame, in levying of tasks passing all others. Insomuch that he caused to be enrolled and numbred in his Treasury every Hide of Land, and owner thereof, what fruit and revenues surmounted of every Lordship, of every Township, Castle, Village, Field, River and Wood within the Realm of *England*. Moreover, how many Parish Churches, how many living Cattel there were, what and how much every Baron in the Realm could dispend, what Fees were belonging, what Wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which taskment yet remaineth in Rolls. After this tasking or numbring, which was the year before his death, followed an exceeding Mutren of Cattel and barrennes of the ground, with much Pestilence and hot Fevers among the People, so that such as escaped the Fever were consumed with Famine. Moreover, at the same season, among certain other Cities, a great part of the City of *London*, with the Church of St. *Pauls*, was wasted with fire in the Year of our Lord 1085.

Pestilence in England and Mutren of Beasts.

London with the Church of Pauls burnt.

In hunting and in Parks the foresaid King had such pleasure, that in the County of *Southampton*, by the space of 30 Miles, he cast down Churches and Townships, and there made the new Forest; loving his Deer so dearly, as though he had been to them a Father, making sharp laws for the increasing thereof, under pain of losing both the eies. So hard he was to *Englishmen*, and so favourable to his own Country, that as there was no *English* Bishop remaining, but only *Wolfan* of *Worcester*, who being commanded of the King and *Lanfrank* to resign up his Staff, partly for inability, partly for lack of the *French* Tongue, refused otherwise to resign it, but only to him that gave it, and so went to the Tomb of King *Edward*, where he thought to resign it, but was permitted to enjoy it still; so likewise in his days there was almost no *Englishman* that bare office of honour or rule in the Land. Insomuch that it was half a shame at that time to be called an *Englishman*. Notwithstanding he some deal favoured the City of *London*, and granted unto the Citizens the first Charter that ever they had, written in the *Saxon*, with green Wax sealed, and contained in few lines.

Wolfan Bishop of Worcester.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so given he was to peace and quiet, that any Maiden being laden with Gold or Silver, might pass through the whole Realm without harm or resistance. This *William* in his time builded two Monasteries, one in *England* at *Battel* in *Sussex*, where he won the Field against *Harold*, called *the Abby of Battel*; another besides, named *Barmondsey* in his County of *Normandy*.

England uncreable from Thieves.

The Abbey of Battel. The Abby of Bermondsey.

After the Life and Story of King *William* thus briefly described, with the acts and order of Battel between him and King *Harold*, (although much more might have been written of that matter, if the Book had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw) now remaineth in the end of this Story to describe the Names of such Barons and Nobles of *Normandy*, which entred with him into this Land, as well of them which were imbarqued with him, and slain also (as appeareth) in the Battel, as also of them who were planted and advanced by the said Conqueror in the Lands and Possessions of *English* Lords, whom he expelled, or else beheaded. The Names of which *Normans* here follow under-written.

Out of the Annals of Normandy *in* French, *whereof one very ancient written Book in Parchment remaineth in the custody of the Writer hereof.*

THE day after the Battel, very early in the Morning, *Odo* Bishop of *Bajeux* sung Mass for those that were departed. The Duke after that desirous to know the estate of his Battel, and what People he had therein lost and were slain, he caused to come unto him a Clerk that had written their Names when they were embarqued at Saint *Valeries*, and commanded him to call them all by their Names, who called them that had bin at the Battel, and had passed the Seas with Duke *William*. And hereafter follow their Names.

The Names of those that were at the Conquest of *ENGLAND*.

Odo, Bishop of Baieux.
Robert, Conte de Mortaign. These two were Brethren unto Duke *William* by their Mother.
Baudwin de Buillon,
Roger, Conte de Beaumont, surnamed With the Beard, Of whom defcended the line of *Meullent.*
Guillaume Malet,
Le Sire de Monfort-sur Rille.
Guill. le Viexpont,
Neel de S. Savour le Vicomte,
Le Sire de Fougiers,
Henry Sœgneur de Ferrieres,
Le Sire Daubemaoe,
Guillaume Sire de Rommare,
Le Sire de Lithebare,
Le Sire de Touque,
Le Sire de la Mare,
Le Sire de Neaubon,
Le Sire de Piron,
Rob. Sire de Beaufou,
Le Sire Dovoi,
Le Sire de Snoreville,
Le Sire de Magneville,
Le Sire de Tancarville,
Eustace Dambleville,
Le Sire de Mangneville
Le Sire de Grantmesnil,
Guillaume Cresspin,
Le Sire de S. Martin,

Guil. de Moulins,
Le Sire de Puis,
Geoffrey Sire de Maienne,
Auffroy de Bohon,
Auffroy & Maugier de Cantrait,
Guill. de Garrennet,
Hue de Gournay,
Sire de Bray,
Le conte Hue de Gournay,
Enguemont de laigle,
Le Vicomte de Tovars,
Rich. Danvernechin,
Le Sire de Biars,
Le Sire de Soligny,
Le Bonteiller Daubigny,
Le Sire de Maire,
Le Sire de Vitry,
Le Sire de Lacy,
Le Sire du val Dary,
Le Sire de Tracy,
Hue Sire de Monfort,
Le Sire de Piquegny,
Hamon de Kaieu,
Le Sire de Deffinay,
Le Sire de Part,
Le Sire de Torcy,
Le Sire de Font,
Le Sire de Riviers,
Guillaume Moyonne,
Raoul Teſſon de Tingueleiz.,
Roger Marmion,
Raoul de Guel,
Avenel des Biars,

Paeumel du Monſtier Hubert,
Rob. Herrramle Tort,
Le Sire de Seulle,
Le Sire de Dorival,
Le Sire de Breval,
Le Sire de S. Jehan,
Le Sire de Bris,
Le Sire du Homme,
Le Sire de Souchhoy,
Le Sire de Cailly,
Le Sire de Semilly,
Le Sire de Tilly,
Le Sire de Romelly,
Mar. de Baſqueville,
Le Sire de Preaulx,
Le Sire de Gouis,
Le Sire de Sanceaulx,
Le Sire de Moulloy,
Le Sire de Monceaulx,

¶ The *Archers du val du Ruel*, and of *Bretheul*, and of many other places.

Le Sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio,
Le Sire de la Kiviere,
Le Sire de Salnarville,
Le Sire de Rony,
Eude de Beaugieu,
Le Sire de Oblie,
Le Sire de Sacie,
Le Sire de Naſſie,
Le Viſquaire de Clymes,
Le Sire du Sap,

Le Sire de Glos,
Le Sire de Mine,
Le Sire de Glanville,
Le Sire de Breencon,
Le Vidam de Partay,
Raoul de Morimont,
Pierre de Bailleul, Sire de Eſcamp,
Le Sire de Beauſault,
Le Sire de Tilliores,
Le Sire de Pacy,
Le Seneſchal de Torcy,
La Sire de Gacy,
Le Sire de Donlly,
Le Sire de Sacy,
Le Sire de Vacy,
Le Sire de Tourneur,
Le Sire de Praeres,
Guillaume de Coulombieres,
Hue Sire de Bollebec,
Rich. Sire Dorbeck,
Le Sire de Bonneboz,
Le Sire de Treſgoz,
Le Sire de Monſtiquet,
Hue le Bigot de Maletot,
Le Sire de la Hay
Le Sire de Mombray,
Le Sire de Say,
Le Sire de la Ferte,
Boutevillain,
Trouſſebout,
Guillaume Patric de la Laund,
Hue de Mortemer,
Le Sire Danvillers,
Le Sire Donnebaut,

Le Sire de S. Cler.
Rob. le filz. Herneys, duc de Orleans,
Le Sire de Harecourt,
Le Sire de Crevecœur,
Le Sire de Deincourt,
Le Sire de Bremetot,
Le Sire Combray,
Le Sire Daunay,
Le Sire de Fontenay,
Le conte Deureux,
Le Sire de Rebelchil,
Alain Fergant conte de Britaigne,
Le Sire de S. Valery,
Le conte Deu.
Gualtier Gifford conte de longeville,
Le Sire Deſtouteville,
Le conte Thomas Daubmalle,
Guil. conte de Hoymes & Darques,
Le Sire de Bereville,
Le Sire de Breante,
Le Sire de Freanvible,
Le Sire de Pavilly,
Le Sire de Clere,
Touſtan du Bec,
Le Sire Maugny,
Roger de Montgomery,
Amauri de Tovars.

Over and beſides the great number of Knights and Eſquires that were under them. In the ſame Battel between the ſaid *William* the Baſtard, Duke of *Normandy* on the one part, and King *Harold* on the other part, there were ſlain on King *Harold*'s ſide of *Engliſhmen*, ſixty ſix thouſand, ſix hundred fifty four. And on Duke *William*'s ſide there were ſlain ſix thouſand thirteen Men, as it is to be found in the Chronicle of S. *Peter* of *Weſtminſter*, beſides thoſe that were drowned in the River of *Thames*.

When as the above named, and many other great Lords were ſo called, ſome of them appeared, other ſome did not, for ſome of them were ſlain there in the Field, and others ſo wounded, that they could not come forth to ſhew themſelves. Then gave the Duke commandment, that the dead ſhould be buried, and thoſe that were ſick comforted, and eaſed the beſt that might, *&c.*

Out of the Ancient Chronicles of *ENGLAND*, touching the Names of other *Normans* which ſeemed to remain alive after the Battel, and to be advanced in the Seigniories of this Land.

John de Maundevile,
Adam Undevile,
Bernard de Frevile,
Rich. de Rochvile,
Gilbert de Frankvile,
Hugo de Dovile,
Symond de Rotevile,
R. de Evaile,
B. de Knevaile,
Hugo de Morvile,
R. de Coleville,
A. de Warvile,
C. de Karvile,
R. de Rotevile,
S. de Stotevile,
H. Bonum,
J. Monum,
W. de Vignonum,
K. de Vilpount,
W. Baillecf,
S. de Baleyn,
H. de Marreys,
J. Aguileyne,

G. Agilon,
R. Chamburlayne,
N. de Vendres,
H. de Verdon,
H. de Verto,
C. de Vernon,
H. Hardul,
C. Cappan,
W. de Camvile,
J. de Cameyes,
H. de Rotes,
R. de Boys,
W. de Waren,
T. de Wardboys,
R. de Boys,
W. de Audeley,
K. Dynham,
R. de Vaures,
G. Vargenteyn,
J. de Haſtings,
G. de Haſtwink,
L. de Burgve,
R. de Bruinleyn,

H. de Malebranch,
S. de Malemain,
G. de Hauteville,
H. Hauteyn,
R. de Morteyn,
R. de Mortimer,
G. de Kanovile,
R. de Columb,
W. Paynel,
C. Pauner,
H. Pontrel,
J. de Rivers,
T. Revile,
W. de Beauchamp,
R. de Beaupale,
E. de Ou,
F. Lovel,
S. de Troys,
J. de Artel,
John de Montebrugge,
H. de Mounteferel,
W. Truſſebut,
W. Truſſel,

H. Boſet,
R. Baſſet,
R. Molet,
H. Malovile,
G. Bonet,
P. de Bonvile,
S. de Rovile,
N. de Norbeck,
J. de Corneus,
P. de Corbet,
W. de Mountague,
S. de Mountfychet,
J. de Geneville,
H. Gyffard,
J. de Say,
T. Gilbard,
R. de Chalons,
S. de Chauward,
H. Ferret,
Hugo Pepard,
J. de Harecourt,
H. de Haunſard,
J. de Lamare,

P. de

P. de Mautrevers,
G. de Ferron,
R. de Ferrers,
J. de Deſty,
W. de Werders,
H. de Bornevile,
J. de Santenys,
S. de Syncler,
R. de Gorges,
E. de Gemere,
W. de Feus,
S. de Filliberd,
H. de Turbervile.
R. Troblenuer,
R. de Angon,
T. de Moter,
T. de Retelet,
H. de Spencer,
E. de Saintpuenten,
J. de Saint Martin,
G. de Cuſtan,
Saint Conſtantin,
Saint Leger & Saint Medard.
M. de Cronu & de S. Viger,
S. de Gravel,
R. de Crenker,
N. Meyuel,
J. de Berners,
S. de Chumly,
E. de Charers,
J. de Grey,
W. de Grangers,

S. de Grangers,
S. Baubenyn,
H. Vamgers,
E. Bertram,
R. Bygot,
S. Treely,
J. Trigot,
G. de Feuet,
H. Filiot,
R. Taperyn,
S. Talbot,
H. Sanſavver,
T. de Samford,
G. de Vandsen,
C. de Vautort,
G. de Mountague,
Thomas de Chambernon,
S. de Monſort,
R. de Fernevaulx,
W. de Valence,
T. Clarel,
S. de Clervaux,
P. de Aubemarle,
H. de Saint Arvant,
Ed. de Auganuteys,
S. de Gant,
G. de Malearbe,
H. Mandut,
W. Cheſun,
L. de Chandut,
B. Filzurs,
B. Vicount de Low,
G. de Cantemere,

T. de Camtlow,
R. Breaunces,
T. de Braxeshorſ,
S. de Bolebec,
B. Mol de Boef,
J. de Muelis,
R. de Brus,
S. de Brewes,
J. de Lille,
T. de Belsile,
T. de Watervile,
G. de Nevile,
R. de Nuuburgh,
H. de Burgeyne,
G. de Bourgh,
S. de Lymoges,
L. de Lyben,
W. de Helyoun,
H. de Hildrebron,
R. de Loges,
S. de Saintlow,
J. de Maubank,
P. de Saint Malow,
R. de Leoferne,
J. de Lovetot,
G. de Dabbevile,
H. de Appetot,
W. de Percy,
H. de Lacy,
C. de Quincy,
E. Tracy,
R. de la Souche,
V. de Somery,
J. de Saint John,

T. de Saint Gory,
P. de Boyly,
Rich. de Saint Valeroy,
P. de Pinkeny,
S. de Pavely,
G. de Monthaut,
T. de Mountchely,
R. de Lymozy,
G. de Lucy,
J. de Artois,
N. de Arty,
P. de Grenvile,
J. de Greys,
W. de Creſſy,
F. de Courcy,
T. de Lamar,
H. de Lymaſtz,
J. de Moubray,
C. de Morley,
S. de Gorney,
R. de Courtenay,
P. de Gourney,
R. de Cony,
J. de la Huſe,
R. de la Huſe,
W. de Longevile,
P. Longeſpy,
J. Potichardon,
R. de la Pomerey,
J. de Pountz,
R. de Puntarge,
R. Eſtraunge,
Tho. Savage,

The 56th Biſhop of Salisbury, viz. and Biſhop of Sarum, ordinis ecclesiastici ipſis formulam ipſum Sarum.

Ex Eulogio lyber. ubi ſupra. The uſe and ordinary of Sarum, love and reverence was deviſed.

A little above, mention was made of the Biſhops See of *Shireborne*, tranſlated from thence to *Salisbury*. The firſt Biſhop of *Salisbury* was *Hermannus* a *Norman*, who firſt began the new Church and Minſter of *Salisbury*. After whom ſucceeded *Osmundus*, who finiſhed the work, and replenished the houſe with great living, and much good linging. This *Osmundus* firſt began the Ordinary which was called *Secundum uſum Sarum. Anno* 1076. The occaſion whereof was this, as I find in an old Story-book intituled *Eulogium*. A great contention chanced at *Glaſtenbury* between *Thurſtanus* the Abbot and his Convent, in the days of *William* the Conqueror. Which *Thurſtanus* the ſaid *William* had brought out of *Normandy* from the Abby of *Cadonum*, and placed him Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*. The cauſe of this contentious Batrel was, for that *Thurſtanus* contemning their Quire-ſervice, then called *the uſe of S. Gregory*, compelled his Monks to the uſe of one *William* a Monk of *Fiſcam* in *Normandy*. Whereupon came ſtrife and contentions amongſt them, firſt in words, then from words to blows, after blows then to armour. The Abbot, with his guard of harneſt Men, fell upon the Monks, and drave them to the ſteps of the High Altar, where two were ſlain, eight were wounded with Shafts, Swords and Pikes. The Monks then driven to ſuch a ſtraight and narrow ſhift, were compelled to defend themſelves with Formes and Candleſticks, wherewith they did wound certain of the Souldiers. One Monk there was (an aged Man) who inſtead of hisſhield took an Image of the Crucifix in his Arms for his defence, which Image was wounded in the breaſt by one of the Bowmen, whereby the Monk was ſaved. My ſtory addeth more, that the ſtriker incontinent upon the ſame fell mad, which favoureth of ſome Monkiſh addition beſides the Text. This matter being brought before the King, the Abbot was ſent again to *Cadonum*, and the Monks by the commandment of the King were ſcattered in far Countries. Thus, by the occaſion hereof, *Osmundus* Biſhop of *Salisbury* deviſed that Ordinary, which is called *the uſe of Sarum*, and was afterward received in a manner through all *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this King *William*.

Which *William* after his death, by his Wife *Matilda* or *Maud*, left three Sons, *Robert Courteſey*, to whom he gave the Dutchy of *Normandy*; *William Rufus* his ſecond Son, to whom he gave the Kingdom of *England*; and *Henry* the third Son, to whom he left and gave treaſure; and warned *William* to be to his People loveing and liberal, *Robert* to be to his people ſtern and ſturdy.

In the Hiſtory called *Jornalenſis*, it is reported of a certain great Man, who about this time of King *William* was compaſſed about with Mice and Rats, and flying to the midſt of a River, yet when that would not ſerve, came to the Land again, and was of them devoured. The *Germans* ſay that this was a Biſhop, who dwelling between *Cullen* and *Mentz*, in time of Famine and Dearth, having ſtore of Corn and Grain, would not help the poverty crying to him for relief but rather wiſhed his Corn to be eaten up of Mice and Rats. Wherefore being compaſſed with Mice and Rats (by the juſt judgment of God) to avoid the annoiance of them, he built a Tower in the midſt of the River of *Rhein* (which yet to this day the *Dutchmen* call *Rats Tower*) but all that would not help; for the Rats and Mice ſwam over to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at leaſth he was devoured.

Example of Gods juſt Judgment upon a Biſhop, who being unmerciful to the poor, was eaten with Rats and Mice.

William Rufus.

{Anno 1088. *William Rufus*}

WILLIAM *Rufus*, the ſecond Son of *William* the Conqueror, began his Reign in the year of our Lord 1088. and Reigned thirteen Years, being crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Lanfrancus*; who, after his Coronation, releaſed out of Priſon, by the requeſt of his Father, divers *Engliſh* Lords, which before had bin in cuſtody. It chanced that, at the death of *William* the Conqueror, *Robert Courteſey* his eldeſt Son was abſent in *Almany*, who hearing of the death of his Father, and how *William* his younger Brother had taken upon him the Kingdom, was therewith greatly moved; inſomuch that he laid his Dukedom to pleage unto his Brother *Henry*, and with that good gathered unto him an Army, and ſo landed at *Hampton*, to the intent to have expelled his Brother from the Kingdom. But *William Rufus* hearing thereof ſent to him fair and gentle words, promiſing him dedition and ſubjection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that ſeeing he was now in place and poſſeſſion, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thouſand Marks, with con-

dition that which of them overlived the other should enjoy the Kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brethren wrought a great dissention between the *Norman* Lords and Bishops, both in *England* and in *Normandy*. Insomuch that all the *Norman* Bishops within the Realm almost rebelled against the King, taking part with Duke *Robert*, except only *Lanfrancus*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester* above mentioned, an *Englishman*; who for his vertue and constancy was so well liked and favoured of his Citizens, that (emboldened with his presence and prayer) they stoutly maintained the City of *Worcester* against the Siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with utter ruine. But Duke *Robert* at length by the advice of his Council (hearing the words sent unto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving some matter of doubt or doublenes) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into *Normandy*, leaving the Bishops, and such others, in the Briers, which were in *England*, taking his part against the King.

Wolstan Bishop of *Worcester.*

This *Rufus* was so ill liked of the *Normans*, that between him and his Lords was oft dissention. Wherefore (well near) all the *Normans* took part against him; so that he was forced of necessity to draw to him the *Englishmen*. Again, so covetous he was, and so immeasurable in his tasks and takings, in selling Benefices, Abbies and Bishopricks, that he was hated of all *Englishmen*.

{Anno 1091.} The death of *Lanfrancus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In the third year of this King died *Lanfrancus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; from whose commendation and worthiness, I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of *Polydorus* his Countryman) so neither do I see any great cause why to add any thing thereto. This I think, unlesse that Man had brought with him less superstition, and more sincere science into Christ his Church, he might have kept him in his Country still, and have confuted *Berengarius* at home. After the decease of *Lanfrank* the See of *Canterbury* stood empty four years.

Remigius Bishop of *Lincoln.*

After the Council of *Lanfrancus* above mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of Bishops Sees from Villages into Head Cities, *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester* (who, as ye heard, accompanied *Lanfrancus* unto *Rome*) removed his Bishops See from *Dorchester* unto *Lincoln*, where he builded the Minster there, situate upon an Hill within the said City of *Lincoln*. The Dedication of which Church *Robert* Archbishop of *York* did resist, saying, that it was builded within the Ground of his Precinct. But after, it had his *Romish* Dedication by *Robert Blevet*, next Bishop that followed. By the same *Remigius* also was founded the Cloyster or Monastery of *Stow*, &c.

Lincoln Minster builded.

Stow Abby builded.

{Anno 1092.} *Winchcomb* Steeple burnt with Lightning.

In the fourth year of this King great Tempests fell in sundry places of *England*, specially at *Winchcombe*, where the Steeple was burned with Lightning, the Church wall burst through, the head and right Leg of the Crucifix, with the Image of our Lady on the right side of the Crucifix, thrown down, and such a stink left in the Church, that none might abide it. At *London* the force of the Weather and Tempest overturned six hundred Houses. In which Tempest the Roof of *Bow* Church was hurled up in the Wind, and by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepness into the ground.

Six hundred houses blown down with Wind. The roof of *Bow* Church overthrown.

Robert Blet. not paid five thousand Marks for his Bishoprick.

King *William* (as ye have heard) an exceeding poller or ravener rather of Church Goods, after he had given the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* to his Chancellor *Robert Blevet* above minded, began to cavil; avouching the See of *Lincoln* to belong to the See of *York*; till the Bishop of *Lincoln* had pleased him with a great sum of money of five thousand Marks, &c.

And as nothing could come in those days without money from the King, so *Herbert Losinga*, paying to the King a piece of Money, was made Bishop of *Thetford*, as he had paid a little before to be Abbot of *Ramsey*. Who likewise, the same time removing his See from *Thetford* to the City of *Norwich*, there erected the Cathedral Church with the Cloyster in the said City of *Norwich*, where he furnished the Monks with sufficient Living and Rents of his own charges, besides the Bishops Lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifest Simony, he went to *Rome*, where he resigned into the Popes hands his Bishoprick, but so, that incontinent he received it again. This *Herbert* was the Son of an Abbot called *Robert*, for whom he purchased of the King to be Bishop of *Winchester*, whereof run these Verses:

Herbert Losinga Bishop of *Norwich.* *Losinga* 1. *adulator.*

Filius est Præsul, pater Abba, Simon uterque:
Quid non fiercivus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit & aufert.
Res nimis injusta, nummus fit Præsul & Abba, &c.

Norwich Minster builded by *Herbert.*

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope *Hildebrand*, after the time of which *Hildebrand* the *German* Emperors began to lose their authority and right in the Popes election, and in giving of Benefices. For next after this *Hildebrand* came Pope *Victor* by the setting up of *Matilda*, and the Duke of *Normandy*, with the faction and retinue of *Hildebrand*, who likewise shewed himself stout against the Emperor. But God gave the shrewd Cow short horns. For *Victor* being poysoned (as some say in his Chalice) fate but one year and a half. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of *Hildebrand* continued still in them that followed after. And like as the Kings of *Israel* followed most part the steps of *Jeroboam*, till the time of their desolation; so for the greatest part all Popes followed the steps and proceedings of this *Hildebrand* their spiritual *Jeroboam*, in maintaining of false worship, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of that See, against all rightful authority, and the lawful Kingdom of *Sion*. In the time of this *Victor* began the Order of the Monks of *Charterhouse*, through the means of one *Hugo* Bishop of *Gracianople*, and of *Bruno* Bishop of *Cullen*.

Pope *Victor* poysoned.

The rule of Monks in *Charterhouse*.

Next to *Victor* sat *Urbane* the second, by whom the acts of *Hildebrand* were confirmed, and also new Decrees enacted against *Henry* the Emperor. In this time were two Popes at *Rome*, *Urbanus*, and *Clemens* the third, whom the Emperor set up. Under Pope *Urban* came in the white Monks of the *Cistercian* Order, by one *Stephen Harding* a Monk of *Shireborne*, (an *English man*) by whom this Order had his beginning in the Wilderness of *Cistery*, within the Province of *Burgoin*, as witnesseth *Cesvensis*. Others write that this *Harding* was the second Abbot of that place, and that it was first founded by the means of one *Robert* Abbot of *Molisme* in *Cistercium*, a Foreft in *Burgundy*, *Anno* 1098. perswaded perchance by *Harding*'s and afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1125. it was brought into *England* by a certain man called *Esseke*, which builded an Abby of the same Order called *Merinale*. In this Order the Monks did live by the labour of their hands; they payed no Tithes nor Offerings, they wore no Fur nor Lining, they wore red Shoes, their Cowls white, and Coats black, all from save a little circle, they eat no flesh but only in their journey. Of this Order was *Bernardus*, &c.

Two Popes at *Rome*, *Urbanus*, and *Clemens* the third.

Troytes in Fran.

The rule of Cluny Monks in *Cluny* in *Burgoin*.

This *Urban* held divers Councils; one at *Rome*, where he Excommunicated all such Lay persons as gave investiture of any Ecclesiastical Benefice; also all such of the Clergy as abjected themselves to be underlings or servants to lay persons for Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c.

Another Council he held at *Cleremount* in *France* where among other things, the Bishop made an Oration to the Lords being there present, concerning the Voyage and recovering the Holy Land from the *Turks* and *Saracens*. The cause of which Voyage first sprang by one *Peter* a Monk or Hermit, who being in *Jerusalem*, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the Pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope *Urban*, and was therein a great follicitor to all Christian Princes. By reason whereof, after the foresaid Oration of Pope *Urban*, 30000 Men (taking on them the Sign of the Cross for their cognisance) made preparation for that Voyage, whose Captains were *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, with his two brethren *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, the Bishop of *Pody*, *Bohemund* Duke of *Puell* and his Nephew *Tancredus*, *Rasmund* Earl of St. *Egidius*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Hugh le Grand*, Brother of *Philip* the *French* King. To whom also was joyned *Robert Curthoise* Duke of *Normandy*, with divers other Noblemen, with the foresaid *Peter* the Hermit, who was the chief causer of that Voyage.

Synods be held by Lay Lords.

The Voyage unto the Holy Land.

At

At that time many of the said Noblemen laid their Lands and Lordships to mortgage, to provide for the forenamed Voyage; as *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, who sold the Dukedom of *Bollogn* to the Bishop of *Elburone* for a great summ of money. Also *Robert Curthoise* Duke of *Normandy* laid his Dukedom to pledge to his Brother *William* King of *England* for ten thousand pounds, &c.

{Anno 1096.} Thus the Christians, which passed first over *Bosphorus*, having to their Captain *Peter* the Hermit (a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an Army) being trapped of their enemies, were slain and murthered in great numbers among the *Bulgars*, and near to the Town called *Civitot*.

The ills of the Christians in their Voyage to the Jewish Iem.

When the Nobles and the whole Army met together at *Constantinople* (where *Alexius* was Emperor) passing over by *Hellespontus* going to *Jerusalem*, they took the Cities of *Nicea*, *Eraclea*, *Tarsis*, and subdued the Country of *Cicilia*, appointing the possession thereof to certain of their Captains.

Pope Urbs thrists.

Antioch taken by the Christians.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth Month of the Siege it was yielded to the Christians by one *Pyrrhus*; about which feaven were fought many strong Battels, to the great slaughter and desolation of the *Saracens*, and not without lois of many Christian Men. The governance of this City was committed to *Bohemund* Duke of *Puel*, whose martial Knighthood was often proved in time of the Siege thereof.

Pope Urbs perfoms the thirs. & 10. yeare.

{Anno 1098.} The daughter of the Persian Infidels. *Jerusalem* conquered by the Christians. *Ro. Hovede. fol. 7.*

And not long after, *Corbona* master of the *Persians* Chivalry was vanquished and slain, with an hundred thousand Infidels. In which discomfiture were taken 15000 Camels.

Jerusalem on the nine and thirtieth day of the Siege, was conquered by the Christians. *Robert* also Duke of *Normandy* was elect to be King thereof. Howbeit he refused it, hearing of the death of King *William Rufus* of *England*; wherefore he never sped well in all his affairs after the same. Then *Godfrey*, Captain of the Christian Army, was proclaimed the first King of *Jerusalem*. At the taking of the City was such a murther of Men, that blood was congealed in the Streets the thickness of a foot. Then after *Godfrey* reigned *Baldwin* his Brother: After him *Baldwin* the second, Nephew. Then *Gaufridus* Duke of *Gaunt*, and after him *Gaufridus* his Son, by whom many great Battels there were fought against the *Saracens*, and all the Country thereabout subdued, save *Ascalon*, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the Voyage to the Holy Land. Now to our own Land again.

The rule of Clerks Regulars in Latran.

The Kings of *England* submit themselves unto the Pope.

About this time (as *Matthew Parisiensis* writeth) the King of *England* favoured not much the See of *Rome*, because of their impudent and unstable exactions which they required, neither would he suffer any of his Subjects to go to *Rome*, alledging these words in the Author thus expressed: *Quod Petri non inhærent vestigiis, præmiis inhiantes; non ejus potestatem retinent, cujus sanctitatem prohantur non imitari*; that is, Because they follow not the steps of *Peter*, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whose holiness they declare themselves not to follow, &c.

Ro. Mat. Par.

Decrees of Pope Urban.

By the same *Urbanus*, the seven hours, which we call *Septem horæ canonicæ*, were first instituted in the Church.

Item, By this Pope was decreed, no Bishop to be made, but under the Name and Title of some certain place.

John Stella. *Item*, That Mattins and hours of the day should every day be said.

Item, also every Saturday to be said the Mass of our Lady, and all the *Jews* Sabbath to be turned to the service of our Lady, as in the Council of *Turon*, to the which Service was appointed the Anthem *Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto fæmineo sexu*.

Matthæus.

Dist. 21. Ecce 15. & 6. Sanctis.

Item, all such of the Clergy as had Wives, to be deprived of their order.

Item, to be lawful for Subjects to break their Oath of Allegiance with all such as were by the Pope Excommunicate.

Item, not to be lawful both for Husband and Wife to christen one child both together; with matters many more.

By the same Pope thus many Chapters stand written in the Canon Law, *Dist.* 7. *Sanctorum*, *dist.* 31. *Eos qui* 1. *q.* 1. *Si qua dist.* 56. *Presbyterorum*, 11. *q.* 3. *quibus* 15. *q.* 6. *Juratos* 16. *q.* 7. *Congregatio* 19. *q.* 2. *Statuimus*, 23. *q.* 8. *Tributum*, 30. *q.* 4. *quod autem*, &c.

30. q. 8. quod autem.

In the sixth year of this Kings Reign, *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, which former times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the North parts, as is before shewed, burst into *Northumberland* with all the power he could make, and there by the right judgment of God was slain, with his Son *Edward*, and also *Margaret* his Wife, Sister to *Edgar Adeling* above minded, a vertuous and devout Lady, within three days after.

Example of Gods rightful judgment in punishing cruel murthers.

The same year he gave the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* after that he had detained the same in his own hands four years) to *Anselm* Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*.

Anselm made Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

This *Anselm* was an *Italian*, in the City of *Augusta*, born and brought up in the Abby of *Beck* in *Normandy*; where he was so strict a follower of virtue, that (as the Story recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in Hell, than in Heaven with sin. Which saying and with of his (if it were his) may seem to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and understanding of the Scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man. Further, they report him to be so far from singularity, that he should say, it was the Vice which thrust the Angels first out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradise.

The saying of *Anselm* pondered.

The vice of singularity.

Of this *Anselm* it is moreover reported, that he was so ill willing to take the Archbishoprick, that the King had much ado to thrust it upon him: and he was so desirous to have him take it, that the City of *Canterbury* (which before *Lanfrancus* did hold but at the Kings good will and pleasure) he gave now to *Anselm* wholly, which was about the year of our Lord 1092. But as desirous as the King was then to place the said *Anselm*, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all manner of means to defeat him if he might. Such strife and contention rose between them two for certain matters; the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

Anselm ill willing to take the Archbishoprick. *Canterbury* first given to the Archbishop wholly.

Strife and contention between the K. and *Anselme*

After that *Anselm* had been thus elected to the See of *Canterbury*, before he was fully consecrate, the King communed with him (assaying by all gentle manner of words to intreat him) that such Lands and Possessions of the Church of *Canterbury* as the King had given and granted to his friends since the death of *Lanfrancus*, they might still enjoy the same as their own lawful possessions through his grant and permission. But to this *Anselm* in no case would agree. Whereupon the King, conceiving great displeasure against him, did stop his Confecration a great season, till at length in long process of time the King, enforced by the daily complaints and desires of his People and Subjects, for lack of an Archbishop to moderate the Church, was constrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus *Anselm* with much ado taking his Consecration, and doing his Homage to the King, went to his See of *Canterbury*; and not long after, the King fayled over to *Normandy*.

Anselm stopped from his Consecration.

Anselm consecrated.

Anselm doth homage to K. *Williams.*

About this time there were two striving in *Rome* for the Popedome, as is afore touched, *Urbanus* and *Guibertus*. Divers Realms diversly consenting, some to the one, some to the other. *England* taking part with their King, was rather inclined to *Guibertus*, called *Clement* the third; but *Anselm* did fully go with *Urbanus*, making so his exception with the King, entring to his Bishoprick. After the King was returned again from *Normandy*, the Archbishop cometh to him, and asketh leave to go to *Rome*, to fet his Pall of Pope *Urban*; which when he could not at first obtain, he maketh his appeal from the King to the Pope. Whereat the King being justly displeased, charged the Archbishop with breach of his Fealty, contrary to his promise made; that is, if he without his licence, should appeal either to *Urban* or to any other Pope. *Anselm* answereth again, that it was to be referred unto some greater Council, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to break a Mans Allegiance to a terrene Prince, if he appeal to the Vicar of Saint *Peter*. And here much arguing and contending was oft both sides. The Kings reason proceedeth thus: *The custome* (saith he) *from my fathers time hath been in* England, *that no person*

Urban and *Clemens* striving for the Papacy. *England* favoured *Clement.*

Anselm holdeth with *Urban*

Anselm denied leave to go to *Rome.*

Anselm appealeth from the Pope.

Anselm charged for a Traitor.

The Kings argument against *Anselme.*

The custom of England from Willi-am Conque-rors time, not to ap-peal to the Pope.

Anselms reply against the King.

The reasons of *Anselm* to prove the Popes au-thority a-bove other Kings.

Anselm here ingeni-ously cal-leth the Pope the Vicar of St. Peter, where the Canon law calleth him but the Suc-cessor of Pe-ter, and Vi-car of Christ.

All the Bi-shops of the Realm stood of the Kings side against *Anselm*. *William* Bi-shop of Du-resme.

Gualterus the Popes Legat cometh to *England*.

Anselm could not be removed by the King. The Pope taketh this as no fault, for a Sub-ject to re-pugne a-gainst his King.

The stout-nesse of *Anselm* stan-ding against his King.

The manner of bringing in *Anselmes* Pall into *Canterbury*.

should appeal to the Pope without the Kings licence. He that breaketh the customs of the Realm, violateth the pow-er and Crown of the Kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my Crown, is a Traytor and Enemy against me, &c. To this *Anselm* replieth again. *The Lord* (saith he) *easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what Fidelity and Allegiance we ought to give unto the Vicar of Saint* Peter, *where he saith, Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c. And to thee will I give the Keies of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind in Earth, it shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever thou loosest in Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven, &c. Again, to them all in general he saith, He that heareth you, heareth me; and whoso despiseth you, despiseth me. And in another place, He that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of mine Eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the King, he sheweth also, Give (saith he) to the Emperor, what belongeth to the Emperor, and to God, that which to God belongeth. Wherefore, in such things as belong to God, I will yield, and must yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the Vicar of S.*Peter, *and in such things as belong again to terrene dignities of my Prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithful help and counsel, so far as they can extend.*

Thus have ye the grounded arguments of this Prelate to stand so stiffly against his Prince, whereunto peradventure was joyned also some piece of a stubborn heart. But in this conclusion none of his fellow Bishops durst take his part, but were all against him; namely, *William* Bishop of *Duresme*; to whom *Anselm* thus protesteth, saying, *Whosoever he were that would presume to prove it any breach of Allegiance or Fealty to his Sovereign, if he appealed to the Vicar of* S.Peter, *he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary.* The Bishop of *Duresme* answered again, *That he which would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained, &c.* The King, having on his part the agreement of the Bishops, thought to deprive the Archbishop both of his Pastoral See, and to expel him out of the Realm. But he could not perform his purpose; for *Anselm*, as he was ready to depart the Realm, he said, whensoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the mean season the King had sent privily two Messengers unto Pope *Urban*, to intreat him to send his Pall to the King, for him to give it where he would. Which Messengers by this time were returned again, bringing with them from *Rome*, *Gualter* Bishop of *Alban*, the Popes Legate, with the Pall to be given unto *Anselm*. This Legate, first landing at *Dover*, from thence came privily (unknown to *Anselme*) to the King, declaring ard promising, that if *Urban* was received Pope in *England*, whatsoever the King required to be obtained, he by his priviledge from the Apostolical See would ratifie and confirm the same; save only that when the King required of the Legate that *Anselm* might be removed, the Legate thereunto would not agree; saying, *that it was unpossible to be obtained, that such a man as he, being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause.* In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtain his request of the Legate, yet the Legate so wrought with the King, that *Urban* was proclaimed lawful Pope throughout all the Realm.

Then were sent to *Anselm* certain Bishops to move and prove his mind, declaring what charges and pains the King had been at in his behalf, to procure the Pall for him from *Rome*, which otherwife would have stood him in great expences, and that all this the King had done for his sake. Wherefore it were good reason and convenient, that he (to gratifie the King) should somthing condescend to his request again. But with all this *Anselm* the stout Archbishop would not be moved. Wherefore the King, seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his Archbishoprick. And to the day appointed, when the Pall should be brought to *Canterbury*, (being carried with all solemnity in a thing of Silver) the Archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoot with his Priestly Vestments, after a most goodly manner to meet the same; and so being brought in, it was laid upon the Altar: whiles *Anselm* (spreading over his shoulders his *Popish* Vestments) proceeded unto his *Popish* Mass.

Thus agreement being made between the King and the Bishop, to long as it would hold; it happened the year following, the King with his Army entred into *Wales*, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the Victory gotten, the King returned home again with triumph; to whom *Anselm* thought to have come to congratulate his prosperous success. But the King prevented him by Messengers, laying to the Bishops charge both the small number and the evil service of his Souldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of *Anselm* was dasht, who at the same present had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the King touching the state of the Church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation; insomuch that he was charged, against the next Court of Parliament, to make his answer. But he avoided that by appealing to *Rome*. Wherefore he made his sute and friends to the King for licence to go to the Pope. Unto the which sute the King answered again, *that he should not go, neither was there any cause for him so to do; for that both he knew him to be of so sound a life, that he had done no such offence, whereof he needed to crave Absolution at* Rome, *neither was there any such lack of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsel there: Insomuch* (saith the King) *I dare say,* Pope Urban *rather hath to give place to the wisdom of* Anselm, *than* Anselm *to have need of* Urban. *Wherefore as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his stubbornnesse still, I Will assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his Archbishoprick into my Coffers, for that he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obeisance, promising before to observe all the customs of my Kingdom. Neither is it the fashion in this Realm, that any of my Nobles should go to* Rome *without my sending. And therefore let him swear unto me, that he shall neither for any grievance appeal hereafter to the See of* Rome, *or else let him void my Realm.*

Another quarrel of the King against *Anselm*.

Anselm despiseth the Kings Letters.

Anselm is pursued with rebuke.

The Kings answer to *Anselm* for his appealing to Rome.

The nobles of England.

No Prelate or Noble-man to go to Rome without the Kings licencing.

Against these words of the King, *Anselm* thinking not best to reply again by any Message, but by word of mouth, coming himself personally to the King, he placeth himself (after his order) on the right hand of the Prince, where he made his reply unto the Message sent to him by the King, *Whereas you say, I ought not to go to* Rome, *either in regard of any trespass, or for abundance of counsel and knowledge in me (albeit I grant neither of them to be true) yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas ye say that I promised to keep and observe your customs; that I grant, but with a condition; so far to keep them, and such of them to observe, as were consonant to the lawes of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my Fidelity and Allegiance, for that contrary to your customs I appeal to the See Apostolick (my reverence and duty to your sovereignty reserved) if another would say it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obeysance that I owe to thee (O King) I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whose Vicar* S.Peter *is, to whose seat I do appeal. Further, whereas ye require me to swear, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeal to* Rome, *I pronounce openly that a Christian Prince requireth such an Oath of his Archbishop unjustly. For if I should forswear* S.Peter, *I should deny Christ. And when I shall at any time deny Christ, then shall I be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to go to* Rome. *And peradventure when I am gone, the Goods of the Church shall not so serve your temporal desires and commodities as ye ween for. As these words of the Bishop the King and his Nobles were not a little incensed:* they defending again, *that in his promise of observing the Kings Customs, there was neither condition, nor any clause put in, either of God or Right. No was?* faid *Anselm. If so be, that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Christian should be bound to any Customs which go contrary to God and to right. Then on both sides passed much altercation between them.*

The Bishops part from Anselm.

At length the King, after many threatning words, told him he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. *Well,* said the Bishop, *if I may neither have my horse nor garments with me, they will I walk on foot;* and so addressed

addressed him toward his journey (all the other Bishops forsaking him) whereof none would take his part; but if he came to them for counsel, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsel, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holinesse, was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the King their Lord; whose favour they could not lack, for the peril that might happen both to themselves and their kindred. But for him, because he was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him, they willed him to go forward as he had begun; their secret consent he should have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus *Anselm*, remaining at *Dover* fifteen days tarrying for Wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly known in the Court, the Kings Officer *William Warlwast*, prevented his purpose, searching by the Kings Commandment, all his Trusses, Cofters, Satchels, Sleeves, Purse, Napkin and Bosom, for Letters, and for Money, and so let him pass. Who, sailing into *France*, first rested a while at *Lions*, from thence came to *Rome* to Pope *Urban*, according to the tenor and form of a certain Epistle of his; wherein, among many other things in the same Epistle contained, these words he writeth to Pope *Paschalis*, the third year after his banishment, after the death of *Urban*, and a little before the death of the King.

To the Lord and reverend Father Paschalis, *High Bishop*, Anselm *servant of the Church of* Canterbury, *offereth due subjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead,* Ex Epist. 36. paulo post initium.

A fragment or portion of a Letter of *Anselm* to Pope *Paschalis*. Ex Legend. *Anf. ant Eadmerum, circ. finem Anfel.* pa.

'SEe in *England* many evils, whose correction belongeth
'to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer
'without mine own fault. The King defireth of me, that
'under the name of right I should consent to his pleasures,
'which were against the law and will of God. For he
'would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in
'*England*, without his commandment; neither that I
'should send a Letter unto him, or receive any from him,
'or that I should obey his Decrees. He suffered not a Coun-
'cil to be kept in his Realm now these thirteen years,
'since he was King. In all these things, and such like,
'if I asked any Counsel, all my Suffragan Bishops of his
'Realm, denied to give me any counsel, but according to
'the Kings pleasure. After that I saw these and such other
'things that are done against the will and law of God:
'I asked a Licence of him to go to *Rome* unto the See
'Apostolical, that I might there take counsel for my soul,
'and the office committed unto me. The King said, that
'I offended against him for the only asking of licence;
'and propounded to me, that either I should make him
'amends for the same as a trespass (affuring him never to
'ask his licence any more to appeal to the Pope at any
'time hereafter) or else that I should quickly depart out
'of his Land. Wherefore choosing rather to go out of the
'Land, than agree to so wicked a thing; I came to *Rome*,
'as you know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord
'Pope. The King by and by (as soon as I went out of
'*England*) invaded the whole Archbishoprick, and turned
'it to his own use, taxing the Monks only with bare
'Meat, Drink and Cloth. The King being warned and
'defied of the Lord Pope to amend this, contemned
'the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And
'now is the third year since I came thus out of *England*,
'and more. Some men, not understanding, demand why
'I did not excommunicate the King. But the wiser fort,
'and such as have understanding, counsel me that I do
'not this thing; because it belongeth not unto me both to
'complain and to punish. To conclude, I was fore-warned by my friends that are under the King, that mine Excommunication (if it should be done) would be laughed
'to scorn and despised, *&c.*

The King would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in *England*.

Anselm complaineth of the King and of Inclosing Bishops.

The King contemneth the Popes warning.

By these here above prefixed, appeareth how *Anselm* the Archbishop, coming unto *Rome*, made his complaint to Pope *Urban* of the King: and how the Pope writeing unto the King in the behalf of *Anselm* his Letters and Commandments were despised. And now to our Story. In the mean time, while the Popes Letters were sent to the King, *Anselm* was bid to wait about the Pope to look for answer back. Who perceiving at length, how little the King reputed the Popes Letters, began to be weary of his office, defiring the Pope that he might be discharged thereof; but the Pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him upon his obedience, that wheresoever he went, he should bear with him the Name and Honour of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Whereunto *Anselm* again said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for Gods cause was ready to suffer whatsoever should happen (yea though it were death it self) as he thought no less would follow thereof. But what should we think, saith he, if there to be done, where justice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppressed? And whereas my Suffragans do not only not help (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for favour do impugn the same? Well (saith the Pope) as touching these matters we shall sufficiently provide at the next Council to be holden at *Baion*, whereas I will you the same time and place to be present.

Concilium Baionense.

When the time of the Council was come, *Anselm* amongst others was called for, who, first sitting in an utter side of the Bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the Pope, with these words, *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius urbis Papam.* Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the Successors of the See of *Canterbury*, in every General Council by the Decree of Pope *Urban*, to sit at the right foot of the Pope. In this said Council great stir and much reasoning there was against the *Grecians*, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the Holy Ghost. Where is to be noted, that the *Greek* Church hath of long time differed from the *Latine* Church in many and sundry points, to the number of twenty, or almost 29. Articles, as I have them collected out of the Register of the Church of *Hereford*: whereof like as occasion hereafter may serve (God willing) for a further and more ample tractation to be made; so here by the way partly I mean to touch some. The first is:

Anselm and his successors placed at the right foot of the Pope in his General Councils.

De præcipuis quæ differunt Græci: Third difference between the Greek Church and the Latine

Wherein the Greek *Church differeth from the* Latine.

THE first Article wherein the *Greek* Church altereth from the *Latine* or *Romish* Church is this:

Quod sunt extra obedientiam Romanæ Ecclesiæ, pro eo quod Ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subjecta, sed ei æqualis. Dicunt dominum Apostolicum non habere majorem potestatem, quam quatuor patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter scientiam eorum per Papam, vel sine eorum approbatione, nullius est valoris, &c.

Eu. registus Eccles. Græcorum.

In English.

First, They are not under the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, because that the Church of *Constantinople* is their subject, but equal to the same.

The Article and Opinions of the Greek Church, differing from the Latine Church of *Rome*.

2. They hold that the Bishop of the Apostolick See of *Rome* hath not greater power than the four Patriarchs. And whatsoever the Pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no value.

3. *Item*, They say whatsoever hath been done or concluded, since the second General Council, it is of no full authority; because from that time they recount the *Latines* to be in error, and to be excluded out of the Holy Church.

4. *Item, Dicunt Eucharistiam consecratam per Romanam Ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi.* That is, They hold the Eucharist consecrated by the Church of *Rome* not to be the very body of Christ. Also where the *Romish* Church doth consecrate in unleavened bread, they consecrate in bread leavened.

5. *Item*, They say that the *Romish* Church doth err in the words of Baptism, for saying, I baptise thee, when they should say, Let this Creature of God be baptised, *&c.*

6. They hold more over, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the Church do avail the dead, either to lessen the pain of them that be destinate to Hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to salvation.

7. *Item,*

7. *Item*, they hold that the souls out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain nor glory; but are reserved in a certain place till the day of Judgment.

8. *Item*, they condemn the Church of *Rome* for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9. *Item*, they condemn the Church of *Rome*, for that as well women as Priests anoint children (when they baptize them) on both shoulders.

10. *Item*, *Dicunt panem nostrum panagium*: That is, they call our bread *panagia*.

11. *Item*, they blame the Church of *Rome* for celebrating their Masse on other days besides Sundays, and certain other Feasts appointed.

12. Also in this the *Greek* Church varieth from the *Latin*; for they have neither Cream nor Oyl, nor Sacrament of Confirmation.

13. Neither do they use extream unction, or annoiling after the manner of the *Roman* Church, expounding the place of St. *James* of the spiritual infirmity, and not corporal.

14. *Item*, they enjoyn no satisfaction for penance, but only that they shew themselves to the Priests, anointing them with simple oyl in token of remission of sins.

15. *Item*, only on Maunday-thursday they consecrate for the sick, keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated than upon any other. Neither do they fast any Saturday through the whole year, but only on *Easter-eve*.

16. *Item*, they give but only five Orders, as of Clerks, Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests and Bishops; when as the *Roman* Church giveth nine Orders after the nine Orders of Angels.

17. Moreover the *Grecians* in their Orders make no vow of Chastity, alledging for them the fifth Canon of *N.* *§ Ego presbyter vel diaconus, uxorum causa honestatis non reticiam*, &c. that is, *I. N.* Priest or Deacon will not forsake my wife for honesty sake.

My copy here seemed to want somewhat.

18. *Item*, every year the *Grecians* use upon certain days to Excommunicate the Church of *Rome*, and all the *Latins* as Hereticks.

19. *Item*, among the said *Grecians* they are Excommunicate that beat or strike a Priest. Neither do their Religious men live in such Priestly chastity as the *Roman* Priests do.

20. *Item*, their Emperor amongst them doth ordain Patriarchs, Bishops, and other of the Clergy, and depoſeth the ſame at his pleaſure; alſo he giveth Benefices to whom he liſteth, and retaineth the fruits of the ſame Benefices as pleaſeth him.

This Article ſeemeth not to be rightly collected out of the *Grecians*.

21. *Item*, they blame the *Latin* Church becauſe they eat no fleſh, Eggs and Cheeſe on Fridays, and do eat fleſh on Saturdays.

22. *Item*, they hold againſt the *Latin* men for celebrating without the conſecrated Church, either in the houſe or in the field; and faſting on the Sabbath-day; and for permitting menſtruous women to enter into the Church before their purifying; alſo for ſuffering Dogs and other beaſts to enter into the Church.

23. The *Grecians* uſe not to kneel in all their devotions, yea not to the body of Chriſt (as the Regiſter termeth it) but one day in the whole year; ſaying and affirming that the *Latins* be Goats and beaſts, for they are always proſtrating themſelves upon the ground in their prayers.

24. The *Grecians* moreover permit not the *Latins* to celebrate upon their Altars. And if it chance any *Latin* Prieſt to celebrate upon their Altar, by and by they waſh their Altar in token of abomination and falſe ſacrifice. And diligently they obſerve that whenſoever they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgy or Maſs upon one Altar or Table that day.

25. *Item*, they diſſent from the Church of *Rome* touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt.

Theſe Articles wherein is declared the difference between the Eaſt and Weſt Church, of the *Grecians* and *Romans*, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentical Regiſter of the Church of *Hereford*, ſo I thought here to inſert them, and leave them to the conſideration of the Reader. Other four Articles more in the ſame Regiſter be there expreſſed concerning Simony, Uſury, not with them forbidden; and touching alſo their Emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damniſie by any manner of way the *Latin* Prieſts, *&c.* Which Articles, for that either they ſeem not truly collected out of their teachings, or elſe not greatly pertinent to the Doctrine of Religion; I overpaſs them. To the purpoſe now of our ſtory again.

When certain of theſe above prefixed were moved in the foreſaid Council to be diſcuſſed, namely concerning the aſſertion of proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt, and concerning leavened bread in the Miniſtration of the Lords Supper, *Anſelm*, as is above ſaid, was called for, who in the tranſlation of the ſame Articles ſo beſtirred him in that Councel, that he well liked the Pope and them about him, as one Author recordeth. Whereupon touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he ſeemed there to reaſon, and what he writeth to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nurenburgh*, thereof ye ſhall hear by a piece of his Letter ſent to the ſaid Biſhop, the Copy whereof inſueth.

Anſelm 4. Boot Chap. 11. upon the Theſſalonians.

Anſelm, Servant to the Church of *Canterbury*, to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nurenburgh*. *Epiſt.* 325. *poſt. initium.*

A Letter of Anſelm ſent to Waltram Biſhop of Nurenburgh. Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 325.

AS concerning the Sacrifice in which the Grecians *think not as we do; it ſeemeth to many reaſonable to Catholick men, that which they do not to be againſt the Chriſtian Faith; for both he that ſacrificeth unleavened and leavened, ſacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when he made his body of bread) that he took bread and bleſſed; it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certain that he bleſſed unleavened bread (peradventure) not becauſe the thing that was done required that, but becauſe the Supper in which this was done did give that. And whereas in another place he calleth himſelf and his fleſh bread, becauſe that as man liveth temporally with this bread, ſo with that bread he liveth for ever. He ſaith not unleavened or leavened, becauſe both alike are bread; for unleavened and leavened differ not in ſubſtance, as ſome think; like as a new maſs afore ſin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of ſin, differ not in ſubſtance. For this cauſe therefore only he might be thought to call himſelf and his fleſh, bread, and made his body of bread, becauſe that that bread (unleavened or leavened) giveth a tranſitory life; and his body giveth everlaſting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Although it be a Commandment in the Law to eat unleavened bread in the Paſſover, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Chriſt whom they for-ſhadowed, was pure and clean; and we that ſhould eat his body were admoniſhed to be likewiſe pure from all leaven of malice and wickedneſs. But now after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eat the unleavened fleſh of Chriſt, that old figure in bread (of which we make that fleſh) is not neceſſary for us. But manifeſt it is, to be better ſacrificed of unleavened, than of leavened, &c.*

A Bread in the Communion to be unleavened not neceſſary.

To this Letter I have alſo adjoyned another Epiſtle of his to the ſaid *Waltram*, appertaining to matters not much unlike to the ſame effect; wherein is intreated touching the variety and diverſs uſages of the Sacraments in the Church; whereby ſuch as call and cry ſo much for Uniformity in the Church, may note peradventure in the ſame ſomething for their better underſtanding.

A piece of another Letter of *Anſelm* to the ſaid *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nur.*

Another Letter. Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 325.

To the Reverend Father and his Friend Waltram, *by the Grace of God the Worſhipful Biſhop of* Nurenburgh, Anſelm *the Servant of the Church of* Canterbury, *Greeting, &c.*

YOUR Worſhip complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, that they are not made every where after one ſort, but are handled in divers places after divers ſorts. And truly if they were miniſtred after one ſort and agreeing through

Diverſity of uſages in the Church to be born with peace, rather than to be condemned with offence.

through the whole Church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe there be many diverſities which differ not in the ſum of the Sacrament in the ſtrength of it, or in the Faith, or elſe can be gathered into one cuſtom: I think that they are rather to be born with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we have this from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the Catholick faith, the diverſity of cuſtoms hurteth nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diverſity of cuſtoms doth ſpring; I perceive no other cauſe thereof but the diverſity of mens wits, which although they differ not in ſtrength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the ſtineſs and comelineſs of the miniſtring. For that which one judgeth to be meeter, oftentimes another thinketh leſs meet; wherefore not to agree in ſuch diverſities, I think it not to ſwerve from the truth of the thing, &c.

Diverſities in the Church hurt nothing.

Excommunication denounced againſt the Grecians.

Then in the ſtory it followeth, after long debating and diſcuſſing of theſe matters in the Council, when they had given forth their determination upon the ſame, and the Pope had blaſted out his thundring Excommunications againſt the *Grecians*, and all that took their part: at length were brought in the complaints and accuſation againſt the King of *England*. Upon the hearing whereof, Pope *Urban* with his adherents was ready to proceed in Excommunication againſt the King. But *Anſelm* kneeling before the Pope, after he had firſt accuſed his King, then after obtained for him longer time to be given upon further trial.

Excommunication againſt K. William.

Firſt breek his bond, and then give him a Fliſher.

Meſſages between the King and the Pope.

Thus the Council breaking up, the Pope returning again to *Rome*, directeth down his Letters to the King, commanding him that *Anſelm* with all his partakers (in ſpeedy wiſe) ſhould be revelled again into his Archbiſhoprick, and all other poſſeſſions thereunto appertaining. To this the King ſendeth anſwer again by meſſengers; who coming to the Pope, declared in the Kings behalf on this wiſe, That the King their Maſter did not a little marvel what came in his mind to command *Anſelm* to be revelled and reſeized again into his former Archbiſhoprick; ſeeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of *England* without his leave, he would ſo do unto him. Well (ſaith the Pope) have ye no other matter againſt *Anſelm* but only this? No (quoth they.) And have ye taken all this travel (ſaith the Pope) to come hither ſo far to tell me this, that the Primate of your Country is therefore diſſeized and diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe he hath appealed to the See and judgment Apoſtolical? Therefore if thou loveſt thy Lord, ſpeed thee home and tell him, if he will not be Excommunicated, that he quickly reveſt *Anſelm* again to all that he had before. And leſt I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, look to thy term, and ſee that thou bring me anſwer again from him into this City, againſt the next Council the third week after *Eaſter*. The meſſenger or ſpeaker being ſomewhat aſtonied at the hearing of this ſo Tragical anſwer, thinking yet to work ſomething for his King and Maſter, came ſecretly to the Pope, ſaying that he would confer a certain myſtery from his King privately with his Holineſs between them two. What myſtery that was, or what there paſſed from the King to the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, mine Author doth not ſhew; but ſo cunningly that myſtery was handled, that with a full conſent both of the Pope and all the Court of *Rome*, a longer day was given, from *Eaſter* to *Michaelmas*, and the Popes choleriek heat ſo aſſwaged, that when the Council came (which then was holden at St. *Peter's* Church in *Rome*) albeit great complaints were then denounced againſt the King; yet ſuch favour was found that he took no harm. Only the ſentence of Excommunication was there pronounced againſt ſuch lay-perſons as gave Inveſtiture of Churches, and them that were ſo inveſted. Alſo againſt them that do conſecrate ſuch, or which gave themſelves in ſubjection to lay-men for Eccleſiaſtical livings, as is before touched, *&c.*

A fond crack of thunder for without a thunder-bolt.

A bobbing myſtery handled at *Rome*.

Conciliom Romanum, ſupremum Conſilium.

Abſt of the Council of Rome.

This Council being finiſhed, the Archbiſhop ſeeing the unſatisfineſs of the Pope (which pleaſed him but a little) took his journey to *Lions*, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death firſt of Pope *Urban*, then after of the King.

Of this King *William* many things be diverſly recorded, ſome to his commendation, and ſome to his diſcommendation; whereof this is one, which ſome will aſcribe to hardineſs, but I rather to raſhneſs in him. As this King upon a time was in his diſport of hunting, ſuddenly word came to him that *Cenowrna* (a City in *Normandy*) was beſieged. The King without longer tarrying or adviſement took the ſtraight way toward the Sea-ſide, ſending to his Lords that they ſhould follow after. They being come to his preſence, adviſed him to ſtay till the time his people were aſſembled, but he would not be ſtayed, ſaying that ſuch as him loved (he knew) would follow him ſhortly, and ſo went to take Ship. The Ship-maſter ſeeing the weather ſo dark and cloudy was afraid, and counſelled the King to tarry till the wind did turn about, and the weather more favourable. But the King perſiſting in his journey, commanded him to make all the ſpeed he might for his life; ſaying, That he never heard that any King yet was ever drowned. And ſo paſſed the Sea in ſafety, and came to *Normandy*.

The hardineſs reſt or rather raſhneſs of K. *William*.

The ſaying of K. *William*, never kn. ve any King drowned.

The thirteenth year of his reign the ſaid King *William*, having the ſame time in his hand three Biſhopricks, *Canterbury*, *Winchcſter* and *Sarum*; alſo twelve Abbeys in farm; as he was in his diſport of hunting in the new Foreſt, by glancing of an arrow (ſhot of a Knight named *Walter Tirrel*) was wounded to death, and ſo ſpeechleſs was carried to *Weſtminſter*, and there was buried. Where alſo is to be noted, that *Richard* the Couſin-German of King *William*, and Son to Duke *Robert* his Brother, was likewiſe ſlain in the foreſaid Foreſt. See the juſt hand of God upon Kings uſurping wrongfully upon other mens grounds, as did *William* the Conqueror their Father, in making this new Foreſt, plucking down divers Churches and Townſhips, the compaſs of thirty miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot revenge, yet God revengeth either in them, or in their poſterity, *&c.* This King as he always uſed Concubines, ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behind him. His life was ſuch that it is hard for a ſtory that ſhould tell the truth, to ſay whether he was more to be commended or reproved. Among other vices in him, eſpecially is to be rebuked in him unmeaſurable and unreaſonable covetouſneſs; inſomuch that he coveted (if he might) to be every mans heir. This one example of a liberal and Princely nature I find in him: that upon a time when a certain Abbot of a place was dead, there came to his Court two Monks of the ſame houſe, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the King, and offered large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignity. There was alſo the third Monk of the ſame place, which of meekneſs and humility followed the other two, to the intent that upon him whom the King had admitted for Abbot, he ſhould give attendance, and as his Chaplain with him return. The King called before him the two Monks ſeverally, of whom the one out-proffered the other. As the King caſt his eye aſide, he eſpied the third Monk ſtanding by, ſuppoſing that his coming had been alſo for the like cauſe. Then the King calling him, aſked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethern had offered to be Abbot. He anſwered to the King, and ſaid, that he neither had nor would (if he might) offer any peny for it by any ſuch unlawful means.

The death of William Rufus.

Walter Tirrel.

The News Foreſt.

Example of the juſt hand of God revenging the ſinnes of Kings in their poſterity.

Coveteouſneſs noted in King *William*.

A famous example of Bribes refuſed.

Two bribing Monks both diſappointed.

When the King had well pondered this third Monks anſwer, he ſaid that he was beſt worthy to be Abbot, and to have the rule of ſo holy a Charge; and ſo gave unto him that Benefice without taking any peny.

Urban Excommunicated.

Urban Biſhop of *Rome*, who (as is ſaid) ſucceeded after *Victor*, ruled the Church of *Rome* about the ſpace of twelve years; and amongſt his other acts he Excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth of that name, as a man not much devout to that See of *Rome*. But yet a worthy and victorious Prince he was, in whom albeit ſome vice perchance might be noted, yet none ſuch, wherefore any Prelate or Miniſter of Chriſt ought to excite his ſubjects to rebel againſt publick Authority of God appointed. This Emperor *Henry* the Fourth was by four Popes ſeverally Excommunicated: firſt by *Hildebrand*, by *Victor*, *Urban*, and *Paſchal*. Which Excommunication wrought ſo in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the Nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their ſworn allegiance) rebelliouſly conſpired againſt their King and Emperor. In number of whom, amongſt the reſt was one certain Earl named *Ludovicus*, to whom

Henry the fourth Emperor, by four Popes Excommunicated.

Ludovicus Earl conſpiring and rebellious againſt the Emperor.

Waltramus Bishop of the Church of *Mergburgh* (a godly and faithful man as appeareth) doth write Letters of Fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience. Unto the which Letters he likewise doth answer again by cavilling sophistication, and by meer affection rather disposed to discord, than seeking sincerity of truth. And forsomuch as in these two Letters the argument of Christian obedience on both sides is so debated by proofs and reasons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruse and understand, I thought therefore not to defraud the *English* Reader of the same, whereof peradventure some utility might be taken. The tenor of the Bishops Letter to the Earl here followeth.

The Epistle of *Waltramus* Bishop of *Merglurgh*, to the Earl *Ludovicus*, exhorting to concord and obedience.

Anno 1590. *Ex oppos. ex Mariana Scoti.*

WAltramus *Dei gratia id quod est, Ludovico serenissimo Principi, cum instantia orationum frequentia ad omnia devotissimum, Omni regno utilis est concordia, desiderabilis est justitia, &c.*

In *English.*

'*Waltram* by the Grace of God being that he is, to '*Ludovick* the noble Prince, with instance of prayers of-'fereth himself serviceable to all things. To every Realm 'concord is a thing profitable, and justice much to be de-'fired. For this vertue is the mother of godliness, and 'the consecration of all honesty. Whosoever seeketh after 'civil diffention, and incenseth others to effusion of blood, 'he is a murtherer, and partaker with him, who ever 'gaping and thirsting for anothers blood, goeth about 'seeking whom he may devour. You therefore consider-'with your self (moſt noble Prince) how God is the God 'of peace and not of diſſention (ſo much as in you doth 'lie) have peace with all men. God is charity, the Devil 'is hatred. The whole Law and Prophets conſiſt in love 'and charity. He that hateth and maligneth his brother is 'a murtherer, and hath no part with Chriſt in the Kingdom of God. This we read teſtified and protefted both 'by him which is the truth himſelf, and by him which 'was the ſchoolar of the truth; who upon the breaſt of 'the Lord (drinking a more full draught of the Goſpel) 'rejoyceth the City of God with abundance of plentiful 'floods. In like manner that worthy veſſel of Election, 'who being rapt up to the third Heaven (not by man, but 'by revelation of Jeſus Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying, Let 'every ſoul ſubmit himſelf to the higher powers: There is 'no power, ſaith he, but of God. If that be true there-'fore, which certain of our friends do jangle among wo-'men and the vulgar ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdu-'ed to Kingly power; then is it falſe which the Apoſtle 'teacheth, that every ſoul muſt ſubmit himſelf under pow-'er and ſuperiority. But can the Verity lie? Or do we 'ſeek for experiment of him who ſpake in the Apoſtle, 'Chriſt the Lord? Or do we provoke the Lord? Be we 'ſtronger than he? For what doth he but think himſelf 'ſtronger than the Lord, that reſiſteth the ordinance of 'God? For there is no power but of God. But what 'ſaith the Prophet? Confounded be all they that ſtrive 'againſt thee, O Lord; and the men which repugn againſt 'thee ſhall periſh. *Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert*, with 'many other Princes, reſiſted the Ordinance of God in '*Henry* the Emperor. And lo even as they had never been, 'ſo are they now periſhed; and as their end was evil, ſo 'their beginning could not be good.

'Now therefore,forſomuch as they which be contrary to 'us do earneſtly ſtrive againſt us even with their own ar-'guments, whereas of right (I dare refer me to your 'judgment) we ought to uſe the authority of Chriſt and 'ancient Fathers,before that which our adverſaries take out 'of their own treaſury: And becauſe I will not refuſe the 'order of Law in this behalf; let it be the end of the 'ſtrife,that either I may be openly ſhamed before the peo-'ple, either elſe (the victory falling on our ſide) we may 'win you to the obedience of our Soveraign Lord the Em-'peror. Alſo take you heed to this ſaying, *If any man do 'preach otherwiſe than that which is preached, let him be*

Concord & juſt obedience neceſſary in a Commonwealth.

Gal.

'*of you accurſed.* This curſe, I ſay, doth not proceed from 'any new prophane authority, but is thundred down from 'the third Heaven. And of them which know not the 'righteouſneſs of God, but go about to ſtabliſh their own 'righteouſneſs, and therefore be not ſubject to the righte-'ouſneſs of God, I may boldly ſay, let ſuch be accurſed. So 'may you well ſay, Confounded be all they that proudly 'riſe up againſt the Lord; but thy ſervant (O Lord) ſhall 'rejoyce. For as thou haſt well ſaid, Without me you can 'do nothing, ſo in judging of the wicked thou doſt not 'condemn the juſt. Who art thou that judgeſt another mans 'ſervant? to his own Lord he doth either ſtand or fall.

Pſa.

Rom.

The Anſwer of Earl *Lewis* to Biſhop *Waltram*.

A railing Anſwer to the former Letter of Biſhop Waltram.

THE Earl *Lewis* to the Lord *Waltram*, howſoever unworthy or unmeet he be for the name. Like as a 'good man from the good treaſure of the heart bringeth 'forth good fruit, ſo doth the evil man from the evil trea-'ſure of the heart bring forth evil fruit. What arrogancy 'hath ſo poſſeſt you, to provoke my diſpleaſure with ſuch 'injurious contumelies? For indeed thoſe my good Lords 'and Spiritual Fathers, which ſtrengthen me in the way of 'righteouſneſs, you (raillingly) call bloody men like unto 'Satan, and the wholeſome leſſons which they teach, you ſay 'they are but dreams of the common people amongſt foo-'liſh women. Hath God any need of your judgment that 'you ſhould ſpeak leaſings for him? Iniquity hath taught 'you mouth to follow blaſphemous tongues; ſo that well 'may the Prophet ſay of you, He would not underſtand to 'do well, he hath deviſed wickedneſs upon his bed. Al-'though therefore you being altogether froward, have only 'ſpoken froward things; yet we have determined to ſet a 'watch before our mouth,like as if a ſhameleſs perſon ſhould 'ſtand up before us; and the Word of God doth provoke 'us,ſaying,Anſwer a fool according to his own fooliſhneſs, 'leſt he ſhould ſeem wiſe in his own opinion. Shall folly 'ſpeak, and wiſdom hold her peace? Shall lyes be freely 'uttered, and truth compelled to keep ſilence? Shall dark-'neſs cover the Earth, and ſhall not the Lord ariſe and 'ſhine? yea rather the light hath lightned the darkneſs,and 'darkneſs hath not comprehended it:In conſideration here-'of our hearts have melted, and our zealous meditations 'have ſet us on fire. We therefore ſpeak and cry, and the 'little Foxes which undermine the Lords Vineyards (as 'much as in us is) we drive away, fearing the threatning 'Prophecy: You have not withſtood our adverſaries neither 'have you made a Bulwark for the defence of the Houſe of '*Iſrael*,that you might be able to ſtand in battel in the day 'of the Lord. Let them hear (I ſpeak not to you which 'have ears and hear not,eyes and ſee not,which have made 'dark the light that is in you) but let them hear, I ſay, that 'be well diſpoſed,and have ears to hear withal: as for you, 'you have no underſtanding, and if you have, you cloak it. 'Neither have you any thing to ſay or to prove, by what 'reaſon we ſhould be ſubject to the Lord *Henry*,whom you 'call Emperor. And yet (as it is given us to underſtand) 'you go about to perſwade, that of neceſſity we ought to 'be ſubject to him, and that by the argument of St. *Paul*, 'Let every ſoul be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there 'is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withſtand 'power, doth reſiſt Gods Ordinance. The which ſentence 'of the Apoſtle we ſay that you do evil conceive and there-'fore evil interpret; for if every power be of God (as you 'underſtand) what is meant by that, that the Lord doth 'ſpeak of ſome by the Prophet? They did reign and were 'not made Princes by me, and I knew them not. If every 'power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of 'that, that the Lord doth ſay,If thine eye offend thee,pluck it out, and caſt it from thee? For what is power, but the 'eye? Certainly *Auguſtin* in the Expoſition of this ſentence 'of the Apoſtle (Let every ſoul, *&c.*) doth ſay, that if the 'powers do command any thing againſt God, then have 'them in contempt: but yet nevertheleſs fear them. Is 'there any iniquity with God? Is Chriſt the Miniſter of 'ſin? God forbid. What ſhall we therefore ſay? Doth the 'Apoſtle preach contrary to truth? *Auguſt.* ſaith, No. One 'wind filleth many Pipes of divers tunes. Therefore let us 'bear the Apoſtle agreeing, and expounding himſelf, and 'deſtroying his enemy and avenger: There is (ſaith he) no 'power but of God. What followeth? He therefore, ſaith 'he,

Rom. 13.

Well ſaid, when you are not able to withſtand his wiſdom, call him a fool.

Note here the Earl bare calleth light darkneſs, and darkneſs light.

He hath ofttimes more reaſon than you are able to anſwer, ever to-fore too.

Yea whom they ſhall ſlay you, they ſhall think they do God great ſervice, Joh. 16

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forſake the name of Chriſt, which he never did.

'he, that doth reſiſt the power, *&c.* God forbid, doth no-'thing follow? But what doth follow? Thoſe powers 'which be ordained of God truly,that is it we look for. O 'crafty tongue! O heart imagining miſchief! O confu-'ſing breath that ſhall not return! Why haſt thou lyed 'to the Holy Ghoſt? Thine own conſcience ſhall accuſe 'thee. Behold the wicked fleeth, and no man doth purſue 'him. Why would you ſuppreſs the truth to the intent to 'deceive? Why ſtole ye away the pith and effect of this 'ſentence? for if theſe words ſhould be taken away from 'the midſt of the ſentence,it ſhould lie (contrary to it ſelf) 'inconvenient and half dead. The word of the Lord is 'herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour 'ſhall fall therein himſelf. Verily you can neither excuſe 'you of theſt, neither avoid the puniſhment due for the 'ſame. O unhappy man! what ſhall you anſwer to the 'Judg, when he ſhall require an account of his ſervants of 'whom he putteth you in truſt, ſeeing you ſhall be ſet be-'fore him in the midſt,and proved a picker of your Maſters 'treaſure? Wherefore did you not fear the judgment and 'execution, when as the guiltineſs of offence doth require 'condign puniſhment? The Apoſtle through the Holy 'Ghoſt did foreſee, that you and ſuch Hereticks as you are 'ſhould ſpring in the Church, which ſhould call good evil, 'and evil good, and that ſhould put darkneſs in place of 'light, and light in place of darkneſs, which alſo ſhould 'take occaſion by the ſentences of truth to bring in error, 'when as he did ſet this before, There is no power but of 'God: to the intent he might take away the conjecture of 'falſe underſtanding. For (ſaith he) thoſe powers that be, 'are ordained of God. Give therefore an ordinary power, 'and we do not reſiſt,yea we will forthwith do our homage. 'But I do marvel (if at the leaſt there remain in you any 'one drop of blood) that you are not aſhamed to call the 'Lord *Henry* King, or to allow him any ordinary place.

'Is this a feemly order (think you) to give place to wick-'edneſs, and to make a general confuſion in mixing good 'and evil,Gods and mans devices together? Either do you 'think this good order for man to fin againſt his own 'body, as (Oh ſhameful wickedneſs!) to make his own wife 'a common harlot, a miſchief not heard of at any time 'ſince the beginning of the world before now? Or do you 'allow this for good order,' when as the Lord ſaith, De-'fend the widows, eſpecially ſuch as require equity of ju-'ſtice, and then them to ſend away moſt filthily deniled? 'Mad *Oreſtes* doth proteſt him to be out of his wit that 'will ſay theſe things to be orderly or well done. Until 'this moſt miſerable time nature hath ever loved ſecrecy; 'but your King given up to a reprobate ſenſe, hath unco-'vered the privities of nature, who hath not let to lay a-'broad all ſhamefulneſs. We will not ſpeak of other things 'which cannot be numbred, that is to ſay, burning of 'Churches, Robberies, firing of Houſes, Man-ſlaughters, 'Murders, and ſuch like, the number whereof he knoweth, 'and not we; for let us ſpeak chiefly of thoſe things which 'moſt grieve the Church of God. Hearken therefore to 'true and not fained things: Hearken I ſay, to mat-'ters of earneſt, and to no trifles. Every one that doth ſell 'ſpiritual dignities is an Heretick. But the Lord *Henry*, 'whom they call a King, doth ſell both Biſhopricks and 'Abbacies; for truly he ſold for money the Biſhoprick of '*Conſtance, Babemberge, Mentz*, and many others. The 'Biſhopricks of *Ratiſbon, Auguſta*, and *Strausbrough*, he 'ſold for a Sword, and the Abbey of *Fulda* for Adultery; 'and for filthy Sodomitry he ſold the Biſhopric of *Aton*. A 'wickedneſs it is to ſpeak or hear of ſuch a fact. The which 'things if without ſhame ye will deny,he is to be condem-'ned by the witneſs of Heaven and Earth; yea and of the 'ſilly poor Idiots that come from the Smiths forge. Where-'fore the Lord *Henry* is an Heretick; for the which moſt 'wicked evils he is Excommunicate from the See Apoſto-'lick,ſo that he may not exerciſe either Kingdom or pow-'er over us which be Catholick. And whereas you burthen 'us with hatred of our Brethren, know you that we pur-'poſe not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeal. 'God forbid that we ſhould think *Henry* worthy to be ac-'counted amongſt our Chriſtian Brethren, who indeed is 'reputed for an Ethnick and Publican, in that he refuſed 'to hear the Church which ſo oft hath reproved him. The 'hatred of whom we offer unto God for a great ſacrifice, 'ſaying with the *Pſalmiſt*, Lord ſhall not I hate them that 'hate thee? and ſhall not I triumph over thine enemies? 'I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me 'for thy ſake. The truth it ſelf, commending the worthi-'neſs of this hatred, doth ſay, If any do not hate Father 'and Mother, Brethren and Siſters for my ſake, he cannot 'be my Diſciple. We are not therefore juſtly to be repro-'ved of hatred, which do give over our ſoul to be in 'the way of God; who indeed are commanded to hate 'Father and Mother,and every affection which doth with-'ſtand us for walking in the path of God. Hereof it com-'eth, that we labour with all our ſtudy and endeavour to 'beware of the enemies of the Church, and them to hate; 'not for that they be our enemies, but Gods. Further, 'where you perſwade peace to be had with all men, you 'muſt remember what the Apoſtle doth put before, If it 'may be. But if it cannot be that we can have peace with 'them,who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know 'the Lord our Saviour not only to commend peace, when 'as he ſaith, My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave 'unto you; But that he is the peace (as ſaith the Apoſtle) 'he is the peace which made of both one; for he calleth 'him our peace, ſpeaking in commendation of the peace: 'Think not (ſaith he) that I came to ſend peace, for I came 'not to ſend peace, but the Sword. What is meant by this? 'Why is peace called a ſword? Or doth peace bid battel? 'Yea truly, to deſtroy the peace of the Devil. For the Di-'vel hath his peace, whereof the Lord ſpeaketh, When as 'the ſtrong man keepeth his Houſe, he doth poſſeſs all his 'ſubſtance in peace. Oh how mightily doth the Devil keep 'his ſoldiers and his houſe in this time! Who with the 'ſhield of falſhood, and the helmet of untruth ſo doth de-'fend him, that he will not ſuffer either arrow or dart of 'truth to pierce him. Nevertheleſs our Lord being more 'ſtrongly armed, and fiercely coming upon your Giant, is 'able to overcome him and to take away his weapons, 'wherein he putteth his truſt. We are not therefore to be 'blamed, if we do deteſt that peace, more cruel than any 'war, the which the truth it ſelf did reprove in ſeeing over '*Jeruſalem*, and ſaying, Truly, it grieveth me this day to 'ſee ſinners in peace; being like unto that peace whereat 'the *Pſalmiſt* was offended. Whereas you condemn Pope '*Gregory*, King *Rodulphus*, and Marquis *Eggebertus*, as 'men that have died of an unhappy death, and do magni-'fie your Lord, becauſe he doth over-live them; it doth 'plainly (forſooth) appear,that you retain void of all ſpi-'ritual conſideration. Is it not better to die well, than to 'live ill? They be truly happy who ſuffer perſecution for 'righteouſneſs ſake. By the ſame reaſon may you eſteem '*Nero, Herod*, and *Pilat* happy, in that they over-lived '*Peter, Paul, James*, Apoſtles, and Jeſus Chriſt. What 'can be ſaid more foolith and wicked than this opinion? 'Wherefore refrain your babling tongue from this blaſ-'phemy, left that you place your ſelf in the number of 'them, which ſeeing the end of the juſt to be glorious '(themſelves doing late and unfruitful penance, bewailing 'in the anguiſh of the Spirit) ſhall ſay,Theſe be they whom 'ſometimes we had in deriſion and laughed to ſcorn; we 'being out of our wits thought their lives madneſs, and 'their end to be without honour. Behold how they be al-'lowed to be amongſt the Children of God,and their por-'tion is amongſt the Saints. Wherefore we have erred from 'the way of truth, and the brightneſs of righteouſneſs did 'not ſhine upon us. What did our pride avail us? and what 'profit did the boaſting of our riches bring us? They are 'all vaniſhed away like a ſhadow. The which words we 'have regiſtred up into perpetual memory, and we do de-'ſpiſe every attempt that ſhall lift up it ſelf againſt the truth 'of God; and rejoycing in troubles, we may be reproved, 'put to ſhame and rebuked, yea and finally be ſlain and 'killed, but we will neither yield, nor be overcome. And 'with great triumph will we rejoyce in our fathers doings; 'of whom you (as a beardleſs boy,and of ſmall knowledg) 'have nothing rightly conceived; who indeed deſpiſing 'Princes commandments,have deſerved everlaſting reward.

Diſobedience puniſhed of God.

Evil, but far from knowledg.

Oh how ſubtil craftily doth Satan bere ſhape himſelf to be an Angel of light.

Ex vetuſto Chronico.

There is a certain Chronicle in old *Engliſh* Meeter, which among other matters, ſpeaking of *William Rufus*, declareth him to be ſo ſumptuous and exceſſive in pompous Apparel, that he being not contented with a pair of Hoſe of a low price, which was three ſhillings, cauſed a pair to be bought of a mark; whereupon his Cham-

berlain

berlain procuring a pair much worse than the other before, faid,

That they softened a Mark, and unneth he them so bought: Yea Belamy (quoth the King) they are well bought.

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seen between the Hose of Princes then, and the Hose of Servingmen now.

Appendix Historiæ.

Kings ceased in Peter. After the time of this King *William*, the name of Kings ceased in the Country of *Wales* among the *Britains*, since King *Res*, who in the reign of this King, the year of our Lord 1093, was slain in *Wales*. *Ex continuatione Rogeri Hoved.*

King *HENRY* the First.

Anno 1100. *Henry Beauclerk* the I. King of *England.* What Learning doth in a Prince. The laws of King *Edward* renewed. The measure of *England* made after the length of King *Henry*'s arm.

HENRY the First of that name, the Third Son of *William* the Conqueror, succeeding his Brother *Rufus*, began his Reign in *England*, the year of our Lord 1100, who for his knowledg and science in the Seven Liberal Arts, was Simamed Clerk or *Beauclerk*. In whom may well appear how Knowledg and Learning doth greatly condace to the Government and Administration of any Realm or Country. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the Clergy, releafed the grievous payments, reduced again King *Edward*'s Laws, with Emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arm; he greatly abhored excefs of meats and drinks; many things misused before his time he reformed; and used to vanquilh more by counsel than by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton he secluded from his Court. This man (as appeareth) little favoured the usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome*. Soon after he was King, he married *Matild*, or *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, & of *Margaret* his wife, Daughter of *Edward* the Outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed Nun in *Winchester*; whom notwithstanding (without the Popes dispensation) he married by the counsel of *Anselm*, by the which *Maud* he received two Sons, *William* and *Richard*, and two Daughters, *Maud* and *Mary*, which *Maud* afterward was married to *Henry* the fifth Emperor, &c.

Wanton persons removed out of the Court.

Ex Mat. Paris. Eius. Hist.

In the second year of his Reign, *Robert* his Elder Brother, Duke of *Normandy*, being occupied in the Christian Wars against the *Turks*, and being elect (as you heard) King of *Jerusalem*, hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refused the Kingdom thereof; for the which (as is thought) he never sped well after. Thus the faid *Robert* having off the Lords business, and returning into *Normandy*, made there his preparation, and came over into *England* with a great Host to challenge the Crown; but by mediation of the Lords it was agreed upon that *Robert* should have yearly during his life three thousand Marks, as was likewise promised him before by King *Rufus* his Brother; and whether of them overlived the other, to be the others heir. And thus *Robert* departed again into *Normandy*, to the great discontentation of his Lords there. But in few years after, the forenamed tribute of three thousand Marks, through the means of Queen *Maud*, was releafed to the King his Brother. In proceis of time, variance falling between King *Henry* and the faid *Robert* his Brother; at length *Robert* in his Wars was taken prisoner and brought over into *England*, and was put into the Castle of *Cardiff* in *Wales*, where he continued as prisoner while he lived.

Example, that it is to leave off the Lords business.

Duke *Robert* taken prisoner.

The Hospital of *Bartholomew* founded. *Rafer* and *Richard Whittington* founders of St. *Bartholomews* in *London.*

In this time, as about the third year of this King, the Hospital of Saint *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield* was founded (by means of a Minstrel belonging unto the King, named *Rafer*) and after it was finished by *Richard Whittington*, Alderman and Mayor of *London*. This place on *Smithfield* was at that day a Layftall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the Kings Laws were put to execution.

Divers strict Laws were by this King provided, especially against thieves and felons; that whosoever were taken in that fault, no money should save them from hanging.

Item, That whoso did counterfeit false Money, should have both his eyes and neather parts of his body cut off.

Item, In the same Council was decreed an order for Priests to be sequestred from their wives, which before were not forbidden, according as the words of mine Author do purport, whose words be these: *Anselmus probibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christianæ nominis summum dedecus inciderent, &c.* Henr. Hunt.

Ex Hoveden. & Matthæo Paris.

Item, It was then decreed that Monks and Priests should bear no rule over Lay-persons.

Item, It was then decreed concerning broidering of hair, and wearing of garments.

Item, That the secret contract between a young lad and a young maid should not stand; with other things more concerning the Excommunication of *Sodomites*, *&c.*

In the story of *William Rufus*, before was declared how *Anselm* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departing out of the Realm, went unto the Pope; who after the death of King *William* was sent for again by the foresaid King *Henry*, and so returned again, and was at the Council of the King at *Westminster*; where the King in the presence of the Lords, as well Temporal as Spiritual, ordained and invested two Bishops, *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Roger* Bishop of *Hereford*. During which Parliament or Council of the King, *Anselm* in his Convocation deposed and displaced divers Abbots and other Prelates from their rooms and dignities; either for that they lawfully came not by them, or uprightly did not administer the same.

The King ordained and invested Bishops without the Pope.

After this Council, and the other before set forth by *Anselm*, *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich* had much ado with the Priests of his Diocese; for they would neither leave their wives, nor yet give over their Benefices. Whereupon he wrote to *Anselm* the Archbishop for counsel, what was to be done therein. Which *Anselm* required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to persuade the people of *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*; that as they professed Christianity, they should subdue them as rebels against the Church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the Country, placing Monks in their rooms, as by the Epistles of the said *Anselm* doth appear. Whereof certain parcels shall hereafter (by the Grace of Christ) ensue for the better evidence of this and the other his acts above recited.

Herbert Bishop of Thetford. Ex Epist. Anselmi.

The like business also had *Gerard* the Archbishop of *York*, in depriving the Priests of his Province from their wives; which thing with all his Excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of *Anselm* with married Priests, were riming verses made to help the matter withal, when reason could not serve. Which verses for the folly thereof I thought here to annex.

Verses made against the Priests.

O male viventes, versus audite sequentes;
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum,
Quod si non facitis, infernæ claustra petetis.
Christi sponsa jubet, ne Presbyter ille maniseret,
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:
Contradicentem fore dicimus insipientem:
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius sed amore.

About the end of the third year of this King, which was by computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell between King *Henry* and *Anselm*, the occasion whereof was this: Ye heard a little before how *Henry* the foresaid King had of his own authority invested two Bishops, one *Roger* which was Chancellor, Bishop of *Salisbury*; and another Bishop of *Hereford*. Besides them divers also he invested, and divers other like things took he upon him in the Ecclesiastical State, which he might lawfully do, Gods Word allowing well the same; but because he was restrained by the Bishop of *Rome*, and forbidden so to do, this *Anselm* swelled, fretted, and waxed so mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirm them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with them, whom the King

Anno 1103.

A strife between King *Henry* and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Ex Gul. Malmesb. & de gestis.

King had instituted and invested; but opprobriously called them abortives, or children of destruction, disdainfully rebuking the gentle King as a desiler of Religion, and pollutor of their holy Ceremonies; as witnesseth *Polydor.* With this uncomly outrage the King was much displeased (as he might full well) and required *Gerard* the Archbishop of *York* (as he ought him allegiance) to consecrate them: Who without delay did so, well performing the same; saving that one *William Gifford*, to whom the King had given the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the Archbishop of *York*. For the which cause the King (worthily with him offended) deprived him both of Bishoprick and goods, and banished him the Realm.

Gifford Bishop of *Winchester* refused to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York.

Moreover, the King required of *Anselm* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to do unto him Homage, after the manner of his Ancestors, as witnesseth *Guliel. de gestis pontif. Anglo.* Also it was asked of the said *Anselm*, whether that he would be with the King in giving investitures, as *Lanfrancus* his Predecessor was with his Father. To whom *Anselm* said, that he promised not at any time, that he would enter into this Order, to keep the Law or Custom of his Father, as *Lanfrancus* did. Moreover, as concerning Homage to be done to the King, that he refused; alledging the censures of the Popes excommunication, who, in his council of *Rome* a little before, had given forth open sentence of excommunication upon all such lay persons (whatsoever they were) that should from henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions: Also upon them that received them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receivers. Moreover, he accursed all them that for benefices or other Ecclesiastical promotions should subject themselves under the Homage or service of any great man, King, Prince, Duke, or Earl of the Laity. For it was unseemly (said the Pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into so high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses, which created all, and to offer up the same before the sight of the Father for the salvation of the whole World) should be brought to such a slavery, as to be subject to those filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with shameful touchings, robberies, and bloodshed, &c. This decree of Pope *Urban* *Anselm* alledging for himself, denied to subject himself to the Kings Homage, fearing (as he said) the Popes excommunication. Upon this, messengers were sent to *Rome* on both parts unto the Pope (then *Paschalis*) who, stoutly standing to the steps and determinations of *Urban* his predecessor, would in no case yield to the Kings investing.

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Acts of the Roman Councils against Lay-men to give any spiritual promotion.

No spiritual person to be under subjection to any Lay person.

Anselm refused to do Homage to his King. Messengers sent to *Rome*.

Ex Matthæo Paris. Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de gestis pontif. Ang.

In the mean time, while there was long disputation on both sides for investing, the Nobles of the Realm contended, that investings did belong to the Kings dignity: Wherefore the King, calling for *Anselm* again, required him either to do Homage to him, or else to void his Kingdom. To whom *Anselm* replying again, required the Popes Letters to be brought forth, and, according to the Tenor thereof, so the matter to be decided. For now the messengers were returned from *Rome*, with the Popes answer; altogether bearing with *Anselm*. Then said the King: What have I to do with Popes Letters? I will not forgo the liberties of my Kingdom for any Pope. Thus the contention continued between them. *Anselm* saith, he would not out of the Realm, but depart home to his Church: And there see who would offer him any violence, and so did. Not long after, message came from the King to *Anselm*, requesting him, after a gentle sort, to repair to the Kings presence again, to set an end of the controversie begun: Whereunto *Anselm* granted and came. Then were new Ambassadors sent again to the Pope, that he would something qualifie and moderate (or rather abolish) the straitnels of the *Roman* decree before mentioned. On the part of *Anselm* went two Monks, *Baldwinus* and *Alexander*. On the Kings behalf were sent two Bishops, *Robert* Bishop of *Lichfield*, and *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, with the Kings Letters written unto the Pope, containing in form as followeth.

The King will not do with the Popes Letters.

Messengers sent again to *Rome*.

A strife between King *Henry* and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Letter of King *Henry* the fifth unto the Pope.

Patri venerabili Paschali summo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotioni vestræ in sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ plurimum congaudeo, petens ut amicitia quæ patri meo cum antecessoribus vestris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Unde, ut delectio & benignitas a me videatur sumere initium, beneficium quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eosq; honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitatis ipsius & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Angliæ habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumq; habeat sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & usus regni Angliæ non minuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem; optimates mei (imo totius Angliæ populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderatur benignitas vestra, ne quid inviisus faciam, & a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia.

Spoken like a King.

In English.

To the Reverend Father Paschal *chief Bishop*, Henry *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Greeting. For this your promotion unto the See of the holy Church of* Rome, *as I am heartily glad; so my requeast is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath been before between my Father and your Predecessors in times past, may now also between us in like manner continue undiminished. And that love and gentleness may first begin on my part; here I send to you that Gift that S. Peter had in former time of my Predecessors. And likewise the same honors and obedience, which your Predecessors have had in the Realm of* England *before in the time of my Father, I will you to have the same in my time also: After this form I mean and tenor, that the usage and manner of Dignity and Customes, which my Father hath had in this Realm of* England, *in the time of your Ancestors; I in like ample manner also now in your time may fully injoy the same in this the said Realm of* England. *Thus therefore be it known to your Holiness, that during this life of mine (God Almighty ablning me to the same) these above named Dignities, Usages, and Customs of this Realm of* England, *shall in no part be lessened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I should) would so much deject my self unto such cowardness: Yet my Nobles, Yea, the whole People of* England *in no case would suffer it. Wherefore (dear Father) using with your self a better deliberation in this matter, let your gentleness so moderate it self toward us, lest ye compel me (which I shall do against my will) to recede and d e utterly from your Obedience.*

The King is at a point to leave the Popes Obedience.

At the same Term also he sent another Letter or Epistle to the said Pope, Craving of him the Pall for *Gerardus* Archbishop of *York*, the form whereof here also followeth.

Another Letter of King *Henry* the first, sent to the Pope.

Reverendo & diligendo patri universali papæ Paschali, Henricus *Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas quæ multum vestros actus exornat, &c.*

In English.

To the Reverend and Welbeloved Father Universal, Pope Paschalis, Henry, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Greeting. The great love which I bear to you, and the no less gentleness in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, minisireth to me boldness to write. And whereas I thought to have retained still this* Gerardus *with me, and to have craved your Pall for him by Letters: Yet notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but he would needs present himself before your presence, by his own heart to crave of you the same, I have sent him up unto you, desiring your benigne Fatherhood in this behalf, that he, obtaining the Pall at your hands, may be sent home again to me. And thus requiring the assistance of your Prayers, I pray the Lord long to conserve your Apostleship.*

This second Letter of the King in sending for the Pall was well taken of all the Court of *Rome*, which (as mine Author saith) procured such favour to *Gerardus* Archbishop of *York*, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adversaries afterwards could hurt him with the Pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grievously for divers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Polydorus in his eleventh Book of his *English* History affirmeth, that *Anselmus* also went up to *Rome* with *Gerardus*, about the same cause. But both the premisses and sequel of the story argue that to be untrue, for what need the two Monks to be sent up on *Anselms* side, if he had gone up himself? Again, how could the Pope write down by the said Messengers to *Anselm*, if he had there been himself present? For so proceedeth the story by the Narration of *Malmesbury* and Others.

A place of *Polydorus Virg.* found faulty. *Ex Guliel. lib. 8. de pont. Ang.*

After the Ambassadors (thus on both sides sent unto *Rome*) had laboured their cause with instant suite, one against the other; the Pope glad to gratifie the King (yet loath to grant his request, being against his own profit, and therefore more inclining to *Anselms* side) sendeth down his Letters to the said *Anselm*, signifying that he would not repeal the Statutes of his holy Fathers for one mans Pleasure: Charging him Moreover, not only not to yield in the cause of investing, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid Decreement of Pope *Urban* his Predecessor, &c. Besides this Letter to *Anselm*, he directed also another to the King himself: Which Letter, mine Author saith, the King suppressed and did not shew, only declaring by word of Mouth, what the Ambassadors had said unto him from the Pope. Which was, that he permitted unto him the Licence of Investing, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good Prince, &c. To this also the Testimony of the two Bishops above minded did accord; which made the matter more probable. But the two Monks on the other side Replyed again, bringing forth the Letter of *Anselm* to the contrary, &c. To them was answered again, that more credit was to be given to the degree and Testimony of the Bishops, than to theirs. And as for Monks, they had no Suffrage nor Testimony (said they) in fecular matters, and therefore they might hold their Peace. But this is no fecular matter, said *Baldwin* Abbat of *Ramsey*. Whereunto the Nobles again of the Kings part answered, saying, that he was a good Man, and of such Demeanour as they had nothing to say against him, neither would if they might: But yet both Human and Divine reason taught them so, to yield more credit and confidence to the Testimony of three Bishops, than of two Monks. Whereby may well appear, that *Anselm* at that time went not with them. Then *Anselm* seeing the King and his Peers how they were set; and hearing also the Testimony of the three Bishops, against whom he saw he could not prevail; and also having the Popes Seal, which he saw to be so evident on the contrary side, made his answer again; that he would send to *Rome* for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreover, that he neither would, nor durst give over his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the Determination of the Church of *Rome*, unless he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence, for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the King and his Nobles, that he should not send, but go himself to *Rome*. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that journey in hand himself, in his own person, to present himself to the Pope for the peace of the Church and of his Country. And so at length by perswasion, he was content, went to *Rome* and spake with the Pope. In short time after followeth also the Kings Ambassador, *(William Warlwast)* new Elect Bishop of *Exceter*, who there Pleading on the Kings side for the Ancient Customs of the Realm, and for the Kings Right of Investing, &c. First declared, how *England* of a long continuance had ever been a Province peculiar to the Church of *Rome*, and how it payed duly his yearly Tribute unto the same. Inferring moreover how the King, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage a Prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he think it should be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his Progenitors, should not defend and maintain the Liberties and Customs by them procured? Wherefore he desired the Pope to see to the matter, so as might stand both with the Kings Honour, and also with his own profit and advantage; who otherwife no doubt should lose a great piece of Money out of the Realm, unless he did remit something of the severity of his Canons and Laws Decretal.

The Pope loth to go against his own profit.

He meaneth beside the two Bishops, *Gerardus*, which made them.

Anselm a devout Chaplain to the Church of *Rome*.

Anselms journieth again to *Rome*.

The effect of the Narration of *William Warlwast* at the Popes Court.

With these and such other like perswasions to the same Effect, the Court of *Rome* was well contented, agreeing that the Kings request ought with all favour to be granted. But the Pope and *Anselm* sat still marking their doings. The Ambassador, supposing their silence to be half a yielding unto him, added moreover and said; that the King, no not for the Crown of his Realm, would lose the authority of investing or admitting his Prelates within his Dominion. Whereunto the proud Pope answering again burst out in these Words: *Nor I* (said he) *for the Price of this Head (as thou sayest) will lose the giving of spiritual Promotions in* England, *and confirming it with an Oath* (Before God saith he I speak it) *know it for a certain, &c.* Then it followeth in the story of *Malmesbury*, With this Word of the Pope the minds of the rest were changed, saying, *Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris loquela.* The Kings Attorny also was therewith dashed, who notwithstanding yet brought to pass, that certain of the Kings, Customs, used before of his Father, were released unto him. At the which time in the same Court it was decreed, that (the King only, which had Invested them, being excepted) the other, which were Invested by the King, should be Excommunicated: The absolution and satisfaction of whom was left to *Anselm* the Archbishop.

Ex Guil. de gestis pontif. lib. 3. Ex Matth. Paris. lib. 3. A proud answer of the Pope.

Excommunication abused.

Thus *Anselm*, being dismissed from *Rome*, took his Journey toward *England*. But the Ambassador, pretending to go to S. *Nicholas*, remained behind, to see whether he could win the Popes mind to the Kings purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he overtaketh *Anselm* by the way, at *Placentia*, and opened to him the Kings pleasure. The King (saith he) giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to *England*, and there behave your self to him, as your Predecessors did to his Father, you should be received and retained in the Realm accordingly: If not, you are wife enough (saith he) ye know what I mean, and what will follow, &c. And so with these Words, parting from him, he returned again to the King. *Anselm* remained at *Lions* a year and a half, writing divers Letters to the King, after this Effect, and in Words as followeth.

Anselm refused from coming to England. Eadmerus. Lambertus.

To his Reverend Lord, *HENRY*, King of *England*, *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, faithful Service with Prayers. *Epist.* 224.

A Letter of Anselm to King Henry.

Although you understand by William Warlwast *what we have done at* Rome; *yet I shall shortly shew you that which belongeth to me. When I came to* Rome, *I declared the cause wherefore I came to the Lord Pope. He answered that he would not swarve from the Statutes of his Predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should have no Fellowship with them that received Investings of Churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this Prohibition, except they will do Penance, and forsake that they had received, without hope of recovery; neither that I should communicate with the other Bishops that had consecrated such men, except they would present themselves to the Judgment of the Apostolique See. The aforesaid* William *can be a witness of all these things if he will. This* William, *when we departed asunder (reckoning up in your behalf, she love and liberality which you had always towards me) warned me as your Archbishop, that I should shew my self such an one, that if I would come into* England, *I might be with you as my Predecessor was with your Father, and ye might intreat me with the same Honour and Liberty that your Father intreated my Predecessor. By which Words I understand, that except I should shew my self such a one, you would not have me come into* England. *For your Love and Liberality I think you: But that I should be with you as my Predecessor was with your Father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do Homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take Investings of Churches at your hands: Because of the foresaid inhibition made, I my self hearing it. Wherefore I desire you to send me your pleasure herein (if it please you) whether I may return into* England *(as I said) with your Peace and Power of mine Office.*

The Popes Answer to the foresaid Request of Prelate in wrong cause.

In the mean while, great business there was, and much Posting went to and fro between the King, the Archbishop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: For neither would the Pope agree to the King, neither would the King condiscend to the Archbishop. At last the Archbishop,

Anselm about to excommunicate the King.

bishop, seeing by no means he could prevail against the King, thought to revenge himself by Excommunication, and so went about the same. The King, having word thereof by the Countess *Adela* his Sister, delireth her to come to him into *Normandy*, and bring *Anselm* with her: Whereupon (through the means of the Countess) reconcilment was made, and the Archbishop was restored to his former possessions again. Only his return into *England* was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the King had Invested. So the King took his Passage over into *England*, and *Anselm* made his abode at the Abbey of *Becke*.

Reconcilment made between the King and Anselm.

Ambassage to Rome.

Then were Ambassadors again directed unto *Rome*, *William Warlwast*, and *Baldwin* above named, Abbat of *Rameseie*, who at length concluded the long controversie between the King and the Pope upon this agreement, that the King should take Homage of the Bishops Elect, but should not deal with Investing them by Staffe and Ring, &c. While the Ambassadors were thus in their suite at *Rome*, divers complaints were daily brought from *England* to *Anselm*, against the Priests and Canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late Council holden at *London*, received their Wives unto their Houses again, and so were permitted by the King, paying him certain Money for the same. *Anselm* (the fore Enemy against lawful marriage) grieved therewith, addreseth his Letters unto the King, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of such Exactions, declaring moreover and affirming, that the offenders of all such Ecclesiastical Ministers must be Corrected by the instance of Bishops, and not of Laymen. To this the King answereth Gently again by Letters, tempering himself; how he purposed shortly to come over into *Normandy*, and if he had done any thing amiss, either in these or other things, he would reform it by his Obedience.

Guil. Malmesb. lib. 2. de gestis pontif. Priests received their Wives again by the silence of Anselm.

The fault of Ecclesiastical Ministers belong to Bishops to correct, quoth Anselm.

It was not long after (the Messengers being now returned from *Rome*) but the King, as he had promised, sped him into *Normandy*, where he, warring against his Brother *Robert*, brought both him and the Country of *Normandy* at the last under his Subjection. But first meeting with *Anselm* at the Abbey of *Becke*, he covenanted and agreed with him in all such points as the Archbishop required. As first, that all his Churches, which before were made tributary unto King *William* his Brother, now should remain free from all tribute. *Item*, that he should require nothing of the said Churches or Provinces, in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreover, concerning such Priests and Ministers as had given Money to the King for their company with their Wives, it was agreed that they should surcease from all Ecclesiastical Function, the space of three years, and that the King should take no more after such manner. *Item*, that all such goods, fruits and possessions, as had been taken away before from the Archbishoprick, should be restored at his coming again into *England*, &c.

The King brought to order the Archbishop.

Conditions granted by the King to Anselm.

Anselm returneth into England.

This *Anselm*, the stout Champion of Popery and Superstition, after this Victory gotten upon the King, for the which he so long fought, with Joy and Triumph filleth into *England*, having all his Popish requests obtained. Where first he flieth like a Lion upon the married Priests contrary to the Word of God, divorcing and punishing that by mans Authority, which the Eternal and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them, which did hold any Church by Farm under the King. Against Simony likewise, and against them that married within the seventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical Authority.

Priests Act-wenches from their Wives.

Anno 1106.

Shortly after, as King *Henry* had finished his War in *Normandy*, and with Victory returned again into *England*, about the sixth year of his Reign, *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (by the permission of the King) assembled a great Council at *Westminster* in *London*, of the Clergy and Prelates of *England*.

In the which (by the Bishop of *Romes* Authority) he so wrought with the King, that at length (albeit, as the story saith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no Temporal man after that day should make Investiture with Crosse or with Ring, or with Pastoral Hook. In this Council, sundry and divers Injunctions were given forth to Priests and Deacons: As divers other Synodal Acts also by the same *Anselm* had been concluded in other Councils before. And because here falleth in mention of the Acts Synodal concluded in the time of this *Anselm*, I thought here good to Pack them all in one general Heap together, as we find them in *Malmesbury*, and in other sundry Authors scatteringly recited.

Ex lib. Guliel. de gestis pontif. Ex Matth. Paris. Ex Malmesb. Ex Simeone Dunelm. Ex Ailr.

The first thing, decreed by this *Anselm* in his Synodal Councils, was touching the fault of Simony, whereby divers, both Bishops and Abbats (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed. And Lay-men forbidden to confer any Ecclesiastical Promotion.

Also it was decreed, that no Bishop should bear any Office in Secular mens business or meetings. And that such should not go apparelled as the Lay-men did, but should have their Vestures decent and meet for Religious Persons. And that in all places they should never go without some to bear witness of their Conversation.

Priests ought not to be Farmers.

Archdeacons not to be Farmers.

Item, that no Archdeacons should be let out to Farm.

Item, that no Archdeacon should be under the degree of a Deacon.

Item, that no Archdeacon, Priest, Deacon, Subdeacon, Colligener, nor Canon, should from thence marry a Wife, nor yet keep her, if he had been married to one before.

Marriage of Priests forbidden.

Item, that every Subdeacon, being under the degree of a Canon (after the profession of chastity marrying a Wife) should be subject to the same Rule.

Vow of chastity brought in.

They ordained also, that a Priest, keeping company with his Wife, should be reputed unlawful, and that he should say no Mass, and if he said Mass, he should not be heard.

Benefices not to go by heritage.

They charged that none should be admitted to Orders from that time forward, from the degree of a Subdeacon, unless he did profess Chastity.

That Priests Sons should not claim by Heritage the Benefices of their Fathers, as the custome had always been before.

Item, that no spiritual person should sit in any secular office, as to be Procurators or Judges of blood.

How first was Steward Gardiner Lord Chancellor in Queen Elizabeths time.

Item, that Priests should not resort to Taverns or Banquets, nor sit drinking by the fire side.

That the Garments of Priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent.

Item, that Monks, or any other of the Clergy (if they forsook their Order) either should come again, or be Excommunicated.

Item, that the men of the Clergy should wear broad Crowns.

Priests Crowns.

Item, that no Tithes should be given but to the Church.

Tithes Bona of Prebends. Subsidies of Chappels.

Item, that no Churches or Prebends should be bought.

That no new Chappels should be made without consent of the Bishop.

Every Church to be consecrated by a Priest.

That no Church should be hallowed, before the necessary provision were made for the Priest, and for the Church to be maintained.

That Abbats should set forth no men to War, and that they muft both sleep and eat in the same House with their Monks, unless some great necessity do let.

Abbats to maintain no War.

That Monks do injoyn no penance to any man without the knowledge of his Abbat. And that their Abbats may give no licence therein, but only for such persons whose charge they have of Soul.

Monks limited for Confessions.

That no Monks should be Godfathers, nor Nuns Godmothers.

Monks nor godfathers, nor Nuns godmothers.

That Monks should have no Lordships to Farm.

Abbylands, Impropriation restrained.

Item, that Monks should take no Churches but by the Bishop, neither should so spoil and oppress the Churches given unto them with their Rents, that sufficient were not left for the Ministers of the same.

That privy Contracts between man and woman without Witness should not stand, but be Fruitrate, if each Party do go from the Contract.

Privy contracts.

Item, that such of the Clergy, as wear long hair, be so rounded, that part of their Ear appear, and that their Eyes be not covered.

Rounding.

Item, that there be no Matrimonial Copulation within the seventh degree of kindred, nor so continue if they be married: But the marriage to be broken. And if any, be privy to that Incest, do not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same Crime.

Marriage within the seventh degree restrained.

Buryings.

Item, that no Funeral or Buryings be without their own Pariſh Church, ſo that the Prieſt thereof do loſe that which ſo him is due.

No holineſs to be given to ſtalings and places.

Item, that no man upon any new fangled raſhneſs do attribute any reverence or opinion of Holineſs to deed meats bodies, to Fountains, or to any other thing (as the uſe hath been in time paſt) without authority of the Biſhop.

Selling and buying of men.

Item, that no Buying and Selling be uſed hereafter in *England* of men, as of other Cattel.

Sodomitry.

Item, after the reſtraint of Prieſts marriage, when filthy Sodomitry began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced alſo to make an Act for that, which was this.

A ſtep with a Foot all for Sodomitry.

With a grievous curſe we condemn both them that occupied the ungracious vice of Sodomitry, and them alſo that willingly aſſiſt them, or be wicked doers with them in the ſame; till ſuch time as they may deſerve abſolution by penance and confeſſion.

So that whatſoever he be that is noyſed or proved to be of this wickedneſs (if he be a religious perſon) he ſhall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that which he hath ſhall be taken from him.

If he be a Lay Perſon, he ſhall be deprived of all his Freedom within the Land, and be no better than a foreiner.

And becauſe it ſhall be known, the abſolution of ſuch as be ſecular to belong only to Biſhops: It was therefore inacted, that on every Sunday, in every Pariſh Church of *England*, the ſaid Excommunication ſhould be Publiſhed, &c.

Rauulph. Ceſtrenſis lib. 7. Note the Prepoſterous proceeding of Anſelm in ceaſing the vice of Sodomitry.

But mark in this great matter what followed. For, as *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* witneſſeth, this grievous general curſe was ſoon called back again by the ſute of certain, which perſwaded *Anſelm*, that the publication, or opening of that vice, gave kindlings to the ſame in the hearts of lewd Perſons, miniſtring occaſion of more boldneſs to them to do the like. And ſo to ſtop the occaſion of filthy Sodomitry, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and reſtrainment of Prieſts lawful marriage (which chiefly was the cauſe thereof) remained ſtill. And thus ever ſince horrible Sodomitry remained in the Clergy, both for lack of marriage more uſed, and for lack of publication leſs puniſhed.

Beſides all theſe Synodal Acts above comprehended, and given out by *Anſelm* in his Councils before, here alſo in this prefent Council at *Weſtminſter*, in the yeer of this King aforeſaid, he alſo directed other new Injunctions to the Prieſts.

Penalties and forfeits againſt Prieſts that keep their Wives.

Firſt, that they and their Wives ſhould never more meet in one houſe, neither yet have dwelling in their Territories.

Item, that the Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould keep no woman in their Houſe, unleſs they were of their next kin.

Item, for ſuch as had diſſevered themſelves from the Society of their Wives, yet for ſome honeſt cauſe they had to common with them, they might, ſo it were without door, and with two or three lawful witneſſes.

In the latter days ſhall come falſe teachers, forbidding marriage and eating of meats, &c.

Item, if any of them ſhould be accuſed by two or three witneſſes, and could not purge himſelf again by ſix able men of his own order (if he be a Prieſt) or if he be a Deacon by four, or if he be a Subdeacon by two) then he ſhould be Judged a Tranſgreſſor of the Statutes, deprived of his Benefice, and be made Infamous, or be put to open reproach of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, and in contempt of this new Statute held ſtill his Wife, and preſumed to ſay Maſs, upon the eighth day after (if he made not due ſatisfaction) ſhould be ſolemnly Excommunicated.

Item, all Archdeacons and Deacons to be ſtraitly Sworn not to Wink or Diſſemble at their Meetings, nor to bear with them for Money. And if they would not be Sworn to this, then to loſe their offices without recovery.

Puniſhment of Prieſts that had been married.

Item, ſuch Prieſts, as forſaking their Wives were willing to ſerve ſtill and remain in their holy Order, firſt muſt ceaſe forty days from their miniſtration, ſetting Vicars for them in the mean time to ſerve, and taking ſuch penance upon them, as by their Biſhop ſhould be injoyned them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious Treatiſe of the life and doings of *Anſelm*, how Superſtitious in his Religion, how Stub born againſt his Prince he was, what occaſion of War and Diſcord he miniſtred by his complaints (if they had been taken) what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cauſe he pretended, what pains without profit he took. Who if he had beſtowed that time and Travel in Preaching Chriſt at Home to his flock, which he took in Gadding to *Rome*, to complain of his Country, in my mind he had been better occupied. Moreover, what Violent and Tyrannical Injunctions he fet forth of Inveſting and other things, ye have heard; but eſpecially againſt the lawful and godly marriage of Prieſts. Wherein, what a vehement Adverſary he was, here may appear with theſe Minutes or Pieces Extracted out of the Letters, which we have here Annexed; in Form and Effect as Followeth.

A Letter of Anſelm.

Anſelm Archbiſhop, to his Brethren and Deareſt Sons the Lord Prior and others at *Canterbury*.

King Henry perſwaded Prieſts to marry even both Biſhops and Abbots.

Anſelm ſuſpended from the Church of Rome.

Anſelm at Rome.

Prieſts ſtill took him for their Archbiſhop.

no Wives.

AS *concerning Prieſts, of whom the King commanded that they ſhould have both their Churches and their women as they had in the time of his Father, and of* Lanfrancus *Archbiſhop: Both becauſe the King hath Reſtored and Reſeized the whole Archbiſhoprick, and becauſe I ſo curſed a marriage was forbidden in a Council in the time of his Father and of the ſaid Archbiſhop: Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbiſhoprick, not only within my Archbiſhoprick but alſo through* our England, *that all Prieſts, which keep women, ſhall be deprived of their Churches and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.*

A Letter of Pope Paſchalis *to* Anſelm.

Paſchal Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his Reverend Brother *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Bleſſing.

The Pope ſeemeth to be ſubject to the Church and may controll by both Biſhops and Abbots what they do: and then were it to the Church to Prieſts to have Wives.

WE *believe your Brother-hood is not ignorant what is decreed in the* Romiſh *Church concerning Prieſts Children. But becauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch within the Realm of* England, *that almoſt the greater and better part of the Clerks are reckoned to be on this ſide: Therefore we commit this diſpenſation to your care. For we grant thoſe to be promoted to holy Offices by reaſon of the need at this time, and for the profit of the Church (ſuch as learning and life ſhall commend among you) ſo that yet notwithſtanding the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.*

Another Letter of Anſelm *for Inveſting.*

To the Reverend Lord and loving Father *Paſchal* High Biſhop, *Anſelm* ſervant of *Canterbury* Church, due Subjection and continual Prayers.

King liked not the Pope to meddle in his Realm.

ready to reſiſt the Church.

Falſe ſuſpition of incli.

After that I returned to my Biſhoprick, in England *I ſhewed the Apoſtolical Decree, which I being preſent heard in the* Romiſh *Council.* 1. *That no man ſhould receive Inveſting of Churches at the Kings hand, or any Lay perſon, or ſhould become his man for it, and that no man ſhould preſume to conſecrate him that did offend herein. When the King and his Nobles, and the Biſhops themſelves, and others of the lower degree heard theſe things, they took them ſo grievouſly, that they ſaid, they would in no caſe agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the Kingdom, and forſake the* Romiſh *Church, rather than keep this thing. Wherefore Reverend Father, I deſire your Counſel by your Letter, &c.*

Another Letter of *Anſelm*.

Anſelm Archbiſhop, to the Reverend *Gudulphus* Biſhop, and to *Arnulphus Prior*, and to *William* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and to all in his Diocеſs, Greeting.

A letter of Anſelm ſuſpected for ſeeking againſt the Kings will in ſeeking again their Wives.

WIlliam *our Archdeacon hath written unto me, that ſome Prieſts that be under his Cuſtody (taking again their Women that were forbidden) have fallen unto the uncleanneſs from the which they were drawn by* while-

Ex conſt. 27. Prieſts Excommunicate for refuſing to forſake their Wives.

wholeſome counſel and commandment. When the Archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly deſpiſed with wicked pride his warning and worthy commandment to be received. Then he, calling together many Religious men and obedient Prieſts, Excommunicated worthily the proud and diſobedient, that ſhaſtly deſpiſed the curſe, and were not afraid to defile the holy miniſtry, as much as lay in them, &c.

Unto theſe Letters above Prefixed, I have alſo adjoyned another of the ſaid *Anſelm*, touching a great caſe of conſcience, of a Monks whipping himſelf. Wherein may appear both the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe Religious men, and the Judgment of this *Anſelm* in the ſame matter.

Another Letter of *Anſelm*.

Anſelm Archbiſhop, to *Bernard* Monk of the Abby of S. *Warburg*, Greeting and Prayer.

A Letter of Anſelm. Ex conſt. 24. Whether it more merit for a Monk to cauſe himſelf in the Chapter to be whipped or to abſtain from obediently the whipping of his Abbot.

I *Heard it ſaid of your Lord Abbot, that thou judgeſt it to be of greater merit, when a Monk either beaten himſelf, or cauſeth himſelf to be beaten of another; than when he is beaten (not of his own will) in the Chapter, by the Commandment of the Prelacy. But it is not ſo as you think. For that judgment, that any man commandeth to himſelf, is kingly. But that, which he ſuffereth by obedience in the Chapter, is Monkiſh. The one is of his own will, the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That which I call kingly, Kings and Rich proud men commending to be done to themſelves. But that which I call Monkiſh, they take not commanding, but obeying. The Kingly is ſo much eaſier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the Monkiſh is ſo much the grieveuſer, by how much is differeth from the will of the ſufferer. In the Kingly judgment, the ſufferer is judged to be his own: In Monkiſh he is proved not to be his own. For although the King or Rich man, when he is beaten, willingly ſubmitteth himſelf humbly to be a ſinner; yet he would not ſubmit himſelf to this Humbleneſs at any others Commandment, but would withſtand the Commander with all his ſtrength. But when a Monk ſubmitteth himſelf to the whip humbly in the Chapter at the will of the Prelate; the truth judgeth him to be of ſo much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himſelf more and more, and more truly than the other. For he humbleth himſelf to God only, becauſe he knoweth his ſins. But this man humbleth himſelf to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himſelf both to God and Man for Gods cauſe, than he which humbleth himſelf to God only, and not to Gods Commandment. Therefore if he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted; Ergo he that more humbleth himſelf, ſhall be more exalted. And where I ſaid, that when a Monk is whipped, it differeth from his will; you muſt not ſo underſtand it, as though he would not patiently bear it with an obedient will, but becauſe by a natural appetite he would not ſuffer the ſorrow. But if ye ſay, I do not ſo much flie the open beating for the pains (which I feel alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: Know then that he is ſtronger that rejoyceth to bear this for obedience ſake. Therefore be thou ſure, that one whipping of a Monk by obedience is of more merit than innumerable whippings taken by his own mind. But whereas he is ſuch, that always he ought to have his Heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge him then to be of a great merit, whether he be whipped privily or openly, &c.*

The Judgment or concluſion of Anſelm upon the caſe.

{ Anno } 1105.

And thus much concerning *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whoſe ſtout example gave no little courage to *Thurſtinus* and *Becket* his ſucceſſors, and others that followed after, to do the like againſt their Kings and Principes, as in proceſs hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appear.

About this time, 1105. two famous Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, being right vertuous and well diſpoſed Prelates, were cruelly and tyrannouſly dealt withall, and intreated by the Biſhop of *Rome*: Their names were *Henry* and *Chriſtian*. This *Henry*, having intelligence that he was complained of to the Pope, ſent a learned man (as ſpecial friend of his) to excuſe him, named *Arnold*, one for whom he had done much, and promoted to great livings and promotions. But this honeſt man *Arnold*, inſtead of an excuſer, became an accuſer, bribing the two chiefeſt Cardinals with good Gold; by which means he obtained of the Pope, thoſe two Cardinals, to be ſent as Inquiſitors, and only doers in that preſent caſe. The which (coming to *Germany*) ſummoned the ſaid *Henry*, and depoſed him of his Archbiſhoprick (for all he could do either by Law or juſtice) ſubſtituting in his place the foreſaid *Arnold*, upon hope (truly) of the Eccleſiaſtical Gold. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable *Henry* (as the ſtory telleth) ſpake unto thoſe his Perverſe Judges on this wiſe: If I ſhould appeal unto the Apoſtolick See for this your unjuſt Proceſs had againſt me, perhaps the Pope would attempt nothing more therein than ye have, neither ſhould I wirt any thing by it, but only toil of body, loſs of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and miſſing of his favour.

Judges Corrupted.

A terrible example for corrupt Judges to beware.

Wherefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as to the moſt high and juſt Judge, and cite you before his Judgment, there to anſwer me before the high Judge. For neither juſtly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaſeth you) you have judged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwering: Go you firſt, and we will follow. Not long after (as the ſtory is) the ſaid *Henry* died. Whereof the ſaid two Cardinals having intelligence, faid one to the other jeſtingly; Behold, he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promiſe. And verily they ſaid truer than they aware of: For within a while they died in one day. For the one, ſitting upon a Jakes to eaſe himſelf, voyded out all his intrails into the draught, and miſerably ended ended his life. The other, gnawing off his fingers of his hands, and ſpitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in devouring himſelf) died. And in like wiſe, not long after the end of theſe men, the foreſaid *Arnold* (moſt horrible) in a fedition was ſlain; and certain days (lying ſtinking above the ground unburied) lay open to the ſpoil of every Raſcal and Harlot. The Hiſtoriographer in declaring hereof crieth upon the Cardinals in this manner: *O ye Cardinals, ye are the beginning and Authors hereof: Come ye hither, and heap end carry unto your Countries the Divel, and offer your ſelves to him with that Money, whereof ye have been moſt glutonous and inſatiable.*

About the ſame time and year when King *Henry* began his Reign, Pope *Paſchalis* entred his Papacy, ſucceeding after *Urbanus*, about the year of our Lord 1100. nothing ſwarving from the ſteps of *Hildebrand* his Superior. This *Paſchalis* being Elected by the Cardinals, after that the people had cryed thrice, S. *Peter* hath choſen good *Rainerus*; he then putting on a purple Veſture, and a Tire upon his head, was brought upon a white Palfray into *Lateran*, where a Scepter was given him, and a Girdle put about him, having ſeven Keies, with ſeven Seals hanging thereupon for a recognizance or token of his ſeven-fold power, according to the ſeven-fold Grace of the holy Ghoſt, of binding, looſing, ſhutting, opening, ſealing, reſigning, and judging, &c. After this *Paſchalis* was Elected Pope, *Henry* the forth, the foreſaid Emperor (of courage moſt valiant, if the time had ſerved thereto) thought to come up to *Italy* to Salute the new Pope. But, underſtanding the Popes mind bent againſt him, he changed his purpoſe. In the mean time, *Paſchalis*, to ſhew himſelf inferior to *Hildebrand* in no point, began firſt to depoſe all ſuch Abbats and Biſhops whom the Emperor had ſet up. Alſo he baniſhed *Albertus*, *Theodoricus*, and *Maginulphus*, ſtriving at the ſame time for the Papacy. I ſpake before of *Guibert*, whom *Henry* the Emperor had made Pope againſt *Hildebrand*. Againſt this *Paſchalis* made out an Army; who, being put to flight, not long after departed.

The Popes element.

The Evergrowing power of the Pope.

Of Antichriſt born and manifeſt. The Biſhop of Florence a Martyr. *Sabellius*. A councll at Trente

About the ſame time, *Anno* 1101. the Biſhop of *Florence* began to Teach and to Preach of Antichriſt then to be born and to be manifeſt, as *Sabellicus* teſtifieth: Whereupon *Paſchalis*, aſſembling a Council, put to ſilence the ſaid Biſhop, and condemned his Books. In this Council at *Trecas*, Prieſts that were married were condemned for *Nicolaitans*. *Item*, according to the Decree of *Hildebrand*, all ſuch of what degree or eſtate ſoever they were (being Laymen) that gave any Eccleſiaſtical Diſquities, were condemned of Simony. Furthermore, the Statute of Prieſts tithes there he renewed, counting the ſelling

A tragical History of the Pope *Paschalis* setting the Son against the Father.

away thereof as a sin against the holy Ghost. Concerning the Excommunication and other troubles, that *Hildebrand* wrought against *Henricus* the forth Emperor, it is declared sufficiently before. This Excommunication *Paschalis* the Pope renewed afreth against the said *Henry*. And not only that, but also, conventing the Princes of *Germany* unto a general assembly, set up his own Son against him, causing the Bishop of *Mentz*, of *Cullen*, and of Worms to deprive him of his Imperial Crown, and to place his Son *Henricus* the fifth in his Fathers Kingdom, and so they did. Coming to the place at *Hilgesthem*, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the Crown, from him. The Emperor demanded the cause, being then Excommunicate and void of friends. They pretending again (I cannot tell what) for selling of Bishopricks, Abbacies, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities for money: Also alledging the Popes pleasure and of other Princes. Then required he first of the Bishop of *Mentz* (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their Bishopricks before) asking them in order, if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so; Well (saith he) and do you require me again with this? With divers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their Oath and Allegiance to their Prince. But the perjured Prelates, neither reverencing his Majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him (sitting in his Throne) his Crown Imperial, then disvestured him, taking from him his Purple and his Sceptre. The good Emperor, being left desolate and in contution, saith to them: *Videat Deus & judicet*: That is, Let God see and judge. Thus leaving him, they went to his Son to confirm him in his Kingdom, and caused him to drive his Father out. Who then being chased of his Son (having but nine persons about him) did flie by the Dukedom of *Limbrugh*, where the Duke being then in hunting, perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The Emperor fearing no other but present death (for he had displaced the same Duke before out of his Dukedom) submitted himself, craving of him pardon, and not revengement. The Duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also received him to his Castle. Moreover, collecting his soudiers and men of War, he brought him to *Cullen*, and there he was well received. His Son hearing this besieged the City of *Cullen*. But the Father, by night escaping, came to *Leodium*, where reforted to him all such as were men of compassion and constant heart. In so much that his power, being strong enough, he was now able to pitch a field against his Enemies, and so did: desiring his friends, that if he had the victory, they would spare his Son. In fine (the battel joyned) the Father had the victory, the Son was put to flight: many being slain on both sides. But shortly after, the battel renewed again, the Son prevailed, the Father was overcome and taken. Who then, being utterly dispossessed of his Kingdom, was brought to that extremity, that coming to *Spire*, he was fain to crave of the Bishop there (whom he had done much for before) to have a prebend in the Church: and for that he had some skill of his Book, he defired to serve in our Ladies quire, Yet could he not obtain so much at his hand, who swore by our Lady, he should have none there. Thus the woeful Emperor (most unkindly handled, and repulsed on every side) came to *Leodium*, and there for sorrow died, after he had Reigned fifty years; whole body *Paschalis*, after his Funeral, caused to be taken up again, and to be brought to *Shires*, where it remained five years unburied. *Hæc ex Helmoldo.*

Ex Historia Helmoldi.

The Prelates for the Son against the Father.

A grateful example of a good and thankful Duke.

A naughty Son of a good Father.

Ex Helmoldo, & incerto Autore.

The unkindness of a proud Prelate.

{Anno 1105.} The Emperor five years without burial.

After the decease of this Emperor *Henry* the fourth, his Son *Henricus* the fifth Reigned the space of twenty years. Who, coming to *Rome* to the Crown of the Pope, could not obtain it, before he would fully assent to have this ratified, that no Emperor should have any thing to do with the Election of the *Roman* Bishop, or with other Bishopricks. Besides that (about the same time) such a stir was made in *Rome* by the said Bishop, that if the Emperor had not defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. But as it happened, the Emperor having victory, amongst many other *Romans* (which were partly slain, partly taken in the same skirmish) he taketh also the Pope and leadeth him out of the City: where he indenteth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering again his right and title in the Election of the Pope, and of other Bishops: whereunto the Pope assenting, agreed to all. So the Emperor (being Crowned of *Paschalis*) returned again with the Pope of *Rome*.

{Anno 1107.} *Henricus* Emperor. Ex chronico Cartusiæ, lib. 3.

The Pope taken prisoner.

All the conditions between the Emperor and the Pope (so long as the Emperor remained at *Rome*) stood firm and ratified. But as soon as the Emperor was returned again to *Germany*, forthwith the Pope, calling a Synod, not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but also Excommunicated *Henricus* the Emperor, as he had done his Father before, reproved the former *Privilegium* for *pravilegium*. The Emperor, returning from *Rome* to *France*, there married *Mathild* daughter to King *Henry*. Who then hearing what the Pope had done (grieved not a little) with all expedition marched to *Rome*, and putteth the Pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the mean time the Bishops of *Germany* (the Popes good friends) flept not their business, incensing the *Saxons* all that they might against their *Cesar*: Insomuch that a great commotion was stirred up, and it grew at length to a pitche field: which was fought in the month of *February*, by the wood called *Sylva Catularia*, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifteen.

War raised by the Pope and his Faction.

The Emperor seeing no end of these conflicts (unless he would yield to the Pope) was fain to give over, and forgo his privilege, falling to a compotition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the Popes Election, nor with Investing, nor such other things belonging to the Church and Churchmen. And thus was the peace between them concluded, and proclaimed to no small rejoycing of both the Armies, then lying by *Worms*, near the River of *Rhene*.

Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Pope.

In the time of this *Paschalis* lived *Bernardus*, called *Abbas Claravallensis*, in the year 1108. of whom sprang the *Bernardine* Monks.

Bernardus the Abbot. *Bernardine* Monks came in.

About what time the City of *Worcester* was consumed almost all with fire, *An.* 1109.

The City of *Worcester* almost all consumed with fire.

All this while *Henricus* the Emperor had no Issue (having to Wife *Mathildis*, the daughter of *Henry* the first, King of *England*) and that by the just judgment of God, as it may appear. For as he, having a Father, persecuted him by the Popes setting on, contrary to the part of a natural Son: so Gods providence did not suffer him to be the Father of any child, naturally to love him, or to succeed him.

Mathildis an Example of the Lords just retribution and judgment.

After the death of *Paschalis*, *Anno* 1118. succeeded Pope *Gelasius*, chosen by the Cardinals, but without the consent of the Emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in *Rome*. And at length another Pope was set up by the Emperor called *Gregorius* the eighth, and *Gelasius* driven away into *France*, and there died. After whom came *Calixtus* the second (chosen likewise by a few Cardinals, without the voice of the Emperor) who, coming up to *Rome* to injoy his seat, first sent his Legat into *Germany* to Excommunicate the Emperor *Henricus*, who then having divers conflicts with his fellow Pope *Gregorius*, at length drave him out of *Rome*. At this time by this occation great disputation and controversie was between the Emperor and the Popes Court, whether of them in dignity should excel the other: whereof reasons and arguments on both sides were alledged, which in the verses here following are comprehended.

Two Popes living together.

The Pope Excommunicateth the Emperor.

Allegatio Imperatoris contra Papam.

Cæsar lex viva stat regibus imperativa,
Legeq; sub viva sunt omnia jura dativa,
Lex ea cathgat, solvit & ipsa ligat.
Conditor est legis, meq; debet legetenere,
Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:
Quicquid ei placuit, juris ad instar erat.
Qui ligat ac solvit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,
Divisit regnum divina potentia secum,
Astra dedit superis, cætera cuncta sibi.

Re-

Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra Imperatorem.

Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quod Petro subjiciaris:
Jus etenim nobis Christus utrumque parit.
Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter,
Corpora terrena tenes, cælestia mente,
Unde, tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum.
Æthera pandere, cælica tangere, papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, solvere cuncta meretur,
Cui debit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus:
Annulus & baculus quamvis terrena putentur,
Sunt de jure poli, quæ significare videntur:
Respice jura Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.

In conclusion, the Emperor being overcome so much with the vain reasons of the Popes side, and fearing the dangerous Thunderbolt of his curse (talking with Princes, and perswaded by his friends) was fain to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the Pope. First, to ratifie his Election, notwithstanding the other Pope (whom the said Emperor had set up) yet was alive. Secondly, that he should resign up his right and title in matters partaining to the Election of the Pope, and Investiture of Bishops.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the Pope, his face to the Horse-tail. *Ex Vincent. Platina, Onuphr.* The Ember days by whom they were brought in, and when. *Dist. 70. cap. Jejunium.* The Order of Monks *Præmonstratenses.*

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set up in the Church of *Lateran*, for a triumph of the Emperor thus subdued, the Pope maketh out after *Gregorius* his fellow Pope, being then in a Town called *Sutrium*; which being besieged and taken, *Gregorius* also was taken. Whom *Calixtus* the Pope setting upon a Camel (his face to the Camels tail) brought him so through the streets of *Rome*, holding the tail in his hand in stead of a Bridle; and afterward being thrust into a Monastery.

Amongst many other Acts done by this glorious Pope, first he eftablished the decree of the Papal See against this Emperor. He brought in the four quarter Fasts, called *Ember* days. *Dist. 70. cap. Jejunium.*

By the same *Calixtus* the order of Monks, called *Præmonstratenses*, were brought in.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for Adultery, if any person (by his life time) had put from him either Bishoprick or Benefice, grounding upon this Scripture of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, *Alligata est uxor legi viri quamdiu vir ejus vivit: eo defuncto, soluta est a lege viri, &c.* That is, *The Wife is bound to the Law of her Husband, so long as the Husband liveth: after he is dead, she is loose from the Law of her Husband, &c.*

Scripture Clerkly applied of the Pope.

Priests and Ministers compelled to leave their Wives.

Item, the same *Calixtus*, holding a general Council at *Rhemis*, decreed that Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons should put away their Concubines and Wives: and whosoever was found to keep his Wife, should be deprived of Benefice, and all other Ecclesiastical livings: whereupon a certain *English* Writer made these verses following;

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te:
Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti,
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.

That is, word for word.

The hatred of the Clergy hast thou good Calixte,
For sometimes Priests might use their Wives right,
But that thou hast rejected, since Pope thou wast elected.

{Anno 1109.} And thus much of the *Roman* matters. Now to our Country story again. After the death of *Anselm* before mentioned (who deceased the year of Christ 1109. after he had been in the See fixteen years) the Church of *Canterbury* stood voyd five years: and the goods of the Church were spent to the Kings use. And when he was prayed to help the Church that was so long without a Pastor, his answer was: pretending that as his Father and Brother had accuftomed thereto to set the best tried and approved men that might be found, so to the intent that he might do the same (in choosing such, which either should equal the former examples of them before, or at least follow their foosteps as near as they could) he took therein the more time and leasure. And so with shift of answer he delayed out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The same year (after the death of *Anselm*) the King converted the Abbey of *Ely* to a Bishoprick, which before was under the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, placing there *Henry* Bishop of *Bangor*, the Bishop of that See. And as, of late years before this, divers wonders were seen, as Stars falling from Heaven so thick that they could not be numbred, at the setting forth of the Christians to the holy Land; *Fornalens.* A blazing Star over *Constantinople*; A spring boyling out blood (seen at *Finchamsted* in *Barkshire*) three weeks together; *Anno* 1090. *Gisburnensis*. After that, the Firmament appearing so red, as it had been all on fire; also two full Moons appearing together, one in the East, the other in the West (on *Maundy-Thursday*) with a blazing Star in the same year appearing about the taking of Duke *Robert*, having a white circle incloling it, *Anno* 1106. *Fornalens.* Also with an Eclipse of the Sun darkened after that: So likewise about this present year, *An.* 1110. was seen the flood of *Trent*, about *Nottingham*, so dried up from morning to three of the clock at afternoon, that men might go over it dry shod; *Gisburnens.* Also in *Shrowsbury* a great Earthquake happened, and after that followed a sharp Winter, great Murren of Beasts, and Pestilence of Men, as *Gualterus Gisburnens.* recordeth; Moreover, the same Author mentioneth, that about the same year the like vading of water also happened in the flood *Medway*; and in the *Thames* (between the Bridge and the Tower, and under the Bridge, from Midnight to the next Evening) was so great an Ebb, that an Innumerable fort of people and children waded over, scarce knee deep in the Water, the Sea withdrawing his Tide ten miles from his accustomed course. *Roger Hoveden. Gualter. Gisburnens. &c.* In the which year also, as the said Author and *Fornalens.* do testifie, the City of *Worcester* by casualty was consumed with fire. Also the City of *Chester*, *An.* 1114. *Rog. Hoved.*

{Anno 1110.} *Trent* dried up.

An Earthquake.

Murren and Pestilence. *Ex Gualtero Gisburnensi.*

{Anno 1113.} *Worcester* consumed with fire.

{Anno 1114.}

The next year following, *Radulphus* Bishop of *Rochester* (an Englishman) was promoted to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thurstinus* the Kings Chaplain was Elected Archbishop of *York*. Who being content to receive his benediction or confecration of the See of *Canterbury*; yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same See, he was by the King deprived of his Dignity.

Radulphus Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Thurstinus* Archbishop of *York*. Difference between *Thurstinus* of *York*, and *Radulph* Archbishop of *Canterbury* for subjection.

Then *Thurstin*(by the Instigation of certain of his Clerks at *York*) took his Journey to *Rome*; who, there making his complaint to Pope *Paschalis*, brought with him a Letter from the Pope to the King, where among other Words was contained as followeth, *Audivimus electum Eboracensis Ecclesiæ, virum sapientem & strenuum, sine judicio ab Eboracensi sequestratum Ecclesia: quod nimirum divinæ justitiæ & Sanctorum institutionibus adversatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. Ecclesiam nimis, neque Eboracensem volumus præjudicium pati, sed eam constitutionem quæ a B. Gregorio Anglicæ gentis Apostolo, inter eadem Ecclesias, constituta est, firman censemus illibatamque servari. Idem ergo electus, ut justitia exigit, ad suam Ecclesiam omnibus modis revocetur. Si quid autem quæstionis inter eas dem Ecclesias nascitur, præsentibus utrique patribus in vestra præsentia pertractetur, &c.*

The Letter of *Paschalis* to King *Henry*.

In English thus,

We hear and understand, that the Archbishop Elect of the Church of *York* (a discreet and industrious man) is sequestred from the Church of *York*; which standeth against both divine Justice, and the Institution of holy Fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the Church of *Canterbury* should be impaired, nor again that the Church of *York* should suffer any prejudice, but that the same constitution, which was by blessed *Gregory* (the Apostle of the *English* Nation) set and decreed between those two Churches, should remain still in force and effect unviolate. Wherefore, as touching the forefaid Elect, let him be received again by any means, as right and meet it is, unto his Church. And if there be any question between the forefaid Churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present.

Ex Gualtero Gisburnensis Ex Galfrid. de Jornis. Ex Roger. Hoved. Fabian. &c.

{Anno 1154.} Assembly of the Nobles at *Salisbury*.

Upon occasion of this Letter, a solemn assembly there was appointed at *Salisbury*, about the hearing of this controverse. The variance between these two Prelates still increased more and more. *Rodulph* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in no case would yield or condescend to

The Bishoprick of *Ely* first planted. *Henry* first Bishop of *Ely*.

Thurstin refuseth to profess Subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

to give imposition of hands unto him, unless he would make his profession of obedience. *Thurstin* again said, he would willingly receive and imbrace his Benediction: but as touching the profession of his subjection, that he would not agree unto.

Thurstin prohibiteth to renounce his Archbishoprick.

Then the King, declaring his mind therein, signified unto *Thurstin*, that, without his subjection and obedience professed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he should not enjoy his confecration to be Archbishop of *York*. Whereunto *Thurstin*, nothing replying again, renounced his Archbishoprick, promising moreover to make no more claim unto it, nor to molest them that should enjoy it.

{ Anno 1118.

Shortly after this, it happened that Pope *Paschalis* died: After whom, as is above rehearsed, succeeded Pope *Gelasius*, who lived not past a year, and died in *France*. Whereupon the Cardinals (which then followed the faid Pope *Gelasius* unto *Cluniack*) created another Pope of their choising, whom they called *Calixtus* the second. The other Cardinals which were at *Rome* did chuse another Pope called *Gregory*, as mention before is made: about which two Popes much stir there was in Christian Realms. As this *Calixtus* was remaining in *France*, and there calling a general Council at *Rhemis*, as ye heard before; *Thurstinus* the Archbishop of *York* desired Licence of the King to go to the Council, purpoting there to open the cause of his Church, which ettsoons he obtained: First promising to the King that he should there attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the Church of *Canterbury*. In the mean time, the King had sent secret word unto the Pope, by *Rodulph* and other Procurators, that in no case he would confecrate *Thurstinus*. Yet, notwithstanding the faithful promise of the Pope made to the King, so it fell out, that the said Pope through the sute of his Cardinals, whom *Thurstinus* had won to him, was inclined to confecrate him, and gave him the Pall. For this deed the King was sore discontented with *Thurstin*, and warned him the entry of this Land.

Pope Calixtus breaketh promise with the King. *Thurstin* confecrated Archbishop of *York* by the Pope against the Kings mind.

Concilium Rhemense.

In this Council at *Rhemis* (above mentioned) where were gathered 434. Prelates, these five principal Acts were concluded.

Acts of the Council of Rhemis.

1. That no man should either buy or sell any Bishoprick, Abbatship, Deanry, Archdeaconship, Priesthood, Prebendship, Altar, or any Ecclesiastical promotion, or Benefice, Orders, Confecration, Church hallowing, fear or stall within the Quire, or any Office Ecclesiastical, under danger of Excommunication, if he did persist.

2. That no Lay person should give Investiture or any Ecclesiastical possession; and that no spiritual man should receive any such at any Lay mans hand, under pain of deprivation.

3. That no man should invade, take away, or detain the goods or possessions of the Church; but that they should remain firm and perpetual, under pain of perpetual curse.

4. That no Bishop or Priest should leave any Ecclesiastical Dignity or Benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for Baptism, Chrisim, Annoiling, or Burial, no Money should be exacted.

The Acts sent to the Emperor.

5. *Item*, that all Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, should be utterly debarred and sequestred from company of their Wives and Concubines, under pain of excluding from all Christian Communion.

The Acts thus determined were sent ettsoons to *Henricus* the Emperor, to see and try, before the breaking up of the Council, whether he would agree to the Canonical Elections, free confecration, and investing of spiritual Persons, and to other Acts of the said Council. The Emperor maketh answer again, that he would lose nothing of that ancient Custom which his Progenitors had given him. Notwithstanding, because of the Authority of the general Council, he was content to consent to the reliduc, save only the investing of Ecclesiastical Function to be taken from him, to that he should never agree. Upon this, at the next return of the Pope to the Council, the Emperor was appointed to be Excommunicated. Which thing, when divers of the Council did not well like, and therefore did separate themselves from the rest; the Pope applying against them the multitude of the seventy Disciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therefore divided themselves from him, declaring moreover to them, how they which gathered not with him, scattered, and they that were not with him, were against him: By these and such like perswations reduced them again to his side; and so by that Council *Henricus* the Emperor was Excommunicated.

The Emperor Excommunicated.

The Emperor agreeth not to the Popes Investing.

The Council divided. Ex Rog. Hoved.

It was not long after but the Pope came to *Gisortium*, where *Henry* King of *England* resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no Legate, nor permit any to be sent from *Rome* to *England*: unless the King himself should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not be otherwise decided by his own Bishops at home. The cause why the King required this of the Pope was, for that certain *Roman* Legates had been in *England* a little before (to wit) one *Guido*, and another *Roman* named *Anselmus*, and another also called *Petrus*, who had spoyled the Realm of great Treasure, as the accustomed manner of the proud Popes Legates is wont to be, *Guli. de pont. lib.* 1. Also he required of the Pope, that he might use and retain all the customs used before of his forefathers in *England* and in *Normandy*.

Agreed that England should have no other Legate from Rome, but only the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To these petitions the Pope did easily consent, requiring again of the King, that he would Licence *Thurstinus*, the Archbishop above minded, to return with favour into his Realm. But that the King utterly denied, unless he would profess subjection to the Church of *Canterbury*, as his Predecessors had done before; and confessed himself by his Oath which he before had made. To this the Pope answered again, that he, by his authority Apostolical, both might, and would also easily dispence with him for his promise or oath. Then the King said, that he would talk with his Council thereof, and so send him an answer of his mind; which answer was this, That, for the love and requeit of the Pope, he was content that *Thurstinus* should re-enter his Realm, and quietly enjoy his Prelateship, upon this condition that he would (as his Predecessors did) profess his subjection to the Church of *Canterbury*. Otherwise (said he) so long as he was King, he should never sit Archbishop of the Church of *York*. And thus ended that meeting between the King of *England* and the Pope for that time.

All the customs of the Realm granted of the Pope.

The year following after that, which was, *Anno* 1120. the forefaid Pope *Calixtus* directeth his Letters for *Thurstinus* to the King, and to *Rodulph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In which Epistle, by his full power Apostolical, he doth interdict both the Church of *Canterbury*, and the Church of *York*, with all the Parish Churches within the same Cities, from all Divine service, from the burial also of the dead, except only Baptising of Children, and absolution of them that lie on dying; unless, within a month after the receit of the same, *Thurstinus* (without any exception of subjection made) were received and admitted to the See of *York*, and that the King likewise should doubtless be Excommunicated, except he would consent unto the same. Whereupon *Thurstinus*, for fear of the Popes curse, was immediatly sent for and reconciled to the King, and was placed quietly in his Archiepiscopal See of *York*.

{ Anno 1120.

The Pope letter to the King, compelled to receive Thurstinus the foe of the Pope restored.

Thurstinus returned.

{ Anno 1120.

It followed not long after (within two years) *Rodulph* Archbishop of *Canterbury* departed, in whose See succeeded after him *Guliemus de Turbine*. About which time (in the seven and twentieth year of the Kings Reign) the Gray-Friers, by procuring of the King, came first into *England*, and had their House first at *Canterbury*. About the same season or a little before, the King called a Council at *London*, where the spirituality of *England*) not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the King to have the punishment of married Priests: By reason of which grant (whereof the spirituality afterwards much repented) the Priests, paying a certain to the King, were suffered to retain their Wives still, whereby the King gathered no small sum of Money, *Rog. Hoved. Guliel. Gisburnensis*. At this time began the first foundation of the Monastery called *Gisburn* in *Cleveland*.

William Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Grey-Friers first came into England.

{ Anno 1191. *Ex Guild. Gisburnensis. Thuanus lib. 56.*

The Abbey of Gisburn builded.

It was above touched, how *Matild* or *Maud*, Daughter to King *Henry*, was married to *Henry* the fifth Emperor; who, after the decease of the said Emperor her Husband, returned about this present time with the Imperial Crown to her Father in *Normandy*, bringing with her a great part of the hand of Saint *James*. For the joy whereof the King builded

Reading Abbey foundeth. Matild daughter of King Henry heir to the Crown. Geffrey Plantagenet. Henry 2. bound at Matild the Empress.

builded the Abbey of *Reading*, where the said Hand was reposed. This *Matild* was received by the said Council to be next Heir to the King, her Father in possession of the *English* Crown, for lack of Issue Male. And soon after upon the same, she was sent over to *Normandy*, to marry with *Geffrey Plantaginet* Earl of *Anjou*, of whom came *Henry* the Second, who (after *Stephan*) was King of *England*. And about this time also was founded the the Priory of *Norton* in the Province of *Chester*, by one *William* the Son of *Nichelle*. In the story of *Polychronicon*, *Fornel*. and *Polydorus* is declared, how the King was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing unto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of Husbandmen of the Countrey, which appeared to fly upon him with their Mattocks and Instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the second, he saw a great number of Souldiers and harnessed men to come hercely upon him. In the third, he saw a company of Prelates and Church-men, threatning him with their Bishops Staves, and hercely aproaching upon him. Whereupon (being dismaied) in all haste he ran and took his Sword to defend himself, finding there none to strike: Who afterward, asking Counsel concerning these Visions, was monished by one of his Phylitians (named *Grimbald*) by Prepentance, Almes, and amendment of life to make some amends to God, and to his Country whom he offended.

The Pope spoyled of his Legats.

The Priory of Norton founded. Three terrible visions of the King.

{ Anno 1191.

Matild made of King Henry

Which three Vows thus being made, the next year after he went to *England*: where he, being upon the Seas in a great tempest with his Daughter *Matild*, remembred there his three Vows. And so coming to the land (for performance of the same) first releafed unto the Commons the Dane-gilt which his Father and Brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. *Edmundsbury*, where he shewed great benefits to the Church-men. Thirdly, he procused Justice to be Administred more rightly throughout his Realm, &c. Also he Ordained and Erected a new Bishoprick at *Carlile*.

Danegilt releafed. The Church relieved. Justice right ly administred. Bishoprick of Carlile newly Erected by King Henry.

The City and Tools Church in London burned.

In the three and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign (as witnesseth a certain Author) a great part of the City of *London*, with the Church of S. *Paul*, was burned with fire in *Whitsun* Week.

Hoveden the second.

After *Calixtus* (whose story and time is before discoursed) succeded Pope *Honorius* the Second; notwithstanding that the Cardinals had Elected another, yet he by the means of certain Citizens obtained the Papacy, *Anno* 1125. About the Second year of his Induction (as is to be read in *Mat. Paris*) there was a certain Legat of his, called *Johannes Cremensis*, sent down to *England* from the Pope for the redreis I cannot well tell whereof. But indeed the chiefest purpose of his coming, as of all others after him in those days, was to fill their Pouches with English Money, as may further appear by their proceedings. This Legat coming then with the Popes Letters directed both unto *England* and into *Scotland*, after he had well refreshed himself in Bishops houses, and amongst the Abbats, at length resorted to *London*, where he assembled the whole Clergy together, inquired of Priests Concubines, otherwise called their Wives, and made thereupon a Statute in the said Synod of *London*, after this Tenor, *Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, & canonicis, uxorum, concubinarum, & omnium omnino feminarum cantubernia, authoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut sororem, vel amitam, aut ejusmodi quæ omnino careant suspicione. Et qui decreti hujus violator extiterit (confessim vel convictus) vinum ordinis patiatur. Inter consanguineos fas affinitate propinquos, ad quead septimam generationem, matrimonia contracta prohibemus.* That is, To Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Canons, we do utterly Inhibit by Authority Apostolical, all manner society and conversation with all kind of women, except only their Mother, Sister, or Aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspition. And whosoever shall be found to violate this Decree, being convict thereof, shall sustain thereby the loss of all that he hath by his Order. Moreover, amongst kindred or such as be joyned in affinity, we forbid Matrimony unto the seventh Generation, &c. But see how God worketh against such ungodly Proceedings. The next night after it happened the same Cardinal (trifling and revelling with his Concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, wherof he had so strictly given out precepts the next day before, to the no little slander and shame, as *Mat. Paris* doth write, of the whole Clergy.

Matthew Paris fol. 10.

A Parish structure concerning Priests Wives and Concubines.

The Popes Legantine precepts of chastity, wanstanid with his Hypocrisie.

Unto this time lived *Henricus* the fifth Emperor after he had Reigned twenty years, dying without Issue, as is before mentioned. Next after *Henricus*, the Imperial Crown came unto *Lotharius* Duke of *Saxon*, in the year one thousand one hundred twenty and seven.

Henry the Emperor Excommunicated.

Certain Histories make mention of one *Arnulphus*, in the time of this Pope *Honorius* the Second. Some say he was Archbishop of *Lugdune*, as *Hugo*, *Platina*, *Sabellicus*. *Tritemius* saith he was a Priest, whole History, as it is set forth in *Tritemius*, I will briefly in English expres. About this time, saith he, in the days of *Honorius* the Second, one *Arnulphus* Priest, a man Zealous and of great Devotion, and a worthy Preacher, came to *Rome*, which *Arnulphus* in his Preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious loosenesis, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate Pride of the Clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his Apostles in their poverty rather, and in parsimonis of life. By reason whereof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the Nobility of *Rome* for a true Disciple of Christ; but of the Cardinals and the Clergy he had no lesis hated than favoured of the other. In so much that privily in the night season they took him and destroyed him. This his Martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an Angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to Preach; whereupon he said unto them publickly with these Words, *I know (saith he) ye seek my life, and know you will make me away privily:* But why? *Because I Preach to you in the Truth, and blame your pride, sleshlyness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greedines in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be displeased with me. I take here Heaven and Earth to witness, that I have Preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, when as S. Peter were here this day and rebuked your Vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither.* And as he was expreiling this, with a loud voice he said moreover: *For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth sake; but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. Yea, being full of all impurity, slay the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to Hell; a God he is of vengeance.* Thus the hatred of the Clergy being incensed against him for Preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so, laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him. *Sabellicus* and *Platina* say they hanged him.

Arnulphus Martyred.

The Martyrdom of Arnulphus.

In the second Tome of the General Councils imprinted at *Cullen*, is mentioned a certain Book called *Opus tripartitum*, written, as the Author supposeth, above four hundred years ago, either of this *Arnulphus*, or just about the same time. In this Book, the Writer complaineth of many Enormities and abuses in the Church. First, of the number of Holy-days, declaring what occasions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common saying of Whores and naughty women, which, say they, Vantage more in one Holy-day, than in fifty other days besides.

Tritemius. A book called Opus tripartitum, written 400. years ago.

Number of Holy-days.

Item, he complaineth of the curious singing in Cathedral Churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea, many years about the same which otherwise they might give to the learning of better Sciences.

Curious singing in Cathedral Churches.

Likewise he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging Friers, and religious men and professed women, shewing what great occasion of idle and uncomly life cometh thereof.

The world overcharged with begging religious.

Also of the inconsiderate promotion of evil Prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanor of the same.

Promotion of evil Prelates.

Item, of the great wantonnels and lasciviousnes in their servants and families, concerning their excessive wearing of Apparel.

Superfluity of apparel in Bishops families.

Item, he complaineth also of the outragious and excessive gains that Prelates and other under them take for their seal, especially of Officials, Scribes, and such like; which give out the seal they care not how, nor wherefore, so they may gain Money.

Bishop Seals abused to get Money.

He complaineth in like manner, that Prelats be so slack and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices.

Non residents in Benefices.

Further,

Rash bestowing of Benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the rash giving of Benefices to Parsons, Vicars and Curats, not for any godliness or learning in them, but for favour or friendship, or intercession, or else for hope of some gain, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the Church.

Wasteful spending of the Church goods.

After this, he noteth in Prelats, how they waste and expend the goods of the Church in superfluities; or upon their kinsfolks, or other worse ways, which should rather be spent on the poor.

Old Books of councils lost by the negligence of the Clerks.

Nextly, in the tenth Chapter he complaineth, for that through the negligence of men of the Church (especially of the Church of *Rome*) the Books and Monuments of the old Councils, and also of the new, are not to be found: Which should be referred and kept in all Cathedral Churches.

The unchaste life of Priests condemned by the nature of the Storks.

Item, that many Prelates be so cold in doing their duties. Also he reproacheth, the unchaste and voluptuous demeanour of Ecclesiastical Persons, by the examples of Storks, whose nature is (saith he) that if any of their company, leaving his own mate, joyneth with any other, all the rest flieth upon him, whether it be he or the, beateth him, and plucketh his Fathers off: What then, saith he, ought good Prelates to do to such a Person of their company, whose filthiness and corrupt life both deserveth so many, and stinketh in the whole Church?

Amendment of life ought first to begin with the Priests.

Again, for so much as we read in the Book of *Esdras*, *lib. 2. cap. 9.* that he, purging *Israel* of strange Women, began first with the Priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of all forts of men, first the Purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the Prophet *Ezechiel*; begin first with the Sanctuary, &c.

The Realm of *France* interdicted.

Moreover, how that in the time of *Philip* King of *France*, the whole Realm was interdicted, for that the King had but one Woman instead of his Wife, which was not his Wife by Law. And again, seeing in these our days the King of *Portugal* hath been sequestred from his Dominion, by the Authority of the Church, being thought not sufficient to Govern: What then ought he said to that Prelate who abuseth other mens Wives, Virgins, and Nuns, which also is found unable and insufficient to take upon him the charge of Souls?

King of *Ferrara* deposed.

The Knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

About the year of our Lord, 1128. the Orders of the Knights of the Rhodes, called Johannits, also the Order of Templars rose up,

Pope *Innocentius* the second.

After *Honorius*, next in the same usurpation succeeded Pope *Innocentius* the second, *Anno.* 1130. But as it was with his Predecessors before him, that at every mutation of new Popes, came new perturbations, and commonly never a Pope was Elected, but some other was set up against him (sometimes two, sometimes three Popes together) so likewise it happed with this *Innocentius*: for after he was chosen, the *Romans* Elected another Pope, named *Anacletus*. Betwixt these two Popes, there was much ado, and great conflicts through the partaking of *Rogerius*, Duke of *Sicile*, taking *Anacletus* part against *Innocentius*, until *Lotharius* the Emperor came; who refusing *Innocentius*, drove *Rogerius* out of *Italy*. Our stories record, that King *Henry* was one of the great helps in setting up and maintaining this Pope *Innocentius* against *Anacletus*: *Cisbumensis*.

Horribly between Popes.

The Popes curse proclaimed against such as strike any Priest.

Amongst many other things, this Pope decreed that whosoever did strike a Priest or Clerk, being shaven, he should be Excommunicated, and not be absolved, but only of the Pope himself.

The death of King Henry. ¶ Anno 1135.

About the time of doing these things, being the year of our Lord, 1135. King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, as some say, by taking there a fall from his Horse, as others say, by taking a surfet in eating Lampries, fell sick and died, after he had Reigned over the Realm of *England* five and thirty years and odd months; leaving for his heirs *Matilda* the Empress his Daughter, with her young Son *Henry* to succeed after him; to whom all the Prelats and Nobility of the Realm were Sworn. But, contrary to their Oath made to *Maud* in the presence of her Father before, *William* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Nobles of the Realm, Crowned *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne*, and Sisters Son to King *Henry*, upon Saint *Stephens* day in *Christmas* week; which Archbishop the next year after dyed, being, as it was thought, justly punished for his Perjury. And many other Lords, which did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like justice of punishment is numbred also *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; who contrary unto his Oath, being a great doer in the Coronation of *Stephen*, was apprehended of the same King, and miserably, but justly, extermined.

Perjury justly punished.

A certain Written *English* story I have, which addeth more, and saith, that King *Stephen*, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went then to *Oxford*, and took the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and put a Rope about his neck, and so led him taken to the Castle of *Vies*, that was his, and commanded them to render up the Castle, or he would slay and hang their Bishop. Which Castle being given up, the King took the spoyl thereof. The like also he did unto the Bishop of *Lincoln*, named *Alexander*; whom in like manner he led in a Rope to a Castle of the Bishops, that was upon *Trent*, and had them deliver up the Castle, or else he would hang their Lord before the gate. Long it was before the Castle was given up; yet at length the King obtaining it, there entred and took all the Treasure of the Bishop, &c. *Roger Hoveden* and *Fabian* alledging a certain old Author, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this perjury unto one *Hugh Bigot*, Steward sometime with King *Henry*. Who, immediately after the death of the said *Henry*, came into *England*, and before the said Archbishop, and other Lords of the land, took wilfully an Oath, and Swore, that he was present a little before the Kings death, when King *Henry* admitted for his heir (to be King after him) *Stephen* his Nephew, for so much as *Maud* his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the Archbishop with the other Lords, gave too hatty credence. But this *Hugh*, saith he, scaped not unpunished, for he died miserably in a short time after. *Ex Fabian.* Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practice of *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Prelates by his setting on, which *Henry* was brother unto King *Stephen*, &c.

Ex above. Anglia interpret. Fabian.

The Bishop of Sarum and Bishop of Lincoln taken prisoners of the King's, and led with Ropes about their necks.

What it is for Princes to be hard and strict to their Subjects.

Roger Hoved. in his Story. Ex Fabian vita Hugh.

King Stephen.

¶ Anno 1136.

THus, when King *Stephen*, contrary unto his Oath made before to *Maud* the Empress, had taken upon him the Crown (as is above said) he Swore before the Lords at *Oxford*, that he would not hold the Benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegilt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreover, because he dreaded the coming of the Empress, he gave licence to his Lords, every one to build upon his own ground strong Castles or Fortresses, as them liked. All the time of his Reign he was vexed with Wars, but especially with *David*, King of the *Scots*, with whom he was at length accorded: But yet the *Scottish* King did him no Homage, because he was Sworn to *Maud* the Empress. Notwithstanding, yet *Henry* the Eldest Son to King *David*, did Homage to King *Stephen*. But he, after repenting thereof, entred into *Northumberland* with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruel wise, neither sparing man, woman, or child. Such as were with child they ript, the children they tost upon their Spears points, and laying the Priests upon the Altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhood of the *English* Lords and Souldiers, and through the means of *Thurstan*, Archbishop of *York*, they were met withal, and slain a great number of them, and *David* their King constrained to give to *Henry* his Son Hostage for surety of peace. In the mean time, King *Stephen* was occupied in the South Countries, besieging divers Castles of divers Bishops and other Lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his Knights and Servants, to the intent to withstand the Empress, whose coming he ever feared.

The death of King Stephen.

¶ Anno 1140. *Maud the* Empress come into *England* and by the aid of *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*, and *Ranulph* of *Chester*, made strong War upon King *Stephen*. In the end whereof the Kings party was chased, and himself taken prisoner; and sent to *Bristow*, there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when King *Stephen* should joyn his Battel, it is said in a certain Old Chronicle before minded, that he being at the Mass (which then the Bishop of *Lincoln* said before the King) as he went to offer up his Taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the Mass was done, (at what time the King should have been housseled) the rope, whereby the Pix did hang, did break, and the Pix fell down upon the Altar.

After this field, the Queen, King *Stephens* wife, (lying then in *Kent*) made great labour to the Empress and her Council, to have the King delivered and put into some house of Religion, but could not obtain it. Also the *Londoners* made great Suit to the said Empress, to have and to use again Saint *Edwards* Laws, and not the Laws of her Father, which were more strict and strange unto them than the other. Which when they could not obtain of her and her Council; the Citizens of *London*, being therewith discontented, would have taken the Empress: but she having knowledge thereof, fled privily from *London* to *Oxford*. But then the *Kentish-men* and *Londoners*, taking the Kings part, joyned battel against the Empress; where the foresaid *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*, and base Brother to the Empress was taken, and so by exchange, both the King and the Earl *Robert* were delivered out of prison. Then *Stephen* without delay, gathering to him a strong Army, straitly pursued the foresaid *Matild* or *Maud*, with her friends, befieging them in the Castle of *Oxford*. In the Siege whereof fell great Snow and Frost so hard, that a man well laden might pass over the water: upon the occasion whereof, the Empress bethinking her self, appointed with her Friends and Retinue cloathed in white Sheets, and so issuing out by a Postern-Gate, went upon the Ice over *Thames*, and so escaped to *Walingford*. After this, the King (the Castle being gotten) when he found not the Empress, was much displeased, and molested the Country about divers ways. In conclusion, he pursued the Empress and her Company so hard, that he caused them to fly the Realm, which was the sixth year of his Reign.

King Stephen and Robert, Earl of Glocester delivered by exchange.

Ex inventi Andrew Chronico.

The second year after this, which was the eighth year of his Reign, there was a Parliament kept at *London*, unto the which all the Bishops of the Realm resorted, and there denounced the King accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the Church, or to any Minister thereof. Whereupon the King, began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certain space: but afterward (as my story saith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my Author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To return again to the story, the Empress compelled, as is said, to fly the Realm, returned again into *Normandy* to *Geoffery Plantaginet* her Husband. Who, after he had valiantly won and defended the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, against the puissance of King *Stephen* a long time, ended his life, leaving *Henry* his Son to succeed him in that Dukedom. In the mean while, *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and the Earl of *Chester*, who were strong of people, had divers Conflicts with the King, insomuch that at a battel at *Wilton* between them the King was well near taken, but yet escaped with much pain.

The decease of Geoffery Plantagenet.

King Stephen joyneth battel with the Earl of Glocester in England.

The cruelty of the Scots against the Englishmen.

Henry Duke of Normandy.

It was not long after, but *Eustace*, Son to King *Stephen*, who had married the *French* Kings Sister, made War on Duke *Henry* of *Normandy*, but prevailed not. Soon after, the said *Henry*, Duke of *Normandy*, (in the quarrel of his Mother *Maud*) with a great puissance entred into *England*, and at the first won the Castle of *Malmesbury*, then the *Tower* of *London*, and afterward the Town of *Nottingham*, with other Holds and Castles, as of *Wallingford*, and other more. Thus between him and the King were fought many battels, to the great annoyance of the Realm. During which time, *Eustace* the Kings Son departeth. Upon the occation whereof, the King caused *Theobald* (which succeeded next after *William* above mentioned) Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to make means to the Duke for peace, which upon this condition between them was concluded, that *Stephen*, during his life time, should hold the Kingdom, and *Henry* in the mean time to be proclaimed Heir-apparent in the chief Cities throughout the Realm. These things thus concluded, Duke *Henry* taketh his Journey into *Normandy* (King *Stephen* and his Son *William* bringing him on his way) where *William* the Kings Son taking up his horse before his Father, had a fall, and brake his Leg, and so was had to *Canterbury*. The same year King *Stephen*, about *October* (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years perjuredly.

Henry returneth into England.

Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury.

Peace between King Stephen and Duke Henry concluded.

As *Theobald* succeeded after *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so in *York*, after *Thurstan*, succeeded *William*, which was called S. *William* of *York*, who was poysoned in his *Chalice* by his Chaplains.

Saint William of York.

In the time of this King, and about the sixteenth year of his Reign, *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Legate to the Pope, did hold a Council at *London*. In the which Council first began new found Appellations from Councils to the Pope, found out by *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*. For as the words of mine Author do record, *In Anglia namque Appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas* Henricus Wintoniensis *Episcopus, dum Legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit. In eodem namque concilio ad* Romani *Pontificis audientiam ter appell atus est*, &c. That is, *For Appellations before were not in use in* England, *till* Henry *Bishop of* Winchester, *being then the Popes Legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that Council thrice appeal was made to the Bishop of* Rome.

In the time of King *Stephen* died *Gratianus* a Monk of *Bonony*, who compiled the Book called *The Popes Decrees*. Also his Brother *Petrus Lombardus*, Bishop of *Paris*, which is called *the Master of Sentences*, compiled his four Books of the Sentences. These two Brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the Sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them: and this they call the Spiritual understanding of the mystery. And therefore no marvel if the Sun in those days were seen black and dim.

Gratianus the compiler of the Popes Decrees. Petrus Lombardus Master of the sentences.

Some also affirm, that *Petrus Comestor*, Writer of the Scholastical History, was the third Brother to these above named.

Petrus Comestor.

In the same time and Reign of the said King *Stephen* was also *Hugo*, surnamed *De sancto victore*. About the which time (as *Polychronicon* reciteth) lived and died *Bernardus Clarevallensis*.

Hugo de Sancto victore. Bernardus Clarevallensis.

The Author of the History, called *Fornalensis*, maketh also mention of *Hildegare* the Nun and Prophetess in *Almany*, to have lived in the same age. Concerning whose Prophesie against the Fryers, hereafter (by the Grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of Fryers and religious men crept into the Church of Christ.

Hildegare.

We read moreover of one named *Johannes de Temporibus*, which by the affirmance of most of our old Histories, lived 361. years (servant once to *Carolus Magnus*) and in the Reign of *Stephen*, King of *England* died, *Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Fornalensis in vita Steph. Nicol. Trivet*, &c.

Johannes de Temporibus.

In the daies also of this King, and by him, was builded the Abbey of *Feversham*, where his Son and he were buried. He builded the Monastery of *Fimerneis* and of *Fomitance*, the Castle of *Wallingford*, with a number of other Castles more.

During the time of the said *Stephen*, in the year of our Lord, 1144. the miserable *Jews* crucified a Child in the City of *Norwich*, *Nicol. Trivet. & alii.*

The Jews crucified a christian body at Norwich.

Much about the same time, came up the Order of the *Gilbertines*, by one *Gilbert*, Son to *Jocoline* a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, &c.

The order of the Gilbertines.

Mention hath been made before of certain *English* Councils holden in the time of this King, where it was (in one of them under *Theobald* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) decreed that Bishops should live more discreetly; should teach their Flock more diligently; that reading of Scriptures should be frequented more usually in Abbeys; that Priests should not be Rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learn and teach the *Lords Prayer* and *Creed* in *English*. *Malmes.*

The Lords Prayer and the Creed in English. Malm. Paulinens. lib. Chron. 4. Stephen King of England.

Matth. Parisiensis writeth, how *Stephen* King of *England* in these daies reserved to himself the right and authority of bestowing Spiritual Livings, and invesling Prelates, in the year, 1133.

At which time also, *Lotharius* the Emperor began to do the like, in recovering again the right and privilege taken away from *Henricus* his Predeceffor; had not *Bernardus* given him contrary counsel.

Here came into the Church the manner of curling with Book, Bell, and Candle, devised in the Council of *London*, holden by *William*, Bishop of *Winchester* under *Celestinus*, which succeeded after *Innocentius*, *Anno* 1144.

Curling with Book, Bell, and Candle.

Also

Alſo *Latharius* ſucceeded in the Imperial Crown *Conradus*, the Nephew of *Henricus* the fifth afore mentioned,
{Anno 1138. *Anno* 1138. who only amongſt many Emperors, is not found to receive the Crown at the Popes hand.

In the days of this Emperor, who reigned fifteen years, were divers Popes, as *Celeſtinus* the ſecond, *Lucius* the ſecond, *Eugenius* the third, at which time the *Romans* went about to recover their former old manner of chuſing their Conſuls and Senators. But the Popes, then being in their ruff, in no caſe would abide it; whereupon aroſe many Commotions, with much civil War amongſt them.

Pope *Lucius* the ſecond warring againſt the Senatours. Informach that Pope *Lucius* (ſending for aid to the Emperor, who otherwiſe letted at that time could not come) armed his Souldiers, thinking to invade them, or elſe to deſtroy them in the Senate-houſe. But this coming to their knowledge before, the people was all in array, and ſo much ado was amongſt them. Pope *Lucius* being alſo amongſt them in the fight (well pelted with ſtones and blows) lived not long after. Likewiſe Pope *Eugenius* after him, *Anno* 1145. purſuing the *Romans* for the ſame matter, firſt did curſe them with Excommunication; after, when he ſaw that would not ſerve, he came with his Hoſt, and ſo compelled them at length to ſeek his peace, and to take his conditions, which were theſe, *That they ſhould aboliſh their Conſuls, and take ſuch Senators as he by his Papal Authority ſhould aſſign them.*

Spiritual Excommunication abuſed in Temporal Cauſes.

Adrianus a Pope, an *Engliſhman.* Then followed *Anaſtaſius* the fourth, and after him *Adrian* the fourth an *Engliſhman*, by his name called *Breakſpeare*, belonging once to S. *Albans*. This *Adrianus* kept great ſtir in like ſort with the Citizens of *Rome* for aboliſhing their Conſuls and Senate, curſing, excommunicating, and warring againſt them with all Power he could make, till the time he removed the Conſuls out of their Office, and brought them all under his ſubjection. The like buſineſs and rage he alſo ſtirred up againſt *Apulia*, and eſpecially againſt the Empire, bluſtering and thundering againſt *Fredericus* the Emperor, as (the Lord granting) you ſhall hear anon, after we have proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily appertaineth firſt to the continuation of our *Engliſh* ſtory.

King Henry *the Second.*

{Anno 1154. King *Henry* the ſecond. HEnry the Second of that name, the Son of *Geffery Plantaginet* and of *Maud* the Empreſs, and Daughter of King *Henry* the firſt, began his Reign after King *Stephen*, and continued five and thirty years. The firſt year of his Reign he ſubdued *Ireland*; and not long after, *Thomas Becket* was made by him Lord Chancellor of *England*. This King caſt down divers Caſtles which were erected in the ſame time of King *Stephen*. He went into the North parts, where he ſubdued *William* King of *Scotland*, who at that time held a great part of *Northumberland*, unto *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, and joyned *Scotland* to his own Kingdom, from the South Ocean to the North Iſles of *Orcades*. Alſo he put under his Dominion the Kingdom of *Wales*, and there felled many great Woods, and made the ways plain. So that by his great manhood and policy, the Seigniory of *England* was much augmented, with the addition of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, the Iſles *Orcades*, *Britain*, *Poictou*, and *Guien*. Alſo he had in his Rule *Normandy*, *Gaſcoin*, *Angeou*, and *Chinon*: alſo *Alnerne* and the City of *Thalous* he won, and were to him ſubject. Over and beſides (by the Title of his Wife *Elenor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Poictou*) he obtained the Mount *Pyrame* in *Spain*: ſo that we read of none of his Progenitors, which had ſo many Countries under his Dominion.

{Anno 1157. In *England* were ſeen in the Firmament two Suns, and (as it is in *Chronico Chronicorum*) in *Italy* appeared three Suns by the ſpace of three hours in the *Weſt*, and the year following appeared three Moons, whereof the middle Moon had a red Croſs overthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the judgment of ſome) the great Schiſme that after fell among the Cardinals for the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*: or elſe rather the buſineſs between *Fredericus* the Emperor and the Popes, whereof partly now incidently occaſion giveth us to diſcourſe after that I have firſt written of *Gerhardus* and *Dulcinus Navarenſis*; who, in their time, according to their gift, did earneſtly labour and preach againſt the Church of *Rome*, defending and maintaining, that Prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the Pope was *Antichriſt*; that the Clergy and Prelates of *Rome* were reject, and the very *Whore of Babylon* prefigured in the *Apocalypſe*, &c. Peraventure theſe had received ſome light of knowledge of the *Waldenſes*, who at length with a great number of their Followers were oppreſſed and ſlain by the Pope. And although ſome inconvenient Points of Doctrine and diſhoneſty in their Aſſembles be againſt them alledged of ſome, yet theſe times of ours do teach us ſufficiently what credit is to be given to ſuch Popiſh flanders, forged rather upon hatred of true Religion, than upon any judgment of truth. *Illiricus*, in his Book *De teſtibus*, referreth the time of theſe two to the year of our Lord, 1218. but as I find in the ſtory of *Robert Guisburne*, theſe two about the year of our Lord, 1158. brought thirty with them into *England*, who by the King and the Prelates, were all burnt in the Forehead, and ſo driven out of the Realm, and after (as *Illiricus* writeth) were ſlain by the Pope.

See *Hiſtoria Gisburnenſis.*

{Anno 1158.

And now (according to my promiſe premiſed) the time requiſeth to proceed to the Hiſtory of *Frederick* the firſt (called *Barboroſſa*) Succeſſor unto *Conradus* in the Empire, who marched up to *Italy*, to ſubdue there certain Rebels. The Pope hearing that, came with his Clergy to meet him by the way, in a Town called *Sutrium*, thinking by him to find Aid againſt his Enemies. The Emperor ſeeing the Biſhop, lighteth from his Horſe to receive him, holding the ſtirrop to the Prelate on the left ſide, when he ſhould have held it on the right, whereat the Pope ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat grieved. The Emperor ſmiling, excuſed himſelf, that he was never accuſtomed to hold ſtirrops. And ſeeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the leſs matter was what ſide of the Horſe he held. The next day to make amends again to the Biſhop, the Emperor finding for him a preſent, him, holding the right ſtirrop unto the Prelate, and ſo all the matter was made whole, and he the Popes white Son again.

Frederick Barbaroſſa Emperor.

The Pope diſpleaſed that the Emperor did not hold his right ſtirrop.

The Emperor holdeth the Popes ſtirrop.

After this, as they were come in and fate together, *Adrianus* the Pope beginneth to declare unto him, how his Anceſtors before him, ſuch as fought unto the See of *Rome* for the Crown, were wont always to leave behind them ſome ſpecial token or monument of their Benevolence for the obtaining thereof, as *Carolus Magnus* in ſubduing the *Lombards*, *Otho* the *Berengarians*, *Lotharius* the *Normans*, &c. Wherefore he required ſome benefit to proceed likewiſe from him unto the Church of *Rome*, in reſtoring again the Country of *Apulia* to the Church of *Rome*. Which thing if he would do, he for his part again would do that which appertained unto him to do: meaning in giving him the Crown, for at that time the Popes had brought the Emperors to fetch their Crown at their hands.

The Pope old praiſes his ſitting Princes to ſubmit to the Church.

Frederick with his Princes perceiving that, unleſs he would offend his own proper Coſis and Charges fetch in again *Apulia* out of Duke *Williams* hands, he could not ſpeed of the Crown, was fain to promiſe to all that the Pope required, and ſo the next day after was Crowned.

The Emperor refuſeth into *Germany*.

This done, the Emperor returneth into *Germany*, to refreſh his Army and his other Furnitures, for the ſubduing of *Apulia*. In the mean while *Adrianus*, not thinking to be idle, firſt giveth forth Cenſures of Excommunication againſt *William*, Duke of *Apulia*. Beſides, not content with this, he ſendeth alſo to *Emmanuel*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, incenſing him to War againſt the ſore- ſaid *William*. The Duke perceiving this, ſendeth to the Pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to him whatſoever he would.

War ſtirred up thereby.

But the Pope, through the malignant Counſel of his Cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by War. The Duke, ſeeing nothing but War, prepareth himſelf with all Expedition to the ſame. To be brief, making all his Power out of *Sicilia*, he arrived at *Apulia*, and there putteth the Emperor *Emmanuel* to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the City of *Bonaventure*, where the Pope with his Cardinals were looking for Victory. He planting there his Siege, ſo ſtraitly preſſed the City, that the Pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreat for peace, which they refuſed before. The Duke granted unto their peace upon certain conditions, that is, that neither

What men counſeled to the Pope, than peace.

The Pope driven to intreat for peace.

neither he ſhould invade ſuch Poſſeſſions as belonged to *Rome*, and that the Pope ſhould make him King of both *Sicilies*. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The Biſhop, coming to *Rome*, was no leſs troubled there about their Conſuls and Senators, inſomuch that when his Curſes and Excommunications could not prevail nor ſerve, he was fain to leave *Rome*, and removed to *Arimimum*.

The Emperor, all this while ſitting quietly at home, began to conſider with himſelf, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperors, his Predeceſſors, the inveſting and induing of Prelates; how he had pilled and polled all Nations by his Legates, and alſo had been the Sower of Seditions through all his Empery; he began therefore to require of all the Biſhops of *Germany* Homage, and Oath of their Allegiance; commanding alſo the Popes Legates, if they came into *Germany* without his ſending for, not to be received. Charging moreover all his Subjects that none of them ſhould Appeal to *Rome*. Beſides this, in his Letters he ſet and preſixed his Name before the Popes name: whereupon the Pope, being not a little offended, directed his Letters to the foreſaid *Frederick* Emperor, after this tenor and form as followeth.

The godly proceedings of Frederick the Emperor againſt the Pope.

The Copy of *Adrianus* the Popes Letters to *Frederick* the Emperor.

A Drianus *Epiſcopus*, *Servus Servorum Dei*, Frederico *Imperatori ſalutem*, & *Apoſtolicam benedictionem*, &c. ℭ Cætera vide in Prioꝛe editione.

In Engliſh.

A Letter of Pope *Adrian* to the Emperor *Frederick.*

Adrian *Biſhop*, *Servant of the Servants of God*, to Frederick *Emperor*, *Health and Apoſtolical benediction. The Law of God ex it promiſeth to them that honour Father and Mother long life, ſo it threateneth the ſentence of death to them that curſe Father and Mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one the which exalteth himſelf, ſhall be brought low. Wherefore (my welbeloved Son in the Lord) we marvel not a little at your Wiſdom, in that you ſeem not to ſhew that reverence to bleſſed* S. Peter, *and to the holy Church of* Rome, *which you ought to ſhew. For why? In your Letters ſent to us you prefer your own Name before ours, wherein you incur the note of Inſolency, yea rather (to ſpeak it) of Arrogancy. What ſhould I here recite unto you the Oath of your Fidelity, which you ſware to bleſſed* S. Peter *and to us, and how you obſerve and keep the ſame? Seeing you ſo require Homage and Allegiance of them that be gods, and all the Sons of the High God, and preſume to joyn their holy Lands with yours, working contrary to us: ſeeing alſo you excludde, not only out of your Churches, but alſo out of your Cities, our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our ſide: what ſhall I ſay then unto you? Amend therefore I adviſe you, amend: for while you go about to obtain of Us your Conſecration and Crown, and to get thoſe things you have not, I fear much your Honour will loſe the things you have. Thus fare ye well.*

The Emperors name before the Popes.

The Anſwer of *Frederick* the Emperor to the Pope.

FRederick *by the Grace of God*, Roman *Emperor*, *ever* Auguſtus, *unto* Adrian *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church, and unto all ſuch that be willing to cleave unto thoſe things which* Jeſus *began to work and teach, greeting. The Law of Juſtice giveth to every perſon accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our Parents: of whom according as we have received this our Dignity of the Imperial Crown and Governance; ſo in the ſame Kingdom of ours, we do render their due and true honour to them again. And for ſo much as duty in all ſorts of men is to be ſought out, let us ſee firſt in the time of* Conſtantine (Silveſter *then being Biſhop of* Rome) *what Patrimony or Regality he had of his own, due to him that he might claim. Did not* Conſtantine *of his liberal benignity give liberty, and reſtored peace unto the Church? And whatſoever Regality or Patrimony the See of your Papacy hath, was it not by the donation of Princes given unto them? Revolve and turn over the ancient Chronicles (if either you have not read, or neglected that we do affirm) there it is to be found. Of them which he gods by adoption, and hold our Lordſhips of us; why may we not juſtly require their Homage, and their ſworn Allegiance, when as he which is both your Maſter and ours (taking nothing of any King or any man, but giving all goodneſs to all men) paid Toll and Tribute for him and* Peter, *unto* Cæſar? *giving you example to do the like. And therefore he ſaith to you and all men*, Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart, &c. *Wherefore either render again your Lordſhips and Patrimonies which ye hold of us: or elſe if ye find them ſo ſweet unto you, then give that which is due to God, unto God's and that which is due to* Cæſar, *unto* Cæſar. *As for your Cardinals, we ſhut them out both of Churches and Cities, for that we ſee them not Preachers, but Pollers; not Repairers of Peace, but Rakers for money; not Pillars and Upholders of the Church, but Pollers inſatiable of the World, and Moylers of money and gold. What time we ſhall ſee them to be other men (ſuch as the Church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace, ſhining forth like lights to the people, aſſiſting poor and weak mens cauſes in the way of equity, &c. then ſhall they find us preſt and ready to relieve them with ſtipends, and all things neceſſary. And whereas you infer ſuch queſtions as theſe unto ſecular men (little conducing to Religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemiſh of your humility (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your manſuetude. Therefore let your Fatherhood beware and take heed, leſt in moving ſuch matters as ſeem to us unſeemly for you, ye give thereby offence to ſuch as depend of your word (giving ear to your mouth, as it were to an evening ſhower:) for we cannot but tell you of that we hear; ſeeing now the deteſtable beaſt of Pride doth creep into the Seat of* Peter, *providing always as much as we may (by Gods Grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare ye well.*

A ſeditious and proud Letter of Pope Adrian the Fourth to the Biſhops of Germany.

Upon this *Adrian* the Pope directeth out a Bull againſt *Frederick*, Excommunicating him with publick and ſolemn Ceremonies. Moreover, conſpiring with *William* Duke of *Apulia* he fought all manner of ways to inſeft the Emperor, and to ſet all men againſt him, eſpecially the Clergy. Amongſt many other writing to *Hillinus* Biſhop of *Trivers*, to *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Mentz*, and to *Frederick* Biſhop of *Cullen*, he ſeeketh firſt to make them of his ſide. His Epiſtle to them ſoundeth to this effect:

THe Empire of Rome *was transferred from the* Greeks *to the* Almans; *ſo that the King of* Almans *could not be called Emperour, before he was crowned of the Biſhop Apoſtolical. Before his Conſecration he is a King, afterwards Emperor. Whence hath he his Empire then, but of us? By the election of his Princes he hath the Name of a King, by our Conſecration he hath the name of the Emperor, of* Auguſt, *or of* Cæſar. Ergo *by us he reigneth as Emperor. Search ancient Antiquities.* Zacharias P. *promoted* Carolus *and made him a great Name, that he was made and called Emperor: and after that, ever the King of* Almans *was named Emperor and Advocate to the Sea Apoſtolical: ſo that* Apulia (*conquered by him*) *was ſubdued to the Biſhop of* Rome: *which* Apulia *with the City of* Rome *is ours, and not the Emperors. Our Seat is at* Rome; *the Seat of the Emperour is at* Aquis *in* Arduina, *which is a wood in* France. *The Emperor whatſoever he hath, he hath it of us. As* Zacharias *did tranſlate the Empire from the* Greeks *to the* Almans; *ſo we may tranſlate it again from the* Almans *to the* Greeks. *Behold it lieth in our Power to give it to whom we will, being therefore ſet up of God above Gentiles and Nations, to deſtroy and pluck up, to build and to plant, &c.*

Wells begged, and like a Pope.

Scripture well wreſted.

And yet further to underſtand the ambitious preſumption of this proud See of *Rome*; it ſo chanced, this Emperor *Fredericus*, at his firſt coming up to *Rome*, did behold there in the Palace of *Lateran* a certain Picture brought forth unto him, how *Lotharius* the ſecond Emperor was crowned of the Pope, with the inſcription of certain Verſes in *Latine*, declaring how the foreſaid Emperor, coming to *Rome*, firſt did ſwear to the City, after was made the Popes man, and ſo of him received the Crown. *Fredericus*, offended with this Picture, deſired the Pope it might be abolliſhed, for that it ſhould be no cauſe of any diſſention hereafter.

after. The Pope underſtanding the intent of the Emperor, how loth he was to come under ſubjection to his See, deviſed by all craſty ways to bring it to paſs. And firſt taking his occaſion by the Biſhop of *Laodicea* (being then detained in cuſtody, I cannot tell by whom) ſent divers and ſharp Letters unto him; and yet not ſo ſharp, as proud and diſdainful. Wherein the firſt ſalutation by his Legates was this in *Latine*, *Salutat vos beatiſſimus pater noſter Papa, & univerſitas cardinalium, ille ut pater, hi ut fratres.* That is, our moſt Bleſſed Father the Pope Greeteth you, and the Univerſal Company of the Cardinals, he as your Father, they as your Brethren. Meaning thereby that he ſhould underſtand himſelf to be ſubject and underling to the Pope, no leſs than the Cardinals were. Moreover in his Letters Objecting divers things againſt him, he reciteth how many and great Benefits he had received of the Church of *Rome*, by the which Church he had obtained the fulneſs of his Honour and Dignity, &c. The Emperor with his Princes, perceiving whereunto the Pope by his Legates did ſhoot (being a Prince of courage) could not abide ſuch intollerable preſumption of a proud meſſage, whereupon much contention fell between the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then, ſay the Legates, receiveth *Ceſar* the Empire, if he take it not of the Pope? With the which word the *German* Princes were ſo much offended that had not the Emperor ſtayed them with much ado, they would have uſed violence againſt the Legates. But the Emperor, not permitting that, commanded the Legates away, ſtraightly charging them to make no turn by the way, to any perſon or perſons, but ſtraight to depart home. And he, to certifie the whole ſtate of the Empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth theſe Letters that follow.

Ex Radevic. in appendice Friſing.

See the ambitious preſumption of a proud Prieſt.

The Tenor of the Emperors Letter ſent through all his Empire.

FOr ſo much as the providence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in Heaven and Earth) hath committed to us, his anointed, this our regiment and Empire to be governed, and the peace of his Churches by our Imperial Arms to be protected; we cannot but lament and complain to you with great ſorrow of heart, ſeeing ſuch cauſes of diſſention the root and fountain of evils, and the infection of peſtiferous corruption thus to riſe from the holy Church, imprinted with the ſeal of Peace and Love of Chriſt.

By reaſon whereof (except God turn it away) we fear the whole body of the Church is like to be pollated, the unity thereof to be broken, and ſchiſm and diviſion to be betwixt the ſpiritual and temporal regiment. For we being of late at Biſunze, *and there intreating buſily of matters pertaining as well to the honour of our Empire, as to the wealth of the Churches, there came Ambaſſadors of the See Apoſtolical, declaring that they brought a legacy to our Majeſty of great importance, redounding to the no ſmall commodity of our honour and Empire.*

Whereon, the firſt day of their coming, being brought to our preſence, and received of us (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was given them to hear what they had to ſay. They forthwith burſting out of the mammon of iniquity, Haughty pride, ſtoutneſs and arrogancy, out of the execrable preſumption of their ſwelling heart did their meſſage with Letter Apoſtolical, whereof the Tenor was this: That we ſhould always have before our eyes, how that our Sovereign Lord the Pope gave us the Imperial Crown, and that it doth not repent him, if ſo be we have received greater Benefits at his hand. And this was the effect of that ſo ſweet and Fatherly legation, which ſhould nouriſh peace both of the Church and of the Empire, to unite them faſt together in the band of Love.

At the hearing of this ſo falſe, untrue, and moſt vain glorious preſumption of ſo proud a meſſage, not only the Emperors Majeſty conceived indignation, but alſo all the Princes (there preſent) were moved with ſuch anger and rage thereat, that if our preſence and requeſt had not ſtaied them, they would not have held their hands from theſe wicked Prieſts, or elſe would have proceeded with ſentence of death againſt them.

Furthermore, becauſe a great number of other Letters (partly written already, partly with ſeals ready ſigned, for Letters to be written according as they ſhould think good to the Churches of Germany*) were found about them, whereby to work their conceived intent of iniquity here in our Churches, to ſpoil the Altars, to carry away the Jewels of the Church, and the fley off the limbs and plates of golden Croſſes, &c. To the intent their avaricious meaning ſhould have no further power to Reign, we gave them commandment to depart the ſame way they came. And now ſeeing our Reign and Empire ſtandeth upon the Election of Princes from God alone, who in the paſſion of his Son ſubdued the world to be governed with two Swords neceſſary; and again, ſeeing Peter the Apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this Doctrine,* Deum timete, regem honorificate: *That is, Fear God, Honour your King: therefore, who ſo ſaith that we have and poſſeſs our Emperial Kingdom by the benefit of the Lord Pope, is contrary both to the Ordinance of God, and to the Doctrine of* Peter, *and alſo ſhall be reproved for a lier.*

Note how Princes ſometimes bear in a willful humour.

Note.

Therefore as our endeavour hath been heretofore to help and to deliver the ſervile captivity of Churches out of the hand and from the yoke of the Egyptians, *and to maintain the right of their liberties and dignities, we deſire you all with your compaſſion to lament with us this ſlanderous ignominy inferred to us and our Kingdom, trufting that your faithful good will, which hath been ever truſty to the Honour of this Empire (never yet blemiſhed from the firſt beginning of this City, and of religion) will provide that it ſhall have no hurt through the ſtrange novelty and preſumptuous pride of ſuch. Which thing rather than it ſhould come to paſs, know you this for certain; I had rather incurr the danger of death, than ſuffer ſuch confuſion to happen in our days.*

This Letter of *Ceſar* fretted the Pope not a little, who wrote again to the Biſhops of *Germany*, accuſing the Emperor, and willing them to work againſt him what they could. They anſwer again with all obedience to the Pope, ſubmitting themſelves, and yet excuſing the Emperor, and blaming him rather; and exhorted him henceforth to temper his Letters and Legacies with the more gentleneſs and modeſty; which Counſel he alſo followed, perceiving otherwiſe that he could not prevail.

Much trouble had good *Fredericus* with this Pope; but much more with the other that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the ſpace only of four years and odd months. About whoſe time roſe up the order of the Heremits by one *William* once Duke of *Aquitania*, and afterward a Frier. This *Adrianus* walking with his Cardinals abroad, to a place called *Anagnia* or *Arignanum* (as *Volateran* calleth it) chanced to be choked with a Fly getting into his throat, and ſo was ſtrangled; who in the later time of his Papacy was wont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kind of life in the Earth, than to be Pope, and to come to the Papacy by Blood, that is (ſaid he) not to ſucceed *Peter*, but rather *Romulus*, who to Reign alone did ſlay his Brother.

The order of Heremits.

Anno 1159.

Although this *Adrian* was bad enough, yet came the next much worſe, one *Alexander* the third of that name; who yet was not elect alone; for beſide him the Emperor with nine Cardinals (albeit *Sabellicus* ſaith but with three) did ſet up another Pope, named *Victor* the fourth. Between theſe two Popes roſe a foul ſchiſm and great diſcord, and long continued. Inſomuch that the Emperor, being required to take up the matter, ſent for them both to appear before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cauſe the better. *Victor* came, but *Alexander* (diſdaining that his matter ſhould come in controverſie) refuſed to appear. Whereupon the Emperor, with a full conſent of his Biſhops and Clergy about him, aſſigned and ratified to all Chriſtendom againſt themgas men to be avoyded and caſt out of all Chriſtian company. Alſo to get him friends at *Rome*, by flattery and money he got on his ſide the greateſt part of the City, both to the favouring of him, and to the ſetting up of ſuch Conſuls as were for his purpoſe. After this, *Alexander* coming from *France* to *Sicil*, and from thence to *Rome*, was there received with much favour, through the help of *Philip* the *French* King.

Thereby the Pope ſeeketh to exclude the Emperor from the Election.

Victor the fourth.

Alexander the third.

The Emperor, hearing this rebellion and conſpiracy in *Rome*, removed with great power into *Italy*, where he had deſtroyed divers great Cities. Coming at length to *Rome*, he required the Citizens that the cauſe betwixt the two Popes might be decided, and that he which had the beſt Right might be taken. If they would ſo do, he would reſtore again that which he took from them before. *Alexander* miſtruſting his part and doubting the wills of the Citizens (having Ships ready prepared for him, from *William* Duke of *Apulia*) fetcht a courſe about to *Venice*.

Anno 1167. Victor the fourth dieth.

Anno 1174.

To declare here the difference in Hiſtories, between *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, and the *Venetian* Chroniclers, with other Writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will over-paſs. In this moſt do agree, that the Pope being at *Venice*, and required to be ſent of the *Venetians* to the Emperor, they would not ſend him. Whereupon *Fredericus* the Emperor ſent thither his Son *Otho*, with men and ſhips well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man more hardy than circumſpect (joyning with the *Venetians*) was overcome; and ſo taken, was brought into the City. Hereby the Pope took no ſmall occaſion to work his feats.

The Father, to help the captivity and miſery of his Son, was compelled to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and to intreat for peace. So the Emperor coming to *Venice* (at S. *Marks* Church, where the Biſhop was, there to take his Abſolution) was bid to kneel down at the Popes feet.



Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederick the Emperour.

Holy Scripture abuſed.

The Pope treading on the Emperors neck.

Thereby and ſubmiſſion of the Emperor.

The Pope rather ſeeketh to reſtore than to Peter. For *Alexander* the third.

Platerus taken with a contradiction.

The proud Pope, ſetting his foot upon the Emperors Neck, ſaid the verſe of the Pſalm, *Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem.* That is, *Thou ſhalt walk upon the Adder and on the Baſiliſk, and ſhalt tread down the Lion and the Dragon.* To whom the Emperor anſwering again, ſaid, *Non tibi ſed Petro*; that is, *Not to thee but to Peter.* The Pope again, *Et mihi & Petro*; Both to me and to *Peter*. The Emperor, fearing to give any occaſion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and ſo was abſolved, and peace made between them. The conditions whereof were theſe: Firſt, That he ſhould receive *Alexander* for the true Pope. Secondly, That he ſhould reſtore again to the Church of *Rome* all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperor, obtaining again his Son, departed.

Here as I note in divers Writers a great diverſity and variety touching the order of this matter (of whom ſome ſay that the Emperor Campt in *Paleſtina* before he came to *Venice*, ſome ſay after) ſo I marvel to ſee in *Volateran* (ſo great a Favourer of the Pope) ſuch a contradiction, who in his two and twentieth Book ſaith, that *Otho* the Emperors Son was taken in this Conflict, which was the cauſe of the peace between his Father and the Pope. And in his three and twentieth Book again ſaith, That the Emperor himſelf was taken Priſoner in the ſame battel: and ſo afterwards (peace concluded) took his Journey to *Aſia* and *Paleſtina*. This Pope in the time of his Papacy (which continued one and twenty years) kept ſundry Councils both at *Turo* and at *Lateran*, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of *Hildebrand*, and others his Predeceſſors; as to bind all Orders of the Clergy to the vow of Chaſtity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define Chaſtity aright. For whoſo liveth not a chaſte life (ſaith he) is not fit to be a Miniſter. But herein lieth an Error full of much blindneſs, and alſo peril, to think that Matrimony immaculate (as S. *Paul* calleth it) is not Chaſtity, but only a ſingle life, that they eſteem to be a chaſte life.

Now for ſo much as our *Engliſh* Pope holy Martyr, called *Thomas Becket*, happened alſo in the ſame time of this Pope *Alexander*, let us ſomewhat alſo ſtory of him, ſo far as the matter ſhall ſeem worthy of knowledge, and to ſtand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being ſifted from all flattery and lyes of ſuch Popiſh Writers as paint out his ſtory, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and alſo of his cauſe.

Councilium Lateranenſ. The Clergy bound to the vow of Chaſtity.

Popiſh errour touching Chaſtity, as in defining Chaſtity.

The Life and Hiſtory of Thomas Becket, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

IF the cauſe make a Martyr (as is ſaid) I ſee not why we ſhould eſteem *Thomas Becket* to die a Martyr, more than any other whom the Princes Sword doth here temporally puniſh for their temporal deſerts. To die for the Church I grant is a glorious matter. But the Church (as it is a Spiritual and not a Temporal Church) ſo it ſtandeth upon Cauſes ſpiritual, and upon an heavenly Foundation, as upon Faith, Religion, true Doctrine, ſincere Diſcipline, Obedience to Gods Commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this World, as Poſſeſſions, Liberties, Exemptions, Priviledges, Dignities, Patrimonies, and Superioirities. If theſe be given to the Church, I pray God Church-men may uſe them well; but if they be not given, the Church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that ſtandeth in the Princes Power. To contend with Princes for the ſame, it is no matter (in my mind,) materrial to make a Martyr, but rather a Rebellion againſt them to whom we owe ſubjection. Therefore as I ſuppoſe

Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Becket no Martyr.

Thomas Becket to be far from the cauſe and title of a Martyr (neither can he be excuſed from a plain Rebel againſt his Prince) ſo yet would I have wiſhed again the Law rather publickly to have found out his fault, than the Swords of men (not hidden nor ſent) to have ſmitten him, having no ſpecial Commandment either of the Prince, or of the Law ſo to do. For though the indignation of the Prince (as the wiſe Prince ſaith) is death, yet it is not for every private perſon ſtraightways to revenge the ſecret indignation of his Prince, except he be publickly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I ſuppoſe) the better way, the Laws firſt to have executed their Juſtice upon him. *Certes*, it had been the ſafeſt way for the King, as it proved after; who had juſt matter enough, if he had proſecuted his Cauſe againſt him. And alſo thereby his death had been without all ſuſpition of Martyrdom, neither had there followed that ſhining and ſainting of him as there did. Albeit the ſecret Providence of God which governeth all things, did ſee this way neceſſe to be beſt, and moſt neceſſary for thoſe days. And doubteſs (to ſay here what I think, and yet to ſpeak nothing againſt Charity) if the Emperors had done the like to the Popes contending againſt them, what time they had taken them Priſoners, that is, if they had uſed the Law of the Sword againſt them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their trayterous Rebellion, they had broken the neck of much diſturbance, which long time after did trouble the Church. But for lack of that, becauſe Emperors having the Sword, and the truth on their ſide, would not uſe their Sword; but ſtanding in awe of the Popes vain curſe, and reverencing his Seat for S. *Peters* ſake, durſt not lay hand upon him, though he were never ſo abominable and traytorous a Malefactor; the Popes perceiving that took ſo much upon them, not as the Scripture would give, but as much as the ſuperſtitious fear of Emperors and Kings would ſuffer them to take; which was ſo much, that it paſt all order, rule, and meaſure; and all becauſe the Superior Powers either would not, or durſt not practiſe the Authority given unto them of the Lord, upon thoſe Inferiors, but ſuffered them to be their Maſters.

But as touching *Thomas Becket*, whatſoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this proſit with it, to teach all *Romiſh* Prelates not to be ſo ſtubborn (in ſuch matters not pertaining unto them) againſt their Prince, unto whom God hath ſubjected them.

Herbertus de Boſham, Joan Chartreſ. Alanus Abbot of Tewkbury. Guliel. Cantuarienſis. Thomas Bec. &c. deſcribed.

Now to the ſtory, which if it be true that is ſet forth in *Quadrilogo*, by thoſe four, who took upon them to expreſs the life and proceſs of *Thomas Becket*, it appeareth by all conjectures, that he was a man of a ſtout nature, ſevere, and inflexible. What perſwaſion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wiſe be removed, or very hardly. Threatnings and flattering were to him both one; in this point ſingular, following no mans counſel ſo much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him (if he could have uſed them well) rather than of learning; albeit ſomewhat skilful he was of the Civil Law, which he ſtudied at *Bonony*; in memory excellent good, and alſo well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Beſides this, he was of a chaſte and ſtrait life, if the Hiſtories be true; although in the firſt part of his life (being yet Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and after Lord Chancellor) he was very civil, courtly, pleaſant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guiſe of the Court; and highly favoured he was of his Prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but alſo had committed his Son and heir to his Inſtitution and Governance. But in this his firſt beginning he was not ſo well beloved, but afterward he was again as much hated (and deſervedly) both of the King, and alſo of the moſt part of his Subjects, ſave only of certain Monks and Prieſts, and ſuch others as were perſwaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the Liberties of the Church; that is, the licentious life and exceſs of Church-men. Amongſt all others, theſe Vices he had moſt notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true Religion; zealous, but clean without knowledge. And therefore as he was ſtiff and ſtubborn of nature, ſo (a blind Conſcience being joyned withall) it turned to plain Rebellion. So ſuperſtitious he was to the Obedience of the Pope, that he forgot his Obedience to his natural and moſt beneficial King:

What cometh of blind zeal and deſſitute of right knowledge.

and in maintaining (ſo contentiouſly) the vain Conſtitutions and Decrees of men, he neglected the Commandments of God. But herein moſt of all to be reprehended, that not only (contrary to the Kings knowledge) he ſought to convey himſelf out of the Realm (being in that place and calling) but alſo being out of the Realm ſet matter of Diſcord between the Pope and his King, all honeſty, good order, natural ſubjection, and true Chriſtianity. Whereupon followed no little diſquietneſs after to the King, and damage to the Realm, as here (in proceſs and order following, by the Grace of Chriſt) we will declare; firſt beginning with the firſt riſing up of him, and ſo conſequently proſecuting in order his ſtory, as followeth:

The life of Thomas Becket.

And firſt here to omit the Progeny of him and of his Mother named *Roſe*, whom *Polyd. Virgilius* falſly nameth to be a *Saracen*, when indeed ſhe came out of the parts bordering near to *Normandy*; to omit alſo the fabulous Viſion of his Mother, mentioned in *Roberto Crikeladenſi*, Fofters of a burning Torch iſſuing out of her body, and reaching up to Heaven; his firſt preferment was to the Church of *Bransfield*, which he had by the gift of S. *Albans*. After that, he entred into the Service of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by whom he was then preferred to be his Archdeacon; and after by the ſaid *Theobald* was put (as a man meet for his purpoſe) to King *Henry* to bridle the young King, that he ſhould not be fierce againſt the Clergy; whom in proceſs of time the King made Lord Chancellor, and then he left playing the Archdeacon, and began to play the Chancellor. He faſhioned his conditions like to the Kings both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the King dined and ſlept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jeſtings of the Court, to delight himſelf with the great laud of men, and praiſe of the people. And that I may paſs over his Houſholdſtuff, he had his Bridle of ſilver, and the boſſes of his Bridle were worth a great treaſure. At his Table and in other Expences he paſſed any Earl: ſo that on the one ſide men judged him little to conſider the Office of an Archdeacon; and on the other ſide they judged him to uſe wicked doings. He played alſo the good Soldier under the King in *Gaſcoigne*, and both won and kept Towns. When the King ſent *Thomas* being Chancellor home into *England* (Ambaſſador with other Nobles, after the death of the Archbiſhop) he willed *Richard Lucy* one of the chiefeſt) to commend in his name this *Thomas* to the Covent of *Canterbury*, that they might chooſe him Archbiſhop, which thing he did diligently. The Monks ſaid, *It was not meet to chooſe a Courtier and a Souldier to be Head of ſo holy a Company; for he would ſpend* (ſaid they) *all that they had.* Others had this ſurmiſe alſo, becauſe he was in ſo great favour with the Prince the Kings Son, and was ſo ſuddenly diſcharged of the Chancellorſhip which he had born five years: in the four and fortieth year of his age (on *Saturday* in *Whitſonweek*) he was made Prieſt, and the next day conſecrated Biſhop.

Diverſe in Chronicles elſe.

As touching the Prieſthood of this man, I find the Hiſtories to vary in themſelves: for if he were beneficed, and Chaplain to *Theobald*, and afterwards Archdeacon (as ſome ſay) it is no other like, but that he was Prieſt before, and not (as our moſt *Engliſh* ſtories ſay) made Prieſt in one day, and Archbiſhop the next.

But howſoever this matter paſſeth, here is in the mean time to be ſeen, what great benefits the King had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now after that *Becket* was thus promoted, what variance and diſcord happened between them, remaineth to be ſhewed: the cauſes of which variance were divers and ſundry.

The cauſe of variance pretied between the King and the Archbiſhop.

As firſt, when (according to the cuſtom) the Kings Officers gathered of every one *Hide-money* through the Realm, for the defence of their own Country; the King would have taken it to his Coffers. But the Biſhop ſaid, *That the which every man gave willingly, he ſhould not count as his proper rent.*

Another cauſe was, that where a Prieſt was accuſed of Murder, and the Kings Officers and the Friends of the dead accuſed the Prieſt earneſtly before the Biſhop of *Salisbury* his Diocеſan to whom he was ſent, deſiring juſtice to be done on him, the Prieſt was put to his purgation.

gation. But when he was not able to defend himſelf, the Biſhop ſent to the Archbiſhop to aſk what he ſhould do. The Archbiſhop commanded he ſhould be deprived of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and ſhut up in an Abbey to do perpetual Penance. After the ſame ſort were divers others handled for like cauſes, but none put to death, nor loſt joynt, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

The third cauſe was, that, where a Canon of *Bruis* did revile the Kings Juſtices, the King was offended with the whole Clergy. For theſe and ſuch like, the Archbiſhop (to pacifie the Kings anſwer) commanded the Canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certain years. But the King was not content with this gentle punihment, becauſe it rather increaſed their boldneſs, and therefore he called the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and all the Clergy to aſſemble at *Weſtminſter*. When they were aſſembled together; the King earneſtly commanded that ſuch wicked Clerks ſhould have no priviledge of their Clergy, but be delivered to the *Jaylors*, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of the ſpiritual correction; and this he ſaid alſo their own Canons and Laws had decreed. The Archbiſhop, counſelling with his Biſhops and learned men, anſwered probably: and in the end he deſired heartily the Kings gentleneſs (for the quietneſs of himſelf and his Realm) that under Chriſt our new King, and under the new Law of Chriſt he would bring in no new kind of puniſhment into his Realm (upon the new choſen people of the Lord) againſt the old Decrees of the holy Fathers: and oft he ſaid, *That he neither ought nor could ſuffer it.* The King moved therewith (and not without cauſe) alledgeth again and exacteth the old Laws and Cuſtoms of his Grandfather, obſerved and agreed upon by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, and other priviledged Perſons, inquiring likewiſe of him whether he would agree to the ſame, or elſe now (in his Reign) would condemn that which in the Reign of his Grandfather was well allowed? To which Laws and Cuſtoms the ſaid *Thomas* did partly grant, and partly not grant. The Copy of the which foreſaid Laws are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certain not unworthy to be known.

The Copy of the old Laws and Cuſtoms whereunto Thomas Becket *did grant.*

The Kings cuſtom.

1 THat no Order ſhould be given to Husbandmens Children and Bondmens Children, without the aſſent or Teſtimonial of them, which be the Lords of the Country where they were born and brought up: and if their Sons become Clerks, they ſhall not receive the Order of Prieſthood without licence of their Lords.

Out of an Engliſh Chronicle. It appeareth, drawn out of French by Earl Rivers, Lord Scales.

2. And if a man of holy Church hold any fee in his hand, he ſhall do therefore the King the ſervice that belongeth thereto, as upon Juries, Aſſize of Lands and Judgments, ſaving only at execution doing of death.

3. If any man were the Kings Traytor, and had taken the Church, that it ſhould be lawful for the King and his Officers to take him out.

4. And if any Felons goods were brought to holy Church, that there ſhould none ſuch keep there; for every Felons goods be the King.

5. That no Land ſhould be given to the Church, or to any Houſe of Religion, without the Kings Licence.

Theſe Articles following, Thomas *agreed not unto.*

1. IF that between a Clerk and a Lay-man were any ſtriving for Church-goods, they would the Plea ſhould be done in the Kings Court.

2. That there ſhould neither Biſhop nor Clerk go out of the Land without the Kings Licence, and then he ſhould ſwear upon a Book he ſhould procure no hurt againſt the King, nor none of his.

3. If any man were denounced accurſed, and were come again to amendment, the King would not that he ſhould be ſworn, but only find Sureties to ſtand to that, that holy Church ſhould award.

4. The fourth, that no man, that held of the King in chief, or in Service, ſhould be accurſed without the Kings Licence.

5. That all the Biſhopricks and Abbies, that were vacant, ſhould be in the Kings hands, until ſuch time that he ſhould chooſe a Prelate thereto, and he ſhould be choſen out of the Kings Chappels; and firſt before he were confirmed, he ſhould do his Homage to the King.

6. If any Plea were brought to the Conſiſtory, they ſhould appeal from thence to the Archdeacon, and from thence to the Biſhops Court, and from the Biſhops Court to the Archbiſhops, and from thence to the King, and no further. So that in concluſion, the Complaints of holy Church muſt come before the King, and not the Pope.

7. That debts, that were owing through troth plight, ſhould not be pleaded in Spiritual, but in Temporal Courts.

8. That the *Peter-pence*, which to the Pope were gathered, ſhould be taken to the King.

9. If any Clerk for Felony were taken and ſo proved, he ſhould be firſt degraded, and then through Judgment be hanged, or if he were a Traytor, be drawn.

Other Laws and Conſtitutions made at Clarendon *in* Normandy, *and ſent to* England, *whereunto* Becket *and the Pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the Realm.*

The Laws of Clarendon.

1. IF any perſon ſhall be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, any writing containing any Indict or Curſe againſt the Realm of *England*, the ſame man to be apprehended without delay for a Traytor, and Execution to be done upon the ſame.

2. That no Monk nor any Clerk ſhall be permitted to paſs over into *England* without a Paſport from the King or his Juſtices: who ſo doth the contrary, that man to be attached and impriſoned.

3. No man to be ſo ſold once to appeal to the Pope, or to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* out of *England*.

4. That no Decree or Commandment, proceeding from the Authority of the Pope, or the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, be received into *England*, under pain of taking and impriſoning.

5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any Commandment or Precept, either of Clerk, or lay-man, to the Pope, or to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, under pain of Impriſonment.

6. If any Biſhop, Clerk, Abbot, or Lay-man ſhall do contrary to this Inhibition, or will keep the Sentence of interdicting, the ſame incontinent to be thruſt out of the Land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7. All the Poſſeſſions, Goods and Chattels of ſuch as favour the Pope or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be ſeized and confiſcate for the King.

8. All ſuch of the Clergy as be out of the Realm, having their Rents and proffits out of the Land, to be ſummoned and warned through every Shire within three months to repair home, or elſe their rents and goods to return to the King.

9. That S. *Peters-pence* ſhould be no more paid to the Apoſtolical See, but to be referred diligently in the Kings Coffers, and there to be at his Commandment. *Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.*

10. That the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Norwich* be at the Kings mercy, and be ſummoned by the Sheriff, and Bedels, that they before the Kings Juſtices do right to the King and his Juſtices, becauſe (contrary to the Statutes of *Clarendon*) by Commandment they interdicted the land of Earl *Hugh*, and publiſhed the ſame in their Dioceſs without Licence of the Kings Juſtices.

¶ By theſe and ſuch other Laws and Decrees it may appear, that the abolithing of the Pope is no new thing in the Realm of *England*. This only difference there is, that the Pope being driven out then, could not be kept out ſo long as now he is. The cauſe is, that the time was not yet come that *Antichriſt* ſhould ſo fully be revealed; neither was his wickedneſs then ſo fully ripe in thoſe days, as it hath been now in our time. Now theſe premiſed, let us return where we left, to the matter between the King and *Thomas Becket*.

The Communication and Controversie between the King and Thomas Becket, *with his Clergy.*

THE King (as is aforesaid) conventing his Nobles and Clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain miſ-doers of the Clergy; but *Thomas Becket* not assenting thereunto, the King came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his Clergy, that the customs then set forth in the Realm (meaning the first part of those Decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the Archbiſhop, consulting together with his Brethren, giveth answer again, That he was contented the Kings Ordinances should be observed, adding this withall, *Salvo ordine ſuo*; that is, *Saving his order.* And so in like manner all the other Biſhops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition, *Salvo ordine ſuo.* Only *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, perceiving the King to be exaſperate with that addition, in ſtead of *Salvo ordine*, agreed to obſerve them *Bona fide.* The King hearing them not ſimply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the Archbiſhop and the Prelates, ſaid, *That he was not well contented with that Clauſe of theirs*, Salvo ſuo ordine, *which he ſaid was captious and deceitful, having ſome manner of venome lurking under it; and therefore required an abſolute Grant of them, without any exception, to agree to the Kings Ordinances.* To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again, *That they had ſworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour*, Salvo ordine ſuo; *and that in the ſame earthly honour alſo thoſe Ordinances were comprehended, and to the obſerving of them they would bind themſelves after no other form, but as they had ſworn before.* The King with this was moved, and all his Nobility not a little. As for the other Biſhops, there was no doubt but they would eaſily have relented, had not the ſtoutneſs of the Archbiſhop made them more conſtant than otherwiſe they would have been. The day being well ſpent, the King (when he could get no other anſwer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of ſalutation to the Biſhops, and likewiſe the Biſhops every one to his own houſe departed. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* (amongſt the reſt) was greatly rebuked of his Fellows for changing the exception contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following, the King took from the Archbiſhop all ſuch Honours and Lordſhips, as he had given him before in the time that he was Chancellor; whereby appeared the great diſpleaſure of the King againſt him and the Clergy. Not long after this, the King removing from *London* (unknown to the Biſhops) ſailed over to *Normandy*, whither the Biſhop of *London* called *Gilbert* (not long after) reſorted to crave the Kings Favour, and gave him counſel withall to joyn ſome of the Biſhops on his ſide; leſt if all were againſt him, peradventure he might ſooner be overthrown. And thus the greateſt number of the Biſhops were by this means reconciled again to the King; only the Archbiſhop with a few others remained in their ſtoutneſs ſtill. The King (thinking to try all manner of ways) when he ſaw no fear nor threats could turn him, did aſſay him with gentleneſs; it would not ſerve. Many of the Nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the King; it would not be. Likewiſe the Archbiſhop of *York* with divers other Biſhops and Abbots, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, did the ſame. Beſides this, his own Houſhold daily called upon him, but no man could perſwade him. At length underſtanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen not only to himſelf, but to all the other Clergy upon the Kings diſpleaſure: partly conſidering the old love and kindneſs of the King towards him in time paſt, he was content to give over to the Kings requeſt, and came to *Oxford* to him, reconciling himſelf about the addition, which diſpleaſed the King ſo much. Whereupon the King being ſomewhat mitigated, receiveth him with a more chearful countenance, but yet not ſo familiarly as before, ſaying, *That he would have his Ordinances and Proceedings after the form confirmed in the publick Audience and open ſight of all his Biſhops and all his Nobles.* After this, the King (being at *Clarendon*) theſe called all his Peers and Prelates before him, requiring to have all that performed, which they had promiſed, in conſenting to the obſerving of his Grandfathers Ordinances and Proceedings. The Archbiſhop ſuſpecting I cannot tell what in the Kings promiſe, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at laſt with much ado he was inforced to give aſſent. Firſt, came to him the Biſhop of *Salisbury* and of *Norwich*, who (for old matters indangered to the King long before) came weeping and lamenting to the Archbiſhop, deſiring him to have ſome compaſſion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the King, leſt if he ſo continued (through his ſtoutneſs to exaſperate the Kings diſpleaſure) happily it might redound to no ſmaller danger, not only of them which were in jeopardy already, but alſo of himſelf to be impriſoned, and the whole Clergy to be indangered. Beſides theſe two Biſhops, there went to him other two noble Peers of the Realm, labouring with him to relent and condeſcend to the Kings deſire: if not, they ſhould be inforced to uſe ſuch violence, as neither would ſtand with the Kings fame, and much leſs with his quietneſs; but yet the ſtout ſtomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two Rulers of the *Temple* called *Templars*, one *Richard de Hulſt*, another *Coſtans de Heverio* with their Company lamenting and bewailing the great peril, which they declared unto him to hang over his head: yet neither with their tears, nor with their kneelings would he be removed. At length came the laſt Meſſage from the King, ſignifying unto him with expreſs words, and alſo with tears, what he ſhould truſt to, if he would not give over to the Kings Requeſt.

Becket's addition, *Salvo ordine ſuo*.

The Biſhop of Chicheſter.

The ſtubbornneſs of Tho. Becket.

Thomas Becket relenteth to the King.

By reaſon of which Meſſage, he either terrified, or elſe perſwaded, was content to ſubmit himſelf. Whereupon the King incontinent affembling the States together, the Archbiſhop firſt before all others beginneth to promiſe the King Obedience, and ſubmiſſion unto his cuſtom, and that *Cum bona fide*, leaving out his former addition, *Salvo ordine*, mentioned before: in ſtead whereof he promiſed *in verbo veritatis*, to obſerve and keep the Kings Cuſtoms, and ſwear to the ſame. After him the other Biſhops likewiſe gave the like Oath; whereupon the King commanded incontinent certain Inſtruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the King ſhould have the one, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* another, the Archbiſhop of *York* the third, requiring alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop to ſet to his Hand and Seal. To the which the Archbiſhop (though not denying but that he was ready ſo to do) yet deſired reſpit in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his Biſhoprick) might better peruſe with himſelf the foreſaid Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the King. This requeſt as it ſeemed but reaſonable, ſo it was lightly granted; ſo the day being well ſpent, they departed for that ſeaſon and brake up.

Becket yieldeth to the King.

Solvendo left out in part of compoſition.

Alanus, one of the four Writers of the life of this *Thomas Becket*, recordeth, That the Archbiſhop in his Voyage towards *Wincheſter*, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the inſtigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his Croſs-bearer, who, going before the Archbiſhop, ſharply and earneſtly expoſtulated with him for giving over to the Kings requeſt, againſt the Priviledge and Liberties of the Church, polluting not only his fame and conſcience, but alſo giving a pernicious example to them that ſhould come after, with many like words. To make the matter ſhort, the Archbiſhop was ſo touched upon the ſame with ſuch repentance, that keeping himſelf from all company, lamenting with tears, with faſting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himſelf, he did ſuſpend himſelf from all Divine Service, and would not receive comfort, before that (word being ſent to his holy Grandfather the Pope) he ſhould be abſolved of him, who, teudring the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him Letters again by the ſame Meſſenger which *Thomas* had ſent up to him before. In which Letters not only he abſolved him from his Treſpaſs, but alſo with words of great conſolation did incourage him to be ſtout in the quarrel he took in hand. The Copy of which Letters conſolatory, ſent from the Pope to Biſhop *Becket*, here followeth under written.

Becket re-aſſumeth his good cauſe.

Becket tranſported of the King.

A Letter of Pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.

ALexander *Biſhop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertiſed us, how that upon the occaſion of a certain tranſgreſſion or exceſs of yours, you have determined to ceaſe henceforth from ſaying of Maſs,*

Maſs, and to abſtain from the Conſecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is (eſpecially in ſuch a Perſonage) and alſo what inconvenience may riſe thereof, I will you adviſedly to conſider, and diſcreetly alſo to ponder. Your wiſdom ought not to forget what difference there is between them which adviſedly and willingly do offend, and thoſe which through ignorance and for neceſſity take do offend. For as you read, ſo much the greater is wilful ſin, as the ſame not being voluntary is a leſſer ſin. Therefore if you remember your ſelf to have done any thing that your own conſcience doth accuſe you of, whatſoever it be, we counſel you (as a prudent and wiſe Prelate) to acknowledge the ſame. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more reſpect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the ſame according to his accuſtomed great mercy. And we truſting in the merits of the bleſſed Apoſtles S. Peter *and* Paul *do abſolve you from the offence committed, and by the Authority Apoſtolical we releaſe you unto your fraternity, counſelling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abſtain not (for this cauſe) from the celebration of the Maſs.*

This Letter, with others more after the like ſort, the Pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel ſo nearly pertaining to the Popes profit. By the occaſion whereof, *Becket* took no ſmall heart and conſolation: inſomuch that thereof ſeemeth to me to proceed all the occaſion that made him ſo ſtout and malepert againſt his Prince, as hereafter followeth to be ſeen by his doings. What the other Letters were that the Pope wrote unto him, ſhortly after (when we come to the Appellations made to the Pope) ſhall appear God willing. In the mean ſeaſon (as he ſat thus mourning at home) the King hearing of him, and how he denied to ſet his Seal to thoſe Sanctions, which he condeſcended to before, took no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt him: inſomuch that he (threatning to him and his baniſhment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burthen him with payments, that all men might underſtand that the Kings mind was ſore ſet againſt him. The Archbiſhop hereupon (whether more for the love of the Pope, or dread of his Prince) thought to make an eſcape out of the Realm, and ſo went about in the night (with two or three with him ſtealing out of his houſe) to take the Sea privily. Now amongſt others the Kings Ordinances and Sanctions, this was one, *That none of the Prelacy or Nobility without the Kings Licence (or of his Juſtices) ſhould depart out of the Realm.* So *Becket* twice attempted the Sea to flee to the See of *Rome*; but the weather not ſerving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time fruſtrated. After his departure began to be known and noiſed abroad, the Kings Officers came to *Canterbury* to ſeize upon his goods in the Kings behalf. But as it chanced, the night before their coming, *Becket* being returned, and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpoſe.

Becket enterpleth againſt the Kings Laws to fly out of the Realm.

Upon this, the Archbiſhop (underſtanding the King fore bent againſt him, and the Seas not to ſerve him) made haſte to the Court, lying then at *Woodſtock*; where the King received him (after a certain manner) but nothing ſo familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jeſtingly and merrily, as though one Realm were not able to hold them both. *Becket* (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleaſure to the Court) yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himſelf, and confeſſing no leſs to others, how the matter would fall out, ſo that either he ſhould be conſtrained to give over with ſhame, or ſtoutly ſtand to that which he had ſo boldly taken in hand. The Archbiſhop of *York* in the mean time (going betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the King in no caſe would be reconciled, unleſs the other would ſubſcribe to his Laws. So the while, neither the King would otherwiſe agree, nor yet the Archbiſhop in any wiſe would ſubſcribe, there was a foul diſcord; where the fault was, let the Reader here judge between them both. The King for his regal authority thought it much that any Subject of his ſhould ſtand againſt him. The Archbiſhop again (bearing himſelf bold upon the authority, and eſpecially upon the Letters of the Pope lately written to him) thought him ſtrong enough againſt the King and all his Realm. Again, ſuch was his quarrel for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the Church, that he could lack no fetters on and favourers in that behalf, in ſo ſweet a cauſe amongſt the Clergy. Wherefore the Archbiſhop (truſting to theſe things) would give no place, but by vertue of his Apoſtolical Authority gave cenſure upon theſe Laws and Conſtitutions of the King, condemning ſome, and otherſome approving for good and Catholick, as is before declared. Beſides this, there came alſo to the King *Rotrodus* Archbiſhop of *Rothomage* (ſent from the Pope) to make peace betwixt the King and *Canterbury*: whereunto the King was well content, ſo that the Pope would agree to ratifie his Ordinances. But when that could in no wiſe be obtained at the Popes hands, then the King being ſtopped and fruſtrate of his purpoſe by reaſon of *Beckets* Apoſtolick Legacy (being *Legatus a latere*) thought good to ſend up to the Pope, and ſo did, to obtain of him, that the ſame Authority of the Apoſtolick Legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the Archbiſhop of *York*: but the Pope denied. Notwithſtanding at the requeſt of the King Clergy, the Pope was content that the King ſhould be Legate himſelf; whereat the King took great indignation (as *Hoveden* writeth) ſo that he ſent the Pope his Letters again. Here the Pope was perplexed on both ſides.

Ex Rogero Hoved. pro. Hiſtoria continuat. poſt Bedam.

The King to be the Popes Legate.

If he ſhould have denied the King, that was too hot for him: for the Pope uſeth always to hold in with Kings howſoever the world ſpeedeth. Again, if he ſhould have forſaken ſuch a Churchly Chaplain (the cauſe being ſo ſweet and ſo gainful) that ſhould have been againſt himſelf. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practiſe of Popiſh Prelacy, to play with both hands: privily he conſpireth with the one, and openly diſſembleth with the other. Firſt he granted to the Kings Ambaſſadors their requeſt, to have the Legate removed, and to place in that Office the Archbiſhop of *York*, to his own contentation; and yet notwithſtanding (to tender the cauſe of *Thomas Becket*) he addeth this promiſe withall, that the ſaid *Becket* ſhould receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the Pope craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the Archbiſhop for his own advantage, and yet loath to deny the King for diſpleaſure, writeth to the King openly, and alſo ſecretly directeth another Letter to *Becket*: the contents whereof here follow.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Pope.

Alexander the Pope, to *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

ALthough we, condeſcending to the Kings Requeſt, have granted the gift of our Legacy after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be diſcomforted, nor brought into fights of deſpair. For before that we had granted that, or gave our conſent thereunto, the Kings Ambaſſadors firmly promiſed in the word of truth (ready alſo to be ſworn upon the ſame, if I would ſo have required) that their Letters alſo which he had obtained, ſhould not be delivered to the Archbiſhop of York without our knowledge and conſent therein. This is certain, and ſo perſwade your ſelf boldly without any ſcruple, doubt or miſtruſt, that it was never my mind or purpoſe, nor ever ſhall be (God willing) to ſubdue you or your Church under the obedience of any perſon, to be ſubject to any, ſave only to the Biſhop of Rome. And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you ſhall perceive the King to deliver theſe foreſaid Letters, which we truſt he will not attempt without our knowledge to do, forthwith by ſome truſty Meſſengers or by your Letters you will give us knowledge thereof: whereby we may provide upon the ſame both for your perſon, your Church, and alſo your City committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our Authority Apoſtolical, from all power and juriſdiction of any Legacy.

The Popes ſecret Letter to Becket, &c.

Upon theſe Letters and ſuch others (as is ſaid before) *Becket* ſeemed to take all his boldneſs to be ſo ſtout and ſturdy againſt his Prince, as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſent ſecretly a Chaplain of his, and directed another Letter alſo unto the King, granting and permitting at his requeſt, to make the Archbiſhop of *York* Legate Apoſtolical.

The

The King (after he had received his Letters sent from the Pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the Archbishop, first beginning with the Inferiors of the Clergy, such as were Offendors against his Laws: as Felons, Robbers, Quarrellers, Breakers of peace, and especially such as had committed Homicide and Murthers, whereof more than an hundred at that time were proved upon the Clergy (as witnesseth *Guliel. Neubrigensis*, in his Book *De gestis Anglorum*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.) urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the Law Temporal, and justice to be ministred to them according to their deserts: as first to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to *Becket* to derogate from the liberties of holy Church, that the secular Power should pass in Causes Criminal, or sit in Judgment against any Ecclesiastical person. This Law, the Rosters (then of the Clergy) had picked and forged out of *Anacletus* and *Euaristus*, by whose falsly alledged and pretensed Authority, they have deduced this their Constitution from the Apostles, which giveth immunity to all Ecclesiastical persons to be free from Secular Jurisdiction. *Becket* therefore, like a valiant Champion (fighting for his Liberties, and having the Pope on his side) would not permit his Clerks infamed otherwise, to be convented, than before Ecclesiastical Judges, there to be examined and deprived for their excess, and no secular Judge to proceed against them: so that after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence again, then the Temporal Judge to take hold upon them, otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the Archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the King, and not only in him, but also in the Nobles and all the Bishops (for the greater part) that almost he was alone a wonderment to all the Realm.

More than an hundred murthers done by the Clergy.

Guliel. Neubrig. lib. 2. *cap.* 16.

Becket cited to Northampton.

The Kings wrath daily increased more and more against him (as no marvel it was) and caused him to be cited up to appear by a certain day at the Town of *Northampton*, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peers and Nobles, with the Prelates of the Realm upon the Kings Proclamation being assembled in the Castle of *Northampton*) great fault was found with the Archbishop for that he (personally cited to appear) came not himself, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not, *Hoveden* assigneth to be this: for that the King had placed his Horse and Horse-men in the Archbishops lodging (which was a house there of Canons) wherewith he being offended, sent word again that he would not appear, unless his lodging were voided of the Kings Horse-men, &c. Whereupon (by the publick sentence as well of all the Nobles, as of the Bishops) all his moveables were adjudged to be confiscate for the King, unless the Kings Clemency would remit the penalty. The stubborn Archbishop again (for his part) quarrelling against the order and form of the Judgment, complaineth, alledging for himself (seeing he is the Primate, and spiritual Father, not only of all other in the Realm, but also of the King himself) that it was not convenient that the Father should be so judged of his Children, nor the Pastor of his Flock so condemned, saying moreover, *That the Ages to come should know what Judgment was done, &c.* But especially he complaineth of his fellow-Bishops (when they should rather have taken his part) who did sit in Judgment against their Metropolitan. And this was the first days action.

The Archbishop condemned in the Council of Northampton in the loss of all moveables.

The next day following, the King laid an action against him in the behalf of one that was his Marshal (called *John*) for certain injuries done to him, and required of the said Archbishop the repaying again of certain money, which he (as is said) had lent unto him being Chancellor, the sum whereof came to 500 Marks. This money the Archbishop denied not but he had received of the King, howbeit, by the way and title of Gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Whereupon, the King required him to put in affurance for the payment thereof: whereat the Archbishop making delays (not well contented at the matter) was so called upon, that either he should be countable to the King for the money, or else he should incur present danger, the King being so bent against him. The Archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own Suffragans, could here by no means have escaped, had not five persons of their own accord stepped in, being bound for him, every man for 100 marks a piece. And this was upon the second day concluded.

Becket required to give an account.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the Council, as the Archbishop was sitting below in a certain Conclave with his fellow-Bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the King had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him in the behalf of the King, that he had divers Bishopricks, and Abbaricks in his hand which were vacant, with the Fruits and Revenues thereof due unto the King for certain years, whereof he had rendred as yet no account to the King: wherfore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the Council, great displeasure to be in the King, and no less danger toward the Archbishop.

The advice of the Bishops for *Thomas Becket.*

THus, while the Bishops and Prelates were in Council, advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to Voices, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their Archbishop to take. First began *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who then took part with *Becket* so much as he durst for fear of the King, who said, *He remembred that the said Archbishop, first being Archdeacon, and then Lord Chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the Church of* Canterbury, *was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the Temporal Court, as all the other Bishops could not but bear record to the same.*

The verdict of the Bishop of Winchester.

Next spake *Gilbert*, Bishop of *London*, exhorting and motioning the Archbishop, that he should call with him himself to mind from whence the King took him, and for him up: what, and how great things he had done for him: also that he should consider with himself the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruine he might bring upon the whole Church (and upon them all there present) if he resisted the Kings mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his Archbishoprick (although it were ten times better than it is) yet he should not stick with the King in the matter. In so doing it might happen, the King seeing that submission and humility in him, would release him peradventure of all the rest. To this the Archbishop answering, *Well, well* (saith he) *I perceive well enough, my Lord, whither you tend, and whither about you go.* Then spake *Winchester*, inferring upon the same, *This form of Counsel* (saith he) *seemeth to me very pernicious to the Catholick Church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our Archbishop and Primate of all* England *do lean to this example, that every Bishop should give over his Authority and the Charge of the Flock committed to him, at commandment and threatning of the Prince, to what State shall the Church be brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing shall stand certain by any order of Law, and so as the Priest is, so shall the people be?*

The counsel of the Bishop of London.

Canterbury.

Winchester.

Hilary the Bishop of *Chichester* replieth again to this, saying, *If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force us, I would think this counsel here given were good to be followed. But now seeing the Authority of our Canon faileth, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so frivilly to work, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may destroy. Wherefore my counsel and reason is, to give place to the Kings purpose for a time, lest by over hasty proceeding, we exceed so far, that both it may redound to our shame, and also we cannot rid our selves out again when we would.*

Chichester.

Much to the same end spake *Robert* the Bishop of *Lincoln* after this manner, *Seeing* (saith he) *it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen: that either he must part with his Archbishoprick, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his Bishoprick, his life being lost, I do not greatly see.*

Lincoln.

Next followed *Bartholomew* Bishop of *Exceter* with his

Exceter.

his advice, who inclining his Council to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the days were evil and perilous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, he said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no less, especially seeing that Perfection was not general, but personal and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient, one head to run into some part of danger, than the whole Church of *England* to be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

Worcester.

The Answer of *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester* was devised in a double suspence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this, *That he would give answer on neither part; for if I* (saith he) *should say that the Pastoral Function and Cure of Souls ought to be relinquished at the Kings will or threatning, then my mouth shall speak against my conscience to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I shall give again contrary counsel to resist the Kings Sentence, here he they that will bear it, and report it to his Grace, and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the Synagogue, and for my part to be accounted among st the publick Rebels, with them to be condemned: wherefore neither do I say this, nor counsel that.*

Becket the Archbishop replieth against the Bishops.

And this was the Consultation of the Bishops in that place, assembled together by the Kings Commandment. Against these Voices and Censures of the Bishops, *Becket* the Archbishop replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukeful words, *I perceive* (saith he) *and understand ye go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardliness under the colourable shadow of sufferance: and under pretence of dissembling softness to cloak the Liberty of Christs Church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O unstable Bishops? What mean ye? Why do ye so, under the impudent Title of forbearing, bear a double beart, and cloak your manifest Iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter. Why pervert you the matter that is good with vocables and terms untrue? For that ye say we must bear with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we must not heap sin to sin. Is not God able to help the State and condition of his Church, but with the sinful dissimulation of the Teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me* (I pray you) *whether should the Governors of the Church put themselves to dangers for the Church in time of Tranquility, or in time of Distress; Ye will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in Distress. And now when the Church lying in so great distress and vexation) why should not the good Pastor put himself into peril therefore? For neither do I think it a greater Act or merit for the ancient Bishops of the old time, to lay the Foundation of the Church then with their blood, than now for to shed our blood for the Liberties of the same. And to tell you plain, I think it not safe for you to separate from an Example which you have received of your holy Elders.*

A great difference grows in the Church, because that Bishops may certain space, being locked in together. At length (to find a shift to cause the door to be opened) I will (saith the Archbishop) speak with two Earls which are about the King, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the door and came in with haft, thinking to hear some thing which should appease the Kings mind. To whom the Archbishop spake in this manner; As touching and concerning the matters between the King and us, we have here conferred together. And forsomuch as we have them not present with us now, which knew more in the matter than we do (whole advice we would be glad to follow) therefore we crave so much respite as till the next day following, and then to give our Answer unto the King. With this Message two Bishops were sent to the King, which was the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*.

Moderate counsel.

London (to help the matter, and to set quietness, as I take it, adding something more to the Message) said to the King, That the Archbishop craved a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the Kings desire, &c. Wherefore two Barons were sent to him from the King to grant him that respit or stay; so that he would ratifie that which the Messengers had signified to the King. To which the Archbishop answereth, That he sent no Message as was intimate in his name: but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the King, in that which he had to say. And so the Convocation of the Bishops was dissolved and dismissed home: so that the most part of them that came with the Archbishop and accompanied him before (for fear of the Kings displeasure) severed themselves from him. The Archbishop thus forsaken and destitute (as his story saith) sent about for the Poor, the Lame, and the Halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, *That by them he might sooner obtain his Victory, than by the others which had so slipt from him.*

London appealeth from the Archbishop.

Becket taken with sickness when he should appear.

On the next day following, because it was *Sunday*, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second Fery, the Archbishop was cited to appear. But the night before (being taken with a Disease called *Passio iliaca*, the Collique) as that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a fained sickness, as it seemed no less, certain of the chief Nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the Court: namely, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Reginald*, Earl of *Devonshire*. To whom the Archbishop answered, That as that day he was so diseased, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in an Horslitter. So that day passed over. The morrow after, certain that were about him, fearing no less but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsel in the morning to have a Mass in the honour of the holy Martyr S. *Stephen*, to keep him from the hands of his Enemies that day. When the morrow was come (being *Tuesday*) there came to him the Bishops, and Prelates, counselling and persuading him covertly by intimation (for apertly they durst not) that he would submit himself with all his goods (as also his Archbishoprick) to the will of the King, if peradventure his indignation by that means might asswage. Adding moreover, that unless he would so do, perjury would be laid against him: for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the Kings Laws and Ordinances, now would not observe them. To this *Becket* the Archbishop answereth again, *Brethren, ye see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the Enemy riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me most of all, is this. The Sons of mine own Mother be pricks and thorns against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the Posterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your Archbishop and Metropolitan alone in his Conflict, and how you have sitten in Judgment against me* (although unjustly of Crime) *now two days together, and not only in the Civil and Spiritual Court, but also in the Temporal Court ready to do the same. But in general, this I charge and command* (as the virtue of pure Obedience, and in peril of your Order) *that ye be present personally in Judgment against me. And that ye shall not fail so to do, I here appeal to our Mother* (the refuge of all such as be oppressed) *the Church of* Rome: *and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me* (as it is rumored they will) *I straitly enjoyn and charge you in the same virtue of Obedience, that you exercise your Censure Ecclesiastical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a Father and an Archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the World rage, and the Enemy be fierce, and the Body trembleth* (for the flesh is weak) *yet God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet wilely forsake my Flock committed to my Charge, &c.*

Becket appealeth to Rome.

A Mass of S. Stephen to save him from his Enemies.

But the Bishop of *London*, contrary to this commandment of the Archbishop, did incontinent appeal from him. And thus the Bishops departed from him to the Court, save only two, *Henry* of *Winchester*, and *Joceline* of *Salisbury*, who returned with him secretly to his Chamber, and comforted him. This done, the Archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sick that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his Mass of S. *Stephen* with all solemnity, as though it had been an high Festival-day, with his Metropolitan Pall, which was not used but upon the holy day to be worn, &c. The Office of the Mass began, *Sederunt Principes & adversum me*

A Mas to charm away perfecutors.

me loquebantur; that is, Princes fate and ſpake againſt me, &c. (the Kings ſervants being alſo there and beholding the matter.) For this Maſs *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* accuſed *Becket* afterward, both for that it was done, *Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis* (as the words of *Hoveden* purport) that is, both by art of magick, and in contempt of the King, &c.

Becket curſieth with him the Sacrament going to the King.

The Maſs being ended, the Archbiſhop (putting off his Pall, his Mitre and other robes) proceedeth to the Kings Court: But yet not truſſings, peradventure, ſo greatly the ſtrength of his Maſs (to make the matter more ſure) he taketh alſo the Sacrament privily about him, thinking himſelf thereby ſufficiently defended againſt all bugs. In going to the Kings chamber (there to attend the Kings coming) as he entred the door, he taketh from *Alexander* his Crotier, the Croſs with the Croſs Staffe, in the ſight of all that ſtood by, and carrieth it in himſelf, the other Biſhops following him, and ſaying, he did otherwiſe than became him. Amongſt others, *Robert* Biſhop of *Hereford*, offered himſelf to bear his Croſs, rather than he ſhould ſo do, for that it was not comely; but the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer him. Then ſaid the Biſhop of *London* unto him; If the King ſhall ſee you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his Sword againſt you, which is ſtronger than yours, and then what ſhall this your account profit you? The Archbiſhop anſwereth again; If the Kings Sword do cut carnally, yet my Sword cutteth ſpiritually, and ſtriketh down to Hell. But you, my Lord, as you have plaid the fool in this matter, ſo you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can ſee; and ſo he came into the chamber. The King hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where *Becket* was ſet in a place by himſelf with his other Biſhops about him. Firſt, the Cryer called the Prelates and all the Lords of the Temporalty together. That being done (and every one placed in his ſeat according to his degree) the King beginneth with a great complaint againſt the Archbiſhop for his manner of entring into the Court, not as (ſaith he) a ſubject into a Kings Court; but as a Traytor, ſhewing himſelf in ſuch fort as hath not been ſeen before in any Chriſtian Kings Court, profeſſing Chriſtian faith. To this all there preſent gave witneſs with the King, affirming him always to be a vain and proud Man, and that the ſhame of his fact did not only redound againſt the Prince himſelf, but alſo againſt his whole Realm. Moreover, they ſaid that this had ſo happened to the King, for that he had done ſo much for ſuch a Beaſt, advancing him ſo highly to ſuch a place and room next under himſelf. And ſo all together with one cry, called him Traytor on every ſide, as one that refuſed to give terrene honour to the King, in keeping (as he had Sworn) his Laws and Ordinances, at whoſe hands alſo he had received ſuch honour and great preferments: And therefore he was well worthy (ſaid they) ſo be handled like a perjured Traytor and Rebel. Whereupon great doubt and fear was what ſhould befall him. The Archbiſhop of *York*, coming down to his men, ſaid, he could not abide to ſee what the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was like to ſuffer. Likewiſe, the Topſtaves, and other Miniſters of the aſſembly, coming down with an outcry againſt him, croſſed them to ſee his Haughty ſtubbornneſs, and the buſineſs there was about him. Certain there were of his Diſciples ſitting at his feet, comforting him ſoftly, and bidding him to lay his curſe upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to Curſe, but to Pray and forgive them; and if he loſt his life in the quarrel of the Church and the liberty thereof, he ſhould be happy. Afterward, one of them, named *Johannes Stephani*, deſired to ſpeak ſomething in his ear; but could not be ſuffered by the Kings Marſhal, who forbad that any man ſhould have any talk with him. Then he (becauſe he could not otherwiſe ſpeak to him) wrought by ſigns, making a croſs, and looking up with his Eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he ſhould pray, and manfully ſtand to the cauſe. In the mean time cometh to him *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, deſiring him to have regard and compaſſion of himſelf, and alſo of them, or elſe they were all like to periſh for the hatred of him: for there cometh out (ſaith he) a Precept from the King that he ſhall be taken, and ſuffer for an open Rebel, that hereafter taketh your part. It is ſaid moreover that *Jocelinus* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *William* Biſhop of *Norwich* are to be had to the place of Execution, for their reſiſting and making interceſſion for the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. When he had thus ſaid, the Archbiſhop (looking upon the ſaid Biſhop of *Exceſter*) Avoid hence from me, ſaith he, thou underſtandeſt not, neither doſt favour thoſe things that be of God.

A blind Zeal for the proud liberties of the Church.

Who ſo taketh Beckets part is counted a Rebel.

The Biſhops and Prelates then going aſide by themſelves from the other Nobles, the King ſo permitting them to do, took Council together what was to be done. Here the mateer ſtood in a doubtful perplexity, for either muſt they incur the dangerous Indignation of the King, or elſe with the Nobles they muſt proceed in condemnation againſt the Archbiſhop for reſiſting the Kings Sanctions; which thing they themſelves neither did favour. In this ſtrict neceſſity, they, deviſing what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common aſſent ſhould cite the Archbiſhop to the See of *Rome* upon perjury: and that they ſhould oblige and bind themſelves to the King with a ſure promiſe, to work their diligence in depoſing the Archbiſhop; upon this condition, that the King ſhould promiſe their ſafety, and diſcharge them from the peril of that judgment which was towards them. So all the Biſhops, obliging themſelves thus to the King, went forth to the Archbiſhop; of whom one ſpeaking for the reſt (which was *Hilary* Biſhop *Chicheſter*) had theſe words: *Once you have been our Archbiſhop, and ſo long we were bound to your obedience; but now for as much as you, once ſwearing your fidelity to the King, do reſiſt him, neglecting his Injunctions and Ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his Terrene Honour and Dignity; we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an Archbiſhop thus being perjured; but, putting our ſelves and all ours in the Popes Protection, we do cite you up to his preſence.* And upon the ſame, they aſſigned him his day and time to appear. The Archbiſhop anſwering again, ſaid, he heard him well enough, and upon this ſendeth up to *Rome* in all haſte to the Pope, ſignifying to him by Letters, the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom he was cited, To whom the Pope directed again his Letters of comfort (as he had done divers before) the Copy whereof here enſueth.

Becket cited to Rome upon perjury by the Biſhops.

Becket condemned of perjury. Becket cited to Rome.

Pope *Alexander* to *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

YOur Brotherly Letters, which you directed to us, and ſuch other matters which your meſſenger by word of mouth hath ſignified unto us, we have diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully underſtand the grievous vexations and dolorous griefs wherewith your mind is dayly incumbred: By reaſon whereof, we, hearing and underſtanding, are not a little diſquieted in our Spirit for your ſake: In whoſe Proſperities we do both gladly rejoyce, and no leſs do ſorrow in your adverſities as for our moſt dear Brother. You therefore (as a conſtant and wiſe man) remember with your ſelf that which is written: The Apoſtles departed away (rejoycing) from the face of the Counſel, &c. With like patience do you alſo ſuſtain that mans moleſtations, and let not your Spirit be trobled therein more than needeth, but receive in your ſelf conſolation: That we alſo together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preſerved you to the corroboration of his Catholique and Chriſtian verity, in this diſtreſs of neceſſity: and from whom alſo it hath pleaſed him to wipe away the blot of ſuch things which have been unorderly of you committed, and here to punish the ſame through ſundry afflictions: whereby (in the ſtrict judgment of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But henceforth let not this much grieve you: neither let your heart be ſo dejected or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited up to the Apoſtolick See) which to us is both grateful and accepted. And this we will you, that if they which have cited you ſhall chance to come; draw not you back, but follow the appeal, if you pleaſe, and ſpare not, all doubt and delay ſet apart: for the Authority of the Church, tendring this your conſtancy, may not do that which may put you in fear, or doubt. But our diligence ſhall be, with all labour and ſtudy, to conſerve the Right and Prehemminence, God willing of that Church committed to you, ſo much as in us lyeth (ſaving our

our juſtice and equity) as to one whom, in working for the Church, we find to be both a conſtant and a valiant Champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repair unto the Church of Canterbury: *and retaining but a few Clerks about you (ſuch only as ſerve your neceſſity) make no excurſes out (as little as you can) in that Country. But in this eſpecially I thought to premoniſh you, that in no caſe, neither for fear, or any adverſity, whatſoever may happen you be brought to renounce and give up the right and dignity of your Church. Written at* Sene, *the ſeventh before the* Kalends *of* November.

Becket called to a full accoint.

As the Archbiſhop was thus cited up to *Rome*, ſitting with his Croſs waiting in the Court, neither giving place to the Kings requeſt, nor abaſhed with the clamour of the whole Court againſt him, calling him Traytor on every ſide, neither following the advertiſement of his fellow-Biſhops, at length the King by certain Earls and Barons, ſent commandment to him (*Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* doing the meſſage) that he ſhould without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the Profits and Revenues of the Realm, in the time he was Chancellor, and ſpecially for the 30000 marks, for the which he was accountable to the King. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwereth again, *The King knew how oft he had made his reckoning of thoſe things which now were required of him.* Further and beſides, *Henry* his Son and Heir of his Realm, with all his Barons, and alſo *Richard Lucy*, chief Juſtice of *England* told him, *That he was free and quit to God, and to holy Church from all Receits and Computations, and from all ſecular Exactions on the Kings behalf.* And ſo he, taking thus his Diſcharge at their hands, entred into his Office; and therefore other account befides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the King, he required his Barons to do the Law upon him; who, ſo doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in priſon. This done, the King ſendeth to him *Reginald*, Earl of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, and *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwereth, *Hear, my Son, and good Earl, what I ſay unto you: how much more precious the Soul is than the Body, ſo much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene King. Neither doth any Law or Reaſon permit the Children to judge and condemn their Father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgment of the King, of you, and all others, I put my ſelf only to the arbitrement of the Pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whoſe preſence here before you all I do appeal, committing the ordering of the Church of* Canterbury, *my Dignity, with all other things appertaining to the ſame, under the Protection of God and him. And as for you, my Brethren and fellow-Biſhops, which rather obey Man than God, you alſo I call and cite to the Audience and Judgment of the Pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the Enemies of the Catholick Church, and of the Authority of the Apoſtolick See.*

Ex Regiſtro Hovedeni.

Becket ſolden to be laid in priſon.

Ex quadripartito hiſt. l. 1. c. 58.

Becket appealeth to the Pope.

Becket thinketh not the protection of God ſufficient without the Pope.

While the Barons returned with this Anſwer to the King, the Archbiſhop, paſſing through the throng, taketh unto him his Paſſyy, holding his Croſs in one hand, and his Bridle in the other, the Courtiers following after, and crying, *Traytor, Traytor, tarry and hear thy Judgment.* But he paſſed on till he came to the uttermoſt Gate of the Court, which being faſt locked, there he had been ſtaid, had not one of his Servants called *Peter*, ſurnamed *Demunciſtorio*, finding there a bunch of Keys hanging by, firſt proved one Key, then another, till at laſt, finding the true Key, he had opened the Gate, and let him out. The Archbiſhop went ſtraight to the Houſe of Canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor, where they could be found. When Supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he cauſed to be made between two Altars, privily while the King was at Supper, he prepareth his Journey ſecretly to eſcape away; and changing his Garment and his Name, being called *Derman*, firſt went to *Lincoln*, from thence to *Sandwich*, where he took Ship, and failed into *Flanders*, and from thence journyed into *France*, as *Hovedenus* ſaith. Albeit *Alanus*, differing ſomething in the order of his flight, ſaith, *That he departed not that night; but at ſupper-time came to him the Biſhops of* London *and* Chicheſter, *declaring to him, that if he would ſurrender up*

Becket taketh his flight.

Becket changeth his name, and is called Derman. Hilar. ſaith he differ ſomething in the order of his flight.

to the King his two Manors of Otford *and* Wingcham, *there were hope to recover the Kings favour, and to have all remitted.* But when the Archbiſhop would not agree thereunto, forſomuch as thoſe Manors were belonging to the Church of *Canterbury*, the King hearing thereof, great diſpleaſure was taken, inſomuch that the next day *Becket* was fain to ſend to the King two Biſhops and his Chaplain for leave to depart the Realm. To the which Meſſage the King anſwered, *That he would take pauſe thereof till the next day, and then he ſhould have an Anſwer.* But *Becket* not tarrying his anſwer, the ſame day conveyed himſelf away ſecretly, as is aforeſaid, to *Ludovicus* the *French* King. But before he came to the King, *Gilbert* the Biſhop of *London*, and *William* the Earl of *Arundel*, ſent from the King of *England* to *France*, Prevented him: requiring the ſaid *French* King in the behalf of the King of *England*, that he would not receive, nor retain in his Dominion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Moreover, that at his inſtance he would be a means to the Pope, not to ſhew any familiarity unto him. But the King of *England* in this point ſeemed to have more confidence in the *French* King, than knowledge of his diſpoſition. For thinking that the *French* King would have been a good Neighbour to him, in truſting him too much he was deceived. Neither conſidered he with himſelf enough the manner and nature of the *Frenchmen* at that time againſt the Realm of *England*; who then were glad to ſeek and take all manner of occaſions to do ſome Act againſt *England*.

The French King ſupporteth Becket againſt the King of England.

And therefore *Ludovick* the *French* King, underſtanding the matter, and thinking (per-cafe) thereby to have ſome vantage againſt the King and Realm of *England*, by the occaſion hereof, contrary to the Kings Letters and Requeſt, not only harboureth and cheriſheth this *Dermon*, but alſo (writing to the Pope by his *Almoner* and Brother) intreateth him (upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour) to tender the cauſe of the Archbiſhop *Becket*. Thus the Kings Ambaſſadors repulſed of the *French* King, returned; at what time he ſent another Ambaſſage (upon the like cauſe) to *Alexander* the Pope, then being at *Sene* in *France*. The Ambaſſadors ſent on this Meſſage were *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Hilary* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, with other Doctors and Clerks: alſo *William* Earl of *Arundel*, with certain more Lords and Barons, who coming to the Popes Court were friendly accepted of certain of the Cardinals; amongſt the which Cardinals roſe alſo diſſention about the ſame in the defence of the Liberties of the Church (as in a good cauſe) was to be maintained. Some thinking again, that he (being a Perturber of Peace and Unity) was rather to be bridled for his preſumption, than to be foſtered and incouraged therein. But the Pope partly bearing with his cauſe (which only tended to his Exaltation and Magnificence) partly again incenſed with the Letters of the *French* King, did wholly incline to *Becket*, as no marvel was. Wherefore the next day following, the Pope ſitting in conſiſtory with his Cardinals, the Ambaſſadors were called for to the hearing of *Beckets* matter; and firſt beginneth the Biſhop of *London*; next, the Archbiſhop of *York*; then *Exceſter*; and the other Biſhops every one in their order to ſpeak. Whoſe Orations being not well accepted of the Pope, and ſome of them alſo diſdained; the Earl of *Arundel* perceiving that (and ſomewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes ears) began after this manner:

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope.

The Oration of the Earl of Arundel to the Pope.

ALthough to me it is unknown (ſaith he) which am both unlettered and ignorant, what it is that theſe Biſhops here have ſaid, neither am I in that Tongue ſo able to expreſs my mind as they have done: yet being ſent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cauſe is of our ſending hither: not (truly) to contend or ſtrive with any perſon, nor to offer any injury or harm unto any man (eſpecially in this place) and in the preſence here of ſuch an one unto whoſe Beck and Authority all the World doth ſtoop and yield. But for this time is our Legacy hither directed, to preſent here before you, and in the preſence of the whole Church of Rome, *the devotion and love of our King and Maſter, which ever he hath had, and*

yet

yet hath ſtill toward you. And that the ſame might the better appear to your Excellency, he hath aſſigned and appointed to the furniture of this Legacy, not the leaſt, but the greateſt, not the worſt, but the beſt and chiefeſt of all his Subjects; both Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, with other Potentates more, of ſuch worthineſs and Parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his Realm, he would have ſent them, both for the Reverence of your Perſon, and of the holy Church of Rome. *Over and beſide this, I might add more (which your Sanctitude hath ſufficiently tried and proved already) the true and hearty Fidelity of this our King and Soveraign toward you (in his firſt entrance to his Kingdom) wholly ſubmitted himſelf, with all that is his beſides, to your will and pleaſure. And truly, to teſtifie of his Majeſty how he is diſpoſed to the unity of the Catholick Faith: we believe there is none more faithful in Chriſt than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to proteſt for our King and Maſter, ſo neither do I affirm the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to be a man deſtitute or unfurniſhed with Gifts and Ornaments in his kind of calling, but to be a man both ſage and diſcreet in ſuch things as to him appertain, ſave only that he ſeemeth to ſome more quick and ſharp than needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and if the breach between our King and him had not ſo happened, both the Regiments together (of the Temporalty and Spiritualty) might quietly have flouriſhed one with the other in much peace and concord, both under a Prince ſo worthy, and a Paſtor ſo virtuous. Wherefore (the caſe ſo ſtanding as it doth) our Meſſage hither, and our ſupplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your favour and wiſdom) the neck of this diſſenſion may be broken, and that Reformation of unity and love (by ſome good means) may be ſought.*

¶ This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the ſoftneſs and moderation thereof, yet it could not ſo perſwade the *Romiſh* Biſhop to condeſcend to their ſuit and requeſt: which ſuit was, to have two Legates or Arbiters to be ſent from his Popiſh ſide into *England*, to examine and take up the Controverſie between the King and the Archbiſhop. But the Pope, incenſed as is ſaid before, would not grant to their petition: forſomuch as it ſhould be (ſaith he) prejudicial and tending to the oppreſſion of the Archbiſhop to grant unto it, he being not preſent. And therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwiſe he being abſent, he would not (he ſaid) in any caſe proceed againſt him. But they, alledging again their time to be expired, appointed unto them of the King, having beſides other lets and cauſes as they alledged, ſaid, *That they could not there wait for the coming of* Becket, *but return back, their cauſe fruſtrated, without the Popes bleſſing to the King.* Within four days after *Becket* cometh to the Popes Court, where he proſtrating himſelf at his feet, brought our of his boſome a Scroll containing the Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the King, before mentioned. The Pope receiving the foreſaid Scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and accurſed the moſt part of the ſaid Decrees of the King, which he called *Conſuetudines avitas*; that is, his Grandfathers Ordinances. Beſides this, the Pope moreover blameth *Becket*, for that he ſo much yielded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithſtanding (becauſe he was repentant for his unadviſed Fact) he was content to abſolve him for the ſame, and the rather, becauſe of his great Troubles, which he for the Liberties of holy Church did ſuſtain, and ſo with great favour for that day diſmiſſed him.

The Pope rendereth Beckets cauſe againſt the King.

Becket complaineth of the King to the Pope.

His entrance for his well-doing.

The next day (*Alexander* the Pope aſſembling his Cardinals together in his ſecret Chamber) appeareth before them Archbiſhop *Becket*, having this Oration to the Pope and his Popelings, which here I thought to ſet out in our vulgar *Engliſh*-Tongue (tranſlated out of *Latine*) to the intent that the Poſterity hereafter may underſtand either the vain Superſtition or vile ſlavery of the Church-men in thoſe days, who, being not contented with their own natural Prince and King, given them of God, muſt ſeek further to the Pope; thinking no Eccleſiaſtical Living to be given, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his Oration be ſtoried rightly thus.

The Oration of *Becket* reſigning his Biſhoprick to the Pope.

FAthers and Lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much leſs before God, and in your preſence here. Wherefore, with much ſighing and ſorrow of heart, I grant and confeſs, that theſe Perturbations of the Church of England *be raiſed through my miſerable fault. For I entred into the Fold of Chriſt, but not by the door of Chriſt; for that not the Canonical Election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of publick power drove me in. And albeit I againſt my will took this burthen upon me; yet not the will of God, but mans pleaſure placed me in the room. And therefore no marvel though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the reſigning up again thereof; if I had ſo done, and given up to their hands the priviledge of my Biſhoply Authority, which I had granted to me at the Commandment of the King (ſo as my fellow-Biſhops did inſtantly call upon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous Example to the whole Catholick Church. By reaſon whereof I thought to defer that unto your preſence. And now there (recognizing with my ſelf my ingreſs not to be Canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worſe end; and again pondering my ſtrength and ability not to be ſufficient for ſuch a Charge) leſt I ſhould be found to ſuſtain that room to the ruine of the Flock, to whom I was appointed a Paſtor unworthy: I render up to your fatherly hands the Archbiſhoprick here of* Canterbury, &c. ¶ *And ſo putting off his Ring from his finger, and offering it to the Pope, he deſired a Biſhop for the Church of* Canterbury *to be provided: ſeeing he thought not himſelf meet to fulfil the ſame, and ſo (with tears, as the ſtory ſaith) he ended his Oration.*

Becket reſigneth: the Pope him not in that Eſtate brought him not in.

And why might ye not (Chriſtian Fathers) reſign it as well to the hands of whom ye took it?

This done, the Archbiſhop was bid to ſtand apart. The Pope conferring upon this with his Cardinals, about the reſignation of *Becket*, what was beſt to be done: Some thought it beſt to take the occaſion offered, thinking thereby the Kings wrath might eaſily be aſſwaged, if the Church of *Canterbury* were aſſigned to ſome other perſon; and yet the ſaid *Becket* otherwiſe to be provided for notwithſtanding. Contrary, others again thought otherwiſe, whoſe reaſon was; If he (which for the Liberties of the Church, had ventured not only his Goods, Dignity and Authority, but alſo his Life) ſhould now at the Kings pleaſure be deprived; like as it might be a Preſident hereafter to others in reſiſting their King in like ſort, if this cauſe were maintained; ſo contrariwiſe, if it quailed, it ſhould be an example to all others hereafter, none to reſiſt his Prince in the like caſe. And ſo might it redound not only to the weakning of the ſtate of the Catholick Church, but alſo to the derogation of the Popes Authority. Briefly, this ſentence at length prevailed: and ſo *Becket* receiveth his Paſtoral Office of the Popes hand again, with commendation and much favour. But for ſo much as he could not be well placed in *England*, in the mean while the Pope ſendeth him with a Monks habit into the Abbey of *Pontiniack* in *France*, where he remained two years; from thence he removed to *Senon*, where he abode five years. So the time of his exile continued ſeven years in all, &c.

A conſultation between the Pope and the Cardinals about Becket matter.

Becket in baniſhment ſeven years.

Upon this, the King being certified by his Ambaſſadors of the Popes Anſwer, how his favour inclined more to *Becket* than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful diſpleaſure. Who, upon the ſame failing from *England* unto *Normandy*, directed over certain Injunctions againſt the Pope, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as were recited afore. The Contents whereof were declared to be theſe:

If any perſon ſhould be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c.

Of theſe, and ſuch other Injunctions, *Becket* ſpecifieth partly in a certain Letter, writing to a Friend of his in this manner:

THomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to his well beloved Friend, &c. Be it known to your brotherly goodneſs, that we, with all ours here (by Gods Grace) are ſafe and in good health. Having a good hope and truſt to your faithful Amity, I charge you and require you, that either*

either by the bringer hereof, or by ſome other, (whom ye know faithful and truſty to our Church of Canterbury, *and to us) you write with all ſpeed what is done. As touching the Kings decrees here ſet out, theſe they be: That all Havens and Ports ſhould be diligently kept, that no Letters of the Popes Interdict or Curſe be brought in. And if Religious Men bring them in, they ſhall have their feet cut off; if he be a Prieſt or Clerk, he ſhall loſe his Privy Members; if he be a Lay-man, let him be hanged; if he be a Leper, let him be burned. And if any Biſhop, for fear of the Popes Interdict, will depart; beſides his ſtaff only in his hand let him have nothing elſe. Alſo the King's will is, that all Scholars and Students beyond the Seas ſhall repair home; or elſe loſe their Benifices. And if they yet ſhall remain ſtill, they ſhall loſe the liberty of all returning. Further, if any ſuch Prieſts ſhall be found, that for the Popes ſuſpence or Interdict will refuſe to Sing, they ſhall loſe their Privy Members. In ſumme, all ſuch Prieſts as ſhew themſelves Rebels to the King, let them be deprived of their Benifices,* &c.

Beſides theſe and ſuch like Injunctions, it was alſo ſet forth by the Kings Proclamation, *An.* 1166. That all manner of perſons, both Men and Women, whoſoever were found of the kindred of *Thomas Becket*, ſhould be exiled, without taking any part of their Goods with them, and ſent to him where he was: which was no little vexation to *Becket* to behold them. Moreover, for ſo much as he then was lying with *Gwarine* Abbat of *Pontiniack*, to whom the Pope, as is aforeſaid, had commended him; therefore the King writing to the ſame Abbat, required him not to retain the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Houſe: for if he did, he would drive out of his Realm all the Monks of his Order. Whereupon *Becket* was inforced to remove from thence, and went to *Lewis* the French King; by whom he was placed at *Senon*, and there found of him the ſpace of five years as is above mentioned.

ANNO 1166

Becket kindred baniſhed.

Three Monks were of the Cliſtertian order.

In the mean time, Meſſengers went daily with Letters between the King and the Pope, between the Pope again and him, and ſo between the Archbiſhop and others. Whereof if the Reader (peraventure) ſhall be deſirous to ſee the Copies; I thought here to expreſſe certain of them, to ſatisfie his deſire; firſt beginning with the Epiſtle of *Becket*, complaining of his Prince to the Pope, in manner and form as followeth.

Becket complaineth of his Prince to the Pope.

The Copy of an Epiſtle ſent of Thomas Becket *to Pope* Alexander.

"TO your preſence and audience I flie, moſt holy "Father, that you, who hath bought the liberty "of the Church with your ſo great danger, might the ra- "ther attend to the ſame (either being the only or chiefeſt "cauſe of my perſecution) uſing and following therein the "example of you. It grieveth me that the ſtate of the "Church ſhould fall to any decay, and that the liberties "thereof ſhould be infringed through the avarice of Princes. "For the which cauſe I thought to reſiſt betime that incon- "venience beginning ſo to grow. And the more I thought "my ſelf obliged to the ſame, my Prince (unto whom next "under God I am moſt chiefly bound) the more boldneſs I "took to me, to withſtand his unrighteful attempts; till "ſuch as were on the contrary part, my adverſaries, pre- "vailed, working my diſquietneſs, and incenſing him againſt "me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongſt Princes, they "raiſed up againſt me citations and ſlanders, to the occa- "ſion of my perſecution: but I had rather to be proſcribed, "than to ſubſcribe. Beſides this, I was alſo called to judg- "ment, and cited before the King to make anſwer there "as a Lay perſon, to ſecular accounts: whereas they whom "I moſt truſted did moſt forſake me. For I ſaw my fel- "low Brethren the Biſhops, through the inſtigation of ſome, "ready to my condemnation. Whereupon all being ſet "againſt me, and I thus oppreſſed on every ſide, I took "my refuge to appeal unto your goodneſs, which caſteth off "none in their extremities; being ready to make my de- "claration before you, that I ought neither to be judged "there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were "that (Father) but to uſurpe to themſelves your right, and "to bring the ſpirituality under the temporality? Which "thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And "therefore ſo much the more ſtout I thought to be in with- "ſtanding this matter, how much more prone and pro- "clive I ſaw the way to hurt, if they might once ſee us to "be faint and weak in the ſame. But they will ſay to me "here again: *Give to Cæſar that which belongs to Cæſar*, "&c. But to anſwer again thereunto, albeit we are bound "to obey our King in moſt things, yet not in ſuch manner "of things, whereby he is made to be no King: neither "were they then things belonging to *Cæſar*, but to a Ty- "rant. Concerning the which points, theſe Biſhops ſhould "not for me only, but for themſelves, have reſiſted the "King. For if the extream judgment be referred to him "which is able to judge both body and ſoul: is it not then "extream pride for Men there to judge, which judge but "by themſelves? If the cauſe of the Biſhops and of the "Clergy, which I maintain, be right: why be they ſet "againſt me? why do they reprehend me? For if that I "appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawful, "or elſe not expedient for me to do: what ſeem they by "this, but either to blame me cauſeleſs, or elſe to diſtruſt "your equity? For me to be convicted before your Holi- "neſs, it had been a double confuſion. Or wherein have "I deſerved to be perſecuted of them, for whoſe cauſe I "have ſet my ſelf to ſtand in their behalf? And if they had "willed, I had prevailed; but it is ill with the head, when "he is left of his members and forſaken: as if the eyes "ſhould take the tongue to ſpeak againſt the head. If they "had had eyes to have ſcre-ſeen the matter, they might "underſtand themſelves to ſpeak their own deſtruction, "and that the Princes did uſe their help but to their own "ſervitude. And what ſo great cauſe of hatred had they "againſt me, to procure their own undoing in undoing "of me? So while they neglected Spiritual things inſtead "of Temporal, they have loſt them both. What ſhould "I ſpeak more of this, that I repugning them and appeal- "ing to your audience; yet notwithſtanding they durſt "preſume to ſtand in judgment and condemnation againſt "me, as Children againſt their Father? Yea, and not "againſt me only, but againſt the univerſal Church of "God, conſpiring together with the Prince being with me "offended. And this ſuſpection might alſo as well pertain "to you, holy Father. But to this they will ſay, That "they owe their duty and ſervice unto the King, as their "Lord, to whom they are bound upon their allegiance. "To whom I anſwer, That to him they ſtand bound bodi- "ly, to me ſpiritually. But to whom ought they rather "to ſtand bound, than to themſelves? And were it not "better to ſuſtain the loſs of corporal, than of ſpiritual "things? But here they will ſay again: At this time the "Prince was not to be provoked. How ſubtilly do theſe "Men diſpute for their own bondage? Yea, they them- "ſelves provoke him by their own exceſs, miniſtring wings "unto him to fight againſt them; for he would have reſi- "ed, if they had reſiſted. And when is conſtancy more "to be required, than in perſecution? Be not a Mans chief "Friends moſt tried in perſecution? If they give over ſtill, "how ſhall they obtain the victory? Sometimes they muſt "needs reſiſt. Condeſcend not therefore (holy Father) to "my exile and perſecution. And remember, that I alſo "once was a great Man, in the time when it was; and "now for your take thus injuriouſly I am intreated. Uſe "your rigour and reſtrain them, by whoſe inſtigation the "name of this perſecution began. And let none of theſe "things be imputed to the King, who rather is to be coun- "ted the repairer than the author of this buſineſs.

To keep under the pride of Prelats is no cauſe following to unking a Prince.

If ye mean by ſpiritual things ſuch as pertain to the ſpiritual part of mans grant, but your liberties be not ſuch as which pertain to the inward or ſpiritual man, but rather are things more corporal. Perſecution is ſeth a true friend, but every cauſe maketh not a true perſecution.

Beſides this Epiſtle ſent unto the Pope, he writeth alſo another Letter, ſent to the King in Latine; the tenor whereof he that is diſpoſed to read, may peruſe in our former Edition, with the Notes adjoyned withal.

Beſides which Epiſtle to the King in Latine, he ſent alſo one or two more to the ſaid King *Henry* the Second, much after the like rate and ſort: the one thus beginning: *Loqui de Deo, liberæ mentis eſt & valde quietæ. Inde eſt quod loquar ad Dominum meum, & utinam ad omnes pacificum*, &c. Which Epiſtle, for that I would not overcharge the Volume of theſe Hiſtories with too much matter ſuperfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he ſent afterwards, whereof the words be theſe.

Another Letter of Becket *Archbishop of* Canterbury *sent to the King.*

"TO his Lord and Friend *Henry*, by the grace of God, "King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, Earl of *Anjou*: *Thomas* by the same grace, humble Minister of the Church of *Canterbury* (sometime his) "temporarily, but now more his in the Lord) health and "true repentance with amendment. I have long looked, "that the Lord would look upon you, and that you would "convert and repent, departing from your perverse way; "and cut off from you your wicked and preverse Counsellors, "by whose instinction, as it is thought, you are fallen in- "to that deep, whereof the *Psalm* speaketh, A sinner when "he cometh to the depth of mischiefs, is without care or "fear. And albeit we have hitherto quietly suffered and "born, considering and earnestly looking if there would "any messenger come that would say; Your Soveraign "Lord the King which now a long time hath erred and "been deceived, and led even to the destruction of the "Church, through Gods mercy with abundant humility "doth now again make speed for the deliverance of the "Church, and to make satisfaction and amendment: Yet "notwithstanding, we cease not, day by day, continually "to call upon Almighty God with most humble devotion: "That, that which we have long desired for you, and by you, "we may speedily obtain with abundant effect. And this is "one point; that the care of the Church of *Canterbury*, "whereunto God hath presently appointed us (albeit unwor- "thy) you being King, doth specially constrain me (in that as "yet we are detained in exile) to write unto your Majesty "Letters Commonitory, Exhortatory, and of Correction. "But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest "that I be too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be "any) as indeed there are: for the which we are not a lit- "tle sorry. I mean specially of them which are done by "you in every place, about the Church of God and the Ec- "clesiastical persons, without any reverence either of digni- "ty or person; and lest also that I appear negligent to the "great danger of my soul: for without doubt he beareth "the offence of him which doth commit any offence, who "neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. "For it is written, Not only they which do commit evil, "but also they that consent thereunto are counted partakers "of the same. For they verily do consent, which, when "they both might and ought, do not resist, or at the least "reprove. For the error which is not resisted is allowed, "and the truth when it is not defended is oppressed: nei- "ther doth it lack a privy note of society in him, which "ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischief. (2) For like "as, most noble Prince, a small City doth not minish the "prerogative of so mighty a Kingdom as yours is: so your "Royal power ought not to oppress or change the measure "of the Religious dispensation. For it is provided always "by the Laws, that all judgments against Priests should "proceed by the determination of Priests. For whatso- "ever Bishops they are, albeit that they do err as other men "do (not exceeding in any point contrary to the Religion "of Faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any case be "judged of the secular power. Truly, it is the part of a "good and religious Prince to repair the ruinous Churches, "to build new, to honour the Priests, and with great re- "verence to defend them, after the example of the godly "Prince of most happy memory (4) *Constantinus*, which "said, when a complaint of the Clergy was brought to "him, You (said he) can be judged by no secular Judge, "which are referred to the only judgment of God. And "for so much as we do read that the holy Apostles and their "successors, appointed by the testimony of God, command- "ed that no persecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor "to envy those which labour in the field of the Lord, and "that the stewards of the Eternal King should not be ex- "pelled and put out of their seats: who then doubteth, "but that the Priests of Christ ought to be called the Fa- "thers and Masters of all other faithful Princes? Is it not a "miserable madness then, if the Son should go about to "bring the (5) Father under obedience; or the Scholer "his Master? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in "subjection, by whom he ought to believe that he may be "bound and loosed, not only in Earth, but also in Hea- "ven? If you be a good and Catholick King, and will be "such a one as we hope, or rather desire you should be, (if "it be spoken under your licence) you are the Child of the "Church, and not the ruler of the Church. You ought "to learn of the Priests, and not to teach them; you "ought to (7) follow the Priests in Ecclesiastical matters, "and not to go before them; having the priviledge of "your power given you of God to make publick Laws, "that by his benefit you should not be unthankful against "the dispensation of the heavenly order, and that you "should usurpe nothing, but use them with a wholesome "disposition.

"Wherefore in those things, which, contrary unto that "you have, through your malicious counsel rather than by "your own mind, wickedly usurped; with all humility "and satisfaction speedily give place, that the hand of the "most High be not stretched out against you, as an arrow "against the mark. For the most High hath bended his "bow openly to shoot against him, that will not confess "his offences. Be not ashamed (whatsoever wicked Men "say unto you, or that Traytors do whisper in your ear) "to humble your self under the mighty hand of God. For "it is he which exalteth the humble, and throweth down "the proud; which also revengeth himself upon Princes: "he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not "to have let slip out of your memory, in what state God "did find you; how he hath preferred, honoured, and "exalted you; blessed you with Children, inlarged your "Kingdom, and established the same in despight of your "enemies. In so much that hitherto, in a manner, all "men have said with great admiration, that this is he whom "God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can "you reward him for all these things which he hath done "unto you? Will you, at the provocation and instance of "those which are about you, that (8) persecute the Church "and the Ecclesiastical Ministers, and always have accord- "ing to their power persecuted them, rendring evil for "good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, injuries, and "afflictions upon the Church and Church-men, do the like? "Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: he that "heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth "me; and he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of "mine eye? Verily forsaking all that thou hast, take up "thy cross, that thou mayest follow thy God our Lord Je- "sus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that "thou shalt appear a thankful recompencer of the benefits "received at his hand. Search the Scriptures with such as "are learned, and you shall understand, that (9) *Saul*, "albeit he was the Elect of the Lord, perished with his "whole house, because he departed from the ways of the "Lord.

"*Ozias* also King of *Judah*, whose name is spoken of "and spread over all, through the manifold victories given "him of God, his heart was so puffed up to his destruction, "because the Lord did help and strengthen him in every "place, that he, contemning the fear and reverence of the "Lord, would usurp unto himself that which was not his "office, that is to say, the Priesthood, and to offer Incense "upon the Altar of the Lord; for the which he was strick- "en with a Leprosie, and cast out of the House of the "Lord. Many other Kings and holy Men of great sub- "stance, because they have walked above their estate in the "marvels of the world, presuming to rebel against God in "his Ministeries, have perished: and at the last, they have "found nothing of their substance in their power. Also "King *Abaz*, because he did usurp the office of Priest- "hood, was likewise stricken with a Leprosie by God.

"*Oza* also, albeit he was not King, yet for so much as he "touched the Ark and held it, when it would have fallen "by the unruliness of the Oxen, which thing pertained "not unto him, but unto the Ministers of the Church, he "was stricken by the wrath of God and fell down by the "Ark. O King, it is a famous Proverb: That a Man, "forwarned by another Mans misfortune, will take the "better heed unto himself. For every Man hath his own "business in hand, when his neighbours House is on fire.

"Dearly beloved King, God would have the disposing "of those things, which pertain unto the Church, to be- "long only unto Priests, and not unto the secular power.

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"Do not challenge unto thy self therefore another Mans "right, neither strive against him by whom all things are "ordained; left thou seem to strive against his benefits, "of whom thou hast received thy power. For by the com- (10) "mon (10) Laws, and not by the secular power, and by "the Bishops and Priests, Almighty God would have the "Clergy of the Christian Religion to be ordered and ruled. "And Christian Kings ought to submit all their doings un- "to Ecclesiastical Rulers, and not to prefer themselves: "for it is written, That none ought to judge the Bishops "but only the Church, neither doth it pertain unto Mans "Law to give sentence upon any such. Christian Princes are "accustomed to be obedient unto the Statutes and Ordi- "nances of the Church, and not to prefer their own pow- "er. A Prince ought to submit himself unto the Bishops, "and not to judge the Bishops: for there are two things "wherewith the world is chiefly governed, (that is to say) "the Sacred Authority of Bishops, and Royal Power. (11) "(11) in the which, the Bishops charge is so much the "more weighty, in that they shall at the later Judgment "render account even of the Kings themselves. Truly you "ought to understand, That you depend upon their judg- "ment, and cannot reduce them unto your own will: "for many Bishops have Excommunicated both Kings and "Emperors. And if you require an especial example there- "of, *Innocentius* the Pope did Excommunicate *Arcadius* "the Emperor, because he did consent that *John Chrysostom* "should be expulsed from his seat; And Saint *Ambrose* al- (12) "so did Excommunicate (12) *Theodosius* the great Em- "peror for a fault (which seemed not so weighty unto o- "ther Priests) and shut him out of the Church: who after- "wards by condign satisfaction was absolved.

"There are many other like Examples. For *David*, "when he had Committed Adultery and Murther, the Pro- "phet *Nathan* was sent unto him by God to reprove him, "and he was soon corrected: And the King (laying aside "his Scepter and Diadem, and setting apart all Princely "Majesty) was not ashamed to humble himself before the "face of the Prophet, to confess his fault, and to require "forgiveness for his offence. What will you more? He "being stricken with Repentance asked mercy, and obtain- "ed forgiveness. So likewise you (most beloved King and "Reverend Lord) after the example of this good King *Da-* "*vid*, of whom it is said, *I have found a Man after mine* "*own heart*; with a contrite and humble heart turn to "the Lord your God, and take hold of Repentance for your "transgressions. For you have fallen and erred in many "things, which yet I keep in store still, if (peradventure) "God shall inspire you to say with the Prophet; *Have* "*mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, for* "*I have sinned much against thee, and done ill in thy sight.* "Thus much I have thought good to write to you my dear "Lord at this present, passing other things in silence, till I "may see whether my words take place in you, and bring "forth fruits worthy of Repentance; and that I may hear "and rejoyce with them that shall bring me word and say; "O King, thy Son was dead, and is alive again; was lost, "and is found again. But if you will not hear me, look "where I was wont * before the Majesty of the Body of "Christ to pray for you in abundance of tears and sighs; "there in the same place I will cry against you, and say, "Rise up Lord and judge my cause, forget not the rebukes "and injuries which the King of *England* doth to thee and "thine; forget not the ignominy of thy Church, which "thou hast builded in thy blood. Revenge the blood of "thy Saints which is spilt; revenge, O Lord, the afflictions "of thy servants of whom there is an infinite number. For "the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone "up so high, that we are not able to bear them any longer. "Whatsoever your servants shall do, all those things shall "be required at your hands: for he seemeth to have "done the harm, which hath given the cause thereof. "Doubtless, the Son of the Most High, except you amend "and cease from the oppressing of the Church and Clergy, "and keep your hand from troubling of them, will come "in the rod of his fury, at the voyces of such as cry to him, "and at the sighs of them that be in bands; when the time "shall come for him to judge the unrighteousnes of Men in "equity and severity of the Holy Ghost. For he knoweth "how to take away the breath of Princes, and is terrible a- "mong Kings of the Earth. Your dear and loving Grace I "wish well to fare. Thus fare ye well again and ever.

* Note the judgment of God against this Becket, who was slain at his Mass making the body of Christ.

Certain Notes or Elenchs upon this Epistle: which by the figures you may find out, and their places.

1. THE scope of this Epistle is this, To prove that Bishops and Priests ought not to come under the covert and controlement of Temporal power.

2. This similitude holdeth not. For, though the finalness of a City blemisheth not the Prerogative of a Kingdom, yet the evilness and rebellion of a City doth worthily blemish his own prerogative.

3. So saith the Popes Decree, *Dist.* 10. but the Scripture of God importeth otherwise. *Abiathar* the Priest was depoled of King *Solomon*, not for any Heresie, but for other causes, 3. *Reg.* 12. *Jonathas* took his Priesthood of King *Alexander*: and *Simon* of *Demetrius*, 1 *Macch.* 7. Christ offered Tribute to *Cæsar* for him and for *Peter*. Also *Peter* saith, *Be ye subject to every humane creature*; and it followeth, *whether it be to the King as to the chief, &c. Item* Pope *Leo* subscribed himself to *Ludovicus* the Emperor with these words: *And if we do any thing incompetently, and do swerve from the path of Righteousness, we will stand to your Reformation, or of them whom you shall send*, Quæst. 2. Hos. 7.

4. Notwithstanding, the said *Constantinus*, writing to the Bishops Congregated at *Tyrus*, first chideth them, then commandeth them to resort unto his presence, to have their cause judged and decided, *Trip. hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

5. The Father under obedience, *&c.* If Fatherhood go by age, I suppose that King *Henry* was elder than *Becket*. If Fatherhood consist in Authority, I judge the Authority of a King to be above the Authority of an Archbishop. If the See of *Canterbury* make the Fatherhood, yet had *Becket* no cause to claim Fatherhood over the King, seeing the Son ordained the Father (that is) seeing the King made him his Archbishop, and he made not him his King.

6. By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the Papists, that bringeth them in subjection to their Princes.

7. Ecclesiastical matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and divine knowledge, for the institution of the Soul, and information of Conscience. In which both Princes and Subjects ought to follow the Pastor, so long as they go truly before them without error, or else not. But what maketh this for the Lands and Liberties of Church-men?

8. Punishment due to Malefactors and Rebels is not to be called Persecution, but due Correction.

9. *Saul* brake the commandment of God and was rejected. *Ozias* contrary to the commandment of God took the Office of a Priest, and was stricken. *Oza* against the express word of the Law put his hand to the Ark, and was punished. But what express word had King *Henry*, why he should not correct and punish rebellious Bishops, and wicked Priests within his own Realm? wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for *Achas*, he was not so much punished for taking the Priests Office, as for spoiling the Temple of the Lord, and offering to Idols.

10. Common Laws. S. *Austin* writing to *Boniface*, saith thus; *Whosoever obeyeth not the Laws of the Emperor, being made for the verity of God, procureth to himself great punishment. For in the time of the Prophets, all the Kings which did not forbid and subvert all such things as were used of the people against the Law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended above the rest.* August.

11. *Isidorus* hath these words: *Let Temporal Princes know that they must render account to God for the Church, which they have as the hands of God to govern, &c.*

12. The case of *Arcadius*, *Theodosius*, *David*, and of this King, as touching this matter, hath no similitude. In them was murther: this King doth nothing but claim that which is his due. And though by the spiritual sword those Kings were resisted: yet it agreeth not therefore, that the persons of them which have the use of the spiritual sword are above the persons of them which have the temporal sword.

Besides these Letters of the Archbishop sent to the King, the Pope also in the same cause writeth to the King, beginning after this sort: *Alexander Papa ad Henricum regem*

Et naturali ratione, & forma juris dictante, providentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuisse, quod quanto quis ab aliquo majora fuscepisse dignoscitur, tanto ei obnoxior, & magis obligatus tenetur, &c. The whole tenor of the Letter as he wrote it to the King I would here expreſs, but for prevracting of the time and ſtraitneſs of room, having ſo many things elſe in this ſtory (by the Grace of Chriſt) to be comprehended. But the Letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the King to ſhew favour to *Thomas Becket*. Where, in the proceſs of the Epiſtle, it followeth in theſe words: *Ea propter ſeveritatem tuam per Apoſtolica ſcripta rogamus, monemus, & exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remiſſionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis Apoſtolorum, auctoritate noſtra injungimus, ut memoratum Archiepiſcopum pro Deo & Eccleſia ſua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & favorum tuum recipias, &c.* That is, Therefore we do deſire, moniſh, and exhort your honour by theſe our Apoſtolical writings, and alſo injoyn you upon the remiſſion of your ſins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of St. *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, by our authority, that you will receive again the foreſaid Archbiſhop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his Church, and of your own Realm, *&c.* Thus have you heard the Popes intreating Letter. Now here is another Letter ſent unto the foreſaid King, wherein he doth menace him, as in the tenor thereof here followeth.

Biſhop *Alexander*, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to King *Henry*, King of *England*, health and bleſſing Apoſtolical.

HOW fatherly and gently we have oft-times intreated and exhorted both by Legats and Letters your princely honour, to be reconciled again with our reverend Brother Thomas *Archbiſhop* of Canterbury, *ſo that he and his may be reſtored again to their Churches and other poſſeſſions to them appertaining, your wiſdom is not ignorant, ſeeing it is notified and ſpread almoſt throughout all Chriſtendom. Forſomuch therefore as hitherto we could not prevail with you, neither move nor ſtir your mind with fair and gentle words, it lamenteth us not a little, ſo to be fruſtrate and deceived of the hope and expectation which we had conceived of you. Eſpecially ſeeing we love you ſo dearly, as our own dearly beloved Son in the Lord, and underſtand ſo great jeopardy to hang over you.*

But forſomuch as it is written; Cry out and ceaſe not, lift up thy voice like a Trumpet, and declare to my people their wickedneſs, and their ſins to the houſe of Jacob: *Alſo forſomuch as it is in* Solomon *commanded, That the ſluggiſh perſon ſhould be ſtoned with the dung of Oxen: we have thought good therefore, not to forbear or ſupport your ſtubbornneſs any longer againſt juſtice and ſalvation. Neither that the mouth of the foreſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be ſtopped from henceforth any more; but that he may freely proſecute the charge of his office and duty, and revenge with the ſword of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the injuries both of himſelf, and of his Church committed to his charge.*

And here I have ſent unto you two Legates, Petrus de ponte Dei, *and* Bernardus de Corilio, *to admoniſh you of the ſame. But if ye will neither by us be advertiſed, nor give ear unto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtleſs) leſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from us in our behalf may happen and fall upon you.* Dated at *Benevent*, the ninth day before the Kalends of *June*.

To anſwer theſe Letters again, there was another certain writing drawn out and directed to the Pope, made by ſome of the Clergy, as it ſeemeth: but not without conſent of the King, as by the title may appear, inveighing and diſproving the miſbehaviour of the Archbiſhop. The tenour whereof here followeth, and beginneth thus:

An Anſwer to the Pope.

Anſwer to the Popes Letter.

TIme now requireth more to ſeek help than to make complaints. For ſo it is now, that the holy mother Church (our ſins deſerving the ſame) lieth in a dangerous caſe of great decay, which is like to inſue, except the preſent mercy of the Lord ſupport her.

Such is the wickedneſs now of Schiſmaticks, that the Father of Fathers Pope *Alexander* (for the defence of his Faith and for the love of Righteouſneſs) is baniſhed out of his Country: not able to keep free reſidence in his own proper See, by reaſon of the indurate heart of *Frederick* the *Pharaoh*.

Further and beſides, the Church alſo of *Canterbury* is miſerably impaired and blemiſhed, as well in the Spiritual as in the Temporal eſtate: much like to the Ship in the Sea, being deſtitute of her guide toſſed in the floods, and wreſtling with the winds, while the Paſtor being abſent from his Province, dare not there remain through the power of his Province. Who being over wiſe (to the jeopardy of himſelf, his Church, and us alſo) hath brought and intangled us likewiſe with himſelf in the ſame partaking of his puniſhments and labours, not conſidering how we ought to forbear, and not to reſiſt ſuperiour powers. And alſo he threweth himſelf to us unkind, which with all our affections bear the burthen with him of his afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute us which ſtand in the ſame condemnation with him. For, betwixt him and our Soveraign Prince, the King of *England*, aroſe a certain matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day ſhould be appointed, to have the controverſie diſcuſſed by equity and juſtice.

The day being come, the King commanded all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church to be called in a great ſolemn frequency: ſo that the greater and more general this Council was, the more manifeſt the detection of this fruitleſom malice ſhould appear and be eſpied.

At the day therefore above mentioned this troubler of the Realm and of the Church preſenteth himſelf in the ſight of our Catholick King: who, not truſting the quality and condition of his cauſe, armeth him with the armour of the croſs, as one which ſhould be brought to the preſence of a Tyrant. By reaſon whereof, the Kings Majeſty being ſomewhat agrieved (yet becauſe he would be delivered from all ſuſpition) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Biſhops. This done, it reſteth in the Biſhops to decide and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement between them, removing all occaſion of diſſention. Which thing they going about, this foreſaid Archbiſhop cometh in, forbidding and commanding, that no Man proceed in any ſentence of him before the King.

This being ſignified to the Kings hearing, his mind was grievouſly provoked thereby to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtanding had been eaſily aſſwaged, if the other would have ſubmitted himſelf, and acknowledged his default. But he adding ſtubbornneſs to his treſpaſs, through the quantity and greatneſs of his exceſs was the author of his own puniſhment, which now by the Law Civil he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſtaineth to crave pardon for his deſert at the Kings hand; whoſe anger he feareth not to ſtir up, in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecution of the Church, greatly againſt the profit of the ſame: augmenting and increaſing thereby the perſecution which now the Church lyeth under. Much better it had been for him to have tempered himſelf with the bridle of moderation, in the higheſt eſtate of his dignity; leſt in exceeding too far in ſtraining the ſtrict points of things by overmuch preſumption, peradventure through his preſumption, being not in mean and tolerable things, he might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church would not move him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honours ought to perſwade him not to be ſo ſtubborn againſt the King. But here peradventure his friend and our adverſary will object, That his bearing and ſubmitting to the King, in this behalf were prejudicial againſt the authority and See Apoſtolical. As though he did not or might not underſtand, that although the dignity of the Church ſhould ſuffer a little detriment in that judgment: yet he might and ought to have diſſembled (for the time) to obtain peace unto the Church. He will object again, alledging the name of Father, That it ſoundeth like a point of arrogancy, for Children to proceed in judgment of condemnation againſt the Father; which thing is not convenient. But he muſt underſtand again, That it was neceſſary that the obedience and humility of the Children ſhould temper the pride of the Father; leſt afterward, the hatred of the Father might redound upon the Children. Wherefore by theſe premiſes your Fatherhood may underſtand, that the action of this our adverſary ought to fall down, as void, and of none effect, who only upon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus againſt us, having no juſt cauſe nor reaſon to ground upon.

Frederick diſſipateth himſelf to Pharaoh, like unto the Pope with us.

And forſomuch as the care and charge of all Churches (as ye know) lyeth upon us, it ſtandeth us upon to provide concerning the ſtate of the Church of *Canterbury*, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſaid Church of *Canterbury*, by the exceſs of his Paſtor, be not driven to ruine or decay.

¶ By this Epiſtle it may appear to the Reader thereof, that *Becket* (being abſent from *England*) went about to work ſome trouble againſt certain of the Clergy and the Laity (belike) in Excommunicating ſuch as he took to be his evil willers.

Now to underſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did Excommunicate, this Letter, ſent to *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſhall better declare the matter.

A Letter of *Becket* to the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

A Letter of Becket to the Biſhop of Norwich.

HE *bindeth himſelf to the penalty of the crime, whoſoever receiving power and authority of God, uſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeverity, in puniſhing vice: but winking and diſſembling, doth miniſter boldneſs to wicked doers, maintaining them in their ſin. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the Prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as the Scripture ſaith,* Thorns and Brambles grow in the hands of the idle Drunkard. *Wherefore, leſt (through our too much ſufferance and diſſembling) the tranſgreſſions of manifeſt evildoers ſhould alſo be laid to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the Church through our guilty ſilence; we therefore following the authority of the Popes commandment, have laid our Sentence of Curſe and Excommunication upon the Earl* Hugo: *commanding you throughout all your Dioceſs publickly to denounce the ſaid Earl as accurſed, ſo that, according to the diſcipline of the Church, he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithful people. Alſo, it is not unknown to your brotherhood, how long we have born with the tranſgreſſions of the Biſhop of* London; *who, amongſt other his facts, I would to God were not a great deer, and fautour of this Schiſm, and ſubverter of the Rites and Liberties of Holy Church. Wherefore we, being ſupported with the authority of Apoſtolick See, have alſo Excommunicated him; beſides alſo the Biſhop of* Salisbury, *becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others likewiſe, upon divers and ſundry cauſes, whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed:* Hugo Bemards *Son,* Rodulph of Brock, Robert of Brock *a Clerk,* Hugo de S. Cleare, *and* Letardus *a Clerk of* Norfolk, Nigellus *of* Scacvil, *and* Richard Chaplin, William *of* Hafting, *and the Frier which poſſeſſeth my Church of* Monchot. *We therefore charge and command you by the Authority Apoſtolical and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the peril of Salvation, and of your Order; that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclaimed Excommunicate, throughout all your Dioceſs, and to command all the faithful to avoid their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear: for we ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtance of the Apoſtolick See; God being our borow againſt the pretended ſlights of the malignant ſort, and againſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as have been ſolemnly cited of us ſhall ſuſtain the like ſentence of Excommunication, if God will, on the* Aſcention-*day: unleſs they ſhall otherwiſe agree with me. That is, to wit,* Geoffrey *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *and* Robert *his Vicar,* Rice of Wilceſter, Richard of Lucy, William Giffard, Adam of Cherings, *with ſuch others more: which either at the commandment of the King, or upon their own proper temerity, have invaded the goods and poſſeſſions either appertaining to us, or to our Clerks about us. With theſe alſo we do Excommunicate all ſuch as be known, either with aid or council, to have incenſed or ſet forward the proceeding of our King againſt the liberties of the Church, and exiling of the innocents. And ſuch alſo as be known to impeach or let by any manner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the Pope, or from us) for the neceſſities of the Church. Fare you well again, and ever.*

The Biſhop of London Excommunicated.

This Biſhop was Excommunicated becauſe he ſet in the Dean of Salisbury without the Sentence of him, being then beyond the Seas.

Becket's ſubjects perſuaded, flye to Martyr.

Hitherto hath thou ſeen (gentile Reader) divers aiid ſundry Letters of *Thomas Becket*, whereby thou mayſt collect a ſufficient Hiſtory of his doings and demeanor, though nothing elſe were ſaid further of him, concerning his luſty and haughty ſtomach, about that which beſeemed either his degree or cauſe which he took in hand. And here peradventure I may ſeem in the ſtory of this one Man to tarry too long, having to write of ſo many others better than it: yet for the weaker ſort, which have counted him, and yet do count him for a Saint, having in themſelves little underſtanding to judge or diſcern in the cauſes of Men, I thought to add this Letter more, wherein he complaineth of his King to a Foreign power; doing what in him did lie, to ſtir for his own cauſe mortal War to the deſtruction of many. For ſuppoſe wrong had been offered him of his Prince, was it not enough for him to flie? What cauſe had he, for his own private revenge, ſo ſet Potentates in publick diſcord? Now having no juſt cauſe, but rather offering injury in a falſe quarel, ſo to complain of his Prince; what is to be ſaid of this, let every Man judge which ſeeth this Letter.

An Epiſtle of *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to Pope *Alexander*.

A *Mantiſſimo Patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia ſummo Pont. Thomas Cant. Eccleſiæ humilis miniſter, debitam & devotam obedientiam, &c.*

In Engliſh thus:

A fictitious complaint of Becket to the Pope againſt his King.

" To our moſt loving Father and Lord, *Alexander* by
" the Grace of God Biſhop, *Thomas* the humble Miniſter
" and Servant of the Church of *Canterbury* due and reve-
" rend obedience. Long enough and too long moſt loving
" Father have I forborn, ſtill looking after the amend-
" ment of the King of *England*, but no fruit have I reap-
" ed of this my long patience: nay rather, whileſt that un-
" wiſely I do thus forbear, I augment and procure the de-
" triment and diminiſhing of mine authority, as alſo of the
" Church of God: For oftentimes have I by devout and
" Religious Meſſengers invited him to make condign ſa-
" tisfaction; as alſo by my Letters (the copies whereof I
" have ſent you) intimated and pronounced Gods feverity
" and vengeance againſt him, unleſs he repent and amend.
" But he (that notwithſtanding) groweth from evil to worſe;
" oppreſſing and conculcating the Church and Sanctuary
" of God; perſecuting both me and thoſe which take part
" with me: inſomuch that with fearful threatning words
" his purpoſe is to terrifie ſuch, as (for Gods cauſe and mine
" own) ſeek any way to relieve and help me. He wrote alſo
" Letters unto the Abbat of the *Ciſtercian* Order, That as he
" favoured the Abbacy of that his Order (which was in his
" power, ſaid he) he would not accept me into the Fellow-
" ſhip thereof, nor do any thing elſe for me. What ſhould
" I uſe many words? So much hath the rigor and ſeverity
" as well of the King as of his Officers, under our pati-
" ence and ſufferance, ſhewed it ſelf; that if a great num-
" ber of Men, yea, and that of the moſt Religious ſort,
" ſhould ſhew unto you the matter as it is indeed (and that
" upon their oath taken) I partly doubt whether your holi-
" neſs would give credit unto them or not. With heavi-
" neſs of mind therefore I conſidering theſe things, and be-
" holding as well the peril of the King as of our ſelf, have
" publickly condemned not only thoſe pernicious cuſtoms,
" but all thoſe perverſities and wicked doings whereby the
" Church of *England* is diſturbed and brought to confuſion;
" as alſo the writing whereby they were confirmed; Ex-
" communicating generally as well the obſervers and exacti-
" ers thereof, as alſo the inventers and patrons of the ſame,
" with their favourers, counſellours, and coadjutors what-
" ever, either of the Clergy or Laity, abſolving alſo our
" Biſhops from their oath, whereby they were ſo ſtrictly in-
" joyned to the obſervation of the ſame. Theſe are the
" Articles which in that writing I have principally condem-
" ned, Firſt, That it is inhibited to appeal unto the See
" Apoſtolical for any cauſe, but by the Kings Licence. That
" a Biſhop may not puniſh any Man for perjury, or for
" breaking of his troth. That a Biſhop may not Excom-
" municate any Man that holdeth of the King *In capite*, or
" elſe interdict either their Lands or Offices without the

Godly Articles condemned by Becket. 1. 2. 3.

4. " Kings licence. That Clerks and Religious Men may be
5. " taken from us to ſecular judgment. That the King or any
" other Judge may hear and decide the Cauſes of the Church
6. " and Tithes. That it ſhall not be lawful for any Archbiſhop
" or Biſhop to go out of the Realm, and to come at the
" Popes call without the Kings licence; and divers others
" ſuch as theſe. Namely alſo I have Excommunicated *John*
" of *Oxenford*, who hath communicated with the Schiſ-
" matick and Excommunicate perſon (*Reginald Colonien-*
" *ſis*) the which alſo, contrary to the commandment of
" the Lord Pope and ours, hath uſurped the Deanry of the
" Church of *Salisbury*, and hath (to renew his Schiſm)
" taken an oath in the Emperors Court. Alſo I have de-
" nounced and excommunicated *Richard* of *Worceſter*, be-
" cauſe he is fallen into the ſame damnable Hereſie, and
" communicated with that famous Schiſmatick of *Cullen*;
" deviſing and forging all miſchief poſſible, with the Schiſ-
" maticks and *Flemings*, to the deſtruction of the Church
" of God, and eſpecially of the Church of *Rome*, by com-
" poſition made by the King of *England* and them. Alſo
" *Richard de Lucy*, and *Jocelin de Baliol*, which have
" furthered the favours of the Kings Tyranny and workers
" of their Hereſies. Alſo *Ranulph de Broc*, and *Hugo de*
" *Sancto Claro*, and *Thomas* the Son of *Bernard*, which
" have uſurped the poſſeſſions and goods of the Church of
" *Canterbury* without our licence and conſent. We have
" alſo Excommunicated all thoſe, which without our li-
" cence do ſtretch out their hands to the poſſeſſions and
" goods of the Church of *Canterbury*. The King him-
" ſelf we have not yet Excommunicated perſonally, ſtill
" waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithſtanding)
" we will not defer to Excommunicate, unleſs he quickly
" amend, and be warned by that he hath done. And there-
" fore that the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, and the
" liberty of the Church of God, which in theſe parts are al-
" moſt utterly loſt, may be by ſome means reſtored, it is
" meet and very neceſſary that what we have herein done
" the ſame be of your Holineſs ratified, and by your Letters
" confirmed. Thus I wiſh your Holineſs long to proſper
" and flouriſh.

Becket reprehended for complaining of his King.

By this Epiſtle, he that liſteth to underſtand of the doings and quarrels of *Becket*, may partly judge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings although in ſome part they may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindneſs of zeal, or humane frailty; yet in this point, ſo vilely to complain of his natural Prince, for the zeal of the Pope, he can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindneſs then of the Prelates in thoſe days, who meaſured and eſteemed the dignity and liberties of Chriſts Church by no other things, than only by goods and poſſeſſions flowing and abounding in the Clergy; and thought no greater point of Religion to be in the Church, than to maintain the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abominably abuſe Chriſtian Diſcipline and Excommunication of the Church at that time; as by this aforeſaid Epiſtle may appear. And what marvel if the acts and doings of this Archbiſhop ſeem now to us in theſe days both fond and ſtrange: ſeeing the Suffragans of his own Church and Clergy, writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh may be ſeen.

Excommunication abuſed in private revenge about lands and poſſeſſions.

An effectual and pithy Letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury* to *Thomas Becket* their Archbiſhop.

QUÆ veſtro (pater) in longinquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius novitate turbata ſunt; veſtra ſperabamus humilitate, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

The Letters of the Biſhops to Becket.

" Such troubles and perturbations as happned through
" the ſtrangeneſs of your departure out of the Realm, we
" hoped by your humility and prudence ſhould have been
" reduced again (Gods Grace working withal) into a peace-
" able tranquility. And it was no little joy to us, to hear
" ſo of you in thoſe parts where you are converſant, how
" humbly you there behaved your ſelf, nothing vaunting
" your ſelf againſt your Prince and King, and that you at-
" tempt no riſings or wreſtlings againſt his Kingdom, but
" that you bear with much patience the burthen of poverty,
" and gave your ſelf to Reading and Prayer, and to redeem
" the loſs of your time ſpent, with faſtings, watchings,
" and tears; and ſo, being occupied with ſpiritual ſtudies,
" to tend and riſe up to the perfection of Vertue, *&c.* But
" now, through the ſecret relation of certain, we hear (that
" we are are ſorry of) that you have ſent unto him a
" threatning Letter, wherein there is no ſalvation premiſed.
" In the which alſo ye pretend no intreating nor prayers for
" the obtaining of favour, neither do uſe any friendly man-
" ner in declaring what you write, but menacing with much
" auſterity, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from
" the ſociety of the Church. Which thing if you ſhall ac-
" compliſh with like ſeverity, as in words ye threaten to
" do, you ſhall not only put us out of all hope of any peace,
" but alſo put us in fear of hatred and diſcord without mea-
" ſure, and without all redreſs amongſt us. But wiſdom will
" conſider before the end of things, labouring and indea-
" vouring to finiſh that which ſhe wiſely beginneth. There-
" fore your diſcretion ſhall do well diligently to forecaſt
" and conſider wherein ye tend; what end may enſue there-
" of, and whereabout ye go. Certes we (for our parts)
" bearing that we do hear, are diſcouraged from that we
" hoped for, which, before having ſome good comfort of
" tranquility to come, are caſt from hope to deſpair: ſo
" that while one is drawn thus againſt another, almoſt
" there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or ſuppli-
" cation. Wherefore writing to your Fatherhood, we
" exhort and counſel you by way of Charity, That you
" add not trouble to trouble, and heap injury upon injury:
" but that you ſo behave your ſelf, that all menaces ſet a-
" ſide, ye rather give your ſelf to Patience and Humility,
" and to yield your cauſe to the Clemency of God, and to
" the mercy of your Prince; and in ſo doing you ſhall heap
" coals of Charity upon the heads of many. Thus Charity
" ſhall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do
" (by Gods help and good Mens counſel) pity peradven-
" ture and godlineſs ſhall obtain. Better it were to ſuſtain
" Poverty with praiſe, than in great promotions to be a
" common note to all Men. It is right well known unto all
" Men, how beneficial the King hath been unto you, from
" what baſeneſs to what dignity he hath advanced you,
" and alſo into his own familiarity hath ſo much preferred
" you, that from the North Ocean to the Mount *Perineus*
" he hath ſubdued all things to your authority: in ſo much
" that they were amongſt all other accounted for Men right
" fortunate, whoſoever could find any favour with you.

" And furthermore, leſt that your eſtimation ſhould be
" over matched by any Nobility, he (againſt the mind of
" his Mother, and of his Realm) hath placed and ratified
" you ſubſtantially in Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and advanced
" you to this honour wherein ye ſtand: truſting through
" your help and counſel to Reign more ſafely and proſpe-
" rouſly. Now, if he ſhall find diſquietneſs, wherein he
" truſted to have quietneſs; what ſhall all Men ſay or think
" of you? What recompence or retribution ſhall this be
" thought to be for ſo many and great benefits taken?
" Therefore (if it ſhall pleaſe you) ye ſhall do well to fa-
" vour and ſpare your fame and eſtimation, and to overcome
" your Lord and Soveraign with Humility and Charity.
" Whereunto if our advertiſement cannot move you; yet
" the love and fidelity you bear to the Biſhop and Holy
" Church of *Rome* ought to incline you thereunto, and
" not to attempt any ſuch thing, whereby the troubles of
" the Church our Mother may increaſe, or whereby her
" dolor may be augmented in the loſs of them, whoſe diſ-
" obedience now the Pope, and the Holy Church of *Rome*,
" and to the no little confuſion of us all; therefore we lay
" here againſt you, for our ſelves, the remedy of appellati-
" on. And as before, openly in the publick face of the
" Church with lively voyce we appealed to the Pope for
" certain perils that might have happened: ſo now again
" in writing we appeal to the ſame, aſſigning the term of
" our appellation the day of the Lords Aſcenſion. Moſt
" humbly and reverently beſeeching your goodneſs, that
" you taking a better way with you in this matter, will
" let your cauſe fall, ſparing herein both the labours and
" charges, as well of your ſelf, as ours alſo. And thus we
" wiſh you right well to fare, Reverend in the Lord.

" ſit down and ſing the Song of the Lamentation of *Jere-*
" *my* and weep your belly full.

" Conſider therefore, if it pleaſe you, and foreſee well
" with your ſelf, this purpoſe of yours, if it proceed, how
" hurtful and perillous it will be; not only to the Pope,
" and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, but alſo to your ſelf
" moſt eſpecially. But ſome peradventure about you, of
" haughty and high minded ſtoutneſs, more ſtout perca-
" than wiſe, will not ſuffer you to take this way, but will
" give you contrary counſel, to prove rather and declare
" what ye are able to do againſt your Lord and Prince,
" and to practiſe againſt him and all his the utterm oft of
" your power and authority, which power and authority
" of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearful; and to him
" that will not amend, terrible. Such counſel as this,
" ſome peradventure will whiſper in your ear. But to theſe
" again this we ſay and anſwer for our King, whom not-
" withſtanding to be without fault we do not affirm: but yet
" always, that he is ready to amend and make ſatisfaction,
" that we ſpeak confidently and proteſt in his behalf.

The contumelies of King Henry the ſecond, for which he is reproved and condemned.

" The King, appointed for the Lords annointed, provi-
" ded for the peace of his Subjects all that he is able: and
" therefore to the intent he may conſerve this peace in his
" Churches and amongſt his Subjects committed to him;
" he willeth and requireth ſuch Ordinances due to Kings,
" and exhibited to them before time, alſo to be exhibited
" to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction ſprung
" betwixt him and us, he being thereupon convented, and
" admoniſhed from the Pope by the Reverend Biſhops of
" *London* and *Hereford*, braſt not out into any defiance,
" but meekly and humbly anſwered, That wherein ſoever
" the Church or any Eccleſiaſtical perſon can ſhew himſelf
" grieved, he would therein ſtand to the judgment of the
" Church of his Kingdom. Which alſo he is ready no leſs to
" perform indeed, thinking nothing more ſweet unto him
" than to be admoniſhed of his fault, if he have offended
" the Lord, and to reform the ſame; and not only to re-
" form and amend his fault, but alſo to ſatisfie it to the
" uttermoſt, if the Law ſhall ſo require him. Wherefore,
" ſeeing he is ſo willing to recompence and ſatisfie the judg-
" ment of the Church in all things appertaining to the
" Church; refuſing no order that ſhall be taken, but in all
" things ſubmitting his neck to the yoke of Chriſt: with
" what right, by what Canon, or reaſon can you interdict
" him, or uſe Excommunication againſt him? It is a thing
" laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wiſe
" Men, wiſely to go with judgment and reaſon, and not
" to be carried with puffs of haſty violence. Whereupon
" this is the only and common Petition of us all, that your
" Fatherly care will diligently provide for your flock and
" ſheep committed to you, ſo that they miſcarry not, or
" run to any ruine through any inconſiderate or too much
" heady counſel in you: but rather, through your ſoftneſs
" and ſufferance, they may obtain life, peace and ſecurity.
" It doth move us all, that we hear of late to be done by
" you againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and the Dean of the
" ſame Church, proſperouſly, as ſome Men ſuppoſe; a-
" gainſt whom you have given out the Sentence of Ex-
" communication and Condemnation, before any queſtion
" of their crime was; following therein, as ſeemeth more
" the heat of haſtineſs than the path of Righteouſnes. This
" is a new order of judgment, unheard of yet to this day
" in our Laws and Canons, firſt to condemn a Man, and
" after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order
" left you ſhould hereafter attempt to exerciſe in like man-
" ner againſt our Soveraign and King, or againſt us and
" our Churches, and Parithes committed to us, to the
" detriment of the Pope, and the Holy Church of *Rome*,
" and to the no little confuſion of us all; therefore we lay
" here againſt you, for our ſelves, the remedy of appellati-
" on. And as before, openly in the publick face of the
" Church with lively voyce we appealed to the Pope for
" certain perils that might have happened: ſo now again
" in writing we appeal to the ſame, aſſigning the term of
" our appellation the day of the Lords Aſcenſion. Moſt
" humbly and reverently beſeeching your goodneſs, that
" you taking a better way with you in this matter, will
" let your cauſe fall, ſparing herein both the labours and
" charges, as well of your ſelf, as ours alſo. And thus we
" wiſh you right well to fare, Reverend in the Lord.

The Reſcript or Anſwer again of *Thomas Becket* to all his Suffragans, not obeying but confuting the counſel ſent.

Scriptures in words rightly alledged, but falſly applied.

I deny your minor, Mr. Becket.

FRaternitatis veſtræ Scriptum (quod tamen prudentiæ veſtræ communi Concilio non facile credimus emanaſſe) nuper ex inſperato ſuſcepimus, &c.

Your brotherly Letters ſent, albeit not by the whole aſſent of your wiſdoms written, as I ſuppoſe, of late I received upon a ſudden: the Contents whereof ſeem to contain more ſharpneſs than ſolace. And would to God they proceeded more of ſincere zeal of godlineſs, or affection of charity, than of diſobedience or froward wilfulneſs. For charity ſeeketh not the things that be her own, but which appertain to Jeſus Chriſt. It had been your duty (if there be truth in the Goſpel, as moſt undoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully have accomplihed his buſineſs whoſe perſon you repreſent, rather to have feared him, which can caſt both body and ſoul to Hell; than him whoſe power extendeth no further than to the body; rather to have obeyed God than Man, rather your Father than your Maſter or Lord, after the example of him who was to his Father obedient unto the death; which died for us, leaving us example to follow his ſteps. Let us die therefore with him, and lay down our lives for the deliverance of his Church out of the yoke of bondage, and tribulation of the oppreſſor. Which Church he hath founded, and whoſe liberty he hath procured with his own proper blood: leſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe, it may happly fall upon us which is written in the Goſpel; *Whoſo loveth his own life more than me, is not worthy of me.* This ye ought to know, That if it be right which your Captain commandeth, your duty requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God than Men.

One thing I will ſay (if I may be ſo bold to tell it unto you) I have now ſuffered and abſtained a long ſpace, waiting if the Lord had given you to take a better heart unto you, which have turned cowardly your backs in the day of battel; or if any of you would have returned again to ſtand like a wall for the Houſe of *Iſrael*; at leaſt if he had but ſhewed himſelf in the field, making but the countenance of a Warrior againſt them, which ceaſe not daily to inſeſt the Lamb of God, I waited, and none came; I ſuffered, and none roſe up; I held my peace, and none would ſpeak; I diſſembled, and none would ſtand with me in like ſemblance: wherefore ſeeing I ſee no better towardneſs in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint againſt you, and to cry againſt mine Enemies; Riſe up, O Lord, and judge my cauſe, revenge the blood of the Church which is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them which hate his liberty riſeth up ever, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, Brethren beloved, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the Church; for ſhe is builded upon a ſure Rock, that although the be ſhaken, yet ſhe cannot be overthrown. And why then ſeek ye to to confound me? Nay rather your ſelves in me, than me in you? A Man which hath taken upon me all the peril, have ſuſtained all the rebukes, have ſuſtained all the injuries, have ſuffered alſo for you all, to very baniſhment.

The Church of Chriſt cannot be overthrowen; Becket ought not to be reſiſted.

Servitude and liberty of the Church wrongfully defined. The words of holy Scripture clearly applied.

And ſo it was expedient, one to ſuffer for that Church, that thereby it might be releaſed out of ſervitude. Theſe things diſcuſs you ſimply with your ſelves, and weigh the the matter. Attend I ſay diligently in your minds for your parts, that God for his part removing from your eyes all Majeſty of Rule and Impery, as he is no accepter of perſons, may take from your hearts the veil, that ye may underſtand and ſee what ye have done, what ye intend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me which of you all can ſay, I have taken from him, ſince the time of my promotion, either Ox or Aſs. If I have defrauded him of any peny, if I have miſ-judged the cauſe of any Man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any perſon I have fought mine own gain, let him complain, and I will reſtore him fourfold: And if I have not offended you, what then is the cauſe that ye thus leave and forſake me in the cauſe of God? Why bend ye ſo your ſelves againſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpecial belonging to the Church?

Brethren, ſeek not to confound your ſelves and the Church of God (ſo much as in you is) but turn to me, and you

Turn to thee? Nay turn thou to the Lord and thou ſhalt be ſaved.

you ſhall be ſafe. For the Lord ſaith, *I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ſhould convert and live.* Stand with me manfully in the War, take your armor and your ſhield to defend me. Take the ſword of the word of the mighty God, that we altogether may withſtand more valiantly the malignant enemies, ſuch as go about to take away

The ſoul of the Church is the liberty of the Church, ſaith Becket.

the ſoul of the Church, which is her liberty: without which liberty ſhe hath no power againſt them that ſeek to incroach to their inheritance, the poſſeſſion of Gods Sanctuary. If ye will hear and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with us all in the defence of the liberty of his Church. Otherwiſe if ye will not, the Lord judge betwixt me and you, and require the conſition of his Church at your hands. Which Church, whether the world will or no, ſtandeth firmly in the word of the Lord, whereupon the is builded, and ever ſhall, till the hour come that the ſhall paſs from this world to the Father; for the Lord ever doth ſupport her with his hand.

Wherefore to return to the matter: Brethren, remember well with your ſelves (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought unto, and the Church of God alſo while I was in *England*, at my departing out of *England*, and after my departure from thence alſo; in what danger it ſtandeth at this preſent day; but eſpecially at that time, when as at *Northampton* Chriſt was judged again in my perſon, before the Judgment-ſeat of the high Preſident. Whoever heard the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (being troubled for injuries done to him and to his Church, and appealing to the Pope of *Rome*) to be judged, condemned, appealed, and put to his Sureties, and that of his own Suffragans? Where is this Law ſeen, or the Authority (nay rather perverſity) of this Canon heard off? And why yet ſhame ye not at this your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this conſulion work in you repentance, and repentance drive you to due ſatisfaction before God and Men? For theſe and ſuch other injuries done to God and to his Church, and to me for Gods cauſe (which with a good Conſcience I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without danger of ſoul I ought not to diſſemble them) I chuſe rather to abſent my ſelf for a ſeaſon, and to dwell quietly in the Houſe of my Lord, than in the Tabernacle of ſinners, until the time that (their iniquity being compleat) the hearts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the ſame ſhall be opened. And theſe injuries were the cauſe both of my appeal from the King, and of my departure from thence, which ye do term to be ſudden. But if ye will ſpeak the truth which ye know, it ought no leſs than to be ſudden: leſt (being fore-known) it might have been prevented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter, it happned for the beſt, both for the honour of the King, and better ſafety of them, which (ſeeking my harm) ſhould have brought ſlander to the King. If ſuch troubles followed upon my departing as ye ſay, let them be imputed to him which gave cauſe, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer; in him that purſueth, not in him that avoideth injuries. What would ye more? I preſented my ſelf to the Court, declaring both the cauſes of my coming and of my Appeal, declaring alſo the wrongs and injuries done to me and to my Church, and yet could have no anſwer: neither was there any that laid any thing againſt me, before we came to the King. Thus while we ſtood waiting in the Court, whether any would come againſt me or not, they ſent to my Officials, charging them not to obey me in my Temporalities, nor to owe any ſervice to me or to any of mine. After any appellation made in the Court, my Church was ſpoiled; we and they about us deprived of our goods, Outlawed both of the Clergy and of the Laity, Men, Women, and Infants; the goods of the Church, that is, the patrimony of the Crucifix, confiſcate, and part of the money turned to the Kings uſe, part to your own Coffers. Brother Biſhop of *London*, if this be be true that we hear of you, and that to the uſe of your own Church ye convert this money; we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience, that within forty days after the ſight of theſe Letters, all delay and excuſe ſet aſide, ye reſtore again within the time aforeſaid, all ſuch goods and parcels as you have taken away: for it is unmeet and contrary to all Law, one Church to be inriched with the ſpoil of another Church. If ye ſtand upon the authority that ſet you a work, you muſt underſtand, that in matters concerning the Church goods, he can give no lawful authority, which committeth violent injury, *&c.*

Unbeſeeming words of high preſumption. Chriſt is not judged in the perſon of any traytor.

Conſcience made where is none.

But he leaveth out here the manner of his coming to the court and theſubtilteeds of his behavior.

What authority and what Scripture giveth this Prerogative to Princes upon Church goods, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedy of Appeal? God forbid. It were evil with the Church of God, if when the Sacrilligious extortioner hath violently invaded other Mens goods (eſpecially the goods of the Church) he ſhould after defend him with the title of Appeal, *&c.*

Do not Brethren ſo confound altogether the right of the Church and of the Temporal Regiment: for theſe two are much different, one borrowing his authority of the other. Read the Scriptures, and you ſhall find what and how many Kings have periſhed for taking upon them the Prieſtly Office. Therefore let your diſcretion provide, leſt for this your doing Gods puniſhment light upon you: which if it come, it will be hard for you very eaſily to eſcape. Provide alſo and ſee to your King, whoſe favour ye prefer before the wealth and profit of the Church; leſt it happen (which God forbid) that he doth periſh with all his Houſe, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if you ceaſe not off from that ye begin, with what Conſcience can I diſſemble or forbear, but muſt needs puniſh you? Let him diſſemble with you who liſt (having authority ſo to do, truly I will not) there ſhall be no diſſimulation found in me. And where you write in your Letters concerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voyce of the whole Realm, and that the Church did reclaim againſt it; what ſhould I ſay to you, but that which ye know right well, The lie, which the mouth doth willingly ſpeak, killeth the ſoul? but eſpecially the words of a Prieſts mouth ought ever to go with verity. As touching this matter, I appeal to your own Conſciences whether the form of my Election ſtood not fully with the conſent of them all to whom the Election belonged, having alſo the aſſent of the Prince by his Son, and of them which were ſent thereto. And if there were ſome that repugned the ſame, he that was troubled and is guilty, let him ſpeak.

Ye ſay moreover, That I was exalted and promoted from a baſe and low degree to this dignity by him. I grant that I came of no Royal or Kingly blood: yet notwithſtanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind than of birth maketh noble. Peradventure I was born in a poor Cottage, of poor Parentage; and yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to work mercy with his ſervants, and which cheriſheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mighty, in this my poor and low eſtate, before I came to the Kings ſervice, I had abundantly and wealthily to live withal (as ye know) amongſt my Neighbors and Friends. And *David* even from the Sheepfold was taken up and made a King; *Peter* of a Fiſher was made a Prince of the Church; who, for his blood being ſhed for the name of Chriſt, deſerved to have in Heaven a Crown, and in Earth name and renown: would to God we could do the like! We be the ſucceſſors of *Peter*, and not of Kings and Emperors.

They be the ſucceſſors and heirs of Saints, not that had the places of Saints, but that do the works of Saints. Illerius.

And where ye ſeem to charge me (by inſinuation) with the blot of ingratitude: Thus I anſwer, There is no offence capital or infamous, unleſs it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a Man commit a murther unwillingly, although he be called a Murtherer, yet he is not thereby puniſhable: and ſo, although I owe my duty and ſervice with reverence to my King, yet I have forborn him as my Lord, if I have warned him, and talked with him Fatherly and gently as with a Son, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I ſay, being inforced thereunto, and againſt my will, I do exerciſe upon him the cenſure of due ſeverity, in ſo doing I ſuppoſe I make rather with him than againſt him, and rather deſerve at his hand thanks for my correction, than note or ſuſpition of unkindneſs or puniſhment for the fact. Sometimes a Man againſt his will receiveth a benefit. As when neceſſity cauſeth a Man to be reſtrained from doing that which he ought not to do: he that doth ſo reſtrain him, though he ſtop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his ſouls health. Another thing, that defendeth us from ingratitude, is our Father and Patron Chriſt, which in that he is our Father, to whom we as Children owe obedience, then are we bound as Children by neceſſity to obey his commandment, in warning the evil-doer, in correcting the diſobedient, and in bridling the obſtinate: which if we do not, we run into danger to have his blood required at our hands. Ye fet forth likewiſe and ſhew, what lofs we thereby may ſuſtain of our temporalities. But ye ſpeak no word of the loſs of our ſouls.

Moreover,

If the King had been an Adulterer or Tyrant againſt the true doctrine or perſwading of Chriſt, then might this reaſon ſerve, and God notice to be obeyed than man.

Now where did Becket learn that the King in his Temporal right was not to be obeyed? Take heed ye mare all, if ye open that door. This John was called a Schiſmatick, becauſe he took part with Reginald Archbiſhop of Colloe and the Emperour *Alexander* the Foyr.

Becket ſeemeth here more offended with the Biſhop of London than with the Pope himſelf, or any of the Rota of whole power he might fear to be depoſed.

Becket ſeemeth to make no difference between the old Law and the new, in things to be obeyed, whom they bind and loſe.

Becket ſeemeth to make himſelf like unto the Prieſts of the old Law, who were forbidden to lay hands on the Kings anointed.

Becket would have the Kings to be obeyed in ſpiritual matters, and to have no power in them.

Becket ſeemeth to be ſomewhat like unto the Prieſts of the old Law, and to do as they would have done.

Moreover, as concerning the departure of the King from the homage of the Church of *Rome* which in your Letters ye ſeem to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I ſay, that the Devotion or Faith of our King ſhould ever ſwarve away from the obedience and reverence of the Church of *Rome*, for any temporal commodity or incommodity: which thing to do is very damnable in any private Subject, much more in the Prince which draweth many other with him: therefore God forbid, that ever any faithful Man ſhould once think ſo hainous a deed. And you according to your direction take heed left the words of your mouth infect any perſon or perſons therein, excellioning them by your words to fuch dangers and damnable matter, like to the golden Cup which is called the Cup of *Babylon*, which for the outward gold no Man will refuſe to drink of, but after they have drunk thereof, they are poyſoned.

And where ye lay to my charge for the ſuſpending of the Reverend Father the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and for Excommunicating of *John* Dean of the ſame Church for a Schiſmatick, (my knowledge and proceſs had of the matter) to this I anſwer: That both theſe are juſtly and condignly Excommunicate, and if ye underſtand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of judgments, ye will ſay no leſs. For this ſtandeth with good authority (as ye know) that in manifeſt and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requiſite. Perpend with your ſelves diligently, what the Biſhop of *Salisbury* did concerning the Deanery, after that he was prohibited of the Pope and of us, under pain of Excommunication: and then ſhall you better underſtand, that upon ſo manifeſt diſobedience, ſuſpenſion did rightly follow, as ye read in the Decree of *Clement*, ſaying, *If they do not obey their Prelates, all manner of perſons of what order ſo ever they be, whether they ſhall be Princes of high or low degree, and all other people, ſhall not only be infamed, but alſo banished from the Kingdom of God, and the fellowſhip of the faithful.* As concerning *John* of *Oxford*, this we ſay, That Excommunication cometh divers ways. Some are Excommunicate by the Law denouncing them Excommunicate. Some by the ſentence of the Prelate. Some by communicating with them which are Excommunicated. Now be that hath fallen into this damnable Hereſie, in participating with Schiſmaticks, whom the Pope hath Excommunicate, he draweth to himſelf the ſpot and leproſie of like Excommunication. Wherefore, ſeeing he (contrary to the Pope expreſs commandment and ours, being charged under pain of Excommunication to the contrary) took upon him the Deanery of *Salisbury*, we have denounced him, and hold him Excommunicate, and all his doings we diſannul by the authority of the eighth Synod, ſaying, *If any Man either privily or apartly ſhall ſpeak, or communicate with him that is Excommunicated, he draweth unto himſelf the puniſhment of like Excommunication.* And now forſomuch as you, Brother, (Biſhop of *London*) which ought to know that ſaying of *Gregory* the Seventh: *If any Biſhop ſhall conſent to the Fornication of Prieſts, Deacons, &c. within his Precinct, for reward, favour, or petition, or doth not by authority of his Office correct the vice, let him be ſuſpended from his Office.* And again, that ſaying of Pope *Leo*, which is this; *If any Biſhop ſhall inſtitute or conſecrate ſuch a Prieſt as ſhall be unmeet and unconvenient of his ſcape with the loſs of his own proper dignity, yet he ſhall loſe the power of inſtituting any more, &c.*

Therefore, forſomuch, I ſay, as you, knowing this, have double wife offended againſt the Sentence of theſe Canons, we command you, and in the vertue of obedience injoyn you, that if it be ſo, within three months after the receipt hereof, you will ſubmit and offer your ſelf to due correction and ſatisfaction to the council of our fellow Biſhops, for theſe your ſo great exceſſes; left others through your example run into the like offenſe, and we be conſtrained to proceed againſt you with ſeverer ſentence.

Finally (in cloſing up your Letter) where ye bring in for your appellation againſt me, a ſafegard for you, which rather indeed is an hinderance to you, that we ſhould not proceed againſt the invaders of the Church goods, nor againſt the King in like cenſure, as we have done againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury* (as ye ſay) and his Dean. To this I Anſwer, God forbid that we have, or elſe ſhould hereafter proceed or do any thing againſt the King or his Land, or againſt you or your Churches, incontinately or otherwiſe than is convenient. But what if you ſhall exceed in the ſame or like tranſgreſſion, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* hath done? Think ye then your appellation ſhall help you from the diſcipline of our ſeverity, that ye ſhall not be ſuſpended? Mark ye diligently whether this be a lawful appeal, and what is the form thereof. We know that every one that appealeth, either doth it in his own name, or in the name of another: if in his own, either it is for ſome grievance inferred already, or elſe for that he feared after to be inferred againſt him. Now concerning the firſt, I am ſure there is no grievance that you can complain of as yet (God be thanked) that you have received at my hand, for the which you ſhould appeal from me: neither have you (I truſt) any cauſe ſpecial againſt me ſo to do. If ye do it for fear of any thing that is to come, left I ſhould trouble you and your Churches: conſider whether this be the fear that ought to fall in conſtant Men, or ſtay our power and authority that we have upon you and your Churches. It is thought therefore of wiſe Men (and we alſo judge no leſs) your Appeal to be of no force.

Diſcuſſing of a true appellation.

The form of a true appellation.

Firſt, for that it hath not the right form of a perfect appellation, and alſo becauſe it is not conſonant to reaſon, and lacketh order and help of the Law.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in another Mans name, either it is for the King (as moſt like it is) or for ſome other. If it be for the King, then you ought firſt to underſtand, that appellations are wont to be made to repel, and not to inferr injury: or to releaſe ſuch as be oppreſſed, that they ſhould not be oppreſſed any more.

One perſon cannot both be the appellant and the party appealed.

Wherefore if any Man ſhall enter any appellation (not truſting to the ſurety of his cauſe, but to delay the time, that ſentence be not given upon him) that appellation is not be received. For what ſtate will there be of the Church, if the liberty thereof being taken away, the goods of the Church ſpoiled, the Biſhops driven from their places, or at leaſt not received with full reſtitution of their goods, the invaders and ſpoilers thereof may defend themſelves by appealing, thereby to ſave themſelves from the penalty of their deſert?

What a ruine of the Church will this be? See what ye have done, and what ye ſay. Be you not the Vicars of Chriſt repreſenting him in Earth? Is it not your Office to correct and bridle ill-doers, whereby they may ceaſe to perſecute the Church? And is it not enough for them to be fierce and to rage againſt the Church, but that you ſhould take their part, ſetting your ſelves againſt us, to the deſtruction of the Church? Who ever heard of ſo monſtrous doings? Thus it ſhall be heard and ſaid of all Nations and Countries, That the ſuffragans of the Church of *Canterbury* (which ought to ſtand with their Metropolitan unto death in defence of the Church) now go about by the Kings commandement, ſo much as in them doth lie, to ſuſpend his authority, left he ſhould exerciſe his diſcipline of correction upon them that rebel againſt the Church. This one thing I know, that you cannot ſtabliſh two ſorts of perſons at once, both to be the Appeal makers, and to be appealed up your ſelves. You be they which have made the appellation, you be they againſt whom the appellation is made. Is there any more Churches then one, and the body of the ſame? And how meet were it than, that you, being the members of the Church, ſhould hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, Brethren, left it may be ſaid of us; Theſe be the Prieſts which have ſaid, Where is the Lord? And having the Law do not know the Law. Furthermore, this I ſuppoſe you (being diſcreet Men) are not ignorant of, that ſuch as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, unleſs the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themſelves, or except ſpecial commandment force them thereunto, or elſe unleſs they take another Mans cauſe upon them. Firſt, That it belongeth nothing unto you, it is plain, forſomuch as the contrary rather pertaineth unto your duty; that is, to puniſh and to correct all ſuch as rebel againſt the Church. And if he which ſubverteth the liberty of the Church, and invadeth the goods thereof (converting them to his own uſe) be not heard appealing for his own defence, much leſs is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this caſe neither he can appeal for himſelf, nor yet command you ſo to do; ſo neither may you receive the commandment to appeal for him.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another Mans cauſe or buſineſs upon you: to this I ſay and affirm, That ye ought in no manner of wiſe ſo to do, ſpecially ſeeing the matter pertaineth to the oppreſſion of the Church, and whereupon inſueth great damage to the ſame.

Wherefore ſeeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receive any ſuch commandment, nor yet to take upon you any ſuch cauſe as that is, your appeal is neither to be heard, nor ſtandeth with any Law. Is this the devotion and conſolation of brotherly love which you exhibit to your Metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgive you this clemency. And how now? Will ye look for your Letters and Meſſengers to be gently received here of us? Neither do I ſpeak this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours, or that we have done any thing inordinately againſt the perſon of the King, or againſt his Land, or againſt the perſons of the Church, or intend (by Gods mercy) ſo to do. And therefore we ſay briefly and affirm conſtantly, That our Lord the King cannot complain of any wrong or injury to be done unto him, if he (being often called upon by Letters and Meſſengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confeſs his treſpaſs, nor yet come to any ſatisfaction for the ſame) have the cenſure of feverity by the Pope and us laid upon him: for no Man can ſay that he is unjuſtly intreated, whom the Law doth juſtly punith. And briefly to conclude, know you this for certain, That Extortioners, invaders, detainers of the Church Goods, and ſubverters of the liberties thereof, neither have any authority of the Law to maintain them, neither doth their appealing defend them, *&c.*

Though the Popes Law will not defend them, yet the Law of the Scripture will and doth.

A brief Cenſure upon the former Reſcript of *Becket* to his Suffragans, in the page before, with a general reſolution of the reaſons therein contained.

IF *the King of* England *had been an Idolater, Covetous, and Adulterer, an Inceſtuous perſon, a murtherer, with ſuch like; then the zeal of this Archbiſhop (threatning the King and ſuch as took his part) had deſerved praiſe in this Epiſtle, and the Scripture would have born him out therein. For theſe and ſuch cauſes ſhould Biſhops proſecute the authority of the Goſpel againſt all perſons. But the matter ſtanding only upon Church Goods, liberty, (or rather licenciouſneſs of Prieſts) making of Deans, Titles of Churches, ſuperiority of Crowning the King, with ſuch other: to ſtand ſo ſtiff in theſe, is not to defend the Church, but to rebel againſt the King. Again, if the principles, which he here groundeth upon, were true; to wit, that the Pope were to be obeyed before Princes, that the liberty of the Church ſtandeth upon the immunity of Prieſts exempted from Princes Laws, or upon ample poſſeſſions of the Church: or that the Popes Law ought to prevail in all foreign Countries, and to bind all Princes in their own Dominions, or that the ſentence of the Pope and his Popelings (how or by what affection ſoever it is pronounced) may ſtand by the undoubted ſentence of God: then all the arguments of this Epiſtle do proceed and conclude well. But if they ſtand not ratified upon Gods Word, but tottering upon Mans traditions; then whatſoever he inferreth or includeth thereupon (his aſſumption being falſe) cannot be true, according to the School ſaying: One inconveniency being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow thereupon. So in this Epiſtle it happeneth, as is above noted, that the major of this Man is true, but the minor is clean falſe, and to be denied.*

The Letter of *Matild* the Empereſs, and Mother of the King, to *Thomas Becket.*

The Letter of the Empereſs to Becket.

MY *Lord the Pope commanded me, and upon the forgivneſs of my ſins inioyned me, That I ſhould be a mediator and means of peace and concord betweeu my Son and you, by reconciling of your ſelf to him, whereunto (as you know) you requeſted me. Wherefore the earneſter and with more affection (as well for the divine honour as for holy Church) I took the enterpriſe upon me. But this by the way, I aſſure you, that the King, his Barons, and Council, taketh it grievouſly, that you, whom he intirely loved, honoured and made chiefeſt in all this Realm, to the intent to have more comfort and better truſt in you, ſhould thus (as the report is) rebel, and ſtir his people againſt him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lyeth, you went about to diſinherit him, and deprive him of his Crown. Upon the occaſion whereof, I ſent unto you our truſty and familiar ſervant* Lawience *Arch-deacon, by whom I pray you that I may underſtand your mind herein, and good will toward my Son, and how you mean to behave your ſelf (if my Prayer and Petition may be heard of him in your behalf) toward his Grace. But this one thing I aſſure you of, that unleſs it be through your great humility and moderation, evidently in you appearing, you cannot obtain the favour of the King. Herein what you mean to do, I pray you ſend me word by your proper Letters and Meſſengers.*

But to proceed further in the order of the Hiſtory. After theſe Letters ſent to and fro, the year of our Lord 1169. which was the fifteenth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, the King miſdoubting and fearing with himſelf, that the Archbiſhop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his Excommunication againſt his own perſon (to prevent the miſchief) made his appeal to the preſence of the Pope, requiring to have certain Legates ſent down from *Rome* from the Popes ſide, to take up the matter betwen the Archbiſhop and him; requiring moreover that they might alſo be abſolved that were interdicted. Whereupon two Cardinals, being ſent from *Alexander* the Pope with Letters to the King, came to *Normandy*: where they appointed the Archbiſhop to meet them before the King upon Saint *Martyns* day. But the Archbiſhop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to *Griſortium*, where the two Cardinals and the Archbiſhop, with other Biſhops conventing together, had a certain intreaty of peace and reconciliation: but it came to no concluſion. The contents of which Intreaty or Action, becauſe it is ſufficiently contained in the Cardinals Letters, who were called *Gulielmus* and *Otho*, written to the Pope, it ſhall require no further labour, but to ſhew out the words of the Letter, where the ſumm of the whole may appear: The words of the Letter be theſe.

Anno 1169

The Copy of the Epiſtle written and ſent by two Cardinals to the Pope, concerning the matter of the Archbiſhop Becket.

William and *Otho*, Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, to *Alexander* the Pope, *&c.* Coming to the Land of the King of *England*, we found the Controverſie betwixt him and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* more ſharp and vehement than we would. For the King, and the greater part of them about him, ſaid, That the Archbiſhop had ſtirred up the French King, grievouſly againſt him; and alſo the Earl of *Flanders* his Kinſman (who bare no diſpleaſure to him before) he made his open adverſary, ready to war againſt him, as is by diverſe evidences moſt certain. Thus when we came to *Cadomus* firſt to the Kings ſpeech, we gave the Letters of your Fatherhood to his hands: which after that he had received and conſidered (bringing forth withal other Letters received from you before, ſomething divers and altering from theſe which he received of us) he was moved and ſtirred with no little indignation; ſaying, That the Archbiſhop, after our departure from you, had received of you other contrary Letters, by the vertue whereof he was exempted from our judgment, ſo that he ſhould not be compelled to anſwer us. Moreover, the ſaid King to us added and affirmed, and ſo did the Biſhops there preſent, teſtifying the ſame, That concerning the old and antient cuſtoms of his Progenitors (whereof complaint was made to you) all that for the moſt part was falſe and untrue which was intimate to you; offering further to us, That if there were any ſuch cuſtoms or Laws in his time, that ſeemed prejudicial or diſagreeable to the Statutes of the Church he would willingly be content to revoke and diſannul the ſame. Whereupon we with other Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Abbots of the Land hearing the King ſo reaſonable, laboured, labour'd by all the means we might, that the King ſhould not utterly break from us, but rather ſhould incline to us to have the matter brought before us betwixt him and the forenamed Archbiſhop. By reaſon whereof, we directed out our own Chaplains with Letters unto him, appointing him both time and place where ſafely he might meet with us in the Feaſt of Saint *Martin*. Nevertheleſs he, pretending certain excuſes, made his Dilatories, driving off the time from the day of Saint *Martin* to the Octaves following, which thing ſtirred the Kings heart more than is to be thought.

A communication between Becket and the Cardinals.

Thus although we offered to the Archbiſhop ſafe coming, yet when he refuſed to meet us in the borders of the King, we, to ſatisfie his mind, condeſcended to meet him within the Land of the French King, in the place where he himſelf appointed, becauſe there ſhould be no let in us, whereby to ſtop his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him, all that we could, to ſubmit and humble himſelf to his Soveraign and King, who had heaped him with ſuch benefits and dignities; whereby matter might be given us to further occaſion of reconciling them together. He, being thus moved and exhorted by us, departed aſide to conſult with his council upon the matter. At length after counſel taken, he cometh again, anſwering in this manner: that he would ſubmit and humble himſelf to the King, *Salvo honore Dei, & Eccleſiæ libertate, ſalvos etiam honeſtate perſonæ ſuæ & poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiarum: & amplius, ſua & ſuorum in omnibus ſalva juſtitia,* &c. That is, *Saving the honour of God, and liberty of the Church, ſaving alſo the honeſty of his perſon, and poſſeſſions of Churches: and moreover, ſaving the juſtice of him and of all his in all things,* &c. After which communication had amongſt us, we moved and required him more inſtantly, that he would come to the ſpecialities, when as yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certain or particular. Likewiſe we demanded of him, if he would, in all ſuch things contained and comprehended in our Letters, ſtand and ſubmit himſelf to our Letters, ſo as the King and the Biſhops before were contented to do. To the which he anſwering again, ſaid, That he had received from you a commandment, not to anſwer before he and all his were reſtored full to all their poſſeſſions; and then he would ſo proceed in the matter, according as he ſhould receive commandment from the Sea Apoſtolical.

Becket addition.

Thus we breaking off communication, ſeeing that he neither would ſtand to judgment, nor come to conformity, thought to make relation thereof to the King, and ſo did: declaring that which he had expreſſed to us; yet not uttering all, but keeping back a great part of that which we had heard and ſeen. Which when the King and his Nobles had underſtanding of, he affirmed to us again; that he therein was cleared ſo much the more, for that the Archbiſhop would not ſtand to their judgment, nor abide their trial. After much heavineſs and lamentation of the King, the Archbiſhop, Biſhops and Abbats of the Realm requiring of us, whether we had any ſuch power, by vertue of our commiſſion, to withſtand him and proceed againſt him; and perceiving that our authority would not ſerve thereunto, and fearing leſt the forefaid Archbiſhop, refuſing all order of judgment, would work again diſquietneſs to ſome Noble perſonages of the Realm: and ſeeing our authority could not extend ſo far to help them againſt him (taking a conſultation among themſelves) agreed together with one aſſent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the term of their Appeal.

Becket refuſing to ſtand to the French King and the King of England.

Becket would not ſtand to judgment nor trial.

¶ And this is the Epiſtle of theſe two Cardinals ſent to the Pope: wherein may ſufficiently appear all the diſcourſe and manner of that aſſembly (although particularly every thing be not expreſſed) concerning the talk betwixt the Cardinals and the Archbiſhop. As when that *William* (who of the two Cardinals was the more eloquent) amongſt other communication had reaſoned long with him as concerning the peace of the Church: which *Becket* ſaid he preferred above all things. Well then (ſaith the Cardinal) ſeeing all this contention between the King and you riſeth upon certain Laws and cuſtoms to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the Church ſo much: then what ſay you? Will you renounce your Biſhoprick, and the King ſhall renounce his cuſtoms? The peace of the Church now lyeth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what ſay you? To whom he anſwereth again, That the proportion was not like. For I, ſaith he (ſaving the honour of my Church and my perſon) cannot renounce my Biſhoprick. Contrary, it ſtandeth the King upon, for his ſouls health and honour to renounce theſe his ordinances and cuſtoms. Which thing he thus proved; becauſe the Pope had condemned thoſe cuſtoms, and he likewiſe with the Church of *Rome* had done the ſame, *&c.*

Becket to the Biſhoprick than the peace of the Church, for all his lay talk.

The talk between the French King, the King of England, *and* Becket.

AFter the Cardinals were returned, the French King ſeeing the King of *England* diſquieted and ſollicitous to have peace (or at leaſt wiſe pretending to ſet an agreement between them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French King made himſelf as umpire between them. The King of *England*, hearing that the Archbiſhop would commit himſelf to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his preſence. Whereupon, many being there preſent, the Archbiſhop, proſtrating himſelf at the Kings feet, declared unto him kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cauſe, whereof the diſſention roſe between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*: That is, *Saving the honour of God*. The King (as is ſaid before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and ſeeing the ſtiffneſs of the Man ſticking ſo much to this word, *Salvo honore, &c.* was highly therewith diſpleaſed, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a Man proud and ſtubborn, and alſo charging him with ſundry and great benefits beſtowed upon him, as a perſon unkind, and forgetting what he had ſo gently done and beſtowed upon him.

Becket offereth in with his old addition. *Salvo honore Dei.*

Becket charged with unkindneſs.

And ſpeaking to the French King there preſent: See, Sir, (if it pleaſe you, ſaith the King of *England*) whatſoever diſpleaſeth this Man, that he ſaith to be contrary to the honour of God. And ſo by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himſelf both that is his and mine alſo. And yet notwithſtanding, for that I will not ſeem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to Gods honour, this I offer him: There have been Kings in *England* before, both of greater and leſs puiſſance than I am; Likewiſe there have been Biſhops of *Canterbury* many both great and holy Men: What the greateſt and moſt holy of all his predeceſſors before him hath done to the leaſt of my progenitors and predeceſſors before me, let him do the ſame to me and I am content. They that ſtood by, hearing theſe words of the King, cried all with one voice, *The King hath debaſed himſelf enough to the Biſhop.* The Archbiſhop ſtaying a little at this with ſilence, *What*, ſaith the French King to him, *my Lord Archbiſhop, will you be better than thoſe holy Men? will ye be greater than* Peter? *What ſtand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietneſs put in your own hands, if ye will take it.* To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again: Truth it is (ſaith he) my predeceſſors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them every one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet ſomething they did pluck up and correct, which ſeemed adverſe and repugnant againſt Gods honour. For if they had taken all together away, no ſuch occaſion then had been left for any Man to raiſe up this fire of temptation now againſt us, as is here raiſed to prove us withal; that we, being ſo proved with them, might alſo be crowned with them, being likewiſe partakers of praiſe and reward, as we are of their labour and travel. And though ſome of them have been ſlack, or exceeded in their duty doing, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

The Kings offer to Becket both charitable and reaſonable.

The words of the French King.

Peter, when he denyed Chriſt, we therefore rebuke him; but when he reſiſted the rage of *Nero*, therein we commend him. And therefore becauſe he could not conſent in his conſcience to conſent unto that he ought in no wiſe to diſſemble, neither did he; by reaſon thereof he loſt his life. By ſuch like oppreſſions the Church hath always grown. Our fore-fathers and predeceſſors, becauſe they would not diſſemble the name and honour of Chriſt, therefore they ſuffered. And ſhall I, to have the favour of one Man, ſuffer the honour of Chriſt to be ſuppreſt? The

This malice if it had been joyned with a good mind, had made a good argument.

Nobles

Nobles standing by (hearing him thus speak) were greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulnes, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But specially one among the rest was most grieved, who there openly protested; that seeing the Archbishop so refused the counsel and requeſt of both the Kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the Kingdom of *England* had rejected him, ſo the Realm of *France* ſhould not receive him. *Ex Guidrisio.*

Alanus Herbertus, and certain other of his Chaplains that committed to ſtory the doings of *Becket*, do record (whether truly or no I cannot ſay) That the French King ſending for him, as one much ſorrowing and lamenting the words that he had ſpoken, at the coming of *Becket* did proſtrate himſelf at his feet, confeſſing his fault, in giving counſel to him in ſuch a cauſe (pertaining to the honour of God) to relent therein and to yield to the pleaſure of Man: wherefore, declaring his repentance, he deſired to be abſolved thereof. So that after this, the French King and *Becket* were great friends together; inſomuch that King *Henry* ſending to the King to intreat him, and deſire him that he would not ſupport nor maintain his enemy within his Realm, the French King utterly denied the Kings requeſt, taking part rather with the Archbiſhop than with him.

Beſides theſe quarrels and grudges betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop above mentioned, there followed yet moreover another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited between the King and *Becket*, the King of *England* returning again from *Normandy* into *England* (which was the year of our Lord 1170. and the ſixteenth year of his Reign) about Midſummer, kept his Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in the which Parliament he (through the aſſent both of the Clergy and the Lords Temporal) cauſed his Son *Henry* to be crowned King. Which Coronation was done by the hands of *Robert* Archbiſhop of *York*, with the aſſiſtance of other Biſhops miniſtring to the ſame, as *Gilbert* of *London*, *Joſelin* of *Salisbury*, *Hugo* of *Dureſme*, and *Walter* of *Rocheſter*. By reaſon whereof *Becket* of *Canterbury*, being there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little diſpleaſure; and ſo did *Lodowick* the French King, hearing that *Margarer* his Daughter was not alſo Crowned with her Huſband: whereupon he, gathering a great Army, forthwith marched into *Normandy*. But the matter was ſoon compoſed by the King of *England*, who ſending his Son unto him in *Normandy*, intereſted there and concluded peace with him, promiſing that his Son ſhould be Crowned again, and then his Daughter ſhould be Crowned alſo. But the Archbiſhop not ceaſing his diſpleaſure and emulation, ſent unto the Pope, complaining of theſe four Biſhops, eſpecially of the Archbiſhop of *York*; who durſt be ſo bold in his abſence, and without knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to Crown the King, being a matter proper and peculiar to his juriſdiction. At the inſtance of whom, the Pope ſent down the ſentence of Excommunication againſt the Biſhop of *London*. The other three Biſhops with the Archbiſhop of *York* he ſuſpended, whoſe Sentence and Letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit. Anno 1170. The Biſhop of *London* Excommunicated, with four other Biſhops ſuſpended.

Beſides theſe foreſaid Biſhops Excommunicated, divers other Clerks alſo of the Court he cited to appear before him, by vertue of his large Commiſſion which he gat from the Pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reaſon of their benefices. And ſome he commanded in vertue of obedience to appear, in pain of forfeiting their Orders and Benefices. Of which when neither ſort would appear, he curſed them openly. And alſo ſome Lay-men of the Court and the Kings familiars (as intruders and violent with-holders of Church goods) he accurſed; as *Richard Lucy*, and *Joſelin Balliol*, and *Ralph Brock* which took the Bells and goods that belonged to the Church of *Canterbury*; and *Hugh Sentelear*, and *Thomas* the Son of *Bernard*, and all that ſhould hereafter take any Church goods without his conſent; ſo that almoſt all the Court was accurſed either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the Archbiſhop of *York* with the foreſaid Biſhops reſorted to the King with a grievous complaint, declaring how miſerably their caſe ſtood, and what they had ſuſtained for fulfilling his commandment. The King, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? The time of the ruine of the Pope was not yet come; and what Prince then might withſtand the injurious violence of that Romiſh Poteſtate? The cauſe of the Kings wrath againſt Becket.

In the mean ſeaſon the French King for his part, his Clergy and Courtiers likewiſe ſlack no occaſion to incite and ſollicit *Alexander* the Pope againſt the King of *England* to Excommunicate him alſo: ſeeing thereby and thinking to have ſome vantage againſt the Realm. Neither was the King ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply ſome agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the Pope two Legates (the Archbiſhop of *Rothomage* and the Biſhop of *Navern*) with direction and full commiſſion either to drive the King to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes cenſures out of the Church. The King underſtanding himſelf to be in greater ſtraits than he could avoid (at length through the mediation of the French King and of other Prelates and great Princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the Archbiſhop, whom he received both to his favour, and alſo permitted and granted him free return to his Church again. Concerning his poſſeſſions and Lands of the Church of *Canterbury*, although *Becket* made great labour therefore, yet the King (being then in *Normandy*) would not grant him them, before he ſhould repair to *England*, to ſee how he would there agree with his Subjects.

Thus peace after a fort concluded between the King and him, the Archbiſhop, after ſix years of his baniſhment, returned to *England*, where he was right joyfully received of the Church of *Canterbury*; albeit of *Henry* the young King, he was not ſo greatly welcomed. In ſo much that coming up to *London* to the King, he was returned back to *Canterbury*, and there bid to keep his Houſe. *Roger Hoveden* maketh mention in his Chronicle, That the Archbiſhop (upon *Chriſtmas-day*) did Excommunicate *Robert de Brooke* for cutting of the tail of a certain Horſe of his the day before. In the mean time the four Biſhops before mentioned, whom the Archbiſhop had Excommunicate, ſent to him, humbly deſiring to be releaſed of their cenſure. To whom when the Archbiſhop would not grant clearly and ſimply without cautels and exceptions, they went over to the King, declaring unto him and complaining of their miſerable ſtate and uncourteous handling of the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the King conceived great ſorrow in his mind, and diſpleaſure toward the party. Inſomuch that he lamented oft and ſundry times to them about him that (amongſt ſo many that he had done for) there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occaſion of which words, certain that were about the King (to the number of four) hearing him thus to complain and lament, addreſſed themſelves in great heat of haſte to ſatisfie the grieved mind and quarel of their Prince: who within four days after the ſaid *Chriſtmas-day* (failing over into *England*, and having a forward and proſperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of Winter) came to *Canterbury*, where *Becket* was commanded to keep. After certain adviſements and conſultations had among themſelves: they preſſed at length into the Palace where the Archbiſhop was ſitting with his company about him: firſt to aſſay him with words, to ſee whether he would relent to the Kings mind, and come to ſome conformity. They brought to him (ſaid they) commandment from the King, which whether he had rather openly there in preſence, or ſecretly to be declared to him, they bad him chuſe. Then the company being bid to avoid, as he ſat alone, they ſaid, You are commanded from the King beyond the Sea, to repair to the King his Son here, and to do your Baronage and other things, and to amend thoſe things wherein you have treſpaſſed againſt him. Whereupon the Archbiſhop denying to ſwear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the Biſhops which were Excommunicate for the Coronation of the King, whom they commanded in the Kings name he ſhould abſolve and ſet free again. The Archbiſhop anſwered, That he neither Suſpended nor Excommunicated them, but the Pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they ſhould reſort to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter. Becket returneth out of baniſhment. *Ex Rogero Hovedene.* The words of the King which were the cauſe of Becket's death. If the Popes will needs run for the diſcords of Kings by reaſon of weather, then muſt they by that reaſon condemn the cauſe of Becket, his adherents having ſuch foreknowledge of weather in doing their feat. The ſtout heart of Becket. The talk between the four Souldiers and Thomas Becket.

Then ſaid *Reginald* one of the four; Although you in your own perſon did not Excommunicate them, yet through your inſtigation it was done. To whom the Archbiſhop ſaid

ſaid again, And if the Pope (ſaid he) *rendring the injuries done unto me and my Church, wrought this revenge for me, I confeſs it offendeth me nothing. Thus then* (ſaid they) *it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaſeth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the King: Majeſty) to ſequeſter his Biſhops from their miniſtery, who at the commandment of the King did ſervice in the Coronation of his Son. And ſeeing you have ſo preſumed thus to ſtand againſt the exaltation of this our Sovereign, our new King, it ſeemeth likely that you aſpired to take his Crown from him, and to be exalted King your ſelf. I aſpire not* (ſaid he) *to the Crown and Name of the King, but rather if I had four Crowns (to give him more) I would ſet them all upon him; ſuch good will I do bear him, that only his Father the King excepted, there is none, whoſe honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the ſequeſtring of thoſe Biſhops, this I give you to underſtand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and aſſent of the King himſelf: to whom when I had made my complaint at the Feaſt of* Mary Magdalene, *of the wrong and injury done to me and my Church therein; he gave me his good leave to obtain at the Popes hand ſuch remedy as I could, promiſing moreover his help to me in the ſame. What is this,* quoth they, *that thou ſayſt? Makeſt thou the King a Traitor, and a betrayer of the King his own Son? that when he had commanded the Biſhops to crown his Son, he would give thee leave afterward to ſuſpend them for ſo doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accuſed ſo the King of this prodition.* The Archbiſhop ſaid to *Reginald*, that he was there preſent at that time, and heard it himſelf. But that he denied, and ſwore it was not ſo. *And think you* (ſaid they) *that we the Kings Subjects will or ought to ſuffer this?* And ſo approaching nearer him, they ſaid he had ſpoken enough againſt his own head; whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then ſaid the Archbiſhop, *I have ſince my coming over ſuſtained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both my ſelf, my Men, my Cattel, my Woods, and all other Goods; notwithſtanding the King, writing over to his Son, required him that I ſhould live in ſafety and peace, and now, beſide all others, you come hither to threaten me.* To this *Reginald* anſwering again, ſaid, *If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwiſe than right is, the Law is open, why do you not complain? To whom,* ſaid *Becket, ſhould I complain? To the young King,* ſaid they. Then ſaid *Becket, I have complained enough if that would help, and have ſought for remedy at the Kings hands, ſo long as I could be ſuffered to come to his ſpeech: but now ſeeing that I am ſtopt from that, neither can find redreſs of ſo great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily ſuſtain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reaſon's ſuch right and law, as an Archbiſhop may have, that will I exerciſe, and let for no man.* At theſe words one of them, burſting out in exclamation, cried, *He threatneth, he threatneth, What? will he interdict the whole Realm and us altogether? Nay, that he ſhall not,* ſaith another, *he hath interdicted too many already.* And drawing more near to him, they proteſted and denounced him to have ſpoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And ſo departing in great fury, and with many high words, they ruſhed out of the doors; who, by the way returning to the Monks, charged them in the Kings Name, to keep him forth-coming, that he ſhould not eſcape away. *What,* quoth the Archbiſhop, *think ye, I will flee away? Nay, neither for the King, nor any man alive, will I flie one foot from you.* No, ſay they, *thou ſhalt not avoid though thou would.* And ſo they departing with many words, the Archbiſhop followeth them out of the Chamber door, crying after them, *Here, here, here ſhall you find me,* laying his hand upon his Crown.

The Names of theſe four ſouldiers above mentioned were theſe, the firſt *Reginald Bereſon*, the ſecond *Hugh Mortevil*, the third *William Tracy*, and the fourth *Richard Brito*; who, going to harneſs themſelves, returned the ſame day again; but finding the Hall-door of the Palace of *Canterbury* ſhut againſt them, they went to an inward back Door leading into the Orchard; there brake they up a Window, and opened the Door, and ſo ſtood into the place. The Monks (being about Even-ſong time) had got the Archbiſhop into the Church; who being Anno 1163.

perſwaded by them, cauſed his Croſs to be born before him, and through the Cloiſter, by a Door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the Quire. The Harneſs men following after, at length came to the Church-door, which door the Monks would have ſhut againſt them; but, as the ſtory ſaith, the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer them. So they approaching into the Church, and the Archbiſhop meeting them upon the Stairs, there he was ſlain; every one of the four Souldiers ſtriking him with his Sword into the Head; who afterward flying into the North, and at length, with much ado, obtained their Pardon of the Pope by the Kings procurement, as ſome ſtories record, went to *Jeruſalem*. The death of Thomas Becket.

¶ Thus you have heard the Life and Death of this *Thomas Becket*, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule to us to judge all things by, yet if any ſhall require further teſtimony, partly to ſatisfie their minds therein, ye ſhall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almoſt as ancient as himſelf, what they write and affirm of him. What is to be thought or judged of T. Becket.

And firſt to begin with the teſtimony of one of his own Religion, and alſo not far (as it appeareth) from his own time, who, writing of his Martyrdom and Miracles, thus teſtifieth of the judgment and ſentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The Chronicle being written in *Latine*, and having the name of the Author cut out, thus beginneth; *Quoniam vero multi, &c.* And in the firſt Book and eighth Chapter it followeth in this manner: *Nonnullic tamen idcirco promotionem ejus viſum eſt fuiſſe minus canonicam, quod ad eam magis operata eſt regis inſtantia, quam cleri vel populi voto. Preſumptionis quoque vel indiſcretionis fuiſſe notatum eſt, quod qui rerum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum ſuſcepit, &c. Et mox, magis etiam ſecularia tum ſapiens, tum ſanctum tumæ dignitatis faſtigium non horrens tenuiſſe, ſed ultrorneus aſcendiſſe creditur. Aliter Dei amicus, Moſes, &c.* With much more, as in *Latin* inſueth, which for the *Engliſh* Reader here followeth tranſlated. What is to be thought, whether Thomas Becket died a Saint or not.

‘ Divers notwithſtanding there be, which as touching his promotion, ſuppoſe the ſame not to be Canonical. ‘ For that it was wrought rather by the inſtance of the ‘ King (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to ‘ his utility) than by the aſſent either of the Clergy, or of the ‘ People. Further, it is noted in him for a point of preſumption, and lack of diſcretion, for that he, being ſcarce ‘ worthy to take the Oar in hand and play the Boatſwain, ‘ would take upon him to ſit at Helm and guide the Ship; ‘ namely, in that Church, where the Covent, being in groſſure and veſture religious, be wont to have their Prelate ‘ taken out of the ſame profeſſion. Whereas he, ſcant bearing the habit of a Clerk, and going in his changes and ſoft apparel, is more convenſant among the delicate ruffles ‘ in the Court, favouring rather of worldly things, not refuſing moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the ‘ high preferment of ſuch an holy dignity, but rather willingly of his own accord to aſpire to it. *Moſes* we read did otherwiſe, who being the friend of God, and ſent of him ‘ to conduct his people *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, trembled at the Meſſage, and ſaid, *Who am I Lord, that I ſhould go to* Pharaoh, *and bring thy people* Iſrael *out of* Egypt? And again, *I pray thee* (ſaith he) *O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, ſend him whom thou wilt ſend.* Likewiſe *Jeremias* alſo, being ſent of the Lord to prophelie againſt *Jeruſalem*, was abaſhed to take the office upon him, anſwering again with much dread of heart, *A, a, a, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child.* The promotion of Becket judged not Canonical. Becket charged with preſumption and lack of diſcretion. Ambition noted in Becket, in not refuſing but taking his promotion.

After like manner we read of the Saints of the New Teſtament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their Biſhoprics and Functions of the Church, by meet forcement and compulſion of others rather than by their own wills. So was bleſſed *Gregory*, after his flight and going away, brought back again, and placed in the See and Chair of *Rome*. Likewiſe Saint *Ambroſe* fore againſt his mind; who alſo, of purpoſe accuſing and confeſſing his own defects, becauſe he would be repealed: yet by the commandment of *Valentinian* the Emperor was inforced to take the burthen upon him, which he could by no wiſe ſhake off. S. *Martin* in like ſort, not knowing of any ſuch matter, was circumvented by a certain godly grain, and viſit of the Citizens, before he could be brought Biſhops againſt their wills thruſt into their Biſhoprickes.

to his Consecration; which he did not so much take, as he was thrust into it with much pensiveness and sorrow of heart. By these and such other examples this Chancellor likewise should have rather excused himself as unworthy and unmeet for that room, shewing himself more willing to refuse than to take it. To the which this Archbishop is judged to do clean contrary, *&c. Hæc ex chronico, cui Titulus, De passione & miraculis beati Thomæ.*

Ex Chronico Neuburgens.

And although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that Age (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition) yet let us hear what *Neubrugensis* an ancient Historiographer saith, who, in the days of the Son of this King Henry the second, prosecuting his History unto King Richard the first, hath these words, writing of *Thomas Becket*: *Sane cum plerique soleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eo geritur approbare: plane ego in viro illo venerabili, ea quæ ita ab ipso acta sunt, quum nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, sed fervor tantum accenderetur regitus, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur, laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut in beatissimo apostolorum principe, quod gentes suo exemplo judaizare coegit; in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet eum constet laudabili hoc pietate feciss e, &c.*

Alla Becketi laus.

That is in *English*:

Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love our praise (judging them more by affection than prudence) to allow and approve whatsoever they do, yet for me to judge upon the reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praise-worthy, or to be allowed, for so much as thereof came no utility, but only the anger and stirring up of the King: whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefs (although the thing that he did might proceed of a certain laudable zeal:) like as in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Jews, Paul *the Doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection, &c.*

And in the same Author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in these words: *Literas has in Angliam ad suspensionem Episcoporum præmissas ipse sequebatur, zelo justitiæ fervidus; verum an plene secundum scientiam movit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam concreditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto enim quod in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia minus provide egisset, & ea quæ sine fidei Christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis & compensatione pacis dissimulanda dixisset, juxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Itaque quod a venerabili Pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo: sed dico, si vel modice in hujusmodi a sancto viro per zeli, immoderatiorem impetum esse excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ conjecta noscitur, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illi longe impares esse cognoscimus, ut ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantum, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis fiant, esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, sed sapienter & caute debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa serveturr, in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur, &c.*

That is in *English*:

The Letters which were sent before for the suspending of the Bishops, he pursued with burning zeal of justice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it. It is not for my rude and slender wit to judge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose, that he did not behave himself so circumspectly as he ought, considering the time; and that the concord between him and the King as yet was but soft and tender. Who for the consideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace might have forborne or dissembled such things, which without any peril of Christian Religion might be tolerate well enough, according to the prophetical saying, A wise man in that time will keep silence, because the time will not serve him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reverend Prelate I judge in that behalf not to be commended, so neither do I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy Man, through immoderate violence of zeal, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excocted again, and purged by the fire of his suffering, which afterward insued. And so far holy Men are to be loved or praised of us, which know our selves much inferiour to their virtues; that in such things wherein they have been Men, and also known to be men, therein we neither hold with them, nor commend them; but only in such things wherein without all danger or scruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they do? And therefore are not to be esteemed and praised in all things generally whatsoever they do, but considerately and with advisement, wherein they deserve praise, so that the only prerogative in this behalf be reserved to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how fervent soever he be in his praising, &c.

And hear yet more what the said Author writeth in the same cause of the Kings wrath and *Beckets* faults: *Plusquam centum homicidia a clericis commissa fuh Henrico secundo dicuntur. In quibus plectendis Rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed hujus immoderationis regiæ, nostri temporis Episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit & causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non solum facinorosos & gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verumetiam leviorum criminum reos degradari, & tot millia talium, tanquam innumerasinter pauca grana paleæ Ecclesia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari. Nempe Episcopi dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis rescandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo & Ecclesiæ, si facinerosos clericos, quos pro officii debito canonicæ vigore censuræ coercere debeant, contra publicam tueantur disciplinam. Unde clerici, qui in fortem Domini vocati, tanquam stellæ in firmamento cœli positæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes pro imputitate agendi quodcunque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neq; Deum, cujus judicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reverentur, cum & Episcopalis circa eos solicitudo sit languida, & seculari eos jurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa.*

Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ ex libro Monachi quodam Cantuar.

In *English*:

More than an hundred Murthers are said to be committed by the Clergy under King Henry *the second*: in punishing of whom the King was somewhat too vehement. But the fault, saith he, of this immoderate dealing of the King resteth most in the Bishops of our time, for so much as the cause thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the Canon Law (concerning the spiritual Men of the Clergy) that not only such as be notorious, but such as be spotted with lighter crimes should be degraded, whereof we have so many thousands, and whole swarmes of such now in* England, *as innumerable chaff among the little good Grain; yet how few do we see these many years in* England, *deprived of their office? For why? The Bishops while they labour more to maintain the liberties and dignities of Churchmen, than to correct their Vices, think they do God and the Church great service, if they rescue and defend the enormities of the Church-men against publick discipline, whom they ought rather to punish by the vertue of the censure Ecclesiastical. Whereupon the Churchmen, such as be sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like Stars to shine in Earth by word and example, taking licence and liberty to do what they lust, neither reverence God (whose judgment seemeth to tarry) neither Men set in Authority; when as both the Bishops are slack in their charge doing, and also the prerogative of their order exempteth them from the secular jurisdiction, &c.* And thus much out of of *Neubrugensis*.

Ex Cæsario monachi Heisterbacensis dialogo.

To this matter also pertain the words of *Cesarius* the Monk in his eighth Book of Dialogues and sixty ninth Chapter, about the eight and fortieth year after the death of *Thomas Becket*, which was the year of God 1220. whose words in summ come to this effect: *Quæstio Parisiis inter magistros ventilata fuit, utrum damnatus an salvatus esset ille Tho.* Dixerat *Rogerius tunc Normannus, fuisse illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax esset in Dei ministrum regem. Protinus contra Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quod signa salvationis & magnæ sanctitatis essent ejus miracula: & quod Martyrium probasset Ecclesiæ causa, pro qua mortem subierat, &c.*

Whether The. Becket be damned or saved.

In *English*:

There was a question moved among the Masters of Paris, *whether* Thomas Becket *was saved or damned? To this question answereth* Roger *a* Norman, *that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was so obstinate against Gods Minister his King. Contrary,* Peter Cantor *a* Parisian *disputed, saying and affirming, that his Miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great belief in that Man: affirming moreover, that the cause of the Church did allow and confirm his Martyrdome, for the which Church he died, &c.*

In God in their lesser days giveth no Miracles to glorifie his own Saints much less will he give Miracles to glorifie Thomas Becket.

And thus have ye the judgment and censure of the School of *Paris* touching this question, for the sanctimg of *Thomas Becket*. In which judgment for so much as the greateft argument refteth in the Miracles wrought by him after his death; let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to try and examine these his Miracles. In the trial whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giveth us warning in his Gospel, saying, *Whose coming shall be with lying signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, the elect*, Matth. 24. or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle Monks, and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their Churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no less may appear by the Miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own Monks, and of his own time; who in five solemn Books hath comprehended all the Revelations, Vertues and Miracles of the Archbishop; the which Books (as yet remaining in the hands of *William Stephenson* Citizen of *London*) I have seen and perused; wherein is contained the whole summ of all his Miracles, to the number of 270. being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not only they deserve no credit, (altogether savouring of meer forgery) but also for very shame will abash an honest Pen to write of them. Firft, if Miracles serve for necessity and for Infidels, what cause or necessity was there (in a Christian Realm having the Word of God) for God to work such Miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then to confider the end of these Miracles, whither do they tend, but only to bring Men to *Canterbury*, with their Vows and Offerings to enrich the Covent?

Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ ex libro Monachi quodam Cantuar.

Miracles of Becket how confirmed.

Beside the number of these Miracles, which be said to be so many, that they lose their own credit; what disease is there belonging to Man or Woman, in the curing whereof some Miracle hath not bin wrought by this Σωματοφύλαξ, as Fevers, Fistula, the Gout, Toothach, Palsie, Consumption, Falling-sickness, Leprosie, Head-ach, broken Arms, maimed Legs, swelling Throats, the railing up of the dead which have been two days departed; with infinite others. And as all these have been healed (for the most part) by one kind of falve (as a certain *Panacea*) which was, with the water only of *Canterbury*, like as a cunning Smith, which would open with one Key all manner of Locks; so again, in reading of the story of these Miracles, ye shall find the matter so conveied, that the power of this dead Saint was never twice shewed on any one Disease, but every divers Disease had a divers Miracle.

Agua Cantuariensis.

To recite in order all these prodigious Revelations and fantastical Miracles, fally imagined and ascribed to this Archbishop, were nothing else but to write a Legend of lies, and to occupy the People with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming Monks and Cloisterers, that have nothing else to maintain that Religion withal; I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vain and lying Apparitions and Miracles, as how this angry Saint (three days after his death) appeared by Vision at the Altar in his *Pontificalibus*, commanding the Quire not to sing, but to say this office of his Mass, *Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c.* Which Vision the Author himself of the Book doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another Vision the said Archbishop should say, that his bloud did cry out of the earth to God, more than the bloud of just *Abel*. *Item*, in another Vision it was shewed to a Monk of *Lewis*, how Saint *Thomas* had his place in Heaven appointed with the Apostles, above *Stephen, Laurence, Vincent*, and all other Martyrs. Whereof this cause is rendred, for that St. *Stephen, Laurence*, and such others, suffered only for their own cause; but this *Thomas* suffered for the Universall Church. *Item*, how it was shewed to a certain young Man (Osmund by name) twelve yeres before the death of this *Becket*, that among the Apostles and Martyrs in Heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain Priest as he said, of *England*, which was credibly supposed to be this *Thomas Becket*. *Item*, How a certain Knights Son, being two days dead, was revived again so soon as he had the water of *Canterbury* put in his Mouth, and had by his Parents four pieces of Silver bended, to be offered in *Canterbury* in the Childs behalf. All these, I say, with such other like to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety) only this one story, or another that followeth, shall suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest.

Singing at the Mass: forbidden by T. becket after his death.

A blasphemous lie.

Becket above the Martyrs in Heaven.

A place prepared in Heaven for Becket 12. years before his death.

In the fourth Book of this fabulous Author, and in the third Chapter, a Miracle is there contained of a certain Countryman of *Bedfordshire* in *Kings Weston*, whose name was *Eilwardus*; which *Eilwardus*, in his drunkenness, shifting into another Mans House which was his Debtor, took out of his House a great Whetstone, and a pair of Hedging-gloves. The other party seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation (by the counsel of the Town-Clerk) entred an Action of Felony against him for other things besides, as for stealing his Wimble, his Axe, his Net, and other Cloths. Wherefore *Eilwardus* being had to the Gaol of *Bedford*, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eies put out, and also those Members cut off, which Nature with secret shame hath covered. Which punishment by the malice of his adverfary being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this *Thomas* of *Canterbury*. Which done (saith the Miracle) there appeared one to him by Night, in white Apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy St. *Thomas*. In conclusion, the Miracle thus fell out: The next day at Evening, the Man rubbing his Eye-lids, began to feel his Eies to be restored again; first in a little, after in a greater measure, so that one was of a gray colour, the other was of black; and here was one Miracle rung. After this followed another Miracle also upon the same person; for going but the space of four miles, when his eies were restored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his *Pendula* (to use the words of my story) were to him restored, *Principio parvus quidem valde, sed in majus proficientia*, which he permitted every one to feel that would, and thanked not to deny. Insomuch that he, coming up to *St. Thomas*, first at *London*, was received with joy of the Bishop of *Durham*; who, then sending to the Burgers of *Bedford* for the truth of the matter, received from them again Letters Testimonial, wherein the Citizens there (saith this fabulous Festival) confirmed first to the Bishop, then to the Covent of *Canterbury*, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one Miracle (gentle Reader) so shameless and impudent, I thought here to express, that by this one thou mightst judge of all the residue of his Miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge moreover of all the filthy wickedness of all these lying Monks and Cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudently to deceive the simple souls of Christs Church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I said) if the holy fainting of *Thomas Becket* standeth upon no other thing but upon his Miracles, what credit is to be given thereto? and upon what a weak ground his Shrine so long hath stood, by this may easily be seen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no less worthy of the Whetstone, we read in the story of *Gervasius*: That *Thomas Becket* appearing to a certain

An impudent lie.

A false and impudent Miracle.

A blasphemous vision.

Priest, named *Thomas*, declared to him, that he had so brought to pass, that all the Names of the Monks of the Church of *Canterbury*, with the Names of the Priests and Clerks, and with the Families belonging to that City and Church of *Canterbury*, were written in the Book of Life. *Ex Gervas. fol.6.*

But whatsoever is to be thought of his Miracles, or howsoever the testimony of the School of *Paris*, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him; certain it is, that this Antheme or Collect, lately collected and primered in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of him, to whom only all praise and honour is due, where it is said;

The blasphemous Anthem of *Thomas Becket.*

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.

That is:

For the bloud of Thomas,
Which he for thee did stend,
Grant us (Christ) to climb,
Where Thomas *did ascend.*

Wherein is a double lie contained; first, that he died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his bloud could purchase Heaven. Which thing neither *Paul* nor any of the Apostles durst ever challenge to themselves: for if any Mans bloud could bring us to Heaven, then the bloud of Christ was shed in vain.

And thus much touching the testimony or censure of certain ancient times concerning the cause of *Thomas Becket*. In the explication of whose History I have now stood the longer (exceeding peradventure in over-much prolixity) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duely weighed on every part, mens minds (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to be noted out of the testimony of *Rob. Crikeladensis*, which in him I find; that the Peers and Nobles of this Land, near about the King, gave out in straight charge upon pain of death, and confiscating of all their Goods, that no Man should be so hardy as to name *Thomas Becket* to be a Martyr, or to preach of his Miracles, &c. *Ex Crikeladensi.*

After the death of *Thomas Becket*, the King fearing the Popes wrath and curse to be laid upon him (whereunto *Ludovike* the *French* King also helped what he could to set the matter forward) sent to *Rome* the Archbishop of *Rothomage*, with certain other Bishops and Archdeacons unto the Pope with his excuse, which the Pope could in no wise hear. And after other Messengers being sent (whom some of the Cardinals received) it was shewed to them that on *Goodfriday* (being then near at hand) the Pope of custom was used to assoil or to curse, and that it was noised, how the King of *England* with his Bishops should be cursed, and his Land interdicted, and that they should be put in Prison. After this, certain of the Cardinals shewed the Pope, that the Messengers had power to swear to the Pope, that the King should obey his punishment and Penance; which was taken both for the King and the Archbishop of *York*. So that in the same day the Pope cursed the deed doers, with such as were of their consent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed doers, it is touched briefly before, how they lying in *Gonasborough* fled into *Yorkshire*; who, after having in Penance to go in their linnen Clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to *Jerusalem*, by reason of this hard Penance are said to die in few years after.

The K. sendeth to *Rome.*

Ex libro annotationum historicarum manuscripto. Y. Digneti.

The penance of the four Knights.

The Kings Embassadors lying, as is said, in *Rome*, could find no grace nor favour a long time at the Popes hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two Cardinals should be sent down to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to *Becket's* death. The King perceiving what was preparing at *Rome*, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the Pope and coming down of the Cardinals would tend; in the mean time addrefred himself with a great power to enter into *Ireland*, giving in charge and commandment, as *Hoveden* writeth, that no bringer of any Brief or Letter should come over into *England*, or pass out of the Realm (of what degree or condition soever he were) without special licence, and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudicial to the Realm.

Ex Hoveden.

This order being set and ordained, the King with 400 great Ships taketh his journey to *Ireland*, where he subdued in short time the whole Land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers Kings to the number of five; of whom four submitted themselves unto the said King *Henry*, only the fifth, who was the King of *Tonaëa*, denied to be subdued, keeping him in Woods and Marshes.

Ireland fet subdued to England.

In the mean season, while the King was thus occupied in *Ireland*, the two Cardinals that were sent from the Pope (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) were come to *Normandy*. Unto whom the King the next year following resorted about the Month of *October*, in the year 1172. But before (during the time of the Kings being in *Ireland*) the Bishop of *London*, and *Joselinе* Bishop of *Salisbury* had sent to *Rome*, and procured their absolution from the Pope. The King returning out of *Ireland*, by *Wales*, into *England*, and from thence to *Normandy*, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates, as touching the death of the foresaid *Becket*; to the which he sware he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his Knights would not avenge him against the said *Thomas*; for the which cause this Penance was injoyned him under his Oath.

Anno 1174.

The King Penance for the death of *Becket.*

First, that he should send 60 much into the holy Land, as would find two hundred Knights or Souldiers for the defence of that Land.

Also, That from *Christmass* day next following, he should set forth in his own person to fight for the Holy Land, the space of three years together, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal by the Pope.

Item, That if he would make his journey into *Spain* (as his present necessity did require) there he should fight against the *Saracens*, and as long time as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journeys toward *Jerusalem*.

Item, That he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindred by him, any appellations made to the Pope of *Rome*.

Item, That neither he nor his Son should depart or disfever from Pope *Alexander*, or from his Catholick Successors, so long as they should recount him or his Son for Kings Catholick.

Item, That the Goods and possessions taken from the Church of *Canterbury* should be restored again (fully and amply) as they stood the year before *Thomas Becket* departed the Realm; and that free liberty should be granted to all such as were outlawed for *Becket's* cause to return again.

Item, That the foresaid Customs and Decrees, by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed; such only except that concerned his own person, &c.) besides other secret sastings and almes enjoyned him.

All these former conditions the King with his Son did both agree unto, debasing himself in such sort of submission before the two Cardinals, by the occasion whereof, the Cardinal took no little glory, using this Verse of the Psalm, *Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant*: That is, *Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble, which toucheth the hills, and they smoke, &c.* Moreover, it is mentioned in Histories of the said King, that a little after, *William* King of *Scots* with his Army had made a Rode into the Realm, he, returning out of *Normandy* into *England*, came first to *Canterbury*; who by the way (so soon as he came to the sight of *Becket's* Church) lighting off his Horse, and putting off his Shoes, went barefoot to his Tomb, whole steps were found bloudy through the roughness of the stones. And not only that, but also he received further Penance, by every Monk of the Cloister, certain discipline of a rod. By which so great dejection of the King (if it were true) thou mayst see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days. If it were pretended (as might so be in time of war, to get the hearts of the people) yet mayst thou, learned Reader, see what slavery Kings and Princes were brought into at that time under the Popes Clergy. The same year (as *Hoveden* writeth) which was 1174. the whole City of *Canterbury* was almost all consumed with fire, and the said Minster Church clean burnt.

Ex Stubbio Ingo.

K. Henry the second goeth on pilgrimage with his bare feet to the Tomb of Thomas Becket.

Ex Rogero Hovedeno, Gervasio & aliis.

Anno 1174. The City of *Canterbury* almost consumed with fire.

The

The next year ensuing, which was 1175. a Convocation of Bishops was holden at *Westminster* by *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In which Conventicle all the Bishops and Abbots of the Province of *Canterbury* and of *York* being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the days of King *Henry* the first, *Anno* 1113.) about the obedience that *York* should do to *Canterbury*; that is, whether the Archbishop of *York* might bear his Cross in the Diocess of *Canterbury* or not, whereof something was touched before in the former proceis of this History. Also about the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, of *Chichester*, of *Worcester*, and of *Hereford*, whether these Churches were under the jurisdiction of the See of *York* or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controversie between these two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Anno 1175. Controversie between the See of *Canterbury* and the See of *York*. Archbishop of *York* appealeth the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *Rome*.

In these and such like causes, how much better had it been if the Supremacy had remained more near in the Kings hands at home. Whereby not only much labour and travel had been saved, but also the great and wastful expences bestowed at *Rome* might with much more fruit and thank have been converted to their Cures and Flocks committed unto them, and also percase their cause no less indifferently heard, at least more speedily might have been decided. But to the purpose again. In this Controverse divers of the Bishops of *York's* Clergy, such as were of *Glocester*, belonging to the Church of Saint *Oswald*, were excommunicate by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because they, being summoned, refused to appear before him, &c. At length the same year, which was 1175. there was a Cardinal sent down from *Rome* by the Kings procurement, who studied to set a peace between the two Archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the means of the King) at *Winchester*, that as touching the Church of Saint *Oswald* at *Glocester*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should cease his claim thereof, molesting the See of *York* no more therein; also should absolve again the Clerks thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the Cross and all other matters, it was referred to the Archbishop of *Rothomage*, and of other Bishops in *France*, so that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should have a full determination of their cause.

The Clerks of *Oswald* in *Glocester* excommunicated.

Agreement between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Anno 1176. Division of *Anglia* divided into six Circuits.

The next year following, the foresaid King *Henry* the second (dividing the Realm of *England* into six parts) ordained upon every part three Justices of Assise. The Circuit or Limitation of which Justices was thus disposed. The first upon *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Essex*, *Hertfordshire*. Two upon *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Leicestershire*. Three upon *Kent*, *Surry*, *Southamptonshire*, *Southsex*, *Barkshire*, *Oxfordshire*. Four upon *Herefordshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Worcestershire*, *Salopshire*. Five upon *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, *Cornwal*. Six upon *Everwikeshire*, *Richmondshire*, *Lancaster*, *Copland*, *Westmerland*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*.

Rot. Original. Mich. Pat. & aliarum Historiarum.

In the which Year also *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made three Archdeacons in his Diocess, where as before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the King to the Popes Legate, that a Clerk should not be called before a Temporal Judge, except for offence in the Foresi, or for his Lay fee that he holdeth.

A frivolous contention between the Archbishop and the Abbot of Canterbury. Where note here the pompe of the Gospel. He that will be great amongst you, let him be as a minister to others.

Item, That no Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, or Abby should remain in the Kings hands over one year without great cause. It chanced the same year that this was done, there was at *Canterbury* one elected to be Abbot in the House of St. *Austine*, named *Albert*, who made great labour and sute unto the Archbishop that he would come to his Church, and there consecrate him Abbot of St. *Austins*. To whom the Archbishop sent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repair to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, there to receive his Consecration. Whereupon (controversie rising between them) the foresaid new elect appealed up to the audience of the Pope, and so laboured up himself to *Rome*. Where he so handled the matter (by what means I cannot tell, unless with his Golden Bottel, wherewith he quenched the Popes thirsty soul, for Abbots never travel lightly without fat Purses to *Rome*) that with short dispatch he procured Letters from *Alexander* the Pope, to *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester*; signifying to him, that he had given in charge and commandment to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (in the behalf of his dear son *Albert*) that he should consecrate him within his own Monastery, which Monastery properly and solely without mediation belonged to the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and so likewise should do to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing, further he said, if the Archbishop would refuse to do within the term appointed, that then he the foresaid Bishop of *Worcester* should (by the authority committed unto him) execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This Letter being obtained, the Abbot that would be, returneth home, supposing with himself all things to be sure. The Archbishop understanding the cause, and seeing himself to be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yield and stoop to the Abbot, took to him policy where authority would not serve; and both to save himself, and yet to disappoint the Abbot, he watched a time when the Abbot was about businesse of his house. And coming the same time to the Monastery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed, that to such a businesse appertained, he called for the Abbot, pretending no less than to give him his Consecration. The Abbot, being called for, was not at home; the Archbishop, feigning himself not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed: as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the Abbot had been at home. Whereupon the Abbot being thus disappointed, was feign to fill his Silver Flagons afreth, and make a new course to *Rome* to his Father the Pope, of whom he received his Consecration, and so came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much emony peradventure as he went withal.

The tenor of the Popes Letter to theBishop of *Worcester.*

We have declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this Pope *Alexander* the third, how he had brought the Emperors head under his foot in Saint *Mark's* Church at *Venice*, at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the Pope and the said *Frederick* the Emperor. Which pacification *Rogerus Hovedenus*, and *Gualterus Giburgensis*, refer to this time, being the year of our Lord 1177. bringing in two several Letters sent from the said Pope *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*. Out of the which Letters, so much as serveth to our purpose, I have taken and here inserted.

Hovedenus Giburgensis Anno 1177.

The Letter of Pope *Alexander*, sent to *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, and to the Bishop of *Duresme*.

A Lexander *servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren* Roger *Archbishop of* York, *and* Hugh *Bishop of* Duresme, *greeting and Apostolical blessing. The obsequy and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the Church, requireth that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the Church, and to let you know, as spiritual children of the Church, what hath happened to the same: For meet it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the Church.* And about the end of the Epistle it followeth thus:

A mock Emperor, and a proud Pope.

The next day following, which was the Feast of Saint James *(the said Emperor so requesting) we came to the foresaid Church of St.* Mark, *there to celebrate our solemn Mass; where (as we were coming in the way) the said Emperor met us without the Church, and placing us again on his right hand, he brought us so into the Church. After the Mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the Church Door. And moreover, when we should take our Palfrie, he held our Stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence, as his Progenitors were wont to exhibite to our Predecessors. Wherefore shee shall*

The Emperor holdeth the Popes stirrup.

shall be to incite your diligence and study towards us, that you rejoyce with us and the Church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the Church: that such as be touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoyce also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at Venice *in the deep River, the 26 of July.*

This Year the contention revived again, spoken of a little before, between the two Archbishops of *York* and *Canterbury*, the occasion whereof was this; The manner and practice of the Pope is, when he beginneth to lack Money, he sendeth some limiting Cardinal abroad to fetch his Harvest in. So there came this year into *England* (as lightly few years were without them) a certain Cardinal from *Rome*, called *Hugo*, or as *Hovedenus* nameth him, *Hugezim*, who would needs keep a Council at *Westminster*. To this Council resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, and such others of the Clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the Archbishop of *York* named *Roger*, who (thinking to prevent the other Archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himself on the right hand of the Cardinal. *Richard* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the Archbishop of *York*, as one prejudicial to his See. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit down, thereof se no small contention between them two. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* claimed the upper seat by the preheminence of his Church. Contrary, the Archbishop of *York* alledged for him the old Decree of *Gregory*, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken between the two Metropolitans of *Canterbury* and *York*, that which of them two should be first in election, he should have the preheminence in dignity to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed so warm in words, that at last they turned to hot blows. How strong the Archbishop of *York* was in reason and argument, I cannot tell; but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was stronger at the arms end; whose servants being more in number (like valiant Men) not suffering their Master to take such a foile, so prevailed against *York* (sitting on the right hand of the Cardinal) that they pluckt him down from the hand to the foot of the Cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His Casule, Chimer and Rochet were all to be rent and torn from his Back. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could be heard, such clamour and tumult was there in the House among them, much like to the tumult which *Virgil* describeth:

Contention between two Archbishops who should sit on the right hand of the Cardinal.

Ac veluti in magno populo, cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sæviuntque animis ignobile vulgus,
Jamque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.

Now as the first part of this description doth well agree, so some peradventure will look again, that according to the latter part also of the same, my Lord Cardinal with sageness and gravity (after the manner of the old *Romans* standing up) should have ceased and allayed the disturbance, according to that which followeth in the Poet,

Tum pietate gravem meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant:
Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet; &c.

But what did the noble *Roman* Cardinal? Like a prety man of his hands (but a pretier man of his feet) standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broile, committed himself to flight, and (as *Hovedenus* writeth) *Abscondit se a facie illorum*. The next day the Archbishop of *York* bringeth to the Cardinal his Rochet, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing up the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with certain of his men to the Bishop of *Rome*. And thus the holy Council (the same day it was begun) brake up and was dissolved.

Under the Reign of this King *Henry* the second, the Dominion and Crown of *England* extended so far as hath not been seen in this Realm before him; whom Histories record to possess under his rule and jurisdiction, first, *Scotland*, to whom *William* King of *Scots*, with all the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, did Homage both for them and for their successors (the Seal whereof remaineth in the Kings Treasury) as also *Ireland*, *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitan*, *Gant*, *&c.* To the Mountains of *Pirenay*, which be in the uttermost part of the great Ocean in the *British* Sea, being also Protector of *France*; to whom *Philip* the *French* King yielded both himself and his Realm wholly to his governance, in the year of our Lord 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the King of *Jerusalem*, by the Patriarch and Master of the Hospital there; who, then being distressed by the *Soldan*, brought him the Keies of their City, desiring his aid against the Infidels; which offer he then refused, alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his Sons, which might happen in his absence.

The first domination of K. Henry the Second.

Homage of Scotland to the pain of forfeiture.

K. Henry the second, Sovereign Lord of France.

K. Henry receiveth King Philip Surnamed Augustus, the King being exiled.

¶ And here the old Histories find a great fault with the King for his refusal; declaring that to be the cause of Gods Plagues, which after infued upon him by his Children, as the Patriach in his Oration (being offended with the King) prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause. Which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good Princes, not to deny their necessary help to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause appertaining unto God.

Add not to the desolate our neighbours, the Gabeonites being guilty. Ex Polydor. Ex Gentib. Cambrens.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood and riches of this Prince was so spread and renowned from all Quarters, that Messages came from *Emmanuel* Emperor of *Constantinople*, *Frederick* Emperor of *Rome*, and *William* Archbishop of *Treuers* in *Almain*, the Duke of *Saxon*, and from the Earl of *Flanders*, and also from the *French* King, (upon determination of great questions and strifes) to ask counsel and determination thereof of this King *Henry*, as of one most wise, and Schoolmaster of all wisdom and justice, to have solution of their questions and doubts. Moreover, *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, and *Sancius* King of *Navarre*, being in strife for certain Castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their free accord, and by their Oath) to abide the award of this King *Henry*; who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed, that this King, to whom other Princes did so resort, as to their arbitrer and decifer, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seem that the acts of this Prince were not so vicious as some Monkish Writers do describe.

K. Henry chosen arbiter by two Kings

Among many other things in this King memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigned five and thirty years, and having fixh Wars with his enemies, yet never upon his Subjects put any Tribute or Tax, nor yet upon the Spiritualty, first fruits and appropriations of Benefices. Belike they were not known, or else not used. And yet his Treasure after his death (weighed by King *Richard* his Son) amounted to above nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Jewels, precious Stones, and houshold furniture. Of the which substance eleven thousand pounds came to him by the death of *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any Priest died within his Province without Testament, then he should have all his Goods. And shortly after the Archbishop died, and the King had all his Goods, which extended (as is said) to eleven thousand pounds besides Plate, in the year of our Lord God 1181.

The treasure of K. Henry the second.

A contrary Archbishop.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal World so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of incumbrance and adverfity; so it happened to this King, that among his other Princely successors, this incommodity followed him withal, that his Sons rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the *French* King against their Father. First, at the Coronation of *Henry* his Son, whom the Father joyned with him as King, he being both Father and King, took upon him (that notwithstanding) but as a Steward, and set down the first Dish as Sewer unto his Son, renouncing the name of a King. At what time the foresaid Archbishop of *York*, sitting on the right hand of the young King, said, *Sir, ye have great cause this day to joy, for there is no Prince in the World that*

Pride deserveth all.

hath such an Officer this day, &c. And the young King disdaining his words, said, My Father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a King and a Queens Son, and so is not he. And not only this, but after he also persecuted his Father; and so in his youth when he had reigned but a few years died; teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the just Commandment of God.

After him likewise *Richard* his Son (who was called *Richard Cœur de Lion*) rebelled against his Father, and also *John* his youngest Son did not much degenerate from the steps of his Brethren. Insomuch that this foresaid *Richard* (like an unkind child) persecuting and taking part against his Father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within four days departed, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whose Corpse as it was carried to be buried, *Richard* his Son coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weep, the blood brast incontinent out of the Nose of the King at the coming of his Son; giving thereby a certain demonstration how he was the only Author of his death.

King Henry the second persecuted by his Sons.

The death of K. Henry the second. His title King being dead, bled at the coming of his Son.

After the death and reign of which King, his Children after him (worthily rewarded for their unnaturalness against their Father) lacking the success which their Father had, lost all beyond the Sea that their Father had got before.

And thus much concerning the Reign of *Henry* the Second, and the death of *Thomas Becket*; whose death (as aforesaid) happened in the days of Pope *Alexander* the Third; which Pope usurping the Keys of Ecclesiastical Regiment one and twenty years (or as *Gisburnensis* writeth, three and twenty years) governed the Church with much tumult; striving and contending with *Frederick* the Emperor, not shaming like a moft proud *Lucifer*, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the said Emperor, as is above described.

{Anno 1179.}

This Pope among many other his acts had certain Councils (as is partly before touched) some in *France*, some at *Rome* in *Lateran*; by whom it was decreed, that no Archbishop should receive the Pall, unless he should first swear. Concerning the solemnity of which Pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the same with obedience to the Pope, as it is contained in their own words; I thought it good to set it forth unto thee, that thou mayest well consider and understand their doings therein.

The form and manner how and by what words the *Pope* is wont to give the Pall unto the Archbishop.

Giving of the Pall.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ Virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & domini nostri N. Papæ, & sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, necnon N. Ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem Pontificalis officii, ut uteris eo infra Ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis tibi ab Apostolica sede concessis.

That is in *English*:

To the honour of Almighty God, and of Blessed *Mary* the Virgin, and of Blessed Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy Church of *Rome*, and also of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the Pall taken from the body of St. *Peter*, as a fulness of the office Pontifical, which you may wear within your own Church upon certain days, which be expressed in the privileges of the said Church, granted by the See Apostolick.

Notes upon the same.

§ 'To the honour, &c. With what confidence doth the Pope couple the honour of Almighty God, and the honour of *Mary*, of Saint *Peter*, and of the Pope, and of the *Romish* Church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous *Lucifer*, equalling himself not only with such Saints, but also even with him which is God alone, to be blessed for ever?

'Taken from the body, &c. If St. *Peter*'s body be not all consumed, let him shew it if he can. If he cannot shew it, how then is this Pall taken from the body of St. 'Peter? Or if he mean it to be of St. *Peter*'s own wearing, then belike St. *Peter* had a goodly Wardrobe of 'Palls, when every Archbishop in all Christendom receiveth from the Pope a divers Pall.

'*As a fulness of the office*, &c. Rather he might say the 'fulness of his own Purse, when as Archbishops paid so 'sweetly for it. Insomuch that *Jacobus* the Archbishop of 'Mentz, as is above touched a little before in the Council 'of *Basil*, where the price was wont to be but a thousand 'Florens, could not obtain it without six and twenty thousand Florens.

'*Upon certain days*, &c. This difference there was between the Pope and other Archbishops: for the Pope 'might wear the Pall at all times, and in all places at his 'pleasure. Archbishops might not wear it but upon certain 'days, and in their Church only within their Province. 'Moreover this Pall should not be asked but with great in'stance, and within three months, without which Pall he 'is not to be named Archbishop, but may be depofed; having it not after three months: and the same Pall must 'also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is 'given, some priviledg must be given withal, or the old renewed.

Ex libro grauaminum Nationis Germanicæ.

In like manner proceedeth the Oath of every Bishop swearing obedience to the *Pope* in like words as followeth.

The solemn Oath of Bishops made to the Pope.

EGO N. *Episcopus* N. *ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & domino meo* D. N. *Papæ, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, seu auxilio, consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi crediturs sunt, per se aut per nuncium, seu literas eorum, me sciente neminì pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis triennio visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuncium, nisi Apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei Episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo inconsulto Rom. Pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet, & sancta Dei Evangelia.*

Salvo meo ordine. This was the clause that made Becket to be banished &c to be slain.

That is in *English*:

I, N. Bishop of N. from this hour henceforth, will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. *Peter*, and to the holy Apostolick Church of *Rome*, and to my Lord N. the Pope. I shall be in no Council, nor help either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them, or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking. The Council which they shall commit to me either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their Letters wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the Papacy of *Rome*, and the Regalities of St. *Peter*, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saved) against all persons. The Legate of the Apostolick See both in going and coming I shall honourably intreat and help in all necessities. Being called to a Synod I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and Canonical impeachment. The Palace of the Apostles every third year I shall visit either by my self or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the See Apostolick. All such possessions as belong to the Table and Diet of my Bishopricke, I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove away by any manner of means without the consent and knowledg of the Bishop of *Rome*: so God help me and the holy Gospels of God.

And how he not those Bishoprikes perjured, which at the death of Q. *Mary*, set and let out a great part of their possessions from their successors.

A Note upon the ſame.

§ 'Hereby thou haſt by the way (gentle Reader) to
'note and conſider, among other things which here may
'be underſtood, that ſince the time the Oath began to be
'laid and thruſt upon Biſhops, all General Councils began
'to loſe their liberty. For how could any freedom remain
'for men to ſpeak their knowledg in redreſs of things, be-
'ing by their Oath ſo bound to the Pope to ſpeak nothing
'but on his ſide, to maintain the Papacy, and the Church
'of *Rome* in all times and places? Conjecture by thy ſelf
'(Chriſtian Reader) what is more hereby to be conſi-
'dered.

BEſides this it was alſo decreed in the ſaid Council at *Rome* of 310 Biſhops, by Pope *Alexander*, that no man ſhould have any Spiritual Promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in Wedlock. That no Pariſh Church ſhould be void above ſix Months. That none within Orders ſhould meddle with Temporal buſineſs. That Prieſts ſhould have but one Benefice, and that the Biſhop ſhould be charged to find the Prieſt a Living till he be promoted.

That open Uſurers ſhould not communicate at *Eaſter*, nor be buried within the Church-yard.

That nothing ſhould be taken for miniſtring Sacraments or Burying.

Item. That every Cathedral Church ſhould have a Maſter to teach Children freely, without taking any thing for the ſame.

The Vow of Chaſtity laid upon Prieſts.

In this Council the Vow of Chaſtity was obtruded and laid upon Prieſts. *Thomas Becket* alſo and *Bernard* were Canonized for Saints.

During the reign and time of this King *Henry* the Second, the City of *Norwich* was deſtroyed and burnt by the men of *Flanders*. Alſo the Town of *Leiceſter*. *Nottingham* waſted, and the Burgeſſes ſlain by the Earl of *Ferrers*. The Town of *Barwick* deſtroyed by the *Scots*. The King of *Scots* was taken in war by *Engliſhmen* in the year of our Lord 1174. The Town of *Huntington* taken and burned. The Town of *Canterbury* by caſualty of fire burnt with all the Churches, ſpecially with the Trinity Church where *Becket* was worſhipped, *An. eod*. The year of our Lord 1170. *William* King of *Scots*, with *David* his Brother, and all the Barons of the Realm, did homage to the King of *England*. *Ireland* made ſubject to *England*. Decreed in a Council in *Normandy*, that no Boys or Children ſhould poſſeſs any Benefice. A Council of *Lateran* was holden at *Rome*, where were three and thirty Articles concluded; *Anno* 1179. The *French* King came in Pilgrimage to *Thomas Becket*, the King of *England* meeting him by the way, *An.* 1184. After the death of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who followed after *Thomas Becket*, ſucceeded *Baldwinus*; who of a *Ciſtercian* Monk being made a Biſhop, is ſaid never to eat fleſh in his life. Whom a certain poor woman bare and lean, meeting him in the ſtreet, deſired to know of him whether it were true that was ſaid of him, that he never did eat fleſh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: Nay (ſaith ſhe) that is falſe, for you have eaten my fleſh unto the bone, for I had but one Cow wherewith I was ſuſtained, and that have your Deans taken from me. True, true, ſaid the Biſhop, and thou ſhalt have another Cow as good as that, &c. *Fornalenſ.*

Baldwinus Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Moreover in the reign of the ſaid King *Henry*, about the year of our Lord 1178, I find in the Story of *Roger Hoveden* and others, that in the City of *Tholouſe* was a great multitude of men and women whom the Popes Commiſſioners, to wit, *Peter* Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, and the Popes Legate, with the Archbiſhops of *Narbon* and *Biturienſis*, *Reginald* Biſhop of *Bath*, *John* Biſhop of *Pictavia*, *Henry* Abbot *Clarevallenſis*, &c. did perſecute and condemn for Hereticks; of whom ſome were ſcourged naked, ſome chaſed away, ſome compelled to abjure. Concerning whoſe articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forſomuch as I ſee the *Papiſts* many times ſo falſe in their quarreling accuſations, untruly collected mens ſayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they ſaid, but wreſting and depraving ſimple mens aſſertions after ſuch a ſubtil ſort as they liſt themſelves to take them. But this I find, how one of the ſaid Commiſſioners or Inquiſitors (*Henry* the Abbot) in a certain Letter of his wrote thus of them: *Nam & panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ, ſacerdotis miniſterio in verbo Domini conſecratum, non eſſe corpus Domini, novo dogmate contendebat aſſerere*. That is, after a new opinion he affirmed that the holy bread of eternal life, conſecrated by the Miniſtry of the Prieſt, was not the body of the Lord, *&c*.

In the time of this *Alexander* ſprang up the Doctrine and name of them which were then called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, which of one *Waldus* a chief Senator in *Lions*, were named *Waldenſes*; *Item Leoniſtæ & Inſabbatati*; about the year of our Lord 1109, or (as *Laziardus* writeth) *Anno* 1170.

Waldenſes ſo named of Leyons, Lugdun, Sabbati.

Not long before this time (as is expreſſed above) roſe up *Gratianus* Maſter of the Decrees, and *Petrus Lombardus* Maſter of the Sentences, both Archpillars of all Papiſtry; after whom followed alſo two as evil, or worſe than they, *Franciſcus* and *Dominicus*, maintaining blind hypocriſie no leſs than the other maintained proud Prelacy. As theſe laboured one way by ſuperſtition and worldly advancement to corrupt the ſincerity of Chriſtian Religion, ſo it pleaſed Chriſt the contrary way, labouring againſt theſe, to raiſe up therefore the ſaid *Waldenſes* againſt the pride and hypocriſie of the others.

Four Archpillars of proud Papiſtry.

Thus we never ſee any great corruption in the Church, but that ſome ſparkle of the true and clear light of the Goſpel yet by Gods Providence doth remain; whatſoever Doctor *Auguſtinus*, *Reinerius*, *Sylvius*, *Cranzius*, with others in their Popiſh Hiſtories do write of them (deſaming them through miſreport) and accuſing them to Magiſtrates, as diſobedient to Orders, rebels to the Catholick Church, and contemners of the Virgin *Mary*; yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather truſting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, ſhall find it otherwiſe; and that they maintained nothing elſe but the ſame Doctrine which is now defended in the Church. And yet I ſuppoſe not contrary, but as the *Papiſts* did with the Articles of *Wickliff* and *Huſs*, ſo they did in like manner with their Articles alſo, in gathering and wreſting them otherwiſe than they were meant.

The Hiſtory of the Waldenſes *concerning their Original and Doctrine, with their Perſecutions.*

The Hiſtory of Waldo, or de Leugduno.

THE firſt original of theſe *Waldenſes* came of one *Waldus*, a man both of great ſubſtance, and no leſs calling in the City of *Lions*; the occaſion whereof is declared of divers Writers thus to come: About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the beſt and chiefeſt heads of the City of *Lions* talking and walking in a certain place after their old accuſtomed manner, eſpecially in the Summer-time, conferred and conſulted together upon matters, either to paſs over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongſt whom it chanced one (the reſt looking upon) to fall down by ſudden death. In the number of whom this foreſaid *Waldus*, there being amongſt them was one; who beholding the matter more earneſtly than the other, and terrified with ſo heavy an example, being (as is ſaid) a rich man, and Gods holy Spirit working withal, was ſtricken with a deep and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a careful ſtudy to reform his former life. Inſomuch that firſt he began to miniſter large alms of his goods to ſuch as needed. Secondly, to inſtruct himſelf and his family with the true knowledg of Gods word. Thirdly, to admoniſh all that reſorted to him by any occaſion, to repentance and vertuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholeſome admonitions, more reſort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did ſee ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had tranſlated himſelf into the *French* Tongue: for as he was a man wealthy in riches, ſo he was alſo not unlearned.

Although *Laziardus*, *Volateranus*, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who ſhould procure others to write and tranſlate for him: by others, that have ſeen his doings yet remaining in old

old Parchment Monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and tranſlate the Books of Scripture, and alſo did collect the Doctors mind upon the ſame.

But whatſoever he was (learned or unlearned) the Biſhops and Prelates ſeeing him ſo to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to have ſuch reſort about him, albeit it was but in his own houſe under private conference, could not abide, either that the Scriptures ſhould be declared of any other, neither would they take the pains to declare it themſelves. So being moved with great malice againſt the Man, they threatned to excommunicate him if he did not leave ſo to do. *Waldus* ſeeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice ſtirred up upon no juſt nor godly cauſe, neglecting the threatnings and ſtrettings of the wicked, ſaid, *that God muſt be obeyed more than Man*. To be brief, the more diligent he was in ſetting forth the true Doctrine of Chriſt againſt the errors of Antichriſt, the more maliciouſly their fierceneſs increaſed. Inſomuch that when they did fee their Excommunication to be deſpiſed, and would not ſerve, they ceaſed not with Priſon, with Sword and Baniſhment to perſecute, till at length they had driven both *Waldus* and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the City.

The true nature of Antichriſt, neither hitherto fail to fulfil the Word, nor ſuffer other men to do it.

Whereupon came firſt their Name, that they were called *Waldenſes*, or *Pauperes de Lugduno*, not becauſe they would have all things common amongſt them, or that they, profeſſing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the Apoſtles did (as *Sylvius* did falſly bely them) but becauſe they, being thruſt out both of Country and Goods, were compelled to live poorly whether they would or no. And thus much touching the firſt occaſion and beginning of theſe Men, and of the reſtoring and maintaining of the true Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel, againſt the proud proceedings of *Papiſts* errors. Now concerning their Articles, which I find in order and in number to be theſe:

The Articles of the Waldenſes.

SOlis ſacris literis credendum eſſe in iis quæ ad ſalutem, *&c*. That is, *Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to Salvation, and no mans writing, or man beſides.*

2. All things to be contained in Holy Scripture neceſſary to Salvation, and nothing to be admitted in Religion, but what only is commanded in the Word of God.

3. To be one only Mediator; other Saints in no wiſe to be made Mediators, or to be invocated.

4. To be no Purgatory, but that all Men either by Chriſt are juſtified to life, or without Chriſt be condemned; and beſides theſe two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all Maſſes, namely ſuch as be ſung for the dead, be wicked and to be abrogate.

6. All Mens Traditions to be rejected, at leaſt not to be reputed as neceſſary to ſalvation, and therefore this ſinging and ſuperfluous chanting in the Chancel to be left; conſtrained and prefixed faſts bound to days and times, difference of Meats, ſuch variety of degrees and orders of Prieſts, Friers, Monks and Nuns, ſuperfluous Holy-days, ſo many ſundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, Vows, Peregrinations, with all the Rabblement of Rites and Ceremonies brought in by Man, to be aboliſhed.

7. The Supremacy of the Pope uſurping above all Churches, and eſpecially above all politick Realms and Governments, or for him to occupy or uſurp the juriſdiction of both the Swords, to be denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the Church, but only Prieſts, Deacons and Biſhops.

8. The Communion under both kinds to be neceſſary to all People, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

9. *Item*, The Church of *Rome* to be the very *Babylon* ſpoken of in the *Apocalyps*; and the Pope to be the fountain of all error, and the very Antichriſt.

10. * The Popes Pardons and Indulgences they reject.

* This Article ſeemeth not to be the form of Abſolution that is now uſed in the Church of England, but rather a Declaration of the Miniſters office in that behalf.

11. The Marriage of Prieſts, and of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to be godly, and alſo neceſſary in the Church.

12. Such as hear the Word of God, and have a right Faith, to be the right Church of Chriſt. And to this Church the Keies of the Church are to be given, to drive away Wolves, and to inſtitute true Paſtors, and to preach the Word, and to miniſter the Sacraments.

These be the moſt principal Articles of the *Waldenſes*, albeit ſome there be that add more to them; ſome again divide the ſame into more parts, but theſe be the principal to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame *Waldenſes*, at length exiled, were diſperſed in divers and ſundry places, of whom many remained long in *Bohemia*; which writing to their King *Uladiſlaus*, to purge themſelves againſt the ſlanderous accuſations of one Doctor *Auſtin*, gave up their confeſſion with an Apology of their Chriſtian Profeſſion; defending with ſtrong and learned arguments the ſame which now is received in moſt reformed Churches, both concerning Grace, Faith, Charity, Hope, Repentance and works of mercy.

As for Purgatory, they ſay that *Thomas Aquinas* is the Author thereof.

Tho. Aquinas firſt finder of Purgatory.

Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their Faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be ſhewed and worſhipped; for a Memorial, not for a Sacrifice; to ſerve for the preſent miniſtration, and not for reſervation; to be received at the Table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient uſe of the Primitive Church, when they uſed to communicate fitting. And this they prove both by an old Chronicle called *Chronica geſtorum*, alſo by ancient *Origen* upon the third Book of *Moſes*, bringing in his words, which be theſe, proving that this Sacramental Bread ought not to be reſerved: *Quicunque panem cum Chriſti ſecunda vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicitur anima ejus, ſed imputabitur. Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes, &c*. That is, *Whoſoever receiveth this Bread of the Supper of Chriſt upon the ſecond or third day after, his ſoul ſhall not be bleſſed, but polluted. Therefore the Gabaonites, becauſe they brought old bread to the children of Iſrael, it was injoyned them to carry wood and water, &c*.

Chronica geſtorum, as Origen ſuped tertiam lectionem Moſis.

The Sacramental bread ought not to be reſerved or received.

Doctor *Auſtin* (of whom mention is made before) diſputing againſt them about this matter of the Holy Euchariſt, urgeth them with this interrogation; whether it be the ſame Chriſt (preſent in the Sacrament) which is preſent at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it true in the Scripture, *Una Fides, unus Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, One Faith, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt*? If it be the ſame Chriſt, then how is he not to be honoured and worſhipped here as well as there?

Part of the diſputation between Doctor *Auſtin* and the *Waldenſes*. Dilemma 2.

queſtion in conferring on both ſides an Inconvenience

To this the *Waldenſes* anſwer again, and grant that Chriſt is one and the ſame with his natural body, in the Sacrament which he is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the ſame exiſtence of his body. For the exiſtence of his body in Heaven is perfect and real, to be apprehended by the Faith and Spirit of Men. In the Sacrament the exiſtence of the body is not perſonal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a perſonal or corporal manner, but after a Sacramental manner; that is, where our bodys receive the ſign, and our ſpirit the thing ſignified. Moreover, in Heaven the exiſtence of his body is dimenſive and compleat with the full proportion and quantity of the ſame body wherewith he aſcended. Here, the exiſtence of his compleat body with the full proportion, meaſure and ſtature thereof, doth not, neither can ſtand in the Sacrament. Briefly, the exiſtence of his body in Heaven is Natural, not Sacramental; that is, to be ſeen, and not remembred: Here it is Sacramental, not Natural; that is, to be remembred, not to be ſeen.

That is, a Body.

The anſwer of the *Waldenſes*.

Whether it be received after a Sacramental manner.

That Anſwer being made to the captious Propoſition of Doctor *Auſtin*, the *Waldenſes* (retorting the like interrogation to him again) demand of him to anſwer them in the like objection; Whether it be all one Chriſt ſubſtantially and naturally, which ſitteth in Heaven, and which is under the forms of Bread and Wine, and in the receivers of the Sacrament? If he grant it to be; then they bid him ſay, ſeeing Chriſt is as well in the Sacrament as in Heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the Sacrament, and all one Chriſt in ſubſtance and nature; why then is not the ſame Chriſt as well in the breaſt of the receiver to be worſhipped, as under the forms of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament; ſeeing he is there after a more perfect manner in Man, than in the Sacrament? for in the Sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the Sacraments ſake, but for the Mans cauſe: In Man he is not for the Sacraments cauſe, but for his own; and that not for a ſeaſon, but for

Another Dilemma againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

ever;

ever, as it is written: *Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum.* That is, *He that eateth this bread shall live for ever, &c.*

Moreover and besides, seeing Transubstantiation is the going of one substance into another; they question again with him, whether the forms of Bread and Wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus: that is, both into his body, soul and Divinity, or not into the whole Christ? If he grant the whole; then say they, that is impossible (concerning the Divinity) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he say, the Bread is changed into the Body and Soul of Christ, not to his Divinity, then he separateth the Natures in Christ. If he say, into the Body alone, and not the Soul, then he separateth the Natures of the true Manhood, *&c.* and so it cannot be the same Christ that was betrayed for us; for that he had both Body and Soul. To conclude, to what part soever he would answer, this Doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be defended without great inconvenience of all sides.

Over and besides, *Eneas Sylvius* writing of their Doctrine and Assertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant) reporteth them after this manner, which I thought here to set out as it is in the *Latine*.

Eneas Sylvius Bohemica historia de Waldensium dogmatibus.

Romanum Præsulem reliquis Episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullam discrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.

In *English*:

The Bishop of *Rome* to be equal with other Bishops. Amongst Priests to be no difference of degree. No Priest to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

The souls of Men departed either to enter into pain everlasting, or everlasting joy. No fire of Purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of Priests.

The images of God (as of the Trinity) and of Saints to be abolished. The hallowing of water and palmes to be a meer ridicle. The Religion of Begging-Friers to be found out by the Devil. That Priests should not increach riches in this World, but rather follow poverty, being content with their Tithes, and Mens devotion. The preaching of the Word to be free to all Men called thereunto.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for whatsoever respect of a greater commodity to ensue thereupon. The confirmation which Bishops exercise with Oyl, and extream Unction, are not to be counted among the Sacraments of the Church. Auricular Confession to be but a toy; to suffice for every Man to confess himself in his Chamber to God. Baptism ought to be ministred only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyl. The Temple of the Lord to be the wide World. The Majesty of God not to be restrained more within the Walls of Temples, Monasteries and Chappels, fo that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

The Temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation wherein God most properly dwelleth & worketh. That is, the very place maketh not the ministration of holy things either more or less holy.

Priests Apparel, Ornaments of the High Altar, Vestiments, Corporaces, Chalices, Patins, and other Church-plate, to serve in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the Priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to them which do require. To be sufficient to use only the Sacramental words without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of Saints, reigning with Christ in Heaven, to be craved in vain; they being not able to help us. In saying or singing the Hours and Matins of the day, the time to be but loft. A man ought to cease from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

The Feasts and Festivals of Saints ought to be rejected. *Item*, such Fasts as be coacted, and enjoyned by the Church have no merit in them.

The Assertions of the *Waldenses* being thus articuled out by *Eneas Sylvius*, I thought to give them abroad in *English* as they are in *Latine*: to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out of a Popes Pen; so we may the better know both them hereby what they were, and also understand how this Doctrine, now preached and taught in the Church, is no new Doctrine which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400 years ago. And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their Doctrine; so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registred in a certain old written Book of Inquisition.

Ex inquisitorio quodam libello.

Modus autem Waldensium talis est, &c. The whole process cometh to this effect in *English*. The manner of the *Waldenses* is this, They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some bank or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirty or forty times *Pater noster*. And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves, and such as be of their own Religion, and no strangers with them, both before Dinner and after; likewise before Supper and after; also what time they go to Bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. *Item*, They use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any *Ave Maria*, and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but only by the Church of *Rome*. Albeit they have and use the seven Articles of Faith concerning the Divinity, and seven Articles concerning the Humanity, and the Ten Commandments, and seven works of Mercy, which they have compiled together in a compendious Book, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man for their faith.

Do works of supererogation.

The Creed commonly followeth the Word.

Before they go to meat they have their Grace, *Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster.* Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their own tongue: *God which blessed the five Barley loaves, and two Fishes in the desert before his Disciples, bless this Table, and that is set upon it, for shall be set upon it: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* And likewise again, when they rise from Meat, the senior giveth thanks, saying the words of the *Apocalypse, Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, vertue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever, Amen.* And addeth moreover, *God reward them in their bosomes, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And the God which hath given us corporal feeding, grant us his spiritual life and God be with us, and we always with him.* To which they answer again, *Amen.* And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to Heaven. After their Meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, confirming together upon their Doctrine, *&c.*

They use not to pray before meat.

Their Grace after meat.

In their Doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that *Reinerius* a Writer about their time (an extream enemy against them) in a long process, wherein he describeth their Doctrine and teaching, testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the party, that a certain Heretick (faith he) only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his (in the night, and in the Winter time) swam over the River called *Ibis*, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said *Reinerius* faith, he did hear and see a man of the Country unlettered, which could recite over the whole Book of *Job* word by word, without book, with divers others which had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

Reinerius an enemy against them, but yet a diligent observer of their Doctrine.

The value they set upon the Scriptures.

And although some of them rather merrily than unskilfully expounded the words of 1 *John Sui non recepernt eum*, Swine did not receive him; yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail, insomuch that *Reinerius* hath these words: *Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni & examinationi sæpe interfui, & computatæ sunt 40 Ecclesiæ, quæ hæresi infectæ fuerunt, ac in una Parochia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum Scholæ, &c.* That is, There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition aed examination, and there were numbred forty Churches infected with their Heresie, insomuch that in one Parish of *Cammach*, were ten open Schools of them, *&c. Hæc ille.*

The great power and multitude of Waldenses.

And

Waldenses in all points found, but only for holding against the Church of Rome. Ex Bullario Gratiani.

And the said *Reinerius*, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinct their Sect from other Sects, and hath these words: *Hæc vero Leonistarum Secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in symbolo continentur; solam Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant, & oderunt:* That is, This Sect of *Leonists* hath a great shew of holiness, in that both they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they do blaspheme the *Romish* Church, and hate it, *&c.*

Now to touch somewhat their Persecutions: After they were driven out of *Lions*, they were scattered into divers and sundry places (the Providence of God so disposing) that the sound of their Doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to *Bohemia*, many did flee into their Provinces of *France*, some into *Lombardy*, others into other places, &c. But as the Cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of Gods Word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of Lawyers, Archbishops and Bishops of *France*, as *Narbonenses, Arelatenses, Aquenses*, and *Albanenses*, devised amongst themselves, which yet remain in writing, for the abolishing and extirping of these *Waldenses*, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in *France*.

Waldenses persecuted more than 300 years ago by Antichrist.

Besides, there was a whole Council kept in *Tholouse* about three hundred fifty and five years before, and all against these *Waldenses*, the which also were condemned in another Council at *Rome* before that.

What great Persecutions were raised up against them in *France* by these four Archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writing; wherein I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these: *Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Waldensium ignoret a longe retro annis factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expensis & sudoribus fidelium insecutam, & tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solemniter damnatorum, publiceque punitorum tam fortiter sigillatum?* &c. That is, Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of *Waldenses* the Hereticks done and past so many years ago, so famous, so publick, followed upon with so great labours, expences, and travel of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these Infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby we may see Persecution to be no new thing in the Church of Christ, when Antichrist so long before (even 300 years) began to rage against these *Waldenses*. In *Bohemia* likewise after that, the same called by the name of *Thaborits* (as *Sylvius* recordeth) sufferred no little trouble. But never Persecution was stirred up against them, or any other people more terrible than was in these later years in *France* by the *French* King, in the year of our Lord 1545, which lamentable Story is described in *Sleidan*, and hereafter in the process of this Book, as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth by the Grace of Christ) more at large. In the which Persecution is declared in one Town *Cabriera* to be slain by the Captain of *Sathan Simerius*, 800 persons at once, without respect of Women or Children of any age; of whom forty Women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a Barn, and the Windows kept with Pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a Cave not far from the Town *Mussium*, to the number of five and twenty persons, with smoke and fire were the same time destroyed. At *Merindolum* the same Tyrant (seeing all the rest were fled away) finding one young man, caused him to be tyed to an Olive-tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other Persecution, as shall appear hereafter in the History translated out of *Sleidan* into *English*.

Antichrist with whom he first began his persecution.

Ath horrible murther of a Christ holy Martyrs.

Minerius an horrible Perfecutor.

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that *Reinerius* above mentioned, speaketh of one in the Town of *Cheron*, a Glover which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old Monument of Process, wherein appeareth 443 to be brought to examination in *Pomerania, Marchia*, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord 1391.

A Glover suffred Martyrdom in Cheron.

443 brought to Examination.

And thus much touching the Origine, Doctrine, and the lamentable Persecutions of the *Waldenses*; who as is declared, first began about the time of this King *Henry* the Second of that name.

Other Incidences happening in the Reign of this Henry *the Second.*

Incidences in the reign of K. Henry the Second.

Concerning the first Origine of the *Waldenses*, springing in the days of this King, is sufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time to story also such other Incidences as chanced under the Reign of the said King, not unworthy to be observed, keeping the order of the time so near as we may, and as Authors do give unto us.

Mary the Daughter of King *Stephen*, being the Abbess of *Ramsey*, was married in this Kings days to *Matthew* Earl of *Bullen*; which marriage *Thomas Becket* did work against, and did dissolve, by reason whereof he procured himself great displeasure with the said Earl, *&c.* An. 1161. *Ex Chronico Bibliotheæ Corienssis.*

Becket a dissolver of Marriages.

The same year a certain Child was Crucified of the *Jews* in the Town of *Gloucester*, *An.* 1161. *Fornalensi*. After the same manner the wicked *Jews* had Crucified another Child before in the City of *Norwich*, in the days of King *Stephen*, in the year of our Lord 1145.

Two Children Crucified by the Jews.

A Collection was gathered through all *England* and *France*, two pence of every pound, for the succour of the East Christians against the *Turks*, in the year of our Lord 1167. *Ex eodem.*

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and never since repaired, by *Almaricus* King of *Hierusalem*, Ann. 1170. *Ex vetusto Manuscripto exemplari Historiæ Corienssis.*

Babylon utterly destroyed.

In the year 1173, almoft all *England* was diseased with the Cough, *Ex vetusto Chron. Acephalo.* About which year also *William* King of *Scots* was taken in battel and imprisoned in *England*.

Great War happened in *Palestina*, wherein the City of *Jerusalem*, with the Cross and King of the City, and others of the Temple, was taken of the *Saracens*, and most part of the Christians there either slain or taken. Cruel murther and slaughter there was used by the *Turk*, who caused all the chief of the *Christians* to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. Insomuch that Pope *Urbanus* the Third for sorrow died, and *Gregory* the Eighth, next Pope after him, lived not two months. Then in the days of Pope *Clement* the Third, news and sorrow growing daily for the loss of *Palestina*, and destruction of the Christians; King *Henry* of *England*, and *Philip* the *French* King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Campania*, with divers other Christian Princes with a general consent upon St. *Georges* day, took the mark of the Cross upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At which time the Stories say, the King of *England* received first the Red Cross, the *French* King took the White Cross, the Earl of *Flanders* took the Green Cross; and so likewise other Princes diversly divers Colours, thereby to be discerned every one by his proper Cross. But King *Henry* (after the three years were expired, in which he promised to perform his voyage) sent to the Pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three Monasteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the Church of *Waltham* he thrust out the Secular Priests, and set in Monks for them. Secondly, he repaired again and brought in the Nuns of *Amesbury*, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the Pope, *Anno* 1173.

The holy Cross taken with the Spear of Longinus, by the Saracens. Persecution of the Turks against the Christians.

A voyage against the Turks.

How the difference of the Cross first came in among Christian Princes.

The Kings Promise fulfilled to the Pope.

The King of *Scots* did his Homage and Allegiance to the King of *England* and to his Son, and to his chief Lords; promising that all the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* should do the like with their posterity. *Item*, All the Bishops and Abbots of the Church of *Scotland* promised subjection and submission to the Archbishop of *York*, in the year of our Lord, 1175. *Nicol. Trivet.*

King of Scots doing Homage to the King of England.

The Church of Scotland ordered by the Church of York.

The custom was in this Realm, that if any had killed any Clerk or Priest, he was not to be punished with the temporal sword, but only excommunicated and sent to *Rome* for the Popes grace and absolution. Which custom in the days

Murtherers could not be punished by the Popes Decrees.

days of this King began firſt to be altered by the procurement of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year of our Lord 1176. *Trivet.*

London-Bridg of ſtone.

London-Bridg firſt began to be made of ſtone by one *Peter*, Prieſt of *Colechurch*, in the year 1176. *Ex Chron. cujus initium : in diebus ſanctiſſimi regis Edowardi, &c. Ex Bibliath. Cariensi.*

St. William of York.

St. *William* of *Paris* was ſlain of the *Jews* on *Maundy-Thurſday*, wherefore the *Jews* were burned, and he counted a Saint, *Anno* 1177.

Ireland ſubdued to England.

Ireland ſubdued to the Crown of *England* by this King, *Anno* 1177. *Ex variis Chron.*

Pilgrimage to Canterbury ſpring by a lying Viſion.

Under the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry*, about the five and twentieth year of his Reign, *Ludovicus* the *French* King, by the Viſion of *Thomas Becket* appearing unto him in his dream, and promiſing to him the recovery of his Son, if he would reſort unto him at *Canterbury*, made his journey into *England* to viſit St. *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, with *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; where he offered a rich Cup of Gold, with other precious Jewels, and one hundred veſſels of wine yearly to be given to the Covent of the Church of *Canterbury*; notwithſtanding the ſaid *Philip* in his return from *England*, taking his journey to *Paris* to viſit St. *Dennis*, in the ſame his Pilgrimage was ſtricken with ſuch cold, that he fell into a Palſie, and was benummed of the right ſide of his body, *Anno* 1178, *Fornalenſis, & alii.*

A juſt reward for an Idolatrous Voyage.

Stephanus Epiſcopus Redomenſis was wont to make many Rimes and gaudiſh Proſe to delight the ears of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verſe was founded in his ear, *Deſine ludere temere, nitere propere fugere de pulvere* : Ann. 1178. *Ni. Trivet.*

Tranſubſtantiation gainſaid.

Albingenſes denied Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, about the City of *Tholouſe*; alſo that Matrimony was not a Sacrament, *&c.* in the year of our Lord, 1178. *Ibidem.*

Qu. *Elenor* Impriſoned.

King *Henry* ſeparated himſelf from his Wife *Elenor*, and held her many years in priſon, as ſome think, for the love of *Roſamond*. Which ſeemeth to me to be the cauſe why God afterward ſtirred all his Sons up to war againſt him, and to work him much ſorrow, in the year 1179. *Nic. Trivet.* Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Elenor* was ſhortly after reconciled to him.

St. *Friideſwide* was tranſlated unto *Oxford* in the year 1179.

Expoſitions made by *Chryſoſtom* both of the Old and New Teſtament.

In the year 1180, there came to the Council of Pope *Alexander* one *Piſcanus Burgundio*, a man very cunning both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which brought and preſented to the Council the Homilies of *Chryſoſtom* upon the Goſpel of St. *John*, tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, and ſaid that he tranſlated likewiſe a great part of his Expoſition upon *Geneſis*; ſaying moreover, that the ſaid *Chryſoſtom* had made Expoſitions in *Greek* upon the whole Old Teſtament, and alſo the new in the year 1180.

The Monks of *Charterhouſe* Mocks.

The Monks of *Charterhouſe* firſt entred into this land, in the year 1180.

The Biſhop of Coventry voluntarily renounceth his Biſhoprick.

In the year 1181, *Richard Pech* Biſhop of *Coventry*, before his death renounced his Biſhoprick, and became a Canon in the Church of St. *Thomas* by *Stafford*, *Ex Chronico pervetuſto, cui initium, in diebus ſanctiſſ. regis, &c.*

St. Hugh of Lincoln.

About the later time of this King *Henry*, one *Hugo*, whom men were wont to call St. *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, born in *Burgundy*, and Prior of the Monks of *Charterhouſe*, was preferred by the King to the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, who after his death is ſaid to do great Miracles, and therefore was counted a Saint, *Anno* 1186. *Flores. Hiſt.*

Lambeth firſt begun to be built.

Baldwinus Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, began the building of his new houſe and Church of *Lambeth*; but by the Letters of *Clement* the Third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof. *An.* 1187. *Trivet.*

I do find likewiſe in the foreſaid written Chronicle remaining in the hands of one *William Carie* Citizen of *London*, that this forenamed King *Henry* the Second, gave to the Court and Church of *Rome* for the death of *Thomas Becket*, forty thouſand Marks of Silver, and five thouſand Marks of Gold, in the year of our Lord 1187.

K. Henries gift to the Church of Rome for the death of Becket.

A worthy Story of *Sibylla* and *Guido* in *Jeruſalem.*

Mention was made a little above of *Almarick* King of *Jeruſalem*, which deſtroyed *Babylon*; ſo that it was never after to this day reſtored, but lyeth waſt and deſolate; wherein was fulfilled that which in the Prophets in ſo many places was threatned to *Babylon* before. This *Almarick* had a Son named *Baldwin*, and a Daughter called *Sybilla*. *Baldwin* from the beginning of his reign was a Leper, and had the Falling-ſickneſs, being not able for feebleneſs of body (although valiant in heart and ſtomack) to ſatisfie that function.

Sibylla his ſiſter was firſt married to one *Willermus*, Marqueſs of *Mount Ferrat*, by whom ſhe had a Son called alſo *Baldwinus*. After him ſhe was married to another Husband named *Guido de Lizzinaco* Earl of *Joppe*, and Husband named *Guido de Lizzinaco* Earl of *Joppe*, and of *Aſcalon*. Upon this it befell that the foreſaid *Baldwin* of *Aſcalon*. Upon this it befell that the foreſaid *Baldwin* the Leper, ſon of *Almaricus*, being thus feeble and infirm, as is ſaid, called his Nobles together, with his Mother and the Patriarck, declaring to them his inability, and by the conſents of them committed the Under-government of the City unto *Guido* the Husband of *Sibylla* his ſiſter. But he being found inſufficient, or elſe not lucky in the Government thereof, the Office was tranſlated to another named *Raimundus* Earl of *Tripolis*. In the mean time the Soldan with his *Saracens* mightily prevailed againſt the Chriſtians, and over-ran the Country of *Paleſtina*; in which mean time, *Baldwin* the King departed. Whereby the Kingdom fell next to *Baldwinus*, the Son of *Sibylla* by her firſt Husband *Willermus*; the which *Baldwinus*, being but five years old, was put to the cuſtody of *Raimundus* aforeſaid. Who alſo in his Minority, before he came to his Crown died, whereby the next Succeſſion by deſcent fell to *Sibylla* the wife of *Guido* above mentioned. The Peers and Nobles joyning together in Council, offered unto the ſaid *Sibylla* as to the lawful heir to the Crown, that ſhe ſhould be their Queen, with this condition, that ſhe ſhould ſequeſter from her by ſolemn divorcement the foreſaid *Guido* her Husband; but ſhe refuſed the Kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at laſt the Magiſtrates with the Nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their Oaths confirmed the ſame, that whomſoever ſhe would chuſe to be her Husband, all they would take and obey as their King. Alſo *Guido* her Husband with like petition among the reſt, humbly requeſted her that the Kingdom for his ſake, or for his private loſs, might not be deſtitute of Government. At length ſhe with tears conſenting to their intreaty, was contented, and ſolemnly was Crowned their Queen, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their Oath. Whereupon *Guido* without all hope both of Wife and Kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the Queen aſſembling her States and Prelates together, entred talk with them about the chuſing of the King, according to that which they had promiſed, and ſworn unto her, and to obey him as their King, whom ſhe would name to be her Husband. Thus whileſt they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom ſhe would nominate; the Queen with a loud voice ſaid to *Guido* that ſtood amongſt them : *Guido* my Lord, I chuſe thee for my Husband, and yielding my ſelf and my Kingdom unto you, openly I proteſt you to be the King. At theſe words all the Aſſembly being amazed, wondred that one ſimple woman ſo wiſely had beguiled ſo many wiſe men. And worthy was ſhe no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her ſingular vertue, both of faithful chaſtity and high prudence: ſo tempering the matter, that both ſhe obtained to her Husband the Kingdom, and retained to her ſelf again her Husband, whom ſhe ſo faithfully loved. *Anno* 1186. *Ex Hiſtoria manuſcripta, cui initium, Rex Peſterum ; ex Bibliotheca Cariensi mutuata.*

A worthy Example of a true Wife to her Husband.

A worthy Example in *Guido* of a true ſubject to his Governour.

A Captain Example of Prudence in a Prince, and faithfulneſs in a Wife.

As I have hitherto deſcribed the publick Acts of King *Henry*, ſo now I mean to touch ſomething of his private conditions. He was of mean ſtature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in Chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of War, more lamenting the death of his Souldiers dead, than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpoſe; in peace and tranquillity none more rough; ſtubborn againſt the ſtubborn, ſometimes merciful to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, ſtrict to his houſhold-ſervants, but liberal to ſtrangers; publickly of publick things liberal, ſparing of his own; whom once he took a diſpleaſure againſt, hardly or never would he receive again to favour; ſomewhat laviſh of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promiſe, a lover of his eaſe, but an oppreſſor of his Nobility, a ſevere revenger and ſurtherer of juſtice, variable of word, and crafty in talk, an open adulterer, a nouriſher of diſcord amongſt his children; moreover

over the *Papiſts* bearing him (for *Thomas Beckets* quarrel, and ſuch like, as may be gathered) no good will, term him to bean adverſary of the Faith, the Mall and Beetle of the Church.

Alſo in the Chronicle intituled *Scala mundi*, I find of him, that he followed the ſteps, manners and conditions of *Henry* the firſt his Grandfather, in every point. He preſerved firm peace, and executed ſtrict juſtice through all his Dominions. He loved marvelous well his Foreſts; and again, thoſe that were tranſgreſſors either to his Crown or Perſon, he moſt ſeverely puniſhed.

Moreover, in a certain Hiſtory intituled *De Regibus Angliæ*, I find that this King was ſundry times admoniſhed to reform and amend his life, and firſt by one that was an old man in the Caſtle of *Cardif* in *Wales*, at that time of the year called *Dominica in albis*, the 8th day after *Eaſter*; where alſo after that he heard Maſs, and was going to take his Horſe, there ſtood a certain man by him, ſomewhat yellowiſh (his hair being rounded, lean and ill favoured) having on a white Coat, and being bare-foot, who looked up-

The K. admoniſhed to amend his life.

on the King, and ſpake on this wiſe, *Good old King*, (that done, thus he proceedeth) *the King ſalueth you and his bleſſed Mother*, John Baptiſt *and* Peter *ſtraitly charge you, that upon the Sundays throughout all your Dominions, there be no buying and ſelling, or other ſervile buſineſs (thoſe only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink) which thing if thou ſhalt obſerve, whatſoever thou takeſt in hand, thou ſhalt happily finiſh and bring to paſs.* Then ſpake the King in *French* unto the Knight that held his Horſe by the Bridle; *Ask of this Churl whether he dreamed thie or not.* And in the mean while that the Knight ſhould have interpreted the Kings words and meſſage, he ſpake before and ſaid, *Whether thou be a Dream or not, mark well what day thie is; for unleſs that thou do theſe things and amend thy life, ſuch news ſhalt thou hear within theſe twelve months, that will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day.* And when theſe words were ſpoken, the man vaniſhed out of his ſight; and within one year next after, *Henry*, *Gaufrid*, and *Richard* his Sons, forſook him their Father, and took part with the *French* King. The King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Cheſter*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*, made an Inſurrection againſt the King. Many other premonitions were given alſo to the King, but all theſe did he litle eſteem. The ſecond, which did admoniſh him, was a certain *Iriſhman*, giving him certain ſecret ſigns. And thirdly, a certain Knight of *Findeſey*, named *Philip de Eaſterby*, fayling with him over into *France*, declared unto the King in *Normandy* ſeven Articles which he ſhould amend. Which things if he would do, he ſhould Reign ſeven years moſt honourably, and ſhould take the holy Croſs from his enemies; or elſe he, in the fourth year, ſhould die in a great ignominy. The three firſt things were theſe, which he at his Coronation ſware to obſerve, that is, to defend the Church, to maintain good Laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment. The fourth was, for the reſtoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was in doing juſtice without reward; the ſixth, was of Miniſters and Officers Wages and Stipends; the ſeventh was of expelling the *Jews*, leaving them ſome mony to depart withal. But the King not amending his life, there roſe up againſt him three ſtrong enemies, that is to ſay, his three Sons with the *French* King. But, after that the King forſooth had gone on Pilgrimage to the Martyrs Tomb barefoot, *William* King of *Scots*, and the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter* were taken at *Alnewike*.

Sunday to before from buying and ſelling.

The ſecond and third admoniſhion unto the K. to reform his life.

The Kings victory was falſly imputed to the merit of his Pilgrimage.

In the five and thirty year of his Regn, being in the Caſtle of *Chiven* in *Normandy*, he died; at whoſe death thoſe that were preſent, were ſo greedy of the ſpoil, that they left the body of the King naked, and not ſo much could be found as a Cloth to cover it, till that a Page coming in, and ſeeing the King ſo ignominiouſly to lie, threw his Cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, ſaith the Author, was verified the ſimname which from his youth he bare, being called *Henry Curt Mantil.*

The death of K. Henry the 2d.

King RICHARD.

{ Anno 1189. K. Richard crowned. } IN this year of our Lord above recited, which was 1189. King *Richard* the eldeſt Son of *Henry* the Second, ſucceeding his Father, entred his Crown; at which time Pope *Clement* ſate at *Rome*, ſucceeding after *Gregory*, which died a little before with ſorrow for the loſs of the Holy-Croſs.

The Kings reſtraint, that no *Jew* ſhould enter the Palace nor Church, during his Coronation.

During the time of whoſe Coronation it befell, that notwithſtanding the King, the day before his Coronation, by publick Edict commanded both the *Jews* and their Wives, not to preſume either to enter the Church, or elſe his Palace, during the ſolemnization of his Coronation, amongſt his Nobles and Barons, yet (whileſt the King was at Dinner) the Chieftain of the *Jews*, with divers other of his *Jewiſh* affinity and ſuperſtitious Sect, againſt the King his prohibition, together with other preſs, entred the Court Gates. Whereat a Chriſtian man being offended, ſtruck one of them with his hand or fiſt, and bade him ſtand further from the Court Gate, as the King had given in commandment; whoſe example others alſo following, being diſpleaſed againſt the *Jews*, offered them the like contumely. Others alſo, ſuppoſing that the King had ſo commanded indeed, as uſing the authority of the King, fell upon all the *Jews* that ſtood by without the Court Gate. And firſt they beat them with their fiſts, but afterwards they took up ſtones and ſuch other things as they could get, and threw at them from the Court Gates, ſome of them they wounded, ſome they flew, and ſome they left for dead.

A few Jews baptized.

There was amongſt this number of the *Jews*, one which was called *the bleſſed Jew of York*, which was ſo ſore wounded and beaten with the reſt, that, for fear of his life, he ſaid he would become a Chriſtian, and was indeed of *William* the Prior of the Church of St. *Mary* of *York* baptiſed; whereby he eſcaped the peril of death he was in, and the perſecutors hands. In the mean while, there was a great rumor ſpread throughout all the City of *London*, that the King had commanded to deſtroy all the *Jews*. Whereupon as well the Citizens, as innumerable people more, being aſſembled to ſee the Kings Coronation, armed themſelves and came together. The *Jews* thus being for the moſt part ſlain, the reſt fled into their houſes, where for a time, through the ſtrong and ſure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houſes were ſet on fire, and they deſtroyed therein.

The Jews in London ſlain, and their houſes ſet on fire.

The ſmall regard of Nobility had in tumults and inſurrections.

Theſe things being declared to the King, whilſt he with his Nobles and Barons were at Dinner, he ſendeth immediately *Ranulfe de Glanvile*, the Lord High Steward of *England*, with divers other Noblemen to accompany him, that they might ſtay and refrain theſe ſo bold enterpriſes of the *Londoners*, but all was in vain: for in this ſo great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the Nobility ſaid, or elſe any whit reverenced their perſonages, but rather with ſtern looks and threatning words adviſed them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation, thinking it the beſt ſo to do, departed; the tumult and inſurrection continuing till the next day. At which time alſo the King, ſending certain of his Officers into the City, gave them in commandment to apprehend and preſent ſome ſuch as were the chiefeſt of the malefactors: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and ſo were; the one, for that he had robbed a Chriſtians houſe in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the Houſes, to the great danger of the City. After this, the King ſent for him, that from a *Jew* was converted to Chriſtianity, and in the preſence of thoſe that ſaw where he was baptiſed, the King asked him whether he was become a Chriſtian or not? He anſwering the King, ſaid, *No, but to the intent he might eſcape death, he promiſed to do whatſoever the Chriſtians would have him.* Then the King asked the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (other Archbiſhops and Biſhops being preſent) what were beſt to be done with him? Who unadviſedly anſwering, ſaid; *If he will not be a Man of God, let him be a Man of the Devil*: and ſo revolted he again to *Jewdaiſm*.

A nervy Chriſtian revolteth to an old Jew.

An unadviſed anſwer of an Archbiſhop.

Then the King ſent his Writs to the Sheriffs of every County, to inquire for the authors and ſtirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, divers were impriſoned. So great was then the hatred of *Engliſhmen* againſt the *Jews*, that as ſoon as they began to be repulſed in the Court, the *Londoners* taking example thereof, fell upon them, ſet their Houſes on fire, and ſpoiled their goods. The Country again, following the example of the

Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the year, which the *Jews* took to be their *Jubile*, was to them a year of confusion; insomuch, as in the City of *York*, the *Jews* obtaining the occupying of a certain Caſtle for their preſervation, and afterward, not willing to reſtore it unto the Chriſtians again, when they ſaw no other remedy, but by force to be vanquiſhed, firſt they offered much Mony for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counſel of an old *Jew* amongſt them, every one with a ſharp Razor, cut anothers Throat, whereby a thouſand and five hundred of them were at that preſent deſtroyed. Neither was this Plague of theirs undeſerved; for every year commonly their cuſtom was, to get ſome Chriſtian mans child from the Parents, and on *Goodfridav* to crucifie him in deſpite of our Religion. *Ex Chron. Weſtm.*

Ex Chron. Weſtm. cui initium, Mense cum aſcanio, &c.

A miſerable and deſerved deſtruction of the *Jews*.

{ Anno 1189. }

King *Richard*, after the death of his Father, coming unto remembrance of himſelf, and of his Rebellion againſt his Father, fought for abſolution of his treſpaſs, and, in part of ſatisfaction for the ſame, agreed with *Philip* the *French* King, about *Eaſter* next enſuing, to take his Voyage with him for the recovery of Chriſts Patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the ſaid King *Richard* immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himſelf the better towards his journey, ſet to ſale divers of his Manors, whereof *Godfrey Lucy* then Biſhop of *Winchester*, bought a couple for two thouſand Marks; to wit, *Wergrave* and *Melenge*. The Abbot of *Bury* bought another for a thouſand Marks, called *Middleſay*. *Hugh Puſaz* Biſhop of *Durham* bought the Lordſhip of *Seggesfield*, or *Sedberga* with the Wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging; he bought alſo the Earldom of *Northumberland*, whom when the King ſhould ſolemnize after the manner of Secular Earls, merrily with a mocking jeſt *Lo* (ſaid he) *of an old Biſhop I have made a young Earl*. And beſides the ſaid Biſhop had profeſſed before by a ſolemn Vow, to viſit the Holy-Land, to be releaſed of his Vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great ſum of mony therefore; and moreover, gave to the King a thouſand Marks to remain at home, as the Chief Juſtice of *England*. Over and beſides, the King ſet out all that he had to ſale, Woods, Caſtles, Townſhips, Lordſhips, Earldoms, Baronages, ordaining alſo divers new Biſhops, and not without ſome advantage (as appeared) to his Purſe, feigning moreover, his old Seal to be loſt, that they which had Lands to hold, might be driven to renew their Writings again by the new Seal, whereby great ſubſtance of mony was gained.

The covetous greedineſs of Biſhops noted in buying great Lordſhips.

Slights to get Mony.

A tenth gathered through all *England*.

Above all this, by the commandment of Pope *Clement* the third, a Tenth alſo was exacted of the whole Realm, in ſuch ſort, as the Chriſtians ſhould make to the King 70000 Pounds, the *Jews* 60000. *Ex Gervaſ.fol.*1134. King *Richard*, after his Coronation, ſent certain Earls and Barons unto *Philip* the *French* King in the time of his Parliament at S. *Denis*, deſiring him to remember his promiſe made for the recovery of Chriſt his holy Patrimony out of the *Saracens* hands. Unto whom he ſent word again in the Month of *December*, certifying him how he had bound himſelf by ſolemn Oath, depoſing upon the Evangeliſts, that he, the next year following, about the time of *Eaſter*, had certainly prefixed to addreſs himſelf towards that journey; requiring him likewiſe not to fail but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing alſo the place where both the Kings ſhould meet together.

K. *Philip* and K. *Richard* concluding to travel to the Holy Land.

{ Anno 1190. } A Northern brawl in the Cathedral church of *York*, between the new Archbiſhop and the Dean.

The next year then enſued, which was one thouſand one hundred and ninety, in the beginning of which year upon *Twelf-even*, fell a foul northern brawle, which turned well near to a fray, between the Archbiſhop new elected of the Church of *York* and his company on the one ſide, and *Henry* Dean of the ſaid Church with his Catholick partakers on the other ſide, upon occaſion as followeth: *Gaufridus* or *Geoffrey*, Son to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Brother to King *Richard*, whom the King had elected a little before to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, upon the Even of *Epiphany*, which we call *Twelf-day*, was diſpoſed to hear Evenſong with all ſolemnity in the Cathedral Church, having with him *Hamon* the Chanter, with divers Canons of the Church. Who tarrying ſomething long, belike in adorning and attiring himſelf, in the mean while *Henry* the Dean, and *Bucardus* the Treaſurer, diſdaining to tarry his coming, with a bold courage, luſtily began their holy Evenſong, with ſinging their Pſalms, ruffling of deſcant, and merry piping of Organs. Thus this Catholick Evenſong with as much devotion begun, as to Gods high ſervice proceeding, was now almoſt half compleat, when as at length (they being in the midſt of their mirth) cometh in the new elect with his Train and Gardevians, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durſt be ſo bold, not waiting for him, to begin Gods ſervice, and ſo eſtſoons commanded the Quire to ſtay and hold their peace. The Chanter likewiſe, by vertue of his office, commandeth the ſame. But the Dean and Treaſurer on the other ſide, willed them to proceed; and ſo they ſung on, and would not ſtint. Thus the one half crying againſt the other, the whole Quire was in a rore, their ſinging was turned to ſcolding, their chanting to chiding; and, if inſtead of the Organs they had had a Drum, I doubt they would have fole-fued by the ears together.

Henry Dean of *York*, and *Ricard.* begin Service, not tarrying for their Archbiſhop.

The Dean and Treaſ. are wroth not with Evenſong but the Archbiſhops commandment.

At laſt, through the authority of the Archbiſhop, and of the Chanter, the Quire began to ſurceaſe and give ſilence. Then the new elect not contented with that had been ſung before, with certain of the Quire began the Evenſong new again. The Treaſurer, upon the ſame caused by vertue of his office, the Candles to be put out: whereby the Evenſong, having no power further to proceed, was ſtopped forthwith. For, like as without the light and beams of the Sun, there is nothing but darkneſs in all the world; even ſo you muſt underſtand the Popes Church can ſee to do nothing without Candle-light, albeit the Sun do ſhine never ſo clear and bright. This being ſo, the Archbiſhop, thus diſappointed on every ſide of his purpoſe, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the Clergy and to the People, what the Dean and Treaſurer had done; and ſo upon the ſame, ſuſpended both them and the Church from all Divine Services, till they ſhould make to him due ſatisfaction for their treſpaſs.

The Archbiſhop begins Evenſong being half done before.

The Treaſ. car pumed, and the candles put out at Evenſong.

Archbiſhops of Canterbury commonly were wont to work the Kings of *England* much fauour.

The Popes Church can do nothing without candle light

The next day, which was the day of *Epiphany*, when all the People of the City were aſſembled in the Cathedral Church, as their manner was, namely in ſuch Feaſts, devoutly to hear Divine Service (as they call it) of the Church, there was alſo preſent, the Archbiſhop and the Chanter, with the reſidue of the Clergy, looking when the Dean and Treaſurer would come and ſubmit themſelves, making ſatisfaction for their crime. But they, ſtill continuing in their ſtoutneſs, refuſed ſo to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words againſt the Archbiſhop and his partakers. Which when the People heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer that. The Dean then and his fellows, perceiving the ſtir of the People, for fear, like prety men, were fain to flee, ſome to the Tomb of S. *William* of *York*, ſome to ran unto the Deans houſe, and there ſhrowded themſelves, whom the Archbiſhop then accurſed. And ſo for that day the People returned home without any ſervice. *Ex veteri chronico manuſcripto, cui initium, Anno gratiæ millesimo, &c.*

The Canons of *York* and the Canons.

Ex Chron. Anonim. cui initium: Anno gratiæ

After this, King *Richard*, peparing to ſet all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the Realm, principally to *William*, Biſhop of *Ely*, his Chancelor, and to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, whom he ordained to be the Chief Juſtice of all *England* in his abſence, the one to have the cuſtody of the Tower, with the overſight of all other parts of the Land, on this ſide of *Humber*, the other (which was the Biſhop of *Durham*) to have charge upon all other his Dominions beyond *Humber*, ſending moreover unto Pope *Clement*, in the behalf of the foreſaid *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, that he might be made the Popes Legat through all *England* and *Scotland*, which alſo was obtained. Thus the Biſhop being advanced in high authority, to furniſh the King towards his fetting forth, provideth out of every City in *England* two Palfries, and two Sumpters, and alſo out of every Abby one Palfrey and one Sumpter.

K. Richard preparech towards his Journey. William Biſhop of Ely the King's Chancelor and High Biſhop of Durham, conſtituted overſeers of the Realm in the Kings abſence.

William Biſhop of Ely made Legat for *England* and *Scotland*.

Theſe things and other thus ſet in a ſtay, the King according to his former appointment, about the time of *Eaſter*, failed into *France*, where the *French* King and he conferring together, becauſe they could not make ready at that time of *Eaſter*, concluded to take a longer day, proroguing their Voyage till after *Midſummer*. In which mean time, the King occupying himſelf in redreſſing and ſtabliſhing

ſtabliſhing ſuch things as further were to be ordered, there determined that *Gatſfridus* and *John* his Brethren, ſhould not enter into *England* in three years after his departure; nevertheleſs he releaſed that bond afterward to his Brother *John*. Then he appointed the Captains and Conſtables over his Navy, and ſet Laws to be obſerved in his Journey upon the Seas, but eſpecially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and to ſet them together at one. At which time the long contention began alſo to be appeaſed, which ſo many years had continued between *Baldwinus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Monks of *Chriſts*-Church: the diſcourſe whereof, although it be ſomewhat tedious to be ſet forth at large, being enough to make a whole Tragedy; yet to the intent the age now preſent may ſee what great conflicts and diſquietneſs, upon what little trifles, have been ſtirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this Church, but commonly in all other Churches under the Popes Catholick regiment; I thought it not labour ill beſtowed, ſomewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eyes of the Reader, the conſideration of this matter.

Captains & Conſtables of the Kings Navy appointed.

The long contention betwixt *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Monks of *Chriſts*-Church.

Wherein firſt is to be underſtood, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, commonly being ſet up by the Pope, eſpecially ſince the time of the Conqueſt, have put the Kings of this Land to much ſorrow and trouble, as appeared by *William Rufus* and *Lanfrank*, and alſo *Anſelm*; by *Henry* the firſt and *Anſelm*; King *Stephen* and *Theobald*; *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, &c. For which the Kings of this Land have uſed the more care and circumſpection, to have ſuch Archbiſhops placed in the See, as either ſhould ſtand with them, or at the leaſt, ſhould not be againſt them.

Now to the purpoſe of our matter intended: Firſt, after *Lanfrancus*, who was Archbiſhop twenty years, the See ſtanding vacant five years, ſucceeded *Anſelmus*, and ſat ſeventeen years; after whom the See ſtanding vacant four years, ſucceeded *Rodulphus*, and continued nine years, then followed *William*, who ſat twelve years, and died in the year 1137. after whom came *Theobaldus* in the time of King *Stephen*. This *Theobaldus*, being no great favourer of the Monkiſh Generation, fell out with *Jeremias*, Prior of the Houſe of *Canterbury*, for certain cauſes between them; for which the Archbiſhop, taking ſtomach againſt the Prior, would lay the ſentence of interdiction againſt him. The Prior, ſeeing that, to ſave himſelf, made his appeal to Pope *Innocent*. The Archbiſhop, provoked the more by that, depoſed him from his Priorſhip, and placed one *Walter* in his room. *Jeremias* notwithſtanding, making his complaint and appeal to *Rome*, obtained Letters from the Pope to *Henry* Biſhop of *Winchester*, being the Popes Legate; by the vertue whereof, he againſt the heart of the Archbiſhop was reſtored, and *Walter* diſplaced. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid *Jeremy*, not willing there to continue with diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop, ſhortly after of his own accord, renounced his Priory, and *Walter* again was received in his ſtead. Not long after this followed the General Council at *Rhemes*, in the year 1140. To the which Council, *Theobald*, contrary to the commandment of the King, would needs reſort, to ſhew his obedience to the Pope. Wherefore at his returning home again, the King took ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that within a while after the Archbiſhop was driven to avoid the Realm, and fly into *France*, where he, by cenſure of interdiction, ſuſpended divers Churches and religious Houſes which refuſed to come to the Council; and alſo hearing how the King had ſeized upon all his Goods, he interdicted likewiſe all the Kings Land whatſoever, belonging to the Crown: ſo that the King, in concluſion, was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the year 1148. *Ex Gervaſ.*

Or 15, as ſome reckon

Jeremy the Prior of *Canterbury*, appealeth to Pope *Innocent*.

Jeremy the Prior, depoſed by the Archbiſhop.

Jeremy reſtored to his place again, by the Pope.

Conſilium Rhemenſ. an. 1140.

The people incenſed againſt the Dean of *York* and his Canons.

Ex Chron. Anonim. cui initium: Anno gratiæ

A frivolous ſtrife between Theobald Archbiſhop, and Silveſter Abbot of S. *Auſtins*, about the place, in what Church the Abbot ſhould take his conſecration.

After this in the year of our Lord 1151. after the death of *Hugh* Abbot of S. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, *Silveſter* was elected by the Covent to be their Abbot in the Reign of King *Stephen*. Which *Silveſter* when he came unto *Theobald* the Archbiſhop to make his profeſſion of ſubjection unto him, and to receive of him Conſecration; the Archbiſhop was contented, ſo that the Abbot would come to *Chriſts*-Church in *Canterbury*, and there make his profeſſion. But to this *Silveſter* in no caſe would grant to take his Confecration there; but elſe in any other Church, wherefoever the Archbiſhop would, he was contented. Whereunto when the Archbiſhop in no wiſe would agree, *Silveſter* making a great Bag of Mony, went to *Rome*, where he obtained of the Pope for mony (for what cannot mony do at *Rome?*) Letters that the Archbiſhop ſhould conſecrate the Abbot in his own Church of S. *Auſten*, and alſo not exact of him any profeſſion of Canonical Subjection. Whereupon the Archbiſhop was compelled againſt his will to come to the Abbots Church, and there at the Popes Commandment to confecrate him ſimply, and without any further profeſſion to be required.

Silveſter goeth up to *Rome*.

Then *Walter*, Prior of *Chriſts-Church* in *Canterbury*, The Monks of *Chriſts-Church* thrive againſt the Monks of S. *Auſtin* in *Canterbury*, for the honour of their houſe.

ſeeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majeſty of their Church, through counſel of his Brother went thither: and notwithſtanding the Doors were ſtraitly watched and kept; yet by means, he at laſt got in. And as he ſaw the Archbiſhop attired in his *Pontificalibus*, ready to miniſter Confecration to the Abbot, he ſtepped ſtraight to the Archbiſhop, and eſtſoons appealeth him to *Rome*, for the great injury wrought againſt the Church of *Canterbury*, forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And ſo this holy Confecration was for the preſent time ſtaid. For the which *Silveſter* with a new Purſe of Mony was fain to travel and trot again to *Rome*, where he complaining of the Archbiſhop, and accuſing him of contempt of the Pope, in not executing the commandment ſent down, obtaineth again new Letters with more effectual charge to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, that he without any profeſſion, ſimply ſhould give to *Silveſter* his Confecration in his own Church, *Omni occaſione & appellatione remota*, All manner of ſtay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithſtanding. And ſo in concluſion, the Abbot, contrary to whatſoever the Archbiſhop and all the Monks of *Canterbury* could do, was in his own Church made Abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop left not the matter ſo, but within five years after, obtained of Pope *Adrian*, that *Silveſter* ſhould make profeſſion of his obedience to the Archbiſhop, and ſo he did. *Ex Gervaſ.*

Silveſter goeth up to *Rome*.

Silveſter conſecrated Abbot in his own Church, whether the Archbiſhop would or not.

In few years after this, died King *Stephen*, *Anno* 1154. and after him *Theobald* the Archbiſhop, *Anno* 1159. after he had ſate three and twenty years; after whom through the inſtant procurement of King *Henry* the ſecond, was placed *Thomas Becket*, the Kings Chancellor, *An.*1162. of whoſe ſturdy rebellion againſt the King, becauſe ſufficient hath been ſaid before, it ſhall not need to make a double labour now about the ſame.

After the death of *Becket*, much adoe there was between King *Henry* and *Odo* Prior of *Canterbury*, about the Election of a new Archbiſhop. For the King ſeeing the Realm ſo oftentimes incumbred by thoſe *Popiſh* Archbiſhops, and fearing left the Monks of *Canterbury* ſhould elect ſuch another as would follow the ſteps of *Thomas Becket*, moſt humbly with Cap in hand, and courteſie of knee, deſired *Odo* the Prior, that at his requeſt, and for contentation of his mind, ſuch a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain Biſhop, which was a good ſimple man after the Kings liking) that the Prior diſſemblingly anſwering the King again, *that he neither could nor would, without the conſent of his Covent, give promiſe to any man*: in fine, contrary to the Kings ſo humble requeſt, agreed to the Election of another, which was the Prior of *Dover*, called *Richard*, *Anno Domini* 1173. who continued in that See eleven years.

Odo Prior of *Canterbury*.

Richard Prior of *Dover*, elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *An.* 1173.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this Archbiſhop, and *Roger* Abbot of the *Auſten* Monks in *Canterbury*, as was before mentioned between *Theobaldus* and *Silveſter*. For when the ſaid *Roger*, after his Election to be Abbot, muſt needs take his Confecration at the Archbiſhops hand, neither would the Archbiſhop grant it unto him, unleſs he made profeſſion of obedience, according to the ancient cuſtom of his Predeceſſors: then *Roger* conſulting with his Monks, firſt denied ſo to do, but at length was contented, ſo it might not be done in the Archbiſhops Church: but in any other Church where he would, under-writing this clauſe withal, *Salvis utriuſque eccleſiæ privilegiis*, that is, *Saving the privileges of both Churches*. To this the Archbiſhop ſaid again, firſt, that he ſhould

Another frivolous contentention betwixt Richard Archbiſhop, and *Roger* Abbot of the *Auſtins* Monks in *Canterbury* about profeſſion of obedience.

make his due and Canonical Profession, and that he should not come to him with writing or underwriting, but should say in his heart, *Salve sancta parens*, or *Salve festa dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any such like thing. Whereunto when the *Austen* Monks in no case would consent, nor the Archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction: *Roger* the Abbot was fain to post to *Rome*, and there to bring the Archbishop in hatred in the Court of *Rome*, made his Abby Tributary to Pope *Alexander*.

Roger Abbot of Saint *Austens*, maketh his House Tributary to Pope *Alexander*. 1177.

The Pope well contented with this, not only granteth the Abbot his desire, but also in contumely of the Archbishop, dubbeth the Abbot with all such ornaments as to a Prelate appertain; and so in the year 1178. sent home the Abbot triumphantly with his Ring and Miter, and other Ensigns of Victory, with Letters also to the Archbishop, injoyning him immediately upon the sight thereof, to consecrate the Abbot in his own Church, and without making any profession. Although with these Letters the Archbishop was shrewdly prested, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not stoop for this; but he laid his Appeal against the same, and so the Consecration for that time was suspended.

Roger the Abbot returneth home with triumph.

Appellation of the Archbishop.

Then *Roger*, for his more defence, getting the Kings Letters, travelled up the second time to *Rome*, where grievously he complained to Pope *Alexander* of the Archbishop. At the same time a General Council was summoned to be kept at *Lateran*, where *Richard* the foresaid Archbishop was also looked for amongst other Bishops to be present. Who then came as far as *Paris*; but, being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home again. Whereupon the Pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbot with his own Consecration, and invested him with all pomp and glory; howbeit, providing before that the said Consecration should redound to no prejudice against the Liberties of the Mother Church of *Canterbury*, and so upon the same, wrote to the Archbishop his Letters of Certificate, with this addition annexed, *Salvo jure & dignitate Cant. Ecclesiæ*: that is to say, *Saving the liberties and dignities of the Church of Canterbury.*

Concilium Lateranum sub Alexandro Papa.

Roger Abbot of St. *Austens*, travelleth up again to *Rome*.

Roger Abbot consecrated at *Rome* by the Pope.

After the Council ended, *Roger* the Abbot returneth home, although with an empty Purse, yet full of Victory and Triumph. The Archbishop, again thinking to work some grievance to the *Austen* Monks, had procured in this mean time Letters from Pope *Alexander* unto the Bishop of *Durham*, and Abbot of *S. Albans*, that they should cause the said *Roger* Abbot of the *Austen* Monks, to shew unto the Archbishop all the old privileges of his House; which indeed, being shewed, seemed to be raced and new written, with Bulls of Lead, not after the manner nor stile of that age, nor pretending any such antiquity as should seem to reach from the time of *Austen*, but rather newly counterfeit.

The House of *Austen* Monks in *Canterbury* not able to shew for them any Deeds or Writings of antiquity.

All this notwithstanding, the Abbot, bearing him bold upon the Popes favour, ceased not still to disquiet and overthrow the Archbishop by all ways he could, in exempting all his Priests and Lay-men, belonging to his Jurisdiction, from the Archbishops obedience; forbidding also that any of his should come to his Chapters or Synods, or fear any Sentence of his Curse or Excommunication. Whereupon the Archbishop, about the month of *November* the same year, fayling over to *Normandy* where the King was, thought to take his journey to the Pope to complain of the Abbot; but being stayed by the King, he was not suffered to pass any further, the King labouring what he could, to bring them to agreement. Nevertheless the Pope and his *Romans* (saith my story) *Aurum & argentum magis quam justitiam sitientes, seditiones inter eos & litigia commovebant*: that is, *Caring more for gold and silver, than for justice, still stirred coles of sedition and debate between them.* Ex Historia Gervasii.

Ex Histor. Gervas. *Richard* the Archbishop going towards *Rome* to complain of the Abbot, vexed by the King.

A Catholick practice of the *Romish* Court, to set men together at variance, that they might get their mony.

The next year after this ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1184, died *Richard* the Archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtieth year of King *Henry* the Second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new Archbishop, between the King and Monks of *Canterbury*. And now to enter here into the story of *Baldwin* above mentioned: first the King sent to the Monks, that they should consider with themselves about the Election of their Archbishop, and to be ready against the time that he would send for them to the Court. Upon this the Covent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer; yet naming four more, that if the King would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practice in the Monks was, first to keep the Election only in their own hands, as much as they could. And secondly, Ever to give the Election either to some Prior or Monk of their own house or to some Abbot or Bishop, which sometimes had been of their company. Whereby as much inconvenience and blind Superstition was bred in the Church of *England*: to the same disliked both the King and the Bishops not a little.

Trouble in chusing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the death of *Richard*.

Monks of *Canterbury* sent for by K. *Henry* the 2d. about chusing of their Archbishop.

As this past on, the King, when he saw his time, willed the Monks of *Canterbury* to be cited or sent for, to understand what they had concluded in their Election. Whereupon the Monks sent up their Prior called *Alanus*, with certain other Monks to *Reading*, where the King then lay, about the month of *August*. Who at first were courteously entertained; but after the King had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home again with cold cheer, the King willing them to pray better, and to advise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. *Alanus* the Prior with his fellows, thus departed; who coming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the King, without the Popes consent and knowledge. The King understanding hereof, sent his Embassadors likewise of the Pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the mean time grievously offended with the Prior, saying, *that he was proud, and would make Archbishop whom he lifted, and would be the second Pope in* England, &c.

Monks of *Canterbury* send to the K. about their elect.

Alanus the Prior of the Monks of *Canterbury*, with his fellows, thus departed.

The King sendeth with the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, The Embassadors of the King.

Not long after this, as these Letters were sent up to *Rome*, the King sent for *Alanus* the Prior, and more of the Monks to come to him; whom he intreateth, desiring them in gentle speech, that they would shew so much gentleness and favour to him being their Lord and King, as becometh his friends and subjects to do, as to confer with the Bishops of the Realm about this matter, and to take some better counsel, so as might redound to Gods glory, his honour and wealth of the publick State; with other like words to the same effect.

The King entreateth the Monks gently, and moveth them to confer with the Bishops of the Realm.

The King's words to the Monks.

To whom when the Prior had answered again, with thanks and due reverence, according to the Kings request, the Bishops and Monks went to confer together about the matter. And first, the Bishops marvelled why the Monks should exclude them out of the Election, seeing they were professed and Suffragans to the said Church of *Canterbury*; *Neither is there any Prince*, quoth the Bishop of *Bath*, *that will refuse our counsel. There be some counsels*, said the Monks, *whereat you may be called; but as touching the doing of this Election, it pertaineth not unto you, further than to publish only, and denounce the party whom we have chosen.* The Bishop of *London* then asked, *if they had already made an Election. No Election*, said the Prior, *as yet, but only we have denominated the persons. Then have ye proceeded further*, quoth he, *than ye ought, having commandment from the Pope, not to proceed without us.* And with that was brought forth the Popes Letter, commanding that within forty days, the Bishops of *England*, and the Prior, and Covent of *Canterbury* should elect an able and fit person to their Archbishop. About the scanning of these Letters was much ado. The Bishops said, *they were first named, and therefore ought to have most interest in this Election.* The Monks said again, *That they also were not excluded, and required to have a transcript of the Letter*, whereof much doubt was made.

Bishops of England claim to have interest with their Election of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pope's Letter, concerning the Bishops of the Realm, with the Prior's request, in stuff the Archbishop.

The Monks of Canterbury compell'd against their wills to join with the Bishops, touching the election of the Archbishop.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the King, coming between them both, called away the Bishops from the Monks, supposing, by separating the one from the other to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be for the Monks, stiffly standing to their Liberties, would lose no preheminence of their Church, still alledging how by the ancient priviledges of the Church of *Canterbury*, the Covent should chuse their Pastor and Bishop, and the Prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The Bishops again replied, *That it was their right to appoint their Archbishop and Metropolitan, which were Bishops and Suffragans; and namely, the Bishop of* London, *also being Dean of the said Church of* Canterbury. The King then as Umpire between them, yet favouring rather the side of the Bishops, desired them to agree together in

The King taketh from the Monks the Election of the Archbishop.

The Monks will lose no preheminence of their Church.

ih peace. When that would not prevail, he set the Lord Steward, and other Noblemen to intreat the Prior to draw to some agreement; at least to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the Bishop of *London*, or some other Bishops, should declare the Election in these words:

The form of election of the Archbishop, between the Bishops and the Monks of *Canterbury*.

We Bishops, and the Prior and Covent of Christ's Church in Canterbury, *with the assent of our Lord the King, do chuse such a person to be Archbishop, &c.* Or else thus, that the Prior should pronounce forth the Election in these words, saying: *The Bishops of* England, *and I Prior, and the Covent of* Canterbury, *with the assent of our Lord and King, do chuse such a person*, &c.

The Bishops and Monks could not agree about the form of Election.

Upon this, the Prior said he would convent with his Covent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the Kings desire; but afterward being required to put down the same in writing, that they refused to do; yet notwithstanding, relented at last to the King. But when the Bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow Bishops, for the matter for that time said; and the King, finding home the Monks again to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of *December*; commanding the Prior with his fellows the same day not to fail, but to be at *London* about the chusing of the Archbishop.

The King deferred the Election till the Month of *December* Anno 1184.

The Kings message to the Monks of *Canterbury*, to agree and joyn with the Bishops.

As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company, were also present, who giving attendance all that day, and the next day also following, so were driven off till the third day after. At length the Lord Steward, with other Nobles of the Realm, were sent unto them from the King to declare, *That whereas the King before had divided the Bishops from the Monks, that they both might have their Election by themselves, after the form of a Bill which was put down in writing: Now the mind of the King was, that the Monks, taking another way, should joyn with the Bishops, and so, having the matter in talk together, should proceed jointly in the Election.*

Against this many things were alledged by the Prior and his Mates, complaining much upon the Bishops, which said, that the Bishops had ever holden with the Kings, against the liberties of their Church and Archbishops. As first, they stood against *Anselm* for King *William*; then against *Theobald* for King *Stephen*; after that, against *Tho. Becket* for King *Henry*; and after him, did supplant the election of *Richard* their Archbishop; and now again, went about to practise and work against this their election present, *&c.* At last the Prior with his fellows concluding, desired they might speak with the King himself. Who, efsoons coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the Bishops about the election; promising, that whom they agreed upon, he also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom when the Prior again had objected the writings that before were made: Truth it is (said the King) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will go against the council of my Realm; and therefore agree, said he, with my Bishops and Abbots, and remember that the voice of the People is the voice of God.

Upon this the Prior with his Monks, seeing no other remedy, went to the Bishops to confer, according to the King his request, about the election; who then were willed by the Bishops to nominate whom they would, and the Bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the Prior with his complices, had named three, after their chusing the Bishops, said they would nominate but one; and so did, which was the Bishop of *Worcester*, willing the Prior to go home, and to confer with his Covent about the same. To whom shortly after the Bishops sent certain Priests, to signifie to the Covent, that they, according to the Popes Letters, should repair to the Bishops concerning the election of the Archbishop; also declared moreover to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men; but he whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The Monks, marvelling hereat, sent two Monks with the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* to the King.

This done, immediately after the return of the Priests, the Bishops caused all the Bells of the City to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be sung for the Archbishop new elect. Where-

Bishops of the Realm make their Election of the Archbishop, without the Monks of *Canterbury*.

Conditions prescribed by the King to the Monks of *Canterbury*, for the restitution of the Archbishop made by the Bishops.

Baldwin Elected Archbishop of *Worcester* elect. Anno 1184.

of when the two Monks brought tidings to the Covent at *Canterbury* what was done at *London*, they were all in a marvellous dump. The King hearing this, and perceiving the stiffness of the Monks, in all haste sent messengers to *Canterbury* with gentle words, to will the Prior to come to the King, and certifie him of the purpose of his Monks. Unto whom the Prior, efsoons being come, declareth in the name of the whole Covent, that in no case he, nor the Monks would ever while the world stood, agree to the Election of the Bishops; unless the King in his own person would come to *Canterbury*, and there openly, before the whole Covent, protest by his own mouth the foresaid Election to be nought and void; and so, returning to *London* again, openly likewise, before the Clergy and People, would repudiate and reject the same: and furthermore, that the party also elected, should openly in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless he entred by the consent of the Prior and Covent of *Canterbury*; and all this to be done in the same place where the Bishops had made their Election before; and so peraventure (said they) at the Kings so earnest suite and requeft, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the said Election with the voices of their consent. To make the story short, after great hold between the Secular Clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the Kings indignation against the Prior, and the swooning of the Prior before the King, at length the King to take up the matter, and to save the Priors life, was fain to perform in his own person all those conditions above prescribed by the Monks. *Ex Gervas. fol.* 100.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the Bishop of *Worcester*, named *Baldwin*, made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Now what a troublesome time the said *Baldwin* had with the Monks in governing the Church of *Canterbury*, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

The troubles between Baldwin *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and the Monks of the same Church.*

The great trouble and contention between Baldwin Archbishop and the Monks of *Canterbury*.

IN the first year the Archbishop shewed himself friendly and loving to the Monks; the next year following he began to appear somewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the house of *Christs-Church*, toward the time of the Nativity and of *Easter*, to receive certain Presents or Gifts of their Farmers or Tenants, which the Celarars should take and lay up. Those Presents the Archbishop began first to intercept from the Monks, and to bestow them upon his Secular Clerks. After this he took three Churches or Benefices (which the Monks claimed as proper to themselves) and placed in them three of his Chaplains. After this he incroacheth to his hands, certain Tenements, Revenues and Victuals, belonging before to the Monks (as they said) and committed the custody thereof to certain of his own Clerks and houshold servants.

The Monks which had born so much with the Archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make their appeal against him. The Archbishop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby the more fierce against them, insomuch that such Farms and Tenements as he before had let alone, now he received to his own occupying, with many other grievances where-with he greatly vexed the Monks, so that three Abbots were fain to come and reconcile the Archbishop and the Monks; which reconciliation was this, that the Monks should let fall their appeal, and the Archbishop should restore again to them their Farms and Tenements. But as touching the Benefices and the Presents, the Archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient Monks which in no case would give over the foresaid appeal before the Archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

The Monks of *Canterbury* appeal to the Pope against their Archbishop. Reconciliation between the Archbishop and the Monks, which did not hold long.

After this agreement, such as it was, between the Monks and him, the Archbishop soon after sent up to *Rome* one of his Chaplains (unto whom he had given one of the Benefices afore-mentioned) partly for confirmation of his Benefice, partly also to obtain licence for the Archbishop to build a Church, which he intended to erect of Secular Priests near unto the Town of *Canterbury*. Which

The Archbishop send-eth to the Pope.

being obtained of the Pope, the Archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce against the Monks, not only in talking from them their Churches and Oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their House, which he intended either to subvert, or greatly to diminish, to pluck down the pride and stubbornness of the Monks. Wherefore taking with him certain other Bishops (whom he knew bare no good will to that Monkish generation) he went to the King, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemn Church, in the honour of *S. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, of secular Priests or Canons, and therefore desired of the King to have his favourable licence to the same. The King right well perceiving the purpose of the Archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stiff-necked Monks, was the more willing to give assent, if he were not also the chief worker of that matter himself.

The Archbishop goeth about to pluck down the pride of the Monks of *Canterbury*.

Baldwin Archbishop of *Canterbury* about to build a new Church on the North side of *Canterbury*.

The purpose of the Archbishop in building his new Church at *Canterbury*.

Hakington Church.

The intent of the Archbishop in planting of that new Church, was to found there divers Prebends, and to make both the King, and every Bishop being his Suffragans, Prebendaries thereof, so that every one of them should conferr one Prebendship to the same foundation; minding there to consecrate Bishops, to make his Chrismatory, to celebrate his Synods, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his See, and the same to be called *Hakington* Church. The Monks, not ignorant how the Archbishop privily intended the defolation and subversion of their House and Liberties, complaining upon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeal to the See of *Rome*, namely, for these three causes against the Archbishop: First, for spoiling them of their Gifts and Oblations: Secondly, for depriving them of their Churches and Benefices: and Thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular Canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their Religious Order; giving admonition to the Archbishop before by their Monks, sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the Archbishop answered, that the foundation, which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour of their House. Who answered again, that it was, and could not otherwise be, but to their subversion. *And what should lets me then* (said the Archbishop) *but I may build in my own ground what I will?* No (said they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forsomuch as you have them not of your self, but of the Church, and for the Churches cause. All which things have been given neither to you, nor to the Archbishops, but unto the Church of Christ: and therefore (said they) all such as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also and the whole state of our Church, we submit under the Popes protection, and now here make our appeal to the See Apostolick, assigning also the term when to prosecute the same.

The Monks of *Canterbury* make their appeal against *Baldwin* their Archbishop.

Three causes alledged against the Archbishop by the Monks.

The Monks of *Canterbury* claim all the goods of the Archbishop to be their own.

The Monks put themselves and their house in the Popes protection.

Appellation against the Archbishop.

The Archbishop receiving this appellation, and saying, that he would answer to the same either by himself, or by his responsal, within three days after, which was the sixteenth of *December*, came to *Canterbury*: where the Monks understanding how he was in mind to place new secular Priests in the Church of St. *Stephen*, where the Monks had served before, came to the Church to stop the proceeding of the Archbishop by way of appeal. Whereof the Archbishop having warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the Monks, again being sent by *Honorius* the Prior into the Church, charged the Archbishop in the name of Almighty God, and by vertue of their appeal made to the Apostolick See, to surcease those his doings; charging also the Parson of the Church in no wise to suffer those Secular Clerks to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithstanding, the Archbishop proceeded in his business. And first, placing in his Clerks, he suspended the Prior from his administration. Then he adjuseth the Porters of the Gate, upon their Oath, to let none of the Monks pass out of the house without his licence. The Monks likewise he commanded, by vertue of obedience, not to stray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foresaid Monks, which served the Appeal against him, he utterly banished from that Covent. Upon this, the day next following, *Honorius* the Prior trusting (saith the Story) on God, and S. *Thomas*, took his way to *Rome*, sent in commission by the Covent, to prosecute the appeal against the Archbishop.

Bishops between the Monks and the Archbishop for placing Popish Clerks in the Church of St. *Stephen* in *Canterbury*.

The Prior of *Canterbury* suspended.

In this mean season, a new jarr began between the said Archbishop and the Monks, about their Rents and Revenues, which the Archbishop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three Monks, but the Sub-prior or *Geffery*, with the Covent, in no case would suffer that: whereabout there was a foul stir. The Archbishop craving the aid of the King, first had three Bishops sent down to him, of *Coventry*, *Norwich* and *Worcester*. Who, being instant with the Monks to submit their cause into the Kings hands, like as the Archbishop had done, they utterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the Apostolical See. The King seeing no other remedy, came himself with the Archbishop into the Chapter-house; where he commanded first the doors to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. A certain Monk whom were two Bishops, to wit, of *Norwich* and *Durham*, and one *Petrus Blesensis* a learned man (whose Epistles be yet extant in Libraries) a chief worker in this matter against the Monks. Then was called in *Geffry* the Sub-prior, with a few other Monks whom he brought with him. The King then fell talking with the Archbishop and his company, and afterwards with the Monks, laboured to intreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the Bishops, concerning the cause which was between the Archbishop and them in traverse.

A Letter of Pope *Urban* against the Archbishop.

A grant from the Monks to the King.

The King comes into the chapter house of *Canterbury*.

The Archbishop meeteth and comes to the Pope's Court.

To this the Monks answered, that these were good words, but served not for that time, forsomuch as their cause was already translated to the Court of *Rome*, and now was presently in hearing before the Popes Holines: and therefore they could not, ne would do that injury to their Lord Pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter into the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the Monks, that they would put the matter in comprimise, in case the Prior would consent thereto: upon this intent, that if the Prior consented, and the Monks not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience; or if the Monks would consent, and the Prior not, then should the Prior be excluded the Realm. The wily Monks, being not unprovided of this subtilty, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their Prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honesty to give any determinate consent without the knowledge, and before the return of the said Prior; unless the Archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully wrested from them. When the King could get no other answer of the Monks, neither could move the Archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confess and knowledge their fault, he, so parting from them, passed over into *France*.

The King intreats the Monks and the Archbishop.

Letters of the King, the Archbishop, and other Bishops to the Pope.

M. Pillett Attorney in the Popes Court for the Monks of *Canterbury*.

The Monks deny to put their matter in traverse before the Kings Judge.

The Monks recede to the King.

Petrus Blesensis Agent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The full Letters of Pope *Urban* sent to *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Not long after this came a Messenger from *Rome*, bringing Letters from Pope *Urban* to the Archbishop, wherein the Pope considering and tendering (as he said) the enorme grievances done against the Monks, straitly enjoyned and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the Prior and others of the said Covent, and also to retract and restore again to the Monks whatsoever he plucked from them since the time of their appeal first made. Who, in case he should deny, or forestack the doing hereof, commission was given to three Abbots, of *Battel*, of *Fevarsham*, and of St. *Austins*, with ample authority to perform the same, *&c.* The Archbishop, receiving these Letters brought to him by a Monk of the foresaid House, first made his excuse that the Pope was misinformed. But the Monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answer he would make to the Popes Mandate, his answer was, *that he had yet ten days given him of the Pope.* In which mean time the Archbishop went to *London*, and there in the Church of St. *Paul* consecrated his holy Oyl and Cream (making one of the Popes seven Sacraments) which was grievously taken in the Church of *Canterbury*. At last the ten days being ended, when the Archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the Popes Letter injoyned him, the three Abbots aforesaid, to execute the Popes commandement, came at their day assigned to *Canterbury*, and there assoiled all such as the Archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified Pope *Urban* by Letters what they had done.

The Pope holdeth on the Monks side against the King.

The Archbishop and the three Abbots of *Battel*, and of the Bishops of the Realm. The Popes Extreames commanded by M. Gilbert in the Kings name not to proceed against the Archbishop.

Monks of *Canterbury* commanded to flee their privileges to the King.

The Archbishop sends his Oyl and Cream of Chrisme to the Monks.

Crosiers put in the hands of Christs Church and Monks will.

The Archbishop hearing this, within four days after, sent two of his Clerks, which appealed the three Abbots aforesaid up to *Rome*; and he himself in the mean time prepared busily for the building up of his Church, sending to all Churches in *England* upon releasement of their sins, to confer unto the same; and to make the more haste, for lack of Free-stone he made up his building with Timber, and such other stuff as he could get.

The Archbishop appeals up to *Rome*.

The Archbishops new Church made of wood.

The Prior *Honorius* all this while remained still at the Court of *Rome*, giving attendance upon the Pope; who having intelligence of the Archbishops doings, procured another Letter of Pope *Urban* to the whole Clergy of *England*, straitly injoyning them that none should confer to the new Fraternity of *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. To these Letters the Archbishop shewed such reverence, that where before he had planted his Chappel of wood and boards, now he provided the same to be builded of Lime and stone.

By this time *Petrus Blesensis*, with other messengers of the Archbishop, seeing *Honorius* the Prior to be gone from the Court of *France*, resorted to the Court of *Rome*, bringing with them Letters of Credit from the King, from the Archbishop, and also from other Bishops of the Realm; but the Pope reading only the Kings Letters, and the Archbishops, the residue he cast into a window by, saying he would read them at further leisure. Then the Pope giving audience in his Consistory to hear their cause, first came in *Petrus Blesensis* with the Agents of the Archbishop, exhibiting their Letters, and propounding their requests to the Pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the Monks to the Archbishop, wherein they had injured him. *Item*, That the things which had been granted before to the Prior in that Court, might be called in again. Thirdly, That the Archbishop might have license to proceed in building his Colledg of Canons, *&c.* After this was called in *M. Pillett* the Attorny for the Monks of *Canterbury*. Who alledging many great things against the Archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the Popes precepts, required that he should make restitution to the Monks for his injuries done to them; and also that his new foundation of Secular Canons, tending to the overthrow of the Conventual Church of *Canterbury*, should be utterly raced and thrown down to the ground. Thus between these parties pleaing and repleaing one against the other, much hard hold there was, but in conclusion for all the Kings Letters, and for all that the Archbishop and Bishops could do, the matter went on the Monks side. So that there was no remedy, but the Pope would needs have the Archbishops new building come down, and the Monks to be restored again to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three Abbots aforesaid, to wit, of *Battel*, of *Fevarsham*, of St. *Austins* in *Canterbury*, and to *Geffrey* Subprior of *Canterbury*.

Which things being thus determined at *Rome*, then *Radulph Glanvile*, Lord Steward of *England*, writing to the said Abbot of *Battel*, and to the Subprior and Covent of *Canterbury*, commandeth them in the Kings name, and upon their Oath and fealty given unto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this Controverse between the Monks and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the Kings pleasure: and furthermore charging the Covent of *Canterbury* not to enter further in any Examinations as concerning the Archbishops matters; and also citing the Subprior of the said House, to appear before him at *London*, at the Feast of St. *James* the same year, which was 1187. Notwithstanding he excusing himself by sickness, sent two Monks in his stead, and to kept himself at home. To whom commandment was given, that the Monks of *Canterbury* within fifteen days should fall over to *Normandy* to the King, and there shew the tenor and evidences of their priviledges; and also that such Stewards and Bailiffs whom they had placed in their Farms and Lordships, contrary to the will of the Archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three Abbots in the Kings name were commanded in no wife to execute the Popes commandment against the Archbishop. Not long after this the Archbishop took Shipping at *Dover*, and went over to the King, where he ordained three principal Officers over the Monks of Christs Church; the Sacrist, the Cellarer, and the Chamberlain, contrary to the will of the Covent, with other Grievances more, whereby the Monks were not a little offended, so that upon the same they made a new Appellation to the Pope. Whereupon Pope *Urban* by the setting on of *Honorius* the Prior, who was now come again to the Court, wrote to him another Letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

Another Appellation of the Monks against the Archbishop.

The Tenor of Pope *Urban's* Letters to *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

URbanus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Baldwino Cantuar. Archiepiscopo & Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem, &c.

The Copy of Pope *Urbans* Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In that we have born with your Brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in such grievous manner against you, as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked; the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would have relented from the oppression of the Conventual Church of Canterbury, *committed unto you; if not for our reverence, which you seem to have conversed more than became you, yet at least for fear of God's judgment. For well we hoped, our conscience perswading us to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignity in the Church of* England, *you would have been an example to others of obedience and reverence to be given to the See Apostolick of all Ecclesiastical persons. Wherefore as the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to advance and honour you as we have done few others besides, thinking no less, but that we had found a faithful friend of the Church, for our honour. Wherein we perceive now (which maketh us not a little to marvel) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against us in our members.*

Note how the Popes stand all upon their honour.

The Popes expectation deceived in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

For whereas we sundry times have written to you in the behalf of our Brethren, and the Church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not vex or disturb their liberties, or at least for reverence of us: you [as] *only in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) set at light our Letters and Appellations made unto the Apostolical See. What you have wrought against them after their so manifold Appellations laid unto us, and our Inhibitions again unto you, we are ashamed to utter. But revolve and consider in your mind, if ye have well done, and advise in your own conscience what you have done. We for our part because we neither may ne ought with deaf ears to pass over the clamors of the Brethren, and such contemps of the Apostolick See; although our biddings and warnings given to you seem to be all in vain, yet notwithstanding we send our Mandates again unto your Brotherhood, in these Apostolical Writings, districtly and in vertue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be present in your Church, or absent; all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you have done in building of your Chappel* [which you to the destruction of the Monastery of Canterbury *have erected*] *after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition sent to you, you fail not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; undoing again, and making void, whatsoever ye have begun and innovated concerning the institution of the Canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said Chappel; accounting moreover and reputing the place where the Chappel was, to be accursed and prophane, and also that all such, whosoever have celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appear before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those Monks whom you have presumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeal made, you restore and assoile again, rendring also and restoring all such Farms, Manors, Tenements, and Oblations as you, after their appeal made, have unwrapped from them; and finally, that you innovate nothing touching the state of that Monastery, during the time of this Controversie depending before us. Giving you*

The Archbishop commanded to restore and assoile the Monks whom he deprived and excommunicate.

The Archbishop threatned by the Pope.

you to understand that in case you shall continue in your stubbornness and rebellion upon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving thereof, we shall appoint others to execute the same; injoyning also your Suffragans that as you shall shew your self disobedient and rebelling to us, so they all shall refuse likewise to give any obedience or reverence unto you, &c.

Given at *FERRARIA*, 5 *Non.* Octob.

Another Letter besides this the Pope also sent to the three Abbots aforesaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise another Letter was sent to King *Henry* the Second, wherein the Pope injoyneth and requireth him, upon remission of his sins, not to dissemble and bear with the Archbishop in his oppression of his Monks, but to help that those things may be amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

The Pope writeth to the Abbots, and also to the King.

Third Pontifical Letters were written *Anno* 1187, the third day of *October*, and in the nineteenth day after, the same month, the said Pope *Urban* died. In the which year, and about the which month, *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem* was taken, with many Noblemen of *Soldan* the *Saracen*; and *Jerusalem* lost, after that it had been in the possession of the Christians, and so continued the space of eighty eight years, and eighty days, from the time that *Godfridus Bolonius* did first win it from the Infidels.

Pope Urban dieth. *Baldwine* King of *Jerusalem*, with many Nobles taken of the *Saracens*, and the City won.

After the receiving of those Letters of Pope *Urban* above specified, both the King and Archbishop, with all the Bishops of the Realm were marvellously quailed, glad now to please, and speak fair to the Monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the King now and Archbishop so submiss, but the Monks on the other side were as brag and jocant, being fully assured that all now was their own. In the Narration of which History (as it is set in *Gervasius* at large) this we have to note by the way, in what fear and thraldom Kings in those days were under the Pope, who could not be Masters over their own subjects, but that every pild Monk, or pelting Prior, upon vertue of their appeal to the Court of *Rome*, and making their house Tributary to the Pope, was able not only to match, but to give Checkmate unto the best King Christened, as not in this Story only may appear.

The King and Archbishop glad to agree with the Monks. The Monks got the upper hand over the Archbishop.

The miserable subjection of Kings under the Pope to be noted.

It followeth then in the Story of these Monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their joy and jollity, suddenly cometh news of the death of Pope *Urban* their great *Calipha*, and also how that *Gregory* the Eighth was placed in his room, who was a special friend and favourer of the Archbishop; which as it did greatly incourage the King and the Archbishop, so the Monks on the other side were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned upside down. For whereas the King and the Archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the Monks, and to seek their favour, now were the Monks on the contrary side fain to crouch to the King, and glad to have a good countenance; who then reforting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, delired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was anfwered again by the King, that seeing the Archbishop had granted to them their Sacrist, their Chamberlain, and their Cellerar, they should have no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the Liberties and Priviledges of the Archbishop to be impaired, or take any wrong. And touching the new Chappel of St. *Thomas* (said he) whereabout ye strive so long, with the Canonthips and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receive into my hands, so that none shall have any thing to do therein but my self, *&c.* In like manner of the Archbishop such another like answer they received, and of Bishops little better. So the Monks sent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of *Normandy* to their Cell.

Calipha is the High Priest of the *Saracens* sitting in *Damascus*, unto whom all the Sultans were subject, as our Princes now are to the Pope.

The Kings answer to the Monks of Canterbury.

Now the Archbishop having the Monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and less, died Pope *Gregory* the Eighth, about the sixteenth day of *December* following. After whom succeeded Pope *Clement* the Third, who following the steps of *Urban*, bent all his power with the Monks against the Archbishop, sending divers Precepts and Mandates in the next year following, which was the year One thousand one hundred eighty eight, with an imperious Letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the Monks, and to throw down his new Chappel. Whereupon the Archbishop made his appeal, and minded to go to *Rome*, but was called back of the King, being ready to sail over. In the which year *Honorius* the Prior died at *Rome* of the Plague, which was some help and comfort to the Archbishop, for whom the Archbishop made *Roger Noris* Prior against the wills of the Covent. After this, about the latter end of the same year, Pope *Clement* sent down his Legate called *Radulphus* a Cardinal, to *Canterbury*, with another Letter more sharply written to the same effect unto the Archbishop. *Ex Hist. Gervas.*

Pope Gregory 8. dieth.

Pope Clement sendeth.

Pope Clement Letters to the Archbishop.

Honorius the Prior of Canterbury died at Rome.

The Second Letter of Pope Clement to the Archbishop.

Furthermore, in the year next after, which was One thousand one hundred eighty nine, he wrote also the third Letter to him. In the which year also died King *Henry* the Second, after whom succeeded King *Richard* his Son, who joyning likewise with the Archbishop, took his part strongly against the said Monks. At last, after much ado on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning divers of the Monks, King *Richard* preparing his Voyage towards *Jerusalem*, and studying first to set peace between them, consulted and agreed with the Bishops and Abbots about a final concord in this matter, between the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*; which at length on both parts was made, upon these Conventions which follow:

K. Henry the 2d. dieth. K. Rich. the first joyned with the Archbishop.

1. That *Roger Noris* should be deposed, whom the Archbishop had made Prior against their wills: whom the King then at the request of the Archbishop promoted to be Abbot of *Eusham*.

Agreement between the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury upon what conditions.

2. *Item*, That the Archbishop should pluck down his Chappel, which he builded in the suburbs of *Canterbury*, against the minds of the Monks.

3. *Item*, That the foresaid Monks should make profession of their obedience and subjection to the Archbishop, as they had done to his other Predecessors before him.

4. *Item*, As touching all other complaints and injuries (except only the Chappel, and depolition of *Roger Noris* the Prior) the Monks should stand to the Arbitrement of the King, of the Archbishop, and the Prelates.

Ex Lib. Antonym. & Hist. Gervas. apud Henric. Christophersonum.

5. *Item*, That the Monks kneeling down before the King in the Chapter-house, should ask the Archbishop forgiveness. Which being done, they went all together to the Church, and sang *Te Deum* for this reformation of peace. *Ex veteri Chronico Manuscripto, & ex Gervasio.*

The next day after the Archbishop coming into the Chapter, restored to the Covent their Manors and Farms again; also he discharged the Prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made between the Archbishop and the Covent, then the Archbishop going about to dissolve the building of his new Church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therefore making exchange of Lands with the Bishop and Monks of *Rochester*, purchased of them their ground in *Lambeth*, Ann. 1191. Which done, he came to his Clerks whom he had placed to be Canons in his new College of *Hakington*, and also willed them to remove all their Goods and Furniture to *Lambeth*, over against *Westminster*, where he erected for them another Church, and there placed the said Canons. About which Colledg of *Lambeth* afterwards much trouble likewise enfued, by the stirring of the said Monks of *Canterbury*, in the time of *Hubert* the Archbishop in the reign of the said King *Richard*, and in the year of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the depoling of *Roger Noris* Prior of *Canterbury* aforesaid, *Baldwin* the Archbishop, inforced to grant them another Prior by the assent of the King and of the Covent, assigned *Osbernus* to be their Prior, who had taken part before with the Archbishop; but the Monks not pleased with him, after the death of *Baldwin* the Archbishop removed him again.

Archbishop of Canterbury remembreth the suit of the Bishop of *Rochester* Land in *Lambeth* in building his house upon.

Reasons Archbishop of Canterbury hath to establish at *Lambeth*.

And

Three things to be observed in this story of *Canterbury* Monks above rehearsed.

And thus have you the tedious Discourse of this Catholick Tragedy between the Monks of *Canterbury* and their Archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsal; notwithstanding, this I thought to give the Reader to see of purpose. First to shew forth unto the world the stout sturdiness of this Monkish generation, who professing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancy in their conversation, and what hypocrisie in their Religion, this one example among a thousand others may give some experience. Secondly, That the posterity now may see how little Kings could then do in their own Realms for the Pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appear to all Readers, what strife and debate, what distention and division, what little unity and concord hath always followed the Popes Catholick Church, wheresoever the corrupt Religion and usurped ambition of the Pope prevailed. For not to speak only of this Monkish house of *Canterbury*, What Church Cathedral, Collegiate, or Conventual; what See, Church, Monastery or Chappel was under all the Popes Government, but ever there happened some variance, either between the King and the Archbishop, as between King *William* and *Lanfranke*, King *Henry* the First and *Anselm*, King *Stephen* and *Richard*, King *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, King *John* and *Stephen Langton*, King *Henry* the Third and *Boniface*, &c. Or else between Archbishop and Archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the Cross, for sitting on the right hand of the Popes Legate, *&c.* Or else between Archbishops and their Suffragans; or between Archbishops and their Covents; or between Bishops and Monks, between Dean and Chapter, between Monks and Secular Priests, Monks of one sort against another, Friers of one Order against another, Students against Friers, Townsmen against Scholars, *&c.* As for example: What discord was between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Richard* Archbishop of *York*; between *Lanfrancus* and Archbishop *Thomas*, between *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Sylvester* Abbot of St. *Augins*, between *Walter* of Christs Church, and *Sylvester* Abbot aforesaid, between *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Jeremias* Prior of *Canterbury*, Anno 1144. between the Monks of *Canterbury* and *Odo* their Prior for translating the Relicks of *Dunstan*, between King *Stephen* and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Roger* Bishop of *Ely* his Son, *Anno* 1138, between Pope *Innocent* and *Anacletus* the space of seven years; the Cardinals for money (saith *Gervasius*) sometime holding with the one, sometime with the other; at last the Election was determined by a fore battel between *Lotharius* Emperor, and *Rogerius* Duke of *Apulia*, Ann. 1137; also between Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, and *Frederick* Emperor the Second, between King *Henry* the Third and *William Rale* Bishop of *Winchester*, when the King bad the Gates of *Winchester* Town to be shut against him, *Anno* 1250, between *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Canons of St. *Paul*: *Item*, between the said *Boniface* and Monks of St. *Bartholomew*, who sat there in Harnels in his Visitation, *Anno* 1250; between the Abbot of *Westminster* and Monks of the same house, *Anno* 1251. *Item*, Between the foresaid *William Rale* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for a Priest of the Hospital in *Southwark*, *Anno* 1252; between the said *Boniface* and Canons of *Lincoln* after the death of *Robert Grosthead*, for giving of Prebends, *Anno* 1253; between the Monks of *Coventry* and Canons of *Lichfield*, for chusing their Bishop in the time of King *Henry* the Third?

Hypocrisie in Monkery.

Kings made slaves under the Pope.

No concord nor unity in Popish Churches.

Examples proving what discord, and how little unity is in the Popes Church.

Ex Matth. Paris.

No unity in the Popes Church.

And what should I speak of the discord which cost so much money between *Edmund Archbishop* of *Canterbury* and the Monks of *Rochester*, for chusing *Richard Wendor* to be their Bishop, *Anno* 1328; between *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln* and Canons of the same house, for which both he and they were driven to travel to *Rome*, *Anno* 1244; between *Gilbert* Bishop of *Rochester*, Delegate to Archbishop *Baldwin*, and *Robert* the Popes Legate for sitting on the right hand of the Legate in his Council at *Westminster*, *Anno* 1190; between the Abbot of *Bardeny* and the said *Grosthead* about the Visitation of their Abbey, *Anno* 1242. *Item*, between the Covent of *Canterbury* and the said *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Ann. 1243; between *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Hubert* Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Geffery* Archbishop of *York*, Ann. 1189; between *William* Bishop of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor and the Canons of *York*, for not receiving him with Procession, *Anno* 1190; between the Abbot of *Westminster* and his Covent of Black Monks, whom King *Henry* the Third had much ado to still and agree, *Anno* 1249. *Item*, Between the foresaid Bishop of *Lincoln* and the Abbot of *Westminster*; likewise between *Nicolas* Bishop of *Durham* and *John* Abbot of St. *Albans*, Ann. 1246; also between *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks there for the house of *Lambeth*, Ann. 1146. And what a stir was between the Preaching Friers and the Gray-Friers, mentioned in *Matthew Paris* for Superiority, *Anno* 1243. Also between the said Gray-Friers, and the Prelates and Doctors of *Paris* about nine Conclusions, condemned of the Prelates to be erroneous?

Conclusions of the Friers condemned for erroneous by the Prelates of *Paris*. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 167.

1. Concerning the Divine Essence, that it cannot be seen of the Angels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the Essence of the Holy Ghost.
3. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as he is love.
4. Whether men glorified shall be *In Cælo Empyreo*, or, *In Cælo Crystallino*.
5. That the evil Angel at his first creation was evil, and never good.
6. That there have been many Verities from the beginning which were not of God.
7. That an Angel in one instant may be in divers places.
8. That the evil Angel never had whereby he might stand, no more had *Adam* in his state of innocency.
9. That he which hath *Meliora naturalia*, that is to say, *More perfect strength of nature working in him, shall have more full measure of necessity to obtain grace and glory*. To the which Articles the Prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming, *that grace and glory shall be given according to that God hath elected and predestinate*, *&c.* Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

Contention between the Friers about the Conception of our Lady.

In like manner between the said *Dominick* Friers, and the Gray Friers, what a brawl and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, *whether she was without original sin conceived or not*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, and King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1550. Add moreover to these, the four and twenty hainous Schisms, and not so few, which happened between Pope and Pope in the Church and See of *Rome*. But what do I stand to recite the divisions and dissentions of the Popes Church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the Sea? For what Church, Chapter, or Covent, was in all that Religion, which either had not some variance with themselves, or with others? Upon which continual strife and variance among them, the Readers hereof may judge of them and their Religion as pleaseth them: in the mean time, my judgment is this; that where such dissention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

Continual variance in the Popes Church.

Anno 1190.

These things thus discourled, touching the tragical dissention between *Baldwin* the Archbishop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; now let us proceed by the Lords assistance, in continuing of our story. After King *Richard* had thus, as is declared, set the Monks and the Archbishop in some agreement, and had compoled such things as were to be redreffed within the Realm, he advanced forward his journey, and came unto *Turon* to meet with *Philip* the *French* King; and so after that went to *Vizaliace*; where the *French* King and he joyning together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemn Oath, (swearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whose Oath was this: *That either of them should defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should fail one the other in their affairs; but the* French *King should aid the King of* England *in defending his Land and Dominions, as he would himself defend his own City of* Paris, *if it were besieged.*) *and that* Richard *King of* England *likewise should aid the* French *King in defending his Land and Dominions, no otherwise than he would defend his own City of* Rone, *if it were besieged*, &c.

K. Richard taketh his journey toward the land of *Jerusalem*.

The Oath and fidelity between Philip French King, and K. Richard the first, going to the Holy Lands.

But how slenderly this Oath did hold between these two Kings, and by whose chief occasion first it fell asunder,

the

the sequel of the History (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Diſciplyne and Orders ſet up by K. *Richard* for malefactors.

Furthermore, touching the Laws and Ordinances appointed by this King *Richard* for his Navy, the form thereof was this:

1. That whoſoever killed any perſon on Shipboard, ſhould be tyed with him that was ſlain, and thrown into the Sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like manner be tyed with the party ſlain, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhall be convicted by lawful witneſs to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtricken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall loſe his hand.

4. Alſo, he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand, without effuſion of blood, ſhall be plunged three times in the Sea.

Item, Whoſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath ſo reviled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſilver.

Item, A thief or felon that hath ſtoln, being lawfully convicted, ſhall have his head ſhorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrowed upon the ſame, whereby he may be known; and ſo the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt up, *&c.*

The French K. and King *Richard* come to *Lions*.

These things thus ſet in a readineſs, King *Richard* ſending his Navy by the *Spaniſh* Seas, and by the ſtraits of *Iubaltary*, between *Spain* and *Africa*, to meet him at *Marſilia*, he himſelf went (as ſaid) to *Vizeliace*, to the *French* King. Which two Kings, from thence went to *Lions*, where the Bridge over the Flood *Rhodanus*, with preſs of people, brake, and many, both Men and Women, were drowned. By reaſon whereof the two Kings, for the cumbrances of their trains, were conſtrained to diſſever themſelves for the time of their journy, appointing both to meet together in *Sicilia*; and ſo *Philip* the *French* King took his way to *Genua*, and King *Richard* to *Marſilia*, where he remained eight days, appointing there his Navy to meet him. From thence croſſing over to *Genua*, where the *French* King was, he paſſed forward by the Coaſt of *Italy*, and entred into *Tyber* not far from *Rome*, where meeting with *Ottomanus*, the Cardinal and Biſhop of *Hoſtia*, he did complain greatly of the filthy Simony of the Pope and the Popes Court, for receiving ſeven hundred Marks for Conſecrating the Biſhop *Cenomanenſis*; alſo a thouſand and five hundred Marks of *William* the Biſhop of *Ely* for his office Legantine; and likewiſe an infinite ſumm of mony of the Biſhop of *Burdeaux*, for acquitting him when he ſhould be depoſed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his Clergy, *&c.*

K. Richard cometh to *Marſilia*.

K. Richard complaineth of the filthy Simony of the Popes Court.

K. Richard departeth from *Marſilia*.

The ſeventh day of *Auguſt*, in the year aforeſaid, King *Richard* departed out of *Marſilia*, after he had there waited ſeven days for his Navy, which came not, and ſo hiring twenty Gallies, and ten great Barks, to ſhip over his Men, ſailed by the Sea Coaſt of *Italy*, and came to *Naples*, and ſo partly by Horſe and Wagon, partly by the Sea paſſing to *Faleruum*, he came to *Calabria*; where after that he had heard his Ships were arrived at *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, he made the more ſpeed; and ſo the three and twentieth of *September* ſent to *Meſſana*, with ſuch a noiſe of Trumpets and Shalmes, with ſuch a rout and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the *Frenchmen*, and all others that did hear and behold the fight.

The Kings Ships arrive at *Meſſana*.

The coming of K. Rich. to *Meſſana*.

The *French* K. lodged in *Meſſana*.

To the ſaid Town of *Meſſana* the *French* King was come before the ſixteenth day of the ſame Month of *September*, and had taken up the Palace of *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia* for his lodging. To whom King *Richard* after his arrival, eſſoons reſorted; and when the two Kings had communed together, immediately the ſame day the *French* King took ſhipping, and entred the Seas, thinking to ſail toward the Land of *Jeruſalem*. But after he was out of the Haven, the Wind ariſing contrary againſt him, returned him back again to *Meſſana*. Then King *Richard* (whoſe lodging was prepard in the Suburbs without the City) after he had reſorted again, and talked with the *French* King, and alſo had ſent to *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia*, for deliverance of *Joan* his Siſter (who had been ſometimes Queen of *Sicilia*) and had obtained her to be ſent unto him, the laſt day of *September* paſſed over the ſtoud of *Delfar*, and there getting a ſtrong Hold called *de la Bagmare*, or *le Bamre*, and placing therein his Siſter, with a ſufficient Garriſon, he returneth home again to *Meſſana*. The ſecond of *October* King *Richard* wan another certain ſtrong Hold, called *Monaſterium Griffonum*, ſituated in the midſt of the River of *Delfar*, between *Meſſana* and *Calabria*; from whence the Monks being expulſed, he repoſed there all his Store and Proviſion of Victuals, which came from *England*, or other places.

The French K. and King *Richard* departed from *Meſſana*.

K. Richard gotten the Monaſtery of *Griffons*.

The Citizens of *Meſſana*, ſeeing that the King of *England* had won the Caſtle and Iſland in *de la Bagmare*, and alſo the Monaſtery of the *Griffons*, and doubting leſt the King would extend his power further to invade their City, and if he could, all the whole Iſle of *Sicilia*, began to ſtir againſt the Kings Army, and to ſhut the *Engliſhmen* out of the Gates, and keep their Walls againſt them. The *Engliſhmen* ſeeing that, made to the Gates, and by force would have broken them open; informed that the King riding among them with his ſtaff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fierceneſs; ſuch was the rage of the *Engliſhmen* againſt the Citizens of *Meſſana*. The King, ſeeing the fury of the People to be ſuch as he could not ſtay them, took Boat, and went to the Palace of King *Tancred*, to talk of the matter with the *French* King. In which time the matter was ſo taken up by the wiſe handling of the ancient of the City, that both parties laying down their Armour went home in peace.

Diſcord between the Citizens of *Meſſana* and the Engliſh Army.

The King could not ſtay the rage of the People.

The fourth day of the ſaid Month of *October*, came to King *Richard* the Archbiſhop of *Meſſana*, with two other Archbiſhops, alſo with the *French* King, and ſundry other Earls, Barons and Biſhops, for intreatance of peace. Who, as they were together conſulting, and had almoſt concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of *Meſſana* iſſuing out of the Town, ſome went up upon the Mountains, ſome with open force invaded the Manſion or Lodging of *Hugh Bran* an *Engliſh* Captain. The noiſe whereof coming to the ears of the King, he, ſuddenly breaking off talk with the *French* King and the reſt, departed from them, and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themſelves; who then with certain of his Souldiers, making up to the top of a Mountain (which ſeemed to paſs their power to climb) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them down the Mountain, unto the very Gates of the City; whom alſo certain of the Kings ſervants purſued within the City, of whom five valiant Souldiers, and twenty of the Kings ſervants were ſlain, the *French* King looking on, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary unto his Oath and League before made with the King of *Engliand*. For the ſaid *French* King with his Men, being there preſent, rode in the midſt of them ſafely and without harm to and fro, and might well have eaſed the Kings party more than he, if it had ſo liked him.

Commuſcation about peace among the Kings.

A skirmiſh between the Citizens of *Meſſana* and the Engliſhmen.

The *French* K. a bearer with ſtrange arms againſt the Engliſhmen.

This being known to the *Engliſh* Hoſt, how their fellows were ſlain, and the *Frenchmen* permitted in the City, and that they were excluded, and the Gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped from buying of Victuals and other things; they upon great indignation, gathered themſelves in Arms, braſt open the Gates, and ſcaled the Walls, and ſo, winning the City, ſet up their Flags, with the *Engliſh* Arms. Which when the *French* King did ſee, he was mightily offended; requiring the King of *England*, that the Arms of *France* might alſo be ſet up and joyned with his; but King *Richard* to that in no caſe would agree. Notwithſtanding, to ſatisfie his mind, he was well contented to take down his Arms, and commit the cuſtody of the City to the *Hoſpetalares* and *Templars* of *Jeruſalem*, till the time that *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* and he, ſhould agree together upon conditions.

Engliſhmen ſet up the Arms of *Meſſana*.

These things being done the fifth and ſixth day of *October*, it followed then upon the eighth day of the ſame Month of *October*, that peace among the Kings was concluded. In which peace firſt King *Richard* and *Philip* the *French* King renewed again their Oath and League before made, concerning their mutual aid and ſociety, during all the time of that Peregrination. Secondly, peace alſo was concluded between King *Richard* and *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* aforeſaid, with this condition, That the Daughter of *Tancred* (in caſe King *Richard* ſhould die without iſſue) ſhould marry to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, the Kings Nephew and next heir to this Crown, *&c.* Whereof a formal Chart was drawn, and Letters ſent thereof to Pope *Clement*, being dated the ninth day of *November*.

The League renewed between K. Richard and the French King alſo.

Peace concluded between King *Richard* and *Tancred* K. of *Sicilia*.

In this mean time as theſe two Kings of *France* and *England* were thus wintring at *Meſſana*, *Frederick* Emperor, firſt of that name (the ſame on whoſe neck Pope *Alexander* did tread in the Church of *Venice*, laying the verſe of the Pſalm, *Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, &c.* whereof read before) and his Son *Conradus*, with a mighty Army of *Almans* and others, were coming up likewiſe toward the land of *Jeruſalem* to the ſiege of *Acheu*; where by the way the good Emperor through a great miſchance, falling off his horſe into a river called *Saleſ*, was therein drowned. After whoſe deceaſe *Conradus* his Son taking the Government of his Army, came to the ſiege of *Acheu*; in which ſiege alſo he died. Upon whoſe coming ſuch a dearth followed in the Camp, which laſted two months, that a loaf of bread, which before their coming was ſold for one peny, was afterward ſold for three pounds, by reaſon whereof many Chriſtian Soldiers did there periſh through famine. The chiefeſt food which the Princes there had to feed upon was horſe-fleſh. This famine being ſo miſerable, ſome good Biſhops there were in the Camp, namely *Hubert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, with certain other good Biſhops, who making a general Collection through the whole Camp for the poor, made ſuch a proviſion that in this penury of all things, yet no man was ſo deſtitute and needy, but ſomewhat he had for his relief; till within a few days after by the merciful Providence of God (who is the feeder of all Creatures) Ships came unto them with abundance of Corn, Wine, and Oyl.

Frederick the firſt, Emperor, with his ſon *Conradus* coming toward the ſiege of *Acheu*.

Frederick the Emperor drowned in a river going to the ſiege of *Acheu*.

A miſerable famine in the ſiege of *Acheu*.

Gods Proviſence in time of need.

The ſiege of *Acheu*.

The ſiege of *Acheu* endured a long ſeaſon, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Chriſtians, ſo it was ſtrongly defended by the *Saracens*, ſpecially by the help of wild-fire, which the *Latins* call *Gracum ignem*, ſo that great ſlaughter there was on both ſides. During the time of which ſiege, many Noble Perſonages, and alſo Biſhops died, among whom was *Conradus* the Emperors Son, *Radulph* Earl of *Fougiers*, the Earl of *Pericio*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with four Archbiſhops, and divers other Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and alſo Barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not ſo few. All this while King *Richard*, and King *Philip* of *France* ſtill kept at *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, from the month of *September* till *April*, for lack (I ſuppoſe) of wind or weather, or elſe for neceſſity of repairing their Ships. In which mean time King *Richard* hearing of *Joachim* Abbot of *Curacio*, a learned man in *Calabria* (who was then thought to have the ſpirit of Propheſie, and told many things of a people that ſhould come) ſent for him, with whom he and his Biſhops had much conference about the coming and time of Antichriſt. This *Joachim* beſike in his Book and Revelations uttered ſome things againſt the See and pride of *Rome*, for the which he was leſs favoured of the Popes, and judged an enemy to their See, and ſo by Pope *Innocent* the Third was condemned with his Books for an Heretick, in his Idolatrous General Council of *Lateran*, Ann. 1215, as ye may read in *Antoninus*.

Iron Greeve much uſed of the Iriſh-men.

K. Richard conferreth with *Joachim* Abbot about the coming of Antichriſt.

Abbot *Joachim* condemned in the Council of *Lateran* by *Innocent* the third.

After this *Henricus* King of *Almans*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor, hearing of the deceaſe of his Father, ſtanding now to be Emperor, firſt reſorteth to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and to others, whatſoever his Father before had taken from them. That done he ſent unto *Clement* and his Cardinals, promiſing in all things to confirm the Laws and Dignities of the Church of *Rome*, if they would grant him their aſſent to be Emperor. Whereupon Pope *Clement* by advice of the *Romans*, aſſigned him the term of *Eaſter* in the next year inſuing for his Coronation. But before the *Eaſter* came, Pope *Clement* died, after he had ſit three years, and about four months; after whom ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* the Third, of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Henry Son of Frederick, Emperor, to the Empire.

Pope Clement dieth. *Celeſtinus* the elded Pope.

Anno 1191.

The time thus paſſing over in the month of *February*, the next year following, which was of the Lord 1191, King *Richard* ſent over his Gallies to *Naples*, there to meet his Mother *Elenor*, and *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Sanchius* King of *Navar*, whom he was purpoſed to marry. Who by that time were come to *Brundiſium*, under the conduct of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, and ſo proceeding unto *Naples*, there found the Kings Ships, wherein they ſailed to *Meſſana*. In this mean ſpace King *Richard* ſhewed himſelf exceeding bounteous and liberal unto all men. To the *French* King firſt he gave divers Ships; upon others likewiſe he beſtowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treaſure he diſtributed largely unto his Souldiers and ſervants about him. Of whom it was reported that he diſtributed more in one month, than ever any of his Predeceſſors did in a whole year; by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular uſe and profit, as the ſequel afterward proved.

The boountiful liberality of King *Richard*.

To proceed then in the progreſs of King *Richard*, it followeth: In the firſt day of the month of *March*, he leaving the City of *Meſſana*, where the *French* King was, went to *Cathaniſenſium*, a City where *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia* then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King *Tancredus* three days and three nights. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart the forſaid *Tancredus* offered him many rich Preſents in Gold and Silver, and precious Silks; whereof King *Richard* would receive nothing, but one little Ring for a token of his good will. For the which King *Richard* again gave him a rich ſword. At length when King *Richard* ſhould take his leave, King *Tancredus* would not ſo let him part, but needs would give him four great Ships, and fifteen Gallies; and furthermore, he himſelf would needs accompany him the ſpace of two days journey to a place called *Tavernium*.

K. Richard ſayleth from *Meſſana*, and cometh to *Cathaniſenſium*.

The honorable entertainment of K. *Richard* by *Tancredus*.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leave, *Tancredus* declared unto him the meſſage which the *French* King a little before had ſent unto him by the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Contents whereof was this: *That the King of* England *was a falſe Traytor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the ſaid* Tancredus *would war againſt him, or ſecretly by night invade him, he with all his power would aſſiſt him, and joyn with him to the deſtruction of him and all his Army, &c.* To whom *Richard* the King proteſted again, that he was no Traytor, nor ever was; and as touching the peace begon between them, the ſame ſhould never be broken through him; neither could he believe that the *French* King, being his good Lord and his ſworn compartner in that Voyage, would utter any ſuch words by him. Which when *Tancredus* heard, he bringeth forth the Letters of the *French* King ſent to him by the Duke of *Burgundy*; affirming moreover, that if the Duke of *Burgundy* would deny the bringing of the ſaid Letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his Dukes. King *Richard* receiving the Letters, and muſing not a little upon the ſame, returneth again to *Meſſana*. The ſame day that King *Richard* departed, the *French* King cometh to *Tavernium* to ſpeak with *Tancredus*, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to *Meſſana* again.

Philip the *French* King traiterouſly ſeeketh the deſtruction of K. *Richard* by ſecret Letters ſent to the K. of *Sicilia*.

A faithful part of *Tancredus* K. of *Sicilia* towards K. *Richard*.

From that ſame time King *Richard* moved in ſtomack againſt King *Philip*, never ſhewed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont. Whereat the *French* King greatly marvelling, and inquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent him again by *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, what words he had ſent to the King of *Sicilia*; and for the teſtimony thereof the Letters were hewed which he wrote by the Duke of *Burgundy* to the King of *Sicilia*. Which when the *French* King underſtood, firſt he held his peace, as guilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to anſwer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King *Richard*, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to break with him, and to malign him, and therefore he forged theſe lyes (ſaid he) upon him, and all becauſe he by that means would void to marry with *Alice* his Siſter, according as he had promiſed: adding moreover, that if he would ſo do, and would not marry the faid *Alice* his Sister, according to his Oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his while he lived.

The firſt occaſion of diſcord between the *French* King and King *Richard*.

K. Richard quarrelleth with King *Richard* about marrying his ſiſter.

The *French* King quarrelleth with King *Richard*.

To

Castles alledged why K. Richard could not marry with the French Kings sister.

To this King *Richard* said again, that he could by no means marry that Woman, forsomuch as his Father had carnal copulation with her, and also had by her a Son: for proof whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers and sundry witnesses to the Kings face, to testifie with him. In conclution, through counsel and perswasion of divers about the *French* King, agreement at last was made; so that King *Philip* did acquit King *Richard* from his bond of marrying his sister; and King *Richard* again should be bound to pay to him every year, for the space of five years, two thousand Marks, with certain other conditions besides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being between them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the said month of *March*, the *French* King lanching out of the Haven of *Messana*, on the two and twentieth day after in *Easter* Week came with his Army to the Siege of *Achon*.

Agreement between the two Kings, with the conditions touching the same

The French K. cometh to *Achon*.

Berengaria, or as some do call her *Regera* daughter to the K. of *Navar* brought to be married to K. *Rich.*

After the departure of the *French* King from *Messana* (King *Richard* with his Army yet remaining behind) arrived Queen *Elenor* the Kings Mother, bringing with her *Berengera* the King of *Navar*'s Daughter, to be espoused to King *Richard*. Which done, *Elenor*, leaving *Berengera* behind her, departed, taking her journey toward *Rome*, to intreat the Pope for *Gaufridus* her other Son above mentioned, to be consecrated in the Archbishoprick of *York*, being before elected by the procurement of King *Richard* his Brother, as ye heard. In which time, as Queen *Elenor* was travelling toward *Rome*, Pope *Clement* above mentioned, died about the sixth day of *April*, in whose room succeeded Pope *Celestinus* the third. Who the next day after his Consecration came from *Laterans* to Saint *Peter*'s Church, where in the way meeteth him *Henricus* the Emperor, and *Constantia* his Wife, with a great rout of armed Souldiers; but the *Romans* making fast their Gates would not suffer them to enter their City. Then Pope *Celestine*, standing upon the Stairs before the Church door of St. *Peter*, received an Oath of the said *Henricus* King of the *Almains*, (his Army waiting without) that he should defend the Church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain justice; also that he should restore again the patrimony of S. *Peter* full and whole, whatsoever hath been diminished thereof; and finally, That he should surrender to the Church of *Rome* again the City of *Tusculanum*, &c. Upon these conditions and grants, then the Pope took him to the Church, and there anointed him for Emperor, and his Wife for Empress; who, there sitting in his Chair Pontifical, held the Crown of Gold between his feet, and so the Emperor, bowing down his head to the Popes feet, received the Crown, and in like manner the Empress also. The Crown thus being set upon the Emperors head, the Pope ctsoons with his foot struck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depose him again, in case he so deserved. Then the Cardinals taking up the Crown, set it upon his head again. *Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto anonymo, de gestis Richardi Regis, cui initium: Anno gratiæ, &c. Item ex alio vetustatis Chronico manuscripto, cui initium: Eneas cum Ascanio, &c.*

Pope Celestine the 3.

Conditions required of *Henricus* K. of *Almains*, before he should be made Emperor by the Pope.

The Pope striketh off the Emperors Crown with his foot.

Pope *Celestine* crowneth *Henricus* the Emperor with his feet.

Nor long after the departure of King *Philip* from *Messana*, which was in the Month of *March*, King *Richard* in *April* following, about the twentieth day of the said Month, sayling from the Haven of *Messana* with an hundred and fifty great Ships, and three and fifty great Gallies well manned and appointed, took journey towards *Achon*; who being upon the Seas on *Good-friday*, about the ninth hour rose a mighty South wind with a Tempest, which dispersed and scattered all his Navy, some to one place, and some to another. The King with a few Ships, was driven to the Isle of *Creta*, and there before the Haven of *Rhodes* cast Anchor. The Ship that carried the Kings Sister Queen of *Sicilia*, and *Berengera* the King of *Navar*'s Daughter, with two other Ships, were driven to the Isle of *Cyprus*. The King making great moan for the Ship of his Sister, and *Berengera* his Wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the Tempest was overblown, sent forth his Gallies diligently to search the rest of his Navy dispersed, but especially for the Ship wherein his Sister was, and the Maiden whom he should marry; who at length were found safe and merry at the Port of *Limsezem* in the Isle of *Cyprus*. Notwithstanding the two other Ships, which were in their company before in the same Haven, were drowned, with divers of the Kings servants, and Men of Worship, amongst whom was *M. Roger*, called *Malus Catulus*, the Kings Vice-chancellor, who was found having the Kings Seal hanging about his Neck. The King of *Cyprus* was then *Isakius* (called also the Emperor of the *Griffons*) who took and imprisoned all *Englishmen* which by Shipwrack were cast upon his Land: also inveigling into his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his Coasts, neither would suffer the Ship wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the Port.

K. Richard overtaken with a tempest on the Seas going to *Achon*.

Isakius K. peror of the cruel enemy to English.

The tidings of this being brought to King *Richard*, he in his great wrath, gathering his Gallies and Ships together, boarded the Land of *Cyprus*, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to King *Isakius*, how he with his *Englishmen*, coming as strangers to the supportation of the Holy Land, were by distress of Weather, driven upon his bounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalf, and for reverence of the Holy-Cross, to let go such Prisoners of his which he had in Captivity, and to restore again the Goods of them which were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoof of their souls, &c. And this the King, once, twice and thrice desired of the Emperor. But he, proudly answering again, sent the King word, that he would neither let the Captives go, nor render the Goods of them which were drowned, &c.

K. Richard maketh sute to the King of *Cyprus* for his Goods given him by tirany.

When King *Richard* heard this, how little the Emperor *Isakius* made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; eftsoons he giveth commandment through all his Host, to put themselves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge such injuries received of that proud and cruel King of *Cyprus*; willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but the Lord would stand with them, and give them the full Victory. The Emperor in the mean time, with his people, flood warding the Sea Coasts, where the *Englishmen* should arrive, with Swords, Bills and Launces, and such other Weapons as they had, setting Boards, Stakes and Chests before them instead of a Wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert, and unskilful in the feats of War. Then King *Richard* with his Souldiers, issuing out of their Ships, first set his Bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The *Englishmen*, thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely prossed upon the *Griffons*, that after long fighting, and many blows, at last the Emperor was put to flight; whom King *Richard* valiantly pursued, and slew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near also to have had the Emperor, had not the Night come on and parted the Battel. And thus King *Richard* with much spoil and great victory returning to the Port Town of *Limsezem*, which the Townsmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of Corn, Wine, Oyl and Victuals.

The difficult and grand approved Ile of *Cyprus* to K. Richard.

K. Richard fetcheth upon *Isakius* the Emperor of *Cyprus* and K. Richard.

The Town of *Limsezem* taken by K. Richard.

The same day after the Victory got, *Joan* the Kings Sister, and *Berengera* the Maiden entred the Port and Town of *Limsezem*, with fifty great Ships, and fourteen Galliots; so that all the whole Navy, there meeting together, were two hundred fifty four tall Ships, and above threescore Galliots. Then *Isakius* the Emperor, seeing no way for him to escape by the Sea, the same Night pitched his Tents five Miles off from the *English* Army, swearing that the third day after he would sure give Battel to King *Richard*. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the same morning before the day of Battel should be, fetteth upon the Tents of the *Griffons* early, they being unawares and asleep, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his Tents and Pavilions to the *Englishmen*, full of Horses and rich Treasure, also with the Imperial Standard, the lower part whereof, with a coftly Streamer was covered and wrought all with Gold. King *Richard* then returning with Victory and Triumph to his Sister, and *Berengera*, shortly after in the Month of *May* next following, and the twelfth day of the same Month, married the said *Berengera* Daughter of *Rancon* King of *Navar*, in the Isle of *Cyprus* at *Limsezem*.

The K. of *Cyprus* put to flight.

K. Richard marrieth *Berengera* Daughter of K. of *Navar* in the Isle of *Cyprus*.

The King of *Cyprus* seeing himself overmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions to give King *Richard* twenty thousand Marks in Gold, for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were

Isakius K. of *Cyprus* yeldeth himself to King *Richard*.

The King of *Cyprus* breaketh conditions with King Richard.

were drowned, also to restore all his Captives again to the King, and further more in his own person to attend upon the King to the Land of *Jerusalem*, in Gods service and his, with four hundred Horsmen, and five hundred Footmen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his Castles, and his only Daughter, and would hold his Kingdom of him. This done, and the Emperor swearing fidelity to King *Richard*, before *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, and the Prince of *Antioch* (who were come thither to King *Richard* a little before) Peace was taken, and *Isakius* was committed to the Ward of certain Keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he, breaking from his Keepers, was again at defiance with the King. Whereupon King *Richard*, besetting the Iland of *Cyprus* round about with Ships and Gallies, did in such fort prevail, that the Subjects of the Land were constrained to yield themselves to the King, and at length the Daughter also of the Emperor, and at last the Emperor himself, whom King *Richard* caused to be kept in Fetters of Silver and Gold, and to be sent to the City of *Tripolis*.

King of *Cyprus* again submitteth himself, and is kept in Golden Fetters.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Isle of *Cyprus*, the keeping whereof he committed unto *Raduiph*, Son of *Godfrey*, Lord Chamberlain, being then the first day of *June*; upon the fifth of the said month, King *Richard* departed from the Isle of *Cyprus*, with his Ships and Gallies towards the siege of *Achon*, and on the next morrow came unto *Tyrus*; where, by procurement of the *French* King, he was constrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of *June*, coasting the Seas, he met with a great Bark, fraught with Soldiers and Men of War, to the number of one thousand and five hundred; which pretending to be *French* men, and setting forth their Flag with the *French* Arms, were indeed *Saracens*, secretly sent with wild-fire and certain Barrels of unknown Serpents, to the defence of the Town of *Achon*. Which King *Richard* at length perceiving, eftsoons set upon them, and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive. Which being once known in the City of *Achon*, as it was a great discomfort unto them, so it was a great help unto the Christians for winning the City. The next day after, which was the fourth of *June*, King *Richard* came to *Achon*, which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whole coming it was not long, but the *Pagans* within the City seeing their Walls to be undermined, and Towers overthrown, were driven by compolition to escape with life and limb, to surrender the City unto the two Kings. Another great help to the Christians in winning the City was this: In the said City of *Achon* there was a secret Christian among the *Saracens*, who in time of the siege there, used at sundry times to cast over the Walls, into the Camp of the Christians, certain Bills written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, wherein he disclosed unto the Christians, from time to time, the doings and counsels of the Enemies, Advertising them how and by what way they should work, and what to bewave: and always his Letters began thus: *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* By reason whereof, the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heavines unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the City was got, could they ever understand who he was. *Ex Chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.*

A thousand and five hundred *Saracens* sent to the rescue of *Achon*, vanquished on the sea by King Richard.

The City of *Achon* yeelded to the Christians.

An honest part of a secret Christian in the City of *Achon*.

To make of a long Siege a short Narration, upon the twelfth day of *July* in the year aforesaid, the Princes and Captains of the *Pagans*, upon agreement, reforted unto the Tent of the Templars, to commune with the two Kings; touching Peace and giving up of their City: the form of which Peace was thus: That the Kings should have the City of *Achon* freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was within: and five hundred Captives of the Christians should be restored unto them, which were in *Achon*; also the holy Cross should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian Captives, with two hundred Horsmen, whosoever they themselves would chuse out of all them which were in the power of *Saladine*; over and besides they should give to the Kings, two hundred thousand Bisants, so that they themselves would remain as pledges in the Kings hands for the performance hereof; that if in forty days these foresaid Covenants were not accomplished, they would abide the Kings mercy touching life and limb. These Covenants being agreed upon, the Kings sent their Soldiers and Servants unto the City, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the City, to close them up in Towers under strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in Houses and Streets, minishing unto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be Baptized, and receive the Faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the *Pagans*, which for fear of Death pretended to be Baptized; but afterward, so soon as they could, revolted again to the *Saladine*. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be Baptized against their wills.

The form of Peace concluded between the Kings and the Princes of *Achon*.

Covenants made in giving up the City of *Achon*.

Religion would be taught and not coacted

The two Kings divide the City of *Achon* with all the goods therein, and set themselves.

Commonly seen, who so taketh the City, their part to be the Many of the Christian Soldiers for need were constrained to depart from *Achon*.

The K. of *Cyprus* his gift to King *Richard*.

The twentieth day of *July*, King *Richard*, speaking with the *French* King, desired him that they two with their Armies would bind themselves by Oath to remain there still in the Land of *Jerusalem* the space of three years, for the winning and recovering again of those Countries. But he would swear (he said) no such Oath: and so the next day after, King *Richard* with his Wife and Sister entreth into the City of *Achon*, and placed there himself in the Kings Palace, the *French* King remaining in the Houses of the Templars, where he continued till the end of the Month. So about the beginning of the month of *August*, *Philip* the *French* King, after that he and King *Richard* had made agreement between *Guido* and *Conradus* the Marquess, about the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, went from *Achon* to *Tyrus*; notwithstanding King *Richard* and all the Princes of the Christian Army with great intreaty desired him to tarry; shewing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of *August* from *Tyrus* he departed, leaving his half part of the City of *Achon* in the hands of the foresaid *Conradus*, Marquess. After whose departure the *Pagans* refused to keep their Covenants made; who neither would restore the holy Cross, nor the Mony, nor their Captives; sending word to King *Richard*, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at *Achon*, they would chop off the heads of such Captives of the Christians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the *Saladine*, sending great gifts to King *Richard*, requested the times limited for beheading of the Captives to be Prorogued; but the King refused to take his gifts, and to grant his requeil. Whereupon the *Saladine* caused all the Christian Captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of *August*. Which albeit King *Richard* understood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the Execution of his Prisoners, being the twentieth of *August*. Upon which day he caused the Prisoners of the *Saracens*, openly in the sight of the *Saladines* Army, to lose their heads: the number of whom came to 2500, save only that certain of the principal of them he referred for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Cross, and certain others of the Christian Captives.

Christian Captives taken by the *Saladine*.

The *Saracens* Captives slain by K. *Richard*.

After this, King *Richard* purposed to besiege the City of *Joppe*; where, by the way between *Achon* and *Joppe*, near to a Town called *Assur*, *Saladine* with a great multitude of his *Saracens* came fiercely against the Kings rearward: but through Gods Merciful Grace, in the same Battel the Kings Warriors acquitted them so well, that the *Saladine* was put to flight (whom the Christians pursued the space of three Miles) and left the same day many of

The *Saladine* put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by King *Richard* against the Saracens.

his Nobles and Captives, in such sort (as it was thought) that the *Saladine* was not put to such confusion forty years before: and but one Christian Captain, called *James Avernus*, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King *Richard*, proceeding further, went to *Joppe*, and then to *Ascalon*, where he found first the City of *Joppe* forsaken of the *Saracens*, who durst not abide the Kings coming. *Ascalon* the *Saladine* threw down to the ground, and likewise forsook the whole Land of *Syria*; through all which Land the King had free passage without resistance, neither durst the *Saracen* Prince incounter after that with King *Richard*. Of all which his atchievances the said King *Richard* sent his Letters of Certificate as well into *England*, as also to the Abbot of *Clara Valle* in *France*; well hoping that he (God willing) should be able to make his repair again to them by *Easter* next.

King Richard in possession of *Syria*.

A brief Story of William *Bishop of* Ely, *the Kings Chancellor.*

The story of William the proud Bishop of Ely.

AND now to leave King *Richard* a while in the field, let us make a step into *England*, and look a little what is done at home while the King was abroad, and so return to the King again. Ye heard before how King *Richard*, at his setting forth, committed the Government of the Realm to *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and to *William* Bishop of *Ely*, so that to the Bishop of *Durham* was committed the keeping of the Castle of *Windsor*. The other, which was the Bishop of *Ely*, had the keeping of the Tower of *London*, about which he caused a great Ditch with a Rampire to be cast, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two Bishops the King also affigned four other Chief Justices, which joyntly with them should have the hearing and oversight of all causes, as well to the Clergy as to the Laity appertaining: to wit, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marshal*, *Geofrey Peterson*, and *William Brewer*. But the Bishop of *Ely* was the principal, or at least he that took most upon him: who both was the Kings Chancellor, and bought with his money to be the Popes Legate through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, as is before specified. Touching the excessive pride and pomp of which Bishop his ruffings outragious, and fall most shameful, it would make a long Tragedy to discourse the whole circumstances at full: only to demonstrate certain specialities thereof for our present purpose, it may suffice.

Ut juste judicarent celestia, terrena & pessima, verba hist.

Four Chief Justices with two Bishops appointed overseers of the Realm in the Kings absence.

William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor and the Popes Legate.

First, This *William* called *Longchamp*, being thus advanced by the King to be his High Chancellor, and Chief Justice of the Realm, and also the Popes Legate, to shew abroad the authority of his Legateship, began to suspend the Canons, Clerks, and Vicars of the Church of S. *Peter* in *York*, because they received him not with procession: under which interdiction he held them, till they were fain at last both Canons, Clerks and Vicars to fall down at his feet, cauling all their Bells to be let down out of the Steeple.

The Church and Bells of York suspended, because the Lord Legate was not met in with procession.

After this cometh *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, whom the King sent home out of *Normandy* with his Letters; who, meeting with the aforesaid *William* Bishop of *Ely* in the Town of *Ely*, shewed him the Kings Letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, and to be the Kings Justice from the River of *Humber* to the borders of *Scotland*. To the which Letters the Chancellor answered, That the Kings commandment should be done, and so brought him with him to *Swavel*; where he took him and kept him fast, till he was forced at last to surrender to him the Castle of *Windsor*, and other things which the King had committed to his custody; and moreover he was constrained to leave with the said Chancellor, *Henry de Puteaco* his own Son, and *Gilbert Leie*, for Pledges and Hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the King and Realm. And thus the bishop of *Durham*, being set at liberty, went to his Town of *Hoveden*; where after he had made his abode a few days, cometh thither *Osbert Longchamp* the Chancellors Brother, and *William Stutivil*, with a great Company of Armed Men sent by the Chancellor to apprehend him. But the said Bishop of *Durham*, putting in Sureties not to depart that Town without licence of the King and of the Chancellor, there still remained till he got Letters to be sent to the King, signifying how he was used. Whereupon the King writing his Letters from *Marsilia* to the Bishop of *Ely*, set the said Bishop of *Durham* free, and confirmed to him all the Possessions and Grants that he before had given him.

Bishop of Ely spreth the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishop of Durham. *Hugo* Bishop of Durham served *William* Bishop of Ely.

It is almost incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused himself, after the Kings departure into *Syria*, in excess of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the Kings Subjects. First his fellow Justices, whom the King joined with him for Government of the Realm, he utterly rejected and refused to hear their counsel, repating none to be equal with him in all the Realm. Neither was he contented with the authority of a Prelate, but played both King and Priest in the Realm. All Castles, Lordships, Abbies, Churches, and all other Appropriations belonging to the right of the King, he claimed to himself. And by vertue of his Legateship, when he came to any Bishops House, Abby, Priory, or any other Religious House, he brought with him such a superfluity of Men, Horses, Dogs, and Hawks, that the House was the worse for it three years after. For commonly he rode never under 1500 Horses, of Chaplains, Priests, and other Serving-men waiting upon him. From the Clergy and Laity he took away their Churches, their Vowsons, their livings and lands, to bestow upon his Nephews and other waiting Chaplains to serve his vain glory; or else converted them to his own use, to maintain his pomp and vanity. In getting and gathering of Treasures he had no measure; in mis-pending the same he kept no order. And that no vice should be wanting where such avarice taketh root, the money, which he wrongfully got, he committed to the Bank to be increased by usury. What wantonness and lasciviousness was used in that so riotous life, the stories do shame to declare it. All ruffianly Runagates, idle bellies, and light persons, whereso ever he went, hanged upon his Court. To increase the vain jollity of this Royal Prelate, there was lacking no kind of musical instruments and melodious noise, to refresh belike his wearied senses, too much beaten and macerated with continual labor and study of Hunting, Hawking and Gaming; of Preaching and Reading I should have said.

The excessive pride and extortion of William Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Ely never rode under 1500 Horse.

His Vanity.

His Usury.

His riotous and dissolute life.

Briefly, this foresaid Prelate, bearing the authority both of the King and of the Pope, kept such a stir in *England*, that the whole Realm was at his beck, with Cap and Knee crouching to him; neither durst any Man, rich or poor displease him, yea none in all the Realm so noble or worshipful, but was glad to please him, accounting themselves happy if they might stand in his favor. At his Table all Noble-mens Children did serve and wait upon him, with whom he coupled in Marriages his Niece and Kinswomen. And when any, that stood waiting before him, durst once cast up his eyes, or did not demurely look downward upon the ground, he had a staff in his hand with a prick, wherewith he used to prick them; learning, belike, by the Carter his Father, which used at the Plough or Cart to drive his Oxen. Furthermore, as Kings use to have their Guard about them, so he because he would not also be unguarded, refusing Men of the *English* Nation, had his Waiters and Warders most of *Frenchmen* and *Flemmings*.

The Bishop of Ely plays both King and Priest.

The cruel handling of *Geofrey*, Archbishop of York, by the Bishop of Ely at the Popes Legate and Chancellor of England.

William Bishop of Ely guarded with *French* men and *Flemings*.

Geofrey Archbishop of York delivered out of prison by command-ment of Earl *John* his Brother.

It hapned after this, in the year 1191. that a great difcord rose between *John* Earl of *Morton* the Kings Brother, with other States of the Realm, and the said *William* Bishop of *Ely*; so that universally they all wrote over to the King concerning the misgovernment and enormities of the said Bishop. Who, understanding of the case, sent from *Messana* into *England*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Rome*, and *William Marshal* Earl, unto the Bishop of *Ely* with Letters, commanding him that in all his doings he should affociate unto him the Archbishop of *Rone*, *William Marshal*, *Geofrey Peterson*, *William Bruer*, and *Hugo Bardolf* above mentioned. Who when they came into *England*, durst not deliver their Letters, dreading the displeasure of the Chancellor, for he despised all the commandments of the King, nor would suffer any fellow to joyn with him in his Kingdom.

A Parliament holden at *Oxford* 1191.

Agreement compleat to the King of William Bishop of *Ely*.

A skirmish between the servants of the Bishop of Ely, and the servants of Earl *John*.

Hitherto have you heard of the glorious vanity of this Lordly Legate and Chancellor of the Realm: now ye shall hear of his shameful fall, after his shameless exaltation. For shortly after this followeth an other breach between the said Earl *John* the Kings Brother and him, about the besieging of the Castle of *Lincoln*. Concerning the which Castle the said *John* sent him word, that unless he raised his Siege the sooner from thence, he would send him away by force of sword. The Bishop, either not able to make his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best to fall to some composition with the Earl, and so did. In which composition,

Another dissension between the Kings Brother, and William Bishop of Ely.

The Nobles assembled in Council against the the Bishop Ely.

composition, he was contented against his will, by mediation of divers Bishops and others, to make surrender not only of the Castle of *Lincoln*, but also of *Nottingham*, of *Tickhil*, *Wallingford*, and many more, which were then committed to the custody of sundry Men of worship and honour. And thus was that Controversie agreed, wherein the Bishop of *Ely* began a little to be cut shorter.

If followed then not long after in the same years, that another like business began to kindle between *Geofrey* the Archbishop of *York* the Kings Brother, and the aforesaid glorious Bishop of *Ely* upon this occasion. Ye heard before how the King, at his setting out, left order that Earl *John* and *Geofrey* his Brethren should not enter into the Realm the space of three years after his departure (howbeit his Brother *John* was shortly after released of that bond) and also after that, how King *Richard*, being at *Messana*, sent his Mother *Elenor* to the Pope for his Brother *Geofrey* (elected before to the Sea of *York*) to be Consecrated Archbishop. Whereupon the said *Geofrey* being Consecrated through licence of Pope *Celestine* by the Archbishop of *Tarons*; the said *Geofrey*, effoons after his Consecration, deferred no time, but would needs come into *England*. Whereof the Bishop of *Ely* having intelligence, sent him word being at *Wisland* in *Flanders*, not to presume to adventure into the Realm, contrary to his oath made to King *Richard* before; commanding moreover, that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which notwithstanding, the Archbishop letted not for all that, but needs would repair to his See, and so arrived at *Dover* in the month of *September*, where the Chancellors Men stood on the Sea side to apprehend him; but he by changing his Apparel, and swittneſs of his Horſe, escaped their hands, and came to the Monks House of *Dover*: But the Chancellors Men, whom he sent to take him, befet the Church of the Monks round about, so that in no wise he cold avoid their hands.

Another broil between the Archbishop of *York* and the Kings Brother.

To make the story short: as the Archbishop on a day, when he had said Mass, was standing at the Altar, with his Garments yet about him, the rude Souldiers having little good manners, and less devotion, spared not boldly to rush into the Church, and there laid hands upon the Archbishop as he stood; took him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire, and (as we use to say) through thick and thin, and so committed him to *Matthew Clark* their Constable to be kept: whereat the people greatly disdained, seeing him that was a Kings Son, and the Brother of a King, so to be intreated: The hearing whereof, when it came to the ears of Earl *John* his Brother, he being not a little offended therewith, sent to know of the Chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the Chancellor sent answer again, and stoutly confessed the fact to be his; then the Earl sent commandment that his Brother should be delivered, and so he was. Who, then coming to *London*, made his complaint to the Earl his Brother, and to other Nobles of the Realm of the injuries done to him by the Chancellor. Whereupon the Earl sent for the foresaid Chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appear before the whole body of the Council, to make answer to such Injuries as he had done, both to the Archbishop of *York*, and also to the Bishop of *Durham* above mentioned. But the Chancellor, driving off the time with delays, would neither come nor send. Then the Earl, with the Bishops about him, made their journey towards *London*, to have the matter there handled in a great audience.

The Chancellor seeing that, withdrew himself from *Windsor* to the City of *London*, where by the way it happned that the servants of the Earl and of the Chancellor meeting, did skirmish together. In which fray one of the Earls Family was slain, but yet his Men had the better: and the Chancellor with his Men were put to flight, and so fled to the Tower, where they did hide themselves. The next day after (which was about the twelfth day of *October*) Earl *John* the Kings Brother, and the Archbishop of *Rone*, with all the Bishops, Earls and Barons, and Citizens of *London* Assembled together in *Pauls* Church; where many and great accusations were laid against the said Chancellor; so that in fine it was agreed in that Assembly, That the said Chancellor should be deposed; and in his place was substituted the Archbishop of *Rone*, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters sent from *Messana*; which was, That certain other persons should be associated with the Chancellor for the Government of the Realm; by wose Counsel if he would not be directed, the Archbishop of *Rone* should be set in his place, and he to be deposed. The third day after this, the Chancellor firmly promised not to depart out of the Realm before he had delivered out of his hands all such Castles, the keeping whereof he committed to certain Foreigners and strangers: and for assurance thereof he gave his two Brethren and Chamberlain for Pledges, and so went to *Canterbury*; where he said he would take the Cross of a Pilgrim, and leave the Cross of his Legateship.

The Bishop of *Ely* chancellor of the Realm and Legate, deposed.

The Bishop of *Ely* resigneth his Castles.

Now when he was come to the Castle of *Dover*, and there had remained a few days, contrary to his promise made, his purpose was to take Ship, and to pass over the Seas. And because he durst not do it openly, he devised a new kind of disguising, decking himself in the apparel of a Woman; and so, as gowty as he was, he went to the Sea side in his Womans weed, having in his hand a Meetyard, and on his arm a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was sitting upon a rock, waiting for his Ship to come and convey him over, a certain Fisher-man espying him, and supposing him to be an Harlot, came to him, and (as with shrugling with him, found him as he was indeed to be a Man, in likeness of a Woman: whereat he wondered and began to make an out-cry upon him. But the Bishops servants being not far off, came running and stilled him as well as they could.

The Bishop of *Ely* disguised himself in Womans Apparel.

A Fisherman taketh the Bishop of Ely to be a Woman.

The Fither-man then going to the next Village, and there belike declaring what he had seen, to try out the matter further, came out certain Women, who seeing the linnen cloth hanging on his arm, began to question with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it: but to this he would answer never a word, but smiled upon them. Whereat they mufing with themselves, and whispering one with another, at last with their hands were so bold as to pluck down his muffler, and there by his beard new shaven found him indeed to be a Man; and so with a loud exclamation raised the Village upon him, and would have fallen upon him with stones. Then came running a great multitude both of Men and Women; who, wondering at him, as Birds are wont at an Owl, laid hands upon him, and pluckt him down to the ground, haling and drawing him by the sleeves and collar of his Gown through stones and rocks, whereby he was shrewdly hurt. His Servants once or twice made out to refcue their old Master, or new Mistris, but could not for the prese of the people; who, beating him with their fists, and spitting at him, drew him thorow the whole Town, and so with shame enough at length laid him in a dark Cellar instead of a prison, at whom all the Country about wondred and cryed out. In conclusion, Earl *John*, hearing thereof, within eight days after them set at liberty, and they should deliver him and let him go.

The Bishop is apparel found to be a man.

Bolted of women by the Sea side.

Cast into a dark Cellar instead of a Prison.

Set at liberty by Earl of *Morton*.

The Bishop, then set at liberty, failed over as he could to *Flanders*, where he had but cold welcoming: from thence he went to *Paris*, where he gave *Mauricius* their Bishop threescore Marks of silver to be received in with Procession, and so he was. Then returned he into *Normandy*. But the Archbishop of *Rone* there gave commandment that the Church doors should be locked, and no Service said so long as he there remained. The Bishop seeing that, directed his Letters and Messengers to Pope *Celestine*, and also to King *Richard* into *Syria*, signifying to them how *John* the Earl of *Morton* and his complices had handled him, and expulsed him out of the Realm: requiring that he might be restored again to that was taken from him, and also offering himself to be tryed by the Law for that he had done; so that if the King should dislike in any thing that he had done, he was ready to satisfie the Kings contentation in all things wherein justly he could be charged.

The Bishop refuseth to be received with Procession.

The Bishop complaineth to the King and Pope.

Upon this, Pope *Celestine*, inflamed with an Apostolical zeal in the behalf of the said Bishop of *Ely* his Legate, wrote a sharp and thundering Letter to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of *England*; commanding them by his Authority Apostolical, That forsomuch as the injuries done to his Legate, did redound to the contumely of the whole mother Church of *Rome*, they should not fail therefore, but with severe Censures of the Church, that is, with Book, Bell, and Candle, proceed as well against the said *John* Earl of *Morton*, as also all other whosoever had, or

The Letter of Pope *Celestine* in the behalf of the Bishop of Ely his Legate.

ſhould attempt any violence or injury againſt the ſaid his Legate the Biſhop of *Ely*, with no leſs ſeverity than if the ſaid injury ſhould be offered to the perſon of the Pope himſelf, or any other of his Brethren the Cardinals, *&c.*

The Biſhop of *Ely* hold upon the Popes favour.

The Biſhop of *Ely* bold upon the Popes favour. The Biſhop of *Ely* appointed to be Excommunicated.

The Biſhop of *Ely* complaineth to the King of the Earl of *Morton* his Brother.

The names of many which ſtood againſt the Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* and the Archbiſhop of *Rome*.

Strife between the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Archbiſhop of *Rome*.

Pope *Celeſtine* ſtandeth in execution of the Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* with the Kings Letters cometh again into *England*.

What diſcord doth.

The French King returneth from *Paleſtine*.

The French King returneth from *Paleſtine*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* bold upon the Popes favour. The Biſhop of *Ely* appointed to be Excommunicated.

The Biſhop of *Ely* complaineth to the King of the Earl of *Morton* his Brother.

The names of many which ſtood againſt the Biſhop of *Ely*, appointed to be Excommunicated

was royally received, and Truce concluded between him and the *French* King for a time. And thither came to him the Earl of *Flanders*, and all other Lords of *France* that were of King *Richard*'s band and friendship, and were Sworn unto him.

Arthur of Britain.

Not long after this, *Philip* the *French* King made *Arthur* Knight, and took his Homage for *Normandy*, *Britain*, and all other his possessions beyond the Sea, and promised him help against King *John*. After this, King *John* and the *French* King talked together with their Lords about one hours space; and the *French* King asked so much Land for himself and Knight *Arthur*, that King *John* would grant him none, and so he departed in wrath.

A communication between the King of *England* and the *French* King.

The same Year a Legate came into *France*, and commanded the King, in pain of interdiction, to deliver one *Peter* out of Prison, that was elect to a Bishoprick; and thereupon he was delivered.

And after that the Legate came into *England*, and commanded King *John*, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the Archbishop whom he had kept as Prisoner two Years; which the King denied to do, till he had paid him six thousand Marks; because he took him in harness in a Field against him, and Sware him upon his deliverance, That he should never wear Harness against any Christian man.

This time Divorce was made between King *John* and his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *Glocester*, because they were in the third degree of kindred. And after, by the counsel of the *French* King, King *John* wedded *Isabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Anguilla*: and then *Arthur* of *Britain* did homage to King *John* for *Britain* and others.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden by the Pope.

{ Anno 1200 } At this time fell strife between King *John* and *Geffery* the Archbishop of *York*, for divers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the Sheriff of *York*, in such affairs as he had to do for the King within his Diocese. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said Sheriff. Thirdly, because he would not fail with him into *Normandy*, to make the Marriage between *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, and his Neece, *&c.*

{ Anno 1202 } After this, in the Year of our Lord 1202, *Philip* the *French* King (in a communication between King *John* and him) required that the said King *John* should part with all his Lands in *Normandy* and *Pictavia* which he had beyond the Sea, unto *Arthur* his Nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would War against him; and so he did. For when King *John* denied that request, the next day following, the *French* King, with the said *Arthur*, set upon certain of his Towns and Castles in *Normandy*, and put him to much disquietnes. But he (the Lord so providing, which is the giver of all victory) had such repulse at the *English* mens hands, that they, pursuing the *Frenchmen* in their flight, did so follow them in their hold, and so inforced upon them, that not only they took the said *Arthur* Prisoner, with many other of the *French* men, but also gave such an overthrow to the rest, that none was there left to bear tidings home. This *Arthur* was Nephew to King *John*, and Son to *Geffrey* which was the elder Son to *John*. For King *Henry* the second (to make the matter more evident) had eight Children: one *William*, which died in his childhood; the second, *Henry*, which died also, his Father being yet alive; the third, *Geffrey*, Earl of *Britain*, which likewise deceased in his Fathers days, leaving behind him two Children, *Arthur* and *Brecca*; the fourth, *Richard Coeur de lion*, King; the fifth, *John*, now reigning; and three other Daughters besides. The same *Arthur*, being thus taken in War, was brought before the King, at the Castle of *Falaise* in *Normandy*; who, being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the *French* King, and to incline to his Uncle, answered again stoutly, and with great indignation; requiring the Kingdom of *England*, with all the other Dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the Lawful Heir of the Crown. By reason whereof, he (provoking the Kings displeasure against him) was sent to the Tower of *Rome*, where at length (whether by leaping into the Ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other privy hand, or by what chance else it is not yet agreed upon in stories) he finished his life. By occasion whereof, the foresaid King *John* was had after in great suspition; whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.

Not Patents in vita Fœnis Regis.

Arthur.

The Year following, Historiographers write, That King *John*, for lack of refuse, lost all his Holds and Possessions in *Normandy*, through the force of the *French* King.

After these losses, came other troubles upon him, with others as great or more great enemies (that is, with the Pope and his popelings) by occasion of chusing of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; as in this History following, by Christ his Grace is to be declared.

The Year of our Lord 1205, about the Month of *July*, *Hubert* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased; whose decease after it was in *Canterbury* to the Monks known, and afore his Body was yet committed to the Earth; the younger fort of the Monks there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior *Reginald*, and without the Kings license, or any knowledge, privily placed him in the Metropolitical Seat, singing *Te Deum* at midnight. And because the King should not make their election void, they charged him by vertue of his Oath to keep all secret by the way, and to shew nothing what was done before he came to the Pope: but he contrary to his Oath, so soon as he came into *Flanders*, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counsel: whereupon the Monks, being not a little grieved with him, sent him privily unto the Court of *Rome* out of hand. The next day the elder Monks sent to the King, desiring him of his gracious license Canonically to chuse their Archbishop. The King most gently and favourably granted their Petition; requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would shew favour to *John Gray*, then Bishop of *Norwich*, as they did indeed, erecting him into that See of their high Primacie. Moreover, because the Authority of Kings and Princes was then but small in their own Dominion, without the Popes consent and confirmation to the same: he sent also to *Rome* of his own charges to have the foresaid election ratified by the Pope. The Suffragans of *Canterbury* then (being not a little offended at these two Elections) sent speedily to *Rome* to have them both stopped; for that they had not been of counsel with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

{ Anno 1205 } Striving for the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

¶ In this Year the Clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their Charge, and thereby incensed the Kings displeasure so fore against them, that he took order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty: as shall appear more manifestly by that which followeth.

A Letter of *King John*, touching the Lands and Goods of such Clerks as refuse to celebrate Divine Service.

Tertii Lod. Some think that *Florilegium publicatis Feminensibus* but *false* is rather thought to be meant thereby, for the Apostle.

R*Ex omnibus de Episcopatu Lincolniæ clericis & laicis, salutem. Sciatis quod a die lunæ proxime ante Floridum paschatis commisimus*, &c.

In English:

The King to all Clerks and Lay people within the Bishoprick of Lincoln, *Greeting: Know ye that from* Monday *next before the Feast of* Easter, *we have committed to* William *of* Cornhill, *Archdeacon of* Huntington, *and to* Joseline *of* Canvil, *all the Lands and Goods of the Abbats and Priors, and of all the Religious Persons; and also of all Clerks within the Bishoprick of* Lincoln, *which will not from that time celebrate Divine Service. And we command you, that from thence you assist them as our Bailiffs; and believe them in those things which they shall tell you privately on our behalf. Witnes our self at* Clarendon *the Eighteenth day of* March, *in the Ninth Year of our Reign.*

{ Anno 1206 } Prelates of the church had then Money enough before them, that they could keep play at Rome against their Priors, which thing caused the Princes after to seek such means to cut them short.

The like was written to all within the Bishoprick of *Ely*. So that hereby we see the dissolutenes and wilfulnes of those Popish Church-men, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little move, as that they thought upon nothing less, sith the King was driven to use such austerity and sharpnes against them. But to proceed in this troublesome Election you shall understand, that the next Year after, the Suffragans of the Province of *Canterbury* on the one side, and the Monks of *Canterbury* on the other side, came afore the Pope with their brawling matter. First the Monks, presenting *Reginald* their superior, desired that their Election might be confirmed. The Suffragans likewise complained that the Monks would presume to chuse the Archbishop without their consent, and therefore delired by divers reasons the first Election to be of none effect. The Pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the Monks: charging the Suffragans and Bishops to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone. The Monks of *Canterbury*, now having the whole Election in their own hands, fell also at square among themselves, the younger fort with the elder. The younger fort, which had chosen *Reginald* their superior, would that Election to stand. The elder sort of the Monks replied again, saying, That the first Election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsel of other Monks. Over and besides, it was done without the Kings license, and appointment, and without due solemnity thereunto belonging.

{ Anno 1207 } Division amongst the Monks of Canterbury about the election of the Archbishop.

And as concerning our Election (said they) it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our Liege Lord the King; and his Council being willing to the same.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Suffragans Proctor or man of Law stood forth, and proved the former Election to be good; and this later to be void and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first Election (saith he) were just or unjust, ye ought first by the Law to have condemned it afore ye should have presumed to the second; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your later doing no Election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many frivolous allegations a long time, and could not agree upon one person; Pope *Innocent* condemned both their Elections, commanding them to chuse *Stephen Langton*, then Cardinal of St. *Chrisogon*, for their Archbishop. The Monks then anfwered, That they durst not so do without consent of their King, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient Liberties. The Pope by and by (saith the text) as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, said thus unto them: We will you to know, That we have full power and authority over the Church of *Canterbury*; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of Princes, therefore we command you, in pain of our great curse, that ye chuse him only whom we have appointed.

The pride and tyranny of the Pope.

The Monks at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang *Te Deum*. Only Doctor *Helias Bramfield* withdrew himself from that Election; whom the King had sent for the admission of the Bishop of *Norwich*.

Thus was *Stephen Langton* (in the high Church of *Vterby*, by the Popes hand) made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Stephen Langton made Archbishop of Canterbury.

¶ This Election thus past with the Popes grace and favour, the said *Stephen* had in *England*, among others that solicited his cause to the King, a brother named Master *Simon Langton*, who in tract of time also became Archbishop of *York*, as appeareth in the course of this Story, in the Reign of *Henry* the third, *An.* 1228. In this behalf the King seemed tractable; so he might have his Sovereignty entire. Against the which, because the said *Stephen* had vowed to oppose himself, and the King misliked such demeanor; he sent abroad his Letters certificatory about the Realm: therein giving intimation to all people of proud *Stephen Langton*'s countenance. The form of the said Letters followeth:

Letters certificatory of King *John*, touching the contumacy of *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Popes Election.

Tertii Lod.

R*Ex omnibus hominibus*, &c. *Sciatis quod magister Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurii proxime ante mediam quadragesimæ*, &c.

In English.

The King to all men, &c. *Know ye that Master* Simon Langton *came to us at* Winchester, *on the* Wednesday *next before* Mid-lent, *and in presence of our Bishops beseought us that we would receive his Brother, Master* Stephen Langton, *to be Archbishop of* Canterbury. *And when we spake unto him touching the reservation and saving of our Dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no such thing for us, unless we would wholly rely our selves upon his courtesie and gentleness. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf: and we charge you, that you believe those things which* Reginald *of* Cornhil *shall tell you on our part, touching the aforesaid Deed between us and the Bishops abovenamed*, &c. *Witnes the King at* Winchester, *the fourteenth day of* March, *in the ninth year of his reign.*

Now, albeit the King took indignation at this proceeding in the Election of *Stephen*, yet from thenceforth (saith *Matthew Paris*) the Pope could do no less but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his own dear Darling, and a Child of his own creation.

Furthermore, upon this occasion King *John* conceived an exceeding displeasure against the Clergy and Monks of *Canterbury* (as he had good cause) they doing so many evils against his Princely Prerogative. Without his License they Elected their Archbishop, and put by the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his Treasure for the Wars and, to bring all to the Divel, they made *Stephen Langton* their high Metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous Enemy to the whole Realm; being always so familiar with the *French* King. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the Land, to the number of threescore and four, for this their contumacy, and contempt of his Regal Power.

The Monks of *Canterbury* thus being expulsed, the King forthwith sendeth Messengers to the Pope with his Letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the Pope for his Confederating *Stephen Langton* with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The King doth expostulate with the Pope for Confederating *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of Canterbury.

Also (which is more) for that it redounded to the Subversion and Derogation of the Liberties appertaining to his Crown: for notwithstanding his consent past (being before of the Monks, not made privy, which should have so done) yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marvel (he saith) enough, that neither the said Pope, nor the Court of *Rome*, doth consider and revolve with themselves, how necessary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the See of *Rome*; and that they consider not what great profit and revenews have proceeded hitherto to them out of the Realm of *England*; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other Country besides on this side the *Alpes*. He addeth moreover, and saith, that for his Liberties he will stand (if need be) unto Death, neither can he be so removed and shaken off from the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, which he seeth to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying, That in case in this his requeit he be not heard, he will so provide by the Seas that there shall be no such gadding and courting any more over to *Rome*, suffering the Riches of the Land no more to be transported over, whereby he should be himself the less able to relift his Enemies. And seeing he hath of his own at home, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church (both of *English*men and of others) sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he shall not need greatly to seek for judgment and justice further abroad.

When these came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth Letters again to the King in this form:

The Popes Letters to the suffering and Princes.

INnocentius, Pope, *servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved Son in Christ, the King of* England, *health, and Apostolical blessing. Whereas we have written to* King John. *you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an honnable, diligent, and gentle sort (concerning the Church of* Canterbury) *you have written to us again after a threatning sort and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we more, and above that our right and duty required, have born and given to you: you again for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your Devotion, as you say, hath been to us very necessary, yet*

It is pity but this voice should be honoured of Kings and Princes.

yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such like cases have not shewed at any time the like honour to any Prince as we have unto you; you again have so much derogated our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to do besides you alone; pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the Election of Stephen Langton, *Cardinal of St.* Chrysogonus, *chosen by the Monks of* Canterbury; *for that the said* Stephen *(as you say) hath been conversant and brought up amongst your Enemies, and his person is to you unknown. But you know what is the Proverb of* Solomon: The Net is cast, but in vain in the sight of the flying Birds, *&c.*

A sinful cause that a King cannot constitute an Archbishop within his own Realm, whom he most liketh.

With much other matter in the same *Epistle*, wherein he falleth into the commendation of *Stephen Langton* his Cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the Liberal Arts, and in Divinity, in so much that he was Prebendated at *Paris*; also come of an honest stock, and an *English* man born, and not unknown to the King, seeing the King had written his Letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreover in the said Letter, how the Messengers of the King had specified to him another cause; which was, for that the Monks of *Canterbury*, which had to do in the Election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreover in the said Letter, how the said Messengers of the King intreated in the Kings behalf, that forasmuch as the Popes Letters (wherein the King was commanded to send his Procters to *Rome* for the same matter) came not to the Kings hand, neither did the Monks direct any such Letters or Message to the King to have his consent; therefore the Pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the Kings honour, that the Monks of *Canterbury* should not proceed without the Kings assent therein. And forasmuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, That he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his Letters and Messengers once or twice to the King for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the See Apostolick (who had the fulness of power over the Church of *Canterbury*) to wait for Princes consents in such Elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting up his Letter, he thus concludeth in these words:

And therefore seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tarry for the Kings favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the Canonical Ordinances of the holy Fathers shall direct us; that is (all impediments and delaies set aside) so to provide that the Church of Canterbury *be not any longer destitute of her Pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that for so much as this Election of* Stephen Langton *hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meet for the same; therefore we will for no mans pleasure, neither may we without danger of same and of conscience defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said Election. Wherefore my well-beloved Son, seeing we have had respect to your honour, above that our right and duty required, study to honour us so much as your duty requireth again, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at Gods hand and ours; lest that by doing the contrary, you bring your self into such a peck of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid your self of again. For this know for a certain: in the end it must needs fall out, that he shall have the better, unto whom every knee (of Heavenly, Earthly, and Infernal creatures) doth bow, whose turn I serve in Earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not your self to obey their persuasions, which always desire your unquietness, whereby they may fish the better in the Water when it is troubled; but commit your self to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turn to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the Church; in whose quarrel that blessed Martyr, and glorious Bishop,* Thomas *hath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your Father and your Brother of famous memory, then Kings of* England, *did give over those three wicked customs into the hands of the Legates of the See Apostolick. But if you yield your self humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward. Given at* Lateran *the tenth year of our Popedome.*

Note the proceedings of this ambitious Pope.

The Bishop he meaneth.

Thus hath thou (gentle Reader) the glorious Letter of the proud Pope; I beseech thee mark it well. Now to the Story.

After this Letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment sent into *England*, unto certain Bishops there, requiring them by authority Apostolical, That if the said King would not receive the said Prior of *Canterbury*, and his Monks, then they should Interdict him throughout all his Realm. For the executing whereof four Bishops were appointed by the usurped Power of the Popes Bulls: namely, *William*, Bishop of *London*; *Eustace*, Bishop of *Ely*; *Walter*, Bishop of *Winchester*; and *Giles*, Bishop of *Hereford*. Which said four Bishops went unto the King, and shewed their Commission from the Pope, as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, *&c.* But the said King refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his Grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the said general Interdiction through out all *England*, so that the Church-doors were shut up with Keys, and other fastenings, and with Walls, *&c.*

Four Bishops appointed to interdict the Realm.

England horribly vexed by the Pope.

Now when the King heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and took all the possessions of the four Bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the Livings of the Clergy throughout the Realm, and that they should injoy no part thereof. Which being done, the Bishops (seeing the same) curfed all them that kept, or should meddle with Church Goods, against the will of them that ought them: and understanding, for all that, that the King nothing regarded their doings, they went over Sea to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them again to return to *Canterbury*, and he would come thither to them, or else send certain persons thither in his stead, that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the Bishops heard this, they returned again to *England*, to *Canterbury*; which tidings came shortly to the King, that they were come again thither. And becaufe he might not himself travel to them, he sent thither Bishops, Earls, and Abbats to intreat them, that the Archbishop, whom he had chosen, might be admitted; promising the Prior and all the Monks of *Canterbury* in his behalf, that he should never take any thing of the Church Goods against the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such Goods, and that the Church should have all her Franchises in as ample manner as in St. *Edward's* time, the Confessor it had.

Discontinuance of the Church clouded for private revenge.

The incontinent fourneth of the Prince unto against the King.

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a pair of Indentures; and the foresaid four Bishops, to the one part thereof, set their Seals: and the other part the said Bishops, Earls, and Abbats carried to shew the King. When the King saw the order thereof, he liked it well, saving he would not agree to make restitution of the Church Goods. So he sent to the four Bishops again that they should put out that point of Retiitution. But they answered flouthy that they would not put out one word. Then the King sent word to the Archbishop, by the four Bishops, that he should come to *Canterbury* to speak with him, and for his safe conduct to come and go again at his will, he sent his Justices as Pledges, *Gilbert Pateresn*, *William de la Brevere*, and *John Lestre*. Which thing thus done, the Archbishop *Stephen* came to *Canterbury*, and the King (hearing thereof) came to *Chilham*; from whence he sent his Treasurer the Bishop of *Winchester* to him, to have him put out of the Indentures the Clause of Restitution aforesaid: who, denying to alter any word of the same, moved the King in such fort, that immediatly it was proclaimed throughout *England* at the Kings Commandment, that all those that had any Church-Livings, and went over Sea, should come again into *England* by a certain day, or else lose their Livings for evermore. And further in that Proclamation, he charged all Sheriffs within the Realm, to inquire if any Bishops, Abbats, Priors,

Princes must be subject to the Pope.

Stephen Langton found English by the King.

The King incensed against the Archbishop Langton.

Priors, or any other Church man (from that day forward) received any commandment that came from the Pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him; and also that they should take into their hands, for the Kings use, all the Church Lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop *Stephen*, or by the Priors of *Canterbury*, from the time of the Election of the Archbishop: and further charged that all the Woods, that were the Archbishops, should be cut down and sold.

Two Legats sent from the Pope.

When tidings came to the Pope that the King had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the King two Legates (of the one called *Pandulph*, and the other *Durant*) to warn him in the Popes name that he should cease his doings to the holy Church, and amend the wrong he had done to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Priors and the Monks of *Canterbury*, and to all the Clergy of *England*. And further, that he should restore the Goods again that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the King by name: and to do this, the Pope took them his Letters in Bulls Patent. These two Legates, coming into *England*, resorted to the King to *Northampton*, where he held his Parliament, and, saluting him, said they came from the Pope of *Rome*, to reform the Peace of holy Church. And first, said they, we admonish you in the Popes behalf, that ye make full restitution of the Goods, and of the Lands, that ye have ravished holy Church of; and that ye receive *Stephen* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* into his Dignity; and the Prior of *Canterbury* and his Monks; and that ye yield again unto the Archbishop all his Lands and Rents without any withholding. And, Sir, yet moreover, That ye shall make such restitution to them, as the Church shall think sufficient.

Restitution required of the King.

Then answered the King, As touching the Prior and his Monks of *Canterbury*, all that ye have said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would Ordain; but as touching the Archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart: Let the Archbishop leave his Bishoprick; and if the Pope then shall intreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him some other Bishoprick in *England*; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.

Then said *Pandulph* unto the King, holy Church was wont never to degrade Archbishop without cause reasonable: but ever the was wont to correct Princes that were disobedient to her.

What? How now (quoth the King) threaten ye me? Nay, said *Pandulph*, but ye have now openly told us as it standeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the Popes will; and thus it standeth: He hath wholly Interdicted and Curfed you, for the wrongs you have done unto the holy Church, and unto the Clergy. And for so much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment; you shall understand, that from this time forward the Sentences upon you given have force and strength. And all those that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be Earls, Barons, or Knights, (or any other whatsoever they be) we assoil them safely from their sins unto this day: And from this time forward (of what condition soever they be) we accurse them openly, and specially by this our Sentence, that do commune with you. And we assoil moreover Earls, Barons, Knights, and all other manner of men of their Homages, Services, and Fealties that they should do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the Bishop of *Winchester*, and to the Bishop of *Norwich*, and the same power we give against *Scotland* unto the Bishop of *Rochester*, and of *Salisbury*: and in *Wales* we give the same power to the Bishops of St. *David*, and of *Landaff*, and of St. *Asse*.

Sentence of the Popes Curse pronounced against the King.

The Pope Author of Rebellion, and disobedience of Subjects to their Prince.

Also Sir King (quoth *Pandulph*) all the Kings, Princes, and the great Dukes Christened, have laboured to the Pope to have License to Cross themselves, and to War against thee, as upon Gods great Enemy, and win thy Land, and to make King whom it pleaseth the Pope. And we here now assoil all those of their sins, that will rise against thee here in thine own Land.

Then the King, hearing this, answered: What shame may ye do more to me than this?

Pandulph again: We say to you in *Verbo Dei*, that neither you, nor any Heir that you have, after this day shall be Crowned. So the King said, By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this Land, and that ye had brought me such news, I should have made you tarry out these twelve months.

Like master like man.

Then answered *Pandulph*, Full well we thought, at our first coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy Church, and have fulfilled the Popes commandment, which we have shewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had will the cause of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well say, that ye would have taken a whole years respite without the Popes leave: but for to suffer what death ye can or will, that he gave us in charge.

Pandulph worse afraid than hurt.

In another Chronicle I find the words between the King and *Pandulph* something otherwife described, as though the King should first threaten him with hanging, if he had fore-known of his coming. To whom *Pandulph* again should answer, That he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the Churches right. Whereupon the King, being mightily incensed, departed. The King the same time being at *Northampton*, willed the Sheriffs and Bailiffs to bring forth all the Prisoners there, that (as had deferved should be put to Death: to the intent (as some think) to make *Pandulphus* afraid. Among whom was a certain Clerk, who for counterfeiting the Kings Coin, was also condemned to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered; and moreover, by the King was commanded (thereby to anger *Pandulphus* the more, as may be thought) to be Hanged up highest above the rest. *Pandulphus* hearing thereof, notwithstanding, he somewhat began to fear least he should be Hanged himself; yet with such courage as he had, he went to the Church to fet out Book, Bell, and Candle, charging that no man, under pain of Accursing, should lay hands upon the Clerk. Upon this the King and the Cardinal departed in no little anger. And *Pandulph* went to *Rome*, and reported to the Pope and the Cardinals what had been done.

The Pope Summoned all the Bishops, Abbats, and Clerks of *England*, to come and repair unto *Rome*, to consult what was to be done therein. This Council began the first day of *October*. In the which Council it was Decreed by the Pope and his Affembly, That *John* King of *England* should be Accursed, with all such as held with him, every day so long as that Council endured. Albeit this was not yet Granted, that the People should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said Pope *Innocent*, seeing that King *John* by no means would stoop under his subjection, nor under the rule of his Popish See, he sent unto the *French* King, upon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, That he should take writ with him all the power he might, and so to invade the Realm of *England* to destroy King *John*.

The Popes great Curse.

This occasion given, Pope *Innocent* yet once again commanded, in pain of his great Curse, That no man should obey King *John*, neither yet keep company with him: he forbad all persons to Eat and Drink with him, or Talk with him, to Commune or Counsel with him; yea, his own familiar Houthold to do him any kind of service, either at Bed or at Board, in Church, Hall, or Stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, which after such fort fled from him (by the Ordinance of God) of divers and sundry Diseases the same year died. And between both Nations (*English* and *French*) fell that year great amity; but secret, subtil, and false, to the bitter betrayal of *England*. Neither was the Pope content only with this, but moreover the said Pope *Innocent* gave Sentence definitive (by Counsil of his Cardinals) that King *John* should be put from his Seat Regal and Depofed, and another put in his Room. And to the speedy execution thereof he appointed the *French* King *Philip*, promising to give him full remiffion of all his sins, and the clear poffession of all the Realm of *England*, to him and his Heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him.

The last punishment of God upon disobedient Subjects.

The Pope found a murtherer.

The next year the *French* King began his attempt, in hope of the Crown of *England*; being well-manned with Bishops, Monks, Prelates, Priests, and their Servants, to maintain the same: bragging of the Letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God; the *English* Navy took three hundred of the *French* Kings Ships, well loaden with Wheat, Wine, Meal, Fleth, Armor, and such other like meet for the War;

French Ships taken by *English* men.

and

and one hundred they burnt within the Haven, taking the spoils with them. In the mean time the Priests within *England* had provided them a certain false counterfeit Prophet, called *Peter Wakefield* of *Pois*; who was an idle gadder about, and a prattling merchant. This *Peter* they made to prophesie lyes, rumouring his prophesies abroad, to bring the King out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the Commons of the Realm, that Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a Child between the Priests hands, once at *York*, another time at *Pomfret*; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying, Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the Bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt also in spirit (they said) he beheld the Joys of Heaven, and Sorrows of Hell. For scant were there three (saith the Chronicle) among a thousand that lived Christianly. This counterfeit foothsayer prophesied of King *John*, that he should Reign no longer than *Ascention-day*, within the year of our Lord 1213. which was the fourteenth from his Coronation; and this (he said) he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether he should be slain, or expelled, or should of himself give over the Crown? He answered, That he could not tell. But of this he was sure (he said) that neither he, nor any of his stock or lineage should Reign, that day once finished. The King, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoff thereof. Tush (saith he) it is but an Idiot Knave, and such a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the Kings displeasure, and that he made no more of it; he gat him abroad and prated thereof at large (as he was a very idle Vagabond) and used to tattle and talk more than enough: so that they which loved the King caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into Prison, the King not knowing thereof.

Peter the false prophet.

The false prophet found a Lyer.

Anon after, the fame of this phantastical prophet went all the Realm over, and his name was known every where (as foolishness is much regarded of people, where wisdom is not in place) specially because he was then Imprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wondrings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busie talks, and other idle occupyings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old Gossips Tales went abroad, new Tales were invented, Fables were added to Fables, and Lyes grew upon Lyes: so that every day new flanders were raised on the King, and not one of them true: rumors arose, blasphemies were spread, the Enemies rejoyced, and Treasons by the Priests were maintained, and what likewise was furnished, or other subtilty practised, all was then fathered upon this foolish prophet: As, thus saith *Peter Wakefield*, Thus hath he prophetied, and, This shall come to pass; yea, many times when he thought nothing less. When the *Ascension-day* was come, which was prophefied of before, King *John* commanded his Regal Tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his Noble Council and men of Honour, in the greatest Solemnity that ever he did afore. Solacing himself with Musical Instruments and Songs, most in sight amongst his trusty Friends. When that day was past in all prosperity and mirth, his Enemies being confounded, turned all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophetie good, and said, He is no longer King, for the Pope Reigneth, and not he; yet Reigned he still, and his Son after him, to prove that prophet a Lyer. Then was the King by his Council perswaded that this false prophet had troubled all the Realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raised the Commons against him. For his words went over the Sea by the help of his Prelates, and came to the *French* Kings Ear, and gave unto him a great incouragement to Invade the Land; he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceived, as all they are and shall be that put their truft in such dark drowsie dreams of Hypocrites. The King therefore commanded that he should be drawn and hanged like a Traytor.

The false prophet proved a Lyer by King *John*.

The false prophet hanged.

After that the Popish Prelates, Monks, Canons, Priests, &c. saw this their crafty jugling by their fained prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harm thereby; to help the matter more forward, they began to travel and practice with Pope *Innocent* of the one side, and also with the *French* King on the other side, besides subtil Treasons which they wrought within the Realm, and by their confessions in the Ear, wherby they both blinded the Nobility and Commons. The King thus compassed about on every side with Enemies, and fearing the sequel thereof, knowing the Conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the Pope (in all that ever he might) as also by *Philip* the *French* King by his procurement: and moreover his own People, especially his Lords and Barons being rebelliously incited against him; as by the Popes Curses and Interdictions against such as took his part, and by his Absolutions and Dispensations with all those that would rebel against him, commanding them to detain from him such Homage, Service, Duties, Debts, and all other Allegiance that godly Subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their Liege Lord and Prince: All which things considered, the King, I say, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, for that the *French* King began to make sharp Invasion upon him within his own Realm, sent speedy Ambassadors to the Pope (as to the Fountain of all this his mischief, pretended to work and intreat his Peace and Reconciliation with him) promising to do whatsoever the Pope should will him, and command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy Church, and to make due satisfaction therefore unto all men that could complain.

King John fabulously himself to the Pope.

King John intreateth Peace with the Pope.

Then sent the Pope again into *England* his Legate *Pandulph*, with other Ambassadors: the King also at *Canterbury* (by Letters, as it should seem, certified from his own Ambassadors) waited their coming. Where the thirteenth day of *May* the King received them, making unto them an Oath, That of and for all things wherein he stood Accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Unto whom also all the Lords and Barons of *England* (so many as there were with the King attending the Legates coming) sware in like manner, That if the King would not accomplish in every thing the Oath which he had taken, then they would cause him to hold and confirm the same whether he would or not (or by strength) to use the Authors words.

Then submitted the King himself unto the Court of *Rome*, and to the Pope, and resigning gave up his Dominions and Realms of *England* and *Ireland* from him and from his Heirs for evermore that should come of him. With this condition, that the King and his Heirs should take again these two Dominions of the Pope to Farm, paying yearly therefore to the Court of *Rome* 1000 Marks of Silver. Then took the King the Crown from his Head, kneeling upon his Knees, in the presence of all his Lords and Barons of *England*, to *Pandulph* the Popes chief Legate, saying in this wise, Here I relign up the Crown of the Realm of *England* to the Popes hands, *Innocent* the third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then took *Pandulph* the Crown of King *John*, and kept it five days as a possession and seizin-taking of these two Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, confirming also all things promised by his Charter Obligatory as followeth:

King John submitteth himself and resigneth his Crown.

The Copy of the Letter Obligatory that King *John* made to the Pope, concerning the yielding up of the Crown and Realm of *England* into the Popes hands, for a certain Sum of Mony yearly to be paid.

The Draught or Instrument of Obligation, wherein King John resigneth his Kingdom to the Popes hand, Christ witnessing it, and the Pope offering a Kingdom and crowning him; but the Pope doth not retain it.

TO all Christian People throughout the World dwelling, John *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *greeting: To your University known be it, That for so much as we have grieved and offended God, and our Mother Church of* Rome, *and for so much as we have need of the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ: and we may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make to God and to holy Church (but if it were our own body) as with our Realms of* England *and of* Ireland; *then by the grace of the Holy Ghost we desire to meek us for the Love of him, that meeked him to the Death upon the Cross. And through Counsel of the Nobles, Earls, and Barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apostles St.* Peter *and* Paul, *and to our mother Church of* Rome, *and to our holy father Pope* Innocent *the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the Realm, Patronages of Churches of* England *and of* Ireland, *with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and help and health of our Kings souls, and of*

of all Christian souls. So that from this time afterward, we will receive and hold of our mother Church of Rome *as in Farm, doing fealty to our holy father the Pope,* Innocent *the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, in the manner above-said. And in the presence of the wise man* Pandulph *the Popes sooth-deacon, we make Liege Homage, as if it were in the Popes presence and we before him were, and as if he himself should have done all manner of things above-said; and thereto we bind us, and all that come after us, and our Heirs for evermore, without any gain-saying to the Pope, and the aforesaid Church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to last, we will, confirm, and ordain, That he be our special tenter of the fore-said Realms (saving St.* Peter-pence) *in all things. To the mother Church of* Rome, *paying by the year* 1000 *Marks of Silver at two times of the year for all manner customs that we should do for the said Realms; that is to say, at* Michaelmas *and at* Easter; *that is, for* England 700 *Marks, and* 300 *Marks for* Ireland, *saving to us and to our Heirs, our Justices and our other Franchises. And all these things that before been said, we will that they be firm and stable without end, and to that Obligation we and all our Successors and our Heirs in this manner been bound, That if we or any of our Heirs through any presumption fall in any point against of these things above-said (and he been warned and will not right amend him) he shall then lose the fore-said Realms for evermore: and this Charter of Obligation and our Warrant for evermore be firm and stable without gain-saying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother Church of* Rome, *and to thee,* Innocent *the third, and to all that commen after thee, and the Realms of* England *and of* Ireland *we shall maintain true lich in all manner points, against all manner of men, by our power through Gods help.*

Upon this Obligation the King was discharged, the second day of *July*, from that tyrannical Interdiction, under which he continued six years and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to give over both his Crown and Scepter to that Antichrist of *Rome* for the space of five days, and as his Client, Vassal, Feudary, and Tenant, to receive it again of him at the hands of another Cardinal; being bound Obligatory, both for himself, and for his Successors to pay yearly (for acknowledgment thereof) 1000 Marks for *England* and *Ireland*: Then came they thither from all parts of the Realm, so many as had their Consciences wounded for obeying their Liege King, as blind Idiots, and there they were Absolved, every one of his own Bishop, except the Spiritual Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Soldiers, for they were compelled to seek to *Rome*, as Captives reserved to the Popes own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the King easily granted, that Abbats, Deans, and Curates should be Elected freely every where, so that the Laws of the Realm were truly observed. But against that were the Bishops, alledging their Canonical Decrees and Rules Synodal, determining the King therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his consent after they had once Elected. But among this shaven Rabble, some there were which consented not to this wicked error: a fort also there were of the Prelates in that time, which were not pleased that the Lands Interdiction should cease, till the King had paid all that which their Clergy in all quarters of the Realm had demanded, without reason: yea, what every fawcy Sir *John* for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their Hedges, the stealing of their Apples, and their other occasional damages, which grew to an incredible sum, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outragious cruel noise of that mischievous progeny of Antichrist, against their natural King.

The interessedness of the Clergy against their natural Prince.

The Pope to have Jurisdiction of all Churches also.

Notwithstanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the Clergy against their Prince, yet did the Popes Legate and Cardinal *Nicolaus Tusculanus* much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was exceeding partial, and regarded not their busiaess Ecclesiastical, as he should have done. For leaving the account of their Restitutions, he went with the Kings Officers, as the Kings pleasure was, to the Cathedral Minsters, Abbies, Priories, Deaneries, and great Churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent always he appointed two, one for the King, another for the Parties. But upon him only whom the King nominated, he compelled most commonly the Election to pass: which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this therefore they raised a new Conspiracy against the Kings Person by help of their Bishops, seditious Prelates, and such Noble men as they had drawn to their Parties. We behold (saith *Hoveden*) about the same time many noble Houses and Assemblies divided in many places. The Fathers and the Aged men flood upon the Kings part, but the younger fort contrary. And some there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other fundry respects forsook the King again. Yea, the fame went that time, saith he, That they were confederated with *Alexander* the *Scottish* King, and *Lewlin* the Prince of *Wales*, to work him an utter mischief. A Council at *Oxford* the Archbishop called; whereat some would not tarry, confidering the confusion thereof; the other fort, having very obstinate hearts, reviled the King most spitefully behind his back, and said, That from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no Governor of theirs. Their outragious and frantick clamors so much prevailed in those days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perillous commotion.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth *Paulus Æmilius* and other Histories, Pope *Innocent* the third held a General Synod at *Rome*, called the Council *Lateran*. The chief causes of that Council were these: In the days of this *Innocent*, Heresie (as he calleth the Truth of God, or the Doctrine that rebuketh sin) began to rise up very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad; by reason whereof many Princes were Excommunicated, as *Otho* the Emperor, *John* the King of *England*, Peter King of *Aragon*, *Raimond* the Earl of *Tholouse*, *Aquitania*, *Satalonia*, and such other like, as is aforesaid. So that it could be no otherwise, saith *Hoveden*, but with the sharp Ax of the Gospel (so called he the Popes Excommunications) they ought of necessity to have been cut off from the Church. Therefore was this Council provided, proclaimed, and Prelates from all Nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his Legates and Cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the Church universally reformed, and the Holy Land from the *Turks* hands recovered. But all this was craft and fallhood; as the sequel thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all Princes, and to make himself Rich and Wealthy. For there he made this Antichristian Act, and Established it by publick Decree, That the Pope should have from thenceforth the Correction of all Christian Princes, and that no Emperor should be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also Crowned of him. He Ordained moreover, That whosoever he were that should speak evil of the Pope, he should be punished in Hell with Eternal Damnation: *Conradus*, *Urspergensis*, *Hieronymus*, *Marius*. He provided Confession to help these matters; he allowed their Bread a Pix to cover him; and a Bell when he goeth abroad; and made the Mass equal with Christs Gospel.

Anno 1215

The Council of Lateran holden by Pope Innocent.

In this Council was first invented and brought in Transubstantiation: of which *Johannes Scotus*, whom we call *Duns*, maketh mention in his fourth Book, writing in these words: *The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without Transubstantiation. But the Church did chuse this sense, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the Sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of* Rome *holdeth*, &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of *Innocentius* the third.

Johannes Scotus.

Transubstantiation first brought in.

Moreover, in the said Council was Established and Ratified the wretched and impious Act, compelling Priests to abjure Lawful Matrimony. Whereupon these Meeters or Verses were made the same time against him, which here follow under-written.

Marriage of Priests forbidden by Pope Innocent.

Non est Innocentius, *imo nocens vere,*
Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere:
Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus Pontifex studet prohibere.
Zacharias *habuit prolem & uxorem,*
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem;
Baptizavit etenim mundi Salvatorem:
Pereat qui tenet novum hunc errorem.
Paulus *cœlos rapitur ad superiores,*
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores;

Ad

Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,
Suas, inquit, habeant, quilibet uxores.
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius & magis decorum,
Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum feminas, filias, & neptes
Violare nefas est, quare nil deceptes;
Vere tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,
Diem ut sic ultimum tutius expectes.

Nocent, not innocent he is, that seeketh to deface,
By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught Men to imbrace;
Which being now a Bishop old, doth study to destroy
The thing, which he a young Man once did covet to injoy.
Priest Zachary *both had a Wife, and had a Child also,*
By means of whom there did to him great praise and honour grow.
For he did Baptize him which was the savor of mankind:
Ill him befal that holdeth this new error in his mind.
Into the higher Heavens good Paul *was lifted from below,*
And many secret hidden things he learned there to know:
Return'd at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,
He said, Let each Man have his own and only wedded Wife.
For this and other documents of them that learned be,
Much better and more comly eke it seemeth unto me,
That each should have his own alone, and not his Neighbours Wife,
Left with his Neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathful strife.
Thy Neighbours Daughters or their Wives, or Neeces to defile,
Unlawful is, therefore beware do not thy self beguile.
Have thou thine own true wedded Wife, delight in her alway,
With safer mind that thou mayst look to see the later day.

Now let us return to King *John* again, and mark how the Priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his Majesties will. In the foresaid Council of *Lateran*, and the same year, was *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* Excommunicated of Pope *Innocent*, with all those Bishops, Prelates, Priests, Barons, and Commons, which had been of counsel with him in the former Rebellion. And when the said Archbishop had made instant suite of him to be Absolved, anon he made him this answer with great indignation: Brother mine, I swear by Saint *Peter*, thou shalt not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of Absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harm to the King of *England*, but also thou hast in a great many of things injured the Church of *Rome* here, and therefore thou shalt tarry my leasure. The Archbishop was also at that time *Stephen Langton* suspended out of the Church.
suspended out of the Church, and commanded to say no Mass at all, neither yet to exercise any other Ecclesiastical Office; because he would not at time convenient execute the Popes Curse upon the Rebellious Barons. With them the said Pope had been so deeply offended and angred a little before, that the great Charter of the Liberties of *England* (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroyed, by sentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon Cursed all the other Rebels, with Book Bell, and Candle. The greater Captains of them (with the Citizens of *London*) for that affay were pronounced Excommunicate by name, and remained still Interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

Appeal to the general council.
In the same year 1215. were those great men also summoned to appear at *Rome* in that general Synod, which would not consent to their Kings expulsion, nor yet tyrannical deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same; yet could they not of their conscience do it, because he had humbled himself, and also granted to keep peace with all Men. Thus was the whole Realm miserably then divided into two factions through malice of the Clergy: so strifes increased in the Land every where. Yet were there of the Lords and Gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the King and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side (not a little suspecting the state that they were in) fled speedily to the *French* King *Philip*: desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest Son *Ludovick*, and they would Elect him to be their King, and that without much tarriance. They besought him moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly, that they mighty (they say) be delivered of such a wicked Tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked Papists gave their Christian Governour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conscience take, *Rom.* 13. And as certain of the Lords and Barons were busie to chuse the said *Ludovick* for their King, the Pope sent thither one *Gualo* the Cardinal of *S. Martin* to stay those rash and cruel attempts; charging the *French* King upon his Allagiance, That he with all power possible should favour, maintain, and defend King *John* of *England*, his Feudary or Tenant. The *French* King thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept; *The Realm of* England (said he) *was never yet any part of Saint* Peter's *Patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter.* Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his Son by treason of the Barons.

Gualo Cardinal sent into England.

The French King calls his Son returning about England.
No Prince or Potentate (said *Philip* the *French* King) may pledge or give away his Kingdom, which is (beside the Realm) the Government of his whole Common-wealth, without the lawful consent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the Pope shall introduce of his authority such a president in Christianity, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christian Kings and their Kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in these days begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King *John* of *England*: though he be my utter adverfary, yet I much lament that he hath so indammaged his Realm, and hath brought that noble ground and Queen of Provinces under miserable tribute. The chief Lords and Men of his Nobility standing by, when he uttered these words, (being as it were in a fury) cryed with one voyce: By the blood of God, in whom we truft to be faved, we will ftick in this Article to the losing of our heads. Let the King of *England* do therein what him liketh: no King may put his Land under Tribute, and so make his Nobility Captive Servants. With that came in *Ludovick* with the Kings eldeft Son, and faid unto them all there present; I befeech you, let not my purpofed journey: the Barons of *England* have Elected me for their Lord and King, and I will not furely lofe my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea so long as heart fhall ftir within my breft: and I doubt not but I fhall well obtain it, for I have friends among them. His Father the King ftood ftill as if he had been in a dump, and anfwered never a word, but fared as though he had diffembled the matter. Belike he mistrufted fomething therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the Priefts, that they might live licentiously in all wealth and freedom from the Kings yoke.

Priestmal Priests resisting a grant to King.
About the fame time were fuch Treasons and Conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, Priests, and Monks throughout all the Realm, that the King knew not where to become or find trufty friends; he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his Subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great Army of Men, looking every day when his Barons and their Confederates would cruelly fet upon him. At laft he came to *Dover*, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither reforted to him from *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Holland*, on one fide, and from *Guian*, *Gascoin*, and *Poitiers*, on the other fide, and from other Countries more, a wonderful number of Men. The report then went, That the Pope had written unto thofe Countries, mightily to affift him for divers confiderations: one was, for that he had fubmitted himfelf and his Dominions unto his protection; another was, Becaufe he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the Croſs, to win again *Jeruſalem*; the third was, For that he had gotten by him the Dominion of *England* and *Ireland*, and feared to lofe both, if he fhould chance to decay. For the fpace of three months he remained in the *Iſle of Wight*, abroad in the Air to quiet himſelf for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a folitary life among Rivers and Water-men; whereas he rather coveted to dye than to live, being ſo traiterously handled of his Biſhops and Barons, and not knowing how to be juſtly avenged of them. Upon the Purification day of our Lady, therefore he took upon him the Croſs or Voyage againſt the *Turks*, for recovery of *Hieruſalem*, moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other Devotion elſe. And thus he ſaid to his familiar Servants: Since I ſubmitted my ſelf and my Lands (*England* and *Ireland*) to the Church of *Rome* (ſorrow come to it) never thing proſpered with me, but all hath gone againſt me.

Anno 1216.
In the next year after 1216. was *Simon Langton* choſen Archbiſhop of *York*; but that Election anon after was diſſolved; for information was given to the Pope, that the ſaid *Simon* was Brother to *Stephen Langton* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which had been the occaſion of all the Tumults which were at that time in *England*. And the Pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did find him at that time ſo ſtubborn: wherefore he placed in his Brothers place *Walter Gray*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Walter Gray Archbiſhop of York. Grata the Popes legate.
In the ſame year *Gualo* the Popes Legate renewed his great curſe upon *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, for uſurping upon King *John*: Likewiſe upon *Simon Langton*, and *Gervaſis Hobruge*, for provoking him to the ſame, and that with a wonderful Solemnity: For in that doing he made all the Bells to be Rung, the Candles to be light, the Doors to be opened, and the Book of Excommunications or Interdictions publickly to be read, committing them wholly to the Devil for their contumacy and contempt. He alſo commanded the Biſhops and Curates to publiſh it abroad over all the whole Realm, to the terror of all his ſubjects. The ſaid *Simon* and *Gervaſis* laughed him to ſcorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, ſaying, that for the juſt title of *Ludovike*, they had appealed to the general Council at *Rome*.

Radul. Niger cap. 44.
The Popes curſe taught to ſcorn.
The Magiſtrates of *London*, and Citizens of the ſame, did likewiſe vilipend and diſdainfully mock all that the Pope had there commanded and done. And in ſpight both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were Excommunicated, both at Table and at Church, ſhewing themſelves thereby as open contemners both of him and his Laws. *Ludovike* at *London*, taking himſelf for King, conſtituted *Simon Langton* for his high Chancellor, and *Gervaſis Hobruge* for his chief Preacher; by whoſe dayly Preachings (as well the Barons as the Citizens themſelves being Excommunicated) he cauſed all the Church doors to be opened, and the ſervice to be ſung, and the ſaid *Ludovike* was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was *Pandulphus* (then Cardinal) collecting the Peter-pence, and old pillage of the Pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in thoſe the affairs of holy Church, and for other great miracles befides, he was then made Biſhop of *Norwich*, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

Pandulphus the Popes collector made Biſhop of Norwich.
Mat. Pariſ. Radul. Niger cap. 47.
It chanced about this time, that the Vicount of *Melun* (a very Noble Man of the Realm of *France*, which came thither with the Prince *Ludovike*) fell deadly ſick at *London*, and alſo moved in conſcience to call certain of the *Engliſh* Barons unto him, ſuch as were there appointed to the cuſtody of that City, ſaid unto them: I lament your ſorrowful caſe, and pity with my heart the deſtruction that is coming towards you and your Country. The dangerous ſnares which are prepared for your utter confuſion are hidden from you; you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince *Ludovike* hath Sworn a great Oath, and ſixteen of his Earls and Noble Men are of Counſel with him, that if he obtain the Crown of *England*, he will baniſh all them from ſervice, and deprive them of Lands and Goods, as many as he finderh now to go againſt their Liege King, and are Traytors to his Noble Perſon. And becauſe you ſhall not take this Tale for a Fable, I aſſure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of them which was Sworn to the ſame. I have great conſcience thereof, and therefore I give you this warning. I pity poor *England* which hath been ſo Noble a Region, that now it is come to ſo extreme miſery. And when he with tears had lamented it a ſpace, he returned again unto them and ſaid: My friends I Counſel you Earneſtly to look to your ſelves, and to provide the remedy in time, leſt it come upon you unawars, Your King for a ſeaſon hath kept you under, but if *Ludovike* prevail, he will put you from all. Of two extreme evils chuſe the more eaſie, and keep that ſecret which I have told you of good will. With that he gave over and departed this life.

The great providence of God for the help of England.
When this was once noiſed among the Barons, they were in great heavineſs, for they ſaw themſelves intrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. Hild this daily augmented that fear which then came upon the Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, and every week came upon them new Excommunications. Daily detriments they had beſides in their poſſeſſions and goods, in their Lands and Houſes, Corn and Cattel, Wives and Children: So that ſome of them were driven to ſuch need, that they were enforced to ſeek preys and booties for ſuſtaining their miſerable lives. For look whatſoever Prince *Ludovike* obtained by his Wars, either Territories or Caſtles, he gave them all to his *French*-men in ſpight of their heads, and ſaid that they were but Traytors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worſt of all. At the laſt they perceiving that they in ſeeking to avoid one miſchief, were ready to fall into another much worſe: they began to lay their heads together, conſenting to ſubmit themſelves wholly with all Humility unto the mercy of their late Sovereign and natural Liege Lord King *John*. And for that they were ſomewhat in doubt of their lives for the Treaſon afore committed, many of the friends of them which were of moſt credit with him, made ſute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtant and great ſute made for them. I here omit his recovery of *Rocheſter* Caſtle and City, with many other dangerous adventures againſt the foreſaid *Ludovike*, both at *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Wincheſter*, *Norwich*, and other places elſe, as things not pertaining to my purpoſe. And now I return to my matter again.

King John poiſoned by a Monk.
Into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* he conſequently journeyed, with a very ſtrong Army of Men, and there with great miſchief he afflicted them, becauſe they had given place and were Sworn to his Enemies. After that, he deſtroyed the Abbies of *Peterborough* and *Crowland*, for the great Treaſons which they alſo had wrought againſt him, and ſo he departed from thence into *Lincolnſhire*.

Pope Innocent the third dieth.
In this year, about the ſeventeenth day of *July*, died Pope *Innocent* the third, and was buried in a City called *Perufium* in *Italy*: whereas he had traveled to make a peace between the *Genovaies* and *Piſes*, for his own commodity and advantage. After him anon ſucceeded one *Cintius*, otherwiſe called *Honorius tertius*, a man of very great age: yet lived he in the Papacy ten years and an half, and more. When this was once known in *England*, greatly rejoyced all they which were King *Johns* enemies, ſpecially the Prieſts: yet had they ſmall cauſe, as will appear hereafter. They noiſed it all the Realm over, that this new Pope would ſet a new order, and not rule all things as the other Pope did; thinking thereby that he would have done all things to their commodity, but they found it otherwiſe. For he made all them, which were Excommunicated, to pay double and treble, ere they could be reſtored again to their former livings.

Ex Chronico cui titulus Rudogium.
And in the ſelf ſame year, as King *John* was come to *Swinſtead* Abbey, not far from *Lincoln*, he reſted there two days: where (as moſt writers teſtifie) he was moſt Traiterouſly poiſoned by a Monk of that Abbey, of the Sect of the Ciſtercians or S. *Bernards* Brethren, called *Simon* of *Swinſtead*. As concerning the Noble Perſonage of this Prince, this witneſs giveth *Roger Hoveden* therein, *Princeps quidem magnus erat, ſed minus felix, atque, ut Marius, ſtrumque fortunam expertus*. Doubtleſs (ſaith he) King *John* was a mighty Prince, but not ſo fortunate as many were: not altogether unlike to *Marius* the Noble *Roman*, he taſted of Fortune both ways, bountiful in mercy; in wars ſometime he wan, ſometime again he loſt. *Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, ſed proditionis cauſa ſuorum deprædator, plus advenis quam ſuis confidens*. He was alſo very bounteous and liberal unto ſtrangers, but of his own people (for their daily Treaſons ſake) he was a great oppreſſor, ſo that he truſted more to forreiners than to them.

Ra. Monk. Pariſiens.
Among other divers and ſundry conditions belonging to this King, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: For that being far from the ſuperſtition which Kings at that time were commonly ſubject to, he regarded not the Popiſh Maſs, as in certain Chronicles writing of him may be collected: for ſo I find teſtified of him by *Matth. Pariſien.* that the King upon a time in his Hunting, coming where a very fat Stag was cut up and opened (for how the Hunters tearme it I cannot tell) the King beholding the

The ſaying of King John derided ing the Maſs.

fatneſs and the liking of the Stag: See, ſaith he, how eaſily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that he never heard any Maſs.

Ex Cantuens lib.7.

It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of *William Coxton* called *Fructus temporum*, and in the ſeventh Book: The foreſaid Monk *Simon* being much offended with certain talk that the King had at his Table, concerning *Ludovike* the *French* Kings Son (which then had entred and uſurped upon him) did caſt in his wicked heart how he moſt ſpeedily might bring him to his end. And firſt of all he Counſelled with his Abbots, ſhewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alledged for himſelf the propheſie of *Caiaphas*, *Joh.* 11. ſaying; *It is better that one man die, than all the people ſhould periſh.* I am well contented (ſaith he) to loſe my life, and ſo become a Martyr, that I may utterly deſtroy this Tyrant. With that the Abbot did weep for gladneſs, and much commended his Fervent Zeal, as he took it. The Monk then being abſolved of his Abbot for doing this Act (aforehand) went ſecretly into a Garden upon the backſide, and finding there a moſt venemous Toad, he ſo pricked him and preſſed him with his Pen-knife, that he made him vomit all the poiſon that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a ſmiling and flattering countenance he ſaid thus to the King, *If it ſhall like your Princely Majeſty, here is ſuch a Cup of Wine as ye never drank better before in all your life time; I truſt this Waſſail ſhall make all* England *glad*: and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the King pledging him.

Wo be to you that call good evil, and evil good. *Simon* the Monk abſolved of his Abbot for poiſoning his King.

The Monk dieth of his own poiſon.

The Monk anon after went to the Farmary, and there died (his Guts guſhing out of his Belly) and had continually from thenceforth three Monks to ſing Maſs for his Soul, confirmed by their general Chapter. What became after that of King *John*, ye ſhall know right well in the proceſs following. I would ye did mark well the wholeſome proceedings of theſe holy votaries, how vertuouſly they obey their King, whom God hath appointed, and how religiouſly they beſtow their confeſſions, abſolutions, and Maſſes.

The death of King *John*.

A Prince to be loving to his ſubjects.

The King within a ſhort ſpace after (feeling great grief in his body) asked for *Simon* the Monk; and anſwer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy upon me (ſaid he) I ſuſpected as much, after he had ſaid that all *England* ſhould thereof be glad; he meant now I perceive then of his own Generation. With that he commanded his Chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to *Slaford* Caſtle, and from thence to *Newark* on *Trent*, and there within leſs than three days he died. Upon his death bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them with a pitiful heart that had done him injury; deſiring that his Elder Son *Henry* might be admoniſhed by his example, and learn by his miſfortunes to be natural, favourable, gently, and loving to his natural people. When his body was imbalmed and ſpiced (as the manner is of Kings) his bowels or intrals were buried at *Croxton* Abbey, which was of the ſect of Premonſtratenſes or Canons of S. *Norbert*. His hired ſouldiers both *Engliſh*-men and ſtrangers were ſtill about him, and followed his Corps Triumphantly in their Armor, till they came to the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, and there Honourably was he buried by *Silveſter* the Biſhop betwixt S. *Oſwald* and Saint *Wolſtan*, two Biſhops of that Church. He died in the year of our Lord 1216. the nineteenth day of *October*, after he had Reigned in ſuch calamity, by the ſubtil conveyance of his Clergy, eighteen years and ſix months and odd days. Now ſo ſoon as King *John* was dead and buried (as is ſaid before) the Princes, Lords and Barons, ſo many as were of his part (as well of ſtrangers as of them that were born here) by Counſel of the Legate *Gualdo*, gathered themſelves together, and all with one conſent proclaimed *Henry* his Son for their King. Of whom more ſhall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

King John buried at Wincheſter.

{Anno 1216.

The death of King *John*.

Many opinions are among the Chroniclers of the death of King *John*. Some of them do write that he died of ſorrow and heavineſs of Heart, as *Polydorus*: ſome of ſurfeiting in the night, as *Radulphus Niger*: ſome of a bloody flux, as *Roger Hoveden*: ſome of a burning ague, ſome of a could ſweat, ſome of eating Apples, ſome of eating Pears, ſome of Plums, &c.

Thus you ſee what variety is among the writers concerning the death of this King *John*. Of which writers, although the moſt agree in this, that he was poiſoned by the Monk above named, yet *Matthew Paris* (ſomething differing from the others) writeth thus concerning his death, That he going from *Linn* to *Lincolnſhire*, and there hearing of the loſs of his carriage and of his Treaſures upon the Waſhes, fell in great heavineſs of mind; inſomuch that he fell thereby into a fervent Fever, being at the Abbey of *Swinſted*. This Ague he alſo increaſed through evil ſurfeiting and naughty diet, by eating Peaches and drinking of new Ciſer, or as we call it Sider. Thus being ſick, he was carried from thence to the Caſtle of *Slaford*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Newark*; where calling for *Henry* his Son, he gave to him the ſucceſſion of his Crown and Kingdom, writing to all his Lords and Nobles to receive him for their King; and ſhortly after, upon S. *Lucies* Even, departed this life, being buried at *Worceſter*, &c.

Matt. Paris in vita Joannis regis.

In *Gisburne* I find otherwiſe, who, diſſenting from others, ſaith; that he was poiſoned with a diſh of Pears, which the Monk had prepared for the King therewith to poiſon him. Who asking the King whether he would taſte of his Fruit, and being bid to bring them in; according to the Kings bidding, ſo he did. At the bringing in whereof (ſaith the ſtory) the precious ſtones about the King began to ſweat; inſomuch that the King misdoubting ſome poiſon, demanded of the Monk what he had brought. He ſaid, of his Fruit, and that very good, the beſt that ever he did taſte. Eat, ſaid the King. And he took one of the Pears which he did know, and did eat. Alſo being bid to take another, he did eat likewiſe favourly, and ſo likewiſe the third. Then the King, reſraining no longer, took one of the poiſoned Pears, and was therewith poiſoned, as is before, &c.

Another deſcription of King John's death. *Ex Anglo. Gualt. Hemingford. Gisburnenſi.*

In the Reign of this King *John*, the Citizens of *London* firſt obtained of the King to chuſe yearly a Maior. In whoſe time alſo the Bridge of *London* was firſt builded of ſtone, which before was of Wood. *Raſtal.*

The firſt Maior of London.

King Henry *the Third.*

King Henry the third.

AFter this King *John* had Reigned (as ſome ſay) ſeventeen years, or as ſome ſay, though falſely, nineteen years; he was (as is above ſaid) poiſoned and died, This King left behind him four Sons and three Daughters, firſt *Henry*, the ſecond *Richard*, and he was Earl of *Cornwal*, the third *William* of *Valentia*, the fourth *Guido Diſenaie*: he had alſo another Son, who afterward was made Biſhop. Of his Daughters, the firſt was *Iſabel*, married afterward to *Fredrick* the Emperor; the ſecond named *Elenor*, married to *William* Earl Marſhal; the third to *Mountford* the Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. Another Story ſaith that he had but two Daughters, *Iſabel* and *Elenor*, or as another calleth her *Joan*, which was after Queen of *Scotland*. *Ex chronico vetuſto Angliæ.*

The iſſue of King John.

This King *John* being deceaſed, which had many Enemies both of Earls, Barons, and eſpecially of the Popiſh Clergy; *Henry* the Eldeſt Son was then of the age of nine years, at what time the moſt of the Lords of *England* did adhere to *Ludovike* or *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, whom they had ſent for before, in diſpleaſure of King *John*, to be their King, and had ſwom to him their allegiance. Then *William*, Earl Marſhal, a Noble Man, and of great Authority, and a grave and ſound Counſellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers Earls and Barons, and taking this *Henry* the young Prince, Son of King *John*, ſetteth him before them, uſing theſe Words, *Behold* (ſaith he) *Right Honorable and well Beloved, although we have perſecuted the Father of this young Prince for his evil demeanor, and worthily; yet this young child whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in years tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from theſe his Fathers doings: wherefore in as much as every man is charged only with the burthen of his own works and tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the child (as the Scripture teacheth us) bear the iniquity of his Father: we ought therefore of duty and conſcience to pardon this young and tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age as ye ſee. And now for ſo much as he is the Kings natural and Eldeſt Son, and muſt be our Soveraign and King, and ſucceſſor of this Kingdom; come and let us appoint him*

An example of a truly and faithful Counſellor. The creation of the Earl Marſhal for young King Henry. *Truly (ſaid he) that you perſecuted him for your enemies, and your own ſake rather than the King. But well might Engliſhmen ſay out of your blind gilds and ſcriptures on.*



him our King and Governour, and let us remove from us this Lewis *the* French *Kings Son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation, and the yoke of our servitude let us cast off from our shoulders.* To these words spake and answered the Earl of *Gloucester*: And by what reason or right (said he) can we so do, seeing we have called him hither, and have sworn to him our fealty?

Whereunto the Earl Marshal inferred again, and said, *Good right and reason we have, and ought of duty to do no less; for that he contrary to our mind and calling hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our Chieftain and Governor; but he eftsoons, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised us: And if we shall so suffer him, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation, and so shall we remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as out casts of all the world.*

At these words all they, as inspired from above, cryed all together with one voice, Be it so, he shall be our King. And so the day was appointed for his Coronation, which was the day of *Simon* and *Jude*. This Coronation was kept, not at *Weminster*, forsomuch as *Westminster* the same time was holden of the *French-men*, but at *Gloucester*, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the Realm, *Anno* 1216. by *Swalo* the Popes Legate, through Counsel of all the Lords and Barons that held with his Father King *John*, to wit, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Bishop of *Bath*, Bishop of *Chester*, and Bishop of *Worcester*, the Earl *Randolph* of *Chester*, *William* Earl Marshal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William Tren* Earl of *Feres*, *William de Brues*, *Serle* or *Samarike de Mal* Baron. These were at the Crowning of the King at *Gloucester*. Many other Lords and Barons there were, which as yet held with *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, to whom they had done their Homage before. And immediatly after the Crowning of this King he held his Council at *Bristow* at S. *Martins* feast; where were assembled eleven Bishops of *England* and *Wales*, with divers Earls and Barons and Knights of *England*, all which did swear Fealty to the King. After which Homage thus done to the King, the Legate *Swalo* interdicted *Wales*, because they held with the foresaid *Lewis*; and also the Barons and all others, as many as gave help or Counsel to *Lewis*, or any other that moved or stirred any War against King *Henry* the new King, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said *Lewis* did not cease, but first laid siege to the Castle of *Dover* fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the Castle *Berkhamsted*, and also the Castle of *Henford*, doing much harm in the Countries, in spoiling and robbing the people where he went: by reason whereof the Lords and Commons, which held with the King, assembled themselves together to drive *Lewis* and his men out of the Land. But some of the Barons with the *French-men* in the mean season went to *Lincoln* and took the City, and held it to the use of *Lewis*. Which being known, eftsoons a great power of the Kings part made thither, as Earl *Ranulph* of *Chester*, *William* Earl Marshal, and *William de la Brues* Earl of *Feres*, with many other Lords, and gave battel unto *Lewis* and his party; so that in conclusion *Lewis* lost the field, and of his side were slain the Earl of *Parchis*, *Saer de Quincie* Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de la Bohun* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Robert le Fitzwater*, with divers other more. Whereupon *Lewis* for succor fled to *London*, causing the Gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succor out of *France*. Which as soon as the King had knowledge of, immediatly he sent to the Maior and Burgesses of the City, willing them to render them and their City to him as their chief Lord and King, promising to grant to them again all their Franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirm the same by his great Charter and Seal. In this mean time on *Bartholomew* Even, *Eustace* a *French* Lord, accompanied with many other Lords and Nobles of *France*, come with a grand power, to the number of a 100 Ships to aid and assist the said *Lewis*; who before they arrived, were encountred upon the Seas by *Richard*, King *Johns* Bastard Son; who, having no more but eighteen Ships to keep the Cinque ports, set eagerly upon them, and through Gods Grace overcame them, where presently he smote off the Head of *Eustace*: the rest of the *French* Lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the Land, where he imprisoned them in the Castle of *Dover*, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunk their Ships in the Sea, only fifteen Ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. *Ludovike* or *Lewis* hearing this loss of his Ships and Men, and misdoubting his own life for the great mischief he had done to the Realm, sought means by *Swalo* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and by other Lords, to be at accord with the King. With whom at length it was so concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses, he should have a Thousand pound of Silver given. *Parisiensis* speaketh of fifteen thousand Marks (which he borrowed of the *Londoners*) that he should depart the Realm never to return into *England* again, neither he nor none of his.

This done, upon the same he, with all the other Barons that took his part, was assoiled of *Swalo* the Legate. And thus peace being confirmed at *Merton*, *Lewis* took his leave, and being brought Honourably to the Sea with the Bishop of *Canterbury* and other Bishops, Earls and Barons, he returned home into *France*.

And here, saith *Gisburn*, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the *French* King, Father of *Lewis*. At what time the said *Lewis* was in *England*, his Father the *French* King demanded of his Messengers coming into *France*, where his Son was? And they said at *Stamford*. And he asking again whether he had got the Castle of *Dover*? And they said no. Then the Father swearing by the Arm of Saint *James*: My Son (quoth he) hath not one foot in *England*, as afterward well proved true. *Ex Gisburn.*

But the chiefest help that repelled *Lewis* and the *French* men out of the Realm, and that most preserred King *Johns* Son to the Crown, was the singular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession of a certain Gentleman of the *French* Host (as *Florilegus* doth testifie) who lying sore sick at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his souls health, openly to confess and utter to the Barons of *England*, what was the purpose of the *French-men* to do; who were conspired and sworn together among themselves, with a privy compaction, that so soon as they subdued the Land, they should thrust all the chief and Nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the Realm, whereout they should never return again. This coming to the ears of the Barons, as is said, gave them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave *Lewis*, and apply to their natural King and Prince. Which no less may also be an admonition to all times and ages for *English-men* to take heed, and not to admit or to place foreign Rulers into the Realm, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselves.

After the happy departure of this *Lewis* and his *French-men* out of the Land, whereby the State of this Realm, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted: immediatly *Swalo* the Legate, looking to his Harvest, directeth fourth Inquisitors through every Shire, to search out all such Bishops, Abbots, Proirs, Canons, and secular Priests, of what order or degree soever they were, that with any succor or counsel did either help, or else consented to *Lewis*. For all these were exempted out of the Charter of pardon and absolution made before, between the King and *Lewis*. By reason whereof no small gain grew to the Pope and the Cardinal; for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the Pope; or else were fain to fine sweetly for them. Among whom (besides a great number of other Clerks, both Religious and Secular) was *Hugo* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who, for the recovery of his Bishoprick, disbursed 1000. Marks to the Pope, and 100. Marks to the foresaid *Swalo* the Legate, who now (as *Paris* recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never sow. *Ex Mat. Paris, &c.*

About this season, or not much before, died Pope *Innocentius* the third, in the nineteenth year of his Popedom, to whose custody *Fredricus* the Nephew of *Fredrick Barbarossa*, being yet young, was committed by the Empress his Mother; of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this *Innocent*, next succeeded Pope *Honorius* the third, who writing to young King *Henry* in

Ex chron. monach. Gisburn.

King Henry the third Crowned.

Rochamsted and Hertford taken by Lewis.

Lincoln taken by Lewis.

{Anno 1217.}

This Eustace slain by the Kings Kinsman.

A noble victory by Gods grace given to King Johns Son.

Ex Mat. Parisiens.

Lewis the French Kings Son driven out of England.

The answer of the French King concerning his Son Lewis.

An admonition to English-men not to admit foreign rulers into the Realm.

It is a bad wind that bloweth no man profit.

Money coming unto the Pope and Cardinal.

Hugo Bishop of Lincoln redeemeth his Bishoprick for 1000. Marks. Ex Mat. Paris in vita reg. Henr. 3.

Pope Innocent the third.

Pope Honorius the third.

The effect of the Letter of Pope *Honorius* the third to King *Henry* the third. *Ex Fasciculo.*

in a special Letter, exhorteth him to the love of Vertue, and to the fear of God, namely to be circumspect with what Familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally above all other things he monitheth him to reverence the Church which is the Spouse of Christ, and to honour the Ministers thereof, in whom Christ himself (faith he) is both honoured and defaited. And this seemeth the chiefest Article of that his writing to him.

A strange tale of Pope *Honorius*, If it be true.

Of this Pope *Honorius*, *Abbas Ursbergensis* (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure than credible; which is this, *Honorius* being Priest in *Rome* (whose name was then *Centius*) and Procurator to *Jacintus* a Cardinal: so it befel, that his Master sent him abroad about *Rome*, to borrow and procure money for him against his Journey into *Spain*: for Pope *Clement* then intended to send this *Jacintus* his Legate into *Spain*. As this *Centius* was walking by himself all sad and follicitous to speed his Masters Message, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend Father, and asketh him, *What cause he had to walk so heavy and carefull?* To whom he answered again, and signified the occasion of his business that then he had to do. Then the old Father said to him, *Go and return home again, for thy Master* (saith he) *shall not at this time go to* Spain. *How so* (quoth the other) *how is that true? As true* (saith he) *as it is certain that the Pope shall die, and thy said Master shall be Pope after him. Centius*, thinking that to be unlikely, said, *He could not believe that to be true.* To whom the other inferreth again, *So know this* (said he) *to be as certain, as it is true that the City of* Hierusalem *this day is taken of the* Saracens, *and shall not be recovered again from them, before the time of thy Papacy.* And thus speaking (saith *Ursperg.*) he vaded suddenly away. *Ex Abbate Ursperg. in Chronico.*

Ex Abbate *Ursperg.* in Chronico.

After that it so pleased the merciful Providence of Almighty God, to work this great mercy upon the flock of King *John* (which notwithstanding the unkind Prelates with their false Prophets had declared before, That never any of them should succeed in the Throne after that King) and also unto the whole Common-wealth of the Realm, in delivering them from the dangerous Service of *Ludwick* and the foresaid *Frenchmen*. After their departure, the next year following, *Anno* 1218. which was the third of this Kings Reign, the Archbishop S. *Langton*, and the Bishops, Earls and Barons resorted to *London* unto the King at *Michaelmas* next following, and there held a great Parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the King all the Franchises which were made and given by King *John* his Father at *Runemedow*, and them he confirmed and ratified by his Charter; which long time after (saith mine Author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in *England*. For the which cause, by the Nobles and Commons was given and granted again unto the King two shillings for every plow-land through *England*. And *Hubert Burgh* was made Chief Justice of *England*, of whose Troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third year of King *Henry*, and the fiftieth year after the death of *Thomas Becket*; wherefore the said *Becket* the same year next following was taken up and shrined for a new Saint made of an old Rebel. Thither came such resort of people of *England* and of *France*, that the Country of *Kent* was not sufficient to sustain them. *Ex Historia D. Scales.* About the same time *Isabel* the Kings Mother was married to the Earl of *March*. And *William Marshall* the good Earl died, which was the Governor of the King and the Realm, not without great lamentation of the people of *England*. Then was the King committed to the Government of *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*. This noble Earl left behind him five Sons, and five Daughters.

{Anno 1218.}

King Henry confirmed the Liberties granted by King John.

Two shillings of every plow-land granted to King Henry.

Thomas Becket thrined.

Ex Historia D. Scales. William Marshall dieth and was buried at the Temple.

The year next ensuing, *Anno* 1219. it was ordained and proclaimed through all the Land, that all Aliens and Foreigners should depart the Realm, and not return to the same again, only such excepted as used Traffick or Trade of Merchandize under the Kings safe Conduct. This Proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to avoid out of the Land *Foukes de Brent*, *Philip de Marks*, *Egelardus de Cicomia*, *William* Earl *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veteri ponte*, *Britheuus de Insula*, *Hugo de Baillinell*, *Roger de Gaugi*, with divers other strangers more, which kept Castles and Holds of the Kings against his will. Of whom the forenamed *Foukes* was the Principal, who fortified and held the Castle of *Bedford*, which he had by the Gift of King *John*, with might and strength against the King and his Power, near the space of three months. Moreover he went about to apprehend the Kings Justices at *Dunstable*; but they, being warned thereof, escaped all, except *Henry Braibroke*, whom he imprisoned in the said Castle. The King hearing hereof, and consulting with his Clergy and Nobles, made his Power against the same. Which after long Siege and some slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninety and seven, which was (as *Paris* writeth) about the seventh or eighth year of his Reign. *Foukes* the same time was in *Wales*; who, hearing of the taking of the Castle, conveyed himself to the Church of *Coventry*. At length submitting himself to the Kings mercy, upon consideration of his Service done before to the Kings Father, he was committed to the Custody of *Eustace* Bishop of *London*, and afterwards being deprived of all his Goods, Possessions and Tenements within the Realm, was forced to perpetual banishment, never to return to *England* again.

{Anno 1219.} Aliens commanded out of England.

Foukes de Brent rebelled against King Henry.

Here (by the way) I find it noted in *Paris*, that after this aforesaid *Foukes* had spoiled and razed the Church of Saint *Paul* in *Bedford*, for the building up of his Castle; the Abbots of *Helvestue*, bearing thereof, caused the Sword to be taken from the Image of S. *Paul* standing in the Church, so long as he remained unpunished. Afterward the, bearing him to be committed to the custody of S. *Paul* in *London*, caused the Sword to be put into the hands of the Image again. *Matth. Parisiens. in vita Hem.* 3.

Ex Paris. ibi.

{Anno 1220.}

About this year the young King the second time was crowned again at *Westminster*, about which time began the new building of our Lady Church at *Westminster*. Shortly after *Gualo* the Legate was called home again to *Rome*. For the holy Father (as *Matth. Paris* reporteth) being sick of a Spiritual Dropsie, thought this *Gualo* (having so large occupying in *England*) to be able somewhat to cure his disease. And to that Legate returned with all his bags well stuffed, leaving *Pandulph* behind him to supply that Bayliwick of his great Grandfather the Pope.

King Henry crowned the second time at Westminster.

The life and acts of Pope *Innocentius* the Third are partly described before, how he intruded *Stephen Langton* against the Kings will into the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, stirring up also sixty and four Monks of the same Church of *Canterbury* privily to work against the King. Moreover how he did Excommunicate the said King as a publick Enemy of the Church, so long as the said King withstood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole Kingdom under interdiction, for the space of five years and three months, and at length deposed and deprived him from his Scepter, keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he absolved his Subjects from their due Obedience and Subjection unto him. How he gave away his Kingdoms and Possessions to *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, commanding the said *Lewis* to spoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the King (being forsaken of his Nobles, Prelates, and Commons) was inforced against his will to submit himself, and sware Obedience unto the Pope, paying unto him a yearly Tribute of 1000 Marks by year, for receiving his Kingdom again, whereby both he and his Successors after him were Vassals afterwards unto the Pope. And these were the Apostolical Acts of this holy Vicar

Pope Innocentius.

The Deeds and Decrees of Pope Innocent the third.

Vicar in the Realm of *England*. Moreover, he condemned *Almericus* a worthy learned man and a Bishop, for an Heretick, for teaching and holding against Images. Also he condemned the Doctrine of *Joachim Abbas* (whom we spake of before) for Heretical. This Pope brought first into the Church the paying of private Tythes. He ordained the receiving once a year at *Easter*. Unto the Papal decretals he added the Decree, *Omnes utriusque sexus, &c.* Also the reservation of the Sacrament, and the going with the Bell and light before the Sacrament was by him appointed. In the said Council of *Lateran* he also ordained that the Canon of the Mass should be received with equal Authority, as though it had proceeded from the Apostles themselves. He brought in Transubstantiation. Look in the decretals, *Titulo 1. De summa Trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.*

Almericus condemned for an Heretick.

Joachim Abbas condemned.

Private Tythes brought in.

Bell and Candle before the Sacrament. Canon of the Mass authorized. Transubstantiation.

Item, the said *Innocentius* the Third ordained that none should marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so under.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden.

The said Pope stirred up *Otho* against *Philip* the Emperor, because the said *Philip* was elected Emperor against his will; upon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in *Germany*. And afterward against the said *Otho*, whom he had made Emperor, he set up *Frederick* King of *Cicile*, and caused the Archbishop of *Maience* to pronounce him Excommunicate in all his Titles, and to be depofed of his Empire. For the which cause the Princes of *Germany* did invade his Bithoprick, spoiling and burning his Possessions. The cause why the Pope so did accurse and depose him, was, for that the said *Otho* did take and occupy Cities, Towns and Castles, which the Pope said appertained to him.

The Pope setteth Kings and Emperors together by the ears. *Philip* the Emperor deposed. *Otho* the Emperor deposed.

Item, the said Pope Ordained, That if any Princes offended one another, the correction should appertain unto the Pope. In this Council of *Lateran* were Archbishops and Primates 61, Bishops 400, Abbots 12, Priors and Conventuals 800, besides other Ambassadors, Legates, Doctors and Lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

The Councell of Lateran.

In the History of *Hermanus Mutius*, we read how in the year of our Lord, 1212. in this Popes time divers Noblemen, and others in the Country of *Alsatia*, contrary to the tradition of the *Romish* Popes, did hold that every day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. After that they did wickedly, which restrained Priests and Ministers from their lawful Wives, for the which cause (as is in the foresaid Author) by this Pope *Innocentius* the Third and his Bishops, an hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Ex Hermano Mutio.

Martyrs of Alsatia to the number of one hundred burned in one day.

Some other History (as *Nauclerus*) recordeth also, that at the same time many were in the City of *Millain* of the said Doctrine, which used to send *Collects* unto the foresaid Saints of *Alsatia*. *Ex Nauclero.*

Collects sent from the Brethren of Millain to them of Alsatia.

In the Chronicle of *Gualter Hemingford*, otherwise called *Gisburnensis*, it is recorded, that in the days of this King *John* and Pope *Innocent*, began the two Sects, or Orders of Fryers, one called *The Preachers Order*, and *black Fryers of S.* Dominick; the other called *The Minorits of S.* Francis. The Preachers of black Fryers Order began of one *Dominick* a *Spaniard*, about the parts of *Tholouse*, who after he had laboured ten years in preaching against the *Albingenses*, and such other as did hold against the Church of *Rome*, afterward coming up to the Council of *Lateran* with *Fulco* Bishop of *Tholouse*, defired of the foresaid *Innocent* the Third, to have his order of preaching Fryers confirmed, which the Pope a great while refused to grant: at length he had a dream, that the Church of *Lateran* was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing thereat, cometh in this *Dominick*, who with his shoulders underpoped the Church, and so preserved the building thereof from falling, &c. And right well this dream may seem verified, for the Fryers have been always the chief Pillars and Upholders of the Popes Church. Upon this the Pope (waking out of his dream) called *Dominick* to him, and granted his petition: and so came up this wolvish Order of the *Dominicks*. I call it wolvish, for that his Mother when she was great with this *Dominick*, dreamed that she had in her womb a *Wolf*, which had a burning Torch in his mouth. The which dream the Preachers of that Order do greatly advance, and expound to their Orders glory, as well as they can. Nevertheless, howsoever they expound it, they can make a *Wolf* but a *Woolf*, and this a wolvish Order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of S. *Augustine*, as who should say, That Christs Rule were not enough to make a Christian man. Their profession standeth upon three principal Points, as thus described, *Charitatem habentes, humilitatem servantes, & paupertatem voluntariam possidentes*; That is, *Having Charity, holding Humility, and possessing wilful Poverty*. Their habit and clothing is black.

Observant Fryers begin.

Dominick.

Fryers upholders of the Popes Church.

The Order of the *Minors* or *Minorit-Fryers* descended from one *Francis* an *Italian* of the City of *Assisium*. This *Assisium-Asi*, who I suppose was some simple and rude Idiot, hearing upon a time how Christ sent forth his Disciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himself and his Disciples, and so left off his shooes: he had but one Coat, and that of course Cloth. In stead of a latchet to his shooe, and of a Girdle, he took about him an hempen Cord, and so he apparelled his Disciples, teaching them to fulfill (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the Gospel, to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He left in writing, to his Disciples and Followers, his Rule, which he called *Regulam Evangelicam*, *The Rule of the Gospel*. As though the Gospel of Christ were not a sufficient Rule to all Christian men, but it must take his perfection of frantick *Francis*. And yet for all that great presumption of this *Francis*, and notwithanding this his rule, founding to the derogation of Christs Gospel, he was confirmed by this Pope *Innocent*. Yea, and such Fools this *Francis* found abroad, that not only he had Followers of his doltish Religion (both of the Nobles and unnobles of *Rome*) but also some there were, which builded Mantions for him and his Fryers. This *Francis*, as he was superstitious in casting all things from him, as his Girdle, girding a Cord about him; so in outward chastising of himself, so strait he was to his flesh (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God) that in Winter season he covered his body with Ice and Snow. He called poverty his Lady, he kept nothing over night. So desirous he was of Martyrdom, that he went to *Syria* to the *Soldan*, which received him honourably. Whereby it may be thought, that (surely) he told not the truth, as S. *John Baptist* did in *Herods* house. For truth is seldom welcome in Courts, and in the world. But it is hard to make a Martyr of him which is no true Confessor. I will here pass over the Fable, how Christ and his Saints did mark him with five wounds. These *Franciscan* or begging Fryers, although they were all under one Rule and clothing of S. *Francis*, yet they be divided into many Sects and Orders, some go on treen shooes or pattins, some barefoored, some regular *Franciscans* or *Observants*, some *Minors* or *Minorits*, others be called *Minimi*, others of the Gospel, others *De Capatio*. They all differ in many things, but accord in Superstition and Hypocrisie. And for so much as we have here entred into the matter of these two Orders of Fryers, by the occasion hereof I thought a little by the way to digress from our story, in reciting the whole Catalogue or Rabblement of Monks, Fryers and Nuns of all Sects, Rules and Orders, set up and confirmed by the Pope. The names of whom here in order of the Alphabet follows.

The Minorite-Fryers defended from S. Francis.

Divers Sects of Franciscans.

The Rabblement of Religious Orders.

The Rabble of all religious Orders.

Augustinians, the first Order.	
Ambrosians two sorts.	409
Antonies Heremits.	324
Austins Heremits.	498
Austins Observants.	490
Armenians Sect.	
Ammonits and *Moabits.*	
Basilins Order.	384
Benets Order.	524
Bernardus Order.	1120
Barefooted-Fryers.	1222
Bridgets Order.	1370
Begheearts or *white Spirits.*	1309
Brethren of Hierusalem.	1103
Brethren of Saint John de civitate *Black Fryers.*	1220
Brethren of wilful Poverty.	
Clumiacensis Order.	913
Canons of S. Augustine.	1080
Charter-house Order.	1086
Cisstercienscis Order.	1098
Cross-bearers or *crossed Fryers.*	1216
Carmelits or *White Fryers.*	1212
Clares Order.	1225
Celestines Order.	1297
Camaldulensis Order.	950
Cross-starred Brethren.	
Constantinopolitanish Order.	
Cross-bearers.	
Chapter-Monks.	
Dutch Order.	2216
Dominick Black Fryers.	1220
Franciscans.	1224
Grandmontensis Order.	1076
Gregorian Order.	594
Georges Order.	1407
Guilelmits.	1246
Gerundinensis Order.	
Galilei or *Galileans.*	
Heremits.	
Helens Brethren. *Humiliati.*	1166
Hospital Brethren.	
Holy Ghost Order.	
Jeroms Orders two sorts.	1412
Johns Heremits.	
Justins Order.	1432
Johns Order *Joannits.*	380
Otherwise Knights of the Rhodes.	1308
Iniesuati.	1365
Jeroms Heremits.	490
Josephs Order.	
Jacobits Sect.	
James Brethren Order.	
James Brethren with the Sword.	
Indians Order.	
Katharine of *Senes* Order.	1455
Keiedmonks Knights of *Rhodes.*	
Lazarits of *Mary Magdalens* our Lady Brethren.	1034
Lords of *Hungary.*	
Minorits which be divided into: *Conventuals.* *Observants.* *Reformat.* *Collettan.* *De Capistio.* *De Evangelio.* *Angelet.* *Clarins* and others.	
Minors or *Minorits.*	1224
Maries Servants.	1304
Monks of *Mount Olivet.*	1046
Marovinies Sect.	
Minorits Sect.	
Monachi and *Monachæ.*	
Morbonei and *Merefti.*	
Menelaish and *Jasonish Sect.*	
New Canons of S. *Austin.*	1430
Nestorini.	
Nalbears Brethren.	
New Order of our Lady.	
Nazarei.	
Pauls Heremits.	345
Præmonstratensis Order.	1119
Preacher-Order or *Black Fryers.*	
Peter the Apostles Order.	1409
Purgatory Brethren.	
Rechabits.	
Sarrabits.	
Sambonits.	1199
Scourgers the first Sect.	1266
Souldiers of Jesus Christ.	1323
Scopenits, or S. *Salvators* Order.	1367
Specularii or the *Glass-Order.*	
Sepulchers Order.	
Sisters Order.	
Swords Order.	
Starred Monks.	
Starred Fryers.	
Sclavony Order.	
Scourgers the *second Sect*, called *Ninivits.*	
Stool Brethren.	
Scotland Brethren Order.	
Sicarli.	
S. Sophies Order.	
Templar Lords.	1110
Templar Knights.	1120
The Vale of Josaphat *his Order.*	
Vallis umbrosa.	1400
Waldensis Sect.	
Wentzelans Order.	
Wilhelmer Order.	
White Monks of *mount Olivet.*	1406
Zelotes Order.	

Thus hast thou, if thou pleasc (gentle Reader) to know what Orders and what Sects of Religion have been set up by the Pope, the Catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not only in Books printed of late in *Germany*, namely by the reverend Father *Martin Luther*: but also conferred with another *English* Book which came to our hands, containing the same likes Notes of ancient Antiquity, the number of which Rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious Sects, it cometh to mind consequently to infer the Prophesie of *Hildegardis*, as well against the whole rout of *Romish* Prelates, and the fall of that Church, as especially against the begging Fryers, and such other unprofitable bellies of the Church. This *Hildegardis* is holden of the *Papists* themselves to be a great Prophetess: whose Prophesie proceedeth in this manner, first against the Priests and Prelates of the *Romish* Church, as followeth.

The Prophesie of Hildegardis *of the ruine of* Rome, *and against the begging Fryers.*

Hildegardis a Nun, and (as many judged) a Prophetess, lived in the year 1146. In her prophesies she doth most grievously reprehend not only the wicked and abominable life of the spiritual *Papists*, but also the contempt of the Ecclesiastical Office, and also the horrible destruction of the Church of *Rome*. In a certain place she hath these words, *And now is the Law neglected among the spiritual people, which neglect to teach and to do good things; the Master likewise and the Prelates do sleep, despising Justice and laying it aside.* In a certain Vision the Church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the Priests had berayed her face with dust, and rent her coat, &c. and that they did not shine over the people, neither in Doctrine, neither in example of life: but rather contrariwise, that they have driven the innocent *Lamb* from them. She said moreover, *That all Ecclesiastical Order did every day become worse and worse, and that Priests did not teach but destroy the Law of God: and for these horrible Crimes and Impieties, she threatneth and prophesieth unto them Gods most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments.* There is no cause why the spiritual *Papists* should flatter themselves upon this, that the promised again to the Ministers of the Church those goods things to follow, like as *Johannes de Rupe scissa* doth, and other such like Prophets for they say, it will come to pass, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing (undoubtedly) they mean the godly Ministers in the reformed Churches, which for the most part were of the spiritual number, and yet did forsake the dishoneſt life and those wicked Idolatries. Now, whereas the Priests and Monks; that is, the whole Rabble and Spiritualty do account *Hildegard* for a true Prophetess; they ought to consider that by her they are more severely accursed, not as by a woman, but as by God himself. And I pray you, what Abomination, Impiety, and Idolatry hath been committed since that time by the spiritualty? I will note here a certain Prophesie of hers, taken out of the common places of *Henry Token*, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophesieth of the reformation of Religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

A Prophesie for the decay of the Romish Church

Then shall the Crown of Apostolical Honour be divided, because there shall be found no Religion among the Apostolical Order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignity of that Name, and shall set over them other men and other

other Archbishops. Insomuch that the Apostolick See of that time (by the diminution of his Honour) shall scarce have *Rome*, and a few other Countries thereabout under his Crown. And these things shall partly come to pass by insedition of Wars, and partly also by a Common Council and consent of the spiritual and secular persons. Then shall Justice flourish, so that in those days men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall observe them as ancient men did.

The gloss agreeth, &c.

These things thus premised, now will we come to the Prophesie of the foresaid *Hildegard*, concerning the foresaid Begging Fryers above mentioned, reciting her words, not only as they are printed in a Book printed of late in *Germany*; but also as my self have seen and read, agreeing to the same Book word for word, and yet have the same to shew, written in old parchment leaves, in such sort, as the thing it self most evidently declareth a great iniquity of time. The words of her Prophesie be these:

Hildegards prophesie of Fryers and Monks

In those days shall arise a senseless people, proud, greedy, without faith, and subtil, the which shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain Order of foolish devotion under the feigned Cloke of beggery, preferring themselves above all others by their feigned devotion, arrogant in understanding, and pretending holiness, walking without themselfness or the fear of God, in inventing many new mischiefs strong and stout. But this Order shall be accursed of all wise men and faithful Christians. They shall cease from all labour, and give themselves over unto idleness, choosing rather to live through flattery and begging. Moreover they shall together study how they may perversly resist the Teachers of the Truth, and slay them together with the Noblemen: how to seduce and deceive the Nobility, for the necessity of their living, and pleasures of this world: for the Devil will graft in them four principal Vices, (that is to say) flattery, envy, hypocrisie, and slander. Flattery, that they may have large Gifts given them. Envy, when they see Gifts given to others, and not to them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation they may please men. Detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also they shall wittingly preach, but without devotion or example of the Martyrs, and shall detract the secular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true Pastors, receiving Alms of the poor, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their Husbands and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and to rob their Husbands to give it unto them, for they will take all these stollen and evil gotten goods, and say, Give it unto us, and we will pray for you; *so that they being curious to bide other mens faults, do utterly forget their own. And alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers, Spoilers, Thieves and Robbers, of Sacrilegious persons, Usurers and Adulterers, Heretick, Schismaticks, Apostates, Whores and Bawds, of Noble men, Perjurers, Merchants, false Judges, Souldiers, Tyrants, Princes, of such as live contrary to the Law, and of many perverse and wicked men, following the perswasion of the Devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and subtilty: even unto eternal damnation.*

All these things shall manifestly appear in them unto all people, and they (day by day) shall wax more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickedness and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in their necks as Doves, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shall the people cry out upon them: *Woe be unto you ye miserable children of sorrow, the world hath seduced you, and the Devil hath bridled your mouths, your flesh is frail, and your hearts without savour, your minds have been unstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly, your dainty bellies desire delicate meats, your feet are swift to run unto mischief. Remember when you were apparently Blessed, yet envious; poor in sight, but rich; simple to see to, but mighty flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, evermuch upright, proud, unshamefast, unstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gain; meek, but slanderers; religious, but covetous; humble, but proud; pitiful, hard hearted liers; pleasant flatterers, persecutors, oppressors of the poor, bringing in new Sects newly invented of your selves; merciful thoughts, but sinned wicked; lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, defyers of honours, maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, unstainable preachers, menpleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord, of whom* Moses *the glorious Prophet spake very well in his song,* A people without counsel or understanding: would to God they did know and understand and forsee the end. *You have builded up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall even as* Simon Magus, *whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you likewise through your false Doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions, and wickedness, are come to ruine. And the people shall say unto them,* Go ye Teachers of wickedness, Subverters of the Truth, Brethren of the *Sanamite*, Fathers of Heresies, false Apostles, which have fained your selves to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet have not fulfilled it in part: ye Sons of Iniquity, we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for Pride and Presumption hath deceived you, and insatiable Concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts. And when as you would ascend higher than was meet or comely for you (by the just Judgment of God) you are fallen back into perpetual opprobry and shame.

This *Hildegardis* (whole Prophesie we have mentioned) lived about the year of our Lord 1146. as we read in *Chronico Martini.*

Cross-bearers or Fryers.

About the same time that these *Franciscans* and *Dominick* Fryers began (which are above mentioned) sprang up also the Cross-bearers, or Crouched-Fryers, taking their Original and occasion of *Innocent* the Third, which *Innocent* raised up an Army (signed with a cross on their Breast) to fight against the *Albingenses*, whom the Pope and his Sect accounted for Hereticks about the parts of *Tholouse*. What these *Albingenses* were, it cannot be well gathered by the old Popish Histories: for if there were any that did hold, teach or maintain against the Pope or his Papal pride, or withstand and gainsay the beggerly Traditions, Rites, and Religions, &c. the Historians of that time (for the most part in writing of them) do so deprave and misreport them (suppressing the truth of their Articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worse than *Turks* and *Infidels*. And that, as I suppose, caused *Marth. Parisiensis* and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (and so I find in some Records) that the Opinions of the said *Albingenses* were found enough, holding and professing nothing else but only against the wanton Wealth, Pride and Tyranny of the Prelates, denying the Popes Authority to have ground of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their Ceremonies and Traditions, as Images, Pardons, Purgatory of the *Romish* Church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous Occupyings, &c. Of these *Albingenses* were slain (at times) and burned a great multitude by the means of the Pope, and *Simon Ecclesiasticus*, with others more. It seemeth that these *Albingenses* were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, because they set up a contrary Pope against him about the coasts of *Burgarorum*: for the which cause the Bishop called *Portimensis*, being the Popes Legate in those quarters, writeth to the Archbishop of *Rome* and other Bishops in this wise:

Albigenses.

A Letter of the Bishop Portimensis concerning the Albingenses.

Venerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia Rothomagensi *Archiepiscopo & ejus suffraganeis Episcopis, salutem in Domino Jesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veri Crucifixi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari singultibus & plorare. Ecce quod videmus loquimur, & quod scimus testificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui exaltatur super omne quod colitur aut dicitur Deus, jam habet perfidiæ suæ preambulum hæresiarchum, quem hæretici Albingenses Papam suum nominant, habitantem finibus Burgarorum & Croatiæ, & Dalmatiæ, juxta Hungarorum Nationem. Ad eum confluunt hæretici* Albingenses, *at ad eorum consulta respondeat. Et enim de* Carcasona *oriundus vices illius antipapæ gerens* Bartholomæus, *hæreticorum Episcopus, finestram ei exhibendo reverentiam, sedem & locum concessit in villa quæ* Portos *appellatur, & seipsum transfulit in*

in partes Tholosanas. Ipse Bartholomæus, in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio intitulat in hunc modum: Bartholomæus servus servorum, M. sanctæ fidei salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat Episcopos, & Ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per assertionem sanguinis Jesu Christi, & propentias obsecramus, authoritate domini Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte districte præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. Apostolorum Petri & Pauli proximè futuris, ubi & alii Prælati Franciæ, fervente Domino congregabuntur, parate consilium dare in negotio prædicto, & cum aliis qui ibidem aderunt providere super negotio Albingensi. Alioqui inobedientiam vestram domino Papæ curabimus significari. Datum apud Plawium 6. nonas Julii.

For so much as mention is here made of these superstitious Sects of these Friers, and such other beggerly Religions, it might seem not much impertinent, being moved by the occation hereof, as I have done in *Hildegardis* before, to now to annexe also to the same a certain other ancient Treatise compiled by *Geoffery Chaucer*, by the way of a Dialogue or Questions, moved in the person of a certain uplandish and simple Ploughman of the country. Which Treatise, for the same, the Author intituled *Jack Upland*, wherein is to be seen and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable difcord of these irreligious Religions, how rude and unskilful they are in matters and principles of our Christian institution, as by the contents of this present Dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the same old English wherein first it was set forth in this wise do proceed. Wherein also thou mayest see, that it is no new thing that their blasphemous doings have by divers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and divers other old Books to shew.

The blind ignorance of Friers detected.

A Treatise of Geoffery Chaucer, *intituled*, Jack Upland.

The Fruits of Antichrist.

I *Jack Upland* make my mone to very God and to all true in Christ, that Antichrist and his Disciples (by colour of holinefs) walking and deceiving Christs Church by many fake figures, where through (by Antichrist and his) many vertues been transfoyled to vices.

Antichrist his brood.

But the fellieft folk, that ever Antichrift found, been laft brought into the Church and in a wonder wife, for they been of divers Sects of Antichrift, fown of divers countries and kindreds. And all men known well, that they be not obedient to Bifhops, ne Leegemen to Kings: neither the tillen, ne fowen, weeden, ne repen, wodd, corn, ne gras, neither nothing that man fhould help: But only themfelves their lives to fuftain. And thefe men han all manner power of God as they feein in Heaven and in Yearth, to fell Heaven and Hell to whom that them liketh, and thefe wretches weet never were to been themfelfs.

Patience proveth matter trier.

And therefore (*Freer*) in thine orders and rules been grounded on Goddis Law, tell thou me *Jack Upland*, that I aske of thee, and if thou be or thinkeft to be on Chrifts fide keep thy paciens.

The Frier muft anfwer according to Gods word.

S Aint *Paul* teacheth, that all our deeds fhould be doo in charity, and elle it is nought worth, but difpleafing to God and harme to our own fouls. And for that Freers challenge to be greateft Clerks of the Church, and next following Chrift in living: Men fhould for charity ax them fome Queftions, and pray them to ground their anfwers in reafon and holy writ, for elfe their anfwer would nought be worth, be it ftonifhed never fo fair: and as mee think men might skilully ask thus of a Freer.

Friers may better break Gods Law when Mans Law.

1. ℭ *Freer*, how many orders be in Earth, and which is the perfecteft order? Of what order art thou? who made thine order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Chrift himfelf made? If Chrifts rule be moft perfect, why ruleft thou thee not thereafter? Without more, why fhall a Freer be more punifhed if he break the rule that his patron made, then if he break the hefts that God himfelf made?

2. Approoveth Chrift any more religions then one, that S. *James* fpeaketh of? If he approoveth no more, why haft thou left his rule and taken another? Why is a Freer Apoftata that leaveth his order and taketh another Seft, fith there is but one Religion of Chrift?

There is but one Religi-on.

3. Why be you wedded fafter to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leave his wife for a year or two as many men done: and if you leave your habit a quarter of a year, ye fhould be holden Apoftatas.

The Frier more bound to his habit then the Man to his Wife.

4. Wherefore maketh you men of religion or no? If it do, then ever as it weareth, your Religion weareth, and after that your habit is better, your religion is better, and when you have liggen it betide, then lig ye your religion betide you, and bin Apoftatas: why bie you fo precious clothes? fith no man feeketh fuch but for vain glory, as S. *Gregory* faith.

If the habit make the Frier religi-ous, as his habit warmeth, fo doth his religion.

What betokeneth your great hood, your fcalpery, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

Hollineſs of all Hypocrites conſiſteth in clothing and outward apparance.

5. Why ufe ye all one colour, more then other Chriftian Men doo? What betokeneth that ye been clothed all in one manner of clothing?

If ye fay, it betokeneth love and charity, Certes then ye be oft Hypocrits, when any of you hateth another, and in that that ye wooll be faid holy by your clothing.

Why may not a Freer wear clothing of another Sect of Friers, fith holineſs ftondeth not in the cloths?

Theſe be they that will not either themſelves, nor ſuffer other men that would.

6. Why hold ye filence in one Houfe more then another, fith men ought over all to fpeak the good and leave the evil?

Why eat you fleſh in one Houſe more then in another, if your rule and your order be perfect, and the Patron that made it?

All Friers fond men.

7. Why get you your difpenfations to have it more eafie? Certes, either it feemeth that ye be unperfect, or he that made it fo hard, that ye may not hold it. And fiker, if ye hold not the rule of your Patrons, ye be not then her Freers, and fo ye lie upon your felves.

Friers be fond Men and quick beggers.

8. Why make you as dead Men when ye be profeſſed, and yet ye be not dead, but more quick beggers then ye were before? And it feemeth evil a dead Man to go about and beg.

Graves not dead men and not courtly Houſe.

9. Why will yee not fuffer your novifes hear your Councels in your Chapter Houſe ere that they have been profeſſed, if your Councels been true and after Gods Law?

10. Why make ye you fo coſtly Houſes to dwell in? fith Chrift did not ſo, and dead Men ſhould have but graves, as falleth it to dead Men, and yet ye have more Courts then many Lords of *England*: For ye now weniden through the Realm, and each night will lig in your own Courts, and ſo mow but few right Lords do.

Friers not the Kings Liegemen, Friers no mens prayers.

11. Why heire you to ferm your ſimitors, giving therefore eckh year a certain rent, and will not ſuffer one in anothers limitation, right as yee were your ſelves Lords of Countries?

Why be ye not under your Biſhops Viſitations, and leege men to our King?

Why axe ye no letters of bretherheds of other men prayers, as ye deſire that other men ſhould axe letters of you?

Friers gette-ter and bet-ter then God.

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generally to all manner of men for the more charity?

12. Mow ye make any man more perfect brether for your prayers then God hath by our believe? By our baptiſm and his own grant? If ye mow, Certes then ye be above God.

Why make ye men believe that your golden trental ſong of you, to take therefore ten ſhillings, or at leaſt five ſhillings, wool bring Souls out of Hell, or out of Purgatory? If this be ſooth, Certes ye might bring all Souls out of pain, and that wool ye nought, and then ye be out of charity.

Uncertain-table Eſtate.

13. Why make ye men believe that he that is buried in your habit ſhall never come in Hell, and ye weet not of your ſelf whether ye ſhall to Hell or no? and if this were ſooth, ye ſhould ſell your high Houſes to make many habits for to ſave many mens Souls.

Friers ſtea-ven of mens children.

14. Why ſteal ye mens children for to make hem of your Sect, ſith that theft is againſt Gods hefts, and ſith your Sect is not perfect? ye know not whether the rule, that ye bind him to, be beſt for him or worſt.

15. Why

15. Why undermene ye not your brethren for their treſpaſs after the Law of the Goſpel, ſith that undemening is the beſt that may be? But ye put them in priſon oft when they do after Gods Law, and by S. *Auguſtines* rule, If any do amiſs and would not amend him, ye ſhould put him from you.

Shrift and burials were more eaſie till that the miniſtring of the Sacraments.

16. Why covet ye ſhrifts and burying of other mens pariſhens, and none other Sacrament that falleth to Chriſtian folk.

Why buſſy ye not to hear to ſhrift of poor folk as well as of rich Lords and Ladies, ſith they mow have more plenty of ſhrift Fathers than poor folk mow.

Why ſay ye not the Goſpel in houſes of bedred men, as ye do in rich mens that mow go to Church and hear the Goſpel?

Poor men have no ſhrift, ſaith my fellow frier.

Why covet you not to bury poor folk among you? ſith that they bin moſt holy (as ye ſaine that ye been for your poverty?)

17. Why will ye not be at hir diriges as ye have bin at rich mens? ſith God praiſeth him more then he doth other men.

Theſe be they that will not either themſelves, nor ſuffer other men that would.

What is thy Prayer worth? ſith thou wilt take therefore, for all Chapmen ye need be moſt wiſe for dread of Simony.

What cauſe haſt thou that thou wilt not Preach the Goſpel, as God ſaith that thou ſhouldeſt? ſith it is the beſt lore and alſo our believe.

Why be ye evil apaid that ſecular Prieſts ſhould Preach the Goſpel? ſith God himſelf hath bodden hem.

The Frier gaineth by a Principle, and yet hateth the Goſpel.

18. Why hate ye the Goſpel to be Preached, ſith ye be ſo much hold thereto? For ye win more by year with *In Principio*, then with all the rules that ever your patrons made, and in this miniſtrels bin better then ye, for they contrarien not to the miriths that they maken, but ye contrarien the Goſpel both in word and deed.

Judas for littey pence ſold the Prieſt and Frier for four pence-fith. Lieth Chriſt. A compariſon betweed Judas and the Frier.

19. Freer, when thou receiveſt a penny for to ſay a Maſs, whether ſelleſt thou Gods body for that penny, or thy prayer, or elſe thy travel? If thou ſaieſt thou wolt not travel for to ſay the Maſs, but for the penny, that certes if this be ſooth, then thou loveſt too litle meed for thy ſoul: and if thou ſelleſt Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very Simony, and art become a Chapman worſe then *Judas* that ſold it for thirty pence.

The Frier wrieth be-cauſe God forgetteth.

20. Why writeſt thou her names in thy Tables that yeveth thee money? ſith God knoweth all things: For it ſeemeth by thy writing that God would not reward him, but thou writeſt in thy Tables, God would els forgotten it.

Why beareſt thou God in hand and ſlandereſt him that he begged for his meat? ſith he was Lord over all, for then had he bin unwiſe to have begged, and have no need thereto.

Freer, after what law ruleſt thou thee? where findeſt thou in Gods law that thou ſhouldeſt thus beg?

21. What manner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth ſuch men to beg?

Why beggeſt thou ſo for thy Brethren?

If thou ſaiſt, for they have need, then thou doſt it for the more perfection, or elſe for the leaſt, or els for the mean. If it be the moſt perfection of all, then ſhould all thy brethren do ſo, and then no man needed to beg but for himſelf, for ſo ſhould no man beg but him needed. And if it be the leaſt perfection, why loveſt thou then other men more then thy ſelf? For ſo thou art not well in charity, ſith thou ſhouldeſt ſeek the more perfection after thy power, living thy ſelf moſt after God. And thus leaving that imperfection, thou ſhouldeſt not ſo beg for them. And if it is a good mean thus to beg as thou doeſt, then ſhould no man do ſo, but they bin in this good mean, and yet ſuch a mean granted to you may never be grounded on Gods law; for then both leid and leaud that bin in mean degree of this world, ſhould go about and beg as ye do. And if all ſhould do ſo, certes well nigh all the world ſhould go about and beg as ye done, and ſo ſhould there be ten beggers againſt one yever.

Eſth better to labour and get, then to beg for other mens goods.

Why procureſt thou men to yeve thee their Alms, and faieſt it is ſo needful, and thou wilt not thy ſelf win thee that meed?

22. Why wilt not thou beg for poor bedred men that bin poorer then any of your ſect? That liggen and mow not go about to help himſelfes, ſith we be all brethren in God, and that brotherhed paſſeth any other that ye on any man could make, and where moſt need were, there were moſt perfection, either els ye hold them not your pure brethren, but worſe, but then ye be unperfect in your begging?

Why make ye ſo many maſters among you? ſith it is againſt the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles?

Friers beg from all men to make the Pope rich.

23. Whoſe been all your rich Coutts that ye han, and all your rich Jewels? ſith ye ſaine that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye ſaine they been the Popes, why getteſt ye then of poor Men and Lords ſo much out of the Kings hand to make your Pope rich? And ſith ye ſaine that it is great perfection to have nought in proper ne in common, why be ye ſo faſt about to make the Pope that is your Father rich, and put on him imperfection? ſithen ye ſaine that your goods been all his, and he ſhould by reaſon be the moſt perfect man, it ſeemeth openlich that ye been curſed children ſo to ſlander your Father and make him imperfect. And if ye ſaine that the goods be yours, then do ye againſt your rule, and if it be not againſt your rule, then might ye have both Plough and Cart, and labor as other good men done, and not ſo to beg by loſengery, and idle as ye doone. If ye ſay that it is more perfection to beg, then to travel or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to do ſo? ſith it is the beſt and moſt perfect life to the help of their Souls, as ye make children to beg that might have been rich heirs.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why do the Pope unperfect.

Why make ye not your feaſts ſo poor men and yeveth him yefis, as ye done to the rich? ſith poor man han more need then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go twain and twain together? If ye be out of charity, ye accord not in ſoul.

Why beg ye and take ſalaries thereto more then other Prieſts? ſith he that moſt taketh, moſt charge hath.

24. Why hold ye not S. *Francis* rule and his teſtament? ſith *Francis* faith, that God ſhewed him this living and this rule: and Certes if it were Gods will, the Pope might not fordo it; or elſe *Francis* was a lier that ſaid ſo on this wife. And but this teſtament that he made accord with Gods will, or elſe erred he as a lier that were out of charity: and as the Law ſaith, he is accuſed that leeveth the rightful laſt will of a dead man. And this teſtament is the laſt will of *Francis*, that is a dead man; it ſeemeth therefore that all his Freers been curſed.

If *Francis* order be contrary to Chriſt his teſtament then is *Francis* accurſed.

25. Why will you not touch no coined money with the croſs, ne with the Kings head, as ye done other Jewels both of Gold and Silver? Certes if ye deſpiſe the Croſs or the Kings Head, then ye be worthy to be deſpiſed of God and the King; and ſith you will receive money in your hearts, and not with your hands, and it ſeemeth that ye hold more holines in your hands then in your hearts, and then be falſe to God.

He that is more holy in hand than in heart, is falſe to God.

26. Why have ye exempt you from our Kings Laws and viſiting of our Biſhops more then other Chriſten men that liven in this Realm, if ye be not guilt of Traitory to our Realm, or treſpaſſers to our Biſhops? But ye will have the Kings Laws for the treſpaſs do to you, and ye will have power of other Biſhops more, then other Prieſts, and alſo have leave to priſon your brethren, as Lords in your Courts, more then other folks han that been the Kings leege men.

A fabliet to exempt himſelf from the Laws of his Prince treaſon.

27. Why ſhall ſome ſect of your Freers pay each a year a certain to her general Provincial or Miniſter, or elſe to her Sovereigns? but if he ſteal a certain number of children (as ſome men ſaine) and certain if this been ſooth, then ye be confrained upon a certain pain to doe theft againſt Gods commandment, *Non furtum facies.*

Friers are forced to be thieves.

28. Why be ye ſo hardy to grant by Letters of Fraternity to men and women, that they ſhall have part and merit of all your good deeds, and ye weeten never whether God be apaid with your deeds becauſe of your ſin? Alſo ye witten never whether that man or woman be in ſtate to be ſaved or damned, then ſhall he have no merit in Heaven for his own deeds ne for none other mans. And all were it ſo, that he ſhould have part of your good deeds: ſither ſhould he have no more then God would give him after that he were worthy, and ſo much ſhall each man have of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will ſay that ye been Gods fellows, and that he may not do without your aſſent, then be ye blaſphemers to God.

Works of ſupererogation.

God is the limiter of meed and reward, and not the Frier.

29. What

Fryers will not pray, but for them that be of their Fraternity.

29. What betokeneth that ye have ordained, that when such one as ye have made your Brother or Sister, and hath a Letter of your Seal, that Letter mought be brought in your holy Chapter and there be read, or else ye will not pray for him. And but ye willen pray especially for all other that were not made your brethren or sistren, then were we not in right charity, for that ought to be common, and namely in ghostly things.

Fryers do make Apostates.

30. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to overcharge the people by mighty begging under colour of preaching or prayings, or Masses singing? sith holy Writ biddeth not this, but even the contrary: for all such ghostly deeds should be done freely, as God yeveth them freely?

The number of Fryers superfluous, and as necessary as ten fingers on one hand.

31. *Freer*, What Charity is this to beguile Children or the commen to discretion, and bind hem to your Orders that bin not grounded in Gods Law against her Friends will? sithen by this folly bin many Apostatas both in will and deed, and many bin Apostatas in her will during all her life, that would gladly be discharged if they will how, and so many bin Apostatas that shoulden in other States have bin true men.

32. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to make so many *Freers* in every Country to the charge of the people? sith Parsons and Vicars alone, yea secular Priests alone, yea Monks and Canons alone, with Bishops above them were inough to the Church to do the Priests Office. And to add more then inough is a foul error, and great charge to the people, and this openly against Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and measure. And Christ himself was apaid with twelve Apostles and a few Disciples, to preach and to do Priests Office to all the whole world, then was it better done then is now at this time by a thousand dele. And right so as four fingers with a thumb in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand should let him more, and so the more number that there were passing the measure of Gods Ordinance, the more were a man letted to worch: right so (as it seemeth) it is of these new Orders that bin added to the Church without ground of holy Writ and Gods Ordinance.

See, (a) saith the Fryer, followeth christ in his Poverty.

33. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to the people to lye, and say that ye follow Christ in poverty more than other men done? and yet in curious and costly housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in Treasure and Jewels, and rich Ornaments, *Freers* often Lords and other rich wordly men, and sooneth they should bring her cause about (be it never so costly) though Gods Law be put back.

Fryers are the fetters of preachers, but the Gospels.

34. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to gather up the Books of holy write, and put hem in treasory, and to emprison them from secular Priests and Curates, and by this cautel let hem to preach the Gospel freely to the people without wordly meed, and also to defame good Priests of Heresie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods Law by the holy Gospel to the Christian people?

What hollowneſs is in a Fryers coat.

35. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to fain so much hollowneſs in your bodily clothing (that you clepe your habit) that many blind Fools desiren to die therein more than in another? and also that a *Freer*, that leaveth his habit late founden of men, may not be affoiled till he take again, but is Apostata as ye fain, and curſed of God and man both? The *Freer* believeth truth, and patience, chastity, meekneſs and sobriety, yet for the more part of his life he may soon be affoiled of his Prior, and if he bring home to his houſe much good by the year (be it never so falsely begged and pilled of the poor and needy people in Countries about) he shall be hold a noble *Freer*. O Lord whether this be Charity?

The flouter begge the nobler Fryer.

36. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to preaſe upon a rich man, and to intice him to be buried among you from his Parish-Church, and to such rich men give Letters of Fraternity confirmed by your general Seal, and thereby to bear him in hand that he shall have part of all your Masses, Mattens, Preachings, Fastings, Wakings, and all other good deeds done by your Brethren of your Order (both whilſt he liveth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten never whether your deeds be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that Letter be able by good living to receive any part of your deeds, and yet a poor man (that ye wite well or supposen in certen to have no good of) ye ne given no such Letters, though he be a better man to God than such a rich man: nevertheleſs, this poor man doth not retch thereof. For as men supposen such Letters and many other that *Freers* behotten to men, be full falſe deceits of *Freers*, out of all reaſon, and Gods Law and Christian mens faith.

Why Fryers do desire to have rich men buried in their Fryeries.

Fryers betoths are falſe deceits

37. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to be Confeſſors of Lords and Ladies, and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her living? but rather as it seemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poor Tenants, and to live in lechery, and there to dwell in your Office of Confeſſor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of such ghostly Offices? this seemeth rather pride of *Freers*, than charity of God.

Fryers desire to be Lords and Ladies Confeſſors.

38. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to fain that who so liveth after your Order, liveth more perfectly, and next followeth the state of Apoſtles in poverty and penmance, and yet the wiſeſt and greateſt Clerks of you wend or send, or procure to the Court of *Rome* to be made Cardinals or Bishops of the Popes Chaplains, and to be affoiled of the vow of Poverty and Obedience to your Miniſters, in the which (as ye fain) standeth more perfection and merit of your Orders, and thus ye farren as Phariſees that fain one and do another to the contrary.

Fryers and Phariſees say one thing and do another.

Why name ye more the Patron of your Order in your *Confiteor* when ye begin Maſs, then other Saints, Apoſtles, or Martyrs, that holy Church hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your Patrons and your Avowries?

Dilemma.

Freer, Whether was S. *Francis* in making of his rule that he set thine Order in, a Fool and a Lyar, or else wiſe and true? If ye fain that he was not a Fool, but wiſe; ne a Lyar but true: why shew you contrary by your doing, when by your suggeſtion to the Pope ye faid, That your Rule that *Francis* made was so hard that ye mow not live to hold it without Declaration and Diſpenſation of the Pope, and so by your deed? Ne let your Patron be a Fool that made a Rule so hard that no man may well keep, and eke your deed proveth him a Lyar, where he faith in his Rule, *That he took and learned it of the Holy Ghoſt*. For how might ye for shame pray the Pope undo that the Holy Ghoſt bit, as when ye prayed him to diſpence with the hardneſs of your Order?

Which is the beſt Order of Fryars.

Freer, Which of the four Orders of *Freers* is beſt to a man that knoweth not which is the beſt, but would fain enter into the beſt, and none other? If thou fayeſt that thine is the beſt, then faieſt thou that none of the other is as good as thine, and in this each *Freer* in the three other Orders woll say that thus lyeſt, for in the ſelf manner each other *Freer* woll say that his Order is beſt. And thus to each of the four Orders bin the other three contrary in this point: in the which if any say sooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the beſt of four. So followeth it that if each of theſe Orders answered to this queſtion as thou doſt, three were falſe, and but one true, and yet no man should wite who that were. And thus it seemeth, that the moſt part of *Freers* bin or should be Lyers in this point, and they should answer thereto. If you say that another Order of the *Freers* is better than thine, or as good; why took ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightſt have chose at the beginning? And eke why should'ſt thou be an Apoſtata to leave thine Order and take thee to that is better, and so why goeſt thou not from thine Order in that?

Fryers answer one with another, or contrary.

Freer, Is there any perfecter rule of Religion than Christ Gods Son gave in his Goſpel to his Brethren? Or then that Religion that S. *James* in his Epiſtle maketh mention of? If you say Yes, then putteſt thou on Christ (that is the Wiſdome of God the Father) unkunning, unpower, or evil will: for then he could not make his Rule so good as another did his. And so he had unkunning, that he might not so make his Rule so good as another man might, and so were he unmighty, and not God, as he would not make his Rule so perfect as another did his, and so he had bin evil willed, namely to himſelf.

The Fryer thinketh his Rule perfecter than Christs, because he leaveth the counſel followeth the other.

For if he might and could, and would have made a Rule perfect without default, and did not, he was not Gods Son Almighty. For if any other Rule be perfecter than Christs, then muſt Christs Rule lack of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and so were default, and Christ had failed in making of his Rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blaſphemy. If thou say that Christs Rule, and that Religion which S. *James* maketh mention of, is perfect; why holdeſt thou not thilk Rule without more? And why clepeſt thou the rather of S. *Francis* or S. *Dominicks* Rule or Religion or Order, than of Christs Rule or Christs Order?

Dilemma.

Freer, Canſt thou assign any default in Christs Rule of the Goſpel (with the which he taught all men likerly to be saved) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was too hard, then sayſt thou Christ lyed; for he said of his Rule, *My Yoke is ſoft, and my Burthen light*. If thou say Christs Rule was too light, that may be assigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou sayſt that there is no default in Christs Rule of the Goſpel, ſith Christ himſelf ſaith *it is light and eaſie*: what need was it to Patrons of *Freers* to add more thereto? and ſo to make an harder Religion to save *Freers*, than was the Religion of Christs Apoſtles and his Diſciples helden and were saved by. But if they wonlden that her *Freers* saten above the Apoſtles in Heaven for the harder Religion that they keepen here, ſo would they ſitten in Heaven above Christ himſelf, for their more and ſtrict Obſervations, then ſo should they be better than Christ himſelf with miſchance.

Fryers would ſit in Heaven above the Apoſtles.

Go now forth and frain your Clerks, and ground ye you in Gods Law, and git *Jack* an anſwer, and when ye han affoiled me that I have said ſadly in truth, I shall ſoil thee of thine Orders, and save thee to Heaven.

If *Freers* kun not or mow not excuſe hem of theſe queſtions asked of hem, it ſeemeth that they be horrible guilty against God, and her even Chriſtian; for ells wiſe guilts and defaults it were worthy that the Order that they call their Order were foredone. And it is wonder that men ſuſtain hem or ſuffer her live in ſuch manner. For holy write biddeth, *That thou do well to the meek, and give not to the wicked, but forbed to give hem bread, leaſt they be made therely mightier through you.*

Only the Emperor ſet up and depoſed again by the Pope.

After theſe Digreſſions, now to return to the courſe of our ſtory again. As *Henry* this King ſucceeded King *John* his Father, ſo after *Innocent* the Pope came *Honorius* the Third, then *Gregory* the Ninth, &c. And after *Otho* the Emperor (whom the Pope had once ſet up, and after deprived again) ſucceeded *Frederick* the Second, as it is partly before touched. In the days of theſe Kings, Popes, and Emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in *England*, but eſpecially in *Germany*, betwixt Pope *Honorius*, *Gregorius* and *Frederick* the Emperor: the horrible Tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole Book by it ſelf. But yet we mean (God willing) ſomewhat to touch concerning theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, firſt beginning with this Realm of *England*.

After that the Kingdom of *England* had been ſubjected by King *John* (as hath been ſaid) and made Tributary to the Pope and the *Romiſh* Church, it is incredible how the unſatiable avarice and greedineſs of the *Romans* did oppreſs and wring the Commons and all Eſtates and Degrees of the Realm, eſpecially beneficed men, and ſuch as had any thing of the Church. Who, what for their domeſtical Charges within the Realm, what for the Pope, what for the Legates, what for contributing to the holy Land, what for Relaxations, and other ſubtil fleights to get away their money, were brought into ſuch ſlavery, captivity, and penury, that whereas the King neither durſt nor might remedy their Exclamations by himſelf: yet notwithſtanding by his advice, *Simon Monifore* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with other Noble men (not forgetting what great grievances and diſtreſſes the Realm was brought into by the *Romans*) thought to work ſome way how to bridle and reſtrain the inſatiable ravening of theſe greedy Wolves. Wherefore they deviſed their Letter, giving ſtrait commandment to the religious men, and to ſuch as had their Churches to farm, that henceforth they ſhould not anſwer the *Romans* of ſuch Farms and Rents any more, but ſhould pay the ſaid Farms or Rents unto their own Proctors appointed for the ſame purpoſe, as by their writings ſent abroad to Biſhops or Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſtical Houſes, may appear, in this form and effect as followeth.

A complaint of the Nobles of *England* againſt the intolerable Covetouſneſs of the Pope and Prelates of *Rome*.

A Complaint of the Nobles of England againſt the coretouſneſs of Rome.

TO *ſuch and ſuch a Biſhop, and ſuch a Chapter; all the Univerſity and Company of them, that had rather die than to be confounded of the* Romans, *wiſheth of* England *health. How the* Romans *and their Legates have hitherto behaved themſelves toward you and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of this Realm of* England, *it is not unknown to your diſcretions, in diſpoſing and giving away the Benefices of the Realm after their own luſt, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Engliſhmen. For whereas the collation of Benefices ſhould and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow-Biſhops (Eccleſiaſtical Perſons) they, thundering againſt you the Sentence of Excommunication, ordain that you ſhould not beſtow them upon any perſon of this Realm, until to every Diocеſs and Cathedral-Church within the Realm, five* Romans *(ſuch as the Pope ſhall name) be provided for, to the value of every man an hundred pounds by year. Beſides theſe, many other grievances the ſaid* Romaniſts *do inflict and infer, both to the Laity and Nobles of the Realm, for the Patronages and Alms beſtowed by them and their Anceſtors, for the ſuſtentation of the poor of the Realm, and alſo to the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the Realm touching their Livings and Benefices. And yet the ſaid* Romaniſts, *not contented with the premiſſes, do alſo take from the Clergy of this Realm the Benefices which they have, to beſtow them on men of their own Country, &c.*

Wherefore, we conſidering the rigorous auſterity of theſe foreſaid Romaniſts, *which, once coming in but as ſtrangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but alſo to condemn us, laying upon us importable burthens, wherunto they will not put to one of their own fingers to move; and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among our ſelves concerning the ſame, have thought good (although very late) to withſtand them, rather than to be ſubject to their intolerable Oppreſſions, and greater ſlavery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cauſe we ſtraitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you, the Church, the King, and the Kingdom from that miſerable yoke of Servitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning ſuch Exactions or Rents to be required or given to the ſaid* Romans. *Letting you to underſtand for truth, that in caſe you ſhall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your Goods and Poſſeſſions ſhall be in danger of forfeiting, but you alſo in your perſons ſhall incur the ſame peril and puniſhment as ſhall the ſaid* Romiſh *Oppreſſors themſelves.*

Thus fare ye well.

Example teaching never to take part againſt their King with foreign Power.

¶ Thus much I thought here to inſert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not only the foul and avaricious greedineſs of the *Romiſh* Church might the more evidently unto all *Engliſh-men* appear: but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be ſo to be ſerved and plagued with their own Rod, which before would take no part with their natural King againſt foreign Power, of whom now they are ſcourged.

Cardinal Otho Legate.

To make the ſtory more plain: in the Reign of this *Henry* the third (who ſucceeding, as is ſaid, after King *John* his Father reigned ſix and fifty years) came divers Legates from *Rome* to *England*. Firſt Cardinal *Otho* ſent from the Pope with Letters to the King, like as other Letters alſo were ſent to other places for exactions of money.

The Pope requireth two Prebendships in every Cathedral-Church.

The King opening the Letters, and perceiving the contents, anſwered, *That he alone could ſay nothing in the matter which concerned all the Clergy and Commons of the whole Realm.* Not long after a Council was called at *Weſtminſter*, where the Letters being opened, the ſum was this, *Petimus imprimis ab omnibus Eccleſiis Cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, unam de portione two Prebendſhips in every Cathedral-Church. Epiſcopi, & alteram de capitulo: & ſimiliter de canonicis ubi diverſæ ſunt portiones Abbatis & Conventus; a thirdconvenitius quantum pertinet ad unum Monachum, æquals*

faſta

facta distributione bonorum suorum, & ab Abbate tantumdem; That is, We require to be given unto us, firſt, of all Cathedral-Churches two Prebends, one for the Biſhops part, the other for the Chapter: and likewiſe of Monaſteries where be divers portions, one for the Abbot, another for the Covent: of the Covent ſo much as appertaineth to one Monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided: of the Abbot likewiſe as much. The cauſe why he required theſe Prebends was this, It hath been (faith he) an old ſlander, and a great complaint againſt the Church of *Rome*, and it hath been charged with inſatiable covetouſneſs, which as ye know is the root of all miſchief, and all by reaſon that Cauſes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the Church of *Rome* without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof ſeeing the poverty of the Church is the cauſe, and the only reaſon why it is ſo ſlandered and evil ſpoken of: it is therefore convenient that you (as natural Children) ſhould ſucceour your Mother. For unleſs we ſhould receive of you and of other good men as you are, we ſhould then lack neceſſaries for our life, which were a great diſhonour to our Dignity, &c.

Note the cauſe why the Pope is compelled to crave money of other Countries.

When thoſe Petitions and Cauſes of the Legate were propounded in the foreſaid Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* on the Popes behalf (the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm being preſent) anſwer was made by the mouth of Maſter *John Bedford* on this wiſe: that the matter there propponed by the Lord Legate in eſpecial concerned the King of *England*, but in general it touched all the Archbiſhops with their Suffragans, the Biſhops, and all the Prelates of the Realm. Wherefore, ſeeing both the King by reaſon of his abſence was abſent, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with divers other Biſhops alſo were not there, therefore in the abſence of them they had nothing to ſay in the matter, neither could they ſo do without prejudice of them which were lacking. And ſo the Aſſembly for that time brake up.

A Councel at *London* called.

Not long after, the ſaid *Otho*, Cardinal *De carcere Tulliano*, coming again from *Rome*, *Cum autentico plenariæ poteſtatis*, indicted another Councel at *London*, and cauſed all Prelates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other of the Clergy to be warned unto the ſame Councel, to be had in the Church of S. *Pauls* at *London* about the Feaſt of S. *Martin*. The pretence of which Council was for redreſs of matters concerning Benefices and Religion; but the chief and principal was to hunt for money: for putting them in fear and in hope, ſome to loſe, ſome to obtain Spiritual Promotions at his hand, he thought gain would riſe thereby, and ſo it did. For in the mean time (as *Pariſienſis in vita Henrici tertii* writeth) divers precious Rewards were offered him in Palfries, in rich Plate and Jewels, in coſtly and imputuous Garments ſo richly furred, in Coin, in Victuals, and ſuch like things of value well worthy of acceptation. Wherein one indeavoured to go beyond another in Munificence (not conſidering, by means of the ſervility wherewith they were oppreſſed of thoſe Popiſh ſhavelings and ſhameleſs ſhifters, that all was meer Pillage and Extortion.) Inſomuch that only the Biſhop of *Winchester* (as the ſtory reporteth) hearing that he would winter at *London*, ſent him fifty fat Oxen, an hundred Coome of pure Wheat, eight Tun of choſen Wine toward his houſe keeping. Likewiſe other Biſhops alſo for their part offered unto the Cardinals Box after their ability.

Great Rewards given to the Cardinal.

The time of the Council drawing nigh, the Cardinal commanded at the Weſt end of *Pauls* Church an high and ſolemn Throne to be prepared, riſing up with a glorious Scaffold upon mighty and ſubſtantial Stages ſtrongly builded, and of great height. Thus againſt the day aſſigned, came the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other of the Prelacy, both far and near throughout all *England*, wearied and vexed with the Winters Journey, bringing their Letters Procuratory. Who being together aſſembled, the Cardinal beginneth his Sermon. But before we come to the Sermon, there hapned a great diſcord between the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for ſitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinal, for the which the one appealed againſt the other. The Cardinal to pacifie the ſtrife between them both, ſo that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain Bull of the Pope: in the midſt of which Bull was pictured the figure of the Croſs. On the right ſide of the Croſs ſtood the Image of S. *Paul*, and on the left ſide S. *Peter*: *Lo*, ſaith the Cardinal (holding open the Bull with the Croſs) *here you ſee S.* Peter *on the left hand of the Croſs, and S.* Paul *on the right ſide, and yet is there between theſe two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet S.* Peter *for the prerogative of his Keys, and for the preheminence of his Apoſtleſhip and Cathedral dignity, ſeemeth moſt worthy to be placed on the right ſide. But becauſe S.* Paul *believed on Chriſt when he ſaw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the Croſs: For bleſſed he they* (ſaith Chriſt) *which believe and ſee not, &c.* And from that time forth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* injoyed the right hand, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, the left. Wherein yet this Cardinal is more to be commended than the other Cardinal *Hugo* mentioned a little before, which in the like contention between theſe Archbiſhops ran away.

Contention for ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinal.

Why Peter ſtandeth on the right hand of the Croſs. Why Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath the right hand, and the Archbiſhop of York, the left hand.

Thus the Controverſie ceaſed and compoſed between theſe two, *Otho* the Cardinal, ſitting aloft between theſe two Archbiſhops, beginneth his Sermon, taking for his Theme of the Prophet: *In medio ſedis & in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c.* that is, In the midſt of the Seat, and in the circuit about the Seat, were four Beaſts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this Theme the Cardinal proceeded in his Sermon, fitting like a god in the midſt. He compared them about him to the four Beaſts about the Seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind (that is) that they muſt be provident in diſpoſing of ſecular things, and circumſpect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the Popes Pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travels beſides. Inſomuch that the King, dreading the diſpleaſure of his Commons for the doings of the Legate, willed him to repair home to *Rome* again, but yet could not ſo be rid of him; for he, receiving new Commandments from the Pope, applied his Harveſt, ſtill gleaning and raking whatſoever he might ſcrape, writing and ſending to Biſhops and Archdeacons in this form and tenor,

Note the Throne of the Cardinal ſtyled to God, how he applieth it to him ſelf. Scripture Clerkly applied.

OTto miſeratione divina, &c. Diſcreto viro N. Epiſcopo vel N. Archidiacono ſalutem. Cum neceſſe habeamus de mandato ſummi Pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec poſſimus propriis ſtipendiis militare, diſcretionem veſtram qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, ut procurationes nobis debitas in Epiſcopatu, vel Archidiaconatu veſtro colligi faciatis noſtro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis, nobis tranſmitturi, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Proviſo, quod quælibet procuratio ſummam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & ubi una Eccleſia non ſufficiet ad procurationem hujuſmodi habendam, duæ pariter unam ſolvant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. Papæ 9.

A letter of the Cardinal to Biſhops and Archdeacons. Cauſes of the Church well applied.

And moreover, note again the wicked and curſed trains of theſe *Romiſh* Rakehels, who, to pick ſimple mens purſes, firſt ſend out their Fryers and Preachers to ſtir up in all Places and Countries, men to go fight againſt the *Turks*: whom when they have once bound with a Vow, and ſigned them with the Croſs, then ſend they their Bulls to releaſe them both of their labour, and their Vow for money, as by their own ſtile of writing is here to be ſeen, thus proceeding.

Note the craftyness and ſubtilty of Antichriſt preparing for money.

N. *Epiſcopus dilectis in Chriſto filiis omnibus Archidiaconis per Dioceſim ſuam conſtitutis, ſalutem. Literas Domini Legati ſuſcepimus in hæc verba; Otto miſeratione divina, &c. Cum ſicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce ſignati Regni Angliæ, qui ſunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad*

*ad ſedem Apoſtolicam accedant, ut ibidem a voto crucis abſolvi valeant, & nos ſuper receptimus a ſummo Pontifice in mandatis, ut tales non ſolum abſolvere, verum & ad redimenda vota ſua * compellere debeamus; volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expenſis, fraternitatem veſtram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus, partem prædictam a ſummo Pontifice nobis conceſſam faciatis in noſtris dioceſibus fine mora qualibet publicari, ut præfati cruce ſignati ad nos accedere valeant, * beneficium ſuper his juxta formam nobis traditam acceptari, Datum Londini* 15. *Kal. Mart. Pont. D. N. Papæ Gregor.* 9

A Note the ſtile of Rome.

* Jow melle ſicion & ſanctyngton præmit.

The cauſe why the Pope was ſo greedy and needy of Money, was this; becauſe he had mortal hatred, and waged continual battel the ſame time againſt the good Emperor, *Fredrick* the ſecond, who had to Wife King *Johns* Daughter, and Siſter to King *Henry* the third, whoſe name was *Iſabel*. And therefore becauſe the Popes war could not be ſuſtained without charges, that made the Pope the more importunate to take money in all places, but eſpecially in *England*. Inſomuch that he ſtarved not to require the fifth part of every Eccleſiaſtical mans living, as *Pariſienſis* writeth. And not only that, but alſo the ſaid Pope *Gregory* (converting with the Citizens of *Rome*) ſo agreed with them, that if they would joyn with him in vanquiſhing the foreſaid *Frederick*, he would (and ſo did) grant unto them, that all the Benefices in *England* which were or ſhould be vacant (namely pertaining to religious Houſes) ſhould be beſtowed at their own will and commandment to their children and kinſfolks. Whereupon it followed in the forenamed Hiſtory, *Unde infra paucos dies miſit D. Papa ſacra præcepta ſua domino Cant. Archiep. Elienſ. & Lincol. & Saliſb. Epiſcopis, ut trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficiis vacantibus, providerent, ſcientes ſe ſuſpenſos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter providerentur*, That is, the Pope ſent in commandment to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and four other Biſhops, that proviſion ſhould be made for three hundred *Romans* in the chiefeſt and beſt Benefices in all *England* at the next voidance: So that the foreſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſhould be ſuſpended in the mean time from all collation or gift of Benefices, until the foreſaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the Archbiſhop the ſame time ſeeing the unreaſonable oppreſſion of the Church of *England*, left the Realm and went into *France*.

The fifth part of every ſpiritual mans living given to the Pope.

Three hundred Romans to be placed in the beſt Benefices of *England*.

Again, mark another as much or more eaſie ſleight of the Pope in procuring money. He ſent one *Petrus Rubens* the ſame time with a new device, which was this, Not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt Biſhop and Biſhop, Abbot and Abbot, &c. Telling in their ears, ſuch a Biſhop, ſuch an Abbot hath given ſo much and ſo much unto the Popes Holineſs, truſting that you alſo will not be behind for your part, &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a Maſs of Money was made out of the Realm unto the Pope.

Petrus Rubens the Popes Agent.

A Rawiſh Sleight of the Pope to get Engliſh money.

At length the foreſaid Biſhops, Abbots, and Archdeacons feeling their own ſmart, came to the King (whoſe Father before they did reſiſt) with their humble ſuite, lamentably complaining of the unmeaſurable exactions of the Pope, and eſpecially againſt *Petrus Rubens* and his fellow *Otto* the Legate; deſiring the King, that ſeeing the matter toucheth not themſelves alone, but the whole Church, and ſeeing the valuation of Churches was known better to their Archdeacons than to themſelves, therefore there might be a general calling and talk had in the matter. In the octaves of S. *John* the Baptiſt, the day and place was aſſigned where they ſhould talk; at which day and place the Prelates of *England*, convening together, durſt not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modeſt ſort did intimate certain exceptions againſt the ſame.

Four Rakehels to be paid to the Pope out of every Preſentation.

Exceptions alledged for not coming to the Pope.

1. Firſt they ſay, that for ſo much as the contribution is demanded to war againſt him, who was joyned in Matrimony with their Prince, they were not bound ſo to do.

2. Secondly, for that the ſaid contribution tended to the ſtedding of Chriſtian blood; for ſo the form of the bill pretended to fight againſt the Emperor.

3. Thirdly, becauſe it was againſt the liberty of the Church; for ſo it is in the bill, that they that would not ſhould be Excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, becauſe that when of late they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this proteſtation, that they ſhould contribut to the Pope no more hereafter.

5. *Item*, becauſe they had contributed before; if they ſhould now contribute again, it were to be feared left an Action twice done ſhould grow into a cuſtom, as is in the Law, *Lege nem, &c.*

6. *Item*, for ſo much as they ſhall have cauſes continually to ſeek to *Rome* through the Emperors Land; it were to be feared left the ſaid Emperor by the way would work their Annoyance.

7. *Item*, becauſe the King hath many Enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not convenient that the goods of the Realm ſhould be alienated out of the Realm.

8. *Item*, becauſe that could not be done without prejudice to the Patrons of their Churches, not knowing whether their Patrons did or would agree unto the ſame.

9. Laſtly, becauſe they hear ſay, that the general State of the Church is in danger, for the which they underſtand there ſhall be ſhortly a general Council, wherein ſuch matters ſhall be determined: and therefore if they ſhould contribute now, it ſhould be to the hinderance and damage of the Church.

The Legate and his fellow hearing theſe Allegations, ſeeing their own confuſion, were the leſs importunate.

Not long after this followed a general Council at *Lions*, called by Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, in the which Council the *Engliſh* Nation did exhibit certain Articles of their grievances not unworthy to be known. *Gravatur regnum Angliæ, eo quod D. Papa non eſt contentus ſubſidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c.*

Articles exhibited in the Councel of *Lugdune* for the grievances ſuſtained by the Pope. The firſt grievance. The ſecond.

In Engliſh thus.

1. The Kingdom of *England* is grieved that the Pope, being not contented with his *Peter*-pence, requireth and extorteth from the Clergy great exactions (and more is like) both without the conſent of the King, and againſt the Cuſtoms of the Realm.

2. *Item*, the Church and Kingdom of *England* is grieved, that the Patrons of the ſame cannot preſent as they were wont, unto their Churches, for the Popes Letters: But the Churches are given to *Romans*, which know neither the Realm nor the Tongue thereof, both to the great peril of ſouls and robbing away the money out of the Realm.

The third.

3. *Item*, it is grieved, for that the Pope premiſing by the Tenor of his Letters, that in requiring of penſions and proviſions in the Realm of *England* he would require but only twelve Benefices, now contrary to the Tenor thereof many more Benefices and proviſions are beſtowed away by him.

The fourth.

4. *Item*, the Realm is grieved and complaineth, that in the Benefices in *England*, one *Italian* ſucceedeth another, the Engliſh-men being not only excluded, but alſo compelled (for the dettermining of their matters) to ſeek to *Rome*, contrary both to the Cuſtoms of the Realm, and alſo to the priviledges granted by the Popes predeceſſors to the King and Kingdom of *England*.

The fifth.

5. The fifth grievance is for the oft recourſe of that infamous Legate, by whom both faith and fidelity, the ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm, the Authorities of old Grants, Statutes, Laws and Priviledges, are imbecilled and abrogate, whereby an infinite number in *England* be grievouſly afflicted and oppreſſed.

He meaneth generally Otho or matter Marmoun.

The ſixth.

6. The ſaid Realm is alſo grieved in general Tallages, Collections, and Aſſeſſes, made without the Kings conſent, the appellation and contradiction of the Kings Proctors to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſeventh.

7. Seventhly, the foreſaid Realm complaineth and is grieved, that in the Benefices given to *Italians*, neither the old Ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor Hoſpitality, nor any Preaching of Gods Word, nor care of Mens Souls, nor ſervice in the Church, nor yet the walls of the Churches be kept up and maintained, as the manner and Cuſtom of the ſame Realm requireth. Over and above theſe foreſaid grievances, there came moreover from the Pope other freſh Letters, charging and commanding the Prelates of *England* to find of their proper coſts and charges for one whole year, ſome ten armed ſouldiers, ſome five, ſome fifteen, to be ready at the Popes commandment there where he ſhould appoint.

The Babyloniſh captivity and ſlavery of *England* under the Pope.

After these and other grievances and enormities of *Rome*, the States of *England* consulting together direct their Letters to the Pope, for reformation thereof. First the Abbots and Priors, then the Bishops and Suffragans, after the Nobles and Barons, last of all the King himself. But as the proverb is, *Venter non habet aures*; so the Popes purse had no ears to hear. And as our common saying goeth: *As good never a whit as never the better*: so went it with the Pope, who not long after the same fent for new Tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing when it came to the Kings ear, he being moved and disturbed vehemently with al, writeth in this wise to the Bishops, severally to every one in his Diocels.

The Letter of King *Henry* the third to the Bishops.

HEnricus tertius Dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Christo, *N.* Episcopo salutem. Licet alias vobis, &c.

In English thus.

Henry *the Third by the Grace of God, to the Reverend in Christ Bishop of N. Whereas we have heretofore Written unto you, once, twice, thrice, as well by our privy seals, as by our Letters Patents, that you should not exact nor collect, for the Popes behalf, any Tallage or other help of our Subjects, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity, for that no such Tallage nor help either can or is used to be exacted in our Realm without the great prejudice of our Princely Dignity, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustain: yet you contemning and vilipending our commandment, and contrary to the provision made in our last Counceil at* London *(granted and agreed upon by our Prelates, Earls, and Barons) have that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your Taxes and Tallages. Whereupon we do greatly marvel and are moved (especially seeing you are not assumed to do contrary unto your own Decrees) whereas you and other Prelates in the said Council in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, until the return of our and your Ambassadors from the Court of* Rome, *sent thither purposely for us, and in the name of the whole Realm for the same, to provide redress against those oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceed any more in collecting and exacting such Tallages or helps, as you will enjoy our favour and such possessions of yours as within this our Kingdom you have and hold. And if you have already procured or gather any such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our Realm, but cause it to be kept in safe custody till the return of the said Ambassadors, under the pain of our displeasure in doing of the contrary, and also of provoking us to extend our hand upon your possessions, further than you will think or believe. Moreover, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your Archdeacons and Officials, which we here have set forth for the liberties of the Clergy and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.*

King Henry the third commandeth no tax nor tallage to be sent to the Pope.

At length the Ambassadors which were at *Rome* came home about the later end of *December*, bringing word that the Pope, hearing what was done in the Council of *Winchester*, and of the King, was greatly displeased with him and the Realm, saying, *Rex Anglorum, qui jam recalcitrat & frederisat, suum habet consilium, ego vero & meum habeo, quod & sequar, &c.* Whereupon when the Ambassadors began to speak in the Kings behalf, from that time they were half counted for Schismaticks, and could no more be heard in the Court of *Rome*. The King hearing this was marvellously incensed therewith, commanding by general Proclamation through all his Realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any Tax or subsidy of money for the Court of *Rome*. When this came to the Popes ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his Letters to the Prelates of *England*, charging that under pain of suspence or interdiction, they should provide the same sum of money to be collected against the Feast of Assumption, the charge being given to the Bishop of *Worcester* to be executer of the said Curie. The King lately intended to stand to the liberties of the Church, now for fear of the Pope, and partly for perswations of the said Bishop of *Worcester* and other Prelates, durst not stand to it, but gave over. Moreover the greedy gulf of the *Romish* avarice waxed so un measurable, that at length the Pope shamed not, upon the censure of his Curse, to ask the third part of the Church goods, and the yearly Fruit of all vacant Benefices. The chief Doers and Legates in *England*, were *Otho*, *Stephanus Cappellanus*, *Petrus Rubeus Nuncius*, *Mag. Martin*, and *Mag. Marinus*, *Johannes Anglicus Episcopus Sabinensis*. Of whom to speak further (for that I have matter much more to write) for this present time I think best to surceale, left in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps, not only moleft good ears, but also infect the Air. Yet one thing concerning the said *Otho* I cannot well overpass.

The Pope asketh the third part of the Church goods.

This *Otho*, as he left no place unfought, where any vantage might be got: so amongst all others he came to *Oxford*, where lying in the House of *Osney*, he was received with great honour; the Scholars preferring him Honourably with such Dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the Cardinal after the beft manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to fee and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtelie again of him be entertained. As they came to the Gate, the Porter (being an *Italian*) with a loud voice asketh what they would have? They faid they came to fee the Lord Legate. But *Corbrun* the Porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language shuts them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The Scholas seeing that, by force thruft open the Gate and came in; whom when the *Romans* which were within would have repelled with their Fists, and fuch Staves as they had in their Hands, they fell to Alarum and by the ears together, with much heaving and fhooving, and many blows on both sides. In the mean time, while some of the Scholars ran home for their Weapons, there chanced a poor Scholar (an *Irish*-man) to ftand at the Gate waiting for his Alms. Whom when the Master saw at the Gate, he, taking hot skalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his Face. One of the Scholars a *Welsh*-man, that came with his Bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and shooteth this *Nabuzardan* (that Master of Cooks) clean thorow the body, and flaieth him out of hand. The Cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the House. The Cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a Valiant *Roman* runneth as faft as he could into the Steeple, and there locketh the doors fast unto him, where he remained till midnight. The Scholars in the mean while, not yet all pacified, fought all corners about for the Legate, exclaiming and crying out; Where is that Usurer, that Simoniack, that piller and poller of our livings, that proller and extortioner of our Money, which perverteth our King, and subverteth his Kingdom, inriching himself with our fpoils? &c. All this heard the Cardinal, and held his peace. When the night approaching had broken up the field, the Cardinal coming out of his Fort, and taking his Horse (in silence of the night) was privily conveied over the River toward the King, conveying himself away as faft as he could. After the King heard this, he sendeth to *Oxford* a garrison of armed Men, to deliver the *Romans* which were there hidden for fear of Scholars. Then was Master *Otho* a Lawyer, with thirty other Scholars apprehended, and carried to *Walingford* Castle, and from thence had in Carrs to *London*, where at length (through much intreaty of the Bishops) they, being brought barefoot to the Legates door, had their pardon, and the University releafed of interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legate in *England*.

A fray of Cardinal *Otho* at *Oxford*.

A skirmish between the Scholars of *Oxford* and the Cardinals men.

The Cardinal runneth away.

Thus partly you have heard, and do understand the miserable Thraldom and Captivity of this Realm of *England*, and the Clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with King *John* their natural Prince, against the foreign power of the Pope; and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same Pope; whose insatiable extortion and rapacity did so exceed in pilling and polling of this Realm long after this, that neither the King now could help them, neither could the Pope with any reasonable measure be content. Insomuch (as writers record) in the days of *Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 1360. the Pope by his Proctors gat from the Clergy, in less than one year, more than forty Thousand Florens, of meer contribution: besides his other avails and common revenues out of Benefices, Prebendaries, first Fruits, Tributes,

Tributes, Peter-pence, Collations, Reservations, Relaxations, and such Merchandise, &c.

Mention was made a little before of *Albingenses* keeping about the City of *Tholouse*. These *Albingenses* because they began to smell the Pope, and to control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the See of *Rome*, the Pope therefore accounting them as a people heretical, excited and thirred up about this prefent time and year, *Anno* 1220. *Ludovike* the young *French* King, through the instance of *Philip* his Father, to lay siege against the said City of *Tholouse* to expugne and extinguish these *Albingenses* his Enemies. Whereupon *Ludovike* (according to his Fathers commandment) reared a puissant and mighty Army to compass about and beset the forenamed City, and so did. Here were the men of *Tholouse* in great danger. But see how the mighty Protection of God righteth for his people against the might of Man: For after that *Ludovike* (as *Matth. Paris* testifieth) had long wearied himself and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their Engins and Artillery against the City, there fell moreover upon the *French* Host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence both of Men and Horses, besides the other daily flaughter of the Souldiers, that *Ludovike* was inforced to retire, and with such as were left to return again home to *France* from whence he came. In the flaughter of which Souldiers, besides many others, was Earl *Simon de montz fort*, General of the Army, to whom the lands of the Earl of *Tholouse* were given by the Pope; who was slain before the Gate of the City with a stone, and so was also the Brother of the said *Simon* the same time, in besieging a Castle near to *Tholouse*, slain with a stone in like manner. And so was the siege of the *French*-men against *Tholouse* broke up. *Ex Mat. Parisiensi.*

Ludovike the Frenche King.

Ludovike fighteth against the Albingenses.

Ludovike besieged himself, the Land of God fighting for his people.

The general of the army slain.

Ludovike raiseth up the siege broke up.

As the siege of these *French*-men could do no good against the City of *Tholouse*'s so it happened the same time that the Christians, marching towards the Holy land, had better success in laying their siege to a certain Tower or Castle in *Egypt* near to the City *Damieta*, which seemed by nature for the situation and difficulty of the place inexpugnable: which being fituate in the midst of the great flood *Nilus* (hard by the City called *Damieta*) could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine subdued, for the nearness of the City; yet notwithstanding through the help of God and Policy of Man, Erecting Scaffolds and Castles upon tops of Masts, the Christians at last conquered it, and after that also the City *Damieta*, albeit not without great loss of Christian people. In the expugnation of this City or fort, among others that there died, was the Lantgrave of *Thuring*, married *Ludovike* the Husband of *Elizabeth*, whom we use to call S. *Elizabeth*. This *Elizabeth* (as my Story recorded) was the Daughter of the King of *Hungary*, and married in *Almain*, where she lived with the forenamed *Ludovike* Lantgrave of *Thuring*, whom she through her perswasions provoked and incensed to take that voyage to fight for the Holy land, where he in the same voyage was slain. After whose death *Elizabeth* (remaining a widow) entred the profession of cloysterly religion, and made her self a Nun; so growing and increasing from vertue to vertue, that after her death all *Almain* did sound with the fame of her worthy doings. *Matthew Paris* addeth this more, that she was the Daughter of that Queen, who, being accused to be naught with a certain Archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her; *Regis non interficere nolite timere homun os, & si omnes conspiserint non ego contradico.* That is (although it be hard in English to be translated as it standeth in Latin) To kill the Queen will ye not to fear, that is good, and if all men consent thereunto, not I my self do stand against it, &c. The which sentence being brought to Pope *Innocent*, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise seemeth to have a double understanding, he so fayed the Queen, thus interpreting and pointing the same, *Regis nam interficere nolite, timere homun os, & si omnes consentiunt, non ego, contradico.* That is, To kill the Queen will ye not, to fear, that is good: And if all do consent thereto, yet not I, I my self do stand against it, and so escaped she the danger. This Queen was the Mother (as is said) of *Elizabeth* the Nun, who for her holy sanctimonie was Canonized of the Popes Church for a Saint in *Almain*, about the year of our Lord 1220. *Ex Matth. Parisiensi.*

The Popes Legate is driven to flight.

Elizabeth Daughter of the King of Hungary, & Ludovike provoketh her husband to go and fight for the Holy land.

The Duke of Austria murthered of whom.

The Queen saved by Extremities.

Elizabeth Canonized a Saint in Almain.

Thirty Scholars taken and had to prison.

Fifteen hundred Florens contributed to the Pope, in one year of the Clergy.

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King *Henry*. The next year following, which was *Anno.* 1221. the King went to *Oxford*, where he had something to do with *William* Earl *de Albemarlia*, who had taken the Castle of *Bihant*: but at last, for his good service he had done in the Realm before, he was releafed of the King with all his men, by the intercession of *Walter* Archbishop of *York*, and of *Pandulph* the Legate. About which prefent year entred first the Frier *Minorits*, or Gray-Friers into *England*, and had their first House at *Canterbury*, whose first Patron was *Francisc*us, which died *Anno* 1227. and his Order was confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third, *Anno* 1224.

Anno 1221.

The Gray-Friers first entred into England.

The order of Gray-Friers first confirmed.

About the first coming of these *Dominick* and Gray-Friers *Francisc*an into the Realm (as is in *Nicol. Trivet* testified) many Englishmen the same time entred into their orders. Among whom was *Johannes de sancto Egidio*, a man famously expert in the science of Physick and Astronomy, and *Alexander de Hales*, both Englishmen and great Divines. This *Johannes* making his Sermon *Ad clerum*, in the House of the *Dominick* Friers, exhorted his Auditory with great perswations unto wilful poverty. And to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midst of his Sermon he came down from the Pulpit and put on his Friers habit: and so, returning into Pulpit again, made an end of his Sermon. Likewise *Alexander Hales* entred the order of the *Francisc*ans, of whom remaineth yet the Book intituled *De summa theologiæ* in old Libraries.

Johannes de sancto Egidio. Alexander de Hales.

Moreover, not long after by *William de longa spata*, which was the bastard Son of King *Henry* the second, and Earl of *Salisbury*, was first founded the House of the *Carthusian* Monks at *Heitrope*, *Anno* 1222. After whose death his Wife *Ela* was translated to the House of *Henton* in *Barkeshire*, *An.* 1227. which *Ela* also founded the House of Nuns at *Lacocke*, and there continued her self Abbess of the place. The Bishop of *London*, named *William*, the same time gave over his Bishoprick, after whom succeeded *Eustace* in that See. *Flor. hist.*

Charterhouse Monks founded by William Longspey.

Ela foundreth of the House of Lacock.

Who consecrated Edmund a Confessor in Oxford.

In the Town of *Oxford* above mentioned, where this King kept his Court, *Simon Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* held a Council, where was condemned and buried a certain Deacon, as *Nicol. Trivet* saith, for Apostasie. Also another rude Country-man, who had crucified himself, and superstitiously bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was condemned to be closed up perpetually within walls. *Ex Nicol. Trivet.* About which year also *Alexander* King of *Scots* married *Joan* Sister to King *Henry*.

Ex Nicol. Trivet.

Nor long after began the new building of the Minster of *Salisbury*, whereof *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate laid the five first stones; one for the Pope (such was the Fortune of that Church to have the Popes stone in his Foundation) the second for the young King *Henry*; the third, for the good Earl of *Salisbury*; the fourth, for the Countess; the fifth, for the Bishop of *Salisbury*, &c. Which was about the same year above mentioned, *Anno.* 1221. *Ex Chron. de Sal.*

In the same year about S. *James* tide fell a difference between the Citizens of *London*, and the men of *Westminster*; the occasion whereof was this. A certain gain between these two parties was appointed, to try whether part in wrestling could overcome the other. Thus in striving for mastery, each part contending against the other (as the manner is in such pastime) it happened that the *Londoners* got the Victory, and the other side was put to foile, but especially the Steward of the Abbot of *Westminster*; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to foretlink in his mind how to be revenged against the *Londoners*. Whereupon another day was set, which was at *Lammas*, that the *Londoners* should come again to wrestle; and who so had the Victory should have the Belwether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their Play, the Steward suddenly bringeth upon the *Londoners* unawares, a company of harnessed men prepared for the same before, and herein drive at the *Londoners*; who, at length being wounded and grievously hurt, after much bloodshed were driven back again into the City. This contumely thus being received, the Citizens, eagerly fracken with ire and impatience, ran to the common Bell, and by ringing thereof

Dissension between the Citizens of London and Westminster.

assembled their Commons together, to consult with themselves what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein when divers sentences were given diversly, *Serle* the same time Maior of *London* (a wise and discreet Man) gave this Counsel, that the Abbot of *Westminster* should be talked withal, who if he would rectifie the injury done, and satisfie for the harm received, it should be to them sufficient. But contrary, one *Constantine* a great Man then in the City of *London*, in much heat exciting the people, gave this sentence, that all the Houses of the Abbot of *Westminster*, but especially the House of the Steward should be cast down to the ground. In fine, that, which he so unadvisedly Counselled, was as madly performed: For the furious people according to his Counsel so did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of *Hubert de Burgo*, Lord chief Justice of *England* above mentioned, he coming with a sufficient strength of armed souldiers to the City of *London*, sent to the Maior and Aldermen of the City to will them to come unto him. Who so obeying his commandment, he required of them the principal beginners of the Riot. To whom *Constantine* there being present answered, that he would warrant that which was done; sorrowing moreover that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The Justice, upon the same his confession, commanded him with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and so with the same two he was hanged, he offering for his life 1500. Marks, &c.

Wholsome Counsel of the Maior of *London* refused of wild heads.

Conspirator executed at *London* for Riot.

The said *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, and Lord chief Justice, although he was a faithful and trusty officer to his Prince, and had the whole guiding of the Realm in his own hands, the King as yet being in his Minority: yet afterward, what indignation he sustained for this his severity and other things, both of the Nobles and of the Commons, and how sharply he was tossed and trounsed of his Prince, wonder it is to see, as in his due place and time (by the Lords leave) hereafter shall appear. *Hæc ex Matth. Parisiensi.*

Hubert Lord chief Justice of *England*.

Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made of the wrangling between the Commoners of *London* and of *Westminster*, both time and occasion bringeth me in remembrance something to speak likewise of the Ecclesiastical conflicts among Church-men, nothing inferior in my mind, nor less worthy to be noted than the other. For so I read in *Matth. Paris*, and in *Flores Hist.* that at what time this wrestling was among the Citizens for the sheep, the like contention kindled and enflamed between *Eustace* Bishop of *London* and the Chapter of *Paul's* on the one side, and the Abbot of *Westminster* with his Covent on the other side, about spiritual jurisdiction and subjection: to wit, whether the Monastery of *Westminster* were exempted from the subjection and jurisdiction of the Bishop of *London* or not. Which controversie at last coming into comprimise, was committed to the Arbitrement of *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Philip* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* of *Merton*, and *Richard* Prior of *Dunstable*; and at length it was thus agreed, that the Monastery of *Westminster* should be utterly exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *London*, and that *Stanes*, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertain to the Monastery of *Westminster*. Also, that the manner of *Sunbury* should be due and proper to the Church of S. *Paul*, and also that the Church of S. *Margaret* with all the Lands belonging to the same should be exempted from all other jurisdiction, but only of the Bishop of *Rome*: and so was this matter decided, *An.* 1222. *Ibidem Flor. Historiarum.*

Discord and contention among Church-men.

Ex Matth. Paris & ex Flentiges.

Whether the Monastery of *Westminster* be exempted from the subjection of the Bishop of *London* or not.

{ Anno 1222.

The same year (as writeth *Mat. Paris*) horrible tempests with thundring and lightning, and whirlewinds, went through all the Land, that much harm was done, Churches, Steeples, Towers, Houses, and divers Trees with the violence of Winds were blown up by the Roots. In *Warwickshire* a certain Wife with eight others in her House were slain. In *Grantham* the Church was set on fire by Lightning most terrible, with such a stink left there behind, that no Man could after a long time abide it. The Author addeth, that manifeft Marks of the Tempest did remain long after in that Monastery to be seen. Some also write that fiery Dragons and Spirits were seen then flying in the Air.

Horrible Tempest in *England*.

A woman with eight of her children slain with Thunder. *Grantham* Church burned with Lightning.

{ Anno 1223.

Anno 1223. *Philip* the *French* King died, after whom his Son *Ludovick* succeeded in the Crown. To whom King *Henry* sending his Message, and desiring him to remember his Promise and Covenant made in rendring again the Lands lost in *Normandy*, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, also *William* the Kings Uncle Earl of *Salisbury*, with divers other Nobles made over into *France*, where they recovered *Poictiers*, and kept *Gascoin* under the Kings obedience. *Ex Matth. Paris. Trivet. Flor. Hist.*

Lewis King of *France*.

The *French* King dies.

The Promise.

In the same year, or as *Fabian* giveth, the next following, which was 1224. By the vertue of a certain Parliament, it was granted of the Lords and Barony of the Land, that the King and his Heirs, should have the ward and marriage of their Heirs, which then was called, and after so proved to be, *Initium malorum*, the beginning of harms.

{ Anno 1224 Wardship first granted to the King.

In the same year, by the account of *Guiburn* and other Writers, the said King holding another Parliament at *Oxford*, by the advice of his Council and of his Clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great Seal, two Charts of the old liberties and Customs of this Realm, for ever to be kept and observed, the one called *Magna Charta*, the other *Charta de foresta*. The Contents whereof fully in the forenamed Author be expressed. For the which cause was granted again by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a Fifteen of all his Subjects, as well of Lay-men as also of the Clergy.

Ex Guiburno & aliis. *Magna Charta. Charta de Foresta.*

¶ Where is to be noted, that these Liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed again by the said King, *Anno* 1236.

Anno 1226. died Pope *Honorius* a great Adversary against *Fredrick* the Emperor, after whom succeeded *Gregory* the ninth, more grievous than his Predecessor. In which year also died *Ludovick* the perjured *French* King at the siege of *Avinion*; whom the Pope now the second or third time had set up to fight against *Reimund* the good Earl of *Tholouse*, and the Hereticks *Albingenses* of that Country: For to the Pope calleth all them, which hold not in all points with his glorious pride, and usurped power and ungodly proceedings. The Origin whereof was this, as in *Matth. Paris* appeareth. In the days of *Philip* the *French* King, this *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouse* was disdained of the Pope for holding with the *Albingenses*; and therefore, by the instigation of the Pope, the Lands of the Earl were taken from him and given to *Simon Montfort*; and instruments made upon the same: But when the said Earl *Reimundus* would not be removed from the right of his possessions by unrighteous dealing; then the Pope set forth *Philip* the *French* King to make open War against him. Whereupon *Lewis* the *French* King was sent with a great power (as is above declared) to besiege the City of *Tholouse*; but being repulsed from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and so returned home, after he had loft the most part of his Army by pestilence and other calamity, as hath been before declared. And thus continued the good Earl still in quiet possession till this present time, *Anno* 1226. In the which year the Pope not forgetting his old Malice against the Earl, and no less enflamed with insatiable avarice, directeth down his Legate Master *Romanus* to the parts of *France* for two several purposes; one to extripe the Earl, the other to inlarge his Revenues. Thus the Legate, being entred into *France*, beginneth to summon a Council, willing the *French* King with the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of *France* to appear before him at *Bitures*; to whom estsoons repaired six Archbishops with the Bishops and Suffragans of nine Provinces, to the number of an Hundred, besides the Abbots, Priors, and Proctors of all the Covents of *France*, to hear the Popes will and commandment. But because there was a discord feared to rise (saith *Matthæus*) about Preheminence of sitting, for that the Archbishop of *Lions* challenged the Superior place above the Archbishop of *Sens*, also the Archbishop of *Rone* above the Archbishop of *Bitures*, and above the Archbishop of *Narbon*, &c. Therefore the Session was holden there not in manner and form of a Council, but of a certain parly or consultation. Thus the meek and holy Council being set, and the Popes Majesties Letters read and declared, appeareth before them *Reimund* Earl of *Tholouse* of the one part, and *Simon Montfort* on the other part: which *Simon* required to be restored unto

{ Anno 1226

The Pope enflameth with insatiable avarice.

The Pope stirreth up the French King against the Earl of Tholouse.

Mark Romanus for the pregnant nature of Prelates, ever desiring to be the chief in place.

Mark Romanus the pragmatick Sire of Prelates, for any lightning

unto him the Lands and possessions of the said *Reimund*, which the Pope and *Philip* the *French* King had given to him and to his Father before, having good evidences to shew for the same, confirmed by the donation of the Pope and of the King. Adding moreover, that the Earl *Reimund* was deprived and disherited in the general Council at *Rome* for Heresie, which is called the Heresie of *Albingenses*. At least, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the most part of his Lordships he required to be granted him.

Reimundus wrongfully disherited by the Pope.

To this the Earl *Reimund* answered again, offering himself ready to all duty and office both toward the *French* King, and to the Church of *Rome*, whatsoever duty to him did appertain. And moreover, touching the Heresie wherewith he was there charged; he did not only there offer himself in that Council before the Legate, but most humbly did crave of him, that he would take the pains to come into every City within his Precinct to inquire of every person there the Articles of his Belief; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not Catholick, he would see the same to be corrected and amended according to the censure of holy Church to the uttermost. Or if he should find any City rebelling against him, he, to the uttermost of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do satisfaction therefore. And as touching himself, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembreth not that he had done) he offered there full satisfaction to God and Church, as becomed any faithful Christian Man to do; requiring moreover there before the Legate to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (saith *Matthæus*) the Legate despised; neither could the Catholick Earl (saith he) there find any grace, unless he would depart from his Heritage; both from himself and from his Heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of twelve Peers of *France*: To that *Reimundus* answered, that if the *French* King would receive his Homage which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For else they would not, said he, take him as one of their society and fellow Subjects.

Reimundus the good Earl of Tholouse answereth for himself.

Albingenses falsely suspected for Heretics.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the Legate willeth every Archbishop to call aside his Suffragans, to deliberate with them upon the cause, and to give up in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly, the Legate denounceth Excommunication to all such as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the Pope and the King had intelligence thereof.

The Pope calleth wit.

These things thus in hudder mutter among themselves concluded, the Legate gave leave to all Proctors of Covents and Chapters to return home, only retaining with him the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and certain simple Prelates, such as he might be more bold withal, to open, and of them to obtain the other part of his Commission, which was indeed to obtain of every Cathedral Church two Prebendships; one for the Bishop, the other for the Chapter. And in Monasteries also after the like fort, where the Abbot and Covent had divers and several portions, to require two Churches; one for the Abbot, the other for the Covent, keeping this proportion; that how much should suffice for the living of one Monk, so much the whole Covent should find for their part; and as much the Abbot likewise for his. And forsomuch as he would not seem to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this; that because the Court of *Rome* had long been blotted with the note of avarice, which is Mother of all evil, for that no man could come to *Rome* for any business, but he must pay for the expedition of the same; therefore for the removing away of the occasion of that slander, the publick help of the Church must necessarily be required, &c.

{ Anno 1226

The Clergy of France answering to the Legate.

The Proctors and Parties thus sent home by the Legates, marvelling with themselves why the Bishops and Abbots should be staid and they sent whom, and suspecting no less but as the matter was indeed, conferred their Counsels together, and devised with themselves to send certain unto him in the behalf of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in *France*; and sent to the said Legate his Message, to signifie to him, that they were credibly informed he came with special Letters from the Court of *Rome* for the obtaining of certain Prebendaries in every Cathedral and Conventual Church. Which being so, they much marvelled, that he would not in the publick Council make manifest to them those Letters which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensive matter might rise by him in the *French* Church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the Church of *France*. *For grant (said they) that certain will assent unto you, yet their assent shall not in no wise concerning such matters as touch the whole: especially, seeing both the States of the Realm, with all the inferior Subjects, yea, and the King himself they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as upon the offence whereof it shall doth the subversion both of the Realm publick, and of the whole Church in general.* Declaring moreover the cause of this fear to rise hereof, for that in other Realms such communication hath been with Bishops and Prelates for the procuring of such Prebendships, whereas neither the Prince nor the Subjects were made any thing privy thereto.

Inferiors ever more bold to speak in difficult causes of truth, than the rich.

The obligations of the Clergy of France against the Popes exaction.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the Legate, the objections of the inferior parties against the cruel exaction were these in brief effect, as is in *Parisiensis* noted.

First, They alledged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustain thereby, by reason of the continual Procurators of the Pope, which in every Diocese must live not of their own, but must be sustained upon the charges of the Cathedral Churches, and other Churches also; and many times they being but Procurators, will be found as Legates.

Item, By that means they said great perturbations might infue to the Covents and Chapters of Cathedral Churches in their elections: forsomuch as the Popes Agents and Factors being in every Cathedral Church and Chapter house, percase the Pope would command him in his person to be present at their Elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the Court of *Rome* to give; and so should be placed more of the Popes Clientel in the Churches of *France*, than of the proper inhabitants of the Land.

Item, By this means they affirmed, that all they in the Court of *Rome* should be richer, and should receive more for their proportion than the King of the Realm: by reason of which aboundance of riches it was like to come to pass, that as the Worm of rich Men is pride; so by the means of this their riches, the Court of *Rome* would delay and drive off great Suites, and scarce would take any pains with small causes. The experiment whereof is evident, for that now also they use to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in assurance to receive. And thus should Justice stand aside, and poor Suitors die at the Gates of the Court of *Rome*, thus flowing and triumphing in full aboundance of all Treasure and Riches.

Item, Forsomuch as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the Court of *Rome*, for the better speeding of their causes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter, and their causes sooner dispatched.

Item, When as it is impossible the fountain of greedy desire to be stopped, it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by themselves, or else they should be inforced to give greater rewards than before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked upon.

Item, Where he alledged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the Court of *Rome*: by this means rather the contrary were to be feared, wherein they alledged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.

¶ Further, they alledged that great riches would make the *Romans* mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking; so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruine and destruction of the City, whereof some experiment they had already.

Rome, obliged, that although they would condescend and oblige themſelves to that Contribution, yet their Succeſſors would not ſo be bound, nor yet ratifie the Bond of theirs.

Laſtly, thus they conclude the matter, deſiring him that the Zeal of the Univerſal Church, and of the Church of *Rome* would move him alſo if this Oppreſſion of the Church ſhould be univerſal, it were to be doubted leſt an univerſal departing might follow from the Church of *Rome*, which God forbid (ſay they) ſhould happen.

God grant, ſay we.

The Legate hearing theſe words, being therewith ſomething moved (as ſeemed) excuſed himſelf, that he being in the Court, never agreed to this Exaction; and that the Cardinal repulſed and defeated of his purpoſe in *France*. Letters hereof came not to him before he was in *France*, whereat he ſaid he was greatly ſorry, adding this withall, that the words of his Precept included this ſecret meaning in them, thus to be underſtood and taken: ſo far forth as the Empire and other Realms would agree unto the ſame. And as for him,he would ſtir no more in the matter,before it were proved what other Countries would ſay and do therein.

And thus much concerning the ſecond part of the blind Commiſſion of this Legate, touching his Exaction of Prebendſhips in every Cathedral and Conventual Church, wherein, as ye hear, he was repulſed: *Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag.* 62.

Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 62.

The Pope raiſeth War againſt the Earl and the people of *Tholoſe*.

Now to return to the firſt part of his Commiſſion again, which was concerning *Raimundus* the godly Earl of *Tholouſe*, thus the ſtory proceedeth, that while the Legate was in hand with this matter of the Popes money, in the meane ſeaſon certain preaching Fryers were directed by the ſaid *Romanus* the Popes Legate into all *Frances*, to incite and ſtir up the *French-men* to take the Croſs upon them, and to war againſt the Earl of *Thoulouſe* and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for *Hereticks*. At the preaching whereof, a great number of Prelates and Lay-men ſigned themſelves with the Croſs, to fight againſt the *Tholoſſians*, being thereto induced, as the ſtory ſaith, more for fear of the *French* King or favour of the Legate, than for any true zeal of Juſtice. For ſo it followeth in the words of *Paris*, *Videbatur enim multis abuſio, ut hominem fidelem Chriſtianum infeſtarent, præcipue cum conſtiterat cunctis, eum, in concilio nuper Bituricenſi, multis precibus perſuaſiſſe Legato, ut vepiret ad ſingulas terræ ſuæ civitates, inquirens a ſingulis articulos fidei: & ſi quempiam contra fidem inveniret, &c. For to many (ſaith he) it ſeemed an abuſe, to move War againſt a faithful Chriſtian man, eſpecially ſeeing in the Council of* Bitures, *(before all men) he intreated the Legate with great inſtance that he would come into every City within his Dominions, and there to inquire of every perſon the Articles of his Faith: where if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the Catholick Faith, he promiſed a full ſatisfaction to be had thereof, according to the Cenſure of the Church, to the uttermoſt, &c.*

Teſtimony of the Author for the clearing of *Raimundus* and of the *Albingenſes*.

The unreaſonable tyranny of the Pope againſt the *Tholoſſians*.

Yet all this notwithſtanding, the proud Legate, contemning this ſo honeſt and reaſonable purgation of the Earl *Raimundus*, ceaſed not by all manner of means to proſecute the Popes fury againſt him and his Subjects, ſtirring up the King and the *Frenchmen*, under pain of Excommunication, to war againſt them. *Ludovick* the *French* King, thus being inforced by the Legate, anſwered again, *That he for his own ſafety would not atchieve that Expedition, or adventure againſt the Earl, unleſs it were firſt obtained of the Pope to write to the King of* England: *commanding him, that, during the time of that Expedition, he ſhould invade and moleſt no piece of his Lands and Poſſeſſions which he the ſame preſent time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howſoever they were holden, while the time of the ſaid War againſt the* Hereticks *(as they were then termed) did indure, but rather ſhould aid and aſſiſt him with counſel and money in that Enterpriſe.* All this being done and accompliſhed, the *French* King and the Legate (croſſing themſelves to the field) appointed a day peremptory for the *French* Army to meet together at *Lions*, under pain of the Popes Excommunication, and with Horſe and Harneis to ſet upon the *Tholoſſians*, againſt the *Aſcenſion-day* next inſuing.

Excommunication abuſed.

When the *Aſcenſion-day* was come, which was the day peremptory appointed, the *French* King, having prepared at *Lions* all things neceſſary for his Army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty Hoſt; after whom alſo cometh the Legate, with his Biſhops, and Prelates. The number of fighting-men in his Army, beſides the Victuallers and Waggoners, were 50000 men. The Legate by the way openly Excommunicated the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and all that took his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole Land. Thus the King came marching forward, till he came into the Province of *Tholouſe*, and the firſt City which he came unto there of the Earls, was *Avinion*: which City they thought firſt to have beſieged, and ſo in order after, as they went, to have deſtroyed and waſted all the whole Province belonging to the Earl. And firſt the King demanded of them to have his paſſage through the City; ſaining himſelf in peaceable wiſe (for the expedition of his Journey) but to paſs through the ſame. The Citizens, conſulting with themſelves what was to be done,at length gave anſwer,*That they miſtruſted their coming, and ſuppoſed that in deceit they required the entrance of their City,and for no neceſſity of their journey.*

Looſe the French King and *Romanus* the Popes Legate gain mocking againſt the Albingenſes.

Romanus Earl of Tholouſe excommunicated.

The City of *Avinion* beſieged.

The Popes Legate wickedly peruerteth Juſtice.

The King, hereat being much offended, ſware an Oath, *That he would not depart thence till he had taken the City*; and immediately in thoſe places, where he thought moſt meet, he began to make ſharp aſſaults, with all manner of faultable means; the Citizens again within manfully defended themſelves, caſting ſtone for ſtone, and ſhooting ſhot for ſhot, and ſlew and wounded many of the *Frenchmen*. Thus when they had long beſieged the City, and could not win the ſame: at length Victuals in the *French* Camp began to fail, and many of them died for hunger. For the Earl of *Tholouſe* as a wiſe man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the Town all the proviſion that was abroad, and left nothing without to ſerve for their defence and ſuccour, he plowed up the fields, that there ſhould no flower be found to ſerve their Horſes; he put out of the Town all the old people and young children, leſt they ſhould want victuals that kept the Town, and before their coming ſent them far away, ſo that within the Town, they had plenty, and without they died for Famine. And beſides in ſeeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the City, who ſecretly lay in wait for them abroad and ſlew many of them; beſides a great number of cattel and horſes died for want of forage: and poor Souldiers, that had no great ſtore of money, died for want of Victuals. By which mortality and ſtink both of men and cattel grew great Infection and Peſtilence among them; inſomuch that the King himſelf and alſo the Legate were greatly diſmayed,thinking it to be no little ſhame, as well to the Realm of *France*, as alſo to *Rome*, that they ſhould ſo depart and break up their Siege. Thus again thought the Souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by battel, than ſo to die like dogs and ſtarve. Wherefore with one conſent they purpoſed to give a new aſſault at the Bridge that goeth over the flood *Rhodanus* into the Town; to which place they came in ſuch number, that either by the debility of the Bridge or fubtilty of the Souldiers that kept the Town, three thouſand of them, with Bridge and all, fell armed into the violent ſtream, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladneſs of the Citizens part, and much lamentation and heavineſs on the other part? Then ſhortly after, the Citizens of *Avinion* (when they ſaw a convenient time, whilſt their enemies were eating meat) came ſuddenly upon them out of the Town, and ſlew of them two thouſand, and took the Town again with ſafety. But the Legate with his company of Prelates (like good men of War) practiſed none other Martial feats, but all to be curſed the Earl of *Tholouſe*, his Cities, and his people. *Ludovicus* the King, to avoid the Peſtilence that was in the Camp, went into an Abbey not far off, where ſhortly after he died; of whoſe death are ſundry Opinions, ſome ſaying, *That he was poiſoned*; ſome,*That he died of a Bloody-flux.*

Famine and Peſtilence in the *French* Camp.

The number of the *French* Souldiers in this Siege deſtroyed.

The ſecond life of the King of the Popes Legate noted.

The *French* Souldiers delivered at the ſiege of *Avinion*.

Leaue the *French* King and the ſiege of *Avinion*.

Whoſe death notwithſtanding the Legate thought to keep ſecret and conceal, till that the Town might be rendred and given up: for he thought himſelf ſhamed for ever, if he ſhould depart before the Town were won. Whereſore after he had incouraged the Souldiers afreſh,and yet after many ſharp aſſaults could not prevail; he bethought him how by falſehood he might betray them, and ſent unto them certain Heralds, to will them that they ſhould amongſt themſelves conſult upon Articles of Peace, and bring

The falſe dealing of the Popes Legate in betraying the City of *Avinion*.

bring the ſame to their Camp, whoſe ſafe Conduct they faithfully promiſed and warranted both of coming and going. And when they had given their pledges for the ſame, the Meſſengers from the Citizens talked with the Legate: who promiſed them, if they would deliver up their City, they ſhould have their Lives, Goods, and Poſſeſſions in as ample manner as now they injoyed the ſame. But the Citizens and Souldiers refuſed to be under the Servitude of the *French* King, neither would ſo deliver up their City to thoſe, of whoſe inſolent pride they had ſo good experiment. After much talk on both ſides, and none like to take effect, the Legate requeſted them, and friendly laboured, that he, and his Prelates which were about him, might come into their City to examine what Faith and Belief they were of, and that he neither ſought nor meant any other thing thereby, but their own ſafeties as well of Body as Soul, which thing he faithfully ſware unto: *For* (ſaith he) *the bruit of your great Infidelity hath come to the Lord Popes ear, and therefore deſired he to make true Certificate thereof.* Whereupon the Citizens, not miſtruſting his faithful Oath and Promiſe made unto them, granted entrance to him and the reſidue of the Clergy, bringing with them no weapon into the Town. The Souldiers of the Camp, as it was agreed before, made them ready; ſo that at the entrance of the Prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their Oath and Fidelity, the other ſuddenly were ready, and with violence ruſhed in, ſlew the Porter and Warders, and at length won the City and deſtroyed the ſame, and ſlew many of them that were within. Thus by falſehood and policy when they had gotten this noble City,they carried the Kings Corps unto *Paris*, where they buried the ſame. Of the whole number of the *French* Souldiers which in this Siege were deſtroyed by Famine,Peſtilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thouſand: Whereby, ſaith the ſtory of *Mat. Pariſienſis*, it may evidently appear the War was unjuſtly taken in hand, &c. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi.*

The Popes Legate wickedly peruerteth Juſtice.

Perjury of the Pariſh. The City of *Avinion* taken by treaſon and perjury of the Popes Legate.

Policy of War.

After theſe things finiſhed, and after the Funeral of the King celebrated at *Paris*, it followeth more in the ſaid Hiſtory of *Pariſienſis*, that the ſaid Legate *Romanus* was vehemently ſuſpected,and grievouſly infamed to abuſe himſelf with *Blanca* the Kings Mother: *Sed impium eſt* (ſaith he) *hoc credere, quia æmuli ejus hoc diſſeminaverunt, benigno autem animo dubia in melius interpretatur*; that is, But it is ungodly to ſuſpect any ſuch thing of him, becauſe his enemies ſo rumoured the ſame abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part.

The King claimeth to be freed from Government, and to be his own man.

Robert the Juſtice made Earl of *Kent*. The King inducteth and diſtroyeth the Liberties which before he granted. Profits of Priſons to ſtock his money.

Moreover, beſide this general Subſidy of the fifteenth granted to the King through the whole Realm, and beſides all the Contribution of the *Londoners*, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through ſeveral places: as of the Burgeſſes of *Northampton* he required a thouſand and two hundred Marks, for his helping of them, and ſo of others likewiſe. All this preparation of money was made toward the furniſhing of his Voyage to recover *Normandy*. And yet becauſe he would gratifie the City of *London* again with ſome pleaſure; he granted the Citizens thereof thould paſs Toll-free (ſaith *Fabian*) throughout all *England*. And if of any City, Borough, or Town they were conſtrained at any time to pay their Toll, then the Sheriffs of *London* to attach every man coming to *London* of the ſaid City, Borough or Town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the *Londoners* were again reſtored of all ſuch money paid for the ſaid Toll, with all coſts and damages ſuſtained for the ſame. *Ex Fabiano.*

The Citizens of *London* are freed from Toll through all *England*.

{Anno 1228.}

I declared before, how after the death of *Honorius* ſucceeded Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, between the which *Gregory* and the people of *Rome*, this year fell a great Sedition. Inſomuch that about the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, they thruſt the Pope out of the City, purſuing him unto his Caſtle at *Viterbium*. Where alſo they invaded him ſo valiantly, that they chaſed him to *Perufium*. Then having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his Perſecutors, fiercely he did Excommunicate them. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag.* 69.

Ex Fab. par. 5.

Sedition between the *Romans* and the Pope.

Here, by the way, is to be obſerved and conſidered, Chriſtian Reader, not only by this Sedition, but by ſo many other Schiſms, Diviſions, Tumults, Fightings, Brawls and Contentions in the Church of *Rome* from the firſt beginning of the Popes uſurped Power, and that not only within the City of *Rome*, but univerſally almoſt in all Popiſh Monaſteries, Colledges, Churches, and Covents under the Popes ſubjected,continually reigning amongſt them, what is to be thought of their Religion and Holineſs,having ſo little peace, ſo great diſquietneſs, diſſentions, and wrangling amongſt them, as in ſtories both manifeſt it is to behold, and wondrous to conſider.

The Popes Church may be judged by their diſſentions and ſchiſms. no peace in the Popes Church.

And for ſo much as I have here entred into the mention of this Schiſmatical Commotion between the Pope and his Citizens; it followeth moreover in the Hiſtory of *Pariſienſis*, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befel the ſame year, and time, *An.* 1228. between the Prior and Covent of *Durham*, and this King *Henry* the Third, upon this occaſion: after the death of *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*, the Prior and Chapter of the ſaid Church came to the King, to obtain licence for the electing of their Biſhop. The King offered to them one *Lucas* a Chaplain of his, requiring them inſtantly to elect him for their Biſhop. To this the Monks anſwered,*That they would receive no man,but by their Order of Canonical Election.* Meaning belike, by their Canonical Election, thus much, when as they elect either ſome Monk out of their own company, or elſe ſome Monkiſh Prieſt after their own liking. Contrary, the King again ſendeth word unto them, and bound it with an Oath, *That they ſhould tarry ſeven years without a Biſhop, unleſs they would admit the foreſaid Lucas to that place of that Dignity.* All which notwithſtanding, the Monks, proceeding in their Election, refuſed the ſaid *Lucas*; and preferred another Clerk of theirs, named *William* Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, and him they preſented to the King: but the King, bringing in exceptions and cauſes againſt the party, would not admit him. Then the Monks in all haſty ſpeed ſend up to *Rome* certain of their Covent, to have their Election ratified by the Apoſtolical. On the other ſide the King, likewiſe hearing, ſendeth alſo to *Rome* againſt the Monks, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and the Prior of *Lentony* on his behalf, to withſtand the purpoſe of the Monks. And ſo the matter, being traverſed with great altercation on both ſides,did hang in ſuſpence (ſaith mine Author) till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Maſter *William*, nor yet *Lucas* ſhould be taken, but that *Richard* Biſhop of *Sarum* ſhould be tranſlated to *Durham*, and be Biſhop there, *Anno* 1228. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

Canonical Election.

The Monks of *Durham* ſend to *Rome* in behalf their King.

{Anno 1227.}

The like ſtir alſo happened both the ſame year, and for the like matter, between the Monks of *Coventry* and the Canons of *Lichfield*, about chooſing of their Biſhop, which of them ſhould have the ſuperior voice in the Election of their Prelate. After much ado, the cauſe, at length being

Another contention between the Monks of *Coventry* and the Canons of *Lichfield*.

being hoisted up to *Rome*, had this determination; that the Monks of *Coventry* and the Church of *Lichfield* should chuse their Bishop by course, each part keeping his turn the one after the other: provided notwithstanding, that the Prior of *Coventry* should always have the first voice in every Election, whereas the old custom was, saith mine Author, that the Covent with the Prior of *Coventry* was wont to have the whole Election of the Bishop without the Canons,

Ex Mat. Paris, pag. 68. Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom (as is recorded by Nic. Trivet) the Chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now use them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made Postils upon the whole Bible. The same moreover builded the New Hall in the Palace of Canterbury.

this was *Anno* 1228. *Ex Parisiensi, pag.* 68.

After the death of this *Langton* infused another variance about the Election of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the King. The perturbation whereof as it was no less seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of *Stephen Langton*, the Monks of *Canterbury*, obtaining licence of the King to proceed in the Election of a new Archbishop, did choose one of their own Society, named Master *Walter Homesham*. Whom when the Monks had presented unto the King, he, after long deliberation, began to object against that Election, saying, First, *That the Monks had elected such a one as neither was profitable to him nor his Kingdom.* Secondly, *He objected against the party elect, that his Father was convict of Felony, and hanged for the same.* Thirdly, *That he stood in Causes against his Father King* John *in the time of the Interdict.* Moreover, the Bishops his Suffragans charged the party elect, *That he had lien with a certain Nun, and had Children by her*; adding further, *That the Election of the Archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c.* But the Archbishop again, stoutly standing unto the Election, appealed up to *Rome*, and estsoons, taking with him certain Monks, presented himself to the Popes own proper person, there to sue his Appeal; instantly intreating, that his Election might stand confirmed by his Authority pontifical. But the Pope understanding that the said Election was resisted by the King and the Bishops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The King and the Bishops, having intelligence that the Archbishop with his Monks were gone to *Rome*, thought good to articulate the foresaid Objections above alledged, in writing; and sealing the same with the Seals both of the King and of the Bishops, to exhibit them to the Bishop of *Rome*. The Messengers of these Letters were the Bishops of *Rochester*, of *Chester*, and the Archdeacon of *Bedford*, Master *John*, *&c.* Who coming to *Rome*, and exhibiting their Message with their Letters unto the Pope (consideration being had upon the same) were commanded to waite attendance against the next day after *Ash-Wednesday*: then to have a resolute answer concerning the Cause, which was the second day of *March* the next year following; that is, in the year of our Lord.

Appeal sued to *Rome*.

King Henry sendeth to the Pope.

Tythe of all moveable goods in *England* and *Ireland* promised to the Pope for granting the Kings Suit.

1229. In the mean season, the Kings Proctors ceased not with all instance to labour the Pope and his Cardinals to be favourable to the Kings side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter (as is the guise of that Court) they began to misdoubt their speeding. Wherefore consulting together with themselves upon the premisses, they came to the Pope, promising in the Kings behalf to be given and granted to him, out of the Realms both of *England* and *Ireland*, the tythe or tenth part of all the goods within the said Realms moveable, to sustain his Wars against the Emperor, so that he would incline favourably to the Kings Suit and Petition herein. *At dominus Papa* (saith *Paris*)

O auri facra fames.

qui rebellem Imperatorem super omnia æstuabat dejicere, tantis promissionibus exhilaratus, trahitur ad consensum:

That is, But the Pope (saith the Author) which boiled with defire above all measure, to have the Emperor his Enemy cast down, being cheared with so great promises, granted his consent to them, who, sitting then in his Consistory, had these words, which here follow.

There hath come of late to our Intelligence the Election of a certain Monk named Walter, *to be Archbishop of* Canterbury; *whereupon after that we heard and advised as well those things which the said Monk hath said for himself and for his Election; as also on the contrary side, the Objections and Exceptions of the Bishops of* England *alledging against him and against his Election; namely, of the Bishop of* Chester, *the Bishop of* Rochester, *and* John *Archdeacon of* Bedford: *We upon the same committed the Examination, touching the person of the man, unto our reverend Brethren Lord Cardinal* Albany, *Lord Cardinal* Thomas de Sabina, *and Master* Peter. *And when the forsaid Elect, coming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lords descending into Hell, Whether descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well.* Item, *being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the Altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreover how* Rachel *wept for her Children, he being dead before, he answered not well.* Item, *being asked concerning the Sentence of Excommunication denounced against the Order of Law, he answered not well. Again, being required of Matrimony, if one of the married parties be an Infidel, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Upon these Articles he was (as is said) diligently examined of the Cardinals: to the which we say he answered not only not well, but also very ill. For so much therefore, as the Church of* Canterbury *is a noble Church, and requireth a noble Prelate, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosome of the Church of* Rome; *and for so much as this new Elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but also should say more of him, if we would proceed with him by the rigor of the Law) is so insufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to such a room: we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his Election, always reserving to our selves the provision of the said Church.* Hæc ex Mat. Parisiensi ad verbum.

Thus the Election of *Walter* being fruftrate and diffolved, the Kings Procurators bringing forth the Letters of the King, and of the Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, presented the same unto the Pope for the Ratification of *Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln*, to be appointed Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound Learning and Knowledge, of an honeft Converfation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of *Rome*, as also for the Realm of *England*. And thus the said *Richard* being commended to the Pope by the Letters Procuratory of the King and of the Bishops, had the consent of the Pope and of the Cardinals, and so was made Bishop of *Canterbury* before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope *Gregory* in his behalf directeth down his Letters to all and singular Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lye, that for so much as by the fulness of Ecclesiastical Power the charge of Pastoral Office is committed to him in general upon all Churches, he therefore for the sollicitude he beareth, as well to all other Churches in general, as in special to the Metropolitan-Church of *Canterbury*, repudiating and disannulling the former Election of *Walter* the Monk upon just causes, hath provided for that See a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that Function very fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and all others, by his Authority Apostolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was *Anno* 1229. *Ex Paris.*

These things thus finished at *Rome*, the Pope not forgetting the sweet promises made of the *English* Silver which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedy wise sendeth unto the King of *England* M. *Stephen* his own Chaplain and trusty Legate, to require and collect the forefaid Tythes of all the moveable goods both of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintain his War against *Frederick* the Emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all Christian Realms with the like hatred which he bare against *Frederick* the Emperor, he sendeth also with the said *Stephen* special Letters full of manifold Complaints, and grievous Accusations against the said Emperor, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be shewed hereafter. Upon the coming of this *Stephen* the Legate, the King assembled all his Earls and Barons, with the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots,

bots, Priors, Templars, Hospitalers, Parsons and Vicars, and other such as held of him *In Capite*, to appear before him at *Westminster*, to hear and to commune of the matter. In the Assembly of whom, the Popes Patent Letters were brought forth and read, wherein he required the Tenths of all the moveables in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, to maintain his Expedition against the forefaid *Frederick* the Emperor. The which Expedition as he pretended to atchieve and to take in hand for the cause of the Universal Church, and happily to the had begun the matter already; and for so much as the Riches of the Apoftolick See did not fuffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise: he therefore, inforced by meer necessity, did implore the aid and help of all the true obedient and natural Chickens of the Church of *Rome*, left the Members thereof together with the Head should be subverted. These Letters of the Pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the Popes Chaplain, which he with much more allegation and perfwation of words did amplifie to his uttermost; the King (saith mine Author) in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a staffe of Reed. For so much as he had obliged himself to the same before, for the Election of his Archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The Earls, Barons, and all the Laity utterly refused so to bind their Baronies to the Church of *Rome*: but the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, with other Prelates of the Church, first requiring space and respite to deliberate for three or four days; at length for fear of the Popes Curse (although they durst not utterly withstand) had brought to pass to have concluded for a sum of money much less, had not *Stephen Segrave*, one of the Kings Counsellors, craftily convented with the Legate, and by subtil means brought it to pass, that the whole Tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable damage (saith *Paris*) both of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal State. The means whereof (saith the Author) was this, The Legate shewing to the Prelates his Procuratory Letters, to collect and gather up all the forefaid Tenths in the name and authority of the Pope, declared moreover the full Authority to him granted by the vertue of his Commission, to Excommunicate all such, and to interdict their Churches, whosoever did gainstand or go contrary to the said Collection. Whereupon by the said vertue Legantine, he fended to every Shire his Proctors to gather the Popes money, or else to Excommunicate them which denied to pay. And for so much as the prefent need of the Pope required prefent help without delay, he fendeth moreover to the Bishops and Prelates of the Realm, in pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and fend to him either of their own or by loan, or usance, or by what means soever, so much money in all poft speed for the present use of the Pope; and after to take up again the said money of the Tenths of every singular person, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the Prelates to avoid the danger (having no other remedy) were driven to sell their Chalices, Cructs, Copes, Jewels, and other Church-Plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow upon usance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the said *Stephen* the Pope's Chaplain (as reporteth *Paris*) brought with him into *England*, for the same purpose, such Bankers and Usurers, who lending out their money upon great usury, did unreasonably pinch the *English* people, which Merchant-Usurers were then called *Cauursini*. Briefly, such strict Exaction was then upon the poor *Englishmen*, that not only their prefent goods were valued and taxed, but also the Corn, yet growing in the field, against the next Harvest was tythed. Only the Earl of *Chester*, named *Ranulphus*, flood stoutly against the Pope, suffering none within his Dominion either Lay-man or Clerk to yield any Tenths to the Popes Proctors. *Ex Matth. Paris, pag.* 74. And this was the end of the strife between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the King, for the Election of their Archbishop, which was about the year of our Lord, 1229. in the which year was finished the new Church of *Coventry*, by *Alexander* Bishop of the said City, and partly by the help of the King: which Church *Richard* his Predecessor Bishop before him of *Coventry* had begun.

The *French-men* about this time again prepared themselves towards *Provence*, to war against the forefaid *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouse*, and to expulse him out of his Possessions. And hearing that he was in his Castle of *Saracene*, they made thither all their Power, thinking there to inclose and compass him about: but the Earl being privy of their confpired purpofe, fet for them by the way, appointing certain ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the *French-men*, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the *French* were entred the wood, the Earl with his train of well armed and able Warriors, suddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, so that in that Conflict five hundred of the *French* Souldiers were taken and many slain. Of their Servitors to the number of Two thousand men with their armor were taken, of whom some lost their Eyes, some their Noses, some their Ears, some their Legs, and so were sent home: the reft were carried away Prisoners into the Caftle. And to be brief (saith the History) thrice the same Summer were the *French-men* difcomfited, put to flight, taken and imprisoned by the forefaid *Reimundus* the godly Earl. *Ex Paris. pag.* 69. Wherein is to be seen and to be prailed the gracious Protection of the Lord our God against the furious *Papists*, which is glorious always in his Saints.

The same year the King, being at *Portsmouth*, had assembled together all his Nobility, Earls, Barons, and Knights of *England*, with such an Army of Horsemen and Footmen, as hath not been lightly seen, thinking to recover again the Country of *Normandy*, of *Gant*, and other Possessions which King *John* his Father before had lost. But when the Captains and Marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not half Ships enough to receive the Host. Whereupon the King was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in *Hubert* the Lord Chief Justice (who under the King had all the Government of the Realm) calling him *old Traytor*, charging him that he should be the let of his Voyage, as he was before when he took of the *French* Queen five thousand Marks to stay the Kings Journey into *Normandy*. Insomuch that the rage of the King was so kindled against him, that drawing his Sword, he made at him to run him through, had not the Earl of *Chester*, *Ranulph* stopt the King. *Hubert* withdrew himself away till the Kings rage was past. This was about the time of *Michaelmas*, at which time arrived *Henry* Earl of *Normandy* in the Haven of *Portsmouth* in the month of *October*; who should have conducted the King upon his Allegiance and Oath into *Normandy*. But he with other of the Kings Army counselled the King not to take that Voyage towards *Winter*, but rather to defer it to the *Easter* tide following: wherewith the King was stayed and well contented, and pacified again with *Hubert* the Justice, &c. *Ex Parisiensi.*

Fabian recordeth this year the Liberties and Franchises of the City of *London* to be confirmed by the King, and to every of the Sheriffs to be granted two Clerks, and two Officers without any more. *Ex Fabian.*

Then followed the year 1230. in which upon the day of the Converfion of S. *Paul* (as faith *Paris*) as a great multitude of people for the solemnity of the day were congregate in the Temple of S. *Paul*, the Bishop then being at his Mass, a sudden darkness with such thickness of Clouds fell in the Air, that unneth one man might see another in the Church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning, like to terrible, leaving such a feint in the Church, that the people, looking for *Doomes-day*, thought no less but that the Steeple and whole Church would have fallen upon their heads: insomuch that they running out of the Church, the people amazed, fell down together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were: only the Bishop and his Deacon stood still at their Mass, holding the Altar fast. *Ex Parisiensi.*

Of the death of *Stephen Langton*, and of the troublesome Election of the next Archbishop, also of the costly and chargeable bringing in of *Richard* to succeed in the room, which did cost the whole Realm of *England* the tenths of all their moveables, sufficient hath been declared before. This *Richard*, being now confirmed in his Seat, came to the King complaining of *Hubert* the Lord Chief Justice, of mentioned before, for withholding from him the Caftle and Town of *Tunbridge* with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other Lands of the Earl of *Clare* late deceased. Which Lands appertain to the right of his Seat, and to the Church of *Canterbury*; for the which the said

Ex Mat. Paris, pag. 68.

Stephen Langton Archbishop died.

The Chapters of the Bible first distinguished by Stephen Langton.

Another contentious dilention between the Monks of Canterbury and King Henry the third.

Objections laid against the new Archbishop.

The Election of Walter Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ex Mat. Paris, pag. 68.

Richard made Chancellor of Lincoln commended to the Pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

Richard made Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope without Election.

The strife of the Popes Letters to the suffragans of Canterbury. The Pope beginneth strife with the Kings Proctors.

Ex Matth. Paris, pag. 74.

This was a dear Archbishop of Canterbury, bought with the ruine of all England.

The Popes requisition of the tenths of all the moveables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The causes of the Popes Legation to the King.

The false pretence of pilfhing of the Pope, under the name of the Church wrecking his own cankered malice.

The Kings mouth Stopped.

The Election of Walter Archbishop of Canterbury disliked of the Pope for the Kings money.

Excommunication thunder.

The Popes Extortion.

Usurers brought into England by the Pope to serve him with money.

Corn upon the ground, tythed to the Pope. Ranulphus Earl of Chester denied to pay the Popes Tenths.

Ex Matth. Paris, pag. 74.

The Church of Coventry finished. The Popes French Army discomfited by the Earl of Tholouse.

Ex Paris. pag. 69.

Ex Paris.

Fabian.

Ex Fabian.

Ex Paris.

The complaint of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury against Hubert Lord Chief Justice.

said Earl with his Ancestors were bound to do Homage to him and to his Predecessors; and therefore he required the keeping of the foresaid Castle, with the demains thereof to be restored to him. To this the King answered again, That the said Earl did hold of him *in Capite*, and that the Castles being vacant of Earls and Barons, with their Heirs, did belong to his Crown, till the lawful age of the said Heirs. The Archbishop, when he could get no other answer of the King, did Excommunicate all such as invaded the foresaid Possessions, with all others that took their part, the King only excepted. Which done, ffifoons he speeded himself to *Rome*, there to prosecute his Suit before the Pope. The King hearing thereof, not long after sendeth up Master *Roger Cantelu*, with certain other Messengers, unto *Rome* against the Archbishop.

The Kings Answer to Richard the Archbishop.

Excommunication abolished.

Richard the Archbishop complaineth to the Pope of his King and other matters more.

This *Richard* the Archbishop, coming before the Popes presence, beginneth first to complain of his King, for that he committed all the Affairs of his Realm to the disposition and government of *Hubert* his Justice, using only his counsel, all his other Nobles despised.

Against the said Justice, moreover he complained, laying to his Charge; first, that he had married a wife, being the Kinswoman of her whom he had married before; also that the said *Hubert* the Justice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain such Possessions as belonged to the See and Church of *Canterbury*.

As touching the Wife of this *Hubert*, here is to be noted, that he married the elder Sister of the King of *Scots*: which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certain Bishops his Suffragans, who, neglecting their Pastoral Function, did sit on Chequer-matter belonging to the King, and exercised Sessions and Judgments of blood.

Plurality of Benefices complained of by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Over and besides, he complaineth of beneficed Persons, and Clerks within Orders, for having many Benefices joyned with cure of Soul: and that they also, taking example of the Bishops, did intermeddle in Secular matters, and in Judgments of Lay-men.

Of these and such other defaults he required redress to be had. The Pope weighing and considering the cause of the Archbishop to stand upon right and reason (at leastwise seeming so to his purpose) commanded incontinent his Petitions and Requests to be dispatched according to Justice.

The Kings Attorneys could not speed with the Pope. Respect of persons doth much with the Pope. Richard the Archbishop in his journey from *Rome* dieth.

Against these Complaints of the Archbishop, the Kings Attorneys alledged and defended, in as much favour of the King as they might, but could do no good. Such favour found the Archbishop in the Popes sight, being (as the story reporteth) of a comely Personage, and of an eloquent Tongue, that he obtained whatsoever he asked. Thus the Archbishop, with all favourable speed being dispatched at *Rome* after his own will and desire, returned homeward; who in his Journey, within three days of his setting forth, departed in the house of *Gray-Fryers* at S. *Gemmes*, and so his cause departed with him: who, winning his Suit, lost his life; for whom it had been better, I suppose, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his Complaints also. *Ex Parisiensi.*

Ralph Nevil Bishop of Chichester elected Archbishop of Canterbury. The King withstandeth the Archbishop of Canterbury. *Ex Mat. Paris.*

After the death of this *Richard*, the Monks of *Canterbury* (according to the manner) addrest themselves to a new Election: at which was chosen *Ralph Nevil*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who was the Kings Chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithful, upright, and constant: which from the way of Justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and sincere both in word and deed. This *Ralph* (thus chosen of the Monks) was presented unto the King to be their Archbishop, wherewith the King was right well contented, and glad also of his Election: and forthwith invested him for Archbishop of the Church of *Canterbury*. But this investing of the King was not enough, unless he should also be confirmed by the Pope. Wherefore the Monks, ready to take their journey unto *Rome*, came to the new Archbishop, requiring his help for their expences by the way, and to know what Service he would command them to the Court of *Rome*. But he, fearing in his mind the fame not to be without some fcruple of simony and ambition, said, *He would not give an half-penny*, and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, saying, *O Lord God, if I shall be thought worthy to be called (although indeed unworthy) to the Seat and Office of this Church; so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise in this troublesome Office of Chancery, and this my inferior Ministry, wherunto I have been assigned, I shall seem more necessary for this thy Kingdom and People I refuse not my labour, thy will be done.*

A rare example of a good Archbishop.

The prayer of the Archbishop elect.

The Monks beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their travel and journey to *Rome*, to have their Election confirmed by the Popes Authority. The Pope inquiring of *Simon Langton* (Brother of *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported again to him by the said *Simon* (maliciously depraving the good man behind his back) declaring to the Pope, that he was a Courtier, unlearned, unchaste, and fervent in his doings, and such a one, who, if he should be promoted to that Dignity, would go about, with the help of the King and of the whole Realm, to remove and bring the Realm of *England* from under the Yoke of the Pope and of the Church of *Rome*: and so to bereave the See of *Rome* of the Tribute, under which King *John* had once subjected himself and his Realm, at what time he yielded his Crown to the hands of *Pandulphus* the Legate, &c. With these and such other words *Simon Langton* falsly and maliciously depraved the godly Bishop. The Pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other party accused, sendeth incontinent to the Monks of *Canterbury* to proceed in a new Election, and to choose them another Archbishop, such as were an wholesome Pastor of Souls, profitable unto the Church of *England*, and devote to the Church of *Rome*: and thus was the lawful Election of this good Archbishop made frustrate; too good peradventure to serve in that place wherunto he was elected.

Simon Langton Brother to Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, a malicious backbiter of Rudolphus Archbishop elect.

The rash judgment of the Pope.

The Election of Radulph Archbishop elect, declared by the Pope.

After the repulse of this *Radulph*, the *Canterbury* Monks, entring a new Election, agreed upon *John* their Prior, to be their Metropolitan; who, going up to *Rome* to have his Election confirmed by the Pope, was three days together examined of the Cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him: yet notwithstanding the Pope finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himself) repelled him, for that he said he was too old and simple to sustain that Dignity. *Ex Paris.*

John Archbishop elect, refused and repulsed by the Pope.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the Author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, which was able to take that Journey to *Rome* and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take pains in keeping the Chair of *Canterbury*.

The Popes intolerable Exactions upon England.

In the former parts of this story preceding, partly before hath been declased, partly hereafter more shall appear (Christ willing) how the Church of *England* and Commons of the same was grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable Oppression of the Pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the best Benefices to be given unto his *Romans*, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own Coffers. And what complaints thereof have been made, ye heard before; but yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these *Roman* Rakehels, prolling, and polling, wheresoever they came, with their provisions and exactions out of measure, and never satisfied. Insomuch that here in *England*, whosoever lacked, their Barns were always full of Corn; and what penury soever pinched the people, they were sure to have enough. And these importunate Exactions and Contributions of these *Italian* Harpies, besides the *Peter-pence*, besides the common Tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the Realm, insomuch that the wealth of this Land was almost clean sucked up, and transfated to the Court of *Rome*. Neither was the King ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was devised by some of the Nobles (as appeareth in the story of *Parisiensis*) this foresaid year, *An.* 1231. that certain Letters, under the pretensed colour of the Kings Authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such Corn and Grain with other Revenues, as were taken up for the Pope, should be staid and forth coming by a certain day in the said Letters appointed; the which Letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of *Hubert* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, who then next under the King, ruled the most Affairs of the Realm. The words and contents of the Letters be these:

Ex Mat. Paris. An. 1231.

Bishops send Letters to make a restraint of Corn and Victuals to be sent to the Pope.

After

The Copy of the Letter written to the Kings Ambassadors to certify to Rome of the restraint of the Revenues within the Realm.

After divers and sundry Griefs and Oppressions which this Realm, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, *and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the King himself, as also of the Nobility of the same, concerning the Advowsions of their Churches, and about their Tithes: who also go about to take from the Clerks and spiritual men their Benefices, and to bestow them upon their own Nation and Country-men, to the spoil and confusion both of us and our Realm: we therefore by our common consents have thought good (although very late) now yet rather, than any longer to suffer their intollerable Oppressions and Extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their Benefices through all* England, *in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to molest the Realm. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their Churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you have presently in your hands, or else do owe unto the said* Romanists, *that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you have the said your Rents and Revenues ready by such a day, to pay and deliver unto our Procurators thereunto by our Letters assigned; and that all Abbots and Priors have the same in a readiness at the time appointed, in their own Monasteries: and all other Priests, Clerks and Lay-men, at the Churches of the* Romanists, *there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuse thus to do, all that you have besides shall be by us burnt and spoiled. And besides look what danger we purpose shall fall upon them, the same shall light upon your Necks if you refuse thus to do.*

Farewell.

A general spoil of the Romane Patrons in England.

When this was done, they sent their Letters abroad by certain Souldiers thereunto appointed, to the which Letters they had devised a new Seal with two Swords ingraved, and between the Swords was written, *Ecce gladii duo &c.* Behold these two Swords, ready to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the form and order in these Letters contained.

A famish Vicar of mild Christ.

Anno 1232. A Roman Priest, Canon of York, robbed by Souldiers.

At that time the sixteenth day before the *Kalends* of *January*, about the beginning of the year 1232. there was kept at S. *Albans* a great Consistory of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, with divers both of the Nobility and Clergy by the Popes Commandment, for the Celebration of a Divorce between the Countess of *Essex* and her Husband. At the breaking up of which Consistory, when every man was about to depart thence, there was a certain Clerk, whose name was *Cincius* a *Roman*, and also a Canon of *Pauls* in *London*, taken by some of the said University not far off from Saint *Albans*, and was carried away from his company by the Souldiers. But Master *John*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, a *Florentine*, hardly escaping from that company, got to *London*, where he hid himself, and durst not be seen. *Cincius* after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent again without any more hurt to *London*.

Hubert de Burgo.

The Barns of a Roman Parson broken up, and the corn distributed to the poor.

Not long after this, about the beginning of *January*, the Barns of a certain beneficed man a *Roman*, and Parson of *Wingham*, being full of Corn, were broke up by a like company of armed Souldiers, and the Corn brought out to be sold and given away to the poor people. The Farmer fearing this, and not able to refell, complaineth to the Sheriff of the Shire of this injury done to his Master, and of breaking the Kings peace: whereupon the Sheriff sent certain of his men to see what was done. Who coming to the empty Barns, and there finding the foresaid Souldiers to them unknown, who had sold away the most part of the Corn upon easie price, and some for charity had given to the poverty of the Country about, required of them what they were, that so durst presume to break the Kings peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and shewed them the Kings Letters Patents (pretending at least the Kings Name and Seal) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the Sheriffs Servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

Robert Twing spoil. ed of his Benefice by the Romane.

This coming to the knowledge of *Roger* Bishop of *London*, he (with the assistance of other Bishops) proceedeth in solemn Excommunication, first against them that robbed *Cincius* the *Roman*; then of them which spoiled the Barns of the Parson of *Wingham* another *Roman*; thirdly, he Excommunicated them that forged the Letters and Seal of the King above specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that fo cease, but the same year about *Easter* next following, all the Barns in *England*, which were in the hands of any *Romans* or *Italians*, were likewise wasted, and the Corn sold to the best Commodity of the poor Commons. Of the which, great Alms were distributed, and many times Money also with Corn together was sparsed for the needy people to gather up. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the *Romans* and *Italians* themselves, they were stricken in such fear, that they hid themselves in Monasteries and Cells, not daring to complain of their Injuries received; but held it better to lose rather their goods, than to lose their lives. The Authors and Workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed Souldiers; of whom the principal Captain was one naming himself *William Withers*, surnamed *Twing*.

This coming to the Popes knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his Letters immediately to the King upon the same, with sharp Threatnings, and imperious Commandments, charging him for suffering such Villany within his Realm, straitly injoyning him, under pain of Excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take Example. Likewise he sendeth the same Charge to *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and to the Abbot of Saint *Edmund*, to inquire in the South parts. Also to the Archbishop of *York*, and to the Bishop of *Durham*, and to Master *John*, Canon of *York*, a *Roman*, to inquire in the North parts for the fald Malefactors, and after diligent Inquisition made, to send up the same to *Rome*, there needs to appear before him, &c.

Inquisition made for the spoiling of the Popes corn.

Thus after earnest Inquisition made of all Parties, and Witnesses sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were Factors, some that were Confenters, of whom some were Bishops and Chaplains unto the King, some Archdeacons and Deans, with other Souldiers and Lay-men. Amongst whom, certain Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, with their Servitors under them, were apprehended and caft into prison by the King. Many for fear fled and efcaped away, who being fought for, could not be found: but the principal of this number (as is aforesaid) was suppofed to be *Hubertus* Lord Chief Justice; who, both with the Kings Letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durft interrupt them. Moreover, in the same Society of them which were noted in these doings, was the fame *Robert Twing* above mentioned, a comely young man and a tall Souldier: who of his own voluntary accord with five other Servitors, whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the King, openly protefting himfelf to be the Author of that deed doing, and faid he did it for hatred of the Pope and the *Romans*, because that by the Sentence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and fraudulent Circumvention of the *Italians* he was bereaved of the Patronage of his Benefice, having no more to give but that one: wherefore to be revenged of that injury, he enterprifed that which was done; preferring rather justly to be Excommunicated for a feafon, than to be fpoiled of his Benefice for ever. Then the King, and other Executers of the Popes commandment, gave him counsel, that feeing he had fo incurred the danger of the Popes Sentence, he fhould offer himfelf to the Pope to be abfolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he justly and canonically was poffeffed of that Church. The King moreover with him fent his Letters Teftimonial unto the Pope, witneffing with the faid Souldier, and inftantly deliring the Pope in his behalf, that he might with favour be heard. At the requeft whereof, Pope *Gregory* afterwards both releafed him of the Sentence, and reftored unto him his Patronage, writing unto the Archbishop of *York*, that he might again injoy the right of his Benefice, in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

The Romans and Italians Parsons in England robbed of their wares and corn.

Hubert de Burgo Lord Chief Justice, being one of them which held against the *Romish* Priests, as is afore fignified, was therefore not a little vexed of the Bishops; who to requite him with the like despite again (after their

The Bishops go about to bring *Hubert* out of the Kings favour.

their accustomed manner of practice) went about by subtil working to shake him out of the Kings favour. And first cometh *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* to the King, grievously complaining of certain about the King, but especially of the foresaid *Hubert* the Kings Justice: insomuch that he caused him to be removed from his Office, notwithstanding he had the Kings Seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured *Stephen Segrave* to be placed in his Function. And after a few days, the King more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the Treasure which he was accountable for by his Exchequer-Office: also of all such debts by him due from the time of his Father, till his time: also of all the Lordships which were in the possession of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Chief Justice before him. *Item*, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in Forests, Warrens, Shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the Kings profit, of his liberties how he did use them. *Item*, of Injuries and Damages wrought against the Clerks of *Rome* and other *Italians*, and the Popes Legates; for the redress whereof he would never adjoyn his counsel, according as pertained to his Office, being then Chief Justice of *England*. Also of Scutages, Gifts, Presents, Escapes of Prisoners. *Item*, of *Mortagues* which King *John* committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these *Hubert* answered, *That he had King* John's *own hand to shew for his discharge, whose approved his fidelity, that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such Counts.* Whereunto answered again the Bishop of *Winchester*, saying, *The Charter of King* John *hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this King for the same.*

Objections laid against *Hubert* by the King.

Note, that in *Winchester* the Kings Charter is no longer in force than whilst he liveth.

Over and besides these, other greater Objections were laid to his charge by the King, as for sending and writing unto the Duke of *Austria*, that he might marry his Daughter, to the prejudice of the King, and of the Realm, disswading that he might not be given him. *Item*, for counselling the King not to enter into *Normandy* with his Army, which he had prepared for the recovery of Lands there belonging to his right, whereby great Treasure was there consumed in vain. *Item*, for corrupting the Daughter of the King of *Scots*, whom King *John* his Father committed unto his custody for him to marry. *Item*, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in War, and for sending the same unto *Leolin*, Prince of *Wales*: and that by his Letters sent to the said *Leolin*, *William Brues* a Nobleman was caused there traytorously to be hanged, &c. These with other Crimes (whether true or false) were suggested to the King against the said *Hubert* by his Adversaries: whereunto he was required to answer by order of Law. *Hubert* then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer prefently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the King objected to him, which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of *September*: but in the mean time, *Hubert*, being in fear of the King, fled from *London* to the Priory of *Merton*. And thus *Hubert*, who before for the love of the King, and defence of the Realm (saith mine Author) had got the hatred of all the Nobles of *England*, now being out of the Kings favour, was destitute of comfort on every side; save only that *Lucas* Archbishop of *Dublin*, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the King for him. By this example, and many like, is to be seen, how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable Princes is: to teach all such as have to do about Princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ the true Prince of all Princes, which never faileth. By like example was *Clito* Servant of King *Alexander*, *Joab* of King *David*, *Belisarius* of *Justinian*, *Harpagus* of *Astiages*, *Cromwel* of King *Henry*, with innumerable more, which in Histories are to be found.

Other Crimes objected to *Hubert* by the King.

Princes Favours not to be trusted unto.

When the day was come that this *Hubert* should answer, keeping amongst the Monks of *Merton*, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the King, that he should come up and appear in the Court, there to answer to his Charge. Whereunto he answered again, *That he misdoubted the Kings anger, and therefore he did fly to the Church, as the uttermost Refuge to all such as suffer wrong; from whence he would not stir, till he heard the Kings wrath to be mitigated towards him.* With this the King, moved and sore displeased, directed his Letters, in all hast to the Major of *London*, commanding him at the light thereof to muster and take up all the Citizens that could bear Harnesse in the City, and to bring to him by force of Arms the foresaid *Hubert* either quick or dead out of *Merton*. Whereupon, the Major immediately, causing the great Bell to be rung, assembled together the people of *London*, and opening before them the Kings Letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readinesse to the executing of the Kings Will and Message.

The King's displeasure against *Hubert*.

The King belongs to the Major of *London*.

The Citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with *Hubert*, because of the Execution of *Constantine* their Citizen afore-mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the Citizens; namely, *Andrew Buckrell*, *John Travers*, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion (wisely pondering with themselves, what inconvenience might rise hereof) went in haste to the Bishop of *Winchester*, lying then in *Southwark*, and, waking him out of his sleep, delired of him his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous dilstreis, declaring unto him what great peril might thereby insue as well to the Church of *Merton*, as also to the City, by the fury of the unordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and spoiling, neither will spare thedding of blood, &c. Unto whom again the bloody Bishop gave this bloody counsel (saith *Parisiensis*) *Dangerous it is* (quoth he) *both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the Precept of the King, I counsel you plainly.* At the which counsel of the Bishop, they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the businesse injoyned. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of the said *Hubert*.

Some wise than fond.

Good advisement of the discreet Citizens.

Cruel counsel given of the Bishop of *Winchester*.

¶ The cause, why *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* was so cruelly set against the Justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the *Roman* Priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the King coming to his lawful age before (through the counsel of this *Hubert*) loosed himself from the government of the said Bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this Bishop towards him.

The cause of difference between the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Hubert*.

On the next morrow, the *Londoners* issuing out of the City, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the Abbey of *Merton*, where *Hubert* was lying prostrate before the Altar, commending himself to God.

Hubert prostrate upon the ground commendeth himself to God.

In the mean season, while the Citizens were in their Journey, raging against the poor Earl of *Kent*, it was suggested to the King by *Radulph* Bishop of *Chichester*, and Lord Chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite up the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of Sedition; left peradventure the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the King would have them. Moreover, what shall be said (quoth he) among the *Frenchmen* and other Nations, which of great things love to make them greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: See what a kind Bird is the young King of *England*, which seeketh to devour his old Nurse, under the whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth. And thus the King, by the perswasion hereof, changing his counsel, sent in all haste wife after the Army again, willing them to retract their Journey, and to retire. And thus the *Londoners* (although much against their wills) returned home, misling of their purpose. Wherein is to be observed another notable example of Gods working Providence. For when the King (saith the History) had sent by two Messengers or Purlivants to revoke and call back again the Army of the *Londoners*, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent Justice: one of the Messengers posting with all speed possible, with the Kings Letters, overtook the Army; and coming to the fore-ward where the Captains were, by vertue of the Kings Letters staid their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other Messenger crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said *Hubert*, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingred by the way of purpose

Sage counsel of an old Lord given to the King.

The miraculous working of the Lords help at time of need.

See more hereof in the story. *Matth. Paris*, pag. 380.

purpose (although being commanded to make haste) and when he came, went only but to the middle fort; more like a Messenger meet to serve a dead mans arrant, than to serve the turn of them which be alive. And so in like manner, by the just hand of God it fell upon him. For the same Messenger stumbling with his Horse, riding but a soft or foot pase, and rather walking than riding, fell down backward from his Horse back, and there brake his neck and died. This merciful message of the King was (as is said) sent by the instigation of *Radulph* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Chancellor (a vertuous and a faithful man) and one that could skill to have compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, would not give one half-penny to their expences by the way, to get his Election confirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the said Pope was defeated and frustrated of his Election, as relation was made afore. And thus through Gods Providence, by the means of the Kings Letters, the Army returned, and *Hubert's* life (contrary to his expectation) was preserved.

A notable example of Gods just punishment, deluding with death, him that defeated the death of another.

Commendation of Radulph Bishop of Chichester.

After this, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, with much labour and great suit, intreated and obtained of the King to grant unto the said *Hubert*, respite till the twelfth day of *January*, to provide himself of his answer to such things as were commensed against him. Then *Hubert*, trusting to enjoy some safety by the Kings permission to him granted, to breath himself a little, and to walk abroad, took his journey towards S. *Edmundsbury*, where his Wife was; and, passing through the Country of *Essex*, was inned there in a certain Town belonging to the Bishop of *Norwich*. Whereof when the King was certified, fearing left he would raise up some commotion in the Realm, fendeth in hasty anger after him Sir *Godfride Crancombe* Knight, with three hundred Men; commanding under pain of Hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of *London*: which commandment to accomplish, there lacked no haste. *Hubert* having intelligence of their coming (rising out of his Bed, naked as he was) ran unto the Chappel standing near unto the Inn, where he holden with the one hand the Cross, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lords Body. Then *Godfrid* with his forefaid armed Souldiers, entring into the Chappel, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the Chappel, and taking the Cross and the Sacrament out of his hands, fait bound him with Fetters and Gives under the Horse belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And so certifying the King what they had done (who then turned up walking for them) he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merry to his Bed.

The Archbishop of Dublin begin suiteth his petition for *Hubert*.

Hubert flyeth to the Church for his refuge.

Hubert violently drawn out of the Church. *Hubert* cast into the Tower of *London*.

The next morrow following after, *Roger* Bishop of *London*, having knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the Chappel, cometh unto the King, blaming him boldly, for violating the peace of holy Church, and protested, that unless the party were loosed again, and sent to the Chappel from whence he was drawn, he would enter Sentence of Excommunication against all the deed doers.

The King himself like breaking the state of holy Church.

The King as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he fendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the Tower unto the said Chappel again, and by the same Souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giveth in straight charge and commandment under pain of hanging, to the Sheriffs of *Herford* and *Essex*, that they in their own persons, with the strength of both Shires, should watch and compass about the Chappel, and see that the said *Hubert* no ways might escape. Which commandment of the King was accomplished with all diligence. But *Hubert* took all this patiently, and continued in the Chappel praying both night and day, and commending his cause unto the Lord, whom he desired so to deliver him from that instant danger, as he always fought the Kings Honour by his faithful and trusty service. And as he continued in his prayer, so the King continuing in his rage, commanded that no Man should intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet, *Lucas* Archbishop of *Dublin*, his true and almost only friend, ceased not to pray and weep to the King for him, desiring the King at least to intimate to him what he purposed should be done with *Hubert*. Whereunto the King answering, said, *That of these three*

The King compelled to send Hubert again to his Sanctuary.

Example of a constant friend in the time of need.

things one he should chuse, Whether he would abjure the Realm of England *for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual Prison, or else confess himself openly to be a Traitor?* But *Hubert* hereunto said, that he would chuse none of these Articles, as who knew himself neither guilty nor worthy of any such confusion: but, to satisfie somewhat the mind of the King, he would be contented to depart the Realm for a season, but to abjure the Realm he would not so do.

Three things put to *Hubert* to choose.

In this mean time it befel that *Ranulphus* Earl of *Chester* and of *Lincoln*, one of his foreft enemies died. *Hubert* all this while remained in the Chappel inclosed and guarded about with the power (as is said) of two Shires, and so continued, till at length, by the commandment of the King, his two Serviters, which ministred unto him within the Chappel, were taken from him. Then *Hubert* seeing no other remedy, but there to starve for famine, offered himself of his own accord to the Sheriffs, saying, *That he would put himself rather in the Kings mercy, than there desperately to perish for hunger.* And so was he taken, and being fast bound in Fetters, was brought again and clapped, by the Kings commandment, in the Tower of *London*.

Hubert yieldeth himself to the Sheriffs.

Hubert reduced again to the Tower.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the King by certain, that the said *Hubert* had much Treasure lying in the House of the new Templars in *London*. Whereupon the King, to try out the truth thereof, sendeth for the Prior or Master of the House; who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeed Treasure brought into the House, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The King, desirous to seize upon the Treasure, required and charged the Master with his Brethren, with threatning words, to bring forth the Treasure to him, saying, *that it was taken and stoln out of his Treasury.* But they answered again, *That the Treasure was committed unto trust and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it go out of their hands, professing trusted withal, without the assent of him which committed the same unto them.* When the King could get no other answer, at their hands, neither durst shew any further violence against them, he sendeth unto *Hubert* in the Tower, requiring of him the forefaid Treasures. To whom he, answering again, mildly yielded both himself, his Treasures, and all that ever he had, unto the Kings will and pleasure; and so, sending word unto the Master and Brethren of the Temple, willeth them to take all the Keies, and deliver the Goods, with all that there was, unto the King, who receiving the same, and taking an Inventory of that which was received, caused it to be brought unto his Treasury; whereof the number both of the Plate, of Coin, and of the Jewels, was of Price unknown. The enemies of *Hubert*, suppoling thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the King, crying out against *Hubert*, *That he was a Thief, a Traitor, and a robber of the Kings treasure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged*, and thus cried his accusers daily in the Kings ear. But the hearts of Kings (saith the wise Man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after Mans will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this King having now his will and full upon poor *Hubert*, and somewhat coming more unto himself, answered again in this wise, *That there was no such need to deal so straitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine Uncle King* Richard, *then my Father King* John, *in whose services (as I heard say) beyond the Seas, he was driven to eat his Horse.* Parisiensis, pag. 381. *And in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the Realm against foreign Nations, who kept the Castle of* Dover *against King* Lewis, *and vanquished the* French*men upon the Seas, also at* Bedford *and at* Lincoln *hath done such service. And though against me he hath dealt any thing unruly, which yet is not evidently proved; yet he shall never be put by me to so villainous a death. I had rather be counted a King foolish and simple, than to be judged a Tyrant or seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine Ancestors, in many perils so dangerously, weighing more the few evils which yet be not proved, than so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service done both to me and to the whole Realm, &c.* And thus the King, somewhat relenting to poor *Hubert* his old Servant, granted un-

Three things put to *Hubert* to choose.

God ruleth the hearts of Kings.

A worthy word of a King.

to him all such Lands as he had given by King *John* his Father, and whatsoever else he had by his own purchase.

The Kings mind relenteth toward Hubert.

Thus *Hubert* after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, set *Lawrence* his trusty friend that never left him, one that belonged to *St. Albans*, to be his Steward and Overseer of those possessions granted unto him by the King. And shortly upon the same, after the Kings mind was seen thus something to relent, the envy also of the Nobles, being now partly satisfied, began to turn to mercy; insomuch that four Earls, to wit, Earl *Richard* the Kings Brother, *William* Earl of *Warreine*, Richard Earl Marshal, and *William* Earl of *Ferris*, became sureties to the King for him. Upon whose surety he was transferred to the Castle of *Devizes*, where he was under the keeping of four Soldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that Castle. But the Bishop of *Winchester*, who always hunted after the life of *Hubert*, craftily cometh unto the King, and delireth the custody of the Castle, making no mention of *Hubert*, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner dispatch him. *Hubert* having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants; who with compassion tendring his misery, watched their time (the Keepers being asleep) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the Parish-Church of the Town, and there remained with him. The Keepers when they mist their prisoner, were in great perplexity, and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the Church, with violent force drew him from thence to the Castle again. For the which injury to the Church, the Bishop of *Sarum*, understanding the order of the matter, cometh to the Castle where the Keepers were, and required that *Hubert* should be brought again into the Church from whence he was taken. Which when the Keepers denied to do, saying, they would rather he should hang than they; then the Bishop gave sentence of Excommunication against them. Which done, he with the Bishop of *London*, and other Bishops, goeth immediately unto the King, complaining of the injury done unto *Hubert*, and especially of the contumely against Holy Church; neither would they leave the King before they had obtained that he should be reduced again into the Church, and so he was. It was not long after, but the King in great displeasure sendeth to the Sheriff of the Shire to keep him well watched in the Church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

Four Earls sureties for Hubert.

Hubert put in the Castle of Devizes.

Anno 1233.

Hubert conveyed out of the Castle into the Parish Church.

Hubert again taken out of the Church, and brought back to the Castle.

Hubert delivered out of prison and carried into Wales.

It befell in the mean season that great dissention rose between the King and the Nobles of the Realm; by reason whereof *Hubert* was taken and carried away by *Richard* Earl Marshal into *Wales*, and there remained until the King at length was reconciled with his Nobles, and so received (with the rest) the said *Hubert* again into his favour. *Ex Matthæo Parisiensi, & ex Floribus Historiarum.* Of the which dissention more shall be shewed (Christ willing) hereafter.

Roger Bishop of London goeth to Rome to purge himself before the Pope.

As the beginning of this trouble of *Hubert* first sprang of vexing the Popes Barns; so likewise *Roger* Bishop of *London*, suspected for the same cause, was enforced to travel up to *Rome*, there to purge himself before the Pope. Where after much money consumed, and robbed also by the way, he got nothing else but lost his labour, and so came home again. Who then doing the part of a good Bishop, after his return from *Rome* attempted to expell and exclude out of his Diocese all those *Italian* Usurers called, as before said, *Caursini*. These *Caursinites* coming with the Popes Legates into *England*, and lending their money to Religious Houses, to Colledges and Churches, had their Debters bound unto them in such fort as was much vantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the form of their Obligations in the Story of *M. Parisiensis* is largely expressed, *fol.* 65. Against these *Caursinites* the Bishop of *London* being worthily inflamed with zeal of justice, first with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their souls, afterward with sharp words began to charge them. But they disregarding Christian counsel, and despising the Bishops threatnings, would not leave the sweetnes of their occupation. Wherefore the Bishop proceeding unto the sentence of Excommunication, precisely and distinctly charged them to depart his Diocese. But they again being confident and imboldened upon the Popes defence, not only set at light his Excommunication, but also wrought such ways with the Pope that they caused the said Bishop of *London*, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the Seas, there to answer to such objections as they should infer against him. And thus the Bishop minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the Church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

Against Usurers.

Usurers Excommunicated and expelled by the Bishop of London.

Excommunication well used against Usurers.

And thus much of the Popes Merchants here in *England*, which were not so busie here for their part, but the Pope, the great Master of these Merchant Usurers, was as busie for his. And although his Barns here in *England* were destroyed, and his bank something decayed, yet he thought to win it up another way; for he proclaimed the same year a general Visitation through all the Religious Houses, exempt or not exempt, universally pertaining to his jurisdiction; where by the cruel dealing of the Visitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to *Rome*, to the great expences of their money, and filling the Popes Coffers. But as touching this Visitation, to make short (saith the Story) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of universal order: *Dum omnes, qui in diversis orbis partibus unicam Benedicti secuti fuerant regulam, per novas constitutiones ita inventantur ubique discordes, quod ex omnibus cœnobiis, vel aliis religiosorum Ecclesiis vix duo habeantur in norma vivendi concordes:* that is, While all they which before through all parts of the world followed only the rule of *Benedict*, now through new devised constitutions are found in all places so divided and divers, that of all Monasteries, and other Churches of Religion, scarce may two be found, which do agree in one rule and institution of life.

{KING} Hen. 3.

The general Visitation of the Pope through all Religious Houses.

The dissentful answer of the Bishop of Winchester to the Spirituals.

Ex Polidor.

Wicked Counsel about the K.

The great dissention among all Religious Orders noted.

All this while that *Hubert* above mentioned was secluded from the King, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This Bishop being in such principal favour with the King, as by whose counsel all things were administred, removed the natural Servitors that were *Englishmen*, out of their Offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of *Picavia*, and of other Countries in their rooms. Among whom was thrust out *William* Under-marshal, which supplied the roem of *Richard* Great Lord Marshal of *England*; for the which cause the said Lord *Richard* was mightily offended. Also *Walter*, Treasurer of the Kings house was not only expelled, but also mercied at an hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the Kings Patent granted to him.

Peter de rupibus, Bishop of Winchester perverter of the King.

Old Servitors of the King put out and displaced.

Moreover by the counsel of the said Bishop of *Winchester*, all the old Counsellers, as well Bishops, as other Earls and Barons, and all the Nobles were rejected from the King in such fort, that he would hear and follow no mans counsel, but only the said *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and his Cousin *Peter de Rivallis*. Whereby it came to pass, that all the greatest holds and munitions in the Realm were taken from the old Keepers, and committed to the custody of the said *Peter*. Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, to plant and pitch himself more strongly in the Kings favour, adjoyned to his fellowship *Stephen Seagrave* succeeding in the place of *Hubert* the Justice: also *Robert Pastew*, who had the keeping of the Treasure under the foresaid *Peter Rivall*. So by these three all the affairs of the Realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more sure, by them it was provided, that Souldiers and Servitors from beyond the Sea, as *Picavians* and *Britains* were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the King, partly were set in Castles and Holds within the Realm, and had the oversight and Government of Shires and Baronies, who then oppressed the Nobles of the Land, accusing them to the King for Traytors; whom the simple King did lightly believe; committing to them the custody of his Treasures, the fitting in Judgments, and the doing in all things. And when the Nobles, thus oppressed came to complain of their injuries to the King, by the means of the Bishop of *Winchester*, their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said *Winchester* moreover accused certain Bishops also to the King, so that he did fly and shun them as open Traytors and Rebels.

The King forfeiteth his Nobles and thinketh to strange.

{KING} Hen. 3.

These things standing thus out of order, *Richard* the Noble Marshal of *England*, with others of the Nobles joining with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing contrary to the Laws and Wealth of the Realm, came to the King, and blamed him for retaining such perverse Council about him of the *Picavians* and other Foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural Subjects, and of the liberties of the Realm; humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reform and redress such excesses, whereby the whole Realm seemed to lie in danger of subversion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he with other Peers and Nobles, would withdraw themselves from his Council, so long as he maintained the society of those foreigners and strangers about him.

Richard Earl Marshal accuseth the King.

To this *Peter Winchester*, answering again, said, *That the King right well might call unto him what foreigners and strangers him listed, for the defence both of his Kingdom, and of his Crown; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious Subjects, and so to keep them in awe and good order.* When the Earl and the Nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole Realm, they would constantly joyn together, to the parting of their life.

After this, the foresaid *Petrus* Bishop of *Winchester*, with his complices, ceased not by all means to inflame the Kings heart to hatred and contempt of his natural People, whom they so vehemently perverted, that he counting them no other than his enemies, fought by all diligence the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more Garrisons of the *Picavians*, that in short space, they replenished well-near the whole Land, whose defence the King only trusted unto: neither was any thing disposed in the Realm, but through the guiding of this *Peter*, and of the *Picavians*.

The King, thus guarded and strengthened with these foreign aliens and strangers, proclaimed a Parliament to be holden at *Oxford*, where the Nobles were warned to be present. They considering the indignation of the King conceived, would not appear. Again they were required the first, second and third time to present themselves. The Assembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the King looked. In this Assembly or Parliament, it was plainly told the King by a *Dominick* Frier preaching before him, *that unless he removed from him the Bishop of* Winchester, *and* Peter Rival *his Kinsman, he should not, neither could long enjoy peace in his Kingdom.* This although it was bluntly spoken of the Frier against the Bishop, yet this remedy he had; the Frier had nothing to lose. Yet was there another Chaplain of the Court, who perceiving the King somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a Courtlike dexterity handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, this merrily came to the King asking a question, *What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the Seas?* That, said the King, *is best known to such as travel in that kind of Traffick.* Nay (saith he) *this is unfit to be told.* The King demanding what it was, *Forsooth* (quoth he) *Stones and Rocks*; alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the Bishop of *Winchester* whose name and surname was *Petrus de Rupibus*, for so *Petræ* in *Latin* signifieth *Stones*, and *Rupes Rocks*. Notwithstanding, the King either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again sendeth to his Nobles, to have them come and speak with him at *Westminster*. But they fearing some train to be laid for them, refused to appear, sending plain words to the King by solemn Message, *That his Grace without all delay should exclude from him* Peter *Bishop of* Winchester, *and other Aliens of* Picavia, *or if he would not, they with the common assent of the Realm, would displace him with his wicked Counsellors from his Kingdom, and have within themselves tractation for chusing a new King.*

The King at the hearing of this Message being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, especially having the late example of King *John* his Father before his eies, was cast in great perplexity, doubting what was best to be done. But *Winchester* with his wicked counsel, so wrought with the King, that he proceeded with all severity against them; insomuch that in short time, the sparkles of poisoned counsel, kindling more and more, grew to a sharp Battel between the King and *Richard* Earl Marshal, with other Nobles, to the great disquietness of the whole Realm. The which War was prefigured by terrible thundring and lightning heard all *England* over in the Month of *March*, with such abundance of Rain and Floods growing upon the same, as caft down Mills, overcovered the Fields, threw down Houses, and did much harm through the whole Realm.

A merry Apothegme of the King's Chaplain.

The King forfeiteth his Nobles and thinketh to strange.

The calling of the Nobles to the King.

War raised by the King against his Nobles.

Great Thunders and Floods in England.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this War between the King and the Earl Marshal, which continued near the space of two years, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof; what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole Realm, what trains were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole Countries insued from *Wales* unto *Shrewsbury*, how the Marshal joyned himself with *Leolin* Prince of *Wales*, how the *Picavians* were almost all slain and destroyed, how the King was distressed, what forgery wily *Winchester* wrought by the Kings Letters to intrap the Marshal, and to betray him to the *Irishmen*, amongst whom he was at length slain; all this I refer to other Authors, who at large do intreat of the same, as *Matth. Parisiensi, Florilegus*, and such others. This is to be noted and observed (which rather pertaineth to our Ecclesiastical History) to see what sedition and continual disquietness was in those days among all Christian People almost, being under the Popes Catholick obedience: but especially to mark the corrupt Doctrine then reigning; it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the King and the People then so blinded in the principal Point and Article of their Salvation, as we find in Stories, which making mention of a House or Monastery of Converts, builded the same year by the King at *London*, do express in plain words, that he then did it, *Pro redemptione animæ suæ & Regis Johannis patris sui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum*: that is, *For the redemption of his soul, of the soul of King John his Father, and for the souls of all his ancestors, &c.* Whereby may be understood, in what palpable darkness of blind ignorance the silly souls redeemed by Christ were then inwrapped, which did not know, nor yet were taught the right Doctrine and Ester Principles of their Redemption. *Ex Matthæo Parisiensi, pag.* 86.

Monasteries builded. *Pro redemptione animæ.*

Mention was made a little before of diffolving the election of *John* Prior of *Canterbury*, which was chosen by the Monks to be Archbishop of the said Church of *Canterbury*, but by the Pope was defeated. After whom one *John Blund* was elected, who travelling up to *Rome* this year, *Anno* 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was also repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in *England*, and so complained of to the Pope, that he had received of *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* a thousand Marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said *Winchester*. Who by his Mony thought to make him of his side, and also wrote unto the Emperor to help forward his promotion in the Court of *Rome*. Notwithstanding, both he with his giving, and the other with his taking of Bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the Pope hating then the Emperor, for the same cause, admitted not the Election; pretending the cause, for that he was proved to hold two Benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandment of the Pope, one *Edmund* Canon of *Salisbury* was ordained Archbishop, and had his Pall sent to him from the Pope. Which *Edmund* after, for his vertues, was canonized of the *Popish* Monks there for a Saint, and was called S. *Edmund*. About which time also *Robert Grosthead* was made Bishop of *Lincoln*.

John Archbishop of Canterbury elected by the Chapter, & again unelected by the Pope.

Corruption of Bribes.

Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury.

S. Edmund canonized.

Robert Grosthead made Bishop of Lincoln.

This *Edmund* accompanied with other Bishops, during this trouble between the King and his Nobles, being in Council at *Westminster*, in the year next insuing, which was 1234. came uttering their minds boldly in the name of the Lords, and declaring unto the King as became his faithful servants, that his Counsel, which then he followed, was not found nor safe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him, and to the state of the Realm, meaning the counsel of *Peter Winchester*, and of *Peter Rival*, with other adherents.

{Anno 1234.}

Faithful counsel of the Bishops given to the King.

The counsel of Winchester and sixth other Bishops abuse the K. disproved for certain causes.

1. FIrst and Imprimis, *For that they hate and contemn* the Englisth Nation, *calling them Traitors and Rebels, and turning the Kings heart from the love of his natural Subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the Earl Marshal and others, sowing discord among them.*

2. Item, *By the said counsel, to wit, by the foresaid Bishop and his fellows,* King John *the Kings Father, lost first the hearts of his Barons, after that lost* Normandy, *and afterwards, other Lands also, and in the end wasted all his Treasure, so that since that time the regiment of* England *had never any quiet after.*

3. *By the said counsel also, in their time and memory, the Kingdom of* England *had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion, soe that was before the Prince of Provinces, became Tributary; and so Woe insuing upon the same, the said King* John *his Father incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, lacking both peace of his Kingdom and of his own heart.*

4. Item, *By the said counsel the Castle of* Bedford *was kept long time against the King, to the great loss both of Men and Treasure, beside the loss of* Rupella, *to the shame of the Realm of* England.

5. *Moreover, Through their wicked counsel, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang over the whole Realm; for else if it had not been for their counsel, and if that true justice and judgment might have been ministred unto the Kings Subjects, these tumults had never been stirred, and the King might have had his Land unwasted, and his treasure unconsumed.*

6. Item, *In that Faith and Allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they protested unto him, that the said his Council, was not a Council of peace, but of division and disquietness, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not asspire, by disturbing and disheriting others, might be exalted.*

7. Item, *For that all the Castles, Forts, Munitions, also all the Officers of the Exchequer, with all other the greatest Escheats of the Realm, were in their hands, of the which if the King would demand account, he should prove how true they were.*

8. Item, *For that neither by the Kings Seal, nor Commandment, except it have withal the Seal of* Peter Rival, *almost any business of any weight could be dispatched in the Realm, as though they counted their King for no King.*

9. *Furthermore, by the foresaid Counsel, the natural Subjects and Nobles of the Realm were banished the Court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience both to the King and to the Realm; forsomuch as the King seemed more to be on their side, than they of his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.*

10. Item, *It was not well to be taken and liked, the said Council standing of Strangers and Aliens, that they should have in their power both the Kings Sister, and many other Noblemens Daughters, and other Women marriageable, with the Kings Wards and Marriages, which they bestowed and divided among themselves, and Men of their affinity.*

11. *Also, The said Council regarding neither the Laws, nor Liberties of the Realm, confirmed and corroborated by Excommunication, did confound and pervert all Justice: wherefore it was to be feared, that they would run under Excommunication, and the King also, in communicating with them.*

12. Item, *Because they kept neither Promise nor Faith, nor Oath with any person, neither did observe any Instrument made never so formal by Law, nor yet did fear any Excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for People desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honesty.*

These things (said the Bishops) *we as your faithful Subjects before God and Men, do tell and advertise your Grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remove and seclude from you such counsel: and as the custom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will so govern in like manner your Kingdom by your own natural Liege People, and such as be sworn unto you of your own Realm. For this* (said they) *in verity we denounce unto you, that unless in short time you will see these things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the censure of the Church against you, and all others that gainstand the same, tarrying no other thing, but only the consecration of this our reverend Archbishop.*

Excommunication denounced by the Bishops against the King.

These words of the Bishops thus said and finished, the King required a little time of respite, wherein to advise with himself about the matter, saying, *That he could not in such a sudden, remove from him his Council, before he had entred with them account of his Treasure committed to them*; and so that Assembly brake up.

The King answer to the Bishops.

It followed then after this communication so broken up, that the King reforted to the parts of *Northfolk*, where coming by Saint *Edmundsbury*, where the Wife of *Hubert* the Justice was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the Woman, who very humbly behaved her self to the King, did grant her eight Mannors, which her Husband before with his Mony had purchased, being then in the custody and possession of *Robert Paslew*, one of the Kings new Counsellors above specified. It was not long after this, but *Edmund* the Archbishop was invested and consecrated in the Church of *Canterbury*; who shortly after his Consecration, about the Month of *April*, coming with his Suffragans to the place of Council, where the King with his Earls and Barons was affembled, opened to him the cause and purpose of his coming, and of the other Prelats, which was, to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at *Westminster*; denouncing moreover to him expresly, that unless with speed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful Nobles of his Realm, he incontinently, with the other Prelats there present, would pass with the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The pity of the K. toward the Wife of Hubert.

Edmund consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, which was then diversly vexed by Pope Innocent the 4th for a Salve.

The King after he heard the meaning of the Bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them again, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after, the King, coming to some better remembrance of himself, commanded the forenamed Bishop of *Winchester* to leave the Court, and to return home to his Bishoprick, there to attend unto the spiritual charge and care of his Flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded *Peter Rival*, the Bishops Cosin, (some Stories say his Son) who had then the disposing of all the affairs of the Realm, to render unto him his Castles, and to give account of all his Treasures, whereof he had the keeping, and so to void the Realm, swearing moreover unto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within Orders of the Church, else he would have caused both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

The King promiseth to the Bishops.

Peter Rival called to account of the Treasure.

He expelled likewise the *Pictavians* out of the Court, and from the custody of his munitions, sending them home into their Country, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the King, wisely dispatching himself of his wicked Counsellors, first did send *Edmund* the Archbishop with the Bishops of *Chester* and of *Rochester*, into *Wales* to *Leolin*, and to *Richard* Earl Marshal and others, to intreat with them of peace. Alfo he received to his service again Men of his natural Country, to attend about him, offering himself willing to be ruled by the counsel of the Archbishop and the Bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his Realm should be reduced again to a better quietneſs.

Pictavians and Strangers, sent home by the King into their Country.

Reconciliation sought between the K. and the Nobles.

But in the mean time, while these things were doing in *England*, the foresaid *Richard* Earl Marshal, by the falshood of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Peter Rival*, forging the Kings Letters to the *Irishmen* against him, and partly by the conspiracy of *Gilbert de Marisco*, being circumvented by the *Irishmen* in War, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of this Surgeon slain.

Richard Earl Marshal, that frustrated by the counterfeit Seal and slain in Ireland.

Great slaughter the same time was of them which were called *Catini*, about the parts of *Almain*. These *Catini* were efteemed of Pope *Gregory* and the *Papists* to be Hereticks; but what their opinions were, I find it not expressed. *In Paris.*

Cathi fals almost diminished of the People for Heretikes.

Albingenses slain in Spain by the Popes Inquisitors.

In like fort the *Albingenses* afore mentioned, recounted also of the Popes flock to be Hereticks, with their Bishops, and a great number and company of them were slain by the commandement of Pope *Gregory* at the same time, in a certain Plain in *Spain*, *Ex Matth. Parisiensi, fol.* 87.

How the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with other two Bishops, were sent into *Wales*, for intreaty of peace, ye heard before. At whose return again, after the time of *Easter*, the King going toward *Glocester* to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at *Woodstock*, there came Messengers of *Ireland*, declaring to the King, the death of *Richard* Earl Marshal, and the order thereof, through the forged Letters of *Winchester*, and others: whereat the King made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining, that he left not his like in all the Realm again.

The King lamenteth the death of Richard Earl Marshal.

After this the King proceeding in his journey came to *Glocester*, where the Archbishop with the other Bishops, coming to the King, declared to him the form and condition of peace, which they had concluded with *Leolin*, which was this: *If the King would be reconciled before with the other Nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the King had banished out of his Realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them: Thus* (said they) *was* Leolin *contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the League of Peace, saying and protesting this unto them,* That he feared more the Kings Arms, than all the Puissance both of him, and of all his Clergy within *England*.

The King of Lewis King of Wales.

The Arms of K. Henry more feared than his puissance.

This done, the King there remaining with the Bishops, directed his Letters to all the Exiles and banished Lords, and to all his Nobles, that they should repair to him about the beginning of *June*, at *Glocester*; promising to them his full favour, and reconcilement to them and to their heirs, and that they should suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the Archbishop and Bishops.

Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.

Example of Excommunication rightly ministred.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said Archbishop and the Bishops, first cometh to the King, *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, offering himself to the Kings good will and favour. Whom the King, with chearful countenance, received and embraced, restoring him, not only to his favour, but also to his Houshold and Counsel, with his Livings and Possessions, from which he had been disseized before. Then *Hubert*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, gave praise and glory to God, by whose gracious Providence he, being so marvelously preserved from so great difficulties and tribulations, was again so happily reconciled to the King and his faithful friends. After him, in like fort, came in *Gilbert Basset* a Nobleman, *Richard Seward*, also *Gilbert* the Brother of *Richard Marshal* that was slain; which *Gilbert* recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, doing his Homage to the King, and his service due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high Marshal Court, belonging before to his Brother *Richard*.

Robert Earl of Kent restored again to the Kings favour.

Hubert giveth thanks to God.

Fulbood & Meniers Counsellors.

In the same counsel or communication continuing then at *Glocester*, the said *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, bringing the forged Letters, wherein was betrayed the life of *Richard* Earl Marshal, sealed with the Kings Seal, and sent to the Great Men of *Ireland*, read the same openly, in the presence of the King and all the Nobles. At the hearing whereof, the King, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Peter de Rivallis*, he commanded his Seal to be set to certain Letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof, he said and swore he never heard. Whereunto the Archbishop answering again, defired the King to search well his Conscience; and said, *That all they which were procurers, or of knowledge of those Letters, were guilty of the death of the Earl Marshal, no less than if they had murthered him with their own hands.*

King many times abused by wicked counsel.

The Bishop of Winchester called to his answer.

Then the King, calling a Council, sent his Letters for the Bishop of *Winchester*, for *Peter Rival*, *Stephen Segrave*, and *Robert Paslew*, to appear and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his Seal by them abused. But the Bishop and *Rival*, keeping themselves in the Sanctuary of the Minster Church of *Winchester*, neither durst nor would appear. *Stephen Segrave*, who succeeded after *Hubert* the Justice, and was of the Clergy before, after became a Lay-man, and now hiding himself in Saint *Marys* Church in the Abby of *Leicester*, was turned to a Clerk again. *Robert Paslew* covertly hid himself in a certain Cellar of the New Temple, so secretly, that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to *Rome*. At length, through the foresaid *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, means was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the King for them to answer. At which day, first appeared *Peter de Rivallis*, then *Stephen Segrave*, after him *Robert Paslelew*, each of them severally, one after another, thewed themselves; but not able to answer for themselves, like Traitors they were reproved, and like Villains were sent away. *Ex Matth. Paris. fol.* 91.

Peter Rival Stephen Segrave, Robert Paslelew, called to their answers.

Variance between Pope Gregory *the Ninth, and the* Romans.

WHILE peace thus between the King and the Nobles was reconciled in *England*, diffension and variance the same time and year began in *Rome*, between the Pope and the Citizens of *Rome*. The cause was, for that the Citizens claimed by old custome and law, that the Bishop of *Rome* might not excommunicate any Citizen of the City, nor suspend the said City with any interdiction for any manner excess.

Variance between the Pope & the Citizens of Rome.

The allegation of the Romans.

To this the Pope answered again, *Quod minor Deo est, sed qualibet homine major* (to use the very words of mine Author) *Ergo, major qualibet cive, ne etiam Rege, vel Imperatore, &c.* That is, *that he is less than God, but greater than any Man*: Ergo, *Greater than any Citizen, yea also, greater than King or Emperor.* And forsomuch as he is their spiritual Father, he both ought, and lawfully may chastise his children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the Faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way again when they stray out of course.

The Popes Answer.

Moreover, The Citizens alledge again for themselves, that the Potestates of the City, and Senators do receive of the Church of *Rome* yearly Tribute, which the Bishops of *Rome* were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient Laws. Of the which yearly Tribute they have been ever in possession before this present time of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

The second allegation of the Romans.

The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearly Tribute.

Hereunto the Pope answered and said, that although the Church of *Rome* in time of Persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head Rulers of the City with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custome; for that custome only ought to stand, which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

The Popes replieth.

Further and besides, the Citizens said that they, at the commandment of the Senators, would appropriate their Country with new and larger limits, and infranchise the same, being inlarged with fines and borders.

The third cause and allegation of the Romans.

To this the Pope again made answer, that certain Lordships, and Cities and Castles, be contained within the compass of the said limits, as the City *Viterbium* and *Montcaster*, which they presume to appropriate within their Precinct; but to ascribe to them, and usurp that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

The Popes answer.

For these and such other controversies rising between the Pope and the *Romans*, such diffension kindled, that the Pope with his Cardinals, leaving the City of *Rome*, removed to *Perusium* (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remain and to plant themselves; but the *Romans* prevailing against him, overthrew divers of his Houses in the City, for the which he did excommunicate them. The *Romans* then flying to the Emperor, desired his aid and succour; but he, belike to pleasure the Pope, gathering an Army, went rather against the *Romans*. Then the Popes Army, whose Captains were the Earl of *Tholouse* (to purchase the Popes favour) and *Peter* the foresaid Bishop of *Winchester*, (whom the Pope for the same said had sent for from *England*, partly for his Treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feats of War) and the Empe-

The Pope fleeth the City of Rome.

Excommunication abused.

The Pope warreth against the Romans.

rors Host joyned together, and bordering about the City of *Rome*, cast down the Castles or Mansions belonging to the Citizens round about the Suburbs, to the number of eighteen, and destroyed all their Vines and Vineyards about the City. Whereat the *Romans* being not a little offended, brait out of the City with more heat than order, to the number of 100000 (as the story reporteth) to defroy *Viterbium* the Popes City with Sword and Fire. But the multitude, being un-ordered, and out of Battel-ray, and unprovided for jeopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number; so that on both parts were slain to the view of 30000; but the most part was of the Citizens. And this diffention thus begun, was not soon ended, but continued long after.

A great slaughter of the Romans by the Pope. *Ro. Ferufi. Pag. 92.*

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how far the Church of *Rome* hath degenerated from the true image of the right Church of Christ, which by the rule and example of the Gospel, ought to be a Daughter of peace, not a Mother of debate, not a revenger of her self, nor a seeker of Wars; but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord: not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselves as servants; and not Vicars of the Lord, but jointly like Brethren serving together, Bishops with Bishops, Ministers with Ministers, Deacons with Deacons; and not as Masters, separating themselves by superiority one from another; but briefly communicating together in Doctrine and Counsel, one particular Church with another; not as a Mother, one over another, but rather as a Sister Church one with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own. And such was the Church of *Rome* first in the old ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of perfecution yet kept the Bishops and Ministers under in humility of heart, and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; so that happy was that Christian then, which with liberty of Conscience only might hold his life, how barely soever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the World, as having for Patrimonies, buying of Bishopricks, gaping for Benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure, and less lift so much as once to think upon them. Neither did the Bishops then of *Rome* fight to be Consuls of the City, but fought how to bring the Consuls unto Christ, being glad if the Consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the City. Neither did they then presume so high, to bring the Emperors necks under their Girdles, but were glad to save their own Necks in any corner from the Sword of the Emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, Gods Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one Catholick unity of truth and doctrine amongst all Churches against Errors and Sects. Neither did the East and West, nor distance of place divide the Church; but both the *East*-Church and *West*-Church, the *Greeks* and *Latins* made all one Church. And albeit there were then five Patriarchal Sees appointed for order sake, differing in Regions, and peradventure also, in some Rites one from another; yet all these consenting together in one unity of Catholick Doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one Faith, one Baptism, one Spirit, one Head, and linked together in one bond of Charity, and in one equality of Honour, they made altogether one Body, one Church, one Communion, called one Catholick Universal and Apostolick Church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality did joyn them in one unity together, so long the Church of Christ flourished and increased, one ready to help and harbour another, in time of distress, as *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flying to *Constantinople*, were there aided by the Patriarch, *&c.* So that all this while, neither foreign enemy, neither *Saracen*, nor *Soldan*, nor *Sultan*, nor *Calipha*, nor *Corasmine*, nor *Turk*, had any power greatly to harm it.

Difference between the Church of *Rome* that was, and the Church of *Rome* that now is.

Eaſt-Church *Weſt*-Church

Catholick.

The ſchiſm between the Greek Church and the Church of *Rome*. Equality & mother of concord.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catholick unity did not long continue, and all by reason of the Bishop of *Rome*, who not contented to be like his Brethren, began to extend himself, and to claim superiority above the other four Patriarchal Sees, and all other Churches in the world. And thus as equality amongst Christian Bishops was by pride and singularity oppressed, so unity began by little and little to be diſſolved, and the Lords Coat, which the Souldiers left whole, to be divided. Which Coat of Christian unity, albeit of long time it hath bin now feamript before by the occaſion aforeſaid: yet notwithſtanding, in ſome piece it held together in ſome mean agreement, under ſubjection to the See of *Rome*, till the time of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *Anno* 1230. at which time this rupture and ſchiſm of the Church brake out into a plain diviſion, utterly diffevering the Eaſt Church from the Weſt Church upon this occaſion.

There was a certain Archbiſhop elected to an Archiſhoprick amoag the *Grecians*; who, coming to *Rome* to be confirmed, could not be admitted unleſs he promiſed a great ſumm of Mony. Which when he refuſed to do, and deteſted the execrable Simony of the Court of *Rome*, he made his repair home again to his own Country unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole Nobility of that Land, the caſe how it ſtood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others alſo, which coming lately from *Rome*, and there had proved the ſame or worſe, came in and gave teſtimony to his ſaying. Whereupon all the Churches of the *Grecians*, the ſame time hearing this, departed utterly away from the Church of *Rome*, which was in the days of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth. Inſomuch that the Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, coming afterward to the General Council at *Lions*, there openly declared, that whereas before time he had under him above thirty Biſhopricks and Suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreover, that all the *Grecians*, and certain others, with *Antioch* and the whole Empire of *Romania*, even to the Gates almoſt of *Conſtantinople*, were gone from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, *&c. Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 112. *&c. fol.* 186.

The cauſe and occaſion why the Greek Church utterly ſtands from the Romans.

Mat. Pariſ. fol. 211. All Greece gone from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

Ex Mat. Pa. fol. 188.

By the occaſion of which ſeparatian aforeſaid of the *Grecians* from Pope *Gregory*, it happened ſhortly after, being the year of our Lord 1237. that *Germanus* Archbiſhop and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* wrote to the ſaid Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, humbly deſiring him to ſtudy and ſeek ſome means of unity, how the ſeamleſs Coat of the Lord Jeſus thus lamentably rent, not with hands of Souldiers, but by diſcord of Prelats, may be healed again; offering this moreover, that if he will take the pains to ſtir out the for his part, notwithſtanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuſe to meet him in the mid-way, to the intent that the truth on both ſides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the ſlander ſtopped, and unity reformed between them.

Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople writeth to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

This requeſt of the Patriarch, as it was both godly and reaſonable, ſo it had been the Biſhops part again with like humility to have condeſcended to the ſame, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Chriſtian unity in the Church of Chriſt, and ſo to have ſhewed himſelf the ſon of peace: but the proud Biſhop of *Rome*, more like the ſon of diſcord and diſſention, ſtanding ſtill upon his Majeſty, refuſed thus to do: but writing again anſwer to his Letters, with great diſdain, ſeeking nothing elſe, but only how to advance his See above all other Churches; and not only that, but alſo ſharply after ſent forth his Preaching Friers, to move all Chriſtians to take the ſign of the Croſs, and to fight againſt the *Grecians* no otherwiſe than againſt the *Turks* and *Saracens*: Inſomuch that in the Iſle of *Cyprus* many good Men and Martyrs were ſlain for the ſame, as by the Letters of the ſaid *Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* is to be ſeen.

The Pope ſtirreth the whole Church to fight againſt the Eaſt Church. *Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 211.

The tenor of the which Letter to the Pope, with the Popes anſwer again to him, being long and tedious to read, are extant in the Hiſtory of *Mat. Pariſienſis*, there to be ſeen and found. The ſummary effect whereof, notwithſtanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the ſimple and unlearned multitude, which, underſtanding not the *Latin*, may hereby perceive the fault of this Schiſm, not ſo much to reſt in the *Greek* Church, as in the Church of *Rome*, as by the Contents of his Letter may appear.

The effect of the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* his Letter to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

The Letter of Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth. *An.* 1237.

IN the which Letter the ſaid Germanus *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *writing to* Pope Gregory, *firſt after his reverend Salutation and Preamble following upon the ſame, entring then towards the matter, ſheweth the occaſion of his writing, which was by five obſervant Friers repairing that ways, whom he gently receiving into his houſe, had conference with them touching the diſcord between the two Churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterwards perceiving the ſaid Friers to make their journey towards* Rome, *he thought therefore by them to write his Letters. Wherein he firſt lamenting*

He ſheweth the lamentable ſeverance of diſcord.

this diviſion in the houſe of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Judah *and* Iſrael, Jeruſalem *and* Samaria, Cain *and* Abel, Eſau *and* Jacob, *alſo of other ſuch like, both private and publick Societies, where Brother fighteth againſt Brother, like as amongſt ſibes the greater devoureth the leſſer; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort* Pope Gregory *to the ſtudy of unity.*

And forſomuch as the Pope had accurſed (belike) thoſe Churches of the Greeks *before, he therefore taking his ground upon the words of St.* Paul, (Gal. 1.) *where he accurſeth every ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoever they be, either*

Gal. 1.

Man or Angel of Heaven that ſhall preach any other Goſpel than hath been preached, &c. willeth the Pope to ſtand with him upon the ſame ground of the Apoſtles curſe; ſo that if the ſtroke of that curſe have light upon him or his Churches, he deſireth him to ſhew the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to miniſter ſome ſpiritual impliaſter, to bind up the ſore, and to ſave his Brethren from periſhing which lay in danger, according to the ſaying of the

Solomon.

wiſe man, A brotherly friend is tried in adverſity, *&c.*

Whether the Church of thoſe is or the Popes Church lyeth more under the danger of Gods curſe.

But if we (ſaith he) of the Greek *Church be free from the ſtripe of this curſe of the Apoſtle, and that you* Italians *and of the* Latin *Church be ſtricken therewith, and lye thereby in danger of deſtruction, I truſt that you through ignorance and wilful obſtinacy will not ſo ſuffer your ſelves to be ſeparated from the Lord, but rather will ſuffer a thouſand deaths before, if it were poſſible for a man ſo often to die.*

And as touching this great diſcord between us, if either contrariety of Doctrine, or ſwerving from the ancient Canons, or diverſity of Rites received of our forefathers be any cauſe thereof, we here take Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that we for our parts are ready, and deſire alſo, upon due trial of profound truth by Gods Word, and invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, to join hands with you, or you to join with us. But to ſay the very truth, and to tell you plain, the truth is, that many mighty and noble Potentates would ſooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjuſt oppreſſions, your inſatiable exactions, and immoderate proviſions wherewith you wring your ſubjects. By reaſon whereof have riſen amongſt us cruel wars, one fighting againſt another, deſolation of Cities, Bulls and Interdictions ſet upon Church-doors, diviſion of Brethren, and Churches of the Grecians *left without ſervice, where God ſhould be praiſed. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predeſtined and appointed from above long before to us* Grecians, *the time I mean of Martyrdom, which alſo now haſteneth faſt upon us, that the Tribunal of Tyrants ſhould be opened, and the ſeats of torments be ſet, that the blood of Martyrs ſhould be ſpilled, and we brought to the ſtage of Martyrdom, to fight for the Crown of Glory.*

The Greek afraid of the Popes oppreſſions.

The Patriarch of Conſtantinople proclaims to the Mahumetans and Daughter of the Grecians.

Ex libro *Mat. Pariſ.* eodem loco, fol. 188.

The Popes perſecution in the Iſle of Cyprus.

This that I do ſpeak, and wherefore I ſpeak it, the noble Iſland of Cyprus *doth already know and feel which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath ſeen valiant Souldiers of Chriſt, which of long time before, paſſing by water and tears of ſorrow, now at laſt have alſo paſſed through fire, and ſo entred into the Heavenly reſt. How ſay you, be theſe good and ſeemly,*

The tyranny and avarice of the Pope is thundered by the words of St. Peter.

O holy Pope, the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter, *the Apoſtle? Is this the bidding of that good* Peter, *the meek and humble Diſciple of Chriſt? Doth he thus inſtruct the Seniors and Elders in his Epiſtle, where he writeth in this wiſe?* The Elders which are among you, I beſeech, which am alſo a fellow Elder with them, and witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhall be opened: Feed the flock of God which is amongſt you, having care and overſight of it, not of coaction as compelled againſt your wills, but willingly of your own accord; not for filthy lucre ſake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing Dominion and Lordſhip over the Church, but ſhewing your ſelves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Paſtor ſhall appear, you ſhall receive an incorruptible Crown of eternal glory, *&c. And this is*

1 Pet. 5.

the Doctrine of Peter, *as they ſhall ſee, which do not obey it. As for us, the other parts of the ſaid Epiſtle is ſufficient: wherein he willeth them to rejoice* which are in heavineſs through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith being much more precious than gold that periſheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jeſus, *&c. But bear with me I pray you (O holy Father, and of all your Predeceſſors moſt meek) and ſuffer my words though they be ſomething ſharp, for they be*

1 Pet. 1.

ſighings of a ſorrowful heart.

Wherefore gird about your loyns with fortitude, and

He exhorteth the Pope to ceaſe and meet with him, that they might confer together about the unity of faith.

light up the candle of your diſcretion, and ſeek the Groat that is loſt, of the unity I mean, of faith. And we will alſo with like compaſſion joyn with your Holineſs, and I will not ſpare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuſe either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the travel is, the more Crowns it bringeth. And St. Paul *ſaith,* Every man ſhall receive reward according to his travel, *&c.*

Neither are we ignorant (if it pleaſe your Holineſs) *that like as we* Grecians *for our parts, do labour in all reſpects to keep and obſerve the ſincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err, ne ſwerve in any part or point from the ſtatutes of the bleſſed Apoſtles and ancient Fathers: ſo the Church likewiſe of old* Rome *doth for her part labour alſo (we know well) to follow the ſincere verity of Chriſtian Doctrine, and thinketh her ſelf to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy*

The Greek Church found and free from Doctrine.

He exhorteth the Church of Rome to look her own Glaſs, that is, to try their Doctrine by Gods Word.

or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and ſaying of both the Churches, as well of the Greeks, *as of the* Latins. *For no man can ſee any ſpot in his own face, without he ſtoop down to the glaſs, or elſe be admoniſhed by ſome other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even ſo have we many great and fair glaſſes ſet before us: Firſt, the clear Goſpel of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, and Divinity-Books of ancient Writers. Let us therefore look in them well, they will ſhew every mans mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of Peace tread down Satan ſpeedily under our feet. The Author of Peace confound the ſower of Diſcord. He that is the cauſe of all goodneſs deſtroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giveth cauſe of offence and ſlander. And be which is God of all joy and peace, ſend to us, which are the ſhepherds of his ſheep reaſonable, the Angel of Peace, and the Meſſenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the Nativity of Chriſt, to the ſhepherds of brute ſheep and unreaſonable, and make us worthy to ſing that joyful ſong of Gods praiſe,* Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas; *and to receive one another with an holy kiſs. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you always:* Amen.

Another Epistle of the said Germanus *Patriarch of* Constantinople, *and Primate of the* Greek *Church, to the Cardinals of* Rome.

Another Letter of *Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* to the Cardinals.

A Nother Letter the said *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, wrote also the same time to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsel, and sheweth what utility cometh by good counsel giving. Forsomuch as God (saith he) many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, for that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sunderly dispensed to divers, through common counsel and conference spreadeth to the publick utility of many, &c. After this effoons he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable Ministers, and discreet Counsellors, will take in hand the Spiritual armor of God, to cast down the stop and partition-wall of the old discord between the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and that they will be a means to the Bishop of *Rome*, that they which so long have been dissevered by dissention, may now be conjoyned in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter I have (saith he) already written to his Holiness. And now I beseech the King of Heaven, which took the shape of a servant to help his miserable servants, and was exalted upon the Cross, to raise them up which were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling it self over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow servants, and to lighten your consciences with the true light of understanding, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there be no schism amongst us. Let us therefore, as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it be not said of us, as it was of the *Corinthians* before us, *I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I* 1 Cor. 1. *of Cephas, and I of Christ*: but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one mind. that is, to follow love and charity in Christ Jesus, having always in our hearts the words of the Apostle, saying, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.*

And now to be plain with you in that I have to say, I shall define you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. *The words* (saith *Solomon*) *of a wise man telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep:* And truth for the most part breedeth enemies, and therefore though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confess the truth unto you. Certes this division of Christian unity amongst us, proceedeth of no other cause but only of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the Church of *Rome*, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her) which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the less she esteemeth them, and treadeth them under foot, not regarding the saying of the Gospel, *Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.*

The tyranny and oppression of the Church of *Rome* is the only cause of breaking unity between the *Greek* Church and the *Latin*.

Let modestly therefore something temper you, and let the avarice of the Court of *Rome*, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet furcease a while, and let us together condefcend to the trial of the truth; which truth being found out on both sides, let us constantly embrace the same.

Luk. 18.

For why we have been altogether sometimes both *Italians* and *Grecians* in one faith, and under the same Canons, having peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what time many flying out of the West parts (whilest that the tyranny of the Hereticks indured) made their concourse to us, and were received; and part fled unto you, that is, old *Rome*, as to a strong tower of refuge, and so received they comfort in both places, and one Brother was thus received into the bosom of another, by mutual love for their defence.

The old unity and concord between the East church and the West.

Agapetus and *Vigilius* fled to *Constantinople* for succour.

Then after when *Rome* had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen Nations, the *Grecians* were ever ready to rescue and deliver them. Did not *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flee unto *Constantinople* by reason of the dissentions then at *Rome*, and being honourably received, were here defended under our protection? although the like kindness was never yet shewed of your part to us again in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be ungrateful; for so doth the Sea participate her smooth and calm tides even unto the Pirates. And so God causeth the Sun to shine upon the just and unjust. But (alas for sorrow) what bitter division is this, that hath thus sequestred us asunder? One of us detracteth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soul. What a mortal hatred is this come among us? If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a stumbling block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the Spiritual resurrection of our souls. So shall we acknowledg our selves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly.

But if the blame and first original of this offence proceedeth from *Rome*, and the Successors of *Peter* the Apostle; then read ye the words of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*, saying, *When Peter came to Antioch I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c.* Howbeit this resistance was no cause of any discord, or breach between them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, provoking temporal agreement. For they were fast joyned together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of Doctrine, separated by no ambition or avarice. In which points would God we also were like unto them! This to us in our minds gendreth a great offence, that you gaping so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heap up gold and silver, and yet pretend that you be the Disciples of him which said, *Gold and silver I have none, &c.* You make whole Kingdoms Tributary to you, and Kings and Princes your vassals. You augument your money by usury, and by feats of Merchandize. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words.

Paul withstandeth Peter. Gal. 2.

He meaneth of the Kingdom of England, and other more which were made Tributary to the See of *Rome*.

Moderate your selves therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is one Brother to help another. Only God alone needeth no help or counsel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the blessed Apostle *Peter*, the chief of Christs Apostles, the Rock of our faith; I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this Rock was shaken and removed from the foundation at the sight of a silly woman; and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, which by the crowing of the Cock brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he being thus waked, washed his face with tears, confessing himself before God and all the world, to be a true pattern of repentance, which before bare the Keys of the Kingdom, as saying thus unto us, May not he which falleth, rise again? Oh you which are fallen, rise up and behold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards Paradise; the Gates whereof to open, I have received power.

The second Note.

The third Note.

Peter his Tears.

The Church hath her name of Catholick, whereby and when. Whether the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, made with out the free consent of the East Churches, be Catholick or no?

Peter no deputy of the supremacy.

The fourth Note.

And thus do I write unto you, not for any instruction, but only to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indued you with all wisdom and knowledg, as *Solomon* saith, *Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learn wisdom: Teach the just man, and he will be glad to take instruction.*

This one thing more I will say, and so make an end: There be great and mighty Nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. First, the *Ethiopians* that inhabit the chiefest part of the East. After that the *Syrians*, and other more of greater number than they, and more diffused to vertue, as the *Hiberi Alani, Gothi, Chazari*, with innumerable people of *Russia*, and the Kingdom of great Victory of the *Fulgarians*. And all these are obedient unto us as their Mother-Church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true Orthodox faith immoveable.

Christian Countries and Nations in the East parts exhibit are not under the Obedience of *Rome*.

The fifth Note.

The Church of *Rome* proved not to be Catholick.

The proceedings of *Rome* found upon no true evidence but are counterfeited.

The God of all holiness which for our sakes became Man, and which only is the Head of his Church and Congregation, vouchsafe to gather us again together in unity, and grant that the *Grecian* Church together with her filter-Church of old *Rome*, may glorifie the same Christ, the Prince of Peace, by the unity of faith, to the restitution of found and wholsome Doctrine, wherein many years agone they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God govern

Christ only Head of his Church.

govern you all (holy Cardinals) till that joyfully ye arrive in the haven of everlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. *Ex Mat. Parisiensi*, fol. 111.

Shortly after the sending of these Letters, Pope *Gregory* prepared to send men of War, signed with the Cross, to fight against the *Grecians*; whereupon the Archbishop of *Antioch*, with the said *Germanus* solemnly Excommunicated the Pope, after he first had Excommunicated them: *Paris. fol.* 118. In the mean time by the tenor of these Letters of the Patriarch sent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is evident to all men that have eyes in their heads to see: First, how the whole Universal Church of Christ from the East parts to the West, in ancient times were altogether united in one consent of Doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one Church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as case required. Neither was then any one Mother-Church above other Churches, but the whole Universal Church was the Mother-Church and Spouse of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under which Universal Church in general were comprehended all other particular Churches in special, as sister Churches together, not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as God gave his gifts so ferving one another, ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the Catholick Church, having in it true unity, universality, and free consent. Unity in Doctrine, universality in communicating and joyning together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatsoever was taught at *Rome* touching Faith and Salvation, it was no other than was taught at *Antioch, Syria, &c.*

The Popes proclamation of war against the Greek Church. The Archbishop of *Antioch* and Cardinals single Excommunicate the Pope. Five Notes to be considered. The first Note.

The true Catholick Church where it was, and what.

Unity, Universality, Consent.

Secondly, How in process of time, through occasion of the Bishops of *Romes* tyranny and violent oppreision, this ring of Equality being broken, all flew in pieces, the East Church from the West, the *Greeks* from the *Latins*, and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissention.

Thirdly, Here is also to be noted after this pitiful breach of Equality, how many and what great Nations departed from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and especially about this time above specified of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *Anno* 1230, so that both before and after that time many Councils were holden, and many things concluded in the West Church, whereunto the one half of Christendom lying in the East parts, did never agree; and contrary, many Councils holden with them, which in the *Latin* Church were not received. So that the Church now as the lost the benefit of universal consent, so also the lost the name Catholick. Whereupon this question is to be asked, that when the Council of *Lateran*, under Pope *Innocent* the Third, ordained the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and Auricular Confession here in the West Church, without the free consent of the East Church, whether the same Doctrine is to be counted Catholick or not?

Fifthly, These things thus standing, then have we to conclude that the Church of *Rome* falsly pretendeth it self Catholick: For if the name of Catholick must needs import an universal consent of the whole, how can that be Catholick where the consent of so many famous and true Christian Churches hath been lacking; and furthermore, where the consent that hath been amongst themselves, hath rather been coacted than any true or free consent? Which is easie to be proved: for let these Fires and Fagots cease, let Kings and Princes leave to presse their Subjects with the Popes obedience; let the Scripture and the Bishops alone every one in his own Diocess to govern their flock after the rule of Gods Word, and how few be there in this West end of the world (trow you) that would not do the same that these *Grecians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Syrians*, have done before us? And thus much by the occasion of this Patriarchs Letters sent to Pope *Gregory* concerning the *Grecians*.

The miserable state of the West parts of Christendom under the Pope.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judg their state happy and blessed, in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the Popes tyranny; so on the other side considering with my self the wretched thraldom of these our Churches here in the West part of the world under the Bishop of *Rome*, I cannot tell whether more to marvel or to lament their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppreision and slavery under him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So untolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his Suspensions and Excommunications much like to a mad mans Dagger, drawn at every trifle, that no Christian patience could suffer it, no Nation abide it. Again, so deep did he fit in their consciences, they fally believing him to have the authority of St. *Peter*, that for conscience sake neither King nor *Cesar* durst withstand him, much less poor subjects once mutter against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely in this Realm of *England*, were such that neither the Laity nor Spiritualty could bear them; yet was there no remedy, bear them they must, or else the Popes sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

The Popes Excommunications like to a fools Dagger. The fatal perdivation of the Popes Supremacy: a cause of much overthrow.

In reading the Histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue, to see the miserable captivity of the people what they suffered under this thraldom of the Bishop of *Rome*, whereof part hath been shewed before, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I mind to express.

A brief Table or Declaration of the Popes unreasonable Gatherings, Exactions, and oppressions in the Realm of England.

A brief Table of the Popes spoiling and getting of *English* money in the days of K. *Henry* the third.

AND first to begin with the Elections of the Bishops. Abbots, Deans, and Priors within this Realm, it cannot be told what mass of money grew to the Popes Coffers thereby, especially in this Kings days; forsomuch as in his time lightly no Election happened either of Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, or any room of Dignity, but when the Covent or Chapter had chosen one to their mind, the King who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would let up another. By reason whereof when the other part was fain to appeal to *Rome*, and there to plead the case, no small rivers of *English* money, besides expences and travel by the way, went flowing to the Popes Sea. And although the Election went never so clear, yet the new Elect must needs respect the holy Father with some gentle reward, and further by his Oath was bound every three years, either in his own person or by another, to visit *Limina Apostolorum*.

So in the house of St. *Albans* when *John Herford* was elected Abbot, their publick Election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same, the Monks were fain to send *Reinold* the Physician, and *Nicholas* a Monk, to *Rome* with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the Election might stand, and the new Abbot was sworn every third year by himself or another, to visit the Doorsels of the Apostles.

Money consumed in the Popes Election of Jo. *Herford* Abbot of St. *Albans*.

Another such like contention happened between the King and the Monks of *Winchester*, about the Election of *William Rale*, whom the Monks had chosen, but the King refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to *Rome* his messengers, *Theobald* a Monk of *Westminster*, and Master *Alexander* a Lawyer, with no small sum of money to evacuate the Election of the forefaid *William Rale*; commanding moreover, that the Gates of *Winchester* should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy there to receive him in the house. Whereupon the said *William* being excluded, after he had laid his cause upon the whole City of *Winchester*, made his repair to

8000 Marks given out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to the Pope, about the Election of *William Rale*, Anno 1243.

Rome;

Rome, where for eight hundred Marks being promised to the Pope, his Bishopric (spite of the Kings heart) was confirmed, and he received. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 164. & 240.

After the death of *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, ye heard before how the Monks had elected *Walter* a Monk of *Canterbury*. But the King to stop that Election, sent up his Proctors Mr. *Alexander Stanes*, and Mr. *Henry Sandford* Bishop of *Rochester* to the Pope, to evacuate that Election, and to place *Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln*. Which Proctors perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the Pope and Cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money; rather than the King should fail of his purpose, they promised on the Kings behalf to the Pope, for maintaining his Wars against *Frederick* the Emperor, a Dism or tenth part of all the Moveables in the Realm of *England* and of *Ireland*. At the contemplation of which money the Pope efftoons thinking to pass with the King, began to pick quarrels with the foresaid *Walter*, for not answering rightly to his Questions about Christs descending to Hell, making of Christs Body on the Altar, the weeping of *Rachel* for her Children, the being dead before; about the sentence of Excommunication, and certain causes of Matrimony. His answers whereunto when they were not to the Popes mind, he was therefore put back, and the Kings man preferred, which cost the whole Realm of *England* and *Ireland* the tenth part of their Moveable Goods, by reason whereof, what money was raised to the Popes *Gazophylacium*, I leave to the estimation of the Reader, *An.* 1229. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 71.

The tenth part of all Moveables in *England* and *Ireland* given to the Pope. 1229

Ex Mat. Par. fol. 71. b.

And yet for all this the said *Richard*, the costly Archbishop of *Canterbury*, within less than two years after, falling out with the King about the Castle and Lordship of *Tonbridge*, went and complained of him to the Pope. In the traverse whereof it cost the King a great piece of money besides, and yet miss he his purpose. In the which journey the said Archbishop in his return homeward, by the way departed, *Ann.* 1231.

Money spent at *Rome* between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Of the like distention ye heard before between the King and the Covent of *Durham*, for not chusing *Mr. Lucas* the Kings Chaplain, whom the King offred to be their Bishop. About the state whereof, when much money was bestowed on both sides welfavouredly, the Pope defeating them both, admitted neither *M. William*, nor *M. Lucas*, but Ordained the Bishop of *Sarum* to be their Bishop, *An.* 1228. *Ex Paris.*

The costly Election of the Bishop of *Durham*.

Between the Monks of *Coventry*, and the Canons of *Lichfield* rose another like quarrel, which of them should have the superior voice in chusing their Bishop. In which fute after much money bestowed in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope to requalifie again each part with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each part by course should have the chusing of their Bishop. *An.* 1228. *Ex Paris. fol.* 68.

Money coming to the Pope for the Election of the Bishop of Coventry and *Lichfield*.

What busines fell likewise between *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks of *Rochester*, about the Election of *Richard Wendour*, to be their Bishop? And what was the end? First, the Archbishop was fain to travel himself to the Pope, and so did the Covent also send their Proctors. Who belike being better monied, weighed down the cause, so that the good Archbishop in that cause against the Monks, and partly in another cause against the Earl of *Arundel*, was condemned of the Pope in a thousand Marks. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes Coffers, *An.* 1238. *Mat. Paris. fol.* 114.

Edmund Archbishop of *Canterbury* condemned at *Rome* in a 1000 Marks.

After the returning of the said *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* again from *Rome*, it chanced that the Monks of *Canterbury* had elected their Prior without his assent; for the which he did Excommunicate the Monks, and evacuate their Election. Not long after this, the Popes Exactors went about to extort from the Churchmen the fifth part of their Goods to the Popes use, fighting then against the Emperor. This cruel exaction being a great while resisted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the foresaid Archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the Monks, was contented to grant to the faid exaction, adding moreover of his own for an overplus 800 Marks; whereupon the rest of the Clergy was fain to follow after, and contribute to the Popes Exactors, *Anu.* 1240. *Ex Mathi. Paristiensi. fol.* 132. b,

The fifth part of all the Clergy granted to the Pope.

In the Church of *Lincoln* (whose See before the Conquest was in *Dorcester*, and afterwards by *William Rufus* translated from thence to *Lincoln*) rose a grievous contention between *Robert Grosthead* then Bishop, and the Canons of the Cathedral Church about their Visitation, whether the Bishop should visit them, or the Dean; which matter being put unto Arbitrators, could not so be compofed, before the Bishop and the Chapter, after their Appeal made unto the Pope, went both unto *Rome*, and there after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full sweetly for it. *An.* 1230. *Par. fol.* 119.

Great expence of money in the Court of *Rome* between the Bishop of *Lincoln* and the Canons of that Church.

At what time the Canons of *Chichester* had elected *Robert Passelew* to their Bishop, at the Kings request the Archbishop with certain other Bishops, taking part against the Kings Chaplain, repelled him, and set up *Richard Witch*. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto *Rome*, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well of the Kings part as of the Bishops; read the Story thereof in *Mat. Paris.* 182, 184, 186.

Money coming to the Pope between the Bishop of *Lincoln* and the Monks within his Diocess.

Robert Grosthead Bishop of *Lincoln* (of whom relation was made before) having a great care how to bring the priviledg Orders of Religious Houses within his Precinct, under his subjection and discipline, went unto *Rome*, and there with great labour and much effusion of money (as the Story saith) procured of the Pope a Mandate, whereby all such Religious Orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after the Monks not abiding that (who could soon weigh down the Bishop with money) sent their Factors to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence so perswaded him, and stirred his affections in such fort, that soon they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary Bishop. Whereof *Robert Grosthead* having intelligence, made up to *Rome*, and there complaining to the Pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope *Innocent* looking with a stern countenance, made this answer again. Brother (said he) what is that to thee? Thou hast delivered and discharged thine own foul. It hath pleased us to shew favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the Bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himself, yet not so softly, but that the Pope heard him say these words: O money, money, what canst not thou do in the Court of *Rome*? Wherewith the Pope being somewhat pinched, gave this answer again, O ye *Englishmen*, *Englishmen*, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another, &c. Ann. 1250. *Ex Paris. fol.* 230.

What love-convenient cometh by the Popes Dispensations.

How costly the Pope can rate his holy hands.

Money can do much at *Rome*.

The Pope and *Grosthead*.

It happened moreover the same year that the said *Robert Grosthead* Excommunicated and deprived one *Ramulphus* a beneficed person in his Diocess, being accused of incontinency, who after the term of forty days, refusing to submit himself, the Bishop wrote to the Sheriff of *Rutland* to apprehend him as Contumax. Which Sheriff, because he deferred or refused so to do (bearing favour to the party) and being therefore solemnly Excommunicate by the Bishop, uttered his complaint to the King. Whereat the King taking great displeasure with the Bishop for Excommunicating his Sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth with a substantial messenger (*Ad Mometa*) such as he was sure would speed, unto Pope *Innocent*, by virtue of whose words the Pope, easie to be intreated, sendeth down a Proviso to the Abbot of *Westminster*, charging that no Prelate nor Bishop in the Realm of *England*, should molest or enter action against any of the Kings Bailiffs or Officers, in such matters as to the Kings jurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended, not without some help and heap of *English* money; so that no wind of any controversie here stirred in *England*, were it never so small, but it blew some profit for the Popes advantage, *Ann.* 1250. *Ex Paris. fol.* 231.

Wilful perjury authorised by the Popes Dispensations.

Absolution which tying out of the Popes Dispensations.

Justice perverted by the Popes authority for money.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the Popes Coffers by the Election of *Boniface*, the Queens Uncle, a *Frenchman*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1243. and of *Ethelmare*, the Queens Brother to be Bishop of *Winchester* against the wills of the Prior and Covent there, *Anno* 1250, besides many such other Escheats, which made *England* poor, and the Pope rich.

Money coming to the Pope for the Election of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of Bishops of *Winchester*, both Franciscans and Frenchmen.

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the Popes Dispensations, Provisions, Exactions, Contributions and

{King Hen. 3.} and Extortions in *England* in this Kings days; for to discourse all, it is not one Book will hold it.

Marriage with Eleanor the Kings sister, a Nun, dissolved by the Pope for money.

Simon Monfort Earl of *Leicester* had married *Elenor* the Kings Sister, and Daughter of King *John*, who by report of Stories had taken the Mantel and Ring. Wherefore the King, and his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Excester*, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earl *Simon* seeing, made a band of money, and posting over to *Rome*, after he had talked a few words in Pope *Innocent*'s ear, the marriage was good enough; and Letters were sent to *Otho* the Popes Legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the Earl. Notwithstanding the *Dominick* Friers, and other of the like Religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the Pope stoutly, saying, that the Popes Holines was therein deceived, and souls in danger; that Christ was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be any wife possible that a woman which had vowed Marriage with Christ, could afterward marry with any other, &c. *Anno* 1238. *Ex Paris. fol.* 114.

What love-convenient cometh by the Popes Dispensations.

As there was nothing so hard in the wide world, wherewith the Pope would not dispense for money; so by the said Dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof the people trusting upon the Popes Dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they sware. As well appeared by this King *Henry* the Third; who being a great exactor of the poor Commons, as ever was any King before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people sooner to his devotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereto bound himself with a solemn Oath, both before the Clergy and Laity, to grant unto them the old Liberties and Customs as well of *Magna Charta*, as *Charta de Foresta*, perpetually to be observed. Whereupon a *Quindecim* was granted to the King. But after the payment was sure, the King trusting by the Popes Dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his Oath and Covenant, went from that he had promised and sworn before.

Wilful perjury authorised by the Popes Dispensations.

In like manner the said King another time, being in need of money, signed himself with the Cross, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole Parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the *Saracens*. But as soon as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his Oath, being so put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not to pass of that perjury, forsomuch as the Pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof. *Ex Paris. fol.* 273.

Absolution which tying out of the Popes Dispensations.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these Popish Dispensations, have proceeded also many other foul absurdities. For where many young men were in those days which enjoyed Benefices, and were no Priests, and when by the procurement of *Robert Grosthead*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter Orders, they laying their purses together, sent to *Rome*, and obtained of the Pope a Dispensation to remain still as they were, that is, to have the fruits of Benefices to find them at School or University, and yet themselves neither Ministers to take charge, nor yielding any service for their profits taken. *Ex Matth. Parisiens. fol.* 256. Besides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding of the Popes Dispensations, as dispensing one man to have sundry Bishoprics, to incroach Pluralities of Benefices, to make children Parsons, to legitimate Bastards, with such other like; the particulars whereof for brevity sake, I do omit to further opportunity.

The intolerable oppression of the Realm of England *by the Popes Exactions and Contributions, and other sleights used in the time of King* Henry *the Third.*

The miserable impoverishing of the Realm by the Popes pensions and contributions.

ALthough these emoluments, thus rising daily to the Popes purse by Simony and Bribery, by Elections and Dispensations, might seem sufficient to satisfie his greedy appetite; yet so unstiable was the avarice of that See, that he not yet contented herewith, over and besides all this, sent every where almost some Legate or other into this Realm to take for his advantage. Insomuch that during all this Kings time, the Realm was never lightly without some of the Popes Ligiers, with all violence exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of Cels, Abbies, Priories, fruits of Benefices, and Bishopricks, and also Laymens purles, to the miserable impoverishing both of the Clergy and Temporality, as hereunder followeth.

Cardinal *Otho* Legate in *England*. The receiving of *Otho* the Popes Legate into the Realm.

First, after *Pandulphus* was sent into this Realm Cardinal *Otho*, procured by the King without the assent of his Nobles, to the intent to assist him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of which Legate, great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in Scarlet, in Plate, in Jewels, in Money and Paltrys, were given him. Whom the King also himself went as far as the Sea-side to meet to receive, bowing down his head in low courtesie to the Cardinals knees. To whom also the Bishop of *Winchester* for his part gave towards keeping of his house, fifty fat Oxen, an hundred femes of Wheat, and eight great vessels of pure Wine. This Legate at his first coming, beginneth first to bethow fish Benefices, as he found vacant, upon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were meet or unmeet. *Ex Parisiensi, fol.* 103. {Anno 1237.}

After this the Pope hearing how the Nobles and Commons of the Realm began to stomack the Cardinal for his excessive Procurations and Exactions, sent for him home; but the King by reason he stood in fear of his Nobles, and thought to have a stay by the Cardinal against all occurrents, intreated him to stay while he wrote to the Pope to obtain further license for him to tarry; and so he did, not without some *English* money ye may be sure.

Otho the Legate forbeth to come into *Scotland*.

The King of *Scots* bluntness to Cardinal *Otho*.

In this mean time of vacation, *Otho* thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crums in *Scotland*, made as though he would set things there in order, which were come into the Church of *Scotland*, to be reformed, and so cometh to the King of *Scots*, being then in *York* with King *Henry*, to have leave to enter. Unto whom the King thus made answer, that he never saw to his remembrance, any Popes Legate in his Land, neither was there any such needed (God be praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn neither in the days of his Father, or any his Predecessors, that any such entrance to any Legate was granted; so he for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithstanding forsomuch as I hear (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to your self, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would with; for they be a savage and unruly people, given much to murther, and shedding blood, whom I my self am scarce able to bridle; so that if they fall upon you, I shall not be able to help you. And how they also invaded me, and fought to expell me from my Kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think belt to do. After the Cardinal heard the King speak these words, he plucket in his horns, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of King *Henry*. Notwithstanding shortly after, the same Legate coming to the borders of *Scotland*, there called the Bishops to him, and so when he had well filled his Bags, came back again, *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 106. 123. b.

The Realm of *Scotland* hitherto never troubled with any Popes Legate.

Cardinal *Otho* Prevented from going into *Scotland*.

It was not long after but license came from Pope *Gregory* to his Legate *Otho*, for his longer abode here in the Realm (as welcome as water in the Ship) with new authority also to proceed in the Popes affairs. Who first shewing to the Bishops and the Clergy his Letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forsomuch as no man (said he) warreth of his own charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was to have of every able Church four Marks; and where one Church was not able to reach thereto, that other Churches should joyn withal to make the said money. Notwithstanding the Bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof. *Paris. fol.* 123, 128, 132.

Oppressions of the Cardinal *Otho* the Popes Legate.

Besides he assembled together all the Black Monks of St. *Benedict*'s Order, giving to them strict Orders, which shortly after for money he released to them again. *Paris. fol.* 116, 119. {Anno 1238.}

More-

Moreover, by the said *Otho*, and other the Popes Exactions, with special Bulls directed down for the same, collation of Benefices being taken out of the hands of the Patrons, were give to light and vile Runnagates, coming from *Italy* and other places, such as pleased the Pope and his Legate to bestow them upon, to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true Patrons thereof. Whereupon the Earls, and Barons, and Nobles of the Realm, addressed Letters unto Pope *Gregory* by Sir *Robert Twing* Knight, for redress of such wrongs and injuries; who otherwise should be forced (they said) to invocate the succour of their King, who both was able, and was no less willing, according to his duty (they trusted) to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his Realm. The tenor of whose writing is to be read in *Mat. Paris. fol.* 128. *a.*

The Nobles of England write to Pope Gregory for collation of Benefices wrested out of their hands.

Not long after the same, in the Year of our Lord 1240. came a new precept from Pope *Gregory*, by *Petrus Rubeus* the Popes *Nuncio*, to the forefaid *Otho*, that all Beneficed Men of the Clergy, as well in *England* as in *France*, should pay to the Pope the fifth part of their Revenues. Whereupon when the Clergy Men made their complaint to the King, seeking to be relieved by him; the King answered them again, that the neither would, nor durst stand against the Pope in any cafe, and fo without all hope of fuccour fent them away. *Paris. fol.* 132. Then were the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Prelates of the Church commanded to affemble together at *Reading*, there to hear the Popes pleafure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end, thus the matter concluded; that the Prelates defired a further time to be given to advife upon the matter; and for that feafon the Affembly brake up. Notwithftanding at laft, after many excufes and exceptions laid in by the Clergy; Firft, *That because the money was gathered to fight against the Emperor, they ought not to contribute their money, contrary to the liberties of the Church.* Item, *Forsmuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the Pope, upon condition that no more such payments should be required of them, much leß now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done, maketh a cuftom.* Item, *Seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the Court of* Rome, *if they should give this money again it the Emperor, it would turn to their danger coming through his Land.* Item, *Seeing their King had many enemies, against whom they muft needs relieve the King were with their many, they could not fo do if the Realm were thus impoverished, &c.* All which excufes, with divers other more notwithftanding, they were compelled at length to conform themfelves to the Popes good pleafure, through the example given of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who to obtain his purpofe againft the Monks of *Canterbury* (with whom he was then in ftrife) began firft to yield to the Legates 800 Marks for his part, whereby the reft alfo were fain to follow after. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 132, 136.

Petrus Rubeus the Popes carrier.

All beneficed Men in England controlled to give the fifth part of their Revenues to the Pope.

Anno 1240.

Excufes of the Clergy, why they would not contribute to the Pope.

Furthermore, the fame year, the Pope agreed fo with the People of *Rome*, that if they would aid him againft *Frederick* the Emperor, look what Benefices were to be given in *England*, the fame fhould be at their arbitrement to be beftowed upon their Children. Whereupon commandment was fent to the forefaid *Edmund* Archbishop, to the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Sarum*, that all the Collations of Benefices within the Realm fhould be fufpended, till provifion were made for three hundred Children of the Citizens of *Rome* to be firft ferved. Upon the which fo miferable requeft, the faid *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for forrow to fee the Church fo oppreffed, departed the Realm, and fo continued in *France*, and died at *Pontiniac*; *Ex Mat. Par. fol.* 134. *b.* Which *Edmund* was afterward made a Saint, and canonized by Pope *Innocent* the fourth.

Three hundred Children of Rome placed in Benefices in England.

Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury departeth the Realm, and dieth in Exile.

Three thousand pounds to the Popes uſe.

This done, then went *Petrus Rubeus* the Popes Nuncio, and *Ruffinus* into *Scotland*, from whence they brought with them three thoufand Pounds to the Popes uſe about *Alhollontide* the fame year. At which time moreover, cometh another *Harpax* from the Pope to *England*, named *Mumelius*, bringing with him three and twenty *Romans* here into the Realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the King on the one fide, and what by the Cardinal *Otho*, *Petrus Rubeus*, *Ruffinus* and *Mumelius* on the other fide, poor *England* was in a wretched cafe. *Matth. Parisiensi.* 137. *fol.*

Romans 23 brought to England to be beneficed

Another pretty practice of the Pope to prol for money, was this: The forefaid *Petrus Rubeus*, coming into Religious Houfes, and into their Chapters, cauled them to contribute to the Popes Holineſs, by the example of this Bifhop and that Abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given fo much and fo much, and fo reduced them. *Paris. fol.* 134. Alfo the Pope craftily fubomned certain Friers, authorized with full Indulgence, that whofoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was difpofed to be releafed of his Vow, needed not to repair to *Rome* for Abfolution, but paying fo much money as his charges would come to going thither, he reforting to the faid Friers, might be abfolved at home.

The Pope for many years fleeced Christen of their Coin.

¶ This paffed in the year 1240. Now all thefe troubles laid together, were enough to vex the meekeſt Prince in the World; whereto by way of accefs to the Kings further moleſtation, he had much ado with the Prelates and Clergy Men of his Realm, who were always tampering with his Title, efpecially in their Affemblies and Councils; to whom the King, feeking to reftrain them from that presumption, they did both fend and write, as appeareth by this evidence of Record. *Rex miſit Galfridum de Langley, &c.* That is, The King fent *Geoffry Langley* to the Archbishop of *York*, and to other Bifhops purpofed to meet at *Oxford*, to appeal for him, leſt, in the faid Council there called, they fhould prefume to ordain fomething againft his Crown and Dignity. This was done in the year of our Lord 1241. In which year alfo came a commandment Apoſtolical to the Houſe of *Peterborough*, that they at the Popes contemplation muft needs grant him fome Benefice by reaping in their dominion, the fruits whereof were worth at leaft an hundred Pounds, and if it were more it fhould be the better welcome; fo that they fhould be as the Farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the Covent excufed themfelves by the Abbot, being then not at home. The Abbot, when he came home, excufed himſelf by the King, being the Patron and Founder of the Houſe. The King being grieved with the unreasonable ravening of thefe *Romaniſts*, utterly forbad any fuch example to be given. *Ex Pariſienſi. fol.* 143. But what happened? The Abbot being therefore accufed to the Pope by one of the Legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope *Innocent*, to the Council of *Lions*, was fo rated and reviled, and fo fhamefully thruft out of the Popes Court, that for forrow he fell ſick upon the fame, and there died. *Pariſ. fol.* 184.

The Archbishop of York fined and commanded to ſit down.

Paris. Lond.

Romanus another harbinger of the Pope.

Contribution of 10000 Marks for the Pope. The Pope craftily holdeth with the King, that the King might hold with him.

Abbot of Peterborough thrust out of the Popes Court and died.

In the time of which Council of *Lions*, Pope *Innocent* the fourth (forſomuch as the inſtrument or obligation whereby the Realm of *England* ſtood Tributary to the Pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes Chamber by little before) brought forth either the ſame, or another Chart like unto it, wherennto he ſtraitly charged and commanded every *Engliſh* Bifhop, being there preſent at the Council, feverally to ſet to his Hand and Seal. When unreaſonable petition of the Pope, albeit it went ſore againſt the hearts of the Biſhops, yet (ſee in what miſerable ſubjection the Pope had all the Biſhops under him) none of them durſt otherwiſe do, but accompliſh the Popes requeſt therein, both to their own ſhame, and prejudice to the publick freedom of the Realm. Among whoſe Biſhops, the loweſt that held out, and laſt that put to his Seal, was the Biſhop of *London*. Which act when the King and the Nobility underſtood, they were mightily and worthily therewithall offended. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 192. *Anno* 1245.

The oath of K. John's Charter ſent to the Pope to cancel.

The Biſhops put their Hands and Seals to the Popes Bill.

After what time Cardinal *Otho* was ſent for by Pope *Gregory* in all haſte to come to the General Council, two other in his room here remained, whoſe Names were *Petrus Rubeus*, and *Petrus de Supino*. Of whom the one bearing himſelf for the Popes Kinſman, brought out his Bills and Bulls under the Popes Authority, to ſuch an Abbot, or to ſuch a Prior, or to ſuch and ſuch a Biſhop, and ſo extorted from them a great quantity of Gold and Silver. The other, to wit, *Petrus de Supino* failed to *Ireland*, from whence he brought with him a thouſand and five hundred Marks to the Popes uſe, *An.* 1241. *Ex Par. fol.* 247. *b.* All which money notwithſtanding, gotten by both the Collectors, in the carriage of it up to *Rome*, about the death of Pope *Gregory*, happned into the hands of *Frederick* the Emperor; who cauſed it again to be reſtored, as near as he could, to them of whom it was taken. *Pariſ. fol.* 151.

Petrus Rubeus, Ferrus de Supino, the Popes cozen in England.

A thouſand Marks brought out of Ireland for the Pope.

KING { Hen. 3.

KING { Hen. 3.

M. Martinus another Meſſenger for the Popes money. *An.* 1244.

After theſe came in then *M. Martinus* a new Merchant from the new Pope *Innocent* the fourth, *An.* 1244. armed with full power to fufpend all Prelates in *England* from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinſmen were firſt preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any Benefice, unleſs it were above the value of thirty Marks. At his firſt coming, he required of Prelates, and eſpecially of Religious Houſes to furniſh him with Horſes and Paſſtages, ſuch as were convenient for the Popes eſpecial Chaplain and Legate to ſit upon; alſo with Plate, Raiment, Proviſion for his Kitchen and Cellar, *&c.* and ſuch as denied, or excuſed, he ſuſpended; as the Abbot of *Malmesbury*, and the Prior of *Merton*. All Prebends that were void he fought out and referved them for the Popes behoof; among which was the golden Prebend of *Sarum*, belonging to the Chancellor of the Quire, whom he preferred to the Bithoprick of *Bath*, and ſo ſeized upon the Prebend being void, againſt the wills both of the Biſhop and the Chapter. *Pariſ. fol.* 167, 180. Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, ſigned in the Popes Chamber with his ſtamp and Seal; wherein he might afterward write to whom, and to what he would, *Pariſ. fol.* 178. *b.* requiring furthermore of the King, in the Popes behalf, to help his Holineſs with a contribution to be taxed amongſt his Clergy, at leaſt of 10000 Marks, *Ibid.* And to the end that the Pope might win the King ſooner to his devotion, he writeth in the Kings behoof to the Nobles and Commons of the Realm, that they ſhould not fail, upon pain of his great Curſe, to confer ſuch Subſidy of money to the ſubvention of the King, as he then had demanded of them; but they ſtood ſtiff in not granting to him.

Extention of the Popes Legate upon the Clergy of England.

Intimation given to the King touching the Intolerable oppreſſion of the Realm by the Pope.

While the inſatiable avarice of the Pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in *England*; the Nobles and Barons, with the community as well of the Clergy as the Laity, weighing the miſerable ſtate of the Realm, and namely, of the Church, which now neither had liberty left them to chuſe their own Miniſters, nor yet could enjoy their own Livings, laid their heads together, and ſo exhibited an earneſt intimation to the King; beſeeching him to conſider the pitiful affliction and proſperion of his Subjects under the Popes extortion, living in more thraldom than ever did the people of *Iſrael* under *Pharoah*. Whereupon the King beginning at laſt to look up, and to conſider the injuries and wrongs received in this Realm, through the avarice of the Court of *Rome*, directeth to Pope *Innocent* the fourth this Letter, in tenor as followeth.

The Kings Letter to Pope Innocent *the fourth.*

King Henry's Letter to the Pope. The King reſorteth to it to the Popes feet.

SAnctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, ac Domino, *Innocentio, Dei* gratia ſummo Pontifici, *Henricus* eadem gratia Rex *Angliæ*, &c. Saluteth & pedum oſcula beatorum, *&c.*

To the moſt Holy Father in Chriſt, and Lord, Innocent, *by the Grace of God chief Biſhop*, Henry *by the ſame Grace King of* England, *&c. Greeting and kiſſings of his bleſſed feet. The more devout and obſequious the Son ſheweth himſelf in obeying the Fathers will, the more favour and ſupportation doth he deſerve to find at his Fathers hands again. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our Realm have ever and in all things been hitherto at the devotion and commandment of your Fatherhood; and that although, in ſome certain affairs of ours and of our Kingdom, we have found your Fatherly favour and grace ſometimes propitious unto us, yet in ſome things again, as in proviſions given and granted to your Clerks of Foreign Nations, both we and our Kingdom have felt no ſmall detriment. By reaſon of which proviſions, the Church of* England *is ſo ſore charged and burthened, that not only the Patrons of Churches, to whom the Donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but alſo many other good works of Charity thereby do decay, for that ſuch Benefices, which have been mercifully beſtowed upon Religious Houſes to their ſuſtentation, are now waſted and conſumed by your proviſions.*

Damage received by the Pope in the Realm of England.

The Popes proviſions.

Wherefore forſomuch as your See Apoſtolick ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the ſame, ſo that no perſon be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be faiers to your Fatherhood, moſt humbly beſeeching your Holineſs, that you will diſpoſe and ſurceaſe for a time from ſuch proviſions to be exacted. In the mean ſeaſon, it may pleaſe your Fatherhood, we beſeech you, that our Laws and Liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be conſerved whole and ſound, nor to ſuffer the ſame by any ſiniſter ſuggeſtion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your Holineſs be any whit moved therefore with us, if in ſome ſuch caſes as theſe be, we do or ſhall hereafter reſiſt the tenor of your commandments; forſomuch as the complaints of ſuch, which daily call upon us, do neceſſarily inforce us thereunto; which ought, by the charge of this our Office and Kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foreſee that no Man in that which is their right be injured, but truly to miniſter juſtice to every one, in that which duly to him appertaineth. This Letter was ſent the eight and twentieth year of the Kings Reign. Ex Pariſienſi, fol. 172.

The Kings too much ſubjection to the Pope.

A Man would think that this ſo gentle and obedient Letter of the King to the Pope would have wrought ſome good effect in his Apoſtolical breaſt, to withdraw his proviſions, and to have tendered the Kings ſo reaſonable and honeſt requeſt: but how little all this prevailed to ſtop his inſatiable greedineſs and intolerable extortions and oppreſſions, the ſequel well declareth. For beſides that, ſhortly after the Pope ſent *M. Martin* with blanks, being bulled for contribution of 10000 Marks, in all haſte to be paid alſo, even immediately upon the receiving of this Letter. It followeth in mine author, that the faid Pope *Innocent* the fourth, after all this great ſubmiſſion of the King, and ſo manifold benefits, and payments yearly out of his Realm received, was not aſhamed to take of *Dawid*, Prince of North *Wales*, five hundred Marks by year, to fet him againſt the King of *England*, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his own Liege Lord and King, to whom both he and all other *Welch-men* had ſworn their ſubjection before, as by the ſeals and obligations as well of that *David* himſelf, as other *Welch* Lords in this be half doth appear: *In Matth. Pariſienſi, fol.* 172.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 1252.

The Pope feeteth Wrichmen againſt the King of England.

Neither did *M. Martinus* in the mean while ſlip his buſineſs, in making up his market for the Popes money of ten thouſand Marks, but ſtill was calling upon the Prelates and Clergy. Who, firſt excuſing themſelves by the abſence of the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, afterward being called again by new Letters, made their anſwer by the Dean of *Pauls* their Prolocutor:

Contribution required of the Pope with their excuſes and reaſons againſt the ſame.

Firſt, That the poverty of the Realm would not ſuffer them to conſent thereto.

Item, Whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal *Otho*, for paying of the Popes Debts, and knew the ſaid money to be imployed to no ſuch end as it was demanded for, more cauſe they had now to miſdoubt, leſt this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior meſſenger than the Cardinal, would come to the ſame or a worſe effect.

Item, If they ſhould now agree to a new contribution, they feared left it would grow to a cuſtom, ſeeing that one action, twice done, maketh a cuſtom.

Item, Forſomuch as a general Council is ſhortly looked for, where every Prelate of the Realm muſt needs bellow both his travel and expences, and alſo his preſent to the Pope, if the Prelates now ſhould be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, Seeing it is alledged, That the Mother Church of *Rome* is ſo far in debt, reaſon and right it were, that the Mother ſo oppreſſed ſhould be ſuſtained of all her devout Children meeting together in the general Council; whereas by helps of many, more relief might come than by one Nation alone.

Item, Laſt of all, they alledged, That for fear of the Emperor and his threatnings, they durſt not conſent to the ſaid contribution.

While theſe things were thus in talk between the Popes Prieſts and the Clergy of *England*, cometh in

John Marisca and other Messengers from the King, commanding in the Kings name, that no Bishop, that held his Baronage of the King, should inseft his Lay fee to the Court of *Rome*, which they ought only to him, *&c. Paris. fol.* 159. *An.* 1243.

The Popes of *England* laid to stop the Popes Letters, yet all would not serve.

Not long after this, in the year of our Lord 1245. the whole Nobility of the Realm by general consent, and not without the King knowledge allo, caused all the Ports by the Sea side to be laid, that no Messenger with the Popes Letters and Bulls from *Rome* should be permitted to enter the Realm, whereunto some were taken at *Dover* and there stayed. Notwithstanding when complaint thereof was brought to the King by *Mr. Martinus* the Popes Legate, there was no remedy but the King must needs cause these Letters to be restored again and executed to the full effect, *Paris.*

Sixty thousand Marks yearly going out of *England* to the Pope and his Italian Clerks.

Then the King upon advice caused a view to be taken through every Shire in *England*, to what sum the whole revenues of the *Romans* and *Italians* amounted, which by the Popes Authority went out of *England*: the whole sum whereof was found yearly to be threescore thousand Marks, to the which sum the revenues of the whole Crown of *England* did not extend, *Ex Mat. Paris. fol.* 189. *a.*

Mr. *Martin* the Popes Legate first out of *England* in the divels name.

The Nobles then understanding the miserable oppression of the Realm, being assembled together at *Dunstable* for certain causes, sent one *Fulco* in the name of the whole Nobility, unto *M. Martinus* the Popes Merchant with this Message: That he indelaiedly upon the same warning should prepare himself to be gone out of the Realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which Message the Legate being sore agast, went straight to the King, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the King, who bad him adieu in the Divels name (saith *Matth. Paris*) and thus was the Realm rid of *M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol.* 185. *b. An.* 1245.

The Pope in displeasure with the King of *England.*

As soon as Pope *Innocent* had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembring how the *French* King and the King of *Arragon* not long before had denyed him entrance into their Land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and faid, *It is best that we fall in agreement with our Enemies, whereby we may the sooner bring under these little petty Kings: and so the great Dragon being pacified, those little Serpents we shall handle at own own pleasures at our list.*

After this, immediately then followed the General Council of *Lions*, to the which Council the Lords and States of the Realm, with the consent of the Commonalty, sent two Bills: one containing a general supplication to the Pope and the Council; the other with the Articles of such grievances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other Bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibite for two causes: First, That Men now in these days may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days, wherein our *English* Nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand to the Popes courtesie, whom rather they should have shaken off, as the *Grecians* did. Secondly, That the pride of the Pope might the better appear in his colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble sute of our Lords and Nobles, when they had much more cause to disdain rather, and to stamp him under their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

{ Anno 1245 } *The Copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the Nobles and Commons of* England, *to Pope* Innocent *the fourth, in the General Council at* Lions, Anno. 1245.

To the Reverend Father in Christ Pope *Innocent*, Chief Bishop, the Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of *England* sendeth commendation with kissing of his blessed feet.

The Supplication of the Lords and Commons of *England* to the Pope.

OUR Mother the Church of Rome *we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, to whom we ought always to flie for refuge, whereby the grief, lying upon the Child, may find comfort at the Mothers hand, Which succor the Mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her Child, how much more kind and beneficial she findeth him in relieving her necessity. Neither is it to be said our Mother unknown, how beneficial and bountiful a giver the Realm of* England *hath been now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly Subsidy, which we term by the name of* Peter-pence. *Now the said Church not contented with this yearly Subsidy, hath sent divers Legates for other contributions, at divers and sundry times to be taxed and levied out of the same Realm: all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.*

The superstitious Founding of Monasteries in *England.*

Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your Fatherhood, how our fore-fathers, like good Catholicks, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the souls health as well of themselves, as of their Progenitors and Successors also, have founded Monasteries, and largely have indowed the same, both with their own proper Lands, and also Patronages of Benefices, whereby such Religious persons, professing the first and chiefest perfection of Holy Religion in their Monasteries, might with more peace and tranquility scarcy themselves devoutly in Service, as to the Order appertained: and also the Clerks; presented by them into their Benefices, might sustain the other exterior labours for them in that second Order of Religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said Religious Monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their Patronages and Collations of Benefices, but the same must touch us also very near, and work intolerable griefs into our hearts.

Injuries received in *England* by the Pope.

And now see, we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors, who not considering those our Subsidies and Contributions above remembred, do suffer also your Italians *and Foreigners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our Churches and Benefices in* England, *pertaining to the right and Patronage of those Monasteries aforesaid: which Foreigners, neither defending the said Religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet having the language, whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them of as Wolves to be devoured. Therefore we may truly said of them, that they are no good sheepherds, wherefore as neither they know their sheep, nor the sheep do know the voyce of their sheepherds, neither do they keep any Hospitality, but only take up the rents of those Benefices, carrying them out of the Realm, wherewith our Brethren our Nephews, and our Kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and imploy such exercises of mercy and Hospitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for meer necessity are Laymen, and fain to flie out of the Realm.*

Benefices in *England* wilfully given away by Italians.

Threescore thousand Marks yearly given to Italians out of the Church of *England.*

And now to the intent more fully to certifie you of the truth, ye shall understand that the said Italians *and strangers receiving of yearly rents out of* England *not so little as threescore thousand Marks, by year, besides other Avails and Excises deducted, do reap in the said our Kingdom of* England *more emoluments of meer rents, than doth the King himself being both tutor of the Church, and governour of the Land.*

Italians received more in this Land of meer pension than did the Kings Crown.

Furthermore, whereas at the first Creation of your Papacy we were in good hope and yet are, that by means of your Fatherly goodness we should enjoy our Franchises, and free Collation of our Benifices and Donatives, to be reduced again to the former state, now cometh another grievance which we cannot but signifie unto you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by M. Martin; *who entring late into our Land without leave of our King, with greater power than ever was seen before in any Legate, although he beareth not the state and shew of a Legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a Legate, charging us every day with new Mandates, and so most extreamly hath oppressed us: first, in bestowing and giving away our Benifices, if any were above thirty Marks, as soon as they were vacant,* to Italian *persons.*

Detestable dealings of the Popes Legats in *England.*

Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, *unknowing to the Patrons, he hath intruded other* Italians *therein, whereby the true Patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right.*

Thirdly,

{ KING Hen. 3 } *Thirdly, The said* M. Martinus, *yet also ceaseth not to assign and confer such Benefices still unto the like Persons; and some he reserveth to the Donation of the Apostolical See; and extorteth moreover from Religious Houses immoderate Pensions; Excommunicating and Interdicting whosoever dare gainsay and him.*

Complaint of *M. Martin* the Popes Legate.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the said M. Martin *hath so far extended his Jurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole Realm, and no less derogation to our Kings Priviledge, to whom it hath been fully Granted by the See Apostolick, that no Legate should have to do in his Land, but such as he by special Letters did send for: with most humble Devotion we beseech you, That as a good Father will always be ready to support his Child, so your Fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to relieve us your humble Children from these grievous Oppressions.*

King Henry the third called every day to hear three Masses by note.

And although our Lord and King, being a Catholick Prince, and wholly given to his Devotions and Service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his own Body, will fear and reverence the See Apostolick, and, as a Devout Son of the Church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to advance the Estate and Honour of the same: yet we which travel in his Affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preservation of the publick Wealth, neither can patiently suffer such Oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by Gods Grace will suffer them, through the means of your godly remedy; which we well hope and trust of you speedily to obtain. And thus may it please your Fatherhood, we beseech you to accept this our Supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserve of all the Lords and Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of England, *condigne and special thanks accordingly.* An. 1245. Ex Mat. Paris. *Fol.* 188.

The Root work of the Lords to the Pope.

This Supplication being sent by the hands of Sir *R. Bigot*, Knight, and *W. de Powick*, Esq. *Henry de la Mare*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope *Innocent*, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making haft to proceed in his detestable Excommunication and Curse against the good Emperor *Frederick*. The which Curse being done, and the *English* Ambaffadors waiting still for their answer; the Pope told them that they should not have their request fulfilled. Whereat the *English*-men, departing in great anger, Swore with terrible Oaths, That they would never more suffer any Tribute, or Fruits of any Benefices, namely, whereof the Noble men were Patrons, to be paied to that infatiable and greedy Court of *Rome*, worthy to be detested in all Words. *Ex. Mat. Paris. fol.* 193.

The Suppliants of the English Nation took no peace with the Pope.

The English Ambassadors grieved with the Pope.

The Pope hearing these words, albeit making then no Answer, thought to watch his time, and did. First, incontinent upon the same, during the said Council, he caused every Bishop of *England* to put his Hand and Seal to the Obligation made by King *John* for the Popes Tribute, as is above specified; Threatning moreover, and saying, That if he had once brought down the Emperor *Frederick*, he would bridle the insolent Pride of *England* well enough.

The Pope in anger with *England.*

The Bishops of *England* forced to their Seals to the Popes Tribute.

℣. But here by occasion of this Council at *Lions*, that the Reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the King did depend; it is material here to interlace the form of a Letter sent by *Henry* the third to the Prelates of his Land, before they were transported over Sea to *Lions*; wherein may be gathered, that the King doubted they would be shoving and heaving at his Royalty; and therefore directed these Letters unto them; otherwise to prepare their affections: the tenor whereof followeth:

A Letter of charge to the Prelates of *England*, purposed to Assemble in the Council at *Lions*, that they should ordain nothing, *&c.* to their Kings prejudice.

Tertia Lent.

REX Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & omnibus aliis Prælatis terræ suæ Angliæ, conventuris ad concilium Lugdunense, salutem. Vinculo juramenti vobis (ut nostis) adstricti, &c.

In English thus:

The King to the Archbishops, Bishops, and to all other Prelates of his Land of England, *appointed to meet at a Council at* Lions, *Greeting: You are (as you know) bound unto us by Oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us in all things, concerning our Royal Dignity and Crown. Wherefore we command you upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, injoyning that you do your uttermost endeavour, as well to get as to keep, and also to defend the right of us and our Kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, or of the same Kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights, which our predecessors and we by ancient and approved custom have used, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your Council at* Lions: *nor that you give assent to any that shall procure or ordain ought in this case, upon your Oath aforesaid, and the lest of your Temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore in this behalf so behave your selves, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulness, we may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reprove your unthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness my self, &c. the nine and twentieth year of our Reign.*

℣. In like fort wrote he to the Archbishops and Bishops, *&c.* of *Ireland* and *Gascoigne.*

{ Anno 1246 } After this Council ended, in the beginning of the next year following, *Anno* 1246, Pope *Innocent* came to *Cloniack*, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloquie between the Pope and *Lewis* the *French* King (who was then preparing his Voyage to *Jerusalem*) in which colloquie the Pope fought all means to perswade the *French* King, in revengement of his injury, to War *Contra regulum*, (as he termed him) that is, against the weak and feeble King of *England*, either to drive him utterly from his Kingdom, or else to damnify him, whereby he should be confrained, whether he would or no, to stoop to the Popes will and obedience; wherein he also would affist him with all the Authority he could. Nevertheless, the *French* King to this would not agree. First, for the consanguinity that was between them (for their two Queens were Sisters.) Also for the Truce that they had taken. Thirdly for fear of the Emperor, left he should take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much spilling of Christian blood. And lastly, because he was preparing his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, where his coming was already looked for. And thus the *French* King, denying the Popes bloody request, refused not only to enter War against the King and the Realm of *England*, but also shortly after concluded with him longer Truce, *Anno* 1246. *Ex Mat. Parisiensi*, fol. 196. b.

The Pope threateth the *French* King to War against the King of *England.*

Lewis the *French* King refuseth to War against *England.*

Straight upon the neck of this followed then the exaction of *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he had bought of the Pope; which was to have the first years Fruits of all Benefices and Spiritual Livings in *England* for the space of seven years together, until the Sum should come to Ten thousand Marks. Whereat the King first was greatly grieved. But in conclusion, he was fain at last to agree with the Archbishop; and so the money was gathered. *Paris.* Fol. 197.

The first years Fruits of all Benefices and Spiritual Livings in *England* charged and offered to the Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

Over and besides all other exactions wherewith the Pope miserably oppressed the Church of *England*, this also is not to be silenced, how the Pope, sending down his Letters from the See Apostolick, charged and commanded the Prelates to find him some ten, some five, and some fifteen able men well furnished with Horse and Harness for one whole year, to fight in the Popes Wars. And left the King should have knowledge thereof, it was injoyned them under pain of Excommunication, that they should reveal it to none, but to keep it in secret only to themselves: *Ex. Parisiensi*, Fol. 200.

The Prelates of *England* charged to find Horse and Harness for the Popes Wars

A subtil practice of the Pope.

The Pope notwithstanding, partly being laboured by Suters, partly of his own mind thinking good somewhat to give to the King and People of *England*, as Rebates are wont to give something to their Babes to play withal to keep them still, sent down this releasement to the King, that hereafter whensoever any of the Popes Nephews, or of his Cardinals were to be Benefced in any Church of *England*, either he or the Cardinals should first

The Pope had for more money.

make the King privy thereto, and instantly crave his good will in obtaining the procuration, or else the same to stand in no effect, *Paris*. 202. Howbeit all this seemed to be done but of a policy, to get the Kings favour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to pass with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

A new Law of the Pope to fish up on all the goods of Clergy men that dye intestate.

For when the foresaid Pope *Innocent* the fourth had knowledge at the same time of certain rich Clerks leaving great substance of money, which dyed intestate, as of one *Robert Hailes*, Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, which dyed leaving thousands of Marks and much Plate behind him, all which, because no Will was made, came to Temporal mens hands: also of M. *Almarike*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, being found worth a great substance when he dyed; and likewise of another, M. *John Hotosp*, Archdeacon of *Northampton*, who dyed suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand Marks, and thirty standing pieces of Plate, with other infinite Jewels besides: he sent forth upon the same a Statute to be proclaimed in *England*, that whatsoever Ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in *England* intestate, that is, without making his Will, all his goods should redound to the Popes use. *Paris. fol.* 203.

A note of certain Ecclesiastical persons dying in *England* worth great substance.

Furthermore, the Pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new Letters to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *W.* Bishop of *Norwich*, for gathering up amongst the Clergy, and Religious Houses in *England*, six thousand Marks to the behoof of the Holy Mother Church, without any excuse or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tollage being greatly grudged of the Clergy, when it came to the Kings ear, he effoons directeth contrary Letters to all the Prelates and every one of them, commanding them upon forfeiting their Temporalities to the King, that no such Subsidy-money should be gathered or tranported out of the Realm. But the Pope again hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the Prelates of *England*, that this collection of money, upon pain of Excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new Temple in *London*, by the Feast of the Assumption next ensuing.

Six thousand marks to be gathered of the Clergy of *England* for the Pope.

The King beginneth to withstand the Pope, but durst not hold out. The Pope in a chafe.

And furthermore, forsomuch as he perceived the King to go about to gainstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdain, he was about the same time to interdict the whole Land. To whom then one of his Cardinals called *Johan. Anglicus*, an *English*-man born, speaking for the Realm of *England*, desired his Fatherhood for Gods cause to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to asswage the passion of his mind: which (said he) to tell you plain, is here flirred up too much without cause. Your Fatherhood (quoth he) may consider that these days be evil. First, the Holy Land lyeth in great perils to be lost. All the *Greek* Church is departed from us. *Frederick* the Emperor is against us, the mightiest Prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we which are the Peers of the Church, are banished from the Papal See, thrust out of *Rome*, yea, excluded out of all *Italy*. *Hungary*, with all Coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subversion by the *Tartarians*. *Germany* is wasted and afflicted with inward Wars and tumults. *Spain* is fierce and cruel against us, even to the cutting out of the Bishops Tongues. *France* by us is so impoverished, that it is brought to beggery, which also conspireth against us. Miserable *England* being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to *Balaams* Ass, beaten and bounst with spurs and staves, beginneth at length to speak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burthens, being so wearied and damnified, that she may seem past all recovery; and we after the manner of *Ismael*, hating of Men, provoke all Men to hate us, *&c. Ex Parisiensi, fol.* 207.

The words of *Johannes Anglicus* Cardinal to the Pope.

The miserable troubles of Christendom.

Of Spain he meaneth, because the King of *A. Spain* is a little before had cut off the tongue of a certain Bishop that did reprehend him.

Paris. fol. 207.

For all these words of *Johannes Anglicus* his Cardinal, the Pope Sinderick Paffion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandment with full authority to the Bishop of *Worcester*, That in case the King would not speedily surcease his Rebellion against his Apostolical proceedings, he would interdict his Land. So that in conclusion, the King, for all his stout enterprise, was fain to relent at last, and the Pope had his money, *Anno.* 1246. *Ex Parisiensi. fol.* 204.

Power given to the Bishop of *Worcester* to interdict the Land.

The King fain to relent to the Pope.

Of this division read before.

Ye heard before of the *Greek* Churches, under the Empire of *Constantinople*, how they sequestred themselves from the company of the *Romish* Church. Insomuch that *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Archbishop of *Antioch* did Excommunicate the Bishop of *Rome*. And after the said *Germanus* another Bishop of *Constantinople*, at the Council of *Lions*, protested, That whereas before were thirty Suffragans belonging to that Province, now there were not three that held with the Church of *Rome*. And this breach, albeit it chiefly brast out in the time of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *Anno.* 1230. to open War and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued long before in such sort as in the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, if any Priest had said Mass in their Churches, they would wash the Altar afterwards; as appeareth by the Acts of the *Lateran* Council, *Capit.* 4. Wherefore Pope *Innocent* now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against those Churches of the *Greeks*, and neither willing by Conference to try with them, nor able by Learning to match with them, thought by force of Arms to subdue them, and sent the Provincial of the Gray-Friers, with other Associates of the same Order, into *England* with his Precept Authentical, containing in it three Articles.

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The Greeks used to wash their Altars, if any Latin Mass had been said upon them, &c. otherwise. Concil. Lavocen. cap. 14.

1. FIrst, *That the said Provincial, or his Friers, should inquire upon all Usurers being alive; and of all such evil gotten goods, gained* per usurariam pravitatem, *should make attachment for the use and preparation for this War against the* Greeks, *Excommunicating all them by distrinx censures of the Church that repugned against it.*

Goods gotten by usury, attached for the Pope.

Excommunication abolished.

2. *That all they which took the badge of the Cross, for the recovery of the said Empire of the* Greeks, *or with Goods and Cattel would help sufficiently unto the same, should be absolved of all their sins.*

False absolution of sins.

3. Item, *That all the goods left in the Testaments of them that were departed, being gotten by Usury, should be taken up to the Subsidy of the Empire aforesaid, and whosoever repugned against the same, should be Excommunicated.*

Usuries pensies.

4. Item, *That such goods as in the Testaments of the dead were left, or which should be left three next years to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had evil gotten, they should take up for the Subsidy of the Empire aforesaid, Excommunicating,* &c.

Goods left in dead Mens Wills for restitution, converted to the Pope.

5. Item, *Such goods as were left to be distributed in godly uses, after the arbitriment of Executors, by the Will of the dead, or were not in their Wills deputed to any certain places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said Executors to the foresaid uses, they should collect to the use and Subsidy aforesaid, and give Certificate to the See Apostolick of the quantity thereof. Excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.*

Goods in question in dead Mens Wills converted to a Waragainst the Greeks.

6. Item, *That they should diligently inquire of such Mens goods evilly gotten or evilly come by, as were alive, and them they should attach for the Subsidy aforesaid, in case the party, which ought to be satisfied for those goods evilly gotten, could not be found, giving Certificate thereof, and Excommunicating,* &c.

Goods ill gotten given to the Pope.

7. Item, *That the said Provincial, or his Friers, should have full power to absolve those that were Excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the Collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid,* Ex Matth. Parisiensi, fol. 205.

Absolution for money.

What Man having eyes is so blind which seeth not these execrable dealings of the Pope to be such, as would cause any Nation in the world to do as the wife *Grecians* did, and perpetually to abrenounce the Pope, and well to consider the usurped authority of that See not to be of God? But such was the rude dulness then of miserable *England*, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they feeling what burthens were laid upon them, yet would play till the Ass of *Balaam*, or else the Horse of *Esop*, which receiving the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his own misery, nor yet recover liberty. And so it fared with *England* under the Popes thraldom: as partly by these stories above hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seen.

An unreasonable relation of the Pope.

For so it followeth in the History of the said *Mat. Paris*, how the Pope taking more courage by his former abused boldness, and perceiving what a tame Ass he had to ride upon, cealed not thus, but directed a new Precept the same year,

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year, 1246. to the Prelates of *England*, commanding by the Authority Apostolick, That all Benefices Men in the Realm of *England*, which were resident upon their Benefices, should yield to the Pope the third part of their goods, and they which were not resident should give the one half of their goods, and that for the space of three years together; with terrible comminations to all them that did resist: and ever with this clause withal, *Non obstante*, which was like a Key that opened all Locks. Which sum cast together, was found to amount to 60000 pounds; which sum of money could scarce be found in all *England* to pay for King *Richards* Ransom, *Paris. fol.* 207. The execution of this Precept was committed to the Bishop of *London*, who conferring about the matter with his Brethren in the Church of *Paul's*, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the importable burthen of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustain, suddenly cometh in certain Messengers from the King, Sir *John Lexinton* Knight, and M. *Lawrence Martin* the Kings Chaplain, straitly in the Kings name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which thould be greatly to the prejudice and defolation of the whole Realm, *Paris. fol.* 207.

Non obstante

Threescore thousand pound exacted of the Clergy to be paid to the Pope.

A Parliament.

This being done, about the first day of *December* in the year above said, shortly after in the beginning of the year 1247. about *February* the King called a Parliament, where by common advice it was agreed, That certain Ambassadors should be sent to *Rome*, to make manifest to the Court of *Rome* the exceeding grievances of the Realm, delivering moreover these Letters to the Pope in the name both of the Temporalty and allo of the Clergy, as here followeth.

Another Letter sent to Pope Innocent *the fourth, in the names of the whole Clergy and Commonalty of* England, Anno 1247.

A Letter sent to the Pope in the name of all the Estates and Commonalty of the Realm.

SAnctissimo Patri in Christo, ac Domino *Innocentio*, Dei providentia summo Pontifici; universitas cleri & populi per Provintiam *Cant.* constituti devota pedum oscula beatorum. Cum *Anglicana* Ecclesia, *&c. To the most holy Father in Christ, and Lord* Innocent, *by Gods Providence Chief Bishop; the whole Commonalty both of the Clergy and Laity within the Province of* Canterbury *sendeth devout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the Church of* England, *since it hath first received the Catholick Faith, hath always shewed her self faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our Holy Mother the Church of* Rome, *studying with all kind of service to please and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun: even so now the same Church, most humbly prostrate before the feet of your Holiness, intirely beseecheth your Clemency to accept of her petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which so manifold ways for the subversion of other Nations, by the commandment of your Holiness, is laid upon us: considering that not only it is importable, but also impossible which is enjoined us. For although our Country sometimes yielded forth fruit for the necessary sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now adays is required. Which also being burdened and overcharged of late days with another such like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answer unto that which is exacted.*

More fools you in giving to the Church so much.

Furthermore, besides this commandment of your Holiness, there is required of the Clergy a subsidy for our temporal King, which necessities neither possibly we can, nor honestly we ought to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the invasion of the Enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and also recover again that hath been lost. In consideration whereof, we have directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your Holiness, with our humble supplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniencies which are like to insue upon the premisses, which by no means we are able to sustain, although notwithstanding we know our selves by all bonds of Charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And because our general community hath no Seal proper, we have signed therefore these presents with the publick Seal of the City of London, *&c.* Ex Parisiensi, fol. 209.

The like Letters were sent also unto the Cardinals to the same effect. The Pope understanding these things, and perceiving that there was no striving against such a general consent, and yet loth to forgo his sweet harvest, which he was wont to reap in *England*, craftily devised to fend this answer again unto the King, much like to the same which he sent before, which was, That although the Pope in time past, upon his own will and pleasure to the importable grievance of the Realm of *England*, hath every where, and without respect, through the whole land made his provitions in giving their Benefices unto his *Italians*, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest, said he, is overblown: so that hereafter, if the Pope shall grant his provision for any of his Nephews or of his Cardinals, they shall come first and make their instance first unto the King, without all inforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the Kings free arbitriment to do herein what he thinketh good, *&c. Mat. Paris. fol.* 209. *b.*

The Popes answer again to the King of *England*.

This answer of the Pope albeit it was but a subtil shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the King. For shortly after, and within few days upon the same, and in the time also of the said Parliament holden at *Winchester*, the Pope sent two *English* Friers into the Realm, whose names were *John* and *Alexander*, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission on to the King, while they had leave granted to range about the Realm, afterward, coming to the Bishops and rich Abbots, shewed themselves forth in their full authority, in such sort as they became rather Tyrants than Extortioners.

The Pope false of his promise.

Among others, coming to *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who of all other bare a special mind to the Order of Obfervants, these two Friers as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible Mandate with the Popes Bulls, required and eke commanded under the Popes mighty Curse, to have the gathering in his Dioces of six thousand marks. Likewife of the Abbot of Saint *Albans* they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

Note the Kibell practices of the Pope to get money.

The Bishop, although well liking before that Order of Friers, yet seeing the impudent behaviour, and more impudent request of those Merchants, thus answered to them again. That this exaction (saying, saith he, the Popes authority) was never heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and moreover, was such as did not only concern him, but the whole publick state of the Clergy, and of the whole Realm in general; and therefore it should be absurdly and rashly done of him to give them answer herein, before the King and the rest of the Council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto, *&c.* and so for that time he shook them off, *Paris. fol.* 210.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* answer to the Friers the Popes Messengers.

Furthermore, as touching the Abbot of S. *Albans*, when he also alledged the same causes, he pretended moreover that he would appeal, and so did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent down from Pope *Innocent* another Legate called *Johannes Anglicus*, an *English* Frier and Cardinal, who, bringing down a new special precept to the foresaid Abbot, cited him either to appear at *London* the morrow after S. *Giles* day, or to dispute to the use of the Pope the foresaid four hundred marks. By reason whereof the Abbot was driven to send his Proctors again, with a new supplication, to the Pope at *Lions*; who in the end, through great instance of moneyed friends, agreed with the Abbot for two hundred marks, besides his other charges born, and so was that matter compounded little to the Abbots profit, *Paris. fol.* 213.

The Abbot of S. *Albans* maketh great fine to the Pope for the 400 marks that he should not with Kibell revocations sue at the Popes Legats

To recite all damages and grievances received by the Bishop of *Rome* in this Realm of *England*, neither is any History sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, unneth is there any that would believe it. Notwithstanding to those above declared, this own I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they which now live in this age may behold and wonder in themselves to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the Subjects, but Kings also of this Realm were

brought under the intolerable yoke of the Popes tyranny, which in those days neither durst any Man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example insuing, with infinite others like to the same may appear.

Example how this Realm of *England* was oppressed miserably by the Pope.

In the year of our Lord 1248. after that Pope *Innocent* the fourth had taken such order in the Realm, that all Prelates of the Church were suspended from collation of any Benefice, before the Popes Kinsfolks and Clerks of *Italy* had been first provided for; it happned upon the same, that the *Abbot* of *Abington* had a commandment from the Pope, to bestow some Benefice of his Church in all haste to a certain Priest of *Rome*, which the Abbot, as an obedient Child unto his Father the Pope, was prest and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the *Roman* Priest, not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarry his time, to have such as were principal and for his own appetite, having a special eye to the Benefice of the Church of S. *Helen* in *Abington*, which was then esteemed worth an hundred marks by year, besides other vales and commodities belonging to the same: the Collation whereof the Priest required by the authority Apostolical to be granted unto him.

As this past on, it chanced at last the Incumbent to dye and the Benefice to be empty. Which ettsoons being known, the same day cometh a commandment, with great charge from the King to the Abbot, to give the Benefice to one *Aethelmare* the Kings Brother by the Mothers side, who at the same time was possessed with so many Benefices, as the number and value thereof was unknown. The Abbot here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratifie his King or to obey the Pope, took counsel with his friends: who, well advising of the matter, gave him counsel to prefer the Brother of his Prince and Patron, so that the King would undertake to stand in his defence against the Pope, rather than the *Romish* Priest, whom always he should have lying there as a spie and watcher of him, and like a thorne ever in his eye: and so the King affiuring the Abbot of his undoubted protection, and indemnity against all harms, the Benefice was conferred forthwith to the Kings Brother.

The *Roman* Priest, not a little grieved thereat, speedeth himself in all haste to the Bishop of *Rome*, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of Men) making it worse than it was. Upon whose complaint the Pope ettsoons in great anger cited up the Abbot personally to appear before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The Abbot trusting upon the Kings promise and protection (which neither could help him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the Pope) being both aged and sickly, was driven to travel up to the Court of *Rome*, in great heaviness and bitterness of mind. Where in conclusion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expences, he was fain to farisfie the Pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making him amends for his trelpass of disobedience, *Ex Matt. Parisf. fol.* 222.

The Abbot of *Abington* cited to appear before the Pope.

The Abbot of *Abington* condemned in 50 marks for denying of an English Benefice to an *Italian* the Popes Nephew.

To this also may be added another like fact of the Pope, as outragious as this, against the House of *Binham*. For when the Benefice of *Wesfle* in the Diocels of *Ely* was void by the death of the Incumbent, who was an *Italian* and one of the Popes Chamber, the Donation of which Benefice belonged to the Priory of *Binham*; another *Italian* which was a Bastard and unlearned, born in the City of *Genoa*, called *Heriggetto de Malchano de Valta*, brought down the Popes Letters to M. *Berardo de Nymphis*, the Popes Agent here in *England*, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said Benefice to be conferred in any case to *Heriggetto*. Yea, and though the Benefice had been given already, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said *Heriggetto* preferred: Yea also *Non obstante*, that the said Pope himself had before given his grant to the King and Realm of *England*, That one *Italian* should not succeed another in any Benefice there; yet for all that the said *Heriggetto* upon pain of Excommunication to be placed therein, *Ex Matth. Parisiensi, fol.* 240.

A detestable extortion of the Pope to the hurt of the Priory of *Binham*.

The *Grecians* excluded and purged in parting from the Church of *Rome*.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the East Churches and the *Grecians*, to the intent all Men that read these Stories, and see the doings of this Western Bishop, may consider what just cause these *Grecians* had to seclude themselves from his subjection, and Communion. For what Christian Communion is to be joyned with him which so contrary to Christ and his Gospel seeketh for worldly Dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his Brethren, so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so infatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging, stirring up Wars, depriving Kings, deposing Emperors, playing *Rex* in the Church of Christ, so erronious in Doctrine, so abominably abusing Excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of Gods fear: and briefly, so far from all the parts of a true Evangelical Bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the souls of Men, which setteth in Benefices Boys and outlandish *Italians*: and further, one *Italian* to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flock, nor once would abide to see their faces? And who can blame the *Grecians* then for disfevering themselves from such an oppressor and giant against Christ?

{KING} {Hen. 3}

The vilanies the Bishop of Rome in *England* through gathering under the Church of *Rome*.

Whose wife example if this Realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, great travels and charges, besides the saving of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said Bishop full faithfully had raked and transported out of this Realm of ours. But not to exceed the bounds of my History, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will pass this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the Reader. For else if I lifted to prosecute this Argument so far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not only say, but could well prove the Pope and Court of *Rome* to be the only fountain and principal cause, I say not only of much misery here in *England*, but of all the publick calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happned these many years through all these West parts of Christendom, and especially of all the lamentable ruine of the Church, which not only we, but the *Grecians* also this day do suffer by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As whosoever will considereth by reading of Histories the course of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts passed by the said Bishop of *Rome*, together with the blind leading of his Doctrine, shall see good cause not only to think, but also to witness the same. Only one Narration touching this Argument, and yet not transgressing the Office of my History, I mind (the Lord willing) to set before the Readers eyes, which happned even about this present time of this King *Henry*'s Reign, in the year of our Lord, 1244.

England plagued by the Pope when it needed not.

In the which year it chanced, that *Lewis* the *French* King, Son to Queen *Blanch*, fell very sore sick, lying in a swound or in a trance for certain days, in such fort as few thought he would have lived, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his Mother, who sorrowing bitterly for her Son, and given somewhat (as commonly the manner of Women is) to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the Holy Cross, with the Crown and the Spear; which piece of the Holy Cross *Baldwinus* Emperor of *Constantinople* (whom the *Grecians* had depofed a little before for holding with the Bishop of *Rome*) had sold unto the *French* King for a great sum of money, and blessing him with the same, also laid the Crown and the Spear to his body, making a Vow withal in the person of her Son, That if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmity, he should be crossed or marked with the Cross, to visit his Sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the Land which he had sanctified with his blood. Thus as she, with the Bishop of *Paris*, and others there present were praying, behold the King, which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and so stretching himself began to speak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which as the Kings Mother with others there took to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the Holy Cross: so the King amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered, received solemnly the badge of the Cross, vowing for a Freewill Sacrifice unto God, that he, if the Counsel of his Realm would suffer him, would in his own person visit the Holy Land: forgetting belike the rule of true Christianity, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the Gospel,

The sickness of the French King.

The Pope and Court of *Rome* the principal cause of all the publick calamities through Christendom.

{KING} {Hen. 3}

Gospel, saying, *That neither in this Mount nor in Samaria, nor at Jerusalem the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and verity*, &c. An. 1244. Paritiensi, *fol.* 182.

The *French* King crossed to go to the *Holy Land*.

Great preparation in *France* toward that Voyage.

After this was great preparation and much ado in *France* toward the setting forth to the *Holy Land*. For after the King first began to be crossed, the most part of the Nobles of *France*, with divers Archbishops and Bishops, with Earls, and Barons, and Gentlemen to a mighty number, received also the Cross upon their Sleeves. Amongst whom was the Earl *Atrebacensis* the Kings Brother, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Countess of *Flanders* with her two Sons, the *Earl* of *Britain* with his Son, the Earl of *Barensis*, Earl of *Suessson*, Earl of St. *Paul*, Earl of *Druis*, Earl of *Retel*, with many Noble persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoever the Pope could do, to set forward this holy business, in sending his Legates and Friers into *France*, to stir the People to follow the King, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the King, to gather of the Universal Church of *France*, by the Popes Authority, the tenth part of all their Goods for three years space together, upon this condition, that the King likewise would grant to the Pope the twentieth part for so many years after, to be gathered of the said Church of *France*. Which was agreed, *An.* 1246. *Ex Matt. Parisiensi*, fol. 204. b.

Contribution by Parret to the Kings Voyage.

The Pope maketh partition for his contribution also to *France*.

{ANNO} {1247}

Shortly after this, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred forty and seven, followed a Parliament in *France*, where the King with his Nobles being present, there was declared how the King of *Tartarians* or *Turks*, hearing of the Voyage of the *French* King, writeth a Letter to him, requiring that he will become his subject. In the which Parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the Feast of St. *John Baptist* the very next year ensuing. Also they that were crossed were sworn to persist in their purpose, and sentence of the Popes great Curse denounced to all them that went from the same: *Matth. Paris*. Fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better speed in his journey, the King through all his Realm caused it to be Proclaimed, That if any Merchant or other had been injured at any time by the Kings Exactors, either by oppression, or borrowing of Mony, let him bring forth his Bill, shewing how or wherein, and he should be recompenced. At which time *William Longspath* a worthy Warrier, with the Bishop of *Worcester* and certain other great men in the Realm of *England*, moved with the example of the *French* men, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

The time of the Kings Voyage appointed.

The *French* King ready to recompence all injuries done to his Subjects. *William Longspath* with other Noble English-men prepared to the same Voyage.

Preparations given to the *French* King to run his Voyage.

The next year after this insuing, which was 1248, the *French* King yet still remaining in his purposed journey, Lady *Blanch* his Mother, also the Bishop of *Paris* his Brother, with the Lords of his Council, and other Nobles, and his special Friends, advertised him with great perswasions to alter his mind, touching that so adventurous and so dangerous a journey, for that his Vow (said they) was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sickness, when his mind was not perfectly stablished: and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the King of *England* being on the one side, the Emperor on the other side, and the *Pictavians* in the midst, so fugitive and unstable: and as concerning his Vow, the Pope should friendly dispence with him, considering the necessity of his Realm, and weakness of his Body. Besides all this, his Mother upon her blessing required him, his Brethren of all love desired him to stay at home, and not in his Person to adventure; others might be sent in his room, with no less Furniture to atchieve that Enterprize, and to discharge him of his Vow, especially seeing at the making thereof his Senses were feeble, his Body weak, and Reason, through sickness and very death almost decaied.

The solicitation of the King's Mother.

The King recovereth his sickness.

The Kings Answer to his Lords laying down and taking up his Cross again.

{ANNO} {1248}

To whom the King again, Forsomuch (said he) as you say, that for feebleness of my Senses I took this Vow upon me: Io therefore as you here will me, I lay down the Cross that I took. And putting his hand to his Shoulder, he tare off the Badges of the Cross, saying to the Bishop, Here I resign to you the Cross wherewith I was signed. At the sight whereof there was no small rejoycing of all that were there present. To whom the King then, both altering his Countenance and his Speech, thus spake: My Friends (said he) whatsoever I was then in my sickness, now I thank God I am of perfect Sense, and Reason found, and now I require my Cross again to be restored unto me: saying moreover, That no Bread should come in his Head, before he were Recognized again with the same Cross, as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there present were attonied, supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so moved no more Questions unto him.

The people of France blinded with a false miracle.

The vain vow of the French King.

Upon this drew nigh the Feast of *John Baptist*, which was the time set for the setting forth. And now being in a readiness, the King in few days after was entring his journey: but yet one thing lacked. For the King, perceiving the mortal variance between the Pope and good *Frederick* the Emperor, thought best first before his going to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might be safer through the Emperors Countries, and also less jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore upon the same, he took first his way to *Lions*, where the Pope was, partly to take his leave; but most especially to make reconcilement between the Emperor and the Pope.

The French King ready to his journeys.

The French King desireth to reconcile the Pope and the Emperor.

Where is to be noted by the way, That as touching the good Emperor there was no let nor stay. Who rather fought all means how to compass the Popes favour, and never could obtain it: insomuch that before he should be Excommunicated in the Council of *Lions*, he not only answered sufficiently by *Thadeus* his Attorney, discharging himself against whatsoever Crimes or Objections could be brought against him; but so far humbled himself to the Pope and the Council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done of his part, what amends soever the Pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

The Emperor *Frederick* purgeth himself to the Pope and Council.

The fabrisfion of the Emperor.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he said) could not abide his tarrying in his own Dominions and Empire, he would go fight against the *Saracens* and *Turks*, never to return into *Europe* again, offering there to recover the Lands and Kingdoms whatsoever did at any time belong to Christendom, so that the Pope only would be contented that *Henry* his Son (which was then Nephew to King *Henry* here in *England*) should be Emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

The worthy offer of the noble Emperor.

Then he offered for truth of his Promise, to put in the *French* King and the King of *England* to be his Sureties, or else for trial of his cause to stand to their Award and Arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

The Emperor offereth the *French* King and King of *England* to be his Sureties. The Emperor desireth to Answer for himself in the Council.

At last he delired, that he might come himself and answer before the Council. But the proud Pope in no case would abide that, saying, That he did not yet find himself ready and meet for Martyrdom, to have him to come thither to the Council; for if he did, he would depart himself, *&c. Ex Mat. Parisiensi*, Fol. 187.

This obstinate rancor and divellish malice of Pope *Innocent* and his predecessor, against that valiant Emperor, and against the *Grecians*, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole Church, what strength it gave to the *Saracens* and *Tartarians*, how it impaired Christian Concord, and weakned all Christian Lands, not only the Holt of the *French* King did find shortly after, but Christendom even to this day may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in Stories be found any greater cause which first made the *Turks* so strong, to get so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the Pestilent working of this Pope, in Deposing and Excommunicating this worthy Emperor. For as there was never Emperor of long time, which more Victoriously prevailed in bridling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would have done more against them, than the said *Frederick* if he might have been suffered: so after the Deposing and Excommunicating of him, when the *French* King neither would abide at home, as he was Counselled, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said *Saracens* and *Tartarians* being now joyned together, neither yet could the Emperor be suffered by the Pope to rescue the King: it followed thereof, that the good King being taken Prisoner, and all his Army destroyed, the *Turks* thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the Christians, that ever since they have burst in further upon us, and now have prevailed so far, as neither the power of the Pope, nor of all Christendom is able to drive them out; as hereafter by sequel of Stories is further to be declared.

The beginning of the *Turks* Victories over Christendom.

In

Pope Innocent the fourth would not be reconciled with the Emperor.

In the mean time, to return where before we left, when the *French* King coming thus unto the Pope at *Lions* to intreat for the Emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heavineſs departed, ſetting forward on his journey unto *Marſiliæ*, and ſo Sailed to the Ile of *Cyprus*, where he remained all that Winter, ſo that falling into penury and lack of Victuals, he was fain to ſend to the *Venetians* and other Illands by, for help of Proviſion. The *Venetians* gently ſent unto him ſix great Ships laden with Corn, Wine, and other Victuals requiſite, beſides the relief of other Illands more. But eſpecially *Frederick* the Emperor, underſtanding of their want, ſo furniſhed the *French* Camp with all plenty of neceſſaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the *French* King, moved with the kindneſs of the Emperor, wrote his ſpecial Letters to the Pope in the Emperors behalf, but the hard heart of the Pope would not relent. *Blanchia* the Kings Mother in *France*, hearing what the Emperor had done to her Son, ſent him moſt hearty thanks, with preſents and rewards manifold: *Mat. Pariſ.* Pag. 226.

The *French* men returned ſafe to their Camp. The *French* King again intreateth the Pope for the Emperor.

Damiata gotten again by *French* men.

In this mean time, about the beginning of *October*, the *French* men got *Damiata*, being the principal Port or Hold of the *Saracens* in all *Egypt*, in the year one thouſand two hundred forty and nine. After the winning of *Damiata*, the Prince and People of the *Saracens*, being aſtonied at the loſs thereof, offered to the Chriſtians great ground and poſſeſſions more than ever belonged to Chriſtendom before, ſo that they might have *Damiata* to them reſtored again. But the pride of the Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, would in no caſe accept the offers of the *Saracens*, but requireth both *Damiata* and *Alexandria* the chief Metropolitan City of all *Egypt*, to be delivered unto them. The *Saracens*, ſeeing the pride and greedineſs of the *French* men, in no caſe would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Chriſtians, as in the end it proved. *Ex Mat. Pariſ.* Fol. 229.

The Pride of the Earl of *Artois*.

Death of certain of the *French* Captains in the way.

First, in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and in the journey before, died the Earl of *Palatin*, and one of the twelve Peers of *France*, alſo the Earl of St. *Paul* and *Bleſſe*, who had under him fifty Enſigns, which were all after his Death ſcattered abroad and diſperſed; alſo died *Johannes de Denis* a valiant Captain, with many other Noble Perſonages both Men and Women, which, by altering the Air and Diet, there deceaſed.

{ Anno } 1250 { Victory of the *French* men over the *Saracens*

The next year inſuing, which was 1250, about *Aſhwedneſday*, the *French* men, iſſuing out of their Tents by the City of *Damiata*, flew upon the *Saracens* which beſieged them, and ſo after a great number of the Enemies ſlain, with Victory and great Spoils, returned to their Tents again. Now within the City of *Damiata* was the Queen with her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and Biſhops, with a Garriſon of Horſmen for the Defence of the City throughly appointed. The next day, the *French*-men ſuppoſing to have the like hand of the *Saracens*, as they had the day before, gave a freſh aſſault upon them, but in that conflict the *Saracens* had ſo ſtrongly appointed themſelves, that the *Frenchmen* loſt ten times more than they got the day before, and ſo, after a great ſlaughter of their men, retired unto their Tents again. Whereupon the *Saracens* began to take great hearts and courage againſt our men, ſtopping alſo the paſſages round about the City of *Damiata*, that no Victuals could paſs unto them. In like manner the *Soldan* alſo, gathering all the Gallies about *Alexandria* and all the Land of *Egypt*, ſo incloſed the Seas, that no intercourſe ſhould be to them by Water.

French men diſcomfited by the *Saracens*.

The French men again well ſtiffered by the *Soldan*.

At length after long Talk and Conſultation between them on both ſides, the *Soldan* adviſed them betimes to retign unto him the City of *Damiata*, with the Furniture which they found therein, and they ſhould have all the Country about *Jeruſalem*, with all the Captives of the Chriſtians, friendly reſtored unto them: wherewith the Chriſtians (ſaid he) ought to be contented, and to ſeek no further, but only to have the Land of *Jeruſalem*; which being granted to them, they ſhould not incroach into their Lands and Kingdoms, whereto they had no right. This form of Peace, as it liked well the meaner ſort of the poor Soldiers, and divers others of the ſaid Council and Nobility; ſo the proud Earl of *Artois*, the Kings Brother, in no caſe would aſſent thereto, but ſtill required the City of *Alexandria* to be yielded unto them. Which the *Egyptians* by no means would agree unto.

The Earl of *Artois* and the Popes Legate refuſe the Form of Peace offered.

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From that time the *French* Army, being compaſſed by Sea and by Land, began every day more and more to be diſtreſſed for lack of Victuals and with Famine, being driven to that miſery, that they were fain to eat their own Horſes in the Lent-time, which ſhould have ſerved them unto other uſes. Neither could any Chriſtian, nor *Frederick* being Depoſed by the Pope, be able to ſend them any ſuccor. Furthermore, the more miſery the Chriſtians were in, the more fiercely did the *Saracens* preſs upon them on every ſide, detelling their forward wilfulneſs. Inſomuch that divers of the Chriſtian Soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themſelves, as they could, out of the Camp to the *Saracens*, who were gladly received and relieved, and ſome ſuffered ſtill to keep their Faith, ſome Marrying Wives amongſt them, and for hope of honour did Apoſtate to their Law, and ſo wrought no little harm to the Chriſtians. The *Soldan*, being perfectly inſtructed by theſe fugitives of all things belonging to the Kings Army, ſent him word in deriſion, aſking where were all his Mattocks, Forks, and Rakes, his Scithes, Plowes, and Harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupy them, but let them lie by him to ruſt and canker? All this and much more the King with his *French*-men were fain to take well in worth. It happened ſhortly after that this *Soldan* died, being Poyſoned of his own Servants; which was to the Chriſtians a more heaping of their miſeries. For albeit the fair *Soldan* had been a cruel Tyrant to the Chriſtians, yet was he hated of his own people, wherby his ſtrength was the leſs: after whom ſucceeded another much more cruel. Who as he was better loved, ſo he became much ſtronger, by a general confederacy of all the *Saracens* which were in the Eaſt parts, joyning now together. So that when the Chriſtians deſired now to have the form of Peace before proffered, he preciſely denied them. And ſo the *French* Hoſt, which at firſt began to be feared, by their pride and over-much greedineſs grew more and more in contempt amongſt their Enemies, and now was utterly deſpiſed.

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Famine and miſery in the *French* Camp.

The *French*-men for their miſery in Lent-time.

The Soldan dieth, by whoſe death the *French*-men.

The Soldan dieth, a cauſe followeth.

The Chriſtians, thus ſeeing all things to go backward with them, and how the baſtard *Saracens* daily did prevail, began to murmur againſt God, and ſome alſo, which were well ſeſted before, to ſtagger in their Religion, caſting out theſe words of Infidelity: How is this (ſaid they) that the Lord hath left us, in whoſe cauſe we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by theſe *Saracens* and Infidels, who with ſhedding of our blood have injoyed great ſpoils and victories? Firſt this City of *Damiata*, which we Chriſtians had gotten dearly with effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood, afterwards we were conſtrained for nought to reſign up again. After that, the Army of the Templars, fighting for the Holy Temple againſt the *Saracens*, near to *Antioch*, was vanquiſhed, and the Standard-bearer ſlain in the fields. Again, within theſe few years, our *French* men, fighting in like manner againſt the *Saracens* at the City of *Gazara*, were put to the worſt, and many afterward out of Captivity Ranſomed, by *Richard*, Duke of *Exceſter*, Brother to the King of *England*, *Henry* the third. Then came in the *Coſmorins* ſent by the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, which by a wile invaded the Chriſtians in the City of *Jeruſalem*, where almoſt all the Chriſtian Army being in the Holy Land, were deſtroyed. And now here our moſt Chriſtian King, together with the whole Nobility, is like to be in danger, utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus ſtandeth againſt us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, than of us, *&c? Matthæus Pariſ. fol.* 231. Such murmuring words of an unſtable Faith many there began to caſt out, as taking diſpleaſure for their ſufferings: but not conſidering on the other ſide what Idolaters they were, what Pride and Diſcord was amongſt them, what Cruelty and Murther they had ſhewed at home in Proſecuting the poor *Albingenſes*, what Superſtition they firſt brought out with them, with what Idolatry they proceeded, putting their truſt in Maſſes, in the Popes Indulgences, in worſhipping of Images, and praying to Saints. And what helps then could they look for at Gods hand, which had Images in their Temples, to fight againſt them which had none? Or what marvel, if the Lord of Hoſts went not with their Army, committing ſuch Idolatry every day in their

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their Pavilions to their Sacramental Bread and Wine as they did, and fighting with the ſtrength of their own merits, and not only by the power of their Faith in Chriſt, which is only the Victory that overcometh the World? *John* 1. Finally, having in their Camp the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his Enemy: as by example of *Frederick* the Emperor may be well perceived; who, after he was accurſed by Pope *Gregory* a little before, coming the ſame time in War againſt the *Saracens* in *Paleſtina*, Gods Bleſſing wrought ſo mightily with him, that without any blood-ſhed he recovered *Jeruſalem*, and ſet all the Country about it in great quietneſs, till at laſt the Poliſh Templars, which at the Popes ſetting on went about to betray him to the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, and ſo loſt all again by their own malicious miſchief, that the Emperor before had gotten. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſis.*

But let us proceed further in this holy progreſs: The *French* King with his Army being himſelf diſtreſſed, and no good there to be done againſt the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, after he had ſufficiently Fortified the City of *Damiata*, with an able Gariſon left with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he removed his Tents from thence to go Eaſtward. In whoſe Army alſo followed *William Longſpath* (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a picked number of *Engliſh* Warriers retaining unto him: But ſuch was the diſdain of the *French* men againſt this *William Longſpath* and the *Engliſh* men, that they could not abide them, but found them after opprobrious manner, with *Engliſh* Tails, inſomuch that the good King himſelf had much ado to keep peace between them.

William Longſpath.

Grudge and diſdain between the *French* Camp and the Engliſh Soldiers.

The original cauſe of this grudge between them began thus: There was, not far from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, a ſtrong Fort or Caſtle, repleniſhed with great Ladies, and rich Treaſure of the *Saracens*: the which Hold it chanced the ſaid *William Longſpath* with his Company of *Engliſh* Soldiers to get, more by good luck and politick dexterity, than by open force of Arms, whereby he with his retinue were greatly inriched. When the *French* men had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive an heart-burning againſt the *Engliſh* Soldiers, and could not ſpeak well of them after that. It happened again, not long after, that the ſaid *William* had intelligence of a company of rich Merchants among the *Saracens*, going to a certain Fair about the parts of *Alexandria*, having their Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, richly Laden with Silks, precious Jewels, Spices, Gold and Silver, with Cart-loads of other Wares, beſides Victuals and other Furniture, whereof the Soldiers then ſtood in great need. He having ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of *Engliſh* men unto him that he could, and ſo by Night falling upon the Merchants, ſome he ſlew with their Guids and Conductors, ſome he took, ſome he put to flight. The Carts with the Drivers and with the Oxen, and the Camels, Aſſes and Mules, with the whole Carriage and Victuals he took and brought with him, loſing in all the Skirmiſh but one Soldier, and eight of his Servitors: of whom notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded to be cured.

A booty gotten by the Engliſh Soldiers about *Alexandria*.

A ventureous act of *William Longſpath*.

William *Longſpath* inriched by *Saracens* Goods.

Victories over the *Egyptian* Kings.

This being known in the Camp, forth came the *French* men, which all this while loitered in their Pavilions, and meeting their Carriage by the way, took all the forefaid Prey whole unto themſelves, rating the ſaid *William* and the *Engliſh* men, for ſo adventuring and iſſuing out of the Camp without leave or knowledge of their General, contrary to the Diſcipline of War. *William* ſaid again, he had done nothing but he would anſwer to it, whoſe purpoſe was to have the ſpoil divided to the behoof of the whole Army: when this would not ſerve, he being ſore grieved in his mind, ſo cowardly to be ſpoiled of that, for the which he ſo adventurouſly had travelled, went to the King to complain. But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerve, by reaſon of the proud Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, which upon deſpite and diſdain ſtood againſt him, he bidding the King farewell, ſaid he would ſerve him no longer. And ſo *William de Longſpath* with the reſt of his company, breaking from the *French* Hoſt, went to *Achon*. Upon whoſe departure then ſaid the Earl of *Artois*: Now is the Army of *French* men well rid of theſe tailed people. Which words, ſpoken in great deſpite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him: *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi*, fol. 233, 234.

William *Longſpath* ſwinged by the *French*-men.

William with the Engliſh men departeth to *Achon*.

The deſpiteful words of the Kings Brother againſt Engliſh-men.

Before the arriving of the *French* Army in the Land of *Egypt*, the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the cuſtody of *Damiata* unto a certain Prince of his whom he ſpecially truſted, committing alſo to his Brother the keeping of *Kaira* and *Babylonia*. It followed now after the taking of *Damiata*, that the *Soldan* of *Babylon* accuſed the Prince which had the cuſtody thereof, before His Nobles, of prodition, as giving the City unto the Chriſtians. Who notwithſtanding in judgment did ſufficiently clear himſelf, declaring how he was certified that the King would Land at *Alexandria*, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the Kings arrival there. But by diſtreſs of weather, he miſſing of his purpoſe, and the King Landing about *Damiata*, by reaſon thereof the City was taken unprovided, he notwithſtanding with his Company reſiſting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and ſo departed out, curſing (ſaid he) *Mahomet* and his Law. At which words the *Soldan*, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a Traytor and Blaſphemer, and to be Hanged, albeit he had ſufficiently purged himſelf by the judgment of the Court. His Brother which was the Keeper of *Kaira* and alſo of *Babylonia*, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the Chriſtian Religion, deviſed in himſelf how to give the ſaid City of *Kaira* and *Babylonia* to the *French* King, and ſo in moſt ſecret wiſe ſent to the King, ſhewing his full purpoſe and what had happened: and furthermore inſtructing the King in all things how and what he ſhould do, and moreover requiring the Sacrament of Baptiſm, meaning indeed good Faith, and ſending alſo away all the Chriſtian Captives which he had with him in Priſon. The King, being glad hereof, ſent in all haſt for *William Longſpath*, promiſing a full redreſs of all injuries paſt; who, upon hope of ſome good luck towards, came at the Kings requeſt, and ſo joyned with the *French* power again.

Babylon in *Egypt*.

How Damiata was taken of the Chriſtians.

The Keeper or Tribune of *Damiata* wrongfully put to death by the *Soldan*.

The Tribune of *Kaira* deſireth to be Chriſtened.

William Longſpath ſent for again, and cometh.

The lamentable overthrow and ſlaughter of the *French* Army fighting againſt the Infidels, through the ſiniſter counſel of the Popes Legate.

The Story how the *French* Army overthrown in the fighting againſt the *Saracens*.

TO make the Story ſhort, the King, ſetting forward from *Damiata*, directed his journey towards *Kaira*, ſlaying by the way ſuch *Saracens* as there were ſet to ſtop the Victuals from *Damiata*. The *Soldan* in the mean time hearing of the couragious coming of the *French* Hoſt, as being in great hope to Conquer all; ſent unto the King by certain that were next about him, offering to the Chriſtians the quiet and full poſſeſſion of the holy *Land*, with all the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and more; beſides other infinite Treaſure of Gold and Silver, or what elſe might pleaſure them, only upon this condition, they would reſtore again *Damiata*, with the Captives there, and ſo would joyn together in mutual Peace and Amity. Alſo they ſhould have all their Chriſtian Captives delivered home, and ſo both Countries ſhould freely paſs one to another with their Wares and Traffick, ſuch as they uſed to adventure. Furthermore, it was alſo firmly affirmed and ſpoken, that the *Soldan* with moſt of his Nobles were minded no leſs than to leave the filthy Law of *Mahomet*, and receive the Faith of Chriſt, ſo that they might quietly enjoy their Lands and Poſſeſſions. The ſame day great quietneſs had entred (no doubt) in all Chriſtendom, with the end of much bloodſhed and miſery, had it not been for the Pope and his Legate, who (having commandment from the Pope, that if any ſuch offers ſhould come, he ſhould not take them) ſtoutly *& frontoſe* (as the words be of the Story) *contradicens*, in no wiſe would receive the conditions offered: *Pariſ. fol.* 232.

The ſame day great quietneſs had entred

The Pope and his Legate cauſe of all this miſchief.

Thus, while the Chriſtians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the *Soldan* in the mean time got intelligence of the compact between the Tribune of *Kaira* and the *French* King; whereupon he ſent in all haſt to the City of *Kaira* to apprehend the Tribune till the truth were fully tried, which ſeemed to him more apparent, for that the Chriſtian Priſoners were already delivered. Hereupon the *Soldan* being in ſome better hope, and leſs fear, refuſed that which before he had offered to the Chriſtians; albeit they with great inſtance afterward ſued to

The Chriſtians refuſed to the

The Chriſtians refuſed to the

A cruel Proclamation of the *Saracens* against the Chriſtians.

the *Soldan*, and could not obtain it. Then the *Soldan*, being wholly bent to try the matter by the ſword, ſent to the Eaſt parts for an infinite multitude of *Souldiers*, giving out by Proclamation, that whoſoever could bring in any Chriſtian Mans head, ſhould have ten talents, beſides his ſtanding wages. And whoſoever brought his right hand ſhould have five. He that brought his foot ſhould have two talents for his reward.

The Earl of *Artois* with the third part of the Chriſtian Army paſſeth over the River *Nilus*.

After theſe things thus prepared on both ſides to the neceſſity of War, the King cometh to the great River *Nilus*, having gotten together many Botes, thinking by them to paſs over, as upon a ſure Bridge. On the other ſide the *Soldan* pitched himſelf to withſtand his coming over. In the mean time happned a certain Feaſt amongſt the *Saracens*, in which the *Soldan* was abſent, leaving his Tents by the water ſide. Which being foreſeen by a certain *Saracen* lately converted to Chriſt, ſerving with Earl *Robert* the Kings Brother, and ſhewing them withal a certain ſhallow Ford in the River of *Nilus*, where they might more eaſily paſs over; The ſaid Earl *Robert* and the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the Army, iſſued over the River, after whom alſo followed *William Longſpath* with his band of *Engliſh* Souldiers. Theſe, being together joyned on the other ſide the water, incountered the ſame day with the *Saracens* remaining in the Tents, and put them to the worſe. After this Victory gotten, the *French* Earl ſurpaſſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole Earth, would needs forward, dividing himſelf from the main Hoſt, thinking to win the ſpurs alone. To which certain ſage Men of the Temple giving contrary counſel, adviſed him not ſo to do, but rather to return and take their whole Company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure againſt all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they ſaid) they better knew, and had more experience thereof than he: alledging moreover, their wearied bodies, their tired Horſes, their famiſhed Souldiers, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the Enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the adverſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all, or loſing all: with other ſuch like words of perſwation. Which when the proud Earl did hear, being inflamed with no leſs arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly daſtards, and betrayers of the whole Country, objecting unto them the common report of many, which ſaid, That the Land of the Holy Croſs might be won to Chriſtendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hoſpitalars and their fellows, *&c.*

William *Longſpath.*

Victory of the Chriſtians againſt the *Saracens.*

Good counſel given, but not followed.

The diſpiteful rebukes of Earl *Robert* to them that gave him good counſel.

To theſe contumelious rebukes when the Maſter of the Temple anſwered again for him and his fellows, bidding him diſplay his Enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to go before them. Then began *William de Longſpath* the worthy Knight to ſpeak, deſiring the Earl to give ear to theſe Men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe Countries and people than he had, commending alſo their counſel to be diſcreet and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the Maſter of the Temple began with gentle words to mitigate him likewiſe. The Knight had not half ended his talk, when the Earl, taking the words out of his mouth, began to fume and ſwear, crying out of theſe cowardly *Engliſh*-men with tails. What a pure Army (ſaid he) ſhould we have here, if theſe tails, and tailed people were purged from it? With other like words of great villany and much diſdain. Whereunto the *Engliſh* Knight anſwering again, Well, Earl *Robert*, ſaid he, whereſoever you dare ſet your foot, my ſtep ſhall go as far as yours; and as I believe, we go this day where you ſhall not dare to come near the tail of my Horſe: as in the event it proved true, *Ex Matth. Pariſ. fol.* 230.

The worthy anſwer of the *Engliſh* Knight to Earl *Robert* the Kings Brother.

In this mean time the *French* King, intending to advance forward his Army, thought beſt to ſend away ſuch as were feeble and lacked Armor, unto *Damiatta* by Boats. The *Soldan*, hearing thereof prepared a great number of Boats to be carried by Wain and Cart to the water ſide; which meeting them by the way, drowned and deſtroyed by wild-fire every one, ſo that of all that company of our Chriſtians, of whom ſome were burned, ſome

A number of *French* Souldiers ſent to *Damiatta*, drowned and ſlain by the way.

ſlain, ſome drowned, not one eſcaped alive, ſave only one *Engliſh*-man, named *Alexander Giffard*; who, although he was ſore wounded in the chace in five places in his body, yet eſcaped to the *French* Camp, bringing word unto the King what was done. And this was upon the water.

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Now upon the Land, ſeeing Earl *Robert* would needs fet forward, weening to get all the glory unto himſelf before the coming of the Hoſt; firſt they invaded a little Village or Caſtle which was not far off, called *Manſor*. The Country Boors, and Pagans in the Villages by, ſeeing the Chriſtians come, ran out with ſuch a main cry and thout, that it came to the *Soldans* hearing, which was nearer than our Men did think. In the mean while the Chriſtians, invading and entring into the Munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood above, whereby a great number of our Men were loſt, and the Army ſore maimed; and almoſt in diſpair. Then immediately upon the ſame cometh the *Soldan* with all his main power; who ſeeing the Chriſtians Army to be divided, and the Brother ſeparated from the Brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the Earl began to repent him of his heady rathneſs, but it was too late: who, then ſeeing *William* the *Engliſh* Knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the Enemies, cryed unto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaid he) doth fight againſt us. To whom the Knight anſwering again, God forbid (ſaith he) that my Fathers Son ſhould run away from the face of a *Saracen*: The Earl then turning his Horſe fled away, thinking to avoid by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and ſo taking the River of *Thaſnis*, oppreſſed with Harneſs, was there ſunken and drowned. Thus the Earl being gone, the *French* Men began to deſpair and ſcatter. Then *William de Longſpath*, bearing all the force of the Enemies, ſtood againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a *Saracen*, until at length his Horſe being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer ſtand, who yet notwithſtanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the *Saracens* much ſorrow, till at the laſt after many blows and wounds, being ſtoned of the *Saracens*, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the *Saracens* letting upon the reſidue of the Army, whom they had compaſſed on every ſide, devoured and deſtroyed them all, inſomuch that ſcarce one Man eſcaped alive, ſaving two Templars, one Hoſpitalar, and one poor raſcal Souldier, which brought tydings hereof to the King.

The Village and Caſtle of *Manſor* aſſaulted by the *French* men.

The *French* men diſcomfited at the Siege of *Manſor*.

Earl *Robert* Army ſlain by the *Soldan* of Babylon.

The manly courage of *William Longſpath*.

Theſe things being known in the *French* Camp unto the King and his Souldiers; firſt of their drowning which were ſent to *Damiata*, then of their ruine and ſlaughter of the Army, with the Kings Brother by the Town of *Manſor*, there was no little ſorrow and heavineſs on every ſide, with great fear and doubt in themſelves what was beſt to do. At laſt, when they ſaw no remedy, but they muſt ſtand manfully to revenge the blood of their Brethren, then the King with his Hoſt paſt over the flood of *Nilus*, and coming to the place where the Battel had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the *Saracens* for the reward before promiſed by the *Soldan* or *Sultan*, unto them that could bring the head or hand of any Chriſtian, had ſo mangled the Chriſtians, leaving their bodies unto the wild Beaſts. Thus as they were ſorrowing and lamenting the ruful caſe of their Chriſtian fellows, ſuddenly appeareth the coming of the *Soldan*, with a multitude of innumerable thouſands. Againſt whom the *French*-men eftſoons prepare themſelves to incounter, and ſo the Battel being ſtruck up, the Armies began to joyn. But alack for pity, what could the *French*-men here do, their number firſt ſo maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and ſorrow, their bodies conſumed with penury and Famine, their Horſes for feebleneſs not able to ſerve them? In concluſion, the *French*-men were overthrown, ſlain, and diſpatched; and ſeeing there was no flying, happy was he that firſt could yield himſelf. In which miſerable conflict, the King with his two Brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken Captives, to the conſuſion of all Chriſtian Realms, and preſerved to the *Soldan*. All the reſidue were put to the Sword, or elſe ſtood to the mercy of the *Saracens*, whether to be ſlain or to remain in woful Captivity. And this was the end of that ſorrowful Battel,

The *French* men ſlain.

The loſs of the *French* men.

The ſtorm in the *French* Camp for loſs of their brethren.

The battel between the *French* King and *Soldan*.

The *French* Army overthrown.

The pitiful ſlaughter of the *French* men.

The *French* King with his two brethren taken Captives by the *Saracens*.

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Battel, wherein almoſt all the Nobility of *France* was ſlain, neither was there one man well-neer in the multitude which eſcaped free, but either was ſlain, or taken Priſoner. Furthermore, they that were ſlain or left half alive, had every one his Head and Hand cut off, upon the *Soldans* Proclamation above-mentioned.

The *Sultan* or *Soldan*, after the taking of the *French* King, fraudulently Suborning an Army of *Saracens* to the number of the *French* Army, with the Arms and Enſigns of them that were ſlain, made toward *Damiata*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, with the *French* Queen, and *Otho* the Popes Legate, and other Biſhops and their Gariſons were remaining; ſuppoſing under the ſhew of *French*-men to be let in: but the Captains miſtrutting their haſty coming, and miſdoubting their Viſages, not like to the *French*-men, ſhut the Gates againſt them, and ſo returned they fruſtrate of their intent.

Damiata reſigned to the *Saracens*.

The ſum of the Kings Ranſom. The number of the *French* men ſlain.

The purpoſe of the *Soldan* was, if he might have gotten *Damiata*, to ſend the *French* King up higher in the Eaſt-Countries to *Caliphа*, the chief Pope of *Damaſcus*, to increaſe the Titles of *Mahomet*, and to be a ſpectacle or gazing-ſtock to all thoſe quarters of the World. The manner of which *Caliphа* was, never to let any Chriſtian Priſoner come out, whoſoever came once in his hand. But forſomuch as the *Soldan* miſſed his purpoſe, he thought by advice of Council, to uſe the Kings life for his own advantage in recovering the City of *Damiata*, as in the end it came to paſs. For although the King at the firſt was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than ſurrender *Damiata* again to the *Saracens*, yet the concluſion fell out, that the King was put to his Ranſom, and the City of *Damiata* was alſo reſigned; which City being twice won, and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, the *Soldan* of *Saladine* afterward cauſed it utterly to be raced down to the ground. The Ranſom of the King, upon condition that the *Soldan* ſhould ſee him ſafely conducted to *Achon* (which I take to be *Ceſarea*) came to 60000 Marks. The number of *French*-men, and others which miſcarried in that War by Water and by Land, come to 80000 perſons. *Hæc Mat. Pariſ.* fol. 237, 238.

The two Soldans at variance about the *French* King.

What miſchief hath come to Chriſtendom and by what means Henry Frederick the Emperour might have ſerved to good Head againſt the *Saracens*, but the Pope could not ſuffer him.

And this have ye the brief Narration of this lamentable peregrination of *Lewis* the *French* King: In which when the *French*-men were once or twice well offered by the *Soldan*, to have all the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and much more in free poſſeſſion; they not contented with that which was reaſonable and ſufficient, for greedineſs to have all, loſt all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover lying dead upon the ground, and all through the original cauſe of the Pope and *Otho* his Legate. By whoſe ſiniſter means and peſtilent pride, not only the lives of ſo many Chriſtians were then loſt, but alſo to the ſaid Pope is to be imputed all the loſs of other Cities and Chriſtian Regions bordering in the ſame quarters: forſomuch as by the occaſion hereof the hearts of the *Saracens* on the one ſide were ſo incouraged, and the Courage of the Chriſtians on the other ſide ſo much diſcomfited, that in ſhort ſpace after, both the Dominion of *Antioch* and of *Achon*, with all other Poſſeſſions belonging to the Chriſtians, were loſt, to the great diminiſhing of Chriſts Church.

During the time of this good King lying at *Achon* or *Ceſarea*: Almighty God ſent ſuch Diſcord betwixt the *Soldan* of *Halaphia*, and the *Soldan* of *Babylon* for letting the King ſo eſcape, that the ſaid *Soldan* or *Saladine* of *Babylon*, to win the King unto his ſide, entred League with him (whom both his Brethren, and all his Nobles almoſt at home had forſaken) and remitted his Ranſom, and alſo reſtored unto him ſuch Priſoners as were in the ſaid Battel found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forſaketh. *Matth. Pariſienſi*, fol. 261.

Another cauſe moreover, why the ruine of this *French* Army may worthily be imputed to the Pope, is this, For that when *Lewis* the *French* King perceiving what a neceſſary friend and helper *Frederick* the Emperor might be to him in theſe his Affairs againſt the *Saracens*, and therefore was an earneſt ſuitor for him to the Pope to have him releaſed; yet neither he, nor the King of *England* by any means could obtain it. And although the Emperor himſelf offered to Pope *Innocent* with all humble ſubmiſſion to make ſatisfaction in the Council of *Lions*, promiſing alſo to expugne all the Dominions of the *Saracens*, and never to return into *Europe* again, and there to recover whatſoever the Chriſtians had loſt, ſo that the Pope would only grant his Son *Henry* to be Emperor after him: yet the proud Pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed againſt him with both Swords, that is, firſt, with the Spiritual Sword, to Accurſe him, and then with the Temporal Sword to Depoſe him from his Imperial Throne. Through the occaſion whereof, not only the *French* Kings power went to wrack, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchief was kindled againſt Chriſtendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the *French* King and his Army, the Chriſtians of *Antioch* and of other Chriſtian Regions thereabouts, being utterly diſcouraged, gave over their Holds and Cities. Whereupon the *Saracens*, and after them the *Turks*, got ſuch an hand over Chriſtendom, as to this day we all have great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where divers Chriſtians were croſſed to go over and help the *French* King, the Pope for many diſpenſed with them to tarry ſtill at home.

The Tyranny and diveliſh miſchief of the Pope againſt the Emperor.

But as I ſaid, the greateſt cauſe was, that the Emperor which could have done moſt, was Depoſed by the Popes tyranny, whereby all thoſe Churches in *Aſia* were left deſolate. As touching the which Emperor *Frederick*, becauſe we have divers and ſundry times made mention of him before, and for that his ſtory is ſtrange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he ſuſtained againſt four or five Popes one after another, I thought (right out of ſtory) in a whole Narration to ſet forth the ſame, for the Reader to conſider, what is to be judged of this Cathedral See of *Rome*, which had wrought ſuch abominable miſchief in the World, as in the ſequel of the ſtory following, faithfully Tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, is to be ſeen.

The whole Tragical Hiſtory of Frederick *the Second, Emperor, Tranſlated out of the* Latin *Book of* Nich. Ciſnerus.

What houſe *Frederick* came of.

Frederick the ſecond, came out of the ancient Houſe of the *Beblini* or *Gibillini*; which *Gibillini* came of the moſt famous ſtock of the *French* Kings and Emperors.

What Father and Mother.

He had *Frederick Barbaroſſa* to his Grand-father, whoſe Son *Henricus* the ſixth was Emperor after him; who of *Conſtantia*, the Daughter (or as ſome write, the Niece) of *Roger* the firſt, King of *Sicily*, begat this *Frederick* the ſecond.

The time and manner of his birth.

This *Conſtantia* was fifty years of Age before ſhe was conceived with him; whom the Emperor *Henry* the ſixth, to avoid all doubt and ſurmiſe that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the Empire enſue, cauſed his Regal Tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might reſort. And when the time of his Queens travel approached, *Conſtantia* (in preſence of divers Ladies and Matrons, and other Gentlewomen of the Empire, a great number) was brought abed and delivered of this *Frederick*, the ſeventh day before the Kalends of *January* in the year of Chriſts Incarnation 1193, who by Inheritance was King of *Naples*, *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicilia*.

What Father he had.

Henricus his Father, ſhortly after he was born, obtained of the Princes Electors, that by their Oath unto him given, they would chuſe his Son *Frederick* for their Emperor after his deceaſe, and ſo did, and immediately called him *Cæſar*, being yet but in his Cradle.

This *Henry* when he died (which was ſhortly after the birth of *Frederick*) committed the protection of him to *Conſtantia* his Wife, to *Philip* his Brother chief Governor of *Hetruria*, and to the Biſhop of *Rome*, then *Innocentius* the third.

The Conſpiracies of Pope *Innocent* againſt *Frederick* during his minority.

Conſtantia, not long after the death of *Henry* her Huſband, being fickly and growing into Age, and thereby not ſo well able to govern the troubles and unquiet ſtate of the Empire, reſigned, and willed by her Teſtament the ſafety both of her Son *Frederick*, and alſo of his Dominions, to the Protection and Government of *Innocent* the third, thinking thereby ſafely to have provided, *&c.*

The firſt Conſpiracy.

This Pope *Innocent*, as ſoon as he had the Protection of the young Emperor and his Seignories, became, inſtead of a Patron and Protector to him and his Dominions, both an Enemy and Conſpirator. The examples are many: One is, he perſwaded *Sibyll* the late Wife of *Tancredus* (whom *Henry* put from the Kingdom of *Sicily*) to recover the ſame again, and that ſhould thereunto require *Philip* the *French* Kings aid. Whereupon one *Walcherus* being of the Noble Houſe of the Earls of *Brenno*, which in the Province of *Barrenecis* had great Living, and Marrying with *Ate-*

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via the eldeſt Daughter of *Tancredus* once King of *Sicilia* (as is ſaid) now by the inſtigation, counſel, and aid of the *French* King with the Pope (well-hoping to recover the Kingdom) entred and invaded with great power *Campania* and *Apulia*. At which time alſo, the ſame worthy Protector *Innocentius* the third, ſent his Legates with Letters of Excommunication againſt all thoſe that would not admit and take the ſaid *Waldherus* for their King.

The ſecond Conſpiracy. Another was, that where the Princes, Electors, and other Nobles, as before is ſaid, had promiſed by their Oath to *Henricus*, that they would make *Frederick* his Son Emperor after his deceaſe (whom the Pope ſaw to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to paſs) abſolved them all from the Oath which they had taken and given for the Election of *Frederick* the Emperor, as one not content he

The third Conſpiracy. ſhould obtain the ſame. And further, he raiſed ſlanders and defamations againſt *Philip*, whom the Electors had choſen to govern the Empire, during the minority of *Frederick* his Nephew. He wrote his Epiſtle (which is yet extant) to the Duke *Barthold* of *Zaringia* to be Emperor. Who for that he gave place to *Philip*, he went about to procure that *Otho* the Son of *Henry Leo* ſhould be made Emperor, and that the Princes and Lords, Electors of *Germany* would

The fourth Conſpiracy. Crown him forthwith after the manner of *Aquiſgrane*. He deprived all ſuch Biſhops as he knew to favour *Philip* as Emperor, in the defence of his Nephews right. But *Philip* whoſe cauſe was better, his skill in Martial Affairs greater, and in power and ſtrength mightier, after divers and great conflicts, the marvellous diſturbance and vaſtation of the whole Empire, by Gods help put the other to the worſe. All which calamities and miſchiefs *Conradus Lichtenanus*, at that time living, in his *Annals*, moſt pitifully complaineth of, and accuſeth the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Adherents to be the chief Authors and deviſers of this great and lamentable miſchief, as ſuch that, for to make themſelves rich by the ſpoil thereof, fought by all means and defired the ſame.

The fifth Conſpiracy. Not long after, a Peace was concluded between *Philip* and *Otho*, and *Philip* reconciled again to the Pope; who within a while after, between *Otho* and him, was murthered in his Chamber and ſlain. And then was *Otho* again brought to the Imperial Seat, and new Elected for Emperor, with the counſel and conſent of this *Innocent* the third, and ſo continued until that a great variance and diſcord chanced to ariſe between the ſaid *Otho* and the Pope. Whereupon *Innocentius* fought by all means, how againſt him likewiſe he might work miſchief, and bring him unto his end. The occaſion of this ſudden change and alteration my Author maketh no mention of, but that *Otho* (now being of great power) invaded and deſtroyed the Dominions of *Frederick*, as *Flaminia*, *Picenum*, *Umbria*, *Hetruria*, but chiefly *Campania*, and *Apulia*, for that thoſe properly appertained to the Inheritance of *Frederick*.

Philip ſlain.

Variance betwixt *Otho* and the Pope.

Thus you ſee, how firſt by the counſel and conſent of Pope *Innocentius*, and by his inſtigation, beſides his ſecret Conſpiracies, this good *Frederick* and his Dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then again through his default what damage he ſuſtained by *Otho*, who by him and his means was made ſo ſtrong as he was: notwithſtanding the great truſt he was put in for the Protection both of *Frederick* and his Dominions.

What Learning and Knowledge he was of.

At this time *Frederick* was come unto the age of twenty years: who in his youth, by the proviſion of *Conſtantia* his Mother, was ſo well inſtructed in Letters, and with other arts and vertues ſo indued, that as thoſe years there appeared and did ſhine in him excellent gifts both of wiſdom and knowledge.

What Vertue he was indued with.

He was excellently well ſeen in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, although at that time Learning began to decay, and barbarouſneſs to increaſe. He had alſo the *German* Tongue, the *Italian* Tongue, and the *Saracen* Tongue. He daily exerciſed and put in practiſe thoſe vertues which Nature had planted in him, as Piety, Wiſdom, Juſtice and Fortitude: inſomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthieſt and moſt renowned Emperors his predeceſſors.

Frederick ſuſpected for his Grand-fathers ſake.

Fazellus (the Hiſtorician of *Sicilia* in this time) writeth, That *Fredericus* was again after this had in great honor and eſtimation with *Innocentius*; but yet notwithſtanding he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of *Frederick* his Grand-father often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to have him far from *Italy*.

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When *Frederick* had gathered his power, he purpoſed to ſet upon *Otho* his Enemy; of which thing *Otho* hearing (as he was painful in travel) came out of *Italy* with his Army into *Germany*, thinking to have met *Frederick* at the river of *Rhine*, and to have ſtopped his paſſage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and *Fredericus* was Crowned, as the manner of *Aquiſgrane* is, before he came. And after that *Frederick* in the Winter-time took his journey fo *Francfford*, and after many meetings in *Norico* had, and after that *Otho* was dead, he ſet the Empire in a ſtay, and the whole Country of *Germany* he in a manner appeaſed. And then with all his Nobles and Princes he returned to *Rome*, and of *Honorius* the third was with great Solemnity Conſecrated and called *Auguſtus*. Which *Honorius* ſucceeded *Innocentius* the third in the Papal See, and was a great help to *Frederick* (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himſelf upon *Otho*.

The Conſecration of *Frederick*.

The Emperor replieth againſt the Popes demands.

The third requeſt of *Frederick* to the Pope and Church of *Rome*.

The Emperor *Frederick* but reaſonably anſwereth to the demands of the Pope to him.

After the Confecration of *Frederick* the ſecond, he gave many great and liberal gifts, as well unto the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, as alſo unto the Court of *Rome* beſides. Alſo he gave and aſſured by his Charter, to the Church of *Rome*, the Dutchedom of *Fundanum*. For by the unſatible covetouſneſs of the Romiſh Biſhops, this wicked uſe and cuſtom grew, that unleſs the Emperors Elect and Crowned would give unto them ſuch like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their Conſecration or Confirmation, which for that intent they deviſed.

Frederick his patience in ſuffering through his liberality a Sword (as it were) to cut his own Throat.

Furthermore, *Frederick* the Emperor willing to ſhew himſelf more bountiful and liberal unto the Church, neither yet to reſtrain any priviledge that might benefit the ſame, gave and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the Pope himſelf would define, and are yet extant in their Civil Law: by which his doings he delivered to their hands a Sword (as it were) to cut his own Throat: for the Biſhops of *Rome* now having even what they lifted, and all in their own hands, might by the pain of proſcription, bring what Emperor or King they lifted under *Coram nobis*, and keep them by their own Laws, as if they were bound in certain bands, out of which they might not ſtart. For whatſoever he were which for the diminution of the Liberties of the Church were Excommunicated, and ſo conſtituted a years ſpace, then he ſhould be within the danger of this Proſcript, and ſhould not be releaſed before he had made ſatisfaction, and were admitted by the Pope to the Church and Congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to paſs, that whatſoever Emperor, in the Government of his Dominions, ſhould in any point diſpleaſe, or do contrary to the luſt of the Biſhop of *Rome*, he then as Enemy to the Church was Excommunicate. And unleſs within a year he were reconciled to them again (by this their Principal Law) he was in the Proſcript. And often it chanced that Princes, to avoid the pain of this Proſcript, were ready to do whatſoever the Pope would have them, and commanded them to do.

The Canon of Proſcription granted and confented by Frederick.

The Biſhop between the Pope and the Emperor for the election and deprivation of Biſhops.

Frederick after his Coronation confirmeth all the Privileges and Dominions of the Church.

After the Confecration of *Frederick* was with great Solemnity finiſhed, and that the Pope and Church of *Rome* in all ample manner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confirmed, he departed from *Rome*, and went into *Italy*, there to ſet in order and ſtay the Cities and great Towns, for the better Tranquility of himſelf, and ſafety of his Subjects, and from thence into his own Provinces and Dominions: where he heard of certain that began to raiſe and make new Factions againſt him. Amongſt whom were found *Thomas* and *Richard*, the Brethren of *Innocentius* the third, Earl of *Anaquinus*, that held certain Caſtles in the Kingdom of *Neopolitans* from him by force: which Caſtles he beſieged and beat down, and took from them all that he in them found. *Richard*, he took and ſent as a Priſoner into *Sicilia*; but *Thomas* eſcaped and came ſpeedily to *Rome*; whither alſo repaired certain Biſhops and others that were Conſpirators againſt *Frederick*, as alſo ſuch others as the fear of the Emperors Laws, and their own guilty Conſciences cauſed to flie, and were (that notwithſtanding) of this Biſhop of *Rome*, *Honorius* the third (to gratify again the liberality of the Emperor beſtowed upon him) under his Noſe ſecoured, maintained and defended. Which thing when *Frederick* underſtood, he began to expoſtulate with the Biſhop, conſidering the unſeemlineſs of that his Fact. Againſt whom

The liberality of *Frederick*, well recompenced at firſt by the Biſhop of *Rome*.

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whom the Pope on the other ſide was ſo chafed and vexed, that immediately, without further delay, he thundereth out againſt him, like a Tyrant, his Curſes and Excommunications.

Tho. Fazellus declareth the deteſtation or defiance to happen between them ſomewhat otherwiſe. There were (ſaith he) amongſt thoſe which were found Traitors to the Emperor, certain Biſhops, which flying to the Pope, requeſted his aid: whereupon the Pope ſent his Legates to the Emperor, and requeſted him, that he would admit and receive to favour thoſe Biſhops which he had baniſhed and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any Eccleſiaſtical charge wherewith he had not to do: and ſaid further, that the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertained to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and not to him. And moreover, that the overlight of thoſe Churches in that Kingdom, from the which he had expelled the Biſhops, pertained and belonged unto him.

Whereunto *Frederick* thus replieth, *That forſomuch as now four hundred years and more (from the time of* Carolus Magnus) *all Emperors and Kings in their Dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the ſame, ſuch Eccleſiaſtical functions and charges as within their Territories and Kingdoms ſeſt, that he looked to have the like priviledge and authority alſo, that other his Predeceſſors before him had.* And further ſaid, *That he had the ſame and like authority in the Empire that his Father* Henry, *and* Frederick *his Grand-father, and other his Predeceſſors before them had; neither had he ſo deſerved at the hands of the Church of* Rome, *either of* Honorius *himſelf, to be deprived of thoſe priviledges which his anceſtors before him had and kept.* And further, *Frederick* being chafed and moved with theſe demands of the Pope, breaketh forth and ſaith, *How long will the Biſhop of* Rome *abuſe my patience? When will his covetous heart be ſatisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious deſire grow?* With ſuch like words more, repeating certain injuries and conſpiracies, both againſt him and his Dominions, as well by *Honorius* as *Innocentius* the third his Predeceſſor, as alſo other like injuries of Popes to his anceſtors practiſed. *What man* (ſaith he) *is able to ſuffer and bear this ſo incredible boldneſs and intolerable inſolency of ſo proud a Biſhop? Go,* (ſaith he, unto the Legates) *and tell* Honorius, *that I will hazzard both the Seigniory of my Empire, and Crown of my Kingdom, rather than I will ſuffer him thus to diminiſh the authority of our Majeſty.* Tho. Fazellus lib. 8.

Now becauſe much diſquietneſs and controverſie hath ariſen (for the moſt part through all *Chriſtendom* in every the Kingdom and Realm ſeverally) for and about the authority of chuſing and depriving of Biſhops (as may be ſeen by the example of this *Frederick*) which the Pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himſelf, and ſaith it doth not appertain to another: I thought good not with ſilence to overpaſs, but ſomewhat to ſay, and to prove the authority of Chriſtian Kings and Princes in this behalf to be both ſufficient and good. Which thing not only by the holy Scriptures is right eaſie to be done; but alſo that it is by Synodal Decrees and Councils (divers and ſundry) eſtabliſhed and confirmed, may eaſily be proved; as alſo by the ancient cuſtome and manner of the Primitive Church may further be corroborated and made good.

Authority for the election of Biſhops to be in the Princes and their Subjects.

Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the Decrees of *Gratianus*, and eſpecially in theſe Canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63 Diſtinctions. Furthermore, when Chriſtian Kings and Princes began to embrace Chriſt his Religion, both for honour and orderſake it was granted, that when the people defired ſuch miniſters as were convenient, and by them thought meet; that they which were then in the Eccleſiaſtical function, and chiefeſt in authority, ſhould either confirm ſuch as were preſented, or elſe themſelves ſhould place fit men in their Churches as need required. So did the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* (receiving the order and manner from *Conſtantine* the Great) uſe and give the right of Eccleſiaſtical function with the conſent both of the people and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and long ſo retained the ſame. As *Honorius* the Emperor unto *Bonifface*, *can. 8. diſt. 79.* and *can. 2. diſt. 97.* Alſo by the example of *Pelagius* and *Gregorius Magnus*, of which one in the Reign of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, and *Totila* governing *Italy*; the other in the time of *Mauritius* the Emperor, (when the *Lombards* poſſeſſed *Italy*) were appointed Biſhops to the Church of *Rome*, *Chap.* 15. 21. 24.

Antiquities of the election of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be in the Emperor.

And whereas *Gratianus* in the beginning of the 96 and 97 Diſtinction doth declare, that the Reſcript of *Honorius* the Emperor is void and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to the authority of the holy Canons, when as yet neither to the Civil Magiſtrate, nor to any of the Eccleſiaſtical order, can there be read of any licence given them to diſpence it withal: each man may plainly ſee and diſcern his great folly and want of underſtanding. As though at that time any Decrees were made which ſhould debar Emperors from the conſtituting of the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters. Or that it were doubtful whether the Emperors at that time had paſt any conſtitutions touching the cauſes of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the ſame laws then put in ure; when the contrary moſt manifeſtly (both by the Laws and Hiſtories of that age and time, as well of the Church as of the Empire) may appear. And that we need not ſeek far for the matter, this thing is ſufficiently proved by theſe Titles; *De ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis*, *Epiſcopus*, *Clericus*, Beſides other Eccleſiaſtical Chapters and matters touching Religion. All which are to be ſeen in the Books of the principal and chiefeſt conſtitutions, collected and ſet forth by *Juſtinian*. Amongſt the which, many of the Chapters are ſaid to be accepted and allowed of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*: ſo in like caſe, the 21 Can. in the 63 diſtinction doth declare, that the *Grecian* Emperors, that next enſued after *Juſtinian*, did obſerve that manner of ordaining and election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, although then at that time *Interpellatus erat*, it was ſomewhat ſpurned at. Amongſt whom mention is made of *Conſtantinus* the 4th. which was ſirnamed *Pogonatus*.

The ſtiles of *Juſtinian* for the election.

The Grecian Emperors Elections of Biſhops.

Carolus Magnus in like manner followed their ſteps and manner in the ſame, as in the 22d Canon, and the ſame Diſtinction is declared. And further, it was at a Synodal Council in *Lateran* (*Adrian* being high Biſhop, where were contained and aſſembled 153 other Biſhops) decreed, *That the power and authority of creating the Biſhop of* Rome, *and ordaining of all other Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Orders, ſhould be in the power and will of* Carolus Magnus, *as well in* Italy *as other his Dominions and Provinces, and that whoſoever was not promoted and allowed by him, ſhould not be confecrated of any; and that thoſe which repugned and diſobeyed this Decree, ſhould incur the moſt ſharp pain of proſcription and publication of law.* The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18 Can. and 18 Title. Yet notwithſtanding, *Stephanus* the fourth, author of this Reſcript againſt the ſaid Decree, without the Emperors conſent, was made Biſhop of *Rome*; who, to the intent he might delude the decreed and ſolemnized penalty, thereby to excuſe himſelf, went into *France* to *Ludovicus Pius*, the Son of *Carolus Magnus*, and at *Rheims* Crowned he him with the Imperial Diadem. Neither could this Biſhop here ſtay himſelf, but ſpying the great lenity of the Emperor, aſſaied to make fruſtrate the forefaid Conſtitution. For his purpoſe was, and ſo he brought it to paſs, as in the 27 Can. and the ſame Diſtinction appeareth, that it might be lawful for the Eccleſiaſtical order, with the People and Senate of *Rome* (without the authority of the Emperor) to chuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, referving that he ſhould not be conſecrated without the will and conſent of the Emperor. Thus it is manifeſt, that the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves, not regarding, but deſpiſing the ſtrict penalty and ſanction of the forefaid Decree of the *Lateran* Council, were not only the firſt that brake the ſame, but alſo, by contrary reſcripts and conſtitutions, labboured and indeavoured to extol and ſet up themſelves above all others.

Stephen the 4th. firſt author of this election.

The Biſhops of *Rome* the firſt breakers of the Decrees of the Council.

Whereupon *Lotharius*, afterward being Emperor, and Nephew to *Carolus Magnus*, coming into *Italy*, there to diſſolve the conſpiracy and confederacy of *Leo* the fourth about the tranſlation of the Empire, renewed and eſtabliſhed again the Synodal Decree of *Lateran* touching the Juriſdiction of the Emperor for the election of the Biſhop of *Rome* and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons. And hereof it came, that thoſe Epiſtles were written of *Leo* in the 16 and 17 Can. and the ſame diſtinction, which alſo, as in the 9 Can. and 10 diſtimade a profeſſion, that the ſame imperial precepts ſhould be kept in all ages. This *Leo*, when he was reproved of treaſon and other evils, pleaded his cauſe before *Ludovicus* the ſecond Emperor of *Rome*, and Son of *Lotharius* above recited: 2 quæſt. 7. Can. 40.

Lotharius reverenceth the Lateran decrees for Election of Biſhops.

Otho depoſeth *Pope* the 14th. and ratifieth a new Decree of election.

But after this, as time grew on, the Biſhops of *Rome* nothing relinquiſhing their ambitious deſires; *Otho* the firſt Emperor of that name, deprived and put from the See of *Rome* that moſt filthy and wicked Biſhop *John* the thirteenth, both for divers and ſundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as alſo for his great Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt his Royal Perſon, and did ſubſtitute in his place *Leo* the fifth; who, calling a Synod at *Lateran* in the ſame Temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new Conſtitution with conſent of the Senate and People of *Rome*, concerning the Emperors Juriſdiction in the foreſaid Election; which in the 23 Canon is contained and 63 diſtinction. Whereby the old right and power of the Emperor in the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, was again with ſharper and ſtricter ſanction confirmed and ratified. Again, *John* the eighteenth, whom *Crescentius* the *Roman* (uſurping the Imperial Crown) had made Biſhop by the conſent of the people of *Rome* and the Eccleſiaſtical Order, having his Noſe cut off, and his Eies put out, and ſo thruſt out of the Capitol, was again of *Otho* the third eſtabliſhed and made Biſhop. But when as yet notwithſtanding, the Biſhops of *Rome* would not alter their old accuſtomed diſpoſition, but with all their induſtry indeavoured to abrogate that Juriſdiction of the Emperor over the Biſhop of *Rome* (as people loth to be under ſubjection) *Henry* the third (then *Leo* the ninth being conſtituted Biſhop) did once again ratifie the ſame and cauſed the Biſhop (which excelled himſelf before all his fellow Biſhops) to ſtoop and give place to *Mogontius*.

Leo the 9th. was inſtituted by *Otho* the Emperor.

The election once again ratified to be in the Emperors juriſdiction.

Henry the 3d. and *Leo* the 9th.

Henry the 4th. and *Nicholas* the ſecond.

So after the death of *Henry* the third Emperor, *Nicholas* the ſecond, although in his Decree (which in the 1 Canon, and 23 diſtinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome* by the means of the Prieſts and People of *Rome*, unto the Cardinals: yet he would after that, that the Prerogative therein ſhould be reſerved to *Henry* the fourth the young Emperor, from whom the Empire afterwards was for a time wrefted and taken.

The election hitherto in the Emperors, and now beginneth to fall by *Hildebrand*.

But now after this, when *Hildebrand*, which was called *Gregory* the ſeventh, was Pope, this prerogative of the Emperors in their Election, which before in the creation of *Alexander* the Biſhop, was neglected and broken; the Biſhops of *Rome* not only did ſeek to diminiſh the authority thereof, but alſo to evacuate and quite undo the ſame. For he not only aſpired to that dignity without the conſent and appointment of the Emperor, but alſo made reſtraint, that no Emperor, King, Duke, Marqueſs, Earl or any Civil Magiſtrate, ſhould aſſign and appoint to any, any Eccleſiaſtical function and charge; neither that any of his Prelates ſhould be ſo hardy, as to take them at any of their hands: as *queſt.* 16. *can.* 7. 9. and 10. may be ſeen.

Henry the 4th. again challengeth the election.

Yet notwithſtanding, after that this horrible Monſter *Hildebrand* was proſcript and thruſt out of the Papal Seat, and *Clement* the third put in his ſtead, *Henry* again challenged his Imperial Prerogative of Election. But yet, when the Biſhops which ſucceeded after this *Hildebrand*, led by his example, began to derogate from the Imperial Prerogative of Election; and *Henry* on the other ſide, by all the means poſſible, fought to defend and maintain the ſame; by the ſubtil fraud and miſchievous policy of the Biſhops, which ſet the Son againſt the Father, and found means to ſteal from him the hearts of his Nobles and Subjects, and to ſet them all againſt him, and eſpecially the Princes of *Germany*, he was depoſed and diſappointed of his purpoſe.

Henry the 5th. alſo forfeiteth for the election and faileth.

And although *Henry* the fifth (coming to *Rome*) brought *Paſchalis* the ſecond to that point, that he both in publick concion, and in writing ſealed, and alſo by Oath confirmed, reſtored again to the Emperors of *Rome* the Prerogative of Election, and of giving Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: yet notwithſtanding, after that *Henry* the Emperor was gone from *Rome*, *Paſchalis* the Pope, greatly repenting and ſorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priviledges of Emperors through fear) touching the giving and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical functions, excommunicated the Emperor, and in a Synodal Council at *Lateran*, ordained and decreed that he ſhould be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any Eccleſiaſtical function or preferment at the hands of a civil Magiſtrate; whereupon were made theſe Decrees, *qu.* 16. *chap.* 7. 13, 14, 15 and 16.

Prieſts ſecured that take any Benefice at the hands of a Layman.

Therefore when theſe Decrees touching the deſignation of Biſhops, in ſpight and contempt of the Emperor, were practiſed and put in ure; and when that now (eſpecially by the means and procurement of the Biſhops) inteſtine and Civil Wars began to riſe in the Empire; the Imperial Juriſdiction in this matter was not only weakned and much debilitate, but alſo in manner utterly broken and loſt. For when *Henry* the fifth Emperor was ſharply of *Lotharius* and his Vaſſals the Biſhops beſet, and laid unto by the provocation of the Pope, and was mightily, by the Biſhops that took his part on the other ſide, requeſted and intreated (in hope of publick peace and tranquility) that he would condeſcend and ſomewhat yield to the Popes demands: he at length (the more was the pity) that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope *Calixtus* the ſecond, in the City of *Vangio*, departed from and with that his Prerogative or Juriſdiction of giving Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to the Pope and his Prelates, now more than three hundred years (from the time of *Carolus Magnus*) in the hands of the Emperors of *Rome*, and until this time with great fortitude and Princely courage conſerved and kept; which relignation turned to no ſmall detriment both of the Church of Chriſt, and Chriſtian Commonwealth.

Then firſt and never before, obtained the Biſhop of *Rome*, and quietly enjoyed that Prerogative of Election, and beſtowing of Benefices, which he ſo long before with ſuch great policies (now feareth, now openly, and now with force,) had fought for. And with what ſufficient and good authority *Gratianus* will prove, that before this time the ſame authority was given to the City of *Rome* for the Election of the Pope without the conſent of the Emperor, he ſheweth, as in the 29 and 30 Canon, and what good ſtuff he putteth in the later, and how ſubtily that Papiſtical flatterer or Papiſtical Parafite hath forged the ſame, both *Carolus Molinæus* ſufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the obſervation of times may of a meaſn Hiſtoriographer, that hath read the *French* and *German* Hiſtories, ſoon be eſpied and diſcerned. For firſt, five Biſhops one after another ſucceeded this *Gregory* the 4th. upon whom 29th. Canon is intituled or fathered; that is, *Sergius* the 2d. *John* the 8th. *Adrian* the 2d. *John* the 9th. and *Adrian* the third. Which *Adrian* by force, wreſting the authority of the Election from the People, was made Pope; when as *Gregory* (ſpecially to be noted) would not take on him the Papacy, before that the Emperor had conſented to his Election. After this *Molinæus* compareth *Raphael Volaterranus* with the 30 falſe Canon, which again is ſuſpected. For why? When *Eugenius* was Biſhop, who was the ſucceſſor of this *Paſchalis*, with whom *Ludovicus Pius* is ſaid to have made a League or paction, the ſame *Ludovicus Pius* with his Son *Lotharius*, together with the help of the King of *Romans*, at *Rome* made Laws both to all his Subjects in the Empire, as alſo to the *Romans* themſelves; ſpeaking nothing of the renewing of the Decree made by *Lotharius*. Then again, how could *Leo* the fourth write to *Lotharius* and *Ludovicus* Emperors, that counterfeit or forged Decree beginning with *Conſtituitio, &c.* when in the ſame, mention is made of *Henricus Aucupes*, and *Otho* the firſt, which reigned more than fourſcore years after them, and *Leo* the fourth was Biſhop of *Rome*.

Now with what face dare this ſond fellow *Gratianus* make *Otho* the firſt to be Authour of the 31 Canon, when as *Otho* deprived the ſame *John* the twelfth of the Papacy; and not only took nothing from the Imperial Juriſdiction concerning the Election, nor from the City of *Rome*, nor any other Biſhops ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, but added ſomewhat more thereunto, as was ſaid before. And yet notwithſtanding, ſo ſhameleſs and ſenſeleſs was this *Gratian*, that he durſt obtrude and lay before the Reader ſo manifeſt fraud and evident Legerdemaine (fained and made of his own Brains in the compiling of this Decree) being ſo neceſſary, as he thought for the Dominion and Primacy of the *Roman* Biſhops, in the ſtead of good and true laws; neither fearing that the ſame might be after his days reprehended, neither to his great ſhame and diſcredit to him attributed. Where alſo by the way is to be noted, that as this graceleſs *Gratianus* to pleaſe theſe Holy Fathers, and to erect their Kingdom, would give ſo impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all Poſterities, inſerting for grounded Truths, and holy

Decrees

{KING 1 Hen. 3}

The coming of Antichriſt preſent Made to be feared.

Decrees ſuch loud lies and deteſtable Doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the reſt of Writers in thoſe days, what attempts might hope of gain cauſe them to work, by whom and ſuch like is to be feared the falſifying of divers other good works now extant, in thoſe perilous times written?

Thus when the Biſhops had once wrefted this authority out of the Emperors hands, they then ſo fortified and armed themſelves and their dominion, that although afterwards *Frederick* the firſt, Grandfather unto this good Emperor *Frederick* the ſecond, as alſo *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Henricus Lucelburgenſis* (as men moſt ſtudious and careful for the Dignities of the Empire, unſained lovers and maintainers of the utility of the Commonweal, and moſt deſirous of the preſervation and proſperity of the Church) did all their endeavours, with ſingular wiſdom and ſtrength, as much as in them lay, to recover again from the Biſhop of *Rome* this authority of the Imperial Juriſdiction loſt, moſt cruelly and wickedly abuſing the ſame, to the deſtruction both of the Empire, undoing of the Commonwealth, and utter ſubverſion of the Church of God; yet could they not be able to bring the ſame to paſs in thoſe dark and ſhadowed times of perverſe Doctrine and Errors of the People, and moſt miſerable ſervitude of Civil Magiſtrates.

The ſame and like priviledge alſo in the Election of their Biſhops and Prelates, and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Offices, as the Emperor of *Rome* had, every Prince and King in their ſeveral Dominions had the like. For by the Decree of the Council of *Toletan*, which in the 25 Canon and 63 Diſtinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and chuſing Biſhops and Prelates in *Spain*, was in the power of the King of *Spain*. The like alſo by the Hiſtories of *Clodoveus*, *Carolus Magnus*, *Ludovicus nonus*, *Philippus Audoveus*, *Carolus Magnus*, *Ludovicus nonus*, *Philippus Auguſtus*, *Philippus Pulcher*, *Carolus quintus*, *Carolus ſextus*, *Carolus ſeptimus*, Kings of *France*, is apparent and well known; for all theſe Kings had the chief charge and government of the *French* Church, and not the Biſhops of *Rome*.

And by our *Engliſh* Hiſtories alſo, as you heard, it is manifeſt, that the authority of chuſing Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters and Biſhops was always in the Kings of *England*, till the Reign of King *Henry* the firſt; who by the labour and procurement of *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was deprived and put from the ſame.

Alſo the Princes of *Germany* and Electors of the Emperor, till the time of *Henry* the fifth, had all (every Prince ſeverally in his own Dition and Province) the ſame Juriſdiction and Prerogative, to give and diſpoſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions to their Prelates at their pleaſure, and after that it appertained to the Biſhops of *Rome* the Prelates gat unto themſelves alone this immunity. *Johannes Aventinus* in his 7th. Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* doth deſcribe.

Alſo it is probable, that the Kings of *Sicilia* had the ſame faculty in giving and diſpoſing their Eccleſiaſtical promotions and charge of Churches: *Andreas de Iſthmia ad 1. conſtit. Neap. nu.* 12. And that becauſe *Frederick* deſended himſelf againſt the tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, therefore (as *Farellus* ſaith) he was excommunicated of *Honorius*; but that *Platina* and *Blondus* alledge other cauſes, wherefore he was excommunicate of *Honorius*, I am not ignorant; howbeit, he that will compare their Writings with others, that write more indifferently between *Honorius* and him, ſhall eaſily find, that they more fought the favour of the *Roman* Biſhops, than to write a verity. But now again to the Hiſtory of *Frederick*.

The death of *Conſtantia* the Wife of Frederick.

Nicolaus Ciſſeurus affirmeth, that whilſt *Frederick* the Emperor was in *Sicilia*, his Wife *Conſtantia* died at *Catiana* or *Catana*.

A great overthrow of the Chriſtians in Egypt.

In the mean time the Chriſtians which with a great Navy failed into *Egypt*, and took the City *Helopolis*, commonly called *Dalmatia*, and long ago named *Peluſium*, being in good hope to have driven *Sultanus* the Soldan out of *Egypt*, had a great and marvelous overthrow by the conveying of the Water of the Floud *Nilus* (which then overflowed into their Camp) and were fain to accord an unprofitable Truce with the Soldan for certain years, and to deliver the City again; and ſo departing out of *Egypt*, were fain to come to *Achon* and *Tyrus*, to the no ſmall detriment and loſs of the Chriſtian Army. Whereupon King *John* ſirnamed *Brennus* (being King of *Jeruſalem*) arrived in *Italy*, and prayed aid of the Emperor againſt his enemies, in whom he had great hope to find remedy of the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to *Rome* to the Pope, declaring unto him the great diſcomfiture and overthrow paſt, as alſo the preſent peril and calamity that they were in, deſiring alſo his aid therein. By whoſe means (as *Ciſneurus* ſaith) the Emperor was reconciled again to the Pope, and made friends together; to whom alſo King *John* gave *Joel* his Daughter in Marriage, which came of the Daughter of *Comadus* King of *Jeruſalem*, and Marqueſs of *Monſferrat*; with whom he had for Dowry the inheritance of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, as right Heir thereunto by her Mother. By whom alſo he after obtained the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and promiſed, that, with as much expedient ſpeed as he might: he would prepare a power for the recovery again of *Jeruſalem*, and be there himſelf in perſon; which thing to do, for that upon divers occaſions he deferred (whether of ſome think one, ſome another) *Honorius*, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purpoſed to have made againſt him ſome great and ſecret attempt, had he not been by death before prevented, upon whom were made theſe Verſes:

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,
Eſt tibi decori vivere, vade mori.

Frederick & the Pope *John* gave *Joel* his Daughter in Marriage, which came of the Daughter of *Comadus* King of *Jeruſalem*, and Marqueſs of *Monſferrat* friends.

Honorius the Pope dieth before he can put his prudence in ure againſt *Frederick*.

After whom ſucceeded *Gregorius* the Ninth, as great an enemy of *Frederick*, as was *Honorius*; which *Gregory* came of the race whom the Emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of Treaſon which they wrought againſt him. This *Gregory* was ſcarcely ſettled in his Papacy, when that he threatned him greatly with Excommunication, unleſs he would prepare himſelf into *Aſia* according to his promiſe as ye heard before, to King *John*; and what the cauſe was why the Pope ſo haſtened the journey of *Frederick* into *Aſia*, you ſhall hear hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to paſs, which in his miſchievous mind he had deviſed, unleſs the Emperor were further from him. Notwithſtanding, *Frederick* it ſhould ſeem ſmelling a Rat, or miſtruſting ſomewhat (as well he might) alledged divers cauſes and lets, as lately and truly he did to *Honorius*.

Gregory the 9th. as great an enemy to *Frederick*, as *Honorius*.

Farellus a *Sicilian* Writer ſaith, that the ſpecial cauſe of the Emperors ſtay was, for the Oath of Truce and Peace during certain years, which was made between the *Saracens* and Chriſtians as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

Frederick refuſeth to go into *Aſia* at the Popes bidding: The Pope is angry.

The ſame *Farellus* alſo writeth thus of King *John* of *Jeruſalem*, that when his Daughter was brought to *Rome*, the Emperor and the Pope were reconciled together. And being called up to *Rome* to celebrate the Marriage, Pope *Gregory* (as the manner of thoſe proud Prelates is) offered his right foot unto the Emperor to kiſs. But the Emperor, not ſtooping to low, ſcarcely with his Lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiſs his foot; which thing the Pope took in very evil part, and was therewith marvelouſly offended. But for that no opportunity at that time ſerved to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he diſſembled the ſame, as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would ſerve, and fall out therefore.

The cauſe of the ſtay of the Emperors journey into *Aſia*.

The Pope diſſembleth his grudge.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperor hearing how the Chriſtians were oppreſſed by the Soldan in *Syria*, and that from *Arſacida*, there came a great power againſt the Chriſtian Princes; he made the more haſte, and was with more deſire incouraged to ſet forward his journey into *Aſia*. Wherefore, aſſembling the Nobility of the Empire at *Ravenna* and *Cremona*, he gave in commandment to *Henry* his Son (whom not long before he cauſed to be created *Cæſar*) that he ſhould perſwade the Nobles and Princes of the Empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterpriſe. This writeth *Farellus*; howbeit, ſome others affirm that theſe things were done in the time of *Honorius*. But howſoever the matter is, this thing is manifeſt; that *Frederick* to ſatisfie the Popes deſire, which never would lin, but by all means fought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promiſe, that by a certain

The preparation of the Voyage of *Frederick*, to *Jeruſalem*, and ſtay thereof.

time he would prepare an Army, and fight himself against those which kept from him the City of *Jerusalem* (which thing he also confesseth himself in his Epistles,and also how he desired and obtained of the Peers and Nobility of the Empire, their aid thereunto) and also appointed a convenient time when they should be at *Brundusium*.

The preparation of the Emperors War against the *Turk*.

In the mean season, he with all his power and indeavour, made speedy and hasty preparation for the Wars: he rigged and manned a puissant Navy; he had the pickedit Men and best Souldiers that were in every Country, and made warlike provision and furniture for every thing that to such a Voyage and Expedition appertained. Neither was the matter flacked, but at the time appointed great Bands assembled and muffled both of *German* Soldiers and others, and under their Captains appointed, set forth and marched to *Brundusium*: (Their Generals were *Thuringus* and *Sigibertus*, and *Augustinus* the Bishop) where they long time lying, and attending the Emperors coming, being let by infirmity and sickness, great Pestilence and sundry Diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that Country; and many a Souldier there lost his life; among whom also died *Thuringus*, one of their Generals. The Emperor when he had somewhat recovered his health, with all his Navy launched out, and set forward to *Brundusium*. And when he came to the Straits of *Peloponesus* and *Creta*, being Islands lying in the Sea, and there for lack of convenient Wind was stayd, suddenly the Emperor (his Diseases growing upon him again) fell sick; and sending before all or the most part of his Bands and Ships into *Palestina*, promising them most assuredly to come after and follow them so soon as he might recover and get never so little health; he himself with a few Ships returned and came to *Brundusium*, and from thence for want of health, went into *Apulia*.

Great sickness in the Emperors Army.

The Emperor himself sick.

When tydings hereof came to the Popes ear, he fent out his thundring Curses and new Excommunications against the Emperor. The causes whereof I find noted and mentioned by his own Letters, that is, How that when he had robbed and taken from *Brundusius*, Prince of *Thuring*, his Horses, his Money and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he failed into *Italy*; not for the intent to make War against the *Turk*, but to convey his prey that he had stolen and taken away from *Brundusius*; and so neglecting his Oath and promise which he had made, and feigning himself to be sick, came home again: And that by his default also, *Damiata* was lost, and the Hoft of the Christians fore afflicted. *Fazellus*, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the Pope alledged these also; that he defiled a certain Damsel which was in the Queens Nursery; and that he slew his Wife when he had whipped her in the Prison, for declaring the mischievous act to her Father King *Johan*. But all the Writers, and also *Blondus* himself doth declare, that this *Joel* died after the publication of the Profcript and Excommunication; wherefore the Pope could not without great shame allege the cause upon the death of *Joel*; for undoubtedly the truth is, that the of her Son *Conradus* died in Childbed. Then *Frederick*, to refel and avoid the foresaid flanders, sendeth the Bishop of *Brundis* and other Legates to *Rome*, whom the Pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the Councils of the Cardinals to make his purgation. Wherefore the Emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the Pope did so falsly accuse him of, both to all Christian Kings, and especially to the Princes of *Germany*, and all the Nobles of the Empire, writeth his Letters (which are to be seen) that those things are both false and alo fained, and of the Popes own head invented; and sheweth, how that his Embaffadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the Popes presence; also doth largely intreat, how unthankful and ungrateful the Bishops of *Rome* were towards him for the great benefits, which both he and alo his Predecessors had beftowed upon them and the *Roman* Church: which Letter, for that it is over tedious here to place, confidering the discourse of the History is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this:

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperor for staying his Voyage. He layeth false accusations to his charge.

The Emperor purgeth himself of those crimes the Pope laid against him, by his Letters dedicated to all Christian Princes.

He protesteth and declareth universally, that he had always great care for the Christian Commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight against the *Turk* and *Saracens*. And for that occasion he made a promise to the Princes Electors of *Aquisgrane*, how that he would take the War upon him. Afterward he renewed his promise at *Rome* when he was consecrated *Honorine*; then when he married the Daughter of the King of *Jerusalem*, which was an Heir of the same. And for because that Kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and because he favoured it even as he did his own, he prepared an huge Navy, and gathered together a strong Army of Men, neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the War. But when the time was come, and his Band was gathered together, his sickness would not suffer him to be there. And afterward when he had recovered the same, and came to *Brundusium*, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to Sea, he fell into the same sickness again, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (faith he) he is able to prove by sufficient testimony. How the Pope also doth lay the losing of *Damiata*, and other things which profpered not well with him, unjustly to his charge, when as he had made great provision for the same journey, both of Soldiers and other necessary things. But he that will understand these things more plainly, among other Epistles of *Petrus de Vineis*, written in the name of *Frederick*, let him read these especially which begin thus: *In administationem, & justiciam, & innocentiam, & Levate oculos*. And truly, even as *Fredericus* the Emperor declareth in his Letters concerning this matter, all the old Writers of *Germany* do accord and agree in the same.

The Emperor excuseth himself.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another Letter which he wrote to the King of *England*, complaining unto him of the Excommunication of the Pope against him, whose words are these: *And amongst other Catholick Princes* (faith he) *he also wrote his Letters unto the King of* England, *embulled with Gold; Declaring in the same, that the Bishop of* Rome *was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifeft concupiscence, that he was not contented with the Goods of the Church which were immerable, but also that he shamed not to bring Princes, Kings and Emperors to be subjects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them, and put them from their Kingly dignities: And that the King of* England *himself had good experiment thereof, whose Father (that is to say, King* John) *they so long held excommunicate, till they had brought both him and his Dominions under servitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Also that many have experience of the same by the Earl of* Tholouse *and divers other Princes, which so long held their Persons and Lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like servitude. I pretermit (saith he) the Simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are used amongst the Ecclesiastical persons, besides their manifest Usury (yet so cloaked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithal they infect the whole world.) They be sugard and embalmed Simonists, the insatiable Horse-leaches or blood-suckers, saying, that of how the Church of* Rome *is our Mother and Nurse, wherras it is indeed the most polling Cours in the universal World, the root and vigil Mother of all mischief, using and exercising no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the vigil exercises of a wicked Step-dame, making sufficient proof thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparent. Let the Barons of* England *consider whether thse be true or not, whom* Pope Innocent *by his Bulls with one consent encouraged to rise and rebel against their Sovereign Lord and Prince King* John *your Father, as an obstinate enemy to the Church of* Rome. *But after that the King (far out of square) remembring himself had evacuated into him, and obliged both himself and Kingdom to the Church of* Rome, *more like a Woman than a Man; and that the wise Barons, whom the Pope had first maintained and stirred up, without all shame, either of the World, or fear of God, had done the same, he sought how he might with gaping mouth devour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betraied and disherited, as the manner of the* Roman *Bishops is. By whose greedy avarice it came to pass, that* England *the Princes of Provences was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our* Roman *Bishops: behold the snares wherewith these Prelates do seek to intangle men withal, to wipe their noses of their money, to make their children bond-*

KING) Hen. 3. Who be the inventing Wolves in sheeps clothing.

bondmen, to disquiet such as seek to live in peace, being clothed with Sheeps clothing, when indeed they be but ravening Wolves, sending their Legates hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend; as having power to punish whom they list, not sowing the Seed, that is the Word of God, to fruktifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reap that which they never did sow. Thus cometh it to pass, that they spoil the holy Churches and Houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poor, and the Mansion-Houses of Saints, which our devout and simple Parents to their purpose builded and ordained for the refection of poor Men and Pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate Varlets, whom only Letters have made both mad and malepert, do thrive and gape to be both Kings and Emperors.

The Treasure of the Church begged to the Pope.

Doubtless the Primitive Church was builded and laid in poverty and simplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat she those her holy Children, whom the catalogue of Saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other Church, than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But the Church as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluity of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory; so is it to be feared lest the Walls thereof fall to decay, and when the Walls be down, utter ruine and subversion follow after. Against us, he knoweth that is the searcher of all hearts, how furiously these Catholicks rage and go to work, saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take upon me the journey I have promised beyond the Seas, wherein inevitable and most urgent causes and perils, as well to the Church of God, as also to the Empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmity and sickness, do detain me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither do we think it safety to our Empire, nor expedient to the Christian State, that we should now take our journey into Asia, leaving behind us at home such instestine and Civil Wars; no more than for a good Surgeon to lay a healing Plaister to a grievous wound new made and stricken with the Sword. In conclusion also that he addeth, admonishing all the Princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious inquisity) of like peril and danger to themselves, because that, as the Proverb is, It behoveth him to look about, that feeth his neighbours house on fire. Thus much out of *Paris. pag. 69.*

Christs Church was builded in humility: the Popes Church in all hypocrisy: Rigs, the Popes Church is not Christs Church.

The Emperors Epistle to the Princes and Nobles of Germany.

But now, that *Fredericus* the Emperor might in very deed stop the mouth of the cruel Pope, which did persist and go forward still in his Excommunication against him: and that he might declare to the whole World, how that the last year he forelowed not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by necessity; when he had devised and prepared all things meet for the War, and that he had gathered together, and levied a great Army of Men, he departed from thence to *Brundusium*, committing the government of his Kingdom to *Reinaldus* the Son of Duke *Spoletus*, and to *Anselmus* a Baron of *Intigensis*, and came by Sea to *Cyprus* with his Hoft.

Another journey of the Emperor to Jerusalem.

From *Cyprus* the Emperor with his whole Navy, failed into *Joppa*, which City he fortified, for that the passages by Land were stopped and kept of the enemies; and by Sea he might not pass nor travel, by means of the extream Weather and Tempest; whereby it came to pass, that within short space they lacked Victuals, and were fore afflicted with Famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose tears his wrath being appeased, the great Tempest, and long continued foul Weather ceased, whereby (the Seas being now calm) they had both Victuals great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought unto them, whereby immediately it came to pass, that both the Emperor and his Army, as also the Inhabitants of *Joppa* were greatly refreshed and animated; and on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the King of *Egypt*, who with great power (accompanied with *Scarapho* his Brother, Prince of *Gaza*, and the Prince of *Damascus* their Nephew, with many other Dukes and Nobles) had incamped themselves within one days journey of *Joppa*, thinking to have besieged the same, were contented upon the coming of the Emperors Heralds unto them, to intreat of a peace. Whereupon Embassadors were sent unto them with the Emperors demands, right profitable to the Christian Commonweal. The *Saracens* (immediately consulting upon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten years was concluded, and was confirmed by solemn Oath on the behalf of both Princes, according to their several usages and manner: the form and condition of which Articles of Peace briefly collected, are these:

The Emperor oppressed by Sea and by prayer miraculously relieved.

A conclusion of a profitable peace duretwo years, between the Turke & the Christians.

First, That Frederick *the Emperor should be crowned and anointed King of* Jerusalem, *according to the manner of the Kings of* Jerusalem *before him.*

The Articles of the Peace agreed upon.

Secondly, That all the *Lands and Possessions which were situate betwixt* Jerusalem *and* Ptolomaida, *and the greatest part of* Palestina, *and Cities of* Tyrus *and* Sidon, *which were in* Syria, *and all other Territories which* Baldwinus *the fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should be delivered unto him, only certain Castles reserved.*

Thirdly, That *he might fortifie and build what Fortresses and Castles, Cities and Towns he thought good in all* Syria *and* Palestina.

Fourthly, That all the *Prisoners which were in the* Saracens *hands, should be ransomed freely and sent home: And again*, That the Saracens *might have leave without Armour, to come into the Temple where the Lords Sepulcher is, to pray; and that they should hold and keep still* Churatum, *and the Kings Mount.*

The Letters of Frederick to the Princes & Pope of his fact.

Frederick now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be both neceffary, and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby, as if the Wars had continued, he sound; sent his Legates with Letters unto the West to all Christian Kings, Princes and Potentates, as also to the Bishop of *Rome*, declaring unto them the circumstance and success of his Journey and Wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and profitable peace concluded: And desireth the Pope, that forsomuch as he had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

The Emperor crowned King of Jerusalem.

In the mean season the Emperor with all his Army marcheth to *Jerusalem*; where, upon *Easter* day, in the year one thousand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his Nobles, and also of the Magistrates of that Kingdom (only the Patriarch of *Cyprus* the Kings Legate, and *Oliver* the Master or Captain of the Temple with his company excepted) solemnly and with great applause crowned King.

After this, he re-edifieth the City and Walls thereof, which by the *Saracens* were beaten down and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth up the Churches and Temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth *Nazarethum* and *Joppen* with strong Garisons, Victuals, and all other things neceffary.

Now see and behold I pray you, whilst *Frederick* was thus occupied in the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, what practices the Pope had in *Italy*: not I warrant you, any whit at all careful in the affairs of the Christian Commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spight he might work against the Emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied (partly for hate, and partly to inrich himself) in *Asia* and *Jerusalem*, so far out of *Italy* ye may be sure. First, he caused the Souldiers, which the Emperor sent for out of *Germany* to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be staied as they passed through *Italy*, letting them of their journey, and took from them, and spoiled them of all such provition as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly alo his Letters into *Asia* to those that were of his own faction, that is, to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and Souldiers that kept the Temple and the Hospital, inticing and inciting them to rebel against the Emperor; which thing *Blondus* himself, that *Popish* Parasite, or Historiographer, diffembleth or hideth not. But furthermore, he disswaded the Princes of the *Saracens*, that they should make no League nor take any Truce with *Frederick*, neither deliver up unto him the Crown and Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. Which Letters, as they were mani-

The first and secret practices of Pope Gregory the Ninth.

nifeſt teſtimonies of his Treachery and Treaſon towards him, whom God had inſtituted and made his Liege Lord and Soveraign, and mightieſt Potentate upon the Earth; ſo was it his will that he ſhould come to the knowledge thereof, and that thoſe Letters ſhould fall into his hands. And that he kept the ſame Letters for the more credible teſtimony thereof, in the ſame his laſt Epiſtle unto the Chriſtian Princes he proteſteth. The Copy of which Letters amongſt his other Epiſtles you ſhall have expreſſed.

The Emperor vvithſtanderh the ſecret treaſon vvhich the Pope had vvrought againſt him at *Jeruſalem*.

Neither were the Popes Letters written to that leavened and ſedious Sect in vain; for the Patriarch and his Colleagioners, which took their name of the *Temple*, did mightily repugne againſt *Frederick*. They raiſed a Tumult in *Ptolomaida* againſt him; they accuſed him and his Legates openly of Treaſon, and did malapertly and boldly withſtand the right worthy and good order he made amongſt them. But as God would, by the help of the inhabitants of *Piſa* and the *Genowayes*, and the *Dutch* Soldiers, both their falſe accuſations were refelled, and alſo their ſeditious purpoſe and tumult repreſſed. And this was the cauſe that when all other Men rejoiced and were glad of the Emperors Coronation, they, as wicked confederators, were heavy therefore, and obtrectors of his worthy laud and fame.

The ſecond and manifeſt treaſon of the Pope againſt *Frederick*;

The Pope, when he had thus conſpired againſt *Frederick*, and had betrayed him to the publick Enemy of all Chriſtian Men, the *Turk*, he could not diſſemble this his miſchievous fact, nor content himſelf therewith, but he would deviſe and practice yet another. For, by reaſon of thoſe ſlanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and daughter of his Wife *Joel*, he incited *Johan Brennus* his Father-in-law to make War againſt him, who cauſed the Subjects of his Empire to withdraw from him their Allegiance, as alſo the inhabitants of *Picenum*, and inhabitants of *Lombardy*. And thus joyning themſelves together, they craved further aid of the *French* King, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their Hoſt in two Armies, invading with the one the Empire, and with the other the proper Territories and Ditions belonging to the inheritance of *Frederick*; *John Brennus* and *Pandolph Sazzellanus* leading the one (as Generals) into *Campania* and the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the other (with *John Columnus* Cardinal, his Legate, and that *Thomas* before convicted of Treaſon, being his Lieutenant) he ſendeth into *Picenum*.

Brennus, Pandolphus Johannes Columnus, & Thomas the Traitor, the Popes Generals and Leaders of his Hoſt.

Of this Treaſon of the Pope againſt *Frederick* doth alſo *Matthæus Pariſienſis* make mention, during his Wars in *Aſia*, who (faith he) purpoſed to have depoſed him, and to have placed *Alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientiæ loco ejus ſubrogare*; That is, any other, he cared not whom (ſo that he were the child of peace and obedience) in his ſtead. And for the more certainty thereof, the ſaid *Matth. Pariſienſis, pag. 71.* repeateth the Letter which a certain Earl of *Syria* wrote unto him concerning the ſame, which Letter hereunder enſueth word for word.

TO *the High and Mighty Prince*, Frederick, *by the grace of God Emperor of* Rome, *and ever* Auguſtus, *and moſt puiſſant King of* Sicilia, Thomas *Earl of* Acharn, *his faithful and truſty Subject in all things, humble ſalutation. After your departure, moſt excellent Prince*, Gregory *the Biſhop of* Rome, *and publick enemy to your magnificence, gathering together a great power and Hoſt of Men by* Johannes Brennus, *late King of* Jeruſalem, *and other ſtout Captains, whom he hath made Generals of the ſame his Hoſt, as a foreign enemy invading your Dominions and Poſſeſſions of your Highneſs Subjects, againſt the Law of Chriſtianity, hath purpoſed and determined to vanquiſh and ſubdue you with the material or temporal Sword, whom he cannot maſter and overcome with the ſpiritual Sword of faith. For the foreſaid* John Brennus *gathering out of* France, *and other Provinces near adjoyning, a great Army, giveth unto them of the Treaſure he hath gotten together (by what means I cannot tell) great Wages, in hope to recover and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the ſame* John *and others (the Captains of the See Apoſtolical) invading your Land, burn and deſtroy all as they go, driving away, and taking for their booties, all that they can come by, as well Cattel as other things, and ſuch as they take priſoners, they conſtrain, by afflicting them with grievous puniſhments, to ranſom themſelves for great Summs of Mony: neither ſpare Man, Woman nor Child, but take and keep your Towns and Caſtles, hasting no regard that you be in the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt. And further, if any make mention of your Majeſty unto him, he ſaith, there is none other Emperor but himſelf. Your friends and ſubjects, moſt excellent Prince, much marvel hereupon; yea, and alſo the Clergy themſelves of the Empire, do marvel with what Conſcience, or upon what conſideration the Biſhop of* Rome *can do the ſame, making ſuch bloudy Wars and ſlaughter upon Chriſtian men; eſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt commanded* Peter, *when he ſtrook with the material Sword, to put up the ſame into the Scabbard, ſaying*; All that ſtrike with the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword. *Or elſe, by what Law he daily can excommunicate ſuch Pirats, burners of Mens Houſes, and Robbers, when he is the patron and maintainer of ſuch himſelf: hereat they greatly muſe and marvel. Wherefore moſt mighty and renowned Emperor, I beſeech your Highneſs to conſider your own ſafety, for that the ſaid* John Brennus *hath laid and fortified all the Ports and Havens with no ſmall company of Men and Souldiers; that if (not knowing thereof) your Grace ſhould arrive in any of them, the ſame Garriſons of his may apprehend and take you as a Priſoner, which thing to chance God forefend.*

Thus whilſt the Hoſt of this Hoſtile enemy the Pope was incamped in the Dominions of *Frederick*, he received the Letters which *Frederick* by his Legates ſent into *Europa*, as you heard, whereby he underſtood the good ſucceſs he had in *Aſia* (who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was alſo in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifeſtly it may appear, what was the cauſe and meaning of the Pope, that he was ſo ſollicitous and urgent to have *Frederick* the Emperor make a Voyage into *Aſia*. Doubtleſs even the ſame that *Pelias* had, when by his inſtigation, he procured *Jaſon*, with all the choſen youth and flower of *Grecia*, to fail into *Colchus* to fetch away the golden Fleece; and that by the opportunity of his abſence he might uſe, or rather abuſe his power and tyranny; and that *Frederick* might either be long afflicted and molteſted in the *Aſian* War, or that he might periſh and loſe his life therein, was that he fought, and all that he deſired.

What treaſon the Pope had to bring *Frederick* to ruin in light againſt the Turk.

And when he ſaw, that Fortune neither favoured his feteches, nor ſerved to his longing luſt, he was as a Man bereft of his wits, ſpecially at theſe tidings of the proſperous ſucceſs of the Emperor. He tore and threw all his Letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the Legates for the Emperor their Maſters fake; which thing alſo *Blondus* himſelf denieth not, though he write altogether in favour of the Pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage, and unbridled fury with ſome cloak and colour of juſt deſerved dolor, he fained himſelf therefore ſo much to miſlike therewith, as though the Emperor therein had only reſpected his own private commodity, not regarding the utility of the Chriſtians; for that the *Saracens* had licence (although without armour and weapon to have repared unto the Sepulchre of Chriſt, and had left for them ſomewhat near the ſame as Hoſtery or lodging place; *for which occaſion* (ſaith *Blondus*) *his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperors Legates, by the name of Traitors and ſuch like other opprobrious words.* Now go to, friend *Blondus*, by what ſtrong arguments prove you unto your Lord Pope, either that the peace which the Emperor hath concluded, was againſt the Chriſtian Common-wealth, or that the Emperor was a Traitor? But who is it that ſeeth not theſe things either by reading of old and ancient Writers, or elſe partly by me that have gathered and collected the ſame out of divers Monuments and Hiſtories, and plainly perceiveth not the conſpiracies and treaſons of your good Lord the Pope, ſo notable and filthy, as alſo his manifeſt ſhame and infamy? What? there be divers that write how the Pope commanded theſe Legates of *Frederick* to be made ſecretly out of the way, and alſo how he commanded divers Soldiers, returning out of *Aſia*, to be ſlain, to the end that none ſhould hear the report of thoſe good News which were in *Aſia*, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of thoſe thing which all the Writers with moſt conſent agree upon. This is moſt certain, that

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that the Pope cauſed this rumour to be ſpread of the death and taking of the Emperor upon this conſideration, that he might allure unto him the fidelity of theſe Cities in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which yet kept their Allegiance unto *Frederick*, of whom they ſhould now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the Emperor, in his Epiſtle Intituled *Leonis agnus*, greatly againſt him complain.

The third practice of Pope Gregory againſt the Emperor.

Great are theſe injuries of the Pope againſt *Frederick*, and moſt wicked Treaſons. But herewith could not the cruel and tyrannical mind of him be contented, nor his luſt ſatisfied, but it ſo far exceeded, as ſcarce is credible that it could: for he preſumed not only to ſet variance between *Henry* (whom *Frederick* his Father had cauſed to be made King of *Germany*) and him, but alſo by his allurements, he cauſed him to become an enemy unto him.

The Pope ſetteth the Son againſt the Father, yea good father of peace.

To whom when his Father had affigned the Duke of *Bouria* (named *Ludovicus*) to be his Overſeer and Counſellor; neither knew he amongſt all the Princes of *Germany*, a Man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or elſe more vertuous, or elſe more grave and apt to be in authority: *Henry* fearing leſt he ſhould underſtand and know of theſe ſecret counſels, which he with his Conſpirators had in hand againſt his Father, or that he ſhould utter the ſame unto him, or that he ſhould go about to diſwade him from that he was purpoſed to do by authority of the Court and Senate of *Rome*, he put him out of Office. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one inſtant (but in divers and ſundry places far one from another) ſharp and cruel War might be made againſt the Emperor, ſo that, his power being diſtract to the appeaſing of variable contention, he might himſelf be the eaſier oppreſſed of a few.

Henry Coſer at the Popes inſtitement, purſueth from him his truſty Counſellor *Ludovicus*.

The Emperor hearing of the Popes practiſes, returneth ſecretly out of *Aſia*.

When the Emperor now underſtood what ſtir the Pope kept in all his dominions in his abſence, and when he had ſomewhat reformed and appeaſed the troubles which he ſecretly had wrought him in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, thinking to prevent the Popes purpoſe in that he went about, and alſo to confirm the friendſhip towards him of them whom in his abſence he found his truſty Subjects: he left in *Aſia Renaldus* with his Garriſons, commanding all the other bands to be under his appointment; and with all ſpeed he came forth in certain Gallies to *Calabria*. During the time of his there being, which unlooked for came thither, he aſſembled his power, and made with his friends all the ſpeedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to *Barlet*, where he tarried twenty days, to whom came the Duke of *Spoletanum* with all his Garriſons; and ſo from thence with all his power he came into *Apulia*, and removed *John Brennus* his Father-in-law from the Siege of *Calatia*, and within ſhort time by Gods help recovereth again all his Holds and Dominions there. And from thence going into *Campania*, he winneth *Beneventum*, and ſo many othere Towns and Holds as the Pope had there, even almoſt to *Rome*, and ſo after that *Umbria* and *Picena*. And now although the Emperor (being moved thereunto upon good occaſion, and upon the Popes worthy deſert) had gotten and recovered this ſo likely an entrance upon the Popes Dominions, whereby he might have revenged him of all the injuries done to him: yet notwithſtanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Chriſtian and publick tranquility (for the love of which he refraining his wrath ſo vehemently urged and kindled) he ſendeth unto him his Legates to intreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if no other conceived grudge towards him were than that he diſſembled and pretended, he promiſeth that he would make to him an account voluntarily, of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to ſubmit himſelf unto the Church; and alſo that for this cauſe he willingly offered unto him both duty and obſervance. Furthermore, to the intreating of this peace, and deciding of all controverſies, he ſent to the Pope eight or ten of the nobleſt and chiefeſt about him that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire; as *Bartholdus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and his Brother *Otho* Prince of *Dalmatia* and *Hiſtria*, *Eberhardus*, *Iwanenſis*, *Sigifridus*, *Regimburgenſis*, *Sibbotus*, *Auguſtanus* a worthy Prelat, *Leopoldus* of *Auſtria* and *Styria*, and *Bernhardus*, being all Dukes; beſides others of the Nobility to accompany them.

John Brennus removed from the Siege of *Calatia*.

God proſpereth Frederick in all his affairs.

Frederick preſenteth for the Popes favour, although he have no need.

Blondus reproved, that wrote ſo greatly in the Popes favour.

But yet ſo great was the inſolency and pride of the ſtubborn Pope, that by no gentleneſs or beneficence he could

The Pope refuſeth a peace with the Emperor.

of thoſe Princes be brought that year to the profitable concord of the Church and Chriſtian Commonweal. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himſelf in the Church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of his own wilful revenge, ſetteth nothing by the health and utility of all *Chriſtendom!* Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the moſt part of theſe Noblemen departed from *Rome*, the next year after (with much ado) a peace was made and concluded them, by the help and industry of *Leopaldus* of *Auſtria*, *Hermannus* Captain of the *Dutch* Souldiers, and the Preſident of *Meſſania*. The Pope then abſolving the Emperor *Fredericus* of his Excommunication, took therefore of him 120000 ounces of Gold, reſtoring unto him again the Titles both of his Empire, and alſo of his Kingdoms. Now conſidering the uncourteous dealing of the Pope with *Frederick* the Emperor herein, who can ſufficiently muſe and marvel at the unſhamefulneſs of *Blondus*, which hath the face to write, that the Poe (yet notwithſtanding) had dealt more gently and courteouſly with *Frederick* than was meet, or beſeemed him to do? Who is it that doth not ſee his manifeſt flattery, coloured neither with reaſon nor ſecret diſſimulation? But much more truly and better writeth *Cuſpinianus* concerning this matter, which ſaith, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable Merchandize, which for ſo much mony ſelleth that he received freely paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Chriſt indeed, as he faith he had.

The grace of the Emperors abſolution.

Unſhameful *Blondus*.

Cuſpinianus greatly pleads with the Pope.

And yet although the Emperor *Frederick* concluded with the Pope this unprofitable peace for himſelf, yet he performed thoſe things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the Pope which thought it but a triffle to break his promiſe, would not ſtand to the conditions of that peace he made. For by the way, to paſs over other things, neither had he reſtored, as he promiſed, the Cuſtoms of the Land of *Sicily*, neither yet the City *Caſtellana*, which he before the peace concluded between them, did occupy and enjoy. And that do both *Frederick* in his Epiſtles teſtifie, and alſo *Ezzelius* in his eighth Book, writing of the affairs of *Sicilia*. Yet notwithſtanding *Frederick*, for the quieteſt and utility of the Commonwealth, purpoſed with himſelf to bear and ſuffer theſe ſmall injuries, and further ſtudied in all that he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwiſe, to have the Pope to be to him a truſty friend. As when the *Romans* and others of the Eccleſiaſtical number made War againſt the Pope for certain poſſeſſions which he kept of theirs, he coming to him at *Reat*, and as one that tendered the unity of the Church, and thinking to help the Pope at his earneſt requeſt in theſe matters, ſent his Legates unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which againſt the Pope they bare. And when that would not ſerve, at the Popes further requeſt and deſire, he levied an Army againſt them at his own charge, and drave them from the Siege of *Viterbium*; with other ſuch like affired tokens of amity and friendſhip which he ſhewed him. Who notwithſtanding, ſo ſoon as the Emperor was departed with a ſmall company which he took with him into *Sicilia*, leaving with him the greater and moſt part of his Army for the maintenance of his Wars, concluded a peace with the *Romans* (unknown to the Emperor) whom he had procured to travel and labour therein with great expences; affirming, that without his will and commandment, the Emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the Territories of *Viterbium*. And hereof doth *Frederick* alſo himſelf make mention in his ſecond and third Epiſtle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the Pope towards him.

What bene-ficence the Emperor uſeth to have the Popes friendſhip, which he ſhall never get.

A wrell ſet compoſed good turn of the Pope to the Emperor.

Therefore greater commendation had *Blondus* deſerved, if he had written of theſe treacheries of the Pope, than forgetting himſelf (as unto liers often it chanceth) in writing both contrary to himſelf in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of *Fredericus* his ſtory; which ſaith, that the *Romans* were incited to theſe new tumults by his inticing and ſetting on. As though ſimple men of underſtanding could not both by the offering of his Son in Hoſtage, by the great preparation of the Wars, and by the event ſpecially of the thing it ſelf, gather the contrary. But too too impudent will *Blondus* needs ſhew himſelf.

Blondus ſtaineth his own writ with untruth.

Whilſt

The Emperours Sons no longer fauored, make manifeſt rebellion againſt their Father.

Whilſt that theſe things were done in *Italy* and *Sicilia*, great rebellions were moved in *Germany* againſt the Emperor by *Henricus Ceſar*, and *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, his Sons being the chief Authors thereof. For *Henry* being diſappointed and ſhaken off from his Lord Pope, and other Conſpirators, by reaſon of the peace between his Father and him (as ye heard) began now to make open challenge to the Empire. And for that cauſe he (as before is ſaid) put from him *Ludovicus*, whom he knew to be unto the Emperor his Father ſo loving and affured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and ſmelling what miſchief he went about) forſook his Court, and came to *Boioria*; who had not there remained a year, but was, as he walked abroad at a certain time, ſtabbed in with a Dagger of one *Kelbemiter*, and preſently died, his ſervants not being far from him, of whoſe death divers diverſly write. Notwithſtanding the ſequel doth ſhew them to write trulieſt, that affirm the ſaid ſtriker to be ſuborned by *Henry Ceſar*; who coming unto him in the habit of a Meſſenger, delivered unto him certain Letters, which he ſained to be ſent from the Emperor; And whileſt *Ludovicus* was in reading the ſame, he ſtrake him in with a Dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with ſpeed fled upon the ſame. After whoſe death ſucceeded in that Dukedom his Son *Otho*, who when ſolemnly according to the manner of the *Boiores* he ſhould have been created, was alſo let by the ſame *Henry Ceſar*; who forbad the Aſſembly of the Magiſtrates and Citizens the ſame. They notwithſtanding, neglecting his unjuſt reſtraint, created him; wherefore he firſt beſieged *Reginoburgh*, and with another company facked, burnt, and waſted *Boioria*; with many more ſuch great outrages and rebellions.

A wicked regather by *Henry Ceſar*, for great and faithful ſervice.

The outrage of *Henry Ceſar* againſt the Emperor his Father.

When intelligence was brought of theſe things to the Emperor, he ſent his Legates, and commanded that both the *Ceſar* his Son, and other Princes of *Germany*, which had aſſembled their Armies, ſhould break up and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw and perceived now manifeſtly that his Son made ſo apparent rebellion againſt him, and fearing greater inſurrections to inſue in *Germany*, he thought good to prevent the ſame with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haſte to *Germany* with his Army, from whence he had now been abſent fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the Pope privy. The Pope promiſed the Emperor hereupon, that he would write his Letters in his behalf to all the Princes of *Germany*, but perſwaded him to do the uttermoſt of his power, that he ſhould in no caſe go into *Germany* himſelf. For why? his conficient accuſed him that he had written to the Nobles in *Germany*, even from the beginning of his Papacy (for the hate and grudg he had againſt the Emperor) that they ſhould not ſuffer him, nor any of his heirs to enjoy the Empire; and further, had ſtirred them all up to rebel againſt him; and had moved *Henry* the Emperors Son, by his bribes and fair promiſes to conſpire againſt his Father. And to conclude, he was the Author and procurer of the Conſpiracy which the *Lombards* made then againſt him; and fearing leſt theſe things ſhould come now to the Emperors ear, he was greatly troubled and careful, But the Emperor not thinking it good at ſo needful a time to be abſent, he (all doubt ſet apart) with his ſecond Son *Conradus*, went ſpeedily into *Germany*. And aſſembling there a Council in the City of *Nurenburgh*, *Henry Ceſar* his Son after his Conſpiracy was manifeſtly detected, which he had in practice with the *Longobards* (whereof the Pope was chief Author) was by judgment and ſentence of ſeventy Princes condemned of High Treaſon: And being commanded by his Father to be bound, was as priſoner brought to *Apulia*, where not long after in priſon he died. In whoſe ſtead he ordained *Conradus* his ſecond Son *Ceſar*, by conſent of all the Peers and Princes. Furthermore, by publick commandment he renounced *Frederick Auſtriacus* for his Son, and he cauſed him to be proclaimed an enemy to the publick weal. And further, when he ſaw that neither that puniſhment could cauſe him to remember himſelf, and acknowledg his abuſe, the Emperor with a great Army (accompanied with divers of the Nobleſmen of *Germany*) took from him all *Auſtria* and *Styria*, and brought them again under his own obedience and fidelity.

He Emperor 14 years out of Germany.

The Pope feareth that his treaſon ſhould be eſpied by the Emperor going into *Germany*.

Henry Ceſar condemned of treaſon, and dieth in priſon.

Frederick Auſtriacus proclaimed an open enemy to his Father, and diſheirited.

The Emperor marrieth King *John's* Daughter of *England*.

The ſame year married he with his third Wife named *Iſabel*, the Daughter of King *John* of *England*. Then when he had ſet *Germany* in a ſtay and quietneſs, he left there *Conradus Ceſar* his Son; and with his Hoſt returneth again into *Italy*, there to puniſh ſuch as had with *Henry* his Eldeſt Son conſpired againſt him; whoſe Treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of *Henry Ceſar* his Son, chiefly ſet on by the Pope. When the Pope had underſtanding that the Emperor with Warlike Furniture marched toward *Italy*; although he fained himſelf reconciled, and to be a friend to *Frederick*, yet was he notwithſtanding to him a moſt ſecret and inteſtine enemy. And underſtanding that he brought with him ſuch a power both of Horſemen and Footmen, to do execution of ſuch as he underſtood to be Conſpirators againſt him in the late tumult and rebellion; thoſe which were faulty herein and guilty (and all other that took their parts) he admoniſhed to joyn themſelves together, and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cities with Garriſons, that they ſhould fend for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able, they ſhould prepare them for the war. The reſt of the Cities alſo in *Italy*, whether they were the Emperors or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himſelf.

{KING Hen. 3.}

The Pope admoniſheth his friends to play his part.

Furthermore, unto the Emperor he ſendeth his Ambaſſadors; to whom, under the pretence of nourriſhing a peace, he had given a ſecret commandment that they ſhould Interdict him and his Hoſt, ſo ſoon as he came within the borders of *Italy*. To the preſervation of which peace, ſaith he, he had (but late ſince) promulgate a Subſidy to be gathered amongſt the Civitians, when he began the Holy War. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreaty, but commandingly) that what cauſe of controverſie he had with the *Longobards*, the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the Emperor replying maketh his Legate this anſwer:

The Popes Ambaſſage to the Emperor.

Shortly after, ſaith he, the peace was made between the Pope and me, he called me for a chief defence both of the Church and himſelf, againſt the *Romans* which made war with him; and at his requeſt, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his War, and gave his enemies the overthrow. And further ſaid, that he ſhould not do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by Law and right he might and ought to do; but rather he ought to diſpoſe himſelf, with force to reſtrain and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themſelves from the ſubjection both of him and the Empire; and that ſuch rebels as both had reſtrained the Souldiers which the Emperor ſent for when he was in *Aſia*, and divers others alſo (which for neceſſary cauſes he had called to him) which they had ſo wickedly dealt with and abuſed, he (as they had deſerved) ſhould rather deſire to ſee puniſhed and reformed, than to maintain them (under colour of peace) being ſo wicked and manifeſt evil doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he ſhould commit and defer ſo great a cauſe, wherein the wealth and ſafety of the Empire conſiſteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either affignment of any time when, or adding thereunto any condition or exception for not doing the ſame, neither the diminiſhing and impairing the Dignity and Regality of his Empire conſidered, he could not but marvel; ſeeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit or commodity of the Empire. To this effect alſo writeth *Frederick* in his laſt Epiſtle unto the Pope: the effect whereof amongſt other Epiſtles you may read.

The Emperor ſeeketh to break the peace of but concluded.

The Emperor ſent unto the Pope.

And in the ſame his Letters he ſheweth that when the Emperor at a certain time had been with the Pope, at his going away he requeſted, that when he came again, he would come into *Italy* but with his houſhold-band and family; for that if he ſhould come as before he did accuſtom with his Army, he ſhould terrifie them over-much; amongſt whom (ſaith he) you may aſſure your ſelf to be in great ſafety, and find all things in reſt and quiet; when quite contrary (as the Emperor for a certainty had tried) he had there all things ready and prepared for his deſtruction; ſo that when he pretended unto him greateſt friendſhip, he was buſieſt in conſpiring his death. The certain time when the Pope had this exerciſe in hand againſt the Emperor, I cannot ſearch out, neither may it be in his Epiſtles undated eaſily found out; but that of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I have aſſigned you to the Empe-

{KING Hen. 3.}

Emperors Epiſtle, where he maketh mention of the ſame.

The Emperor marcheth into Italy, notwithſtanding the Popes forbidding.

The Emperor ſent for by the Romans.

The Pope ſendeth to Gallion to ſeal the Coaſts of the Emperors.

A ſecret Conſpiracy of the Pope againſt the Emperor.

The Popes Edict againſt the Emperor.

Afrendit de mari bellica beſtia.

The Emperor then as he had determined, proſecuted his purpoſe, and marcheth into *Italy*, where he brought under his ſubjection thoſe Cities that againſt him rebelled, as *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Terniſium*, *Patavium*, and others. And then he afterward ſet upon the great Hoſt of the *Mediolanenſes*, the *Brixians*, the *Placentines*, and other Confederators, unto whom the Popes Legate *Georgius Longomontanus* had joyned himſelf, of whom he took one thouſand priſoners, and alſo their General, being the chief Magiſtrate in the City of *Mediolanum*, and *Petrus Tenopolus* the Dukes Son of *Venice*, and ſlew divers Captains more, and took all their Enſigns. And in this Battel, eſpecially at the recovering of *Marchie* and *Terniſſana*, he uſed the friendly aid of *Aſtiolimes*.

The Pope now ſomewhat diſmaid at this overthrow of his Confederates and Mates (though not much) began yet ſomewhat to fear the Emperor; and whereas before, that which he did he wrought ſecretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to ſubdue and deprive the Emperor. And although the Emperor ſaw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he ſo apertly ſtood with his Conſpirators againſt him, but alſo that on every ſide he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured againſt him, as with opprobrious words, naughty reports and ſlanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his ſubjects, and make thoſe that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and ceaſe from ſuch evil and wicked practices; yet notwithſtanding, for that there ſhould be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he ſendeth four Legates to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which ſhould anſwer unto and refute thoſe criminous objections which he laid unto him, as alſo make him privy unto his purpoſe, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicity.

The Emperor ſent unto the Pope.

The Pope refuſeth to ſpeak with the Emperors Legate.

The Biſhop when he underſtood theſe Ambaſſadors to be not far off from *Rome*, and knew the cauſe of their coming, he thought with himſelf that in hearing the excuſe and reaſonable anſwer of the Emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and ſo degenerate from others of his Predeceſſors, he refuſeth to ſpeak with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the ſentence of Proſcription againſt him, depriving him of all his Dignities, Honours, Titles, Prerogatives, Kingdoms, and whole Empire. And that he had no occaſion hereunto, as well *Panduljphus* and *Colonucius*, as the Letters of the Emperor himſelf, do both right well declare. For it may appear he dedicated as it were himſelf to his utter ruin and deſtruction, when he did ſolicite againſt *Fredericus*, *Jacobus Tenopolus* the *Venetian* Duke, whom for the diſpleaſure he took with the Emperor in the impriſoning of his Son, he was in good hope he ſhould allure unto him, he being in ſo troublous time ſuch a comforter and aider unto him, that as *Blondus* writeth, in a certain Epiſtle Gratulatory, he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and Lord of half of the *Roman* Empire. And calling unto him the *Venetian* and *Genouatian* Legates, he made a peace betwixt them (which for certain cauſes about their Sea-coaſts were at variance) and Covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their publick charges they ſhould rig and man five and thirty Galles, which ſhould ſpoil and burn all alongſt the Sea-coaſts of the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Frederick*.

The new ſentence of proſcription againſt the Emperor.

The Pope wageth and hireth 30 Gallies to ſpoil the Coaſts of the Emperors.

But the Pope when he ſaw the good will and fidelity which the Duke of *Venice* bare unto the Emperor, and ſaw alſo what aid the Emperor had of him, neither that he was like to win him to his purpoſe; then had he recourſe again to his old crafty practices and ſubtilities. And further, he deviſed to put forth an Edict at *Rome* to the Univerſal Church and people, the beginning whereof is, *Afcendit de mari bellica beſtia*; wherein he declareth the cauſes wherefore he curſeth and giveth the Emperor to the Devil of Hell, and hath dejected him from all his Princely dignity. He in the ſame accuſeth him of ſo many and ſo huge a heap of miſchiefs, as to nominate them my heart deteſteth. And beſides that he reſtraineth his Sove-

The Popes Edict againſt the Emperor.

raign Lord and Emperor of the Appellation, which every private man by law may have. He ſlandereth him of Treaſon, Perjury, Cruelty, Sacrileg, killing of his Kindred, and all impiety; he accuſeth him for an Heretick, a Schiſmatick and a Miſcreant: and to be brief, what miſchief ſoever the Pope can deviſe, with that doth he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, faith the Pope, that when he hath brought our Holineſs and all the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate to beggery, he might ſcoff at, and deride the Religion of Chriſt, which as a miſcreant he deteſteth. And now for that the Pope had a great and peciall truſt in *Albertus Behavus* of the noble houſe called *Equeſtri* (as crafty an Apoſtle as the beſt) as one whom he ſaw ready to lean to his luſt; to him the Pope delivered two other Mandates in ſeveral Letters ſealed, in which he commanded all Biſhops, Prelates, and other of the Clergy, that they ſhould ſolemnly recite the ſame in their Churches inſtead of their Sermon, that by his Decree he had Excommunicated *Frederick* out of the fellowſhip of Chriſtian men, put him from the procuration or Government of the Empire, and that he had releaſed all his ſubjects of their Allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other Chriſtian men, under pain of curſing and damnation, that neither they ſuccour the Emperor, nor yet ſo much as with him well. Thus he being the Popes ſpecial and truſty Servitor, and made to his hand, cauſed a moſt horrible confuſion and chaos of publick unquietneſs, as ſhall after appear.

Albertus Behavus the Popes one friend.

The Pope threatneth to curſe all thoſe that ſtick with verſit to the Emperor.

Amongſt all other Noblemen of *Germany* at that time, was *Otho* the Governour of *Rhenus*, and Duke of *Boiore*, towards the Emperor both moſt ſerviceable, and alſo a Prince of great honour, riches, and eſtimation. This *Otho* with divers other Princes of *Germany*, by the Popes means, do forſake the Emperor.

Otho with divers other Princes of *Germany*, by the Popes means, do forſake the Emperor.

Otho was by the Emperor thurthered and ſlain. And the ſame *Otho* again cauſed three other Princes and Dukes to revolt from the Emperor to the Pope, which were neighbours, and near adjoyning unto him, *Uvenceſlaus*, and *Belus*, Princes of the *Hungarians*, and *Henry* Duke of *Polonia*. To whom came alſo *Fredericus Auſtriacus* his Son; who becauſe he was proſcript or out-lawed of his Father, and had his Dukedom waited and burnt, as you heard, was eaſily won unto the Pope. Theſe gathering a Council (when they had thought to have tranſlated the Empire unto the Kings Son of *Denmark*) delired to have the Popes Legates to be ſent from him, to the effect of that Election.

The Emperor was at *Patavium* when theſe news were brought unto him, what the Pope had done at *Rome*. Therefore he commanded *Peter de Vineis* his Secretary (upon *Eaſter*-day) to make a Narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the Biſhops and Church of *Rome*, and againſt, of the injuries of them toward him in recompence thereof; of his innocency alſo in that whereof he had accuſed him, and of the unſeemlineſs of ſuch an act or deed, of the right uſe of the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, and of the errors and abuſe of the Church of *Rome*. By which Oration of his, he ſo removed the cloud from many mens hearts of blind ſuperſtition, and the conceived opinion of holineſs of the Church of *Rome*, and Biſhops of the ſame, and alſo of their uſurped power, and the fabull perſwaſion, that both they plainly ſaw and perceived the vices and filthineſs of the Church of *Rome*, and Biſhops of that See, as alſo their fraudulent deceits, and flagitious doings, moſt vehemently lamenting and complaining of the ſame. *Albertus* maketh mention of certain verſes which were ſent and written between the Biſhop of *Rome* and the Emperor. The which verſes in the later end of this preſent Hiſtory of *Frederick* you ſhall find.

What great good the Oration of *Peter de Vineis* did in the Emperors behalf.

The Emperor moreover both by his Letters and Legates, giveth intelligence unto all Chriſtian Kings, to the Princes of his own Empire, to the Colledg of Cardinals, and people of *Rome*; as well of the ſained crimes wherewith he was charged, as alſo of the cruelty of the Biſhop of *Rome* againſt him. The Copy of which Letter or Epiſtle follows here under inſerted.

The Emperor to the Prelates of the World.

The Emperors Letter to all Prelates to abide the Pope and refrain him of his will.

IN the beginning and creation of the World, the ineffable foreknowledg and providence of God (who ask-eth counsel of none) created in the Firmament of Heaven two Lights (a greater and a leſs) the greater he created to govern the Day, and the leſs to govern the Night: which two ſo do their proper offices and duties in the Zodiack, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique aſpect unto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other; but rather the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other; but rather doth the Superior communicate his light with the inferior. Even ſo the ſame eternal foreknowledg hath appointed upon the earth two Regiments, that is to ſay, Prieſthood and Kingly power; the one for knowledg and wiſdom, the other for defence; that man which is made of two parts (over-wanton and diſſolute) might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, that peace thereby, and love might dwell upon the face of the earth. But alas, the Biſhop of Rome ſitting in the Chair of perverſe Doctrine or peſtilence, that Phariſee anointed with the oyl of iniquity above the reſt of his conſorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from Heaven, endeavoureth with his power to deſtroy and undo all, and thinketh (I believe) to ſtabliſhe again himſelf there, from whence he fell. His purpoſe is to darken and to ſhadow the light of our unſpotted life, whilſt that (altering the verity into lies) his Papal Letters, ſtuft with all untruths, are ſent into ſundry parts of the world; of his own corrupt humor, and upon no reaſonable cauſe, blemiſhing the ſincerity of our Religion. The Lord Pope hath compared us unto the Beaſt riſing out of the Sea, full of names of blaſphemy, and ſpotted like a Leopard. But we ſay, that he is that monſtrous Beaſt of whom it is ſaid, and of whom we thus read: And there ſhall come another red horſe out of the Sea, and he that ſhall ſit on him ſhall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell upon the earth deſtroy him. *For ſince the time of his promotion he hath not been the father of mercy, but of diſcord; a diligent ſteward of deſolation, inſtead of conſolation, and hath inticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right ſenſe and interpretation, he is that great Dragon that hath deceived the whole world; he is that Antichriſt, of whom he hath called us the forerunner; he is that other Balaam hired for money to curſe us; the Prince of darkneſs, which hath abuſed the Prophets. This is the Angel leaping out of the Sea, having his Vials filled with bitterneſs, that he may bath hurt the Sea and the Land; the counterfeit Vicar of Chriſt, that ſitteth forth his own imaginations. He ſaith that we do not rightly believe in the Chriſtian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manner of deceivers, which to name, God forbid we ſhould open our mouth; ſeeing that openly we confeſs only Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour to be the everlaſting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Ghoſt, begotten before all worlds, and in proceſs of time ſent down upon the earth for the ſalvation of mankind; conceived, not by the ſeed of man, but by the Holy Ghoſt; which was born of the Glorious Virgin Mary, and after that ſuffered and died, as touching the fleſh; and by his Godhead the third day he raiſed from death that other nature which he aſſumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of* Mahomet *hangeth in the air, and his ſoul is buried in Hell: whoſe works are damnable and contrary to the Laws of the moſt High. We affirm alſo, that* Moſes *was the faithful ſervant of God, and a true Teacher of the Law; and that he talked with God in mount* Sinai, *unto whom the Lord ſaid,* Rubum, *&c. By whom alſo God wrought miracles in* Egypt, *and delivered the Law written to the* Iſraelites, *and that afterwards with the Elect he was called to Glory. In theſe and other things our enemy and envier of our ſtate, cauſing our Mother the Church to accuſe her Son, hath written againſt us venemous and lying ſlanders, and ſent the ſame to the whole world. If he had rightly underſtood the Apoſtles meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will, which bereeth ſuch away with him, before reaſon; neither would he have ſent out his Mandates to the ſuggeſtion of thoſe which call light darkneſs, and evil good; which ſuſpect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and conver-teth all truth into falſhood, and affirmeth that to be which* {KING Hen. 8.} *is not.*

Truly my opinion (ſo indifferent on every ſide) ought not in any caſe to be infringed and averted from the Faith, to ſuch enemies of ſo corrupt a conſcience. Wherefore we greatly are inforced not a little to marvel, which thing alſo doth much diſquiet us to ſee; that you, which be the pillars and aſſiſtants in office of righteous dealing, the Senators of Peters City, and the principal beams in Gods building, have not qualified the perturbation of ſo fierce a Fludg; as do the Planets of Heaven in their kind, which to mitigate the paſſing ſwift courſe of the great Orb or Sphere of Heaven, draw a contrary way by their oppoſite movings. In very deed our Imperial felicity hath been (almoſt even from the beginning) ſpurred againſt, and envied at of the Papal See and dignity: As Simonides being demanded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his ſtate, anſwered and ſaid, Quia nihil feliciter geſſi: Becauſe (ſaith he) I have had no good ſucceſs in any thing that ever I undertook in hand. And ſo for that we have had proſperous ſucceſs in all our enterprizes (the Lords name be bleſſed therefore) eſpecially in the overthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies, the Lombards, *to whom in their good quarrel he promiſed life and abſolution, with remiſſion of their ſins, is the cauſe wherefore this Apoſtolical Biſhop mourneth and lamenteth. And now not by your counſels (I ſuppoſe) he lamenteth. And now not by your counſels (I ſuppoſe) he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his own power of binding and looſing, whereof he glorieth ſo much, he impugneth it. But preſently where power and ability wanteth to redreſs, there doth abuſe take place. We ſee in him which was ſo mighty a King, and the worthieſt Prince amongſt all the Prophets, to deſire and crave the reſtitution of Gods holy Spirit, when he had poluted the dignity of his Office. But the Proverb is,* Ubi indiſſolubilia non ligantur: *As things indiſſoluble are not to be looſed, ſo things that cannot be bound, Popes be not. Which thing manifeſtly is proved in him. For why, the Scriptures of God do inſtruct men how to live, they mortifie our ſouls which are immortal, and quicken the ſame which are dead for want of life. And doubtleſs he is able to humble and bring down thoſe that are unworthy of dignity, as much as him pleaſeth, and when him pleaſeth. Doubtleſs if the Biſhop of Rome were a true Biſhop indeed, innocent, impolluted, and not aſſociate with wicked livers and evil men, his life ſhould declare him ſo to be. He would not then be an offerer of diſſentious ſacrifices, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity, and would ceaſe, not with the incenſe of grief and hatred, but with the ſweet ſmelling incenſe of concord and unity, neither yet would alter* Suum Pontificium in malehicium: *that is, make of a ſanctified Office an execrable abuſe. If he were ſuch a Biſhop as he ought to be, he would not wreſt or abuſe the preaching of the Word into the fruit and gain of his own diſſention, neither ſhould we be accuſed for ſuch an enemy of our Maſter the true Church, as is ſaid unto her Sons charge by ſuch a Biſhop. Which true and Mother-Church with all reverence we honour, and benignity embrace, ſo beautified and adorned with Gods holy Sacraments. Some ſingular perſons notwithſtanding, faining themſelves to be our Brethren by that Mother, and yet are not, but of a ſtrumpet begot; ſuch, I ſay, as are ſubject and ſlaves to corruptible things (putting them from amongſt us) we utterly reject: eſpecially for that injuries by them done are not only tranſitory and mundane, wherewith our Majeſty is ſo miſuſed, vexed and grieved. Wherefore we cannot ſo eaſily mitigate our mood, neither ought we in very deed ſo to do, and therefore are we inforced the more to take the greater revenge of them. You therefore that are men of grave and deliberate counſel, having the excellent gift (as from God) of wiſdom and underſtanding; refuſe you that roaring enemy of ours in theſe his proceedings, whoſe beginnings are ſo wicked and deteſtable, whoſe comparing things paſt, with thoſe to come. Otherwiſe you that are under our ſubjection, as well of our Empire as other our Dominions, ſhall feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and perſecutor, as alſo of the Princes that are his fautors and adherents) what revenge by ſword* Fredericus Auguſtus *ſhall take upon them, God ſo permitting.*

The Emperor ſtirreth a Parliament or Council to oppoſe the Popes malice.

Man being made of two parts hath two ſeveral Regiments, Gods word and the material ſword.

The Apology of the Emperor to the Popes Edict. *Aſſendit de mari, &c.*

Antichriſt long agone deſcried to the world by the Emperor.

The confeſſion of the Emperors faith, where-of he was accuſed by the Pope.

The Pope under pretence of his holineſs deceiveth ſimple ſoules and ignorant men.

{KING Hen. 8.}

The Emperor cauſeth a Parliament or Council to oppoſe the Popes malice.

This done he denounceth a ſolemn Parliament or Counſel of all the Princes and other Nobility of the Empire at *Augras* whither came *Conradus Ceſar, Mogumtinus Preſul,* the *Saxon* Dukes, the Lords of *Brandeburgh, Miſna, Thuringus,* and the Legates of all the Nobles of *Brabant* to aid the Emperor. But the Princes *Boiemus* and *Palatinus,* being diſſwaded by the Legates, unto whom the *Auſtrians* had joyned themſelves, refuſed to come to the Council holden at *Augra.* And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might do, forſook at laſt the Emperor, and took part with the Pope and the other Conſpirators. Then *Fredericus Auſtriacus* the Emperors ſecond Son (whom he diſherited as ye heard) by the aid of the *Boiors* and *Bohemians* recovered again the Dukedoms of *Auſtria* and *Stiria,* putting to flight and diſcomfiting the Emperors Bands and Garriſons which he had there. And although the Cardinals (eſpecially that hoteil man *Albertus Boiemus*) had allured to the Pope *Otho* the Duke of *Boiora,* as ye heard, and divers other Noblemen of *Germany*; yet notwithſtanding certain Biſhops in *Boiora* (as *Eberhardus Iwanenſis,* and *Sigrefridus Reginoburgenſis,* being at that time the Emperors Chancellor, *Rudiocnus Ratiſbonenſis, Conradus Friſingenſis,* and others) left not nor yet forſook the Emperor. All which the foreſaid *Albertus* not only did excommunicate, but alſo by proceſs fought to bring them up to *Rome* before the Pope, giving commandment to their Collegioners and Cloyſterers, that they ſhould deprive them of their offices, and chuſe ſuch others in their ſtead as would obey the Pope. All which things the Pope underſtanding by *Albertus,* and of this their fidelity to the Emperor, corroborated and confirmed the ſame his doings, commanding them to chuſe other Biſhops in their ſteads.

The godly Biſhops of Germany are obedient to their King and Prince.

The Emperor ſuppoſeth the Biſhops to be ſubject unto him.

But the Biſhops and Prelates with one conſent contemning the Popes Mandates and Writs, and alſo the curſes and threatnings of *Albertus,* accuſed, reproved, and greatly blamed his temerity, and alſo tyranny which he uſurped againſt the Churches of *Germany,* and eſpecially againſt the good Emperor; that without his conſent he durſt be ſo bold as to meddle in Churches committed to the Emperors Government againſt the old and ancient cuſtoms; and that he had Excommunicated the Emperor without juſt cauſe; that he had condemned the Emperors faithful ſubjects as enemies to the Church, for ſtanding with their Liege and Soveraign Prince (which Allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity they might not) and ſo had fought to diſquiet them likewiſe in their charges and adminiſtrations; and had alſo in that quarrel given ſuch defiance to the Emperor. They accuſed and condemned the fame *Albertus* alſo for a moſt impudent impoſtor and wicked varlet, and for a moſt peſtiferous botch and ſore of the Chriſtian Commonweal; and they do give him to the Devil as a ruinous enemy, as well of the Church as of his own natural Country, and further think him worthy to have his reward with the reſt of the Popes Purſevants, being the moſt wicked inventers and deviſers of miſchief that were in all *Germany.* This done they make relation hereof to the Emperor by their Letters; and further, they advertiſe all the Princes of *Germany* (eſpecially thoſe which were of the Popes faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of *Albertus*) that they ſhould take heed and beware in any caſe of his ſubtil deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they ſhould not aſſiſt the Pope for all his words againſt the Emperor. And doubtleſs by the counſel of the high Prelate or Archbiſhop of *Boiora* (whoſe name was *Iwanenſis*) and by his induſtry and perſwation, *Fredericus Auſtriacus* was again reconciled unto the Emperor his Father, from whoſe aid and obedience after that, by no promiſes, threatnings, bribes, nor pains, no nor for the execrable curſes of the Popes own holy mouth, he would be induced or removed. But *Albertus* proſecuteth ſtill his purpoſed miſchief, alluring and inticing by all means poſſible (and that not amongſt the worſt but the beſt) friends to the Pope, and enemies to the Emperor. Unto ſome he gave their Tythes to fight againſt the Emperor, to otherſome he gave the Glebe-lands of Benefices, and to otherſome he gave the ſpoil of ſuch Colledges and Monaſteries as took not part with the Pope; and to ſome other alſo he gave the Colledges and Monaſteries themſelves. And aſſuredly I find by *Johannes Aventinus, Lib.* 7. *Annalium Boiorum,* that there were certain of the Popes own birds, that had their Eccleſiaſtical Tythes taken from them; and otherſome had the rents and revenues of their Colledges plucke away by force to the maintenance of the Popes quarrel againſt the Emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they liſted (every man according to his ravening and deteſtable luſt) and all things lay open unto their greedy and inſatiable deſires. Who liſteth to hear more hereof, let him read *Aventinus* in his Book before noted, and there ſhall he ſee what vaſtation grew thereby to the whole ſtate of *Germany,* who largely intreateth of the ſame.

The Biſhops of Germany Excommunicate the Popes Legate and Cardinal.

The Emperor ſuppoſeth the Biſhops true ſubjects to his Prince.

The Emperor openly renounceth the Pope and Church of Rome.

The ruine of the Pope for maintaining the Wars againſt his Lord and Maſter.

While theſe things were thus in working in *Germany, Frederick* leaving in *Lombardy Aſtiolinus* with a great part of his Hoſt (he paſſing with the reſt by *Apeninum*) came to *Hetruria* and fet the ſame in a ſtay, after that he had allayed certain inſurrections there, and from thence to *Piſae,* where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This City was always aſſured and faithful to the Emperors of *Germany.* The Pope underſtanding of the Emperors coming into *Hetruria,* and knowing what power the Emperor had alſo left in *Lombardy,* with a great Army beſieged the City *Ferraria,* that always loved the Emperor full well; which City when the Popes Legate had aſſaulted ſharply the ſpace of five months, and could not win the ſame; he deviſed with himſelf to ſend for *Salingwerra* out of the Town by way of a parlee, promiſing his faith and truth to him for his ſafe return. Who by the perſwation of *Hugo Rambartus,* that faid without peril he might do the ſame (being but by way of parlee) was coming to the Legate; who preventing him in his journey, took him as priſoner, contrary to his truth and fidelity. And thus gat he *Ferraria,* and delivered the keeping thereof to *Azones Aſtenſis.* And that the Popes Legate thus falſified his truth, and circumvented the Captain and old man *Salingwerra,* the ſame is confeſſed of the Popes friendly Hiſtoriographers, to be but a ſtratagem or warlike policy. But to return again. About the ſame time alſo the *Venetians* Navy, at the *Mount Garganum,* chaſed twelve Gallies of the Emperors, which were appointed to the keeping of that Coaſt, and ſpoiled, burnt, and waſted all the region; and further took one of the Emperors great Ships, being driven by tempeſt and weather into the Haven *Sipontium,* fraught with men and munition.

The Pope beſiegeth *Ferraria.*

The falſhood of Papiſts, learned by this example.

The Emperors Gallies chaſed, and one of his Ships taken by the Popes.

Fredericus again getting on his ſide the *Lucenſes,* the *Volaterans,* the *Genenſes,* the *Aretines,* and divers Cities beſides in *Hetruria* to help that Country, came to *Piſa* and *Piterbium,* which took part with him. Some ſay, that the names and factions of *Gibellins* and *Guelphs* ſpring from *Frederick,* that by them he might ſpie and know (having recourſe to all the Towns and Cities in *Italy*) which took part with, and favoured the Pope, and which the Emperor; and called the one by the name of *Gibellins,* and the other by the name of *Guelphs.* But for that both *Blondus* and *Platina,* and ſome others, bring no ſufficient proof thereof, but only ſlender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of *Nauclerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Platerentinus,* and other ſuch writers, which ſay, that theſe *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy* took their beginning of *Conradus* the Third, *Fredericus* his great Uncle being Emperor; and that theſe *Guelphs* were dedicated to the Pope, of *Guelphs* the younger Brother of *Henry* the Proud; and that thoſe which were called the *Gibellins,* were appointed either of *Conradus* himſelf, or elſe of his Son, being brought up in the Lodſhip of *Vaiblingen.* But to our purpoſe.

This *Gibellins* and *Guelphs* were not ſeen before they came into *Italy.*

The Pope when he underſtood that *Frederick* was come to *Vitterbium,* he was very heavy; for that he feared he alſo would come to *Rome,* the good will of which City the Pope much miſtruſted. He therefore cauſed a ſupplication to be drawn, portraying about the ſame the Heads of *Peter* and *Paul,* and with a ſharp and contumelious Oration he much defaced the Emperor; promiſing them everlaſting life, and gave the badg of the Croſs to as many as would arm themſelves and fight againſt the Emperor, as againſt the moſt wicked enemy of God and the Church. Now when the Emperor, marching ſomewhat near to *Rome*-Gates, beheld thoſe whom the Pope had, with his goodly ſpectacle of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul,* and wirh his alluring Oration, ſtirred up againſt him, and marked with the badg of the Croſs to come forth in battel againſt him; diſdaining to be accounted for the ene-

The Pope ſtirred up againſt the Emperor coming into *Italy.*

my

The Emperor hangeth all the Crosled Souldiers.

my of the Church, who had been thereunto so beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them, he put them foon to flight; and as many as he took (cutting off that badg from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he marching into *Campania*, and his own Kingdoms, levied a great mass of money, and muttered the new bands, and augmented his Army; and in these bands he retained the *Saracens* also, And to the intent he might find the *Saracens* the more truitty to him, he appointed them to inhabit in a City named *Luceria*. For which thing, although the Papisticall writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write

The Emperor retaineth the Saracens in his Wars against the Pope.

of *Frederick*, yet notwithstanding *Nicholaus Machiavellus* doth write, that therefore he retained them, left that through the Popes execrable curses he should be quite destitute of Soldiers, as was *Fredericus Barbaroffa* his Grandfather, a little before, when that of *Alexander* the Pope he was Excommunicated, as ye have heard.

After this when the Emperor had greatly afflicted by battel the Popes Ecclesiatical consorts, such as conspired with the Pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed *Beneventum*, the *Mount Cosenum* and *Sora*, for that they took part with the Pope against him; *Frederick* when he had manned the City of *Aquilia*, marched forth with a great Host both of Horsemen and Footmen to *Picenum*, that he might vanquish his enemies in *Italy*. And by the way he befieged the strong Town of Wor named *Asculanum*, which was also converted to the Popes faction and rebellion. He there having understanding what the Popes affinitants had done with the Princes Electors, and other Princes of *Germany*, especially with *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Otho Palatinus*, writeth his Letters unto them. In the which, first he shewed how that those contumelies and spightful words, which the Pope blustred out against him, are lighted upon himself; and how the Bishops of *Rome* have taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so lofty, that not only they seek to bring Emperors, Kings, and Princes under their obedience, but also seek how to be honoured as Gods, and say that they cannot err, neither yet be subject or bound to any Religion; and that it is lawful for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be fought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any; so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as Princes they command (and that under pain of curfing) that men believe every thing they say, how great a lye soever it be. Informich that by this covetousness of his all things go backward, and the whole state of the Commonweal is subverted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtful or perillous to the Church of God than he. He wrote unto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greatest charge and dignity was in the whole Commonweal appointed and committed) seeing and perceiving to his great peril, their good hearts, wills and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had given him, do his endeavour that he which in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of Christ, and chief Prelate in the Church, theweth himself so very a Wolf, Persecuter and Tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful shepherd of Gods flock may be appointed in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they define the safety and preservation of the whole state of the Commonweal and Empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings; left otherwise they also should happen to fall into the same fame of servitude with the Bishop of *Rome*. And further, he gave them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he fought for, (that is, to be an Emperor, and King over Kings) yet should that be no stay of his infatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Therefore if they be wise, to withstand him betimes, left hereafter when they would, it should be too late, neither were able to withstand his tyranny. The effect of this Epistle I took out of *Aventine*, which more largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the Emperor (by his Legates) sent the same to *Wenceslaus*.

The effect of a Letter sent by the Emperor to the Princes of Germany.

No enemy more hurtful to the Church of God than is the Pope.

The Emperor voweth to remove the Pope, and put another more careful shepherd to the Church of God.

Boiemus relenteth at the Emperors Letter.

Boiemus somewhat relenting at this Letter, promiseth to accomplish the Emperors biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assembly of Princes and Nobles at *Ægra*; where by common consent they think to renovate with the Emperor a new League and Covenant. And furthermore, they find *Otho Boius* (which was absent, and would not be at this their assembly to be the Author of this defection, and an enemy to the Commonweal. *Otho* then seeing himself not able to stand against *Cesar* and the other Princes with whom he was associate, defining aid of the Pope by his Letters, came with all speed to *Boiemus* against his Kinsman; whom when he could not perswade unto him again, neither would he to their parts also be won, he obtained notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the League and Covenant (which they were in hand to make with the Emperor) might for a time be deferred, and that another assembly might be made, whereat he also would be, and joyn himself with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his Father, bewitched also his Son, and brought him to be both a Rebel and a Traytor. In the mean season the Pope sent his rescript unto the King of *Bohemia* and to *Otho*, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the Church to take the Emperors part. And so much prevailed he by the means of *Bohuslaus* and *Budislaus* (which were the chiefest of the Senate Regal) and by his fair promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that again at *Libussa* by *Boiemus* and *Boius* new assemblies were gathered for the Creation of a new Emperor, in despite of *Augustus* the Emperor, and *Cesar* his Son. And whilest that this was thus in hand, *Conradus Cesar* called *Landshuta* the Wife of *Otho* (being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her Husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that unless her Husband took a better way with himself, and shewed his obedience to the Emperor his Father, that he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which *Otho* had by the ancestors of *Conradus Cesar* came thus: *Fredericus Barbaroffa* in the year of our Lord 1180, at a Parliament holden at *Regimoburgh*, condemned *Henricus Leo* of High Treason, and deprived him of his Dominions of *Boiora* and *Saxony*, and gave *Boiora* to *Otho Wiltalpachius*, for that he had done him so faithful service in his *Italian* Wars. After that, *Ludovicus* the Son of this *Otho*, obtained of this Emperor *Frederick* the Second, in recompence of his assured and trusty fidelity, the dition of *Palatinatum Rheni* so called, which gave also *Agnetes* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Palatine* to *Otho* his Son in marriage. This *Henry* was the Son of *Henry Leo* the Traytor, unto whom *Henry* the Sixth, the Father of *Frederick*, gave in marriage *Clementia* his Brothers Daughter, *Conradus Palatine* of *Rhenus*, and gave unto him the keeping of the Palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of *Boiora*; that he had also now long possessed by the heirs of *Otho Wiltalpachius*. But to our purpose again.

The Tragedies of Otho with the Pope against the Emperor.

The Pope Rescript to diuers all the matter again.

By what means *Otho* attained to great possession by the Emperor and his ancestors.

The Pope findeth his foreign aid and is prevented.

At the same time also the Governour of *Colonia Agrippina* revolted to the Pope; who not long after, in a skirmish between *Brabantines* and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtless, *Fredericus Austriacus*, after he was received into favour again with the Emperor (keeping moft constantly his promise and fidelity renewed) during this time made sharp war upon the *Hungarians*, which took part with the Pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in *Germany*, the Emperor when he had gotten *Ascalum*, and led his Host into *Flamminia*, having *Ravenna* at his Commandment, from thence came to *Faventia*, which City never loved the Emperor; the circuit of whose walls is five miles in compass, and pitched his Camp round about the same. And although the siege was much hindered by austerity of the time and weather (being in the very dead time of Winter) yet notwithstanding through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his Soldiers in the painfulness of the laborious siege, he indured out the same, who thought it no little shame, having once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault given. And therefore when now the Winter (so extream cold and hard) was well near ended, and the Spring-time now hand at hand, and by long battery he had made the same in divers places faultable; the Citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) sent their Legates to the Emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their lives, and so yielded themselves unto his mercy.

The Governour of *Agrippina* revolteth to the Pope.

The Emperor forceth a way to the Sea.

The

{KING} {Hen. 3.}

The Emperor great lusty and courageous, yet yet unfortunately inclined.

The Emperor inforced to coin his money of Leather.

A great Victory on the Sea obtained the Popes confederats by the Emperors Navy.

The Emperor Popes side, by the Emperors Souldiers which lay in the garison at *Ticinum*, thus: There went forth upon a time out of *Ticinum* into the borders of *Genowaies*, certain bands to give them Larums in the Country: which bands the fouriers of *Mediolanum* (where lay a great Garison of the Popes) descrying, told the Captain of the Town, that now a very Opportune and fit time was to give an assault to *Ticinum*; for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a Foraging. Whereupon they immediatly calling together the Captains and such as had charge, set their Souldiers in Array, and marched forward to *Ticinum*. And now when they were come almost thither, the *Ticinian* bands (whom they thought to have been far a Foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them: Who being dismayed at the suddenness of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slain) three hundred and fifty Captains, and brought prisoners into *Ticinum* with all their Ensignes with them.

The Emperor obtaineth another victory by Land of Tuscans against the Pope and his confederats.

News hereof was brought to the Emperor not long after, who then was removing from the siege of *Faventia* (as ye heard) to the City of *Benonium*, thinking to have destroyed the same. But upon the hearing of these good News, he altereth his purpose, and thinking to have hereafter a more convenient time thereunto, leadeth his Army towards *Rome*: and in the way he reconciled to him the City of *Pisarum*. But *Fanum*, for that the Townsmen shut their Gates and would not suffer the Emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed. For the Emperor, seeing that neither by Petition made to the Pope, nor yet by his Lawful excusation, he could do any good with him, thought, that by his sudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to some uniformity, and caused to leave off his accustomed pertinacy. And although the Emperor was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the publick tranquility of the Empire, and that he might then take the *Tartarian* wars in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refused not so to intreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and Fortune much his inferior.

The Emperor refuseth to make the Pope a feald.

The Turk invadeth Christendom with a great and mighty power.

Whilest that this ruffle was betwixt the Emperor and the Pope *Ochodarius* the Emperor of the *Tartarians* his Son, with a great power and provision made, invaded the borders next adjoyning unto him, and there wan *Roxolanum*, *Bodolium*, *Mudanum*, with divers other Cities, Towns, and Villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the Countries all about, killing and slaying Man, Woman, and Child, sparing none of any Sex or Age. At whose sudden invasion, the people being in such fear and perplexity (having no City, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them) were fain to leave all that ever they had, and disperse themselves into Woods, and fly into Marishes and Mountains, or wheresoever any succour else did offer it self to them. And by this time the *Tartarian* Host was come as far as *Uratislavia*, where *Henricus* of *Polonia* and the Duke of *Silesia* with their Armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and small strength they were of, had foon an overthrow, and almost all their Souldiers being slain, they themselves were taken and put to the Sword. From thence they came to *Moravia*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which Country, while the King kept himself in strong defenced Forts, and durst not come abroad, he invaded, and destroyed all *Hungary*, putting to flight and vanquishing *Colmannus* the Brother of *Belus*, the fourth King of *Hungary*, by whom also was great spoil made in both the *Pannonias*, *Mysiasum*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*. When *Belus* the King of *Hungary* had gotten to *Pola* (which is a City of *Hisstria*) unto *Otho* the Duke of *Dalmatia*, he sent his Legates to *Fredrick* the Emperor, promising that if he would send him aid that the *Tartarians* might be expelled, then *Hungary* should ever after be under the jurisdiction of the Emperor: which thing if he refused to do, that then the same were in great danger to be subject to the *Tartarians*, to the no little peril of the whole Empire. And he said further, that the cause wherof he with more instance required the same, was, that so many Christian Men and Countries made such pitiful Lamentation in this their great calamity and misery,

The unmerciful cruelty and slaughter of Christians done by the Turk.

The King of Hungary craveth aid of the Emperor for the which he offereth him his Land.

and

The Emperor having against them good and sufficient cause of revenge, yet for that his noble Heart thought it to be the best revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men: He thought it better to grant them their requests, to save the City and Citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by Arms to make the same his Souldiers prey, to the destruction both of the City, and great number of People therein. So doth this good Emperor in one of his Epistles, *Adallambis*, confess himself. Which Epistle, to declare the Lenity and merciful Heart of so worthy a Prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midst of the History here to have placed. But thus I have kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

In this siege the Emperor, having spent and confumed almost all his Treasure both gold and silver, caused other Money to be made of Leather, which on the one side had his Image, and on the other side the spread Eagle (the arms of the Empire) and made a proclamation, that the same should pass from man to man for all necessaries in stead of other money; and therewithal promised, that whosoever brought the same Money unto his Exchequer when the was were ended, he would give them gold for the same, according to the value of every Coin limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the Historiographers do accord.

Thus when the Pope, as before is said, had stopped his ears, and would not hear the Emperors Legates that came to intreat for peace, but rejected and despised his moft courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy unattempted or force unpractised, that with his confederates he thought himself either able to revenge or else resist: he by his Legates calleth to a Council at *Rome*, all such Prelates out of *Italy*, *France*, and *England*, as he thought to favor him and his proceedings, that hereby, as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive *Fredrick* of his Empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the Church. All which things *Fredricus* having understanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to *Rome*, as well by Sea as by Land, in all that ever he might. So that all the passages by Land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his Son *Henry* with certain Gallies to go and keep the Coasts of *Sardinia*, which Kingdom the *Italians* call *Entimum*: and from thence to go to *Pisas*, and with the *Pisans* to rig out a Navy to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the Pope at *Rome*. The Popes Champions understanding that by Land they could not safely repair to *Rome*: they procured of Gallies and Ships out of *Genoa* (having *Guilelmus Braccius* for their chief Captain or Admiral) Forty fail for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they should Fortune to meet with any of the Emperors Ships or Gallies, which should lye for them in wait, they should be able to make their part good, and give them also the repulse. *Enzius* in like manner and *Huglinus* (being Captain and Admiral of the *Pisan* Navy for the Emperor) lanched forth to Sea with Forty Ships and Gallies: and betwixt the Isles of *Lilium* and *Mons Christi*, which lye between *Liburnium* and *Corsica*, they met with the *Genowaies* Ships; and straightways fiercely began to grapple with them and board them, in which fight at length were three of the *Genowayes* Ships both bourged and sunk, with all the riches and Treasure in them. In these were taken three Legates of the Popes, whereof were two Cardinals, *Jacobus Columna*, *Otho Marchio*, and *Gregorius de Romanis* (all cruel enemies against the Emperor) and many other Prelates more; besides a great number of Legates and Procurators of Cities, with an infinite number of Monks and Priests, besides of *Genowayes* Souldiers 6000, with divers others.

Pandolphus Colonutius, in describing the Circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these Champions of the Pope by Sea, amongst the rest declareth, that besides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they also found many Writings and Letters against *Fredrick*, which much helpt them in the defence of those causes, wherein they had labored against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the

and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole Christian State and Empire. And also he said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make invasion upon the Empire and Provinces of the same.

The Pope will grow to have no peace.

The Emperor although he thought it very requisite, that with all convenient speed this mischief should be remedied and prevented: Yet notwithstanding, his great Enemy the Pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceived that he himself could do no good, and only labored in vain in seeking peace with the Pope, he gave commandment to *Bojemus* and *Boyar*, to intreat and perswade with him. And (considering the imminent peril like to insue by reason of such civil diffention to the whole State of Christendom) that he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. Wherefore when he saw further, that neither by that means of intreaty, nor any other, the Pope would desist from his stubborn and malicious froward purpose, he writeth again to the King of *Hungary*, that he was right sorry and greatly lamented their miserable State, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redress the same, nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the Bishop of *Rome*; who refusing all intreaty of peace, he could not without great peril to himself depart out of *Italy*, left that when he should come to the aid of him (by the Popes mischievous Imaginations) he should be in peril of loling all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent *Conradus Cesar* King of *Bohemia*, and other Princes more of *Germany* to retift and withstand the Enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great Army and number of such Souldiers, as were the Cross by the Popes assignement, deferred their journey against the *Tartarians*, and had commandment given unto them by one *Albertus* (the Popes Procurator) to tarry and abide at Home, until they should be called for in battel to fight against the Emperor. This was the loving zeal and affection of the Pope and his adherents: (To conclude) in this time of Calamity towards the Christian State and Commonwealth; that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the Christian and good Emperor, than either he himself to withstand, or suffer and permit, by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this moft bloody and cruel *Tartarian* should be let and restrained from so great havock, spoil and slaughter of the Christian Men: and yet forsooth these men will seem to have the greatest regard of all others to the Christian preservation, and think to have the supremacy given therein: what thing else is this, but manifest mockery and deceiving of the people? But notwithstanding, even in the midst of this spoil and havock of *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungaria*, was it determined, that at *Libusa*, the Princes confederate should be assembled about the deposing of the Emperor, and creation of another.

The Pope's fault that the Turk is not refifted.

The Pope had rather fight againft the Emperor than againft the Turk.

But now notwithstanding, the provident forelight and wise policy of the Emperor (as you heard before) in refraining the paffages both by the Sea and Land, who had special regard thereunto, and gave moft ftrict charge that none should pass without privy search and examination, as one having sufficient tryal, as wellin his own perfon as by the example of his Predeceffors, what great mischief and deffention by their Legates every way sent out, they had procured, both to the Imperial State and Dignity, and to the whole Country of *Germany*: yet found they such means, and wrought such policies, that they had not only secret paffage and repaffage with their Letters and fpials into all Christendom where they lifted, but alfo fo laboured the matter and handled the fame, That the long continued league of amity between the *French* King and the Emperor, whose Predeceffors, as alfo they themselves, had many years reverently obferved it in Christian concord and unity, was, by this seditious Prelate and arrogant Vicar of *Satan*, now either utterly infringed, or elfe in varaible fufpence: as by their Letters each to other, and hereunder infuing, is to be read and feen: which for the more probability of this History of *Fredrick* (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought meet here to intext and place.

The Pope's wise policy.

The Epiftle of the *French* King to *Fredrick* the Emperor, touching the imprifoning of certain Cardinals of *France*.

{KING Hen. 3}

HIberto (Noble Emperor) hath the good opinion and great confidence (many years in mutual love eftablished betwixt us) lasted and continued well, hoping that no such cause should rise betwixt us to hatch either hatred or other occasion offensive between your Highness Empire, and our Kingdom. Especially, seeing that all our Predeceffors, King of France, late of moft worthy memory (till these our days) have been so zealously affected to the moft high and regal State of your Empire; and also that we, whom God hath placed succeffively to Reign as King, have been no otherwise minded nor affected towards the same. None otherwise also on their behalf have the Ancient and renowned Emperors of Rome, our Neighbours and your Predeceffors, shewed themselves towards us (each otherefteeming the Empire and Kingdom of France as one) and faithfully conserving together the unity of peace and concord. Insomuch that there hath not chanced between them these many years so much as one spark of Discord and Diffention. But this notwithstanding, we for our part cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cause are troubled and vexed; that, without desert or any offence, you have taken the Prelates of our Realm upon the Sea, making their repair to the See Apoftolical; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they ftand bound and are obedient, neither could they withftand the Pope his commandment: These have you imprisoned, and so ftill detain the same. Wherein (we do your Majefty to wit) we are not well pleased, neither yet take in so good part, as you peradventure think we do. For by their own Letters we underftand, they had excogitate nothing prejudicial to your Imperial Eftate and celfitude, although the Pope had profecuted therein more than became him to do. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause why you should detain them; it is meet and becometh no less your magnificence, but that you reftore unto us and set at liberty the faid Prelates of our Realm: wherein also you fhall appeafe our Grudge, and keep us your friend; which account the difpleasure you do to them as our own and proper injury. For why? It were a great diffonnor to our Realm and Kingly Eftate, if we would wink hereat and overpafs the same with filence. Wherefore if you will confider and refpect the thing that we have faid, we doubt not but that you will releafe the Bifhop of Peneftrum, with the other Legates and Prelates of the Church, which you to our prejudice do detain. In defiring of our aid doubtleft we gave unto them a manifeft way: neither could they obtain in our Kingdom any thing at all which feemed to be againft or prejudicial to your Majefty. Let therefore your Imperial Providence ponder in the Ballance of Juftice, those things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful requeft unto you be fruftrate or made in vain. For our Realm and Kingdom of France is not so debilitate or impoverished that it will be spurned at, or troden under your feet: Farewell.

The great amity and long continued league between the Empire and Kingdom of France.

The Rescript of the Emperor to the same Letter of the King of *France*.

OUr Imperial magnificence hath perused your Kingly Letters; wherein if we had not found manifeft contradiction, they might peradventure have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leaven a whole lump of dow is fowred; so a manifeft untruth alledged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and unfavoury. It is apparent that you wanted the vertue of modefty in the conclufion of the same your Graces letter: For that they themfelves bewray no left than we give you manifeftly to underftand, and many more befides do know. It is notorious alfo, and to all the world revealed, in what fort that Apoftolical Father hath impugned our innocency, as well with the one Sword, as with the other; and how that wholeft we at his commandment took our Journey beyond the Seas, the fame our great enemy and hoftile adverfary ftirred up King-

The Emperor refuseth the Pope's request.

{KING Hen. 3}

Kingdom of Sicilia: and the same, not in one place or two, but in divers and fundry parts thereof hath wafted, fpoiled, and deftroyed. After this, when with great intreaty at our return from Afia, we had concluded a Peace with him, which with us at his own pleasure he made, and had taken and received our devotion for the same, which in ferviceable manner we granted him: the faid Apoftolical Father (that notwithftanding) hath fince that time rather aggravated his diffleasure toward us, than any thing at all qualified the same; and further hath to our deprivation and fubverfion, excogitate and deviled againft us all the mischief he might or hath been able, no cause in all the world given by us to provoke the same; and further hath promulgated to our great defamation and fhame (as well by his Letters as Legates) the Sentence of Excommunication againft us unto all Nations. Laftly, he affirving to our Imperial State, and conjunct Council for that purpofe called all the Prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to fet all the whole world together by the ears. But fuch is the marvelous Wifdom of God, by whom we live and reign; who beholding the wicked purpofe he went about (confounding the Crafty in their craftineft) hath given into our hands as well your Prelates of the Realm of France, as alfo of other Regions and Provinces; all which we imprifon and detain, as Enemies and Adverfaries to our Imperial Crown and Perfon. For where there deferved not to be a Perfecutor, there hath not wanted alfo a fufficient Withftander and Defender. Let not therefore your kingly Highneft marvel, although Auguftus detaineth in prifon your French Prelates, which have endeavoured themfelves to Confpire, and fo to disturb our Imperial Eftate and Regiment. Fare ye well.

The crafty compaffed in their craftineft.

The King without great diffonnor of the Pope, would not fo have written to the Emperor.

When *Frederick* now saw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the Pope, he profecuteth this War to the uttermoft: and when he had gotten *Tudertum* and reconciled the same, he destroyed the Town of *Geminum* and *Narvia*, and giveth the fpoil of them unto his Souldiers: he gently received the yielding up of *Siburnium*, and walketh all the Country round about *Rome*. The Pope herewith difmayed and troubled with fuch as otherwife diffwaded and counfelled him, and feeing that things profpered not fo well with him and againft the Emperor as he wifhed and defired, being in defpair of obtaining his purpofe, died for very anger and thought.

Gregory the Ninth dieth for thought and cruft heart.

What Opinion the Prelates of *Germany* at that time had of this *Gregory* is extant, and to be feen by the Oration of *Eberhardius* Bifhop of *Juvavence*, that he made to the Nobility of *Bojoria* in the Parliament at *Reginburgh*, written by *Johannes Aventius* in his feventh Book. Doubtleft he not only brought great and ruinous Calamities to the whole Chriftian Common-wealth and alfo the Empire, whilft he fought thus to depreft and bridle the Emperour, and advance his Papal See and Dignity, but alfo brought into the Church of God much horrible Impiety, Blafphemy and Wickednefs, whereof both *Silondus*, *Platina*, *Balæus*, and others make mention: and amongft others that moft detestable *Cantilene*, *Salve Regina*, in the which he attributeth the Honour and Worfhip proper only to Chrift, unto the Virgin his Mother. This is he in whose name the Book of the Decretals was fet out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) *Johannes Balæus* calleth it *The fink or puddle of Foolifhneft and Impiety*. Doubtleft *Carolus Molinæus*, a man both of fingular judgment in that Law, which in Tribunal Courts and Judgments is ufed, as alfo in this, painted forth the Decree of this *Gregory* in his Book of *Annotations* unto *Platina*, whole words whereof are thefe, *Certum eft, multa capita in ius mutila & decurata effe, ut invidiofum argumentum lateret, &c.* That is, Doubtleft divers Chapters in the fame Book of *Decretals* be mangled and unperfect, that many contentious Arguments therein might lurk. For when the ambitious defire of reigning like Kings took them, they ftudied nothing elfe but how to enlarge and advance their See and Dominion with the Empire it felf and other Kingdoms (oft fhaken and weakned through Contention:) and this purpofe and end had they and none other in all their Conftitutions.

Here it fhould feem the Epiftle not found to the fault of the tranflation.

Carolus Molinæus upon the Decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth.

{KING Hen. 3}

Reafons cause of ftudy, as before you heard.

The proof whereof *Molinæus* declareth in his Book *De regibus Galliæ & Angliæ*. But many more Examples by the Emperors, Princes, and Lords Electors of the Empire may be gathered, whereof to fpeak, more convenient place ftall ferve hereafter.

In the ftead of this *Gregory* was placed *Celeftine*, born in *Mediolanum* amongft the *Caftellians*: who, as *Blondus* declareth, by fained promifes offered a League with *Fredericus*, and the eighteenth day after he was created Pope, he alfo died.

The creation and death of Pope Celeftinus.

Thus when the Author of all this Conspiracy was gone, *Frederick* now thinking himfelf free and void of that fear which before he had, and not daring to be abfent out of *Italy*, with all his indeavour levieth an Army, and prepareth his furniture and other neceffaries for the delivery of the *Chriftians*, fo mightily oppreffed as ye heard by the *Turk* or *Tartarians*. Who, hearing of the coming of the Emperors, left the ftraight way through *Hungary*, which they came, and returned by the River of *Danubium* to *Taurica*, and fo through the Fens of *Meotida*, and by the River *Tanaum*, into *Sarmatia Afiatica*. When the Cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the Pope, and would not agree upon the fame, the Emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the *Chriftian* Common-wealth. His two Epiftles touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that only for the care and defire he had of peace and of the Chriftian unity and ftate, he did the fame: and for that (peradventure) the Cardinals refufed to make peace with him before they had created a new Pope: the one for more brevity I have omitted, and here inferted the other.

The Emperor prepareth an Army to fight with the Tartarians, or Tartarians fly.

An Epiftle Invective of the Emperor unto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree upon the creation of the Pope.

UNto you I write, Oh you Children of Ephraim, which evil have bent your Bows, and worfe have fhot your Arrows, filthily turning your backs in the day of battel; unto you I fpeak, O you Children of Belial, and difherkened Flock, you unfenfible people and affiftants of the great Judge, unto you I write, O you diffentious Cardinals, whom the world for your deferts doth hate; for whofe caufes the whole world being at variance is evil fpoken of. Doubtleft, I cannot fpeak unto you, but to your detraction, because I am wordly and you fpiritual. I am unperfect, wherefore I muft do as the unperfect world doth: neither can the part be diffonant to the whole, nor I contrary to my felf that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude Epiftle, wanting the dignity of rhetorical ftile. My provoked Tongue burfteth forth into words, before my conceiving fpirit hath delivered the same; and so not attending to the higher Regiment, hath haftned to expreft my words not fully conceived or premeditate. Thus I fay, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget diforedered talk, and untimely uttereth the same. This therefore it is that our heart hath conceived, that we believe and all men confefs, that Jefus Chrift the Mediator between God and man, which came from Heaven to make peace upon the Earth, is not divided and at variance, being alfo the Maker and Lord of the Apoftles. But Satan, being divided in himfelf, that blaftering Prince is amongft you, as thofe to whom he mimifireth: he, even he, the Perfwader of Diffcord and diffention, that Man-killer, Father of Lyes, and Spirit of Darkneft, that hath divided your Tongues, and fet Diffention amongft your felves; neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the World, being by Fraud into fo perilous a ftate brought: and the little Ship of Peter, which is toffed upon the Sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which Ship, though it need not indeed utterly to fear drowning, yet fuffereth it by your negligence many great ftorms and perilous tempeft. Doubtleft, if ye would diligently confider how the Nations and People whom ye were wont to judge, in fcorn fhake their heads at you; every one of you would be aftamed of another. And to fay the truth, they cannot do too much to detect your fo deteftable Opprobry: for whilft every one of you afpireth to the Chair, every one is at variance

Fears Ship by the diffention of the Cardinals greatly afflicted.

with his Fellow, and whilst one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the Cathedral Dignity vanisheth. And thus by your discord, the peaceable state and concord of the Church is confounded, and the perfection of the Faith and Religion, whereby ye should live, perisheth. And surely, through your default it perisheth; so that, whereas nature hath placed the sense and understanding to be, that part, like a Monster, remaineth with you both senseless and headless. And no marvel, for why, your hearing is impaired, and that sound of the mouth which dayly was heard throughout the whole Earth, is utterly dumb, and become a scoffing Eccho. For why, the thundrings of Peter *and* Paul *are now no more heard, the Preachers are become dumb Dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no bribes; for why, those that were wont to come from* Saba, *and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the Manger, and the Celestial shining Star refusing to be their guid. Moreover, ye want feet to walk withall, for seeing there is no man to give you ought, you will not remove one foot for any mans pleasure. Fie shameless people, the least and simplest Beast may learn you Obedience, for the Birds have their Captain, and the silly Bees their King, but you will come under no Government, &c.*

Peter still voice turned into a scoffing eccho.

The Emperor re-inforceth the Cardinals out of prison.

The Emperor after this, at the request of *Baldwinus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who came to *Fredericus* to *Parma*, released the Cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not only to gratifie the Emperor *Baldwinus*, but also thinking that thereby things would have the better grown to publick tranquility on every side. When the Cardinals were all assembled at *Avignnia*, they made *Simibaldus*, a *Genowese*, Pope, whom by a contrary name, for that he had determined (as I suppose) to be hurtful to the Commonwealth, they called *Innocentius* the Fourth. Of which Election when *Fredrick* understood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the Christian Commonwealth should by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both his Legates and Letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to understand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made Pope; and withal how peace and quietness thereby he promised (as it were to himself) he muketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him obedivance, help and aid in all things, commending his Dignity to the publick State and quietnes of the Christian Commonwealth and Empire, &c.

Innocentius the fourth created Pope.

The Emperor rejoyceth of the Popes election, but without cause why.

He also wrote his Letters to *Otho* Duke of *Bojoria*, who a little before was reconciled to the Emperor, that he which was elected Pope was a good Man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquility of the Christian Commonwealth, as of the Empire.

The Legates of *Fredrick* also, with the furtherance of *Baldwinus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, laboured very diligently for the conclution of the promise of peace. And to be brief, every Man was in good hope and looked for no less. But far otherwise fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the Pope (set on and incouraged by the Cardinals and others against *Fredrick*) secretly and amongst themselves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both *Fredrick* and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the Popes holiness. For whileft the Emperors Legates attended the answer of their peace before promised, *Rainerus* the Cardinal went secretly to *Viterbium* with a certain number of Souldiers, and took the Town which before was on the Emperors part.

The Pope taketh *Viterbium* while the Emperor hoped for peace.

The Emperor having understanding hereof, musttereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entreth the Popes dition, again to recover *Viterbium*: But yet, taking this war so in hand (not thinking thereby to expel all conditions of peace) at the request of certain of the Cardinals he was contented to leave *Viterbium*, being furnished by the Emperor of war-like provision before, and came to *Aque*. From thence he sent again other Ambassadors to *Rome*, and with them also the Emperor of *Constantinople*, with the Earl of *Tholouse*, who he thought were able to do much with the Pope in the prosecuting of this peace.

And although at the time of *Easter* the matter seemed to have been through, and peace concluded, for that his Legates had Sworn in the behalf of the Emperor (and as he willed them) that he would submit himself to the Pope. And again, for that the Cardinals and others commonly called and named him *Fredricus* the Christian Prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through therewithal, but that through this dissimulation and likelihood of peace, which they underfooted the Emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could pass and come to *Rome*, whether a great multitude daily resorted and flocked for Religion sake. But when all came to all, and that the Legates perceived no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalf, they began to despair of the matter; letting the Emperor so to understand. The Emperor yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if he might himself speak with the Pope, he upon reasonable conditions should well enough accord with him; wherefore he by his Legates and Letters desired him to appoint a place where the Emperor might resort to him. The Pope seemed to be contented herewithal, and appointed a day at *Fescennia*, where they would talk together; and the Pope promised that he would be there before him, and expect the Emperors coming. But the Pope in this while had made a confederacy with the *French* King against *Fredricus*; who when he knew those three Gallies to be ready and brought unto *Centumcellas*, which he before had spoken for unto the *Genowaites*, secretly in the night with his company (hastening thither in Post speed) took ship, and first came to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Lions* in *France*; where he (calling a Council) with a loud voice summoneth *Fredrick*, and appointing him a day, commanded him there personally to plead his cause.

The Emperor both too much confidence in the Pope.

The Pope mocketh the Emperor and goeth to *Lions*, where he prosecuteth the Emperor.

And yet although he understood that the sudden departing of him out of *Italy*, made plain demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and also knew the Council which the Pope had called, wherein he was himself both Plaintiff and Judge; and at the same Council those, which he had by bribes allured, pretended the destruction of the Emperor; with many other such evident Demonstrations, both of his envious and hateful heart towards him: yet the most modest Emperor, using the innocency and uprightness of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and Christian Concord, sent the Patriarch of *Antioch*, which lately was come out of *Syria*, the Bishop of *Panormia* and *Thadeus Suessanus* the President of his Court (a most skilful and prudent Civilian) to the Council at *Lions*; which signified unto them that the Emperor would be there for the defence of his own causes. And, for that the day was very short, required a time more convenient for him thither to make his repair. The Emperor also being onward on his way, and come as far as *Taurinum*, sent before other Messengers, as the Master of the *Flemish* order, and *Peter de Vineis*, to give them understanding of the Emperors coming, and to intreat that he would Prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or upon how just cause soever required, the Pope would not give so much as three days space, in the which time the Ambassadors assured them of the Emperors presence; as though there had been no common proviso for every man in that case by the law to have used upon any reasonable let. What would I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the Pope with his confederates (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that Council) against Gods law, against Christian Doctrine, against both the Prescript of the Law of nature and reason, against the rule of equity, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of Emperors, and also the Decrees of the Empire, without any observation of the Law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any Crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be answered therein, taking upon him to be both adversary and judge, condemned the Emperor being absent. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel fact, considering the person, might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could have been imagined or devised?

The Emperor coming to make his appearance before the Pope.

The extremity of the Pope to the Emperor.

{KING Hen. 3.} The diffinition of the fifth Pope Innocentius the fourth.

Vengeance falleth upon the Pope for this fifth Judgment.

{KING Hen. 3.} vised? And yet hereat were those Bishops nothing athamed; but meaning to leave their doings in writing (as an impudent Testimony to their posterity) eftablished the same for a law to continue.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The writers of the Annals record, that when *Fredricus* the Emperor, and *Comradus* his Son being *Cæsar*, were both dead; the Pope gaping for the inheritance of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and thinking by force to have subdued the same, came to *Naples* with a great Host of Men, where was heard in the Popes Court manifestly pronounced this voice, *Veni miser ad judicium Dei*, Thou wretch come to receive thy Judgment. And the next day after the Pope was found in his Bed dead, all black and blew as though he had been beaten with bats, as before in the History of King *John* is declared.

When the Emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the Pope, passed and pronounced against him (considering his furious purpose and mind therein) thought good by his Letters, to let all Christian Princes and Potentates understand, as well that injurious and manifold displeasure he had sustained by the four Popes in all their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this Pope, in pronouncing the sentence of Judgment and condemnation against him (passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason) which Letter as he wrote the same, hereunder followeth to be seen.

The Letter of the Emperor to the *French* King and other Princes, for the sentence given against him in the Council of *Lions* by the Pope and Cardinals.

Although we suppose not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumor you have heard of the indifference of our cause and good handling thereof: yet for that more credit is commonly given to that the eye seeth, than to that the ear receiveth, we thought good to present unto you the naked truth of such things, which the Popes successively have put forth, and forged against us. To the perusing and consideration of which my cause and letter, I beseech your gentleness amongst other times of leasure, that you will spie out some fit and convenient time therefore. And all other what soever that shall have desire to hear Princes counsels and affairs, let them in like fort attentively consider. First, whether our Predecessors have been destitute or not, of Godly zeal, just dealing, and righteousness: and whether we may not lawfully revenge our selves, being so much provoked, of such evils and injuries as have been wrought against us. Secondly, let them consider whether Christs Vicar doth follow Christs steps or not; and whether Peters *Successors do follow his example or not; and also by what Law, equity and right, that sentence which they have pronounced against us, may be maintained and allowed: as also what name they may justly give it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence, which is given by an unsufficient Judge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath given full power in spiritual things unto his Church, that whatsoever she same bindeth in Earth, is bound in Heaven; and whatsoever the same looseth, is also loosed; yet we read neither by Gods Law, nor by any Law of Man, that we ought of duty to be subject unto him, or that an Empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may give any such sentence or Judgment to punish Princes temporally, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. For why? Although our confecration belongeth unto him by right and custom (as he challengeth) yet our deposing and depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth that presumption belong to any other Prelate of other Realms, which do consecrate and anoint their Kings, as the custom and manner is. Or put case it were so (we nothing hindered hereby) that he had such power: hath he that power to the intent to revenge himself upon whomsoever his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring them under his jurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against us, as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither were there out any inscription or proces: before neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a lawful denouncer, neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before us no manifest accusation. But he peradventure will say, that all things that he layeth against us were manifest and notorious. But that we deny, and nothing to be notorious, but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approved and tryed. For so may every judge himself (contemning the order of law) affirm what he list to be notorious, and thus condemn whom he list. There were against us (as well it may be said in Council) certain false witnesses, although not many, of whom the Bishop of Calin was one, who is neer Kinsman or Nephew (by our Laws condemned for Treason to be hanged) maketh also to us an infestine Enemy.* ¶ To such like effect prosecuting the rest of his Epistle, which for brevity sake I omit.

This policy used the Pope to vex and disturb both the Country of *Germany*, and the whole Empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same: By the ruinous decay whereof, the Pope and his Prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that *Germany* was now newly again divided, some taking part with *Fredrick* the Emperor, and *Comradus Cæsar* his Son, and other Nobles and Princes of the Empire; some with those that should by the Popes procurement be the Electors of the new Emperor, otherwise with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the publick Utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the publick Peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by publick and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like fort indeavored themselves with all force and power to use and occupy the same, according unto the decree of the Bishop of *Rome*, and to take it from *Fredrick*: Thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

Germany altogether in hurly burly through the Popes malicious mind.

Germany spoiled by civil dissension.

By these Civil wars, *Germany* suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murther, the the Country spoiled, the Towns and villages fet on fire and burnt, the Churches and Temples, wherein the Husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed: Houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every Mans cattel driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of depoling and chooling another Emperor, in this faction of Princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldnes of divers private Souldiers, and especially of such as were the Horsemen, then counted the better sort of Souldiers, were so great, and their unbridled and unfatiable desire in robbing, spoiling and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be fure and in safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore a little before the death of *Guilielmus* the King, threefore Cities and Towns which were belonging to *Ludovicus Palatinus* Duke of *Beiors* and *Rhenus*, and *Otho* his Son, and other Princes, whose names *Aventinus* in his seventh Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* maketh mention of, joyned themselves in a league for the expelling of these rebels, and expreiling of their so great injurious rapines and flaughter of men. Of which Army the said *Ludovicus* being Captian, he chaced and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermoft parts of *Germany*, and pulled down and overthrew their Castles and Fortreffes, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

The robbers and rebels chased out of *Germany*.

Otho Boius yet notwithstanding, keepeth his promise and faith moft constantly made before to the Emperor *Fredrick* and *Comradus* his Son. Whereupon *Philippus Farnesensis*, *Albertus* and others calling a Council at *Maldorfus* (by the Popes commandment) sent for *Otho* unto them, unto whom they opened the Popes pleasure and commandment. To all which, when he had heard, *Otho* answered: I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that when as heretofore you perfwaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the Bishop of *Rome*, whom you your selves affirmed to be Antichrift, and that I should take part with the Emperor, why that you your selves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good Princes: and he said, that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and

The fidelity of *Otho* to the Emperor.

The answer of *Otho* to the Legates.

deeds, which now call that wicked, unjuſt and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, juſt and right. He ſaid further, That they were overcome with Pleaſures, corrupted with Superfluity, won with Bribes, gaping for Honour and Eſtimation: and that they neither regarded honeſty, godlineſs, nor their duty and office; but ſtudied how to make diſtention and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battel.

He ſaid further, That for his part he would obey God and his Prince, to whom he had ſworn Fidelity; and that he nought eſteemed the fained, Holineſs and deteſtable practices of ſuch Prelates. He ſaid he believed in Chriſt, and would truſt to his Mercy; and that he believed how thoſe whom they curſed and gave to the Devil, were in greateſt favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithſtanding thoſe Prelates took in good part this Expoſtulation of his, and ſeemed to bear *Otho* no malice or grudge for that he had ſaid, but to be delirous of peace and unity: yet not long after *Otho* was curſed as black as all the reſt, and counted as bad as the worſt.

Otho excommunicated for turning from the Pope to take the Emperors part.

Albertus the Popes Champion now in *Germany* playeth not only *Rex* amongſt the Citizens, but alſo bethought him of a miſchievous Device againſt *Conradus Cæſar* the Emperors Son. When by fraud and ſubtilty he had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgeſſes and Citizens of *Regineburgh*, which bare the Emperor good will, and had ſent them priſoners to *Stauffum*, *Conradus* joyning with other Noblemen of the Empire (after he had ſpoiled and waſted much of his Lands and others his Companions) drave him ſo near, that upon certain other conditions he delivered again the Citizens. And ſhortly after coming again to *Reginoburgh*, and being received and welcomed into the Colledge of D. *Hamaranus*: *Albertus* with certain of his Confederates, by the means of *Ulricus* a Chief Officer of the Monks, came in the dead time of the night into the Chamber, where the *Ceſar* with a few others about him did lie; and falling upon them, ſome they took, and other ſome they ſlew; and finding no other body in the Chamber or Lodging, they thought that *Cæſar* had been ſlain among the reſt. But he hearing the noiſe, forſook his bed, and hid himſelf under a bench, and ſo eſcaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proſcribed the Biſhop and his Mates, and alſo the Monks Bayliff of Treaſon, and ſeized upon all the goods of the houſe. But at the Suit of the guiltleſs Monks he releaſed all to them again, taking by way of fine 100 pounds. *Ulricus* loſt his Office, and *Albertus*, thereby to eſcape danger of puniſhment, took upon him the habit of a Monk. *Conradus Hochenfolſem*, which was the Murtherer of theſe men, though he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand, yet the Vengeance of God for the Fact he eſcaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was ſuddenly ſtricken with a Thunderbolt and died.

Ceſar in danger of *Albertus*.

Albertus to eſcape puniſhment taketh the order of Blockery.

During all this batle and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that *Frederick* the Emperor lay not ſtill, but had his hands full: who notwithſtanding (by Gods help) overcoming and ſuppreſſing theſe or the greater part of theſe rebellious Popiſh Tumults, and having done ſtrict execution on thoſe eſpecially that had conſpired againſt his Perſon, calling a Council, and ſetting in ſome ſtay the troubleſome Affairs of his Kingdom, came to *Cremona* with *Fredericus* Prince of *Antioch*. *Richardus* Earl of *Umbria*, the Governor of *Flammiuia*, and *Encius* King of *Sardinia*, with a great number beſides of Souldiers and men of war. And beſides he took with him (which he ſent for out of every part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt left Learned men that there were, thinking with them to have gone himſelf to *Lions* to the Pope, and there to have with him Communication, as well concerning the Sentence definitive, as alſo about the concluſion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the Journey in hand, and came to *Taurinum*, having with him both a great Army of Souldiers, and alſo a great Company of Legates and Ambaſſadors. From thence ſending his Carriages before, within three days Journey of *Lions*, he was certified that *Parma* was taken and kept by the Outlaws of divers and fundry Factions of the Pope, his near Neighbours and Friends; as by the Popes Legate, and other Citizens, as of *Brixia*, *Placentia*, and ſuch like. Which thing when he underſtood, and that the Pope herein was the only and chief doer, he ſaw manifeſtly it ſhould little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about, and then at length when he ſaw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himſelf to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpoſe and journey, he took the ſtraighteſt way into *Lombardy*, and with an Army of 60000 men he beſieged *Parma*. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the Town plant his ſiege and battery without diſturbance, firſt he intrenched his Camp, and fortified the ſame about with Bulworks and other defenſible munition. After that, he cauſed divers Victualling-houſes and Taverns in his Camp to be ſlightly builded of timber; and without the Camp he appointed the place where the Market ſhould be kept, and all Victuallers reſort that would. He appointed places for their Churches and Temples, and in feemly manner adorned the ſame: and for the moſt part their Tents were builded with wood, ſo that it was like another *Parma*. All which things when he had finiſhed, which was not long in doing, for this happy and proſperous ſucceſs he called and named it *Victoria*, and had thought to have made the ſame to be in the ſtead of the City of *Parma*, for the which he purpoſed to have made level with the ground. And in the beginning both there and elſewhere, all things proſpered well with *Frederick*, and had good ſucceſs: for he ſharply hid to their charges that defended and kept the City of *Parma*. And further, *Robertus Caſſilionens*, which was the Emperors Lieutenant in *Piceenum* near unto *Auximum*, diſcomfited the Popes Army, and flew of them more than 4000, and took many ſuch as were of the Confederate Cities priſoners. And when the Factions or Companies of the *Gibelines* and *Guelphs* in *Florentia* were at controverſie, when *Fredericus* of *Hetruria* came to the *Gibelines*, to whom they had ſent for Aid: the *Guelphs* therewith diſmaid, fled from thence to *Bononia*, whoſe goods and ſubſtance came all to the Emperors Coffers, and *Florentia* alſo it ſelf to the Emperors Obedience. But this good ſucceſs and proſperous fortune laſted not long. For as at a time *Fredericus* to recreate himſelf (which ſeldom had his health) rode about the fields with certain of his Horſemen to hawk and hunt, many of the Emperors Souldiers, thinking nothing leſs than of ſuch a matter to be attempted of a many ſtarvelings within the Town of *Parma*, wandred and ranged unarmed out of their City *Victoria* about the fields. The Souldiers in *Parma*, having this occaſion offered, with all force and ſpeed poſſible entred the Emperors Camp or Town *Victoria*: which being not ſtrongly fenced, nor having Gates to ſhut againſt them, was a thing eaſie enough to do. The ſudden ſtrangeneſs of the matter much abaſhed the Souldiers, and they rang out their Larum-bell. The firſt aſſault was given upon *Marcus Maleſpina* his charge; whom when the Emperor, returning in all haſte, found to be hard beſet, he had thought to have reſcued him. But when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that ſide: inſomuch that the Emperor was forced to take the Trench, leſt he ſhould have been of the enemy inviron'd; and from thence he retired into the City or Camp, where he had thought to have gathered further Aid. But the enemy giving not ſo much time thereunto, with all force entred the City *Victoria*. The Emperor now, when the enemies were entred, left the Camp, and came to *Dominum*; who when they had killed and ſlain a great number of the Emperors Souldiers, and had burnt and deſtroyed the ſame Camp *Victoria*, came again to *Parma*. The Emperor ſuſpecting this thing to be wrought by treaſon, whereby the enemy had underſtanding as well of the Emperors abſence, as alſo of the negligence of his Souldiers, impriſoned certain of the chiefeſt about him, amongſt whom alſo was *Petrus de Vineis*. Yet whilſt he was at *Dominum*, gathering together his Souldiers and reſidue of his bands; *Encius* getteth a great Victory of the *Manſuanos*, who coming to the reſcue of *Parma*, loſt fifty of their Ships, and all that they had in them.

The Pope taken and kept by the Popes Legate and other friends of his.

After this alſo, *Richardus* in another Conflict in *Piceenum*, diſcomfited the Popes Souldiers, and ſlew their Captain *Hugolinus*, beſides 2000 others ſlain and taken priſoners. When now *Fredericus* had gathered again, and new muſtered his Bands at *Dominum*, he marched forth to *Cremona*: and notwithſtanding that there he underſtood of the good ſucceſs and victory that *Encius* had

{KING Hen. 3.}

The Emperor ſtirreth his journey from *Lions* to the ſiege of *Parma*.

The Emperor pitcheth his Camp and ſiege about *Parma*, Fifteen.

The Pope Army diſcomfited by the Emperors Lieutenant at *Auximum*.

The Emperor purpoſeth to make ſome great attempt.

The Emperor prevented by death.

The neighbours of the Souldiers offereth an occaſion to the enemy.

Frederick one of Gods Elect.

Sundry opinions of the death of *Frederick* the Emperor.

The Popes Biſhops boaſt themſelves to be) ſaid unto his Diſciples, that Church compared with Chriſt their Maſter and Teacher; and commanded them further more, how they ſhould not draw the ſword, but put up the ſame into the Scabbard; and further gave them in precept, that they ſhould not only forgive Injuries ſeven times, but ſeventy times ſeven times to thoſe that offended them; and when I now compare the lives of the Biſhops of *Rome*, how near they follow him whoſe Vicar they ſay he is, and conſider ſo many and great Conſpiracies, Treaſons, Rebellions, Diſloyalties, Lyings in Waite, and treacherous Devices, ſo many Legates of the Popes (being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons) which will needs be called the Shepherds of Chriſts Flock, to be ſuch Warriors and Captains of Souldiers in all the parts of *Italy*, *Campania*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, (being the Emperors Dominions) in *Picenum*, *Emilia*, *Flammiuia*, and *Lombardy*, to be ſent out againſt him, and alſo when with my ſelf I meditate the deſtruction of ſo many great and famous Cities, the ſubverſion of ſuch Commonweals, the ſlaughter of ſo many men, and the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood: and laſtly, when I behold ſo victorious, proſperous and fortunate Emperors to be, and ſo many miſerable, unfortunate and vanquiſhed Popes put to flight; I am perſwaded with my ſelf to think and believe, that the Judgments of God are ſecret and marvelous, and that to be true which *Aeneas Sylvius* in his Hiſtory of *Auſtria* writeth, that there is no great and marvelous ſlaughter, no notorious and ſpecial Calamity (that hath happened either to the Publick Weal, or to the Church of God) of the which the Biſhops of *Rome* have not been the Authors.

{KING Hen. 3.} had at *Rhegium*, yet for that he perceived the defection and backſliding of all or moſt part of *Lombardy* from him, he determined to take his Journey into *Apulia*: And when he had there levied a ſtrong and ſufficient Power, he purpoſed to make his ſpeedy return again into *Lombardy*. Therefore, in his Journey through *Hetruria* into *Apulia*, he joyned with his Son *Fredericus*, which beſieged *Capras*, and took the ſame: and led with him divers of the chiefeſt Captains priſoners, and after that, ſubduing unto the Obedience of the Empire *Miniatum*, he came into *Apulia*.

Ceſar beſieged and taken of the Emperor.

When news was brought him thither, that *Encius* his Son (coming to aid the *Matinenſes* againſt the *Bononians*) was taken priſoner two miles from *Mutina*; and that in his abſence, the Popes Captains with their Bands and Garriſons went throughout all *Lombardy*, *Emilia*, *Flamminia*, and *Hetruria*, to ſtir and procure the Cities to revolt from the Obedience of the Emperor, and working the ſame partly by ſubtil policies, and partly by force and ſinifter means to bring them to his purpoſe: he determined with himſelf, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make to have begun afreſh, and profecuted this War to the uttermoſt. Neither was it to be doubted (as *Pandolphus Colonucius* writeth) but that he would have wrought ſome marvellous Exploit and great Attempt, but that he was of this his purpoſe (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked for death. For when he fell into this Ague, being at a certain Caſtle of his in *Apulia* called *Florentinum*, and ſaw by the extremity thereof his days to be ſhort, he remembred that which was once ſhewed him, how he ſhould die at *Florence*; whereupon he made and ordained his Teſtament. And when unto *Comadus* and other his Children he had given and appointed the great and innumerable maſs of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his Wars, and godly purpoſe (as it is called) and unto them alſo had given all other his Kingdoms and Dominions (to every one according to their ages and years) he departed this wretched and miſerable world.

Pandolphus writeth, that *Fredericus* was very willing to die, and as they made certain report to him which were preſent at his death, that his mind was altogether ſet and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing alſo *Gulielmus Puteanus*, *Andreas Pandalus*, and *Manardus* the Biſhop, being *Italian* Writers do all affirm, of whom this laſt writeth, that he aſſuredly believeth *Frederick* to be one of the number of Gods Elect.

The Writers notwithſtanding are of ſundry Judgments and Opinions touching this good Emperors death. Some write, that he was traiterouſly poiſoned by his Cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was ſtrangled with a pillow, of *Manfredus* the Son of *Plaurus*. But *Pandolphus* a good Writer as the beſt, maketh no mention of any poiſon that was given him, but only that he died of an Ague. The laſt opinion of *Manfredus* he manifeſtly refuteth, and ſheweth that there is no manner of likelihood of the ſame: and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other Writers that were of that time. He died in the year of our Lord, 1268. the thirteenth day of *December*, in the ſeven and fiftieth year of his age, and ſeven and thirtieth year of his Reign, whoſe Corps was brought to *Panormum*, and there intombed.

The Emperor ſtirreth up treaſon in perſwading divers of his Captains.

The diſcomfiture of the Emperor at the ſiege of *Parma*.

Frederick had three Wives, the firſt was *Conſtantia*, the Daughter of the King of *Aragon*; of whom he begat *Henry* the Duke of *Suevia* and King of the *Romans*: the other *Yole* the Daughter of *Johannes Brennus* King of *Hieruſalem*, by whom he had the Inheritance of *Hieruſalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; of whom he begat *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, King of *Hieruſalem* and *Naples*, being *Ceſar*: the third, *Iſabell* the Daughter of King *John* of *England*, by whom he had a Son named *Henry*, which is ſaid to die in his Childhood. This *Fredericus* had not his Peer in Martial affairs and Warlike policies to be compared unto him, amongſt all the Princes of that age: a wiſe and skilful Souldier he was, a greater indurer of painful labours and travels, moſt bold in greateſt perils, prudent in foreſight, induſtrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adverſity moſt ſtout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any Prince almoſt of ſuch Government and godly Inſtitution both in life and doctrine as is required of them: ſo neither was this *Frederick* without his fault and humane fragility, for the Writers impute to him ſome fault of concupiſcence, wherewith he was ſtained and ſpotted. And it appeareth that he was not clear thereof, forſomuch as by ſundry Concubines he had ſundry Children; as *Encius* the King of *Sardinia*, *Manfredus* the Prince of *Sarsinium*, and *Frederick* King of *Antioch*. And this is all that I find of the Deſcription of *Frederick* by *Colonucius*, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable Authors. But as touching the hainous Acts and flagitious Deeds, which the Pope burtheneth him withall, and in his Sentence againſt him maketh mention of; *Fredericus* not only purgeth himſelf thereof, but alſo divers Hiſtoricians (as well *German* Writers as *Italians*) affirm the ſame to be falſe and of the Popes own brains, invented to do him ſkath and teen withall. Of which matter thoſe things which *Pandolphus* (touching the commendation or diſpraiſe of *Fredericus* writeth) I thought good out of *Italian* to tranſlate; whoſe words be theſe:

Frederick a moſt valiant Prince in Martial affairs.

Albeit the Emperor *Fredericus* was indued with many goodly Gifts and Vertues, yet notwithſtanding was he accounted an Enemy of the Church, and a Perſecutor of the ſame: of which both *Innocentius* the Fourth in his Sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the ſame Sentence have other Popes regiſtred in their ſix Books of *Decretals*, and ſtabliſhed the ſame for a Law, how that he ought to be taken for no leſs. Therefore peradventure it ſhould not become me to falſifie or call in queſtion that, which others have confirmed, or elſe to diſpute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithſtanding as much as his Acts and Deeds in writing declare, and the Books of the chiefeſt Authors affirm, as alſo his own Epiſtles do teſtifie; I cannot preciſely ſay, whether the Biſhops of *Rome* ſo call him and judge him therefore: Or elſe for that he was ſomewhat too bold in ſpeaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the Eccleſiaſtical Order of their great abuſes: Or elſe, whether for that he would have had them gone ſomewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient Fathers of the Primitive-Church and Diſciples of Chriſt: Or whether for that he defended and ſtood with them for the Prerogative and Dignities belonging to the Empire or not: Or elſe whether they ſtood in fear and awe of the great Power he was of in *Italy*, which thing indeed *Gregory* the Ninth in a certain Epiſtle of his confeſſeth: but of theſe things let them judge and diſcern, that ſhall read the Monuments and Hiſtories of *Frederick*. Truly (ſaith he) when I conſider with my ſelf that Chriſt (whoſe Vicar the *Roman* The Popes

The wards of *Pandolphus* touching the ſtaple and diſpraiſe of the Emperor.

Authors. *Nicholaus Machiavellus* also saith, *That all the ruinous Calamities and miserable Chances, that the whole Christian Common-weal, and also* Italy *hath suffered, have been brought in by the Popes and Bishops of* Rome.

Many Epistles of *Fredericus* there be, which he wrote unto the Bishops of *Rome*, to the Cardinals, and to divers other Christian Princes, all which I have read; and in them is to be seen nothing contrary unto Christian Doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the Church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of *Frederick*. But indeed I deny not the fame to be fraught and full of pitiful Complaints and Lamentations, touching the avaricious ambition of the Ecclesiastical Persons, and pertinacy of the Bishops of *Rome*, and that he would receive and take no satisfaction nor yet excuse, in the defence of the right and priviledge of the Empire, which he maintained: also of their manifold and infinite Conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him: and of the often admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order Ecclesiastical, to attend upon and discharge their Fuuctions and Charges. And who that further is desirous to know and understand the truth, and covetesh to search out the renowned Vertues of Magnificent Princes, let them read the Epistle of *Frederick*, dated to all Christian Princes, which thus beginneth, *Collegerunt Principes, Pontifices & Pharisæi concilium*: and another, wherein he perswadeth the Colledge of Cardinals to take up the dissention between the Emperor and the Pope, which beginneth, *In exordio nascentis mundi*; and also another which thus beginneth, *Infallibilis veritatis testem*; besides yet another, *Ad Reges & Principes orbis Christiani*; with divers others more, wherein may well be seen the Princely Vertues of this so worthy a Peer: all which Epistles collected together in the *Latine*-Tongue, the learned sort I wished to read, whereout they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themselves. In his Epistle last recited, these are his words, *Non exsistimetis id me a vobis ideo contendere, ac si ex sententia Pontificia privationis Majestas nostra sit perculsa. Cum enim nobis sit rectæ voluntatis conscientia, cumq; Deum nobiscum habeamus, eundem testem invocamus id nos spectasse, eum totum ordinem Ecclesiasticum, tam proferrim primores, nervis potestiæ dominationisque eorum fucesisse extirpatisque tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitivæ Ecclesiæ conditionem & statum revocaremus*; That is, *Think ye not that we so earnestly desire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our Majesty were terrified with the Popes Sentence of Deprivation: when as God (upon whom we truste and invocate) is our witness, and judge of our conscience, that when we went about to reform the Ecclesiastical State, but especially the Ringleaders of the same, and should restrain their Power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the same to the state and condition of Primitive Church, we looked for no less at their hands.* For these causes peradventure, those which had the Government of the Ecclesiatical Dignity, decreed and pronounced *Frederick* to be an Enemy to the Church: which (as I have said) I leave to others to judge thereof. ¶ Hitherto *Pandolphus Colonucius*.

Defived commendation upon the Epistles of *Frederick*.

Frederick purnished with the hatred of the Imperial State to reform the Church of Rome.

And doubtless Examples to the contrary do appear, that *Frederick* was no Enemy to the Church of *Rome*, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great Priviledges and Immunities, which things by his own Constitutions, Statutes and Customs, may be perceived and understood. But rather contrariwise that the Bishops of *Rome* most filthily recompenced the fame his great liberality, and princely Benevolence again, which he gave and bestowed upon the same, as partly in the discourse of this History you have heard: who notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many Injuries as you have seen, he nevertheless, forgiving and pardoning all the same, for the great zeal he had to the common Christian wealth (whereof he more forced, than of any other thing) sought by all means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hinderance. Therefore seeing he was of necessity by the Bishops of *Rome* provoked to that War, if he did them any skath in revenge of his Imperial Dignity, let them thank their own selves which might otherwise have remedied the same. Notwithstanding upon this occasion divers (both *Italian* and *German* Writers, which at that time fought for fat Benefices, and ever since even unto these our days have done the like, by flattery rather to obtain that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful Testimony of things as they were indeed) took great occasion to write and flander this good Emperor. But let us pass over these Parasites, and return to those, which although they themselves were of that Calling, I mean of the Ecclesiastical Order: yet notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the study of verity, and to reverence the truth before Popish authority, and flattering fervitude, greatly extolled and commended this good Emperor *Frederick*. So did *Nicolaus Cusanus* a Cardinal in his writing affirm this Emperor to be an *Alter Carolus Magnus*, both for his wisdom and also diligent regard to the Common-weal. So also writeth *Aegidius Biturigum* the Bishop, in his Books of the institution and bringing up of a Prince, which he wrote to the *French* King, exhorting him and all others to take a pattern of this most worthy and excellent Prince: in commendation of whose worthy praise and vertue these Verses are written on his Tomb.

Hope of gain allureth many to write untruths.

{KING Hen. 3.}

Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas, ortis possent resistere mortis:
Non foret extinctus Fredericus, *qui jacet intus.*

Wherefore, insomuch as it appeareth by the approved Writers, of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of Prince *Frederick* this Emperor was, and that because he diligently laboured, as well in the preservation of the Christian Commonweal, as in the conservation of the Imperial Dignity, he procured to himself the great hatred and displeasure of the *Roman* Bishops (who have been to all the good Emperors for the most part utter foes and enemies) and with what wicked flanders and other injuries both by them, and by their Ministers they continually molested him: this Lesson ought to be ours, that having the fame in our memory, we imitate and follow his vertues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy Fathers that will fo be called, and Bishops of *Rome*; desiring God that he will fo guide the hearts of all Kings and Princes, that they may by his Grace advance and set forth his Glory, and reform the corrupt and vitious manner and order of the Church to all sincerity and purity both of Life and Doctrine.

These Verses which here insue were sent and written between the Emperor and Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth, which, for that to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this History I thought good to place.

Fredericus Imper. *Innocent* 4. Papæ.

Fata manent, stellaque docent, aviumque volatus,
Totius subito malleus orbis ero:
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.

Innocent. Papa *Frederico* Imper.

Fata silent, stellaque tacent, nil prædicat ales,
Solius est proprium nosse futura Dei:
Niteris incassum navem submergere Petri:
Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,
Quod tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit:
Quod divina manus potuit, sensit Julianus,
Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.
Fre. premit in mundo, de. deprimit alta profundo,
Ri. mala rimatur, cul. cuspide cuncta minatur.

Fredericus Innocentio.

Fata manent, stellaque docent, avriumque volatus,
Lapsurum te mox ad stygis antra nigra:
Cymba Petri *non est, sed Christi, quæ natat undis*
Fluctuat, at nusquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda
Interitum ostendunt, exitiumque tuum.

Strangulat

Frederick sheweth himself no enemy, but a friend to the Church of Rome.

Self do, self have, the Proverb is.

{KING Hen. 3.} *Strangulat* Adrianum *musca; amon ira tonantis*
Cogitat, & de te sumere supplicium?
Carcere suspendit se Benedictus, & alter
In stupro capitur, fancius ense perit.
Sylvestrum extinguit Satan scelerator ipse:
Ergo tua factis præmia digna feres.
Innocuum te voce notas, cum sis nocturnus
Orbi terrarum Christianoque gregi.

Fredericus Innocentio de integro.

Esses si membrum, non te caput orbis & urbis
Factares, cum sis orbis & urbis onus.
Nunc membrum non es, sed patre cadaver & ulcus,
Ense recidendum, ridiculumque caput.
A Daniele Φαλεγιμα, nefasque capuique malorum
Diceris, a Paulo filius exitii.
Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse: malorum
Totius orbis te caput esse facis.
Et caput est unum, quod Paulus *dicit ubique;*
Tu vocors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corpora ergo caput monstrosi, monstra parisque,
Monstra paris Monachos, scorta nefanda foves.
Est tua Religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,
Error, delicia, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergo liquet Christum te spernere: Christo
Hostem esse invisum, dedecorique Deo.
Rex tandem veniet Cælo delapsus ab alto,
Tunc non defendent te, sacra missa, cruces;
Non in sublimi surgentes vertice cristæ,
Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors.
Nec diadema triplex, nec fides sanguine parta,
Nullus honos solis, purpura nulla tui:
Trigima argenteis Christum vendebat Judas,
Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Christi parvo ære, polumque,
Cælestes genios, fœdera, jura, Deos.

Certain Heretics in Suevia.

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the Popish-Church against their lawful Emperor; so now shall ye hear (Christ willing) how God beginneth to relift and withstand the corruption of that Whorish-Church, by stirring up certain faithful Teachers in sundry Countries; as in the Country of *Suevia* about the time of this Emperor, *Anno* 1240. or near upon the same, where were many Preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of *Urspergensis*, and also in *Crantzius*, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 16. & 18. which preached freely against the Pope. These Preachers (as *Crantzius* saith) ringing the Bells, and calling the Barons in *Halle* of *Suevia*, there preached that the Pope was an Heretick, and that his Bishops and Prelates were Simoniacks and Hereticks; and that the inferior Priests and Prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all Seducers. *Item*, that no Pope, Bishop or Priest could reftrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping of God, and therefore such Cities or Countries, as were then under the Popes Curse, might notwithstanding lawfully refort to the receiving of Sacraments as well as before. *Item*, that Fryers, *Dominick* and *Franciscan*, did subvert the Church with their preaching. And that the Indulgence of the Pope and his Popelings was of no regard; but that remission which they did preach unto them, they preached it not from the Pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the resisting of the Popes usurped Power and corrupt Doctrine is no new thing in these days in the Church of Christ, &c.

Ex Crantz. lib. Ursperg. comm. lib. 18. & 19. cap. 6. & 18.

Resistance against the Pope, no new thing in Christs Church.

Arnoldus de nova villa condemned of Heresie.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose up *Arnoldus De nova villa*, a *Spaniard*, and a man famously learned and a great Writer, *Anno* 1250. whom the Pope with his Spiritualty condemned among Hereticks for holding and writing against the corrupt Errors of the Popish-Church. His teaching was, that Satan had seduced the world from the Truth of Christ Jesus. *Item*, that the Faith (which then Christian-men were commonly taught) was such a Faith as the Devils had; meaning belike (as we now affirm) that the Papists do teach only the Historical Faith, which is the Faith *Historiæ, non fiduciæ*. *Item*, that Christian-people (meaning belike, for the most part) are led by the Pope unto Hell. *Item*, that all Cloisterers are void of Charity and damned; and that they all do falsifie the Doctrine of Christ. *Item*, that the Divines do evil in mixing Philosophy with Divinity. *Item*, that Masses are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certain other Opinions there be, which the flanderous Sects of Monks and Fryers do attribute unto him; but (as they are wont in all others to do) rather upon envious taking, than of any just cause given.

Vide librum de syssinus verbatim.

Johannes Semeca the Glos-writer of the Popes Decrees Excommunicated.

And as this *Arnoldus* was condemned, so also the fame time *Johannes Semeca*, the Glofs-writer of the Popes Decrees, and Provoft of *Hallerstat* was excommunicated and deprived of his Provoftship, for refilling Pope *Clement* the Fourth, gathering certain Exactions in *Germany*; and therefore he appealed from the Pope to a General-Council, and had many great Favourers on his side, till at last both the Pope and he died.

Guilielmus de S. Amore.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant Champion of Christ, and Adverfary of Antichrist *Guilelmus de S. Amore*, a Master of Paris, and chief Ruler then of that University. This *Gulielmus* in his time had no small ado writing against the Fryers, and their Hypocrisie, but especially against the begging-Fryers, both condemning their whole Order, and also accusing them, as those that did disturb and trouble all the Churches of Christ by their preaching in Churches against the will of the Ordinaries and Pastors, by their hearing of Confeffions, and executing the charges of Curates and Pastors in their Churches. All the Testimonies of Scripture that make against *Antichrist*, he applieth them against the Clergy of Prelates, and the Popish Spiritualty. If he fame *Gulielmus* is thought to be the Author of the Book, which is attributed to the School of *Paris*, and intituled, *De periculis Ecclesiæ*: where he proveth by nine and thirty Arguments, that Fryers be false Apostles.

Moreover, he doth well expound this saying of Christ (*If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me*) declaring there, poverty to be injoyned us of Christ, *Non altualem, sed habitualem*; not in such fort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but inward affection of heart when need shall require. As though the meaning and Precept of our Lord were not, that we should caft away actually all that we have; but that, when the Confeffion of the Fame of God and the Glory of Christ shall so require, then we be ready to leave and relinquish what things soever for the fake of him, &c. As when he requireth in us after the like phrase, hatred of Father and Mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to dishonour Father or Mother, much less to hate them; but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the love of Christ. Many other worthy Works he compiled, wherein altheit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithstanding he was by *Antichrist* and his Rabble condemned for an Heretick, exiled, and his Books burnt; whose heretical Argumens, as they called them, that thou mayst better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place.

This place of the Gospel expounded, *Si vis esse perfectus* &c. and not come follow me.

Guilielm. de S. Amore condemned of the Pope for an Heretick.

Against false Prophets with signs to know them by, these his words do follow: *For because these Seducers* (saith he) *name themselves to be Apostles, and say that they are sent of God to preach, to absolve and dispence with the Souls of men, by means of their Ministery, read the saying of the Apostle in his second Epistle to the* Corinthians, *Chap.* 11. For such Apostles are subtil and crafty Workmen, disguising themselves to be like the Apostles of Christ. *Therefore, we mean to shew some certain infallible Tokens and probable, by the which false Apostles may be discerned from the true Preachers and Apostles of Christ.*

The first sign or mark is, that such as be true Preachers do not enter into simple Womens houses laden with fits, and take them as it were captive, as many of the false Preachers do; as in the second Epistle of S. *Paul* to *Timothy* the third Chapter is manifeft, saying, *Of those sorts are they, which enter into Womens houses, &c.* Therefore those Preachers which come into Womens houses, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true Preachers, but false Apostles.

The first sign and token to know a false Fryer and Preacher by.

The second sign and token is, that those that be true Preachers do not deceive simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their own Trash and Tradition, as all false Prophets do, as in the last Chapter to the *Romans* appeareth, saying, *By their pleasant*

Preachers do not deceive men with painted flattering words.

pleasant and fugred talk, and by their blessing and crossing they deceive and beguil the hearts of innocent men and women. Glosf. Which gay glorious words they extol and set forth their Traditions, whereby they deceive simple men. Very greatly do they deceive the Souls of simple men, which cause them to enter into their Sect, which they term Religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicity, after their entrance, become subtil and false deceiving Hypocrites, entring together with the rest into poor mens houses; yea, and oftentimes become worse than the others. Whereupon, *Mat.* 22. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, which go about, &c.* Therefore they which do this, are no true Messengers, but false Apostles.

The third sign is, that the true Apostles, if they be reproved, suffer the same patiently, 2 *Cor.* 12. saying, *The Tokens of my Apostleship are accomplished among you, in all patience and sufferance*, meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the manners of the Preachers. Therefore they, which suffer not correction or punishment, be no true Apostles, but rather shew themselves to be no *Christians* at all, 1 *Cor.* 12. *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost*. Glosf. It is meet that *Christians* should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselves to be reproved, and not to be holden up with Yea and Nay. And also such men do shew themselves to be carnal, and not spiritual at all, although they fain themselves to be spiritual, *Gal.* 3. *Therefore am I become an enemy unto you.* Notwithstanding the *Glosa* saith, *No carnal man will be reproved although he err.* Wherefore, those Preachers which suffer not correction, seem not to be true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The third sign is, that true Apostles do not reprove when they be reproved.

The fourth sign is, that true Preachers commend not themselves.

The fourth sign is, that true Apostles commend not themselves, 2 *Cor.*4. *For we dare not join our selves, nor yet compare our selves unto others which commend and boast of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all.* Also true Preachers, although they be indeed praise-worthy for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praise-worthy, and not to the outward shew alone, 2 *Cor.* 3. *We commend our selves* (saith the Apostle) *to the consciences of all men.* Then they do not commend themselves in comparison of others. Wherefore the *Glosa* saith upon the same place, *Those, that deserve no Commendation, but in comparison of other, do challenge to themselves other mens deserts and praise.* Wherefore in the second Epistle of Saint *Peter* the last Chapter, it is said, *Even as our welbeloved Brother Paul, according to the Wisdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you*, Glosf. The shiteth of the Apostles hath here forgotten his Papal Authority, and also his Keys that were delivered unto him; for he is astonied as it were at the great wisdome given unto his Brother *Paul*. For indeed it is the manner of the Elect Children of God, to be more in love with the vertues of other men, than with their own. Wherefore in the second Chapter to the *Philippians* it is written, *Let those that are Superiors esteem of themselves in all humility.* They therefore that do the contrary, saying, *That their state or doings be better than other mens, although they be Preachers, yet are they no true Apostles indeed, but false Prophets.*

The fifth sign is, that true Apostles need no Letters of Commendation; nor yet desire to have themselves praised of men, as in the 2 *Cor.* 3. the Apostle saith, *We need not the Letters of Commendation of any man*; that is to say, of false Prophets.

The fifth sign is, that true Apostles need no Letters commendatory.

The sixth sign is, that true Apostles preach not unless they be sent.

The fifth sign is, that false Preachers need not Letters commendatory.

The sixth sign is, that true Apostles preach not unless they be sent, as in the 10. Chap. to the *Romans*, *How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* There be no true Apostles, but those that be sent: for they have no need of signs which are true Witnes-bearers, but those that be not sent and do preach are false Prophets.

The seventh sign is, when those false Prophets preach, that were never sent.

The seventh sign is, that false Prophets preach, that were never sent, as in the Epistle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* it is written, *For we dare not boast of our selves, or make comparison*, Glosf. That is to say, with those that be false Prophets, not taking their authority from God, but usurping the same, delirous to bear Rule, claiming in their own name their authority. And therefore although peradventure by presumption they say that they are sent of God, as all Hereticks will say; yet notwithstanding, unless they shall prove their sending either by spiritual Prophesie, as *John Baptist* did, saying, *I am the Voice of a Cryer in the Desert*; as out of the Prophet *Esay* in the first Chapter of Saint *Johns* Gospel is alledged; or else by Miracles, as *Moses* did, which turned his Rod into a Serpent, and again, from a Serpent to a Rod, as in the seventh Chapter of *Exodus*, they ought for to be excommunicated, till such time as they cease from preaching. Yet notwithstanding, a Miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, forsomuch as they be done oftentimes and that of evil and wicked men, 1. *q.* 1. we may perceive towards the end. But Miracles ought to be suspected, forsomuch as our Saviour faith in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, *Then shall false Prophets arise, &c.* Therefore they which do challenge authority in their own name, forsomuch as they have not their authority from God, they are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The eighth sign is, that false Prophets, pretending great Wisdom and Holiness to be in Superstition, have falsly named their own Traditions to be Religion, the which are rather to be counted Sacrilege or Church-Robbery, and do usurp unto themselves, for due deserts of other men, by boasting and bragging among strange and unknown people. Wherefore the Apostle speaking of false Prophets in the second Chapter to the *Colossians*, saith, *According to the Precepts of men, which having a face of wisdom consist in Superstition, interlaced with humility*, Glosf. That is to say, mingled with fained Religion, that it might be called Religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but Sacrilege, because it is contrary to all authority; that is, contrary to God himself, that any man should define to have Government of a multitude without publick commandment, as in *Deuteronomium* the three and twentieth Chapter, *Thou hast entred into thy Neighbours Vineyard*, Glosf. That is to say, Into the Church of another Bishop. May a man warn and admonish others, or else correct that Congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take to great a charge on him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another Bishops Diocess, it is apparent, because it is not lawful for the Archbishop so to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. *q.* 3. And also it is written 9. *q.* 2. Thoughout. Therefore those Preachers, which against God and his Divine Scriptures do call their own Traditions Religion, are not Apostles, but false Prophets.

The eighth sign is, that false Preachers when they preach not according to the Scripture.

The ninth sign is, by the authority which they have: for although they be no Preachers of the Gospel or Ministers of the Sacraments, yet they will live by the Gospel, and not by the labour of their own hands, against the Text in the 2 *Thess.* 3. *Neither have we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free cost*, Glosf. Then those false Prophets ought much more to live by their labour, which have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to say, to live by the Gospel. And S. *Augustine* speaketh of this more expresly in his Book *De opere Monachorum*, by these words, Those our Brethren do claim to themselves (very rashly as true thinketh) that they have any such authority, to live by the Gospel. If they be Preachers of the Gospel, I grant that indeed they have such authority; if they be Ministers of the Altar, if they be disposers of the Sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if at the least they have not wherewithall to sustain this present life, without labour of their hands. As though he would have said, If they be not such manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the Gospel. Therefore those Preachers which have no authority to live by the Gospel, or else Ministrer the Sacraments, because they have no Congregation whereby to take charge of Souls, and yet for all that will needs live upon the Gospel; they be no true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The ninth sign is, that false Preachers when they preach not according to the Scripture, live upon other mens labours.

The tenth sign is, that false Preachers do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to mens Souls, than those that be their very Governors and Pastors have, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the Glosa speaketh, and the 1 *Thes.* 2. *We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the Nurse which giveth her Child suck*, Glosf. A woman nurseth other mens Children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love without respect of money. Therefore those Preachers which fain themselves to have a greater love and affection to the Souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true Apostles. The Apostles study not for Eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false Prophets do them both, as in the 2 *Cor.* 11. *If the simple and unelequant man, &c.* Glosa. The Apostles were not eloquent, but false Prophets are full of curious Eloquence. Also upon the same another glosa, The *Corinthians* were led away from the Gospel by over-nice Eloquence, 2 *Cor.* 7. *Let us shew our selves before all men as the Ministers of God*, Glosa. The Ministers of God do not flatter as false Prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true Apostles have not their abiding in Princes Courts and Noblemens houses, knowing, this saying of Christ in S. *Matthews* Gospel, *Behold, these that are clothed with Silks dwell in Kings Courts.* And therefore true Apostles are not conversant in Princes Courts, and Noblemens houses, *Glosa*. Hard and strict life with the preaching of the Gospel loveth not to come near Princes Palaces, and Noblemens houses. Obsequiuse is cometh to pass that Courtiers are found great Flatterers, therefore those Preachers that have their abode in Princes Courts, or that in any other place do use to flatter, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The tenth sign is, that false Preachers do counterfeit themselves to have greater love than those that be their very Governors.

The eleventh sign is, that true Apostles do preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of Souls, and for no Temporal gain, as in the 2 *Cor.* 4. saying, *We preach not our selves*, &c. Glosa. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false Prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in the *Philip.* 1. is said, *Whether it be upon occasion given, or else for the verities sake, let Christ be preached, &c.* Glosa. False Prophets do preach the Gospel upon some occasion, as either by feeling some commodity at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be ready and willing, as it should seem, to bear and sustain injuries; yet they seek not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon, 2 *Corimth.* 12. *Because I seek not the things that be yours*; that is to say, not your Treasure, as gold and silver, *but only you your selves*, Glosa. For otherwise it could by no means be gathered that they should understand him to speak or mean of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might understand his great good will towards them. Therefore these evil and naughty Preachers which preach for wordly gain or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true Apostles but false Prophets. But it may be asked, how shall men understand when these good Fellows preach for their own vainglory sake? It may be answered thus, When they preach before they be called, as in the 2 *Cor.*11. *Whosoever boasteth, let him boast and rejoyce in the Lord*, Glosa. Which thing he cannot by any means do that hath not his Authority from God. For if any fich Prophet preach, he feeleth his own glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such Authority of him; that is to say, of his Church or Congregation, as to the *Heb.* 7. *No man taketh to himself any dignity, but he that is called of God, as* Aaron *was*, Glosa. He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the Congregation.

The eleventh sign is, that false Prophets do preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of Souls, and not for their own glory, gain, or praise.

The twelfth sign is, that false Prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater love than those that be their very Governors.

The twelfth sign or token of a false Prophet is, because such Prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to mens Souls, than those that be their very Governors and Pastors have, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the Glosa speaketh, and the 1 *Thes.* 2. *We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the Nurse which giveth her Child suck*, Glosa. A woman nurseth other mens Children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love without respect of money. Therefore those Preachers which fain themselves to have a greater love and affection to the Souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true Apostles. The Apostles study not for Eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false Prophets do them both, as in the 2 *Cor.* 11. *If the simple and unelequant man, &c.* Glosa. The Apostles were not eloquent, but false Prophets are full of curious Eloquence. Also upon the same another glosa, The *Corinthians* were led away from the Gospel by over-nice Eloquence, 2 *Cor.* 7. *Let us shew our selves before all men as the Ministers of God*, Glosa. The Ministers of God do not flatter as false Prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true Apostles have not their abiding in Princes Courts and Noblemens houses, knowing, this saying of Christ in S. *Matthews* Gospel, *Behold, these that are clothed with Silks dwell in Kings Courts.* And therefore true Apostles are not conversant in Princes Courts, and Noblemens houses, *Glosa*. Hard and strict life with the preaching of the Gospel loveth not to come near Princes Palaces, and Noblemens houses. Obsequiuse is cometh to pass that Courtiers are found great Flatterers, therefore those Preachers that have their abode in Princes Courts, or that in any other place do use to flatter, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

{KING Hen.} but he is an Apostle, which not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come, doth abase himself, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to have praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should have the praise, be no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

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The thirteenth sign is, that true Apostles or Messengers do not circumvent or subtilly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their life-time, or else at the time of their death, as in the 2 *Cor.* 7. *We have falsly deceived no man*, Glosa. By the subtil and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false Prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great Friendship. Also *Mat.*22. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, you Hypocrites, which spoil widows houses by your long prayers*; which mean nothing else by your Superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people, as *Luke* 20. *Which devour widows houses by dissembling of your long prayer*, Glosa. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burthen of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forsomuch as by the same they deceive others: for by this, that they receive and take, both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for Souls health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake, *Mat.*10. *Be ye Possessors neither of gold nor silver*, Glosa. If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the Soul, but for lucres sake. And so saith *Hierome* upon the Prophet *Malachi*, Because some Prophets took money their Prophesie became Divination; that is to say, their Prophesie appeared not to be Prophesie, but Divination, or Inchantment: that is, that such Prophesie proceedeth not from God, but from the Devil. And this appeareth in 1. *q.* 1. having this beginning, *Nunquam Divinatio, &c.* Therefore those Preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their life-time, or after their death, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirteenth sign is, that true Apostles or Messengers do not circumvent or subtilly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their life-time, or else at the time of their death, as in the 2 *Cor.* 7. *We have falsly deceived no man*, Glosa. By the subtil and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false Prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great Friendship. Also *Mat.*22. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, you Hypocrites, which spoil widows houses by your long prayers*; which mean nothing else by your Superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people, as *Luke* 20. *Which devour widows houses by dissembling of your long prayer*, Glosa. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burthen of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forsomuch as by the same they deceive others: for by this, that they receive and take, both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for Souls health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake, *Mat.*10. *Be ye Possessors neither of gold nor silver*, Glosa. If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the Soul, but for lucres sake. And so saith *Hierome* upon the Prophet *Malachi*, Because some Prophets took money their Prophesie became Divination; that is to say, their Prophesie appeared not to be Prophesie, but Divination, or Inchantment: that is, that such Prophesie proceedeth not from God, but from the Devil. And this appeareth in 1. *q.* 1. having this beginning, *Nunquam Divinatio, &c.* Therefore those Preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their life-time, or after their death, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

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The fourteenth sign is, that false Prophets when any Verity is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chafe and bark against the same. Whereupon the Apostle in the third Chapter to the *Philipians* saith, *Beware of the Dogs, &c.* Glosa. Understand you that they are not Dogs by nature, but by their usage and conditions, barking against the Truth, which they were never acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to Dogs, because Dogs follow rather custom than reason: so false Apostles do keep the custom of the Law, and do bite and bark against the Truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, the fourth Chapter, saying, *They get them Instructors according to their own desires*, Glosa. Which may teach them what things they themselves are willing to hear, because the Truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them. Therefore those Preachers which bark against the late revealed Truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept under, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

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The fifteenth sign is, that false Prophets do not inforce any to receive or hear them which be unwilling thereunto, but send them away rather, left they should seem to seek after some earthly and transitory thing. *Mat.*10. *Whosoever will not receive you, get you out of that City, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c.* Glosa. That you may thereby shew that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those Preachers which strive and wrestle (as it were) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true Apostles, forsomuch as the Apostle saith, 1 *Corim.* 11. *If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of strife, such custom have we none, nor yet the Congregation of Christ.*

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The sixteenth sign is, that the Apostles did not procure the Indignation of those Princes, with whom they were esteemed and regarded, against such persons as would not receive them and hear them, according as we read in the life of *Simon* and *Jude*, the Apostles. The chief Ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the Bishops might be cast into the same, and all others which went about to defame the Doctrine of the Apostles of Christ. But the Apostles fell

The sixteenth sign is, that false Prophets do cause Princes and Rulers to bear them ill will.

fell down before the Emperor, saying, *We beseech you Sir, let not us be the Authors or Causers of this destruction or calamity; nor let us which are sent to be the preservation of Men, and to revive those that are dead through Sin, be killers of those that be alive.* Therefore those Preachers which seek to stir up the displeasure of Princes against them (whose favours now they enjoy) that will not receive and hear them, or rather whom they themselves hate, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The seventeenth sign is, that the Apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the *Apocalypse* 3. Chapter, *The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before*, Glossa. Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the World. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the Church in the later time which are prophetied before, or that they care not for them, or else if they know them, they have not eyes behind and before, are no true Apostles; therefore what time as they call themselves Apostles, they are false Prophets.

The seventeenth sign is, that false Prophets do not know what God hath done, or yet will do, as true Prophets do.

The eighteenth sign is, that true Apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they Preach, whereby they are discerned from Wolves, that is to say, from false Prophets, *Act.* 20. *I have desired no mans gold nor silver*, Glossa. By this are Wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And again in the same place: *For those things which I have need of, and those which were with me, those hands have ministred*. Glossa. This example also of labouring is a Spectacle for Bishops whereby they are discerned from Wolves. For such as ask or beg of those to whom they Preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit Simony, like *Gehazi*, of whom it is read in the 2. Book of *Kings* the fifth Chapter, that he craved certain apparel of *Naaman* the *Syrian*, to whom his Master *Eliseus* had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those Garments unwitting to his Master. Whereupon *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, 1. q. 1. *Qui isti debetur*. But some Man perhaps will say, Cannot the Preacher ask Money or Money-worth of those to whom he Preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered; If the Preacher by Authority Preach and feed his flock as a true Pastor with the food of Gods word, he may take money or money worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by Authority, as the 2 to *Timothy* 2. Chapter. *It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and after others receive the commodity of his increase*. Glossa. He putteth the Vertuous Preacher out of doubt, not Preaching for that intent to make Merchandize of the Gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good Authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the Preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the Apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of *Salomon* and S. *Augustine*, and reproved by divers other Holy Men. Therefore it is manifest that the true Apostles do not desire the Temporal goods of them to whom they Preach, neither do they beg, or crave the same. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they Preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false Preachers.

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If the Preacher do his duty in Preaching, he may take lawfully for his necessary things.

The nineteenth sign is, that true Apostles are patient in Tribulation, neither do they render evil for good, *Matth.* 10. *Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves*. Glossa. They, that occupy the place of Preaching, ought not to procure any evil toward their Brethren, as the example of Christ Teacheth, 1 *Pet.* 2. saying; *Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly*. They therefore that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true Apostles, but false Apostles.

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The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles are not to be interrained as false Prophets be.

The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith in the 24 of *Mat. Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sake*. But yet at the length fight get the victory, according to that saying of first the of S. *John* the 5. Chapter; *Every thing that is of God overcometh the world*. They therefore that in the beginning rejoyce and are well intertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

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The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers go not to Preach unto those which have Preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoyce of a company belonging to another mans charge, as to the *Romans* the 15. Chapter. *I have preached the Gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another mans foundation*. And in the second Epistle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, the 10. Chapter, he saith; *We are no boasters, nor bustie in other mens matters*. Glossa. Where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same Chapter; Not having pleasure to boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise *Augustinus* saith; Honour ought to seek thee, and not their Honour. Also *Chrysostom*; Authority is in love with such a Man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and have a desire to Preach unto the people committed to another Mans charge, which is an Office of Honour, especially in Councils, Synods, and great Assemblies, also in Kings and Princes Courts, and Prelates Palaces, are not true Apostles, but false Teachers.

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The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers build not upon any other mans foundation.

Authority loveth them that refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not.

The twenty second sign is, that true Prophets are not proved and rule-glorious, as false Prophets be.

The twenty second sign is, that true Preachers know themselves to do much good in the Church and Congregation of God, yet notwithstanding are not puffed up with pride; *Ezekiel* 3. *O son of man I have made thy face as an adamant stone*. The adamant stone, when it draweth Iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise a true Preacher when he draweth sinners unto him by his Preaching (whose Hearts were as hard as Iron) is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in *Luke* the 18. Chapter, *When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants*. *Psal.* 115. *Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory*. They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they have done in the Church of God, saying; We have given light to the Universal Church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the Church of God (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisie than either truth or verity) they are not true Prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the *Psalms*, *The mouth of them that speak proud things*, &c.

The twenty third sign is, that true Preachers seek not the favour of the World, nor yet how to please men, as to the *Galath.* 1. *If I should please men*, that is to say, *if I had desired to please men, I should not be the servant of God*. Whereupon to *Timothy* the first Epistle and second Chapter; *Not as men-pleasers*, Glossa. Seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing Spirit. Therefore those Preachers that seek the favour of the World, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true Apostles, but false.

The twenty third sign is, that true Prophets be always men-pleasers.

The twenty fourth sign is, That false Prophets never refuse to be fed of their God.

The twenty fourth sign is, that true Preachers do not refuse to be fed before them, and give God thanks, but that do not the false Prophets.

The twenty fourth sign is, That false Prophets seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest refiting places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they fee to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in the tenth of *Matthew*, saying, *Into what City or Town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same City or Town*. *Glosf.* Your Host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, left your preaching be evil spoken of, by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such Men to run from House to House. *But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Glosf.* Him who knoweth better to do other Men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true Apostles receive nothing of such Men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins, whereupon the 2 to the *Corinthians* the seventh Chapter, *They have given themselves first to the Lord*. *Glosf.* Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners have wowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their Brethren: for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings, have just cause to give. Therefore those Preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty Men that have this world at will, to the intent that those Preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtilty, which give indeed to remove the thankefels importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of prefent shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets, according to that in the 2 to the *Corinthians* the 9. Chapter, *The Lord doth love a willing giver, Glosf.* He that giveth for prefent shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to thefe things, doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift it self, as the Apostle to the *Philippians* the 4th. Chapter, saith, *Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver*.

The twenty fifth sign is, That true Apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest refiting places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they fee to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in the tenth of *Matthew*, saying, *Into what City or Town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same City or Town*. *Glosf.* Your Host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, left your preaching be evil spoken of, by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such Men to run from House to House. *But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Glosf.* Him who knoweth better to do other Men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true Apostles receive nothing of such Men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins, whereupon the 2 to the *Corinthians* the seventh Chapter, *They have given themselves first to the Lord*. *Glosf.* Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners have wowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their Brethren: for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings, have just cause to give. Therefore those Preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty Men that have this world at will, to the intent that those Preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtilty, which give indeed to remove the thankefels importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of prefent shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets, according to that in the 2 to the *Corinthians* the 9. Chapter, *The Lord doth love a willing giver, Glosf.* He that giveth for prefent shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to thefe things, doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift it self, as the Apostle to the *Philippians* the 4th. Chapter, saith, *Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver*.

The twenty fifth sign is, that true Preachers do not leave their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in *John* 7. *He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him* (that is, of whom he is sent) *is a true Apostle*. Therefore those which seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be affiftant to those that bear rule and authority, according to that saying of *Boetius De consolatione*; Those that do defire to be extolled, either they Reign and bear Rule themselves, or else do defire to be near about them that have fuch dominion. Another is, They defire to have the fame and vi&tory of that which they have nothing at all deferved before God, whereupon is written that faying of the Apostle, in *Gal.* 5. *Let not us become desirous of vain glory*. *Glosf.* To be defirous of vain glory, is to have victory without any merit or desert; and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

The twenty sixth sign is, That true Apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest refiting places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they fee to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in the tenth of *Matthew*, saying, *Into what City or Town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same City or Town*. *Glosf.* Your Host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, left your preaching be evil spoken of, by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such Men to run from House to House. *But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Glosf.* Him who knoweth better to do other Men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true Apostles receive nothing of such Men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins, whereupon the 2 to the *Corinthians* the seventh Chapter, *They have given themselves first to the Lord*. *Glosf.* Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners have wowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their Brethren: for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings, have just cause to give. Therefore those Preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty Men that have this world at will, to the intent that those Preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtilty, which give indeed to remove the thankefels importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of prefent shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets, according to that in the 2 to the *Corinthians* the 9. Chapter, *The Lord doth love a willing giver, Glosf.* He that giveth for prefent shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to thefe things, doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift it self, as the Apostle to the *Philippians* the 4th. Chapter, saith, *Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver*.

The twenty sixth sign is, That false Prophets are not contented with necessary things, but seek after superfluous.

The twenty seventh sign is, That true Apostles do not endeavour themselves to seek and enjoy the fruit of other Mens labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such Mens God, according to that in the 2 to the *Thessalonians* the 3. Chapter, *We have heard of some among you which walk inordinately, not laboursing at all, but living delicately, or idly. Glosf.* Of other Mens labours, and deserve they to be fed? The Discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the Belly is their God, which provide to have more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those Preachers which so do, are no true Apostles, but false.

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The twenty eighth sign is, That true Apostles do not rejoyce only of the miracles or other excellent works, which the Lord doth by them; but they rejoyce rather of the salvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in *Luke* the 10th. saying: *Rejoyce ye not for that the spirits be subject unto you, but because your names are registred in Heaven*. They therefore that boast of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cause that they are saved by

The twenty eighth sign is, that true Prophets rejoyce not in miracles, as false Prophets do.

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away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and contemn the fame, or else peradventure consenteth unto the same to the outward appearance of the world; and yet, because he will keep his temporal dignity and estimation, refuseth to stir up strife and contention about the same, and so to be evil spoken of, seemeth not to be an Apostle of Christ, but rather a false Prophet, if he be a Preacher.

The twenty ninth sign is, That the true Apostles do never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in *John* 7. *He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him* (that is, of whom he is sent) *is a true Apostle*. Therefore those which seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be affiftant to those that bear rule and authority, according to that saying of *Boetius De consolatione*; Those that do defire to be extolled, either they Reign and bear Rule themselves, or else do defire to be near about them that have fuch dominion. Another is, They defire to have the fame and vi&tory of that which they have nothing at all deferved before God, whereupon is written that faying of the Apostle, in *Gal.* 5. *Let not us become desirous of vain glory*. *Glosf.* To be defirous of vain glory, is to have victory without any merit or desert; and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

The twenty ninth sign is, That true Prophets seek not their own glory, as false Prophets do.

The thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles care not for the solemnities of Men, neither their falutations, nor festivings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and seek the company and fellowship of Men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not confer the solemnities of Men, neither their falutations, nor festivings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and seek the company and fellowship of Men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, That true Prophets do not force upon the solemn salutations of men, as false Prophets do.

The one and thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not commonly refort to other Mens tables, left that they should for a meals meat become flatterers, as in 2 *Thess.* 3. *That we should give an example to follow us. Glosf.* He that cometh oftentimes to another Mans Table, being given to idleneis, cannot chuse to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christ's Religion calleth Men to liberty and to no such bondage: they therefore that refort oftentimes, and that of their own minds; to other Mens Tables (living idlely) are not true Apostles, but false.

The one and thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not commonly refort to other Mens tables, left that they should for a meals meat become flatterers, as in 2 *Thess.* 3. *That we should give an example to follow us. Glosf.* He that cometh oftentimes to another Mans Table, being given to idleneis, cannot chuse to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christ's Religion calleth Men to liberty and to no such bondage: they therefore that refort oftentimes, and that of their own minds; to other Mens Tables (living idlely) are not true Apostles, but false.

The one and thirtieth sign is, that true Prophets refort to other mens boards and flatter them for a meals meat, which true Prophets do not.

The two and thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which Doctrine the Lord taught, *Matthew* the fifth, saying: *Love your enemies, do well to them which hate you*; but false Prophets do hurt and defame their Neighbours, according as *Jeremiah* 14. saith, *The Prophets of Jerusalem have defiled the whole earth, Glosf.* They are not contented to hurt their Neighbours only, but also whom they before this time have hated, they defame and speak evil of in every place they come: therefore those Preachers which hate them whom they think are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The two and thirtieth sign is, that true Prophets do not hate their enemies.

The thirty third sign is, That true Apostles, when they are examined and proved whether they be true Apostles or liers, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same Men, which also joyn themselves together by secular power, even as certain false Prophets did in the Primitive Church against the Bishop of *Ephesus*, to whom the Lord said, *Apoc.* 2. *I know, that it is say, I do allow thy works and thy labour*; that is, thy tribulation, because that canst not away with those that be evil men. *Glosf.* But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them, and hast examined those which say that they are Apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. *Glosf.* The evils which these false Prophets, joyned together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty third sign is, That true Apostles, when they are examined and proved whether they be true Apostles or liers, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same Men, which also joyn themselves together by secular power, even as certain false Prophets did in the Primitive Church against the Bishop of *Ephesus*, to whom the Lord said, *Apoc.* 2. *I know, that it is say, I do allow thy works and thy labour*; that is, thy tribulation, because that canst not away with those that be evil men. *Glosf.* But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them, and hast examined those which say that they are Apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. *Glosf.* The evils which these false Prophets, joyned together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty third sign is, That true Prophets do not persecute men as the false Prophets do.

The thirty fourth sign is, That true Apostles do not preach to those which are converted already by other Men, but rather do convert those which are not yet converted, left that they should build upon another Mans foundation, as S. *Paul*, *Romans* 15. saith, *I have laboured so, that from Jerusalem to Illyricus, I have replenished the Gospel in every place. Glosf.* That is, I have preached the same abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the Holy Ghost appeareth, because so many Nations, that is, the Gentiles have received the Gospel by me preaching.

The thirty fourth sign is, That true Prophets preach to those which be not yet converted, which the false Prophets do not.

But I have preached the Gospel there where Christ was not preached before, left I should build upon another mans foundation, *Gloss.* I should not preach to those that were converted by another Man. Also 2 *Cor.* 10. *We are not such as boast and glory in other mens labours, Gloss.* Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately. Also in the same place, not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience, *Gloss.* Of other Preachers; Because the Apostle did Preach to those to whom the Gospel was never preached, that he might get praise by his own proper labour. Therefore, those preachers which go not to that people which have need to be converted, but to those which are converted already, which have Apostles of their own, that is to say, Bishops and Priests, and yet do boast over another mans flock, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty fifth sign is, That true Prophets chiefly preach in their own Dioces, and not in other mens.

The thirty fifth sign is, Because true Apostles, when they are sent, go to their own Dioceſs, and not to another mans Dioceſs, even as *Paul* being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach, *Acts* 13. *Separate* Paul *and* Barnabas *for the business which I have chosen them unto: Gloss.* According to the appointment and decree of *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, went he forth to be a Teacher unto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand upon their feet, that is to say, those Preachers which have but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to go which way soever it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those that be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we read in *Ezek.* 2. *After that, the Spirit of the Lord set Ezekiel upon his feet*, In quam ſpem tuus tangitur, *and he said unto him. O Son of Man, behold I sent thee to the Nations which have start back from their possession, which have gone from me*, that is, to the *Jewish* Hereticks, and to those Nations which sometimes have been Christians, as the *Egyptians*, the *Babylonians*, and all those that observe the Law of *Mahomet*. Therefore, if such go to those that are already instructed, having both Apostles, Bishops, and Priests of their own; they go not into their own Dioceſs, but into another mans Dioceſs, and are not true Apostles, but false Preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, left the Church be in hazard and danger by such, unleſs they be thruſt out of the same betime; even as *Jonas*, when he was sent to *Nineve* of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the Hill, that is to the Infidels we spake of before: They go not to those Infidels according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, take their journey into *Tharsis*, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they go unto those which receive them with joy and gladneſs, and do well provide for them, that is to say, to godly and devout Chriſtians: and therefore it is to be feared, left the Ship in which they be (that is the Church) be in great peril, unleſs they be thrown forth. And therefore the Apostle spake of such false Prophets not without good cauſe, 2 *Tim.* 2. *And shun thou those: Gloss.* That is, such men as those be.

The thirty fixth sign is, That false Prophets do attribute to themselves that which they never did.

The thirty fixth sign is, Because true Apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute unto themselves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. *Paul*, *Rom.* 15. faith, *I dare not say any thing but that which Chriſt hath wrought and accomplished by me, Gloss.* That is, I speak only those things (which by me) that is, by my miniſtry Chriſt hath wrought. They therefore that boaſt of many things, and do attribute much unto themselves which they never did, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty seventh sign is, That true Apostles do not apply themselves or lean at Logical or Philoſophical reasons. Therefore those Preachers which do indeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty seventh sign is, that false Prophets do cleave and lean to Logical and Philoſophical reasons.

The thirty eighth sign is, that false Prophets do love carnally, and not spiritually.

The Thirty eighth sign is, That true Apostles do not love carnally, or after the flesh, but hate what thing soever doth resist them in the service of God, as *Luke* 14. *He that doth not hate his Father and Mother, his Son and Sister, and also himself, he cannot be my disciple, Gloss.* That is, He that doth not hate whatsoever doth resist or let him in the service of God, is not worthy to be a Diſciple, neither can he abide in that Office. Therefore forsomuch as true Preachers are the true Diſciples of the Lord, it muſt needs follow that those Preachers which do promote their Nephews and Kinsfolk (how unworthy soever they be) to Eccleſiastical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the service of God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

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The thirty ninth sign is, That true Apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemy of God; therefore those Preachers, which purchase the friendship of this world, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets. Therefore forsomuch as the Scripture is infallible, as in the twenty fourth Chapter of *Matthew*, saying, *Heaven and Earth shall perish, but my words shall indure for ever*; and the Holy Ghoſt which spake in the Apoſtles cannot lie; for Propheſie (for the moſt part) is not spoken by the will of Man, but the Holy Men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghoſt, as it is read in the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*, the firſt Chapter; it remaineth, That all Men which are bound to defend the Church, may riſe up in the defence of the same, according unto that in the 24. Chapter of the *Proverbs*; *deliver those that are led to death, and ceaſe thou not to reſcue those which are drawen to deſtruction.* Neither may he alledge vain accuſations, because it is said in the same place, If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of Mens hearts, shall know it, *&c.* Whatsoever perisheth in the Church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them at the day of Judgment; as *Jacob* confeſseth to *Laban*, whole Sheep he fed, *Genesis* 31. *I did restore all the loſs, and that which was ſtolen I made answer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands*, Ezekiel 3. This is said to the Paſtor or Prelate. But if the other things which we have spoken of before could not move the Prelates and Cardinals, this at the leaſt should move them; because that then the Spiritual power which doth conſiſt for the moſt part in the exerciſe of Preaching, in hearing Confeſſions, and enjoyning of Penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the Wolf devour the poor and needy Man: 3. *Gueſt. Chap.* 1. When the authority Eccleſiastical therefore shall be quite taken from them and diſpoſed to others, such as either by their Order, or Apoſtolical grant do challenge to have the same; then doubtleſs shall neither the juriſdiction of Civil cauſes and pleadings, nor any authority that such Prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the poſſeſſions of the temporal goods of the Church any longer remain amongſt them. Shall such have the temporal goods of the Church which miniſter not the ſpiritual Treasure thereof? 1 *Cor.* 9. *Know ye not that they which kill the Sacrifice ought to eat of the Sacrifice? and they that ſerve at the Altar are partakers of the Altar? For as the body without the ſoul cannot ſtand; ſo corporal things without ſpiritual things cannot continue*, 1 Queſt. 1. *if any ſhall take away the same.* Thus have you had the 39 Arguments, for the which both he the ſaid *Gulielmus* was condemned, and his Books burned.

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The thirty ninth sign is, that false Prophets do hunt after the friendſhip of this world.

Whatſoever doth perish in the Church of God for want of preachers shall be required.

In the days of this *Gulielmus*, there was a moſt deteſtable and blaſphemous Book fet forth by the Fryers (mentioned alſo in *Matth. Pariſienſis*) which they called *Evangelium æternum*, or *Euangelium Spiritus Sancti*. That is, The Everlaſting Goſpel, or the Goſpel of the Holy Ghoſt. In which Book many abominable errors of the Fryers were contained, ſo that the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt was utterly defaced, which, this Book faid, was not to be compared with this Everlaſting Goſpel, no more than the ſhell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkneſs to light, *&c.* Moreover, that the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhall be preached no longer but fifty years, and then this Everlaſting Goſpel ſhould rule the Church, *&c. Item*, That whatſoever was in the whole Bible, was in the ſaid Goſpel contained. At length this Fryers Goſpel was accuſed to the Pope, and ſo fix perſons choſen of the whole Univerſity to peruſe and judge of the Book: as *Chriſtianus Canonicus Balueacenſis*, *Odo de Doaco*, *Nicolaus de Baro*, *Johannes de ſicca Villa Anglus*, *Johannes Belim Gallus*. Among whom this *Gulielmus* was one, who mightily impugned this peſtiferous and diveliſh Book. Theſe ſix, after the peruſing of the Book, were ſent up to *Rome*. The Fryers likewiſe ſent their meſſengers withal, where they

A detestable Book of the Fryers called Euangelium æternum.

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they were refuted, and the errors of the Book condemned; but ſo, that the Pope with the Cardinals commanded the ſaid Book to be abolished and condemned not publickly (tendering the eſtimation of the Religious Orders, as of his own moſt chief Champions) but that they ſhould be burned in ſecret wiſe, and the Books of the foreſaid *Guielmus* to be burnt withal.

Beſides other his Books, two Sermons we have of his yet remaining, one upon the Goſpel of S. *Luke*, of the Phariſee and the Publican, the other upon the Epiſtle read in the Church on *May-day*; where in the firſt he reſembleth the Phariſees to our Monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Phariſees deſcribed in the Goſpel. The Publican he reſembleth to the Laity, ſuch as becauſe the ſooner they are reduced to acknowledge their ſins, the more hope they have of mercy. The other, because they ſtand confident in their own righteouſneſs, are therefore further from their juſtification. In the later Sermon he feſteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall upon the Church by theſe Religious Orders of Monks and Fryers.

Lawrentius Anglicus condemned of the Pope.

Among the other beſides of that age, which withſtood the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Antichriſtian errors, was one *Lawrence* an *Engliſh*-man, and Maſter of *Paris*; another was *Petrus Johannes* a Minorit. Of whom the foreſaid *Lawrence* was about the year of our Lord 1260. who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did ſtoutly defend the part of the foreſaid *Gulielmus* and the reſt of his ſide againſt the Fryers. Againſt the which Fryers he wrote two Books: one in the defence of *William* afore-mentioned; the other upon this Argument and Title, *To beware of falſe Prophets*, &c. Certain other things alſo he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and teſtimonies he argued and proved, That Antichriſt was not far off to come.

Diſciple Calliſtus.

Conteſſion of Diſciple Calliſtus.

The other *Petrus Johannes* was about the year of our Lord 1290. which taught and maintained many things againſt the Pope, proving, That he was Antichriſt, and that the Synagogue of *Rome* was Great *Babylon*. He wrote upon *Matthew*, upon the Epiſtles, and upon the Apocalyſe. Mention of this *Petrus Johannes* is made in *Nicolaus Emericus*, in *libr. Inquiſitionum*, &c. And beſides that moreover that *Michael Ceſenas* (of whom, Chriſt willing, ſhall follow hereafter) took of him a great part of his opinions; and becauſe the Pope could not burn him alive, after his death, he cauſed his bones to be taken up and burned.

The Pope Antichriſt. The Synagogue of *Rome* to be great *Babylon*.

Nicolaus Emericus in *libr. Inquiſitionum*.

Petrus Johannes burned after his death.

To theſe, and with theſe above ſpecified, is to be added *Robertus Gallus*, who being born of a right noble Parentage, for devotion ſake was made a Dominick Fryer, about the ſame year of our Lord above touched, *Anno.* 1290. This Man as appeareth by his writing, had divers and ſundry Viſions, whereof part is annexed with the Viſions and Prophecy of *Hildegardis*. His Viſions all tend againſt the ſpirituality of *Rome*, where in the firſt Chapter he calleth plainly the Pope an Idol, which having eyes ſeeth not, neither liſteth to ſee the abominations of his people, nor the exceſſive enormity of their voluptuouſneſs, but only to ſee to the heaping up of his own treaſure, and having a mouth ſpeaketh not; but ſaith, I have ſet good Men over them (which is ſufficient for me) to do them good either by my ſelf, or by ſome other. And it followeth in the ſame Chapter, Woe to that Idol, woe to the mighty and proud, who ſhall be equal in all the Earth to that Idol? He that exalteth up his name in Earth, ſaying, Who ſhall bring me under? Is not my Houſe compared with the mighty Potentates of the Land? I am higher than Dukes; Knights on their Horſe back do ſervice unto me, that which my Fathers had not before me, that I have done to me. My Houſe is ſtrowed with ſilver; gold and pearl are the pavement of my Palace, *&c.*

Robertus Gallus profeſseth againſt the Pope.

The Pope deſtroyed.

Again in the twelfth Chapter, and alſo in the firſt, under the name of a Serpent he painteth out the Pope, whom he declareth to extol himſelf above meaſure, and to oppreſs the few that be godly, and to have many falſe Prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Chriſt, do preach and extol him only, obſcuring the name of Chriſt. The Church of *Rome* and the Pope he deſcribeth in theſe words: *I was praying* (ſaith he) *on my knees, looking upward to Heaven, near to the Altar of Saint* James *in* Paris, *on the right ſide of the Altar, and ſaw in the Air before the body of a certain High Biſhop all cloathed in white ſilk; who, turning his back on the Eaſt, lift up his hand towards the Weſt, as the Prieſts are wont in their Maſs turning to the people, but his head was not ſeen. And as I was conſidering adviſedly, whether he had any head or no; I perceived a certain head in him all dry, lean and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the ſpirit of the Lord ſaid to me*, This ſignifieth the ſtate of the Church of *Rome*.

The Viſions of Robertus Gallus.

The ſtate of the Church of *Rome* deſcribed.

Moreover, the ſame Author in his Viſions, well deſcribing the manner of the School Sophiſters and Sorbonniſts, addeth in this wiſe; *Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in ſpirit; and behold, I ſaw a Man apparelled like to the other before, which went about having fine bread and excellent wine that hanged about him on both ſides; and the ſame, having in his hand a long and hard flint ſtone, was gnawing hungerly upon the ſame, as one being hungry is wont to bite upon a loaf of bread; out of which ſtone came two heads of two Serpents, the Spirit of the Lord inſtructing me and ſaying*. This ſtone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious queſtions, wherein the hungry do travel and labor, leaving the ſubſtantial food of their ſouls. *And I asked what theſe two heads did mean? And he ſaid*, The name of the one is Vain Glory, the name of the other is the marring and diſſipating of Religion.

The School-men and their frivolous queſtions deſcribed.

Alſo, concerning reformation of the Church, this Viſion he declareth: *It happned as I was* (ſaith he) *in the ſame City in the Houſe of a certain Noble Man* (a Britain) *and was there ſpeaking with certain, I ſaw a croſs of ſilver very bright, much like to the Croſs of the Earl of Tholouſe. But the twelve Apoſtles, which did hang beſide the arm of the Croſs, were very vile, like the Apples which the Sea is wont to caſt up. And I ſaid, What is this Lord Jeſus? And the Spirit anſwered me*, This Croſs which thou ſeeſt is the Church, which ſhall be clear and bright in pureneſs of life, and ſhall be heard and known all over through the ſhrill voyce of the preaching of ſincere verity. *Then being troubled with the Apples, I asked what theſe Apples ſo vile did ſignifie? And he ſaid.* It is the humiliation of the Church, *&c.*

The reformation of the Church pourtrayed.

This goſtly Man did foreſwarn (as in a certain Chronicle is declared) how God would puniſh the Simony and Avarice of the Clergy with ſuch a plague that Rivers ſhould run with blood, *&c.* It is ſaid, That there is remaining a great Volume of his Viſions which are not yet abroad; for theſe that be are but a brief extract out of his Viſions and Revelations.

The ſimony and avarice of the Clergy to be puniſhed.

After that we have thus long ſtrayed in theſe foreign ſtories of *Frederick*, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other Countries; now, after this ſufficient digreſſion, it is time that we return to our own Country again. Wherein following the continuation of time and courſe of the Church, we will now adjoyn to theſe good Fathers and Writers, the Hiſtory of the Learned Biſhop of *Lincoln*, named *Robert Groſthead*, a Man famouſly learned (as that time ſerved) in the three Tongues both Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, alſo in all Liberal Sciences; whoſe works and Sermons yet to this day are extant, which I have ſeen in the Queens Majeſties Library at *Weſtminſter*. Wherein is one ſpecial Sermon written and exhibited in four ſundry ſcrols to the Pope, and to other four Cardinals, beginning *Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus*, *&c.* *Nicolas Trivet* in his Chronicle, writing of this Biſhop, affirmed that he was born in *Suffolk*, in the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*: who giving him the praiſe to be a Man of excellent wiſdom, of profound Doctrine, and an example of all vertue, witneſſeth that he being Maſter of Arts, wrote firſt a Commentary *in librum poſteriorum* of *Ariſtotle*. Alſo that he wrote tractations, *De ſphæra*, *&c. de arte comput.* and that he ſet forth divers Books concerning Philoſophy. Afterward being Doctor in Divinity, and expertly ſeen in all the three Tongues, drew out ſundry Treatiſes out of the Hebrew Glooſes, alſo tranſlated divers works out of the Greek, as namely the teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs, and the Books of *Dionyſius*, Commenting upon the new tranſlation with his own Gloſs, *Hæc, illo.* Many other Works and Volumes beſides were written by the ſaid *Groſthead*, as *De oculo morali*, *De dotibus*, *De ceſſatione legalium*, *Parvuus Cato*, *Annotationes in Suidam*, *in Betium*, *De poteſtate Paſtorali*, *Expoſitiones in*

The Hiſtory of Robert Groſthead Biſhop of Lincoln.

Ex Nic. Trivet.

Robert Groſthead a Suffolk man born.

The commendation of Robert Groſthead.

The Books and Works of Robert Groſthead.

Gen. in Lucam, with a number more, besides divers Epistles, Sermons, and invectives sent to the Pope for his unmeasureable Exactions, wherewith he overcharged and oppressed the Church of *England*.

This godly and learned Bishop, after divers conflicts and agonies sustained against the Bishop of *Rome*, after the example of *Frederick*, of *Guliel. de Sancto amore*, of *Nicol. Gallus*, and others after named, at length after great labors and travels of life finished his course, and departed at *Bugden* in the month of *October*, *Anno.* 1253. Of his decease thus writeth *Matth. Pariſ. fol.* 278. *One of the priſon and baniſhment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy Biſhop* of Lincoln Robert, *at his Manor of* Bugden *in the Even of S.* Dionyſe; *who was an open reprover of the Pope and of the King, a rebuker of the Prelates, a corrector of the Monks, a directer of the Prieſts, an inſtructer of the Clerks, a ſautor of Scholers, a preacher to the people, a perſecutor of the Incontinent, a diligent ſearcher of the Scripture, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings*, &c. Hæc Matth. What a mall he was to the *Romans* in the ſequel hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall better appear. The ſtory is this:

{Anno 1253. The death of Robert Grosthead.

Malleus Romanorum Grosthead.

The trouble of Robert Grosthead with the Pope.

It ſo befel among other daily and intolerable Exactions, wherein Pope *Innocent* was grievous and injurious (manifold ways) to the Realm of *England*, he had a certain Cousin or Nephew (ſo Popes were wont to call their Sons) named *Frederick*, being yet young and under years, whom the ſaid *Innocent* the Pope would needs prefer to be a Canon or Prebendary in the Church of *Lincoln*, in this time of *Robert* Biſhop of the ſaid Church; and upon the ſame directed down Letters to certain his factors here in *England* for the execution thereof. The Copy of which Letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune ſending of God, came to my hands, as I was penning this preſent ſtory, written in the reid of an old Parchment Book, and otherwiſe rare I ſuppoſe to be found; and it is this:

An unreasonable Letter of the Pope.

* Rotis dilectis ſuis ſcripſit ſuis.

Dilectis filiis Archidiacono Cant. *& Magiſtro* Innocent. *ſcriptori noſtro in* Anglia *Commoranti, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noſter* G. Sanct. Euſtachii *Diaconus Cardinalis dilecto* * *filio* Frederico de Lavavia, *Clerico, Nepoti noſtro, de ſpeciali Mandato noſtro Canonicatum* Lincolnienſi, *cum plenitudine juris Canonici dudum conferendum, ipſum per ſuum amullum procuratorem & præſentialiter inveſtiens de eodem, ut ex tunc Canonicus* Lincolnienſis *exiſtat, & plenum nomen & jus Canonici conſequatur ibidem, ac Prebendam, ſi qua vacaverit in Eccleſia* Lincol. *n tempore quo dudum literæ noſtræ ſuper receptione, ac proviſione faciendæ ſibi in Eccleſ. eadem de præmiſſis venerab. fratri noſtro Epiſcopo* Lincoln. *præſentitiæ fuerant, aliquot poſt vacaturam conferendam ſibi donationi Apoſtolicæ reſervarit: decernendo irritum & inane, ſi quid de Prædenda huiuſmodi a quoquam fuerit attentatum, nos non obſtantibus & contradictores & rebelles Excommunicationis ſententiam ubique promulgando, prout in literis eiuſdem exinde de * conſtitutis plenius continetur. Nos ipſius* Frederici *devotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem Cardinale factum eſt ſuper hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem Authoritate Apoſtolica duximus confirmandum. Quocirca diſcretioni veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus eundem* Fredericum, *vel procuratorem ſuum ejus nomine in corporalem poſſeſſionem prædictorum Canonicatus & Prebendæ, auctoritate noſtra inducatis, & defendatis inductum, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione poſpoſita compeſcendo. Non obſtantibus aliquibus conſuetudinibus vel ſtatutis, juramentis, vel confirmationibus ſedis Apoſtolicæ, ſeu quacunque alia infirmitate roboratis; vel quod dictus* Fredericus *præfens non fuerit ad præſtandum juramentum de obſervandis conſuetudinibus ejuſdem Eccleſ. conſuetis; ſive ſi prædicto Epiſcopo vel capitulo ipſius Eccleſiæ communiter vel ſingulatim, ſeu aliis quibuſcunque perſonis a dicta ſede indultum exiſtat, quod ad receptionem vel proviſionem aliquas compelli nequeant, ſive quod nullus aliter in eorum Eccleſia nomini providere valeat: vel quod interdici, ſuſpendi, aut Excommunicari non poſſint, per literas Apoſtol. ſub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamſi totus tenor indulgentiarum huiuſmodi de verbo in verbum in iſdem literis ſit inſertus, ſive quibus aliis indulgentiis quibuſcunque perſonis, dignitati, vel loco, ſub quacunq; forma verborum conceſſis a ſede Apoſt. vel etiam concedendis, per quas effectus huiuſmodi proviſionis poſſet impediri aliquatenus vel differri. Tamen volumus, ea de certa ſcientia, quantum ad proviſionem factam & faciendam* Frederico *prædicto in Eccleſia* Lincoln. *viribus omnino carere, Caterum, ſi aliqui prædicto* Frederico *vel Procuratori ſuper præmiſſis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte noſtra citari curetis, ut peremptorie infra ducrum menſium ſpacium poſt citationem veſtram perſonaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem* Frederico *ſuper præmiſſis legitime reſponſuri, Non obſtantibus privilegiis, ſive quibuſlibet indulgentiis perſonis Regni* Angliæ *generaliter vel ſpecialiter alis perſonæ, vel dignitati, vel loco ſpecialiter a prædicta ſede ſub quacunq; forma verborum conceſſis, quod non poſſunt ultra mare, ſeu extra civitatem vel Diœceſin ſuam in judicium evocari per literas Apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborum obtentas; quod privilegium & indulgentias eiſdem perſonis de certa ſcientia nullatenus volumus ſuffragari, & conſtitutione edita de duabus dictis in concilio generali non obſtante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, veſtris literis tenorem præſentium continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quod ſi non ambo his exequantis intereſſe poteritis, alter veſtrum nihilominus exequatur.* Datum Penſi. 7. Cal. Febr. Pontificat. noſtri anno decimo.

* *Conſtitis.*

Which foreſaid Letter is thus in English.

Unto our beloved Sons the Archdeacon of Canterbury, *and to Maſter* Innocent *our Scribe abiding in* England. *Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction. Forſomuch as our well-beloved Son* G. S. Euſtace *Deacon Cardinal, upon our ſpecial commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved Son* Frederick de Lavavia *(a Clerk and our Nephew) a Canonſhip in the Church of* Lincoln *with full power and grant of the ſame; inveſting him alſo corporally and preſently with his own Ring in the ſaid Canonſhip, to be from hence-forth Canon of* Lincoln, *and to have full power of the ſaid Canonſhip in the Church, and a Prebend when any ſhall fall in the Church of* Lincoln: *from that time, ſince which our former Letters of late, concerning this receiving and proviſion to be given to him in the ſaid Church, were preſented and exhibited to our Reverend Father the Biſhop of* Lincoln, *or elſe after the next avoiding the ſaid Prebendſhip to be reſerved to the Apoſtolical Donation, and to be given to him, making it void and fruſtrate if the ſaid Prebendſhip ſhall be given to any other Man beſide, and alſo denouncing the ſentence of Excommunication againſt all them that ſhall rebel and gainſay the ſame, as in the Letters of the ſaid Cardinal is more fully contained.*

The Popes unreasonable Letter.

Excommunication uſed.

We therefore graciouſly inclined by the devout ſupplication of the ſaid Frederick, *ratifying and gratefully approving that which hath been done by the ſaid Cardinal in the premiſſes, we thought good by the Authority Apoſtolical to confirm the ſame. Wherefore we give all commandments by our Letters Apoſtolical to your wiſdoms, that you will ſee the ſaid* Frederick *(or his Proctor in his behalf) to be really and corporally poſſeſſed in the ſaid Canonſhip or Prebend by our Authority, and alſo defend the ſaid party being therein poſſeſſed, denouncing the ſentence of Excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhall withſtand the ſame, all manner of cuſtoms or Statutes to the contrary notwithſtanding, corroborated either with Oath, or confirmations of the See Apoſtolick, or by what ſtay or let ſoever; or whether that the ſaid* Frederick *be not preſent to take the Oath accuſtomed to be given for obſerving the cuſtoms of the ſaid Church, or whether it be given and granted by the ſaid See to the foreſaid Biſhop, or to the Chapter of the ſaid Church joyntly and ſeverally, or to what perſon or perſons elſe, that no Man by compulſion ſhould have admiſſion or proviſion for any perſon in their Church whereby they cannot be Interdicted, Suſpended, or Excommunicate by the Letters Apoſtolical obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, under what form or words ſoever; yea, although the whole tenor of the ſaid indulgence be inſerted word for word in the ſaid your Letters, or by any other indulgences to what perſon or perſons ſoever, of what eſtate, dignity or place ſoever, under any manner or*

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or form of words, granted hereafter by the See Apoſtolick, by the which indulgences the effect of the ſaid proviſion may be by any manner of ways hindered or deferred: yet of our certain knowledge we will that they ſhall want their ſtrength in the proviſion made or to be made for the ſaid Frederick *in the Church of* Lincoln. *And if any, upon the premiſſes or any of them, ſhall alledge againſt the foreſaid* Frederick, *or his procurator; that you will cauſe them to be cited on our behalf: ſo that they, being cited peremptorily, ſhall within the ſpace of two months of your citation, perſonally appear before us there according to the Law, to make anſwer to the ſaid* Frederick *upon the premiſes: any priviledges or indulgences whatſoever given and granted either generally to the Kingdom of* England, *or peculiarly to any other perſon of what ſtate, degree, and place ſoever, granted by the foreſaid See, under whatſoever manner and form of words for them not to be called up beyond the Sea, or out of their own City or Diocels by Letters Apoſtolical, under whatſoever form of words obtained, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. All which priviledges and indulgences, we will in no caſe ſhall ſtand in any force or effect to the ſaid parties. Moreover, the day and form of the Citation we will that ye faithfully do intimate unto us by your Letters containing the tenor thereof, and if both of you cannot be preſent at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithſtanding that one of you do execute the ſame without fail.* Dated the 7*th.* Kal. February, the 10*th.* year of our Popedom.

As there is no Man which hath any eyes to ſee, but may eaſily underſtand in reading this Letter of the Pope, how unreaſonable his requeſt is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threateneth, how wickedly he oppreſſeth and racketh the Church of God, in placing Boys and ſtrangers in the Miniſtry and cure of ſouls, and alſo in making them his Proviſors, to raven up the Church goods: ſo is it no great marvel, if this godly Biſhop *Robert Groſthead* was offended therewith; who, in my mind deſerveth herein a double commendation, not only that he ſo wifely did diſcern error from ſincerity and truth; but alſo that he was ſo hardly and conſtant to ſtand to the defence thereof againſt the Pope, according as in this his anſwer to the Pope again may appear, as followeth.

A double commendation of Bishop Grosthead.

The Anſwer of Robert Grosthead.

The answer of Robert Grosthead to the Pope.

SAlutem, Pleaſeth it your wiſdom to underſtand, That I am not diſobedient to any the Apoſtolick Precepts, but both devoutly and reverently with the natural affection of a Son obey the ſame, and alſo am an utter enemy to all thoſe that reſiſt ſuch Apoſtolick Precepts, as a Child zealous of his Fathers honour. And truly, I am no leſs than bound thereunto by the Precept and commandment of God. For the Apoſtolick Precepts are none other, nor can be, than conſonant and uniform to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of our Saviour Chriſt being the Maſter and Lord of all the Apoſtles: whoſe type and perſon, ſpecially in the conſonant and uniform Hierarchy of the Church, the Lord Pope ſeemeth to bear the ſame, our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying, *Whoſoever is not with me, the ſame is againſt me.* Therefore, againſt him neither is nor can be the moſt divine ſanctity of the See Apoſtolical. The tenor then of your foreſaid Apoſtolical Letter is not conſonant to true ſanctity, but utterly diſſonant and diſagreeing to the ſame. Firſt, for that the clauſe of this your Letter, and many ſuch other Letters like, which clauſe always ye ſo much do urge *(Non obſtante)* induced and brought in upon no neceſſity of any natural Law to be obſerved, doth ſwarm and flow with all inconſtancy, boldneſs, pertinacy, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and is alſo a Sea of miſtruſt in giving credit to no Man. Which as it ſwarmeth with theſe, ſo in like manner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend upon the ſame: moving and diſturbing the purity of Chriſtian Religion and life agreeable to the ſame, as alſo the publick tranquility of Men. Moreover, next after the ſin of Lucifer (which ſhall be in the later time, to wit, of Antichriſt, the Child of Perdition, whom the Lord ſhall deſtroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kind of ſin ſo repugnant and contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Chriſt himſelf more hateful, deteſtable, and abominable, than to deſtroy and kill mens Souls, by defrauding them of the myſtery of the Paſtoral Office, which by the miniſtry of the Paſtoral cure ought to ſave and quicken the ſame. Which ſin by moſt evident places of the Scripture, ſuch Men are diſcerned and known to commit, which being in the authority of the Paſtoral Dignity, do ſerve their own carnal deſires and neceſſaries with the benefit of the Milk and Wool of the Sheep and flock of Chriſt, and do not miniſter the ſame Paſtoral Office and charge to the benefit and ſalvation of thoſe their ſheep. The ſame therefore by the teſtimony of the Scriptures is not the adminiſtration of the paſtoral miniſtry, but the killing and deſtruction of the ſheep. And that theſe two kind of vices be moſt vile and wicked (although after a differing ſort) and far exceeding all other kind of wickedneſs hereby it is manifeſt: for that the ſame are directly contrary to two vertues moſt chiefly good (although differing in themſelves) and unlike together. For that is called moſt wicked, which is contrary to a thing moſt good. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly againſt the Deity, which of himſelf is always eſſentially and ſupernaturally good; the other is againſt the deification and the image of God in Man, which is not always, but by the participation of Gods lightſome Grace, eſſentially and naturally good. And forſomuch as in things being good, the cauſe of good is better than the effect; and like as again in evil things, the cauſe of evil is worſe than the effect of evil proceeding thereof: hereby it is manifeſt, that the inducers of ſuch wicked deſtroyers of Gods image and deification in the ſheep of Chriſt (that is, the Church of God) are worſe than thoſe chief deſtroyers, to wit, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

And as in theſe degrees of wickedneſs how much more excellent ſuch be, who having a great charge committed to them of God (to edification and not to deſtruction) the more are they bound to keep away and exclude ſuch wicked deſtroyers from the Church of God: ſo much is it alſo off, that this holy ſeat Apoſtolical, to whom the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath given all manner of power (to edification, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and not to deſtruction) can command, or will go about any ſuch thing, urging unto ſo great wickedneſs, ſo odious, deteſtable and abominable to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo ſo pernitious to mankind. For this holy ſeat a great defection, corruption and abuſe of the ſaid ſeat and fulneſs of power, and an utter ſeparation from the glorious Throne of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and a near neighbourhood unto the two moſt principal Princes of darkneſs, ſitting in the Chair of Peſtilence, prepared to the pains of Hell. Neither can any Man, which is ſubject and faithful to the ſaid See (and not cut away from the body of Chriſt, and from the ſaid Holy See) with ſincere and unfpotted Conſcience obey ſuch manner of precepts and commandments, or whatſoever other attempts proceeding, yea, though from the high order of Angels themſelves, but rather ought of neceſſity with all their ſtrength to withſtand and rebel againſt the ſame. Wherefore my Reverend Lord, I, like an obedient Child, upon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the * parents of this Holy Apoſtolick See, and partly for love of unity in the body of Chriſt joyned with the ſaid See, do not obey but withſtand and utterly rebel againſt theſe things in the ſaid Letter contained, and eſpecially which urge and tend to the foreſaid wickedneſs, ſo abominable to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo repugnant to the Holineſs of the Holy Apoſtolick See, and ſo contrary to the unity of the Catholick Faith. Neither for this cauſe can your diſcretion determine any extremity to me, becauſe all my doing and gain-ſaying in this matter is no reſiſtance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the divine preecpt, and honor due both to * Father and Mother. Briefly therefore repeating my words I ſay, That this Holy Apoſtolick See cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to deſtruction: for this is the fulneſs of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But theſe which you call proviſions be not to edification, but to manifeſt deſtruction. The Holy Apoſtolick See therefore neither can nor ought to attempt any ſuch thing; becauſe that fleſh and blood, which cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, hath revealed the ſame, and not the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which is in Heaven.

Power given to Miniſters to edification only, not to deſtruction.

* He meaneth either Chriſt and the Church or elſe Peter and Paul.

* *Patres*, both to Chriſt and his Church.

Ex Mat. Par. vid. ed. vet. fum.

Then followeth it in the ſtory both of *Matth. Pariſienſis*, and of *Florilegus*, in theſe words: That when this Epiſtle came to the knowledge of the Pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, anſwered with a fierce look and proud mind, ſaying; What old doting frantick wretch is this, ſo boldly and raſhly to judge of my doings? By ſweet S. *Peter* and *Paul*, were it not but that upon our own clemency and good nature we are reſtrained, we ſhould hurl him down to fuch confuſion, that we would make him a fable, a gazing ſtock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the King of *England* our Vaſſal? and to ſay more, our Mancipal or Page (to uſe the very words of mine Author) which may at our pleaſure and beck both hamper him, impriſon him, and put him to utter ſhame? Thus when the Pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongſt his Brethren the Cardinals, who were fcarce able to appeaſe the furious violence of the Pope, with mild moderation of words they ſaid unto him; That it was not expedient for them to proceed againſt that Biſhop in ſuch rigorous manner. For, ſaid they, to conſeſs the truth to your Holineſs, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therefore. He is a Catholick Man, yea, alſo a Holy Man; more Holy and alſo Religious than we our ſelves; a Man of excellent wit and excellent life; ſo as it is thought, among all the Prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknown both to the *French* and *Engliſh* Clergy univerſally, neither can our contradiction prevail againſt him. The truth of this his Epiſtle perhaps is known now to many, and ſhall ſtir up many againſt us: for he hath the name to be a great Philoſopher, and ſingularly ſeen in all the tongues, both Greek, Latine, and Hebrew: zealous in Juſtice, a reader of Divinity in the Schools, a preacher amongſt the people, a lover of Chaſtity, and a perſecutor of Simony. Theſe words ſpake *L. Giles* a *Spaniſh* Cardinal to the Pope, and others more, moved by their Conſcience to ſpeak. And this counſel they gave to the Pope, That he ſhould diſſemble and wink at theſe things, as one not ſeeing or regarding them; leſt otherwiſe perhaps ſome tumult might riſe and ſpring thereof: eſpecially being this a manifeſt and known to all Men, that once muſt needs come a defection and parting from the Church of *Rome*.

Well ſeen maſter Pope.

Giles Cardinal defendeth *Robert Groſthead* to the Pope.

Not long after this (about the Canicular days) this Reverend and godly *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, lying at his Manor place in *Bugden*, fell grievouſly ſick; and thereupon within few days departed. In the time of his ſickneſs he called to him a certain Frier of the preaching Order, named M. *John Giles*, a Man expert and cunning both in Phyſick and Divinity; partly to receive of him ſome comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in ſpiritual matters. Thus upon a certain day, the ſaid Biſhop conferring with the foreſaid M. *John*, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the Pope, did grievouſly rebuke and reprehend his fellow Brethren the preaching Friers, and the other Order alſo of the Minorits; That forſomuch as their Order being planted in willful poverty of the ſpirit, to the intent that they ſhould more freely carp and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or ſpare them, but ſharply to rebuke and reprehend the ſame: the ſaid Friers contrary to their profeſſion did not boldly enough cry out and inveigh againſt the abuſes of their ſuperiours and men of power; nor did uncover nor deteſt their faults and wickedneſs; and therefore, ſaid the Biſhop, I judge them to be no better than manifeſt Hereticks. And he addeth moreover, (demanding of M. *John*) what is Hereſie? and that he ſhould give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the Frier did ſtay and pauſe, not remembring the ſolemn definition of that matter; the Biſhop thereupon inferreth, giving this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greek word: *Hereſis Græce, electio, Latine, eſt ſententia humano ſenſu electa, Scripturæ Sacræ contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defenſa.* That is, *Hereſie is a ſentence taken and choſen of Mans own brain, contrary to Holy Scripture, openly maintained, and ſtiffly defended.* And this definition given, conſequently he inferred, ſharply reprehending the Prelates of the Church, but eſpecially the *Romans*, which commit the charge of ſouls unto their Kinſfolks, being both in Age unworthy, and in Learning unſufficient. To give (ſaith he) the charge of ſouls unto a Boy, is a ſentence of a Prelate choſen and taken of Mans own head, only for carnal and earthly reſpect, and alſo is contrary to Holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any ſuch to be made Miniſters or Paſtors, which are not ſufficient to drive away the wolves. And moreover it is alſo openly maintained, becauſe it is manifeſtly born abroad and commanded, with Charts imbulled both with Wax and Lead; and finally, it is ſtiffly defended. For if any Man ſhall dare to preſume to withſtand the ſame, he is ſuſpended and Excommunicated, and open War cryed out againſt him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an Heretick doth agree, he is a very Heretick. But every faithful Chriſtian man ought to ſet himſelf againſt an Hereticke as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can reſiſt him and doth not, he ſinneth, and ſeemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the ſaying of *Gregory*; *He lacketh not Conſcience of ſecret ſociety, which ceaſeth to reſiſt open impiety.* But the Friers both Franciſcans and Dominicks are moſt chiefly bound to withſtand ſuch, ſeeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their Office, and be more apt to the ſaid Office, by reaſon of their poverty: and therefore they do not only offend in not reſiſting ſuch, but alſo are to be counted maintainers of the ſame, according to the ſentence of the Apoſtle to the *Romans*, ſaying, *Not only they which commit ſuch things, but alſo they that conſent are worthy of death.* Wherefore it may be concluded, That as well the Pope (unleſs he ceaſe from that vice) as alſo the ſame Friers, unleſs they ſhew themſelves more earneſt and ſtudious in repelling the ſame, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetual Damnation. *Item*, ſaith the Canon Decretal, *That upon this vice of Hereſie the Pope both may and ought to be accuſed.*

The Pope proved here inſufficient.

The ſaying of Gregory.

The Pope accuſed for maintaining of Hereſie.

After this the vehemency of his diſeaſe more and more increaſing, and becauſe the nights were ſomething longer; the third night before his departure, the Biſhop, feeling his infirmity to grow upon, willed certain of his Clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreſhed with ſome conference or communication. Unto whom the Biſhop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loſs of ſouls, through the avarice of the Popes Court, ſaid on this wiſe, as by certain Apheariſms.

Item, Chriſt came into the world to ſave and win ſouls; *Ergo*, He that feareth not to deſtroy ſouls, may he not worthily be counted Antichriſt?

Certain Apheariſms or Articles laid of Robert Groſthead againſt the Biſhop of Rome.

2. The Lord created the whole world in ſix days, but in reſtoring of Man he laboured more than thirty years. Wherefore he that is a deſtroyer of that, about which the Lord ſo long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichriſt?

3. The Pope thereto not impadently to annihilate and diſannul the privileges of his Holy predeceſſors, of *Roman* Biſhops, by this obſtacle (*Non obſtante*) which is not done without the prejudice and manifeſt injury of them. For in ſo doing he doth reprove and deſtroy that which ſo many and ſo Holy Men have builded up before, and thus ſeemeth he to be a contemner of the Saints. Worthily therefore he that contemneth ſhall be contemned, according to the ſaying of *Eſay*; *Woe to thee that doſt deſpiſe, for ſhalt not thou thy ſelf be deſpiſed?* And who ſhall keep his priviledges, which ſo breaketh the priviledges of others?

The Pope accuſed of his wicked Canon, for the which, &c.

4. The Pope anſwering thereunto, thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal, hath no ſuperiority over his equal; Therefore, no Pope hath power to bind me, being Pope as well as he. To this anſwer again, (quoth him the Biſhop) It ſeemeth to me, that he that now preſently is ſailing in the dangerous Seas of this World, and he that is ſafely arrived in the haven, having paſt all jeopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that ſome Popes be ſaved (God forbid any ſhould ſay contrary) Then ſaith our Saviour, *He that is leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than John Baptiſt, a greater than whom did never riſe amongſt the Children of Men.* Is not therefore ſome Pope greater, being a giver and confirmer of priviledges, than this that is alive? Truly methinks, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion over his inferior.

The Pope accuſed for anſwering more than his due to him, and proved not to be equal but inferior to his predeceſſors.

5. Doth not the Pope thus ſay ſpeaking of all his predeceſſors for the moſt part? This our predeceſſor, and this our predeceſſor of moſt worthy memory, *&c.* And again, We

The Pope accuſed for undoing the acts and foundations of his predeceſſors.

{KING} {Hen. 3}

Proved that the Pope in his Bulls infer to his predeceſſors before him, and therefore to have no authority to infringe the Priviledges of other Popes.

Proved by the example of *Rome*, that men more ancient in time, ought to be preferred in higher reverence.

The Pope accuſed for maintaining of Uſury.

Againſt Uſury.

The crafty practice of Uſurers.

The Popes Uſurers worſe than the *Jews*.

Crafty Subtility of the Pope to get money.

Men ſigned to the Holy Land, ſold for money by the Pope.

Remiſſion often ſold for money.

We (ſaith he) cleaving, or following the ſteps of our predeceſſors, *&c.* And why then do ſuch Popes as come after, deſtroy theſe Foundations which their predeceſſors have laid?

6. Many Apoſtolick men coming after, have confirmed ſome Priviledge being granted by others; and be not many Biſhops, being already ſaved by the Grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one Biſhop which hath not yet attained, but ſtandeth in danger to obtain that which the other have got already?

7. Alſo other former Fathers and Biſhops of the Apoſtolical See, in preferment of time, go before the others which in time come after. And thoſe whom the eſtimation of ancient time doth advance, ſuch are we bound to eſteem and to have in more reverence. This did the holy man *Benedict* well conſider; who in his rule preferreth ſuch as came firſt in time, whatſoever men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in years) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their Superiors, and to have the Preheminence. Which being ſo (as it is true and certain) how cometh then this injurious and raſh preſumption, which dare repeal and diſannul the old Priviledges of many ancient holy Biſhops, in time and in reverence going before them?

8. Moreover, and though many Popes have been grievous to the Church, yet this Pope moſt ſpecially hath brought it moſt into ſervitude, and manifold ways hath damnified the ſame. For theſe *Caurſini*, theſe open Uſurers, whom our holy fore-Fathers and Doctors, whom we have ſeen, and namely our learned Maſter in *France* Preacher; alſo the Abbat of *Flay* a *Ciſtercian*, Maſter *Jacobus de veteri*, and Maſter *Stephen*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the time of his baniſhment, and alſo Maſter *Robert Curcum*, with his Preaching baniſhed out of *France* (for before that time theſe kind of Uſurers were never known in *England*) the ſame *Caurſini*, theſe wicked Uſurers, I ſay, were by this Pope induced, ſupported and maintained; ſo that if any do ſpeak againſt them, he is miſerably tofted and trounſed for his labour, whereof partly *Roger* Biſhop of *London* hath ſome experience.

9. The world doth know, that Uſury is counted a deteſtable thing in both the *Teſtaments*, and is forbidden of God. But now the Popes Uſurers or Exchangers, the very *Jews* crying out againſt them, being openly ſuffered in *London* to exerciſe their Uſury, to the great damage and detriment of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons, but eſpecially Houſes of Religion, compelling ſuch as be in poverty to counterfeit and to put to their Seals to forged writings, which is no leſs than to commit Idolatry and to abrenounce the verity which is God himſelf. As for example: I borrow an hundred Marks for a Year, inſtead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled, to make my Writing and to Seal the ſame, confeſſing that I have received and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaid again at the years end to ſuch a man, *&c.* And if it ſhall chance that your occupying be ſuch, that within a month you bring again the principal to the Popes Uſurer, he will receive no leſs notwithſtanding, than his full hundred pounds: which condition of Uſury is much worſe than that of the *Jews*. For to the *Jew* what principal you bring, he will require no more than proportionably for the commenſuration of ſo much time, wherein his money hath been out of his hands.

10. Moreover, we have ſeen and known the Pope to have given in charge and commandment to the Friers, Preachers, and Minorites, to inquire diligently for ſuch as be ſick and like to die; and ſo coming to them diligently to perſwade them to make their Wills and Teſtaments favourably to the profit and ſubſidy of the *Holy Land*, and to take the Croſs upon them; that if they do amend, they may wring them in the Law; and if they die, they may wreſt the money from their Executors.

11. We have known likewiſe and ſeen men, that have taken the Vow and Sign of the Croſs upon them, to be ſold unto Lay-men as Sheep and Oxen were wont in time paſt to be ſold in the Temple.

We have ſeen with our eyes the Popes Letter, in which we have found this to be written: That they, which bequeath any thing to the behoof or ſubſidy of the *Holy Land*, ſhall receive ſo much indulgence as they have diſburſed money.

The Pope accuſed for violent extortion.

The Pope accuſed for troubling and corrupting learned men of the Spirituality with Temporal affairs.

The Pope accuſed for unlawful Diſpenſations.

12. Over and beſides all this, the Pope in divers and ſundry his Letters hath willed and commanded Prelates to receive into Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and to provide ſome ſuch Living in their Churches, as ſhall be ſufficient to ſuch and ſuch a ſtranger (being both abſent and alſo unworthy) which have neither Learning, nor yet the Language of the Country: whereby they are neither able to Preach, nor to hear Confeſſions, nor to keep reſidence to refreſh the poor and way-farers.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to Churches in his proviſions and reſervations.

13. *Item*, We know and have ſeen our ſelves, that the Pope hath written to the Abbot of St. *Albans* to provide for one called *John de Cameſano*, whom we never ſaw, ſome competent Benefice. Whereupon, in few days after, when proviſion was made for him in a certain Church, worth forty Marks by the year and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the Pope, who then writing to the foreſaid Abbot, commanded him to provide for the foreſaid *M. John* ſome better thing, reſerving notwithſtanding the gift of the former Benefice to himſelf.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to the Abbot of St. *Albans*.

14. Again, not long after came alſo to the Houſe of the foreſaid Abbot, two other perſons like begging Vagabonds, bringing with them the Popes Letters: in the tenor whereof the Abbot was commanded, that, incontinently upon the ſight thereof, he ſhould give and diſburſe to the ſaid perſons for the expedition and diſpatch of his Affairs ten Marks in hand, without any delay or ſticking: the which perſons uttering unto the Abbot proud and threatning words, he was fain to agree with them and ſend them away.

15. *Item*, Of men which are both holy and well Learned, which have left the world for the following of God in ſuch order as they ought not to turn back again, the Pope maketh his Tolners and Bankers to get in his money: the which charge they are compelled againſt their wills to take upon them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be diſobedient, and ſo of Spiritual men are made more ſecular than the moſt ſecular. And ſo the buſineſs of their Chimmers and Scapillers, which they wear, doth prove them to be Lyers; whilſt under the habit of poverty and humiliation there lurketh the ſpirit of pride and elation. And becauſe no Legate may be ſent into *England*, but being firſt required of the King, the Pope ſendeth Sophiſtical Legates, and ſuch as be diſguiſed and counterfeit in Apparel, and are guarded with great might and power; neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof: For ſo many ſuch daily do come into the Realm, that to hear the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to hear.

16. Furthermore (as we have ſeen our ſelves) the Pope granteth for ſecular favour, that a man may have a Biſhoprick, and yet be no Biſhop Conſecrated, *Sed electus ſempiternus*, that is, Elect for ever. Which is as much to ſignify, to have the Milk and the Wool of the Sheep and not to keep the Wolves away from the Sheep; to retain the Rents of a Biſhop, and not diſcharge the Function of a Biſhop.

The Pope accuſed for granteth of ſuch things.

And when this godly Biſhop had thus reproved theſe and ſuch other deteſtable enormities of the Court of *Rome*: as all kinds of Avarice, their Uſury, their Simony, their Extortion, all kinds of filthineſs, fleſhly Luſt, gluttony, and their ſumptuous Apparel raigning in that Court; then ſaith he, this old Verſe may be truly verified upon it:

Ejus avaritiæ totus non ſufficit orbis,
Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.

All the world cannot ſuffice their greedy covetous mind. Nor all the drabs & naughty packs their filthy luſting kind.

Afterwards he went about more to proſecute, how the foreſaid Court, like a Gulf never ſatisfied (ever gaping ſo wide, that the flood of *Jordan* might run into his mouth) aſpired how to uſurp the Goods of them that die unteſted, and of Legacies bequeathed without form of Law; and whereby more licentiouſly to bring this to paſs, they uſed to joyn the King to be fellow and partaker with them in their Spoils, Extortions, and Robbing. Neither, ſaith he, ſhall the Church be delivered from the ſervitude of *Egypt* but by violence and force, and with the bloody Sword. And albeit, ſaith he, theſe be yet but light matters, yet ſhortly more great and grievous things than theſe ſhall be ſeen.

Ex Mat. Paris.

And

The death of Robert Grosthead Bishop of Lincoln.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his Tongue and Breath began to fail, and so, the Organ of his Voice being stopped, he made an end both of his Speech and Life. *Ex Matthæo Pariſi.*

And forasmuch as mention hath been made before of the insatiable Avarice of the Popes Court by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is telliſied by the said Author *Matthew Paris*, that the foresaid *Robert Grosthead*, being Bishop of *Lincoln*, caused to be viewed and considered diligently of his Clerks, what the Revenues of Foreiners and Strangers within *England*, sent in by the Pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this Pope now prefent, *Innocentius* the fourth, did impoveriſh the Universal Church throughout Chriſtendom, more than all his predeceſſors from the time the Pope firſt began. So that the Revenues of Foreiners and Clerks, placed by him here in *England*, mounted unto the ſum of Threeſcore and ten thouſand Marks and above, whereas the meer Revenues of the Crown came not to Thirty thouſand.

What the Revenues the Popes Clerks here in *England* came to by the year.

Ex Ceſtrenſis lib. 7.

Of this *Robert Grosthead* writeth *Ceſtrenſis* in his ſeventh Book of his Hiſtory, that partly for that it grieved him to ſee the intolerable exactions of the Pope in this Realm; and partly becauſe he refuſed to admit a certain young Nephew of the Pope to be Canon of his Church (as hath been before recited) he therefore writing unto the Pope, and ſignifying that he could not admit any ſuch perſons into his Church, which neither knew themſelves nor the Tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to *Rome*, and there Excommunicated, who, then appealing from the Pope, ſhortly after departed, which was in the year of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two years after his deceaſe, the ſaid Pope *Innocent* being aſleep, a certain Biſhop, apparelled Biſhop-like, appeared unto him, and ſtriking him with his ſtaff on the left-ſide, ſaid, *Surge miſer, veni in judicium*: that is, *Riſe wretch and come to thy judgment*. The next day after, the Pope was found amazed, as a man ſtricken on the ſide with the ſtroke of a ſtaff. This *Robert* though he was greatly commended for his Sanctimony, and as *Ceſtrenſis* ſaith, for his miracles; yet was he not permitted in the Court of *Rome* to be inſcribed in the Catalogue of Saints. And thus much out of *Ceſtrenſis* concerning this matter. But *Mat. Paris*, and the Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum*, proſecuting this ſtory more at large, addeth this more unto it, and ſaith, That Pope *Innocent* the next year following, which was *Ann.* 1254. being paſſing angry, contrary to the mind of his Brethren the Cardinals, would have the Bones of the foreſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln* caſt out of the Church, and purpoſed to bring him into ſuch ſpite and hatred of the people, that he ſhould be counted an Ethnick, a Rebel, and diſobedient perſon through the whole world. And thereupon cauſed his Letters to be written and ſent down to the King of *England*, knowing that the King would gladly ſerve him therein, to have the ſpoil of the Biſhop and of his Church. But in the Night following the ſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln* appeared unto him as coming in his *Pontificalibus*, and with a ſevere countenance, ſtern look, and terrible voice ſpeaking unto him being in his reſt, and ſmiting him on the ſide with a vehement ſtroke, with the end of his Croſs-ſtaff, thus ſaid, O thou ſcurvy, lazy, old, bald, louſie, wretched, doting Pope; haſt thou purpoſed to caſt my Bones out of the Church to the ſhame and ſlander of me? How cometh this raſh wilfulneſs in thy head? It were more meet for thee being thus advanced by God, and honoured, to make much of the zealous ſervants of God, although departed. The Lord will not ſuffer thee henceforth to have any more power over me. I have written unto thee in the ſpirit of Humility and Love, that thou ſhouldſt correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eye and diſdainful heart haſt deſpiſed my wholſome Admonitions. Wo to thee that deſpiſeſt, ſhalt not thou alſo be deſpiſed? And ſo the Biſhop departing from the Pope, ſtricken, as is ſaid, on the ſide, left him for half dead, and ſo lying in ſorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his Chamberlains being amazed, hearing theſe things, came running to the Pope to know what him ailed. To whom the Pope much troubled and vexed in his ſpirit, ſaid, That great terrors in his ſleep vehemently diſturbed and moleſted him, in ſuch ſort that he thought he ſhould never recover it, nor be reſtored to himſelf again. Oh (ſaid he) how ſore is my ſide, and how eagerly it vexeth me, as being run through with a Spear! Neither did the Pope eat or drink all that day, but fainting himſelf to be ſick of a burning Ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the ireful hand of God (ſaith the ſtory) ſo left him not.

The Pope ſtriken with the ſtaff of Grosthead Biſhop of Lincoln.

{Anno 1253}

Ex Mat. Pariſ. Ex Flor. Hiſt. Reſtabatis pro miſere: ſic ore.

The Popes new and true ſtile given by Grosthead Biſhop of Lincoln.

{KING Hen. 3} The Pope diſquieted in his mind.

For after theſe wholeſome Admonitions given to him by the Servant of God, the Pope not regarding them, but all fet upon War, ſuppreſſion of his Enemies, and ſecular Affairs, gave his mind wholly unto them; and yet all his labours, counſels, and expences beſtowed upon them, could never proſper after that day in that he went about. For the Pope, the ſame time having War with the *Apulians*, all his Army, fighting under the Popes Nephew their Captain, were ſlain and confounded to the number of many thouſands: whoſe lamentable ſlaughter all the Country of the Romans did much bewail. The Pope, not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his journy towards *Naples*, although ſore vexed in his ſide like a man ſick of a *Pliriſie*, or ſmitten rather with a Spear, neither could any Phyſick of his Cardinals help him. For *Robert of Lincoln* (ſaith the ſtory) did not ſpare him; and he that would not hear him gently correcting him being alive, his ſtripes did he feel when he was dead; ſo that he never after that enjoyed any lucky or proſperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any proſperous or quiet Night until the Morning. And ſo continued he unto his death, which ſhortly after inſued, he being at *Naples*, *An.* 1255. or as *N. Trivet* Recordeth, *An.* 1254. And thus have ye the whole Diſcourſe between *Robert Grosthead* and Pope *Innocent*.

The revenge of God upon Pope Innocent.

The Popes Army vanquiſhed and confounded

In the which ſtory is to be noted, gentle Reader, that although in the ſtory of *Ceſtrenſis*, of *Matthew Paris*, and of *Flor. Hiſt.* it is expreſly teſtified and reported, that the Pope was ſmitten with the ſtaff of *Robert* the foreſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln*; yet thou muſt wiſely underſtand, that howſoever Gods hand dealeth here in this world in puniſhing his Enemies, or howſoever the image of things not ſeen but fantaſied, offer themſelves to the ſecret cogitation of man, his Senſes being aſleep, by the operation or permiſſion of God, working, after ſome Spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is, that no dead man materially can ever ariſe again or appear before the Judgment-day, to any man with his ſtaff or without his ſtaff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

Ex Ceſtrenſi.

Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Superſtitious falling noted in Water Archbiſhop of York.

Superſtition in linking Salvation by wrong means.

The death of Pope Innocent the fourth.

{Anno 1254}

A Note to the Reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

Diſſention between the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Church of Lincoln.

The Pope hinderers to the Church of England.

After the death of this *Robert Groſthead*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, great diſſention fell between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Boniface*, and the Canons of the ſaid Church of *Lincoln*, about the right of giving Prebendſhips, and about the Revenues of the ſaid Church, in the time of the Biſhops See being now vacant. Which right and power the Archbiſhop claimed to himſelf, but the Canons of that Church (maintaining the contrary ſide) ſtood againſt him, and for the ſame were Excommunicated of the Archbiſhop. Among whom one Maſter *Woolf* reſiſting the Archbiſhop to the face, in the name of all the other Canons, made up his Appeal to *Rome*, where much mony on both ſides was ſpent. At length after this *Groſthead* was Elected *Henry Lexinton* in the See of *Lincoln*.

Excommunication aſoiled.

Appellation made to Rome.

Henry Lexinton Biſhop of Lincoln.

About which time the wicked *Jews* at *Lincoln* had cruelly Crucified, Whipped, and Tormented a certain Child named *Hugo*, of nine-years of Age. *Anno* 1255. in the month of *Auguſt*: *Ex Gualt. Giſburnc.* At length the Child being fought and found by the Mother, being caſt in a pit; two and thirty of thoſe abominable *Jews* were condemned put to execution. Whereof *Mat. Pariſ.* reciteth a long ſtory. The ſame or like Fact was alſo intended by the like *Jews* at *Norwich* twenty years before upon a certain Child, whom they had firſt Circumciſed, and detained a whole year in cuſtody, intending to Crucify him, for which the *Jews* were ſent up to the *Tower* of *London*, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the reſt remained long in Priſon: *Ex Ceſtrenſi. lib.* 7. Of this wicked *Jewiſh* people I find alſo in the Book *Flor. Hiſt.* that about this year of our Lord 1255. they began firſt to be expelled out of *France*, by the commandment of the *French* King, being then in *Paleſtina*, Warring againſt the *Turks*: by the occaſion that it was objected then by the *Turk* againſt him and other Chriſtian Princes, for the retaining the *Jews* amongſt them, which did Crucify our Saviour, and Warring againſt them which did not Crucify him. *Ex Flor. Hiſtor.* Of theſe

A Child Crucified of the Jews at Lincoln.

Ex N. Triveti.

Ex Co. ſtrenſi lib. 7. cap. 28.

Ex Flor. Hiſt.

The Jews expelled out of France.

{KING Hen. 3} A Child circumciſed of the Jews and kept a whole year to be Crucified.

The Jews ask leave to depart the Realm of England.

Ex Radigo Jews baſtard of an Archbiſhop.

A Jew falſified into a Priory would not be taken out for keeping his Sabbath-day.

Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Superſtition in linking Salvation by wrong means.

The Popes Donation preferred before the Kings.

theſe *Jews* moreover King *Henry* the ſame year, 1255, exacted to be given unto him Eight thouſand Marks in pain of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the King went about their deſtruction, deſired leave to be given them of the King, that they might depart the Realm, never to return again. But the King committed the doing of that matter unto Earl *Richard* his Brother, to inforce them to pay the mony whether they would or no. Moreover of the ſame *Jews* mention is made in the ſtory Intituled *Eulogium*. Of the *Jews* in *Northampton*, who had among themſelves prepared wildfire, to burn the City of *London*; for the which divers of them were taken, and burned in the time of *Lent*, in the ſaid City of *Northampton*, which was two years before, about the year of our Lord 1253. *Ex Eulogio*. And forſomuch as mention here is made of the *Jews*, I cannot omit what ſome *Engliſh* ſtories write of a certain *Jew*, who not long after this time, about the year of our Lord 1257, fell into a Privy at *Teukeſbury* upon a Sabbath-day; which, for the great reverence he had to his holy Sabath, would not ſuffer himſelf to be plucked out. And ſo Lord *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter*, hearing thereof, would not ſuffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the Holy day. And thus the wretched ſuperſtitious *Jew*, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the Dung.

And to note the blind ſuperſtition of that time, not only among the *Jews*, but alſo among the Chriſtians; to omit divers other ſtories, as of *Walter Gray* Archbiſhop of *York*, who coming up to the Parliament at *London*, *Anno* 1255, with unordinate faſting did ſo over-charge Nature, and pined himſelf, and (as the ſtory mentioneth) did ſo dry up his Brain, that he loſing thereby all Appetite of Stomach, going to *Fulham*, there within three days died, as in the Compiler of *Flor. Hiſt.* is both ſtoried and reprehended. Let this alſo be adjoyned, which the fore-named Author, and in the ſame year is Recorded of one named *Peter Chaceporee*, who dying in *France*, *An.* 1255, left in bequeſt of his Teſtament 600 Marks for Lands to be purchaſed to the Houſe of *Morton* for God to be ſerved there perpetually, *Pro anima ejus, & omnium fidelium*; that is, *For his Soule health, and all faithful Souls*. As, who would ſay, Chriſtian-Faith were not the ordinary means ſufficient to Salvation of Faithful Souls, without the Quireſervice of the Monks of *Morton*.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the uſurped power of the Pope hath violently and preſumptuouſly incroached upon the Church of *England*, in giving and conferring Benefices and Prebends to his *Italians* and Strangers, to the great damage and ruine of Chriſts flock manifold ways. This violent injury and oppreſſion of the Pope, as by no Lawful and gentle means it could be reformed; ſo by occaſion and means inordinate, about this time it began ſomewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the Collector of *Flor. Hiſt.* recited: In the year of the Reign of this King fourty and four, the Biſhop of *London*, named *Fulco*, had given a certain Prebend in the Church of St. *Paul*, to one Maſter *Ruſtandus*, the Popes Meſſenger here in *England*. Who entring into the Proſeſſion of the Gray-Friers, and ſhortly after dying on the other ſide of the Sea, the Pope immediately conferred the ſaid Prebend to one of his ſpecials, a like ſtranger as the other was before. About the ſame inſtant it befel, that the Biſhop alſo of *London* deceaſed, whereby the Biſhopſick now vacant fell into the Kings hands; who, hearing of the death of the forenamed *Ruſtandus*, gave the ſaid Prebendſhip, given of the Pope before, to one *John Crakehale* his under-treaſurer, who with all Solemnity took his inſtallation, not knowing as yet that it was beſtowed of the Pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noiſed at *Rome*, forthwith cometh down a certain Proctor, named *John Gras*, with the Popes Embulled Letters, to receive the Collation of the Benefice, by his Commiſſion procuratory given by the Pope, wherein *John Crakehale* had been already inſtalled, as is aforeſaid, by the Kings Donation. This matter coming in Traverſe before *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; he inquiring and ſearching which Donation was the firſt, and finding the Popes Grant to be the former, gave Sentence with him againſt the King; ſo that in concluſion, the Roman Clerk had the advantage of the Benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the poſſeſſion thereof before. Thus the Popes man being preferred, and the *Engliſh* man excluded, after the party had been inveſted and ſtalled after the uſe and manner; he thinking himſelf to be in ſure poſſeſſion of his place, attempted with the reſt to enter the Chapter-Houſe, but was not permitted ſo to do: whereupon the Popes Clerk, giving place to force and number, went toward the Archbiſhop to complain. This being known, certain Recluſes purſued him; and he being ſo compaſſed about, one in the thickneſs of the throng, being never after known, ſuddenly ruſhing upon him, a little above his Eyes, ſo pareth off his Head, that he fell down dead; the ſame alſo was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This horrible murder being famed abroad, ſtrait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be known; and although great ſuſpition was laid upon *Crakehale* the Kings Chaplain, yet no proof could be brought. But moſt men thought, that bloody Fact to be done by certain Ruffians or other light perſons about the City or the Court, diſdaining be-like that the Romans were ſo enriched with *Engliſhmens* Livings, by whom neither came relief to any *Engliſhman*, nor any godly inſtruction to the flock of Chriſt. And therefore becauſe they ſaw the Church and Realm of *England* in ſuch ſubjection, and ſo much to be troden down by the Romans and the Popes Meſſengers: they thought thereby ſomething to bridle, as with a ſnaffle, the Popes Meſſengers from their untemperate ranging into this Land. *Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Two Roman Clerks going to com, into, were ſlain by the way.

Here by the way is to be noted, that, unto the death of this foreſaid *Fulco* Biſhop of *London*, continueth the Hiſtory of *Mat. Paris* Monk of St. *Albons*, which was to the year of Grace 1260. The reſidue was continued by another Monk of the ſame Houſe, but not with ſuch like commendation, worthy to make any authentick ſtory; as I have ſeen it noted in a written Book.

The ſtory of Mat. Paris with the craft th here craſteth

It were too curious and tedious in order to proſecute what happened in every year, through this Kings Reign; as how it was provided by the King, that whoſoever could diſpend fifteen pounds Land by the year, ſhould be bound to make to the King a Soldier, that watch ſhould be kept every night in Cities; that whoſoever was robbed, or otherwiſe damnified in any Country, he that had the cuſtody ſhould be compelled to make up the loſs again, or elſe to purſue the malefactor, which was *An.* 1253, witneſſing *Flores Hiſt. Item*, how the King making his Voyage into *Vaſcon*, his expences were reckoned to amount to 270000 Marks, beſide 30000 Marks beſtowed upon his Brethren by the Mothers-ſide, and beſides other great gifts given abroad. By reaſon whereof, great Taxes, and Tolonies, and Tenths were required of his Subjects; eſpecially of the Church-men, who, being wont to receive Tithes of others, now were conſtrained to give Tithes to the Laity: *Flores Hiſt. Anno* 1254. *Item*, how in the year next following, the *Londoners* offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the King, with a precious Cup of Gold, at his return out of *France*, were ſhortly after compelled by the King to pay three thouſand Marks for the eſcape of a certain Priſoner, being a Clerk condemned; which Clerk being granted of the King to the Biſhop, and he having no Priſon ſufficient for him, borrowed of the *Londoners* the Priſon of *Newgate*; to have him kept in, who eſcaping thereout, they, as is ſaid, were demanded this reſompence aforeſaid, *Anno* 1255. *Item*, how the King, greatly complaining of his Debts the ſame year, required the whole Tenths, which ſhould be thin gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once. To whoſe requeſt the Nobles and Commons agreed to thrain themſelves, ſo that the Charter of their Liberties and Cuſtoms might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and ſo for that year they were: *Flores Hiſt. Item*, How Pope *Alexander* the third to deſtroy the City *Michera*, with King *Menfred* the Son of *Frederick* the Emperor, ſent forth the ſame year *Octavianus* his Cardinal with a puiſſant Armys who coming to the City with his ſiege, through the Counſel of *Marchiſius* one of the chief Captains, diſcharged a great part of his Hoſt, whereby the moſt of the Popes Army was ſlain and deſtroyed; almoſt all, ſave only the Family of *Marchiſius*, *An.* 1255. *Flor. Mat. Pariſ.*

Pope Alexander the 4 th.

The Popes Army ſlain.

Many other things during the time of this King might be congeſted, as the riſing of *Lewlinus* King of *Wales*, *Lordwas* and of the *Welch* men againſt the King, and waſting the Land unto the Town of *Cheſter*; who deſtroyed divers caſtles

Lewlinus King of Wales Warreth againſt the King.

of

of the *English*-mens Horsmen taken in the Marish; with whom at length they fell to agreement by the means of *Odobonus*, that his successors should be only called Princes of *Wales*, and should do the King his Homage: and the King should receive of him Three thousand Marks. And this, being Established in writing, was confirmed by the Popes Seal, in the year of our Lord 1257. *Ex Polychron.*

Ex Polycron. 17.

Ex Anchor Eulogii.

About the same time, such Famine and lack of Victuals oppressed the Land, that a Somme of Corn was then sold for Six and twenty Shillings: in so much that the poorer sort was forced to eat Nettle-roots, Thistle-roots, and whatsoever they could get: *Ex Eulogio.* Although some refer this to the year 1262.

Anno 1257 Pope *Alexander* to make suit for money, maketh the King believe his son should be King of *Apulia*, *Richard* the Kings Brother made King of *Almain*.

Heremto moreover might be adjoyned, how Pope *Alexander*, abusing and mocking the Kings simplicity, made him believe that he would make his Son *Edmund* King of *Apulia*, so that he would sustain the charges and cost thereof, to maintain the War which thereto should appertain. Whereby the King, cast in a fadden hope, caused his Son incontinently to be Proclaimed King of *Apulia*; and upon the same sent up to the Pope all the Riches he could well make in his Realm. And thus was the Realm manifold ways miserably impoverished: to which the Earl of *Ex-ceter* the Kings Brother, was made King of *Almain* by the Electors.

Here might be shewed moreover and added to the stories above, how the nex year following, which was 1259, as *Nicholas Trivet* writeth, the King entring into *France*, required the restitution of such Lands in *Normandy* and *Anjou*, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the *French* King again alleadged, saying, That the Country of *Normandy* by old time was not given away from the Crown of *France*, but usurped, and by force extorted by *Rollo*, &c. In conclusion, the King fearing and suspecting the hearts of his Nobles, and looking for none other but for Rebellion at home, durst not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon such Peace and conditions as he could get; which was this: That he should have of the *French* King Thirteen hundred thousand of *Turen* pounds, with so much Lands else as came to the value of Twenty thousand pounds in yearly Rent: so should he resign fully and purely, to the hands of the *French* King, all such Lands and Possessions which he had in *France*. Whereby the King, giving over his Stile and Titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to be called Duke of *Normandy*, or Earl of *Anjou*.

What evil difcord worketh.

Resignation of the Earldom of *Normandy* and *Anjou*.

Albeit it be true that *Gisburne* writeth, that King, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the mony in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to intitle himself Duke of *Normandy*. But after him, his Son *Edward* and his successors in their Stile left out the Title to be called Duke of *Normandy*, &c. *Ex Gisburn.*

Ex Gualt. Gisburn.

The conflict and skirmish between the *Northern Welch* men and the *Southern* men in *Oxford*.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I over-pass also the fore and vehement conflict, not between the Frogs and the Mice which *Homer* writeth of, but the mighty pitched field, fought in the year of our Lord 1259, between the young Students and Scholars of the University of *Oxford*, having no other occation, as I read in *Mat. Paris*, but only the diversity of the Country where they were born. For the *Northern* men joyning with the *Welch* men, to try their manhood against the *Southern* part, fell both parts together in such a broil, with their Ensigns and War-like Array, that in conclution divers on both sides were slain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this: That the *Northern* Lads with the *Welch* had the Victory. After that fury and fiery fierceness had done what it could, the Victorers bethinking at length with themselves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall upon them, especially seeing the Brother of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and Son of *Griffin*, was newly dead in Prison; drawing their counsel and helps together, they offered to King *Henry* 4000 Marks, to *Edward* his Son 300, and to the Queen 200, to be releated of their Trespass. But the King answering them again, That he set more price by the life of one true Subject, than by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receive their mony. And so the Students without hope of peace went home with small triumph, learning what the common Proverb meaneth, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. Notwithstanding, the King being then occupied in great Affairs and Wars, partly with *Leoline* and the *Welch* men, partly inwrapped with discord at home with his Nobles, had no leasure to attend to the correction of these Universities men; which was *Anno 1259. Ex Matth. Parisiensi.* Likewise concerning the Dissention following the next year after in the Universty of *Paris*, between the Students there, and the *Friers*; the number of whom then did so much increase, that the Commons Umeth was able to sustain them with their Alms. Also between the Universities both of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, for a certain Prisoner taken out of Prison by strength, and brought into sanctury the same year, as is testified in *Matthew Paris*, *Anno* 1259. In like manner touching the variance between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter of *Lincoln*. Again, between the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter and Bishop of *London*; and how the said Bishop at his Consecration would not make his Profession to the Archbishop but with this exception, *Salvis jure & libertate Ecclesiæ* Londinensis, *quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus*, &c. Recorded in *Flor. Hist.* All which wrangilings and differences, with innumerable others raigning daily in the Church at those days, if I had so much leasure to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce us to understand what small peace and agreement was then joyned with that Doctrine and Religion in those days, during the state and raign of Antichrist.

{KING Hen. 3.}

Variance between the Students and the Friers in *Paris*.

Variance between the University of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

Variance between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Chapter of *Lincoln*.

Variance between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Chapter of *London*. *Ex Flor. Hist.*

Little Peace in the Popes Church.

These with many such other matters more, which here might be discourred and storied at large, being more Forein than Ecclesiastical, for brevity I do purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seem more curious to write upon, than necessary to be known.

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the King and the Nobles, which lasted a long season: because it is lamentable and containeth much fruitful example, both for Princes and Subjects to behold and look upon, to see what mischief and inconvenience groweth in Common-weals, where study of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where neither the Prince regardeth the offending of his Subjects, and where the Subjects forget the office of Christian-patience in suffering their Princes injuries by God's wrath inflicted for their sins: therefore, in explaining the order and story thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the Reader with a little more tarriance in perusing the full Discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernitious to the publick weal.

Tribulation profitable for example

And first to declare the occasions and first beginning of this tumult, here is to be understood, which before was signified, how King *Henry* Married with *Elenor*, Daughter of the Earl of *Provens* a stranger, which was about the year of our Lord 1234. whereupon a great Door was opened for strangers, not only to enter the Land, but also to replenish the Court: to whom the King seemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment, than his own natural *English* Lords, which thing to them was no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the King by *Isabel* his Mother, who was a stranger, had divers Brethren, whom he nourished up with great Livings and Possessions, and large Pensions of mony: which was another heart-fore to divers, and also an hinderance. Over and besides hath also been declared, what unreasonable collections of mony from time to time, as Quindecims, Subsidies, Tenths, Mercements, Fines, Payments, Loans, and Taxes, have been Levied by the King, as well of the Spirituality, as of the Lay sort, partly for maintaining the Kings Wars against *Wales*, against *Scotland* and *France*, to recover *Normandy*; partly for helping the Kings Debts, Voyages, and other expences; partly for the Kingdom of *Apulia*, which was promised the Kings Son by the Pope; partly for monying and supporting the Pope in his Wars against the Emperor. By reason of all which fundry and importable Collections, the Common-wealth of the Realm was utterly excoriate, to the great impoverishment of poor *English* men. Neither did it a little vex the people, to see the King call in so many Legates from *Rome* every year, which did nothing else but transport the *English* mony unto the Popes Coffers. Besides all

The occasion of commotion between the King and the Nobles.

Strangers having all the Wealth of the Realm under the King. *Ex Gualt. Gisburn.*

The words of the Nobles to the King.

{KING Hen. 3.} all this, what variance and altercation hath been between the King and his Subjects about the liberties of *Magna Charta*, and *De Foresta*, granted by King *John*, and after confirmed by this King, in the former Council holden at *Oxford*, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some piece of a cause, that the King considering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the Lords and Barons to his Father King *John* before him, did bear some grudge therefore, or some privy hatred unto the Nobility, to revenge his Fathers quarrel: but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of History, that the year next insuing, which was 1260, thus writeth *Nic. Trivet*: That the Kings Justices, called *Itinerarii*, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alledged, for that they were against the King in proceeding and enterprising against the form of the provisions enacted and stablished a little before at the Town of *Oxford*.

Anno 1260 In this year it pleased the King, after sute to him made, to License an Universty or Academical School to be planted in the Town of *Northampton*; and of a special favour which he pretended to bear (and like enough did indeed) unto the Scholars that went there to feat themselves, and to prosecute the exercises of Studies, wrote his Letters Mandatory unto the chief Officers and others of the said Burrough in the said Students behalf; the Tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the Record:

The Kings Letter to the Maior, Bailiffs, and others the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the behalf of certain Scholars minded to plant themselves there as in an Universty.

Tenis Lond.

REX dilectis & fidelibus suis Majori, Ballivis, & cæteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton, salutem. Cum quidam Magistri & alii Scholares proponant, &c.

In English thus:

Touching a Universty for Scholars to be kept at Northampton.

The King to his beloved and trusty the Maior, Bailiffs, and other honest men his Subjects of Northampton, *Greeting: Whereas certain Masters and other Scholars do purpose to terry in your Town Corporate, there to exercise Scholary-Discipline, as we hear: We hereupon regarding the Service of God, and the great profit of our Kingdom, tending in good part the coming thither of the said Scholars, and liking well their abode there, do Will and Grant that the said Scholars in the said Town Corporate, under our protection and defence, do safely and securely abide, and there exercise and do such things, as to such Scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, That when the said Scholars shall come unto you, to tarry in your said Corporate Town, you receive them courteously, and as becometh the state of Scholars use them, not doing or suffering to be done unto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made. Witness the King at* Windsor *the first day of* February, *in the Five and fortieth Year of his Reign.*

It befel moreover in the same year, above other times (as *Gualter Hemingford* writeth) that a great number of Aliens, coming out of *France* and other Provinces, resorted into *England*, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the Realm under the King. Unto whom the rewards and reliefs, and other emoluments of the Land did most chiefly redound: which thing to see, did not a little trouble and vex the Nobility and Baronage of *England*. Insomuch that *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leicester*, offering to stand to death for the Liberties and Wealth of the Realm, conferred together with other Lords and Barons upon the matter, who, then coming unto the King after an humble sort of petition, declared unto him how all the doings of his Realm, and his own Affairs, were altogether dispesed by the hands, and after the wills of strangers, neither profitable unto him, nor to the Wealpublick: forasmuch as his Treasures being wasted and consumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to satisfy the Provison of his own House, but driven to Tally for his own Cates, to no small dishonor unto his own State. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your Highness to be informed by our Advice, and to commit your House to the Guiding and Government of your own Faithful and Natural Subjects, and we will take upon us to discharge your whole Debt within one year, of our own proper Goods and Revenues, so that we within five years may clear our selves again. Neither will we diminish your Family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; providing so for the saftety and seeing to the custody of your Royal Person, as your Highness shall find and understand our diligence most trusty and faithful unto you in the end.

The King granteth to his Lords.

To these words so lovingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the King as willingly condescended, Assigning unto them both Day and Place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which should be at *Oxford* the fifteenth day after *Easter*. At which day and place all the States and Lords, with the Bishops of the Realm, were Summoned to appear at the said Town of *Oxford*, for the behalf of the King and the Realm convented together. Where first of the King himself, then of the Lords, an Oath was taken, That what Decrees or Laws in the said Assembly should be provided to the profit of the King and of the Realm, the same Universally should be kept and observed to the honour of God, and utility of his Church, and Wealth of the Realm. Besides these Lords and the King, were also nine Bishops, which swearing unto the same, did Excommunicate all such as should gainstand the said Provisions there made; the King holding a burning Taper in his hand, and the Lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

A sitting of the King and Lords at *Oxford*.

The Provisions or Laws made at *Oxford*.

The King sweareth unto the Provisions made at *Oxford*.

There were at that present in the Realm four Brethren of the Kings (most part of them by the Mothers side) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto *Winchester*. The Nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the City of *Winchester*, and forceably keep the same. Wherefore the Lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stifly to persist in their stubborn Sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, returning to *Oxford* again, prescribed to them these conditions, That they departing the Realm should repair to their own Lands and Possessions, which they had beyond the Sea: and that forthwith they should put this Injunction in execution. Notwithstanding, that the King made for them great intercession, yet it took no place. And because this should seem to proceed of no special displeasure against them, they Enacted moreover, That all strangers and Aliens, of what state or condition soever, should forthwith avoid the Realm on pain of death. Divers other provisions the same time were ordained and stablished; That if any did hold of the King in whole or in part, and should chance to depart (his Heir being under age) the Wardship of him should belong to the King, as hath partly before been specified.

The Kings Brethren against the Provisions made at *Oxford*.

The Provisions of *Oxford*.

Moreover, it was there Decreed, That the Wool of *England* should be wrought only within the Realm, neither should it be Transported out to strangers.

Ex Hist. Gualt. Guisburnensis.

Item, That no man should wear any Cloth, but which was wrought and made only within the Realm.

Laws against the Wealth of the Realm.

Item, That Garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

Item, That all excessive and prodigal Expences, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other Laws and Decrees (saith the Author) in this Assembly were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fifteen days; and many of them were Impoysoned, of whom was the Abbot of *Westminster*, a man in that order much commended. Also *William* Brother to the Earl of *Gloucester*: also the Earl himself, being Impoysoned, hardly escaped with life, his Hair and Nails falling off his Body, whereof the Author not long after was taken, and duly executed at *Winchester*. In the mean time, the Nobles considering those daugers and jeopardies, were constrained to break off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of *October* next following to convent together at *London* with Weapon and Harnesse, to prosecute and finish

Divers in this Council impoysoned.

finith the refidue that was in the faid Council to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplifhed, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and fo committed to execution.

The King recounteth of his Oath.

After the Promulgation whereof many things therein difpleafed the King, and it began to repent him of his Oath. But becaufe he could not at that prefent otherwife chufe, he diffembled for a feafon. Thus time paffing on, within a year following, which was in the year of our Lord, 1261, the King feeing himfelf more and more to grow in Debt, and not to be relieved according to promife made, but efpecially being egged (as may be thought) by his Brethren, taking it to ftomach, fent up to the Pope, both for him and his Son *Edward* to be releafed of their Oath made before at *Oxford*. The benefit of which Abfolution being eafily obtained (or rather bought at the Popes hand) the King ftepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth another Parliament at *Oxford*: where he before the Lords and Nobles declared, How in the late Council of *Oxford* they had agreed among themfelves for the common Utility of the Realm and of the King, as they pretended, for the increafing of his Treafure, and his Debt to be diminifhed: And thereupon bound themfelves with an Oath, caufing alfo himfelf and his Son *Edward* to be bound unto the fame. But now by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwife than their promife was; and that they, contrary to their Covenant made, fought not fo much the profit of him and of the Realm, as their own, taking him not as their Lord, but going about to bring him under their fubjection as an underling; and for that moreover his Treafure greatly decreafing, his Debts increafed, and his Princely liberality was cut fhort and troden under foot: they fhould not marvel therefore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counfel, but would provide himfelf of fome other remedy, fuch as he might. And moreover, as touching the Oath wherewith he and his Son ftood bound unto them, he had fent already to *Rome*, and had obtained Abfolution and Difpenfation of the fame, both for him, and his Son *Edward* alfo, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be reftored again to that ftate and condition he had injoyed in times paft.

The King firsth to the Pope to releafe him of his Oath. The Popes Abfolution abufed.

The anfwer of the Nobles again to the King.

To this again gave anfwer the ftate of Nobility on the other fide, being in the fame place preftent; in the number of whom was *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Richard Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, *Humfry Romne* Earl *Ferrence*, with a great number of Barons, as Lord *John Fitz-John*, Lord *Haſtings*, Lord *Geffery Luey*, Lord *John Vefcy*, Lord *William Segrave*, *Hugh Spencer*, Lord *Robert Vifpaint*, with divers and many more; whofe anfwer to the King again was this: That the Provifions made at the Council at *Oxford* (whereunto they were fworn) they would hold, defend and maintain to their lives end: forfomuch as they did found, and alfo were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the Prince, and ftable Wealth of the Realm, *&c.* And thus parts on both fides difcording amongft themfelves, they would fo have departed, had not certain of the Bifhops, coming between both, laboured between them to take up the matter. By whofe means (faith *Gualter Guisburn*) and procurement, the determination of the cauſe was brought in compromiſe, and referred to *Ludovick* the *French* King to judge betwixt them, who hearing both the Allegations (faith he) like no equal Judge, but a partial Friend, inclined wholly and fully to the Kings Sentence, and condemned the Nobles. But the Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* faith, that by the Mediation of diſcreet men, two were chofen, one for one fide, the other for the other, to whom the third alfo was annexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the Kings part, as alfo what was anfwered of the other, fhould define between them both, and fo peace was between them concluded till the coming of *Edward*. All this while, as yet the Popes Abfolution for the King, although it was granted and obtained at *Rome*, yet was it not brought down in folemn writing, neither was Prince *Edward* as yet returned out of *France* into *England*.

The controverſy between the King and the Nobles put in compromiſe.

At length, the writing of the Kings Abfolution being brought from *Rome*, the King eftfoons commanded the fame to be publifhed throughout the Realm, and fendeth to the *French* King and other ftrangers for help; moreover he feizeth all his Caſtles into his own hand, rejecting the Counſel of the Lords, to whofe cuſtody they where before committed; alſo removing the former Officers, as Juſtices, and the Chancellor, with others placed afore by the Lords, he appointed new in their ſtead.

The Pope releaſeth the King of his Oath.

To this foreſaid Abſolution procured from *Rome* for the King and his Son, *Edward* returning out of *France*, at that time did not give his conſent, but held with the Lords. Who then putting themſelves in Arms, with a great power repaired up to *London*, keeping there in the Suburbs and places about; while the King kept within the *Tower*, cauſing the City Gates to be watched and lockt, and all within the ſaid City being above the age of twelve years, to be ſworn unto him. But at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation was ſomewhat appeaſed, at leaſt ſome hope of Peace appeared; ſo that the matter was taken up for that time without War or Bloodſhed. Notwithſtanding, ſome falſe pretenced diſſemblers there were, which ſecretly diſcloſing all the Counſels and doings of the Lords unto the King, did all they could to hinder Concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpoſe of the Lords came not to ſo good effect, as otherwiſe it might. *Ex. Flor. Hiſt.*

Wicked ſtake-bates.

¶ In this year the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with his Suffragans (after their wonted manner) ſtanding againſt the King, had made their Appeal to *Rome*: whereupon the King was fain to Anſwer by Proxy, as appeareth by this brief Note drawn out of Record: *Rex conſtituit Johannem Hemingford Procuratorem ſuum in Cauſa Appellationis, &c. The King hath appointed and made* John Hemingford *his Proctor in a Cauſe of Appeal which is moved in the Court of* Rome, *between the King on the one part, and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *with his Suffragans on the other part, about certain Ordinances, Conſtitutions, and Decrees lately in a Council Provincial at* London *by them publiſhed, to the prejudice of the Kings Right, his Dignity Royal, the Liberties, Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom.*

Ex Fin. Hiſt. fo. 226. 1262

Ordinances in a provincial Council againſt the King right.

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the ſaid *John Hemingford*, who was to that end Authorized by the King to make his abode at *Rome*, during the time that any manner of proceſs was held and maintained againſt him, to the impeaching of his Royalty. Whereof the King had a ſpecial regard, perceiving the waiwardneſs of his own Clergy, or rather rebelliouſneſs in daring to Decree and Ordain Laws againſt him. And therefore he was the more carefol to have all matters depending in the Court of *Rome* concerning him and his to be eameſtly followed. Inſomuch as he joyned to the foreſaid *Hemingford*, in the charge of procuration, one *Roger Lovel*: unto which two, reſiding at *Rome*, the King ſent his Letters, charging them ſo to manage his Affairs, as that nothing might paſs to the derogation of his Royal Title, the Copy of the ſaid Letter followeth agreeing with the Protocypon or Original.

A Letter of the King ſent to his Proctors at *Rome*, concerning a caſe of his in the ſaid Court depending.

Turin Lett.

REX Magiſtris Johanni *de* Hemingford, *&* Rogero Lovel *Procuratoribus ſuis, in Curia* Romana *agentibus, ſalutem, &c. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus noſtris, &c.*

In Engliſh thus:

Againſt the proceedings in the Court of *Rome* tending to the hurt and derogation of the King.

The King to Maſter John *of* Hemingford, *and* Roger Lovel *his Proctors, Pleading in the Court of* Rome, *greeting: Forſomuch as upon you our truſty and vowed Servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie; and (as we hear) certain of our Realm, pleading in the Court of* Rome, *do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, preſuming and intending to preſuſe againſt us, We command you, and ſtraitly charge you, that on our behalf you ſtraitly forbid all and every of them, that they preſume not any further to undertake ſuch things as tend to the hurt of our Majeſty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear ſo to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition alſo we will by you all and every of you (ſo often as you ſhall ſee neceſſul) to be made known, and there-upon*

{KING 1 Hen. 3} *upon by you or ſome of you to be certified of the contemners of the ſame. Witneſs the King at* Weſtminſter, *the ſix and twentieth of* March, *in the ſix and fortieth year of his Reign.*

In this preſent year alſo (as affirmeth the forenamed Author) it was rumored abroad (as *Flores hiſtoriarum* reporteth) that all the Biſhops of *England* went about to recover again, out of the hands of religious Men, all ſuch Churches and Benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated: and that they, for the expedition of the ſame, had ſent up to *Rome* both Meſſengers and Mony, nothing miſdoubting to obtain their purpoſe. But as little good fruit in thoſe days uſed to ſpring out of that See, ſo I do not find that godly ſute and labour of the Biſhops to take any fruitful effect. The fame year died Pope *Alexander*, after whom ſucceeded Pope *Urban* the Fourth.

Biſhops going about to recover Benefices again from religious Houſes. *Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Pope *Alexander* dieth. Pope *Urban* 4

Of the which Pope *Urban* the King alſo obtained (or rather revived) a new releaſment from his Oath made to the Proviſions and Statutes of *Oxford*. Which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the foreſaid Laws and Proviſions through *England* to be diſſolved and broken. This done, the King with the Queen taketh his Voyage into *France*, where he fell in great infirmity of ſickneſs and the moſt part of his Family was taken with the Fever Quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom, beſide others, died *Richard* the worthy Earl of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, after whom ſucceeded *Gilbert Clare* his Son.

{ Anno 1262. }

A new releaſe of the King Oath from them with this Epiſtle: *Alexander, &c. Reverend Father, Health, &c.* Pope *Urban* greeteth the King.

The *Welchmen* this year, breaking into the Borders of *England*, did much annoiance in the Lands of *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great ſlaughter of the Invaders. About which time, the King, through ſome diſcreet counſel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his Nobles, granting of his meer voluntary will the conſtitutions & proviſions of *Oxford* to take place in the Realm, directing his commandment to every ſhire. Albeit the Realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The Welch-men rebel. The greeting out of *England* again greeted by the King.

In the later end of this year, the Kings Palace at *Weſtminſter* was burnt, and for the moſt part was all conſumed with fire, which ſeemed to many an evil prognoſtication againſt the King. *Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

The Kings Palace at Weſtminſter burnt with fire.

In ſome *Engliſh* Chronicles it is alſo recorded, that the ſame year five hundred *Jewes* at *London* were ſlain for taking Uſury more than two pence a Week for 20 ſhillings, being before forbidden by the King to take above that rate by the Week.

Uſury puniſhed for taking above two pence a Week in a pound.

After this followeth the year 1263. in which the Barons of *England*, confederating themſelves together, for maintaining the Statutes and Laws of *Oxford*, and partly moved with old grudge conceived againſt the ſtrangers (maintained by the king and the Queen, and *Edward* their Son, in the Realm of *England*) joyned powers in all forceable wiſe, and firſt invaded the ſaid ſtrangers, namely, them which were about the King. Their Goods and Manors they waſted and ſpoiled, whether they were perſons Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal. Among whom, beſides others, was *Peter* a *Burgundian* (Biſhop of *Hereford* a rich Prelate) with all his Treaſure apprehended and ſpoiled: alſo his Countrymen, whom he had placed to be Canons of the ſame Church. With like order of handling other Aliens alſo, to whom was committed the cuſtody of divers Caſtles, as of *Glocester*, of *Worceſter*, of *Bridgenorth*, were ſpoiled, impriſoned, and ſent away. Briefly, whatſoever he was in all the Land that could not utter the *Engliſh* Tongue, was of every Raſcal diſdained, and happy if he might ſo eſcape. By reaſon whereof it ſo came to paſs, that a great number, as well of other foreigners, as eſpecially Religious Men, and rich Prieſts (which here had gathered much ſubſtance) were urged to that extremity, that they were glad to flee the Land. In the catalogue of whom was one moſt principal, named *John Maunſel*, a Prieſt notoriouſly grown in riches and treaſures not to be told, having in his hand ſo many and rich Benefices, that near no Biſhop of this Realm might compare with him in riches. Who, notwithſtanding he kept with the King at *London*, yet was compelled privily to avoid the Realm, and was purſued by *Henry* the Son of *Richard* King of *Almain*. Certain other ſtrangers there were, to the number of 200 and more, which having the Caſtle of *Windſor*, there immured and intrenched themſelves, to whom at length, Prince *Edward* alſo adjoyned himſelf.

The Nobility ſtirred againſt the ſtrangers, for the cauſe of the commodity of the realm.

Pope of Rome refuſed a Burgundian a rich Biſhop.

John Maunſel a rich Prieſt.

{ KING 1 Hen. 3 }

The King againſt with the Nobles.

In the mean time, while this ſtir was abroad, the King keeping then in the Tower, and ſeeing the greateſt part of his Nobles and Commons with the *Londoners* to be ſet againſt him, agreed to the peace of the Barons, and was contented to aſſent again to the ordinances and proviſions of *Oxford*; albeit the Queen, by all means poſſible, went about to perſwade the King not to aſſent thereto; who, as it ſeemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of diſcord between the King and the Barons. Inſomuch, that when as the ſaid Queen *Elenor* ſhould paſs by Barge from the Tower to *Windſor*, the *Londoners* ſtanding upon the Bridge, with their exclamations, curſing and throwing of Stones and dirt at her, interrupted her courſe, cauſing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithſtanding, the peace yet continued with the Nobles and the King, the form whereof was this: *Firſt, That* Henry *the Son of* Richard *King of the* Romans *ſhould be delivered by the King and Queen. Secondly, That the Caſtles again ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of* Engliſhmen, *and not of Strangers. Thirdly, That the Proviſions and Statutes decreed at* Oxford, *ſhould as well by the King, as by all others inviolably be obſerved. Fourthly, That the Realm henceforth ſhould be ruled and governed not by forcigners, but by perſonages born within the Land. Fifthly, That all aliens and ſtrangers ſhould void the Land, not to return again; except only ſuch, whoſe abode ſhould by the common aſſent of the Kings truſty Subjects be admitted and allowed.*

The Queen a great cauſe of this debate.

The forme of peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.

Thus the King and the Nobles joyning together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themſelves in Arms, with all their power to recover the Caſtle of *Windſor* out of the ſtrangers hands. But *Edward*, in the mid-way between *London* and the Caſtle, meeting with his Father and the Barons, entred communication upon the matter. Which being finiſhed, and he thinking to return into the Caſtle again; by the policy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *William* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, he was not permitted to re-enter. Whereupon the ſtrangers within the Hold (deſtitute of all hope to withſtand the great force approaching) rendred the Caſtle into the King and the Barons upon this convention; *That with Horſe and Harneſs they might be ſuffered ſafe to depart the Land, not to return any more.* Which being granted, certain of the Barons conducted them in their journey towards the Sea ſide, and there they left them.

The Caſtle of *Windſor* recovered out of the hands of Strangers.

In the ſame year about the beginning of *October*, the King and Queen made over to *France*, with *Simon Mountfort* and other Nobles, to hear and ſtand to the arbitrement of *Lewis* the *French* King, concerning the controverſie between the States of *England*, and all through the procurement of *Elenor* the Queen. For ſhe, not forgetting the old contumely of the *Londoners*, exclaiming againſt her upon the Bridge, wrought always what revenge ſhe could againſt them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the *French* King, partly hath been ſaid before, and more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Some ſtories do add moreover, that the King continuing long in *France*, word was ſent to him out of *England*, *That unleſs he returned again to the Realm, they would elect a new King.* Whereupon the King, returning out of *France* to *Dover*, would have entred the Caſtle, but he was ſtopped. Wherefore the King, in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power towards *London*; where *Simon Mountfort* the worthy Earl of *Leiceſter*, through a ſubtil train, was almoſt betraied and circumvented in *Southwark*, by the ſudden purſuing of the Kings Army; had not the *Londoners* with more ſpeed, breaking Bars and Chains made way to refcue him, by the means of whom the Earl at that time eſcaped the danger.

Manet alta mente repoſtum Judicium Parifiis, &c. Virg.

Now to come to the Sentence of the *French* King. Forſomuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been ſpecified; he in a great frequency both of *French* and *Engliſh* perſons about him, conſidering and poiſing the cauſe on both ſides, between the King and the Nobles, clearly and ſolemnly pronounced on the Kings ſide againſt the Barons, ordained that the King of

The Sentence of the *French* K. with the K. of *England*, againſt the Barons.

England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored again to his priſtine ſtate, notwithſtanding the proviſions made at *Oxford*, (which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated) *Ex Flor. Hiſt. Guiburn.*

Ex Flor. Hiſt. Ran. Gerb. & alior. War betwixt the King and the Barons begineth.

The ſentence of the *French* King thus awarded, as it gave to the King of *England* with his retinue no little incouragement, ſo it wrought in the Nobles hearts great indignation, which, notwithſtanding that partial determent of the *French* King, ſped themſelves home out of *France* to defend themſelves with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after followeth alſo the King, by whoſe train *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* (as is above recited) was well near circumvented in *Southwark*. Then the King calling his Council together at *Oxford* (from whence he excluded the Univerſity of Students for ſome ſeaſon, who were then at *Northampton*, as you heard before) there conſulted, conferring with his Friends and Counſellors, what way beſt to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were aſſembled in a great multitude at the Town of *Northampton*, he went thither with his Hoſt and with his Banners diſplaied, accompanied with *Richard* his Brother King of *Almain*, alſo with *Edward* his Son, *John Comin* of *Scotland*, with many other *Scots*, *John* of *Dallilo* Lord of *Galoway*, *Robert* of *Ruſſe*, Lord *Walter* of *Anand*, *Roger* of *Clifford*, *Philip* of *Mamwin*, *John* of *Waus*, *Roger* of *Laiburne*, *Henry Percy*, *Philip Baſſet*, *Roger* of *Mortimar*, and *William* of *Walrce*, and many others. Therefore the King commanded the Barons that were within, to yield unto him preſently the City and the Pledges, or elſe he would immediately deſtroy them. But they counſelling with the younger *Simon De Monte forti*, which by his Fathers commandment had got the reſidue thither to take counſel together (for his Father and the Earl of *Gloceſter* were not yet come) boldly and with one mind anſwered. *That they would not obey the Kings will, but would rather defend themſelves and the City, if need were, even to the death.* Which the Noblemen of the Kings part hearing, ſent word again, *that at leaſt they ſhould come to the Wall of the City to ſpeak to the King, if by any means peace might be made.* And they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed their counſel, and leaving their Holds, came to the Wall towards the Meadow, for there lay the King and his ſtrong Hoſt hard by. But in the mean ſpace, whilſt divers matters were reaſoned and intreated of between the King and the Lords, the Lord *Philip Baſſet* (which before was appointed to work that feat) with Mattocks and other inſtruments of Iron and Men prepared for the once, near to the Monaſtery of S. *Andrew*, did undermine the Wall of the City; and by this means the Wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great Plain, ſo that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty Horſemen. And of this ſubtilty the alien Monks that were there, were thought to be the workers, becauſe they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that paſſed by few this, and the Kings Banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noiſe of the People came to the ears of the Barons, and they made ſpeed to reſiſt them; but it was all in vain, becauſe they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But *Simon Mountfort* the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midſt of his enemies, with *Peter Mountfort*, and a few that were with him, when *Edward* the Kings Son came, was by his commandment taken and led away Priſoner. But the Clerks of the Univerſity of *Oxford* (which Univerſity by the Barons commandment was tranſlated thither) did work againſt the Kings Men more hurt than the other Barons, with their Slings, long Bows and croſs Bows; for they had a Banner by themſelves, and that was ſet up on high againſt the King. Wherewithal the King being greatly moved, ſware at his entring in, that they ſhould all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them ſhaved their Crowns, and they that were able ran away as faſt as they could. And when the King entred the City, many fled in their Armor into the Caſtle, others left their Horſe and Harneſs, and ran into Churches, and a few were ſlain, and thoſe were of the common people; but there was not much bloodſhed, becauſe all things were done as upon the ſudden. When the City was at length ſet in quiet, the King commanded his Oath to be executed upon the Clerks. But his Counſellors ſaid unto him, *Thou be far from thee O King for the Sons of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy Kingdom were there gathered together into the Univerſity; whom if thou wouldſt cauſe to be hanged or ſlain, even they that now take thy part would riſe up againſt thee, not ſuffering, to the uttermoſt of their powers, the blood of their Sons and Kinſfolks to be ſhed.* And ſo the King was pacified, and his wrath againſt the Clerks was aſſuaged.

Univerſity of *Oxford* removed for a time to *Northampton.*

Simon *Mountfort* the younger taken Priſoner.

The Scholars of *Oxford* ſtout againſt the King.

{ Anno 1264.

The Nobles taken at *Northampton*

{ KING. } { Hiſtor. }

In the ſame day, after little more than an hour, the Kings Hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtle, and the new Hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not Victuals and other things neceſſary for their reſiſtance; therefore they ſent immediately meſſengers unto the King, and yielded themſelves to the mercy. There were taken that day theſe Knights and Barons under written; Lord *William de Ferrers*, Lord *Peter Mountfort*, companion of the ſaid *Simon de Mountfort* the younger, Lord *Baldwin de Wake*, Lord *Adam de Newmarch*, Lord *Roger Bertram*, Lord *Simon* the Son of *Simon* a valiant Warrior, which firſt erected his Banner againſt the King, Lord *Berengarius de Waterville*, Lord *Hugo Guhium*, Lord *Thomer Mamyſel*, Lord *Roger Botemiam*, *Nicholas Wake*, Lord *Robert de Newton*, Lord *Philip de Driby*, and *Grimbald de Painneſtoe*. All theſe aforehand did the King take Priſoners, and many more, of whom he committed ſome to the Lord *Nicholas* of *Haverſam*, to be kept in the ſame Caſtle well defended: ſome he led away with him; and ſome he ſent to divers Caſtles and appointed *Simon Mountfort* to be caſt into *Windſor* Caſtle. And all theſe things, as touching the taking of *Northampton*, were done on the Sabbath day in *Paſſion* Week, being the third of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1264: and the King went forward even to *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Manors of the Lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his Nobles and greatly increaſed his number.

The Lords taken at *Northampton.*

When this ill luck was told, of them that there were run away, to the Earl *Simon*, which was coming towards *Northampton* with a great Hoſt, he was in a great rage, and yet was not diſcouraged: but immediately going to *London*, he cauſed a Chariot to be made after the manner of Litters or Coaches, wherein he might ride as though he were ſick; for he feigned himſelf to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a ſtout and valiant Warriour, and there gathered to him other Noblemen that were confederate with him, Earls and Barons, every one bringing with them their ſeveral Arms; and preparing their Engines of Wood, they went to beſiege *Rocheſter*; for the Earl of *Worceſter* in the Kings behalf, kept both the Town and Caſtle. When they had gotten the firſt Gate and the Bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant Knight *Roger de la Bourn* was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilſt they continue Siege there a while, it was told them that the King was coming towards *London*, with a mighty Hoſt. And they ſaid one to another, *If the King at his coming ſhould take* London, *we ſhall be ſhut in as it were in a frait corner; let us therefore return unto* London, *that we may keep in ſafety both the place and the people.* Therefore appointing certain perſons to keep the Siege, they returned to *London*. At the length when the King came, they went forth with the Citizens to meet him, not with Flowers and Palms in their hands, but with Swords and Speares. The King ſhunned them, and after he had the Caſtle of *Kingſton*, which was the Earl of *Gloceſters*, he went from thence to *Rocheſter*; where after he had killed a few, he brake the Siege, and from thence the King went to *Tunbridge*, and the Town and Caſtle now being given up to him, he took there the Counſels of *Gloceſter*, and put her into an Abby, not to be kept in bold, but to go at liberty whither ſhe would. And he left for the cuſtody of the Caſtle and City a great part of his Hoſt, to the number of above twenty picked out Enſigns, for that it was commonly ſaid that the Earl of *Gloceſter* would come out of hand to aſſault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to *Wincheſter*, where he received to peace the Seamen of the Haven Towns. And three days after, upon the *Sunday* following, he came to the Town of *Lewis*, and was received into the Abby, and his Son *Edward* into the Caſtle. Then the Barons ſent Letters to the King the twelfth day of *May*, the tenor whereof followeth.

To

Earl *Simon* Monfort beſieged Rocheſter.

Rocheſter beſieged by the Barons.

The Kentiſh-men eſtabliſh.

{ KING. } { Hiſtor. }

The Letter of the Lords to the King.

TO *their moſt excellent Lord* Henry, *by the Grace of God* King of England, *Lord of* Ireland, *and Duke of* Aquitain, *his Barons and others his faithful Subjects, being willing to keep their Oath and Fidelity to God and him, ſend greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifeſt, that ſome of Your Graces aſſiſtants have reported to Your Majeſty many lies of us working miſchief, as much as in them lieth not only againſt us, but againſt you alſo, and your whole Realm: Be it known to Your Highneſs that we have been always willing to defend the health and ſafeguard of Your Perſon, with all our power and Fealty due to Your Grace, purpoſing to vex to the uttermoſt of our power and eſtate not only our ill willers, but alſo your enemies, and the enemies of Your whole Realm. If it be Your good pleaſures, give no credit to them, we ſhall be always found Your faithful Subjects. And we the Earl of* Leiceſter, and Gilbert of Clare, *at the requeſt of others, for us and them have put to our Seals.*

These Letters being read and heard, there was a Council called, and the King writ back to them, and ſpecially to the two Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, in manner and form following:

The anſwer of the King to the Lords.

HEnry *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *Duke of* Aquitain, *&c. To* Simon Mountfort, *and* Gilbert de Clare, *and their Confederates. Forſomuch as by the War, and general diſquietneſs by your means raiſed up in Our whole Realm, and alſo the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifeſtly, that you keep not your fidelity to Us-ward, nor care any thing for Our health or ſafety; and for that ye have unorderly grieved Our Nobles, and others Our faithful Subjects ſticking faithfully and conſtantly to Us (as you have certified Us) We accounting their loſſes as Our own, and their enemies as Ours; and ſeeing theſe My aforeſaid faithful Subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do aſſiſt Us manfully and faithfully againſt your unfaithfulneſs: We therefore care not for your fidelity or love, but defie you as our and their enemies, Witneſs My Self at* Lewis *the day and year aforeſaid.*

Alſo *Richard* King of *Almain*, and Lord *Edward* the Son of King *Henry* writ to the Barons in this wiſe:

The Letter of Richard King of Almain and Prince Edward ſent to the Barons.

Richard *by the Grace of God, King of the* Romans, *always* Auguſtus, *and* Edward *eldeſt Son of the King of* England, *and all the other Barons and Nobles conſtantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the foreſaid King of* England, *To* Simon Mountfort *and* Gilbert de Clare, *and to all and ſingular others their adherents in their conſpiracy. By your Letters which you ſent to our Lord the Noble King of* England, *we have underſtanding that you deſie us, although before any ſuch word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel perſecution in burning our poſſeſſions and ſpoiling our goods. We therefore give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do deſie you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not ceaſe, whereſoever it ſhall lie in our power, to the uttermoſt of our force and might, to ſubvert your perſons and all that you have. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counſel to our Lord the King, you ſay not the truth. And if your Lord* Simon Mountfort *or* Gilbert de Clare, *will affirm the ſame in our Lord the King's Court, we are ready to get ſafe conduct for you to come to the ſaid Court, to try and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falſhood of you both, as forſworn Traitors, by ſome Man equal with you in Nobility and Stock. All we are contained with the Seals of the foreſaid Lords, the Lord* Richard *and the Lord* Edward. *Dated the day aforeſaid.*

The Battel of Lewis, betwixt the King and the Barons begineth.

Both which Letters being read, they drew near to the King; for they were not far diſtant from the place which is called *Lewis*. And for that there wanted to the Kings Bone proviſion for their Horſes, it was commanded them, on *Tueſday* to go forth to ſeek for Hay and Provender: which when they were gone forth, were prevented of their enemies, and moſt of them killed; but the reſidue returning ſaw their enemies coming very early on the *Wedneſday* Morning, and making out-cries, ſtirred up the King and his Hoſt to arm themſelves. Then the Barons, coming to the full Plain, deſcended thereto, and girding and trimming their Horſes, made fit their Harneſs to them. And there the Earl *Simon* made the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and *Robert de Veere*, and many other new Knights. Which being done, he divided and diſtinguiſhed his Hoſt into four ſeveral Battels, and he appointed Noblemen to guid and govern every Battel. And over the firſt Battel were ordained Captains, *Henry Mountfort* the Eldeſt Son of the Earl *Simon*, and *Guido* his Brother, Lord *John de Bruch* the younger, and Lord *Humfrey de Boſum*. Over the ſecond Battel, Lord *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, Lord *John* the Son of Lord *S. John*, and Lord *William* of *Mountcherſie*. And over the third, in which the *Londoners* were, at their requeſt, the Lord *Nicholas Segrave* was aſſigned: which required alſo very inſtantly, that they might have the firſt ſtroke in the Battel, at the adventure, come what come would. But over the fourth Battel, the Earl himſelf was Captain, with the Lord *Thomas of Pineſton*. In the mean ſeaſon, came forth the Kings Hoſt, preparing themſelves to the Field in three Battels, of which *Edward* the Kings Son led the firſt, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Valence* the Kings Brother, and the ſecond the King of *Almain* guided, with his Son *Henry*; but the King with his Nobles guided the third; and the fourth Legion the King appointed not, by reaſon he had left many of his chief Soldiers behind him to keep the Caſtle and Town of *Tunbridge* againſt the Earl of *Gloceſter*. And the moſt part of the Kings Army were but young Men, for the King thought not that his Barons had been come ſo nigh hand. Their Armies being on both ſides ſet in aray and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the Battel was great, and many Horſemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by *Edward* the Kings Son with his Band, as a fierce young Gentleman and valiant Knight, fell upon his enemies with ſuch force, that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, ſo that the hindmoſt (thinking by reaſon of their giving back, that the foremoſt were ſlain) ran many of them away, and taking Water to paſs over, were almoſt threeſcore Soldiers drowned, and a few of them being ſlain, all the reſt fled. Straitway the *Londoners* which had aſked the firſt fight, knowing not how the Battel went, took their Heels: whom *Edward* purſued with his Band, killing the hindmoſt of them the ſpace of two or three Miles; for he hated them, becauſe they had rebelled againſt his Father, and diſgraced his Mother, when ſhe was carried by Barge upon the *Thames*, from the Tower to *Windſor*, as is before touched.

Whilſt that Prince *Edward* was thus in the chaſe of the *Londoners*, who had the Vaward of the Barons Battel; in the mean time, the main Battel of the Barons ſet upon the Kings main Battel, of the which the King of *Almain* the Brother of King *Henry* had the leading, which being ſoon diſcomfited, and he with his Son *Henry* and *Robert de Brus*, *John Cowen*, with divers other Captains taken Priſoners, the reſt would never the King himſelf fought, being immediately ſo hardly beſet, and he ſeeing his Knights and Soldiers on every ſide about him beaten down and ſlain, and divers others of his Soldiers to forſake the field and ſhift for themſelves, though good to take again the Town, and ſo retired into the Abby by from whence he came, ſhutting and rampering up the Gates, and cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly warded with Soldiers. To be brief, the Barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many Men on either ſide ſlain, entred alſo the Town of *Lewis*, purſuing in chaſe ſuch Soldiers as thither fled for ſuccour.

Richard K. of *Almain* with his ſon taken Priſoners.

The Kings main Battel at *Lewis* diſcomfited and the K. fain to take the Abby.

In the mean time, Prince *Edward* returning from the chaſe of the *Londoners*, as ye heard, who delired to give the firſt on-ſet, and eſpying the Chariot of the Earl *Simon* (which he cauſed purpoſely to be made for him) and the Horſes in the ſame, without either Waggoner, or any other to govern the ſame, fell immediately upon the Chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and flew two Burgeſſes that were within the ſame. But when he came neareſt to the place where the bloudy Battel had been fought, and ſaw the great diſcomfiture and overthrow, which in his abſence,

Prince *Edward* returning from the purſuit of the *Londoners*, and finding all togither diſcomfited.

with great mortality and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismaied, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting and encouraging his Knights and Soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in Battel-array he marched toward the Town; against whom came the Barons again with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh Field and new Battel, and many Men slain on either side. But at length the Earl *de Warenia*, with the Kings two Brethren, forsook the Field and fled: after whom went more than seven hundred chosen Soldiers, which were of their House and Family, who the same day came to *Pevensie*, and there took shipping over the Sea. Also *Hugh Bigot* with divers others fled, and left the valiant Prince fighting in the field: which thing he also perceiving took the Town. And when he found not the King his Father at the Castle, he went from thence to the Abby where he was. In the mean season in the Town was divided in parts, some tighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties, neither could scarcely one of them know and discern another, whether he was his friend or enemy. But when within a while the Barons had assembled some company, they gave an assault upon the Castle, thinking to have rescued *John Gifford* and others, whom the Kings Soldiers had taken Prisoners and put therein. But the Soldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out Balls of Wild-fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the Town. Then the Barons retired and left the Castle, and purposed to have set upon the Abby where the King and Prince *Edward* his Son was, which also was set on fire by the assault given to the Castles: but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. Then *Edward* the Kings Son, perceiving the bold enterprise of the Barons, prepared with couragious Knights and Soldiers, as were yet remaining and within the Abby, to have issued out, and to have given a new charge upon them. But the Barons, perceiving that, sent unto the King messengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace between them. This Battel was fought upon the nineteenth day of *May*, being the year of our Lord 1264.

The Prince fighteth a new Battel.

Prince Edward also put to the worst, and fain to take the Town.

The Castle of Leew besieged.

The next day, which was *Thursday*, there were sent on either side two preaching Friers between the King and the Barons, with certain Articles and demands of Peace, so that with certain others, these conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow being *Friday*, the Prince should give himself in Hostage for the King his Father, and others of his part. And *Henry* the Kings Son of *Almain* also should give himself the like for his Father. That those things which should be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the Realm, and peaceable quietness thereof might be performed, and that all such Prisoners as were taken on either side, should be freely ranisomed and sent home.

A peace intreated between the King and the Barons.

The two Princes given in Hostage.

The next day which was *Saturday*, the King discharged all his Soldiers, and others that were with him in the Abby, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the advice of his Son and the Barons, he gave commandment to those which he had appointed to the keeping of *Tunbridge*, that they should make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the Barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart every Man to their houses and habitations. But they giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to *Brisson*, where they kept themselves in Garison, until the escaping of *Edward* the Kings Son out of Prison. But first before that, when they heard at *Tunbridge*, that the King was vanquished in Battel, and that the *Londoners* in the foreward were put to flight by Prince *Edward* (by a Messenger that scaped from the same) and that also the same *Londoners* were at *Crowdown*, they set upon them in the evening tide, and taking from them much spoil, slew also many of them.

The Kings Soldiers in Tunbridge, after they had spoiled the Londoners at Crowdown, keep themselves in Garison at Brisson.

But when *Roger Mortimer*'s part began to decrease, and *Simon* the Earls part on the other side to increase, he bare himself more stout, for that both the King and all that was his, did depend upon the good will and favour of the Earl, and led with him the Kings Son to such Holds and Castles, as he thought to be most strong; as though all were in his hands to do as him liked; and he kept the Hostages more straitly than he was wont to do. Informuch that when it was blown abroad that the Kings Son was kept as Prisoner, divers that were his friends, counselled him, that he should desire to disport himself at the Barriers, that the people might have a fight of him. But he, being narrowly guarded as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsel, and so did.

Earl Simon after this Victory, beareth himself so stout, that he imprisoneth the Hostages of the King.

{ KING Hen. 3

In this troublesome year, which was *Anno* 1264, as the *Londoners* with the Nobles were thus occupied in War and Dissention, the malignant *Jews*, thinking to take vantage of that time, with privy Treason conspired against the whole City and state of the Nobles; who being taken with the manner, were almost all slain that dwelt in the City of *London*.

¶ In this year also *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Son of *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, and a stranger, having been certain years beyond the Seas in disgrace with the King of *England*, upon occasion of some misdemeanor belike (for he was, as *Matthew Parker* writeth of him, *Ut moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione exterus Archiepiscopis dissimilis*) the King being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with Clergy-mens insolencies (which for a while he might perhaps gainstand, but at last bare with them as supported by the Court of *Rome*) did consult with his Nobles about the return of the said *Boniface* into *England*, conditionally as followeth.

Acts passed in the Kings Council, touching the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s return into *England*, under certain conditions.

ANNO Domini 1264. *Mense Martio, in præsentia illustris Regis Angliæ, de concilio Procerum & Magnatum ejusdem Regni actum est, quod venerabilis Pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, in Angliam revertatur, sub conditionibus infra scriptis, in Regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur, &c.* Tertia Lect.

In English thus:

In the year of our Lord 1264. in the Month of *March*, it was Enacted in the Presence of the renowned King of *England*, by the counsel of the Peers and States of the said Realm, that the Revered Father *Boniface*, by the Grace of God Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* should return into *England*, and abide in the Realm peaceably, upon the Conditions under-written.

First, Therefore it is Enacted, that the Archbishop at his return, do without any difficulty release in form of Law his Sentences of Excommunication, published against all persons whatsoever, occasioning much trouble in the Realm of *England*; but yet so, that they, which shall be found excommunicate, be ready to make satisfaction for their excesses and defaults, and for the same receive, as they are bound by the Canonical Commandments of the Archbishop, in form hereunder in the next Article contained.

Secondly, It is Enacted, That in making amends for defaults done to the Churches and Churchmen, within such places as are immediately subject unto his Jurisdiction, the Archbishop may arbitrate according to the Council of all his Suffragans, or the greater and sounder part; and of weighty affairs belonging to the Church and Realm of *England*, may in time to come after his return, order and dispose likewise by their counsel, and the counsel of other discreet Men of the Realm.

Thirdly, It is Enacted, that he bring with him Master *Henry * Mortimer* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Pont * Hiberus de morris Sabler* his familiar Clerks or houshold Chaplains, and these Clerks only being strangers born, he keep and retain of his Council and Houshold.

Fourthly, It is Enacted, That other Clerks whereseever, beneficed in the Church of *England*, meaning and willing to return with the Archbishop, may safely return and abide in their Benefices, and dispend the Church goods within the Realm as they are bound, carrying or sending

{ KING 1 Hen. 3 } sending nothing out of the Realm, unless necessary occasion, and allowed of the Kings Council do so require.

Fifthly, It is Enacted, That the Archbishop or the Clerks coming with him, shall bring nothing with them in Letters, Message or Commandment, nor shall procure any thing else, during their abode in this Realm, either by themselves, or by others, whereby any damage danger or prejudice may redound to the King, or to any of his Realm. And for memory of the premisses, the Seal of the said renowned King of *England* is hanged unto these Presents.

By the whole Council.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the Archbishop did not presently return, but continued in *Provence* and elsewhere, behaving himself imperiously as a Prelate of the right *Romish* stamp. In the mean time many matters incident to this place, were omitted and neglected, which personally by him should have been executed; but by reason of his absence the same were dispatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his own fancy, which he preferred before the Kings Authority and Commandment. This to be true, the Copy of a Letter describing the contumacy of the said *Boniface* doth sufficiently testifie, the same being set down agreeable to the Prototypon.

A Letter of the King to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, charging him to return into *England*, there personally to discharge his Archiepiscopal Function.

Tertia Lect. *REX Bonifacio Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati, salutem. Licet hactenus per patientiam pluries sustinuerimus electos in Episcopos, Abbates, ac Prælatos alios in regno nostro, &c.*

In English thus:

Against the Archbishop of Canterbury in foreign Countrys abiding.

The King to Boniface *Archbishop* of Canterbury, Primate of all England, *greeting. Although hitherto by patience we have suffered oftentimes Bishops elect, Abbots, and other Prelates in our Realm, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to pass over beyond Sea unto you, we thought not to receive at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custome of our Realm, to the which we mean not by this our patience that prejudice shall any way be procured or bred, you should attempt this to be followed. We do marvel therefore, and are moved that you, at the request of us, have refused to commit the examination of the election of our welbeloved in Christ, Master* Walter Gifford *late of* Bath *and* Wells *Bishop Elect, and the confirmation of the same Election, unto some discreet persons of our Realm, we having detained and as yet detaining the same* Gifford *against his will, that he might not repair personally unto you: wherunto common right and the very custome of the Realm ought to have lead you unrequested, whilst you abide out of the Realm. Lest therefore our too much patience might breed to you a contempt, we will you to understand, that henceforward we mean to bear less with such dealing, especially in these days, wherein there is no safe passage for* Englishmen *unto you through the parts of* France, *as it is reported. Wherefore we thought good to desire your fatherhood, and also to admonish you, giving you moreover in charge and commandment, and upon the Fealty wherein you are bound unto us firmly enjoyning, that in respect of the foresaid Election, and other Ceremonies, you come personally unto* England, *to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your room; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our Realm, whom you shall repute more meet for this matter, to serve the turn for you in this behalf: lest if with contumacy you refuse to hear our requests and commandments the second time, which you are by duty bound to obey, we be compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties and the customs of our Kingdom, and so to proceed against you more sharply by way of revenge: neither will we suffer, if you should do otherwise, that the revenues of your said Archbishoprick shall henceforth be conveyed unto you out of our Realm; but as you refuse the burthen, so will we in like sort do what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our Land. Finally, we, if need shall be, are ready to give you a sure and safe conduct. Witness the King at* St. Pauls *of* London, *the* 25 *of* June, *and the* 48 *year of our Reign.*

Now after all this ado, we read that at last *Boniface* returned, and becoming more holy towards his end, he went with other Bishops to the King, requesting him, that being mindful of the decay of his Kingdom, by Ecclesiastical Livings bestowed upon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godly men of his own Nation. To whom the King answered that he would willingly do it. *Wherefore I think it meet that you, which are a stranger and unlearned, and also my Brother* Ethelmer *Bishop of* Winchester, *whom I have preferred to such dignities only for kindreds sake, should first give examples to others, and for sake your Churches, and I will provide other learned men to serve in them.* Which answer of the King so pierced this *Boniface*, that he always after lived a wearisome life in *England*. Wherefore perceiving himself to be misliked of the King and the People, he desired to return into his Country. And thereupon first selling and selling the Woods, letting out the Archbishoprick, taking great Fines of his Tenants, and making a great mass of Mony of the Clergy of his Province, he went with, the curse of all Men unto *Savoy*, where in the Castle of *S. Helens*, after he had misgoverned the See six and twenty years, six months, and sixteen days from his Consecration, being nine and twenty years from his first election, he died the fifteenth Kalends of *August*. And so ceased the troubles between the King and the said Bishop, whose contumacy in stories, with others of the like brood, doth largely appear in this Book.

Boniface his advice displeasant to himself.

Boniface maketh himself odious to the Archbishop, wicked, he is hated, and dieth.

¶ But to leave *Boniface* now dead, note ye this, that in this year, after the death of Pope *Urban*, succeeded in the said year of our Lord *Anno* 1265. Pope *Clement* the fourth; which *Clement*, as affirmeth *Nic. Trivet*, was first a Married Man, and had Wife and Children, and was the Solicitor and Counsellor to the *French* King; then after the death of his Wife, was Bishop, intituled *Podensis*; after that Archbishop of *Narbon*; and at last made Cardinal: who being sent of Pope *Urban* in Legacy, for reformation of peace, in his absence was elected Pope by the Cardinals. About this time flourished *Thomas* of *Aquine*, Reader at *Paris* among the *Dominick* Friers, and *Bonaventure* among the *Francisean* Friers. *Ex Nic. Trivet.*

The death of Pope Urban. Pope Clement the fourth hath Mony, and had a Wife and Children.

Tho. Aquin. Bonaventure Readers at Paris. { Anno 1265

* Now after all the forefaid tumults and broils of the King and his Barons, to the vexation of the whole Land, it was thought meet and necessary that all parties at variance should be reconciled, Whereupon it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

A form of Peace between the King and his Barons.

Tertia Lect. *HÆc est forma pacis a Domino Rege, & Domino Edwardo filio suo, Prælatis & proceribus omnibus, & communitate tota Regni Angliæ communiter & concorditer approbata, &c.*

In English thus:

'This is the form of peace allowed of the King our Lord, 'of the Lord *Edward* his Son, of all the Prelates and Peers, 'and the whole Commonalty of the Realm of *England*, 'with common consent and agreement; to wit, that a 'certain Ordinance or Decree made in a Parliament holden 'at *London* about the Feast of the Nativity of St. *Johns Baptist* last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace 'of the Realm, shall continue all the days of the said King 'our Sovereign Lord, and the time of the Lord *Edward*, 'after he shall be received as King, even till the end and 'term that shall be thought meet and convenient. The said 'Ordinance or Decree is this:

'For the redreising of the state of the Realm of *Eng*'land, let there be chosen or named three discreet and trusty

'persons of the Realm, which may have authority and pow-
'er, from the Lord the King, to chuse or name in the Kings
'behalf nine Counsellors: of which nine, three at least by
'course or turns may always be present in the Court. And
'let the Lord the King, by the counsel of the said nine,
'order and dispose of the keeping of Castles, and the ma-
'naging of all the affairs in his Realm. Let the Lord the
'King also, by the advice of the foresaid nine, appoint Ju-
'stices, Chancellors, Treasurers, and other Officers, greater
'and lesser in those matters that pertain to government of
'his Court and Realm.

'The choosers or namers shall swear first, that according
'to Conscience they will choose or name such Counsellors,
'as they verily believe will be profitable and trusty in respect
'of Gods honour, the Church, the Lord the King, and his
'Realm. The Counsellors likewise, and all the Officers
'greater and lesser in their creation shall swear, that to the
'uttermost of their power they will faithfully execute their
'Offices to the honour of God and of the Church, and to
'the profit of the Lord the King and his Realm, without
'bribe or gift; meat and drink, which are commonly wont
'to be set upon the Table, excepted. And if so be that the
'foresaid Counsellors, or some or any of them, in the charge
'to them committed (whether they be he or she) have be-
'haved themselves ill, or that upon some other occasion such
'officers are to be changed; the Lord the King, by the coun-
'sel of the three former choosers or namers, may remove such
'as he shall see meet to be removed; and in their rooms
'by the same mens advice may appoint and place other
'persons trusty and serviceable.

'And if so be that either the greater Officers or the lesser
'do disorderly demean themselves in their Offices, the Lord
'the King, by the counsel of the foresaid nine, may displace
'them, and without delay by the same advice set others in
'their room. And if so be that the three first or chief cho-
'sers or namers, in the choise or naming of Counsellors, or
'perhaps the Counsellors in the creating of Officers, or in
'other affairs of the Lord the King and the Realm to be
'ordered or done, shall be at disagreement, then whatsoever
'by consent of two parts shall be concluded or decreed, let
'the same be firmly kept and observed; so that of those
'two parts, one be a Prelate of the Church in the business
'belonging to the Church: And if it so happen, that two
'parts of the said nine in some matter disagree; then shall
'they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the three
'first chusers or namers or the greater part of them.
'And if so be it seem expedient to all the Prelates and Ba-
'rons, by consent that some or one in place of some or one
'of the three first namers be put and appointed: then let
'the Lord the King, by the counsel of all the Prelates and Ba-
'rons, ordain some others, or one other. And let the Lord
'the King do all the premisses by the advice of the said nine
'in manner above mentioned, or let them do it in the Lord
'the Kings behalf, and by his authority by this present ordi-
'nance to continue and hold out till such time as this agree-
'ment, made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfect-
'ed by consent, or some other proviso be had, which the
'parties by consent shall judge allowable.

'This Ordinance was made at *London*, by the consent,
'will and commandment of the Lord the King, and allo of
'the Prelates, Barons, with the Commonalty then and there
'present. In witness whereof *R.* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *H.*
'Bishop of *Ely*, *R.* Earl of *Norfolk* and Marshal of *Eng-*
'*land*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Humfrey de Bohune*,
'*William de monte Canisio*, and the Maior of *London*, to
'this Writing have set their Seals. Acted in the Parlia-
'ment at *London* in the Month of *June* in the Year of our
'Lord 1264.

Reformation of the Church.

'It is also ordained, that the state of the *English* Church
'shall be reformed into a state meet and convenient.

No strangers to be keepers of the Kings Castles, &c.

'It is also ordained, that the three chusers abovesaid and
'Counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said Ordi-
'nance at *London*, and the keepers of Castles and others the
'Kings Bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers born, let
'them come, tarry and depart peaceably, as well lay-men
'willing to dwell upon their possessions, as Clergy-men re-
'siding upon their Benefices.

'Merchants also, and all others to further and see to their
'affairs, shall come freely, and tarry peaceably; but yet con-
'ditionally, so they come without armor and a suspected
'multitude. And that none of them be received in any sort
'into any office or Bailiwike in the Realm, or otherwise
'into the Kings house and service be entertained. As for
'the Charters of general Liberties and Forests granted un-
'to the homebred of late by the King, and the Statutes
'made upon revoking of grievances, which the Lord the
'King the third year past in every Shire by his Letters Pa-
'tents hath caused to be published, with the commend-
'able Customes of his Realm, and a long time allowed, let
'be for ever observed: and that it might be provided how
'they may be better and more soundly observed: It is also
'provided, that the Lord the King, and the Lord *Edward*,
'the Barons and those that stand with them, let go all in-
'jury and rancour, so that they neither grieve, or suffer to
'be grieved by any of theirs, no one of them by occasi-
'on of things done in the hurly-burly past; and also cause
'all their Bailiffs at the undertaking of their Bailiwikes,
'that they shall grieve none by the occasion aforesaid, but
'shall do justice and right to every body with equality.
'And let there be good security provided how all these
'things may be firmly observed.

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¶ When this agreement was dispatched, to set the Realm in some quietness, a little leisure was allowed to look into the losses and damages of the Church, whereupon it was provided as followeth.

Of the repairing of Trespasses committed against the Church.

IT is provided by common assent of the King, of the Prelates, Earls and Barons of the Land, that the trespasses which are committed against the Church of *England*, by reason of the tumults and wars that have been in this Realm of *England*, shall be reformed and amended in this manner.

There shall be chosen by the Earls and great Estates of the Land, with the liking and assent of the Prelates, three Bishops authorized, and having full power to establish and provide for such reasonable amends, as are to be made for the foresaid trespass committed against holy Church, so far forth as shall be fit and convenient.

Those that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolved in form of right by such as have power and authority so to do.

The authority of the Prelates shall be established in this manner: First, it shall be faithfully undertaken by the Earls, Justices, and the other Lay-men of the Kings Council, and other great Barons of the Realm, that all those things which the Prelates, that shall be chosen shall reasonably ordain and appoint by way of reformation, they themselves shall observe and fulfil, and shall do their indeavour faithfully to cause the same to be observed by others, and thereof they shall deliver their Letters Patents.

Moreover, unto the Prelates, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the King, and the Commonalty, the Earls, Barons, and great men of the Land, to ordain those things which are needful and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holy Church, to the honour due to the fealty of our Lord the King, and to the profit of the Realm. And that the promise made by the King, and by the Earls and Barons aforesaid, and by the other great Men of the Land, may appear to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their Letters Patents, to wit of things that have been done a year past before the last *Easter*.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the foresaid Prelates in the causes aforesaid, and according to the form aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by doom of holy Church; yea, if need be, he shall be thereunto forced by the Secular power. And that it may the better be done, the Justice shall have an hundred or more of choice men at Armes, or Serjeants, Soldiers elect, to distrain the Malefactors when by the said Prelates he shall be required. Those Soldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holy Church, during the time they shall be employed in that business. And this Ordinance shall continue for a year or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the provisions of the Prelates, and the peace of the Land be well observed.

Provided always, that the profits of Benefices of holy Church belonging to aliens, and others that have been enemies

KING Hen. 3.

enemies to the land, shall be collected and safely kept in the hands of the Prelate, until such time as order be taken by common advice what is to be done therewithal. And for the more assurance and further testimony hereof, the King and the High Estates of the Land have unto this writing set their Seals.

¶ Besides all this it was confidered, that Non-residency being a default blame-worthy, deserved reformation. Whereof the King having special regard wrote his mind to the Bishop of *Hereford* for the redress of the same; whose Letter because it is memorable, and convenient matter therein contained for Non-residents of our time, we have here intertexed according to the Record.

A Letter of King *Henry* the Third directed to the Bishop of *Hereford* concerning Non-residents.

Tertia Lond.

EX Episcopo Hereford, salutem. Pastores gregibus præponuntur ut dies noctisque vigilias exercendo, &c.

In *English* thus:

Against Non-residence of Prelates.

The King to the Bishop of Hereford *sendeth Greeting: Pastors or Shepherds are set over Flocks, that by exercising themselves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own Cattel by their look, bring the hunger-starved sheep into the meadows of fruitfulness, and the straying ones into one fold by the Word of Salvation, and the rod of correction; and to do their endeavour, that unity indissoluble may be kept. But some there be who damnably despising this Doctrine, and not knowing to discern their own cattel from others, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lords flock may be nourished; they catch up the temporal goods, and who perisheth in their Parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in manners, they regard not; which men deserve not to be called Pastors, but rather hirelings. And that even we in these days removing our selves into the Marches of* Wales, *to take order for the disposing of the Garrisons of our Realm, have found this default in your Church of* Hereford, *we report it with grief; for that we have found there a Church destitute of a Pastors comfort, as having neither Bishop nor Official, Vicar nor Dean, that may exercise any Spiritual function and duty in the same. But the Church it self, which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had Canons that tended upon days and nights service, and that ought to exercise the works of Charity, they forsaking the Church, and leading their lives in Countries far hence, hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loss of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and lovers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and considered it diligently, the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardly wound our heart very sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great an injury done to our Mother the Church, nor pass the same over uncorrected.*

Non-residents charged to be peremptorily required and abiding upon their Cures: Note.

Wherefore we command and straitly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you endeavour to remove your selves with all possible speed unto your said Church, and there personally to execute the Pastoral charge committed unto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certainty that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods, and whatsoever else doth belong unto the Barony of the same Church, which goods for Spiritual exercise sake therein, it is certain our Progenitors of a godly devotion have bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties as we have commanded hitherto to be gathered and safely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the same Church, the cause now ceasing we will seize upon; and suffer no longer that he shall reap temporal things, which feareth not unreverently to withdraw and keep back Spiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound; or that he shall receive any profits which refuseth to undergo and bear the burthens of the same. Witness the King at Hereford, *the first of* June, *in the 48 year of our raign.*

About this time (as appeareth by course of Record, and thereby may well be gathered) a redress of certain Sects was intended, among which one by name especially occurreth, and called the assembly of Harlots; a kind of people of a lewd disposition and uncivil. Of whose manners and life the King having been informed, addressed his Letters to the Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, a place which they haunted; and wherein they practised their evil conversation: Whose Letter here followeth.

An assembly of ill disposed people called Harlots, whereby may be gathered the ancientness of that name.

A Letter of King *Henry* the Third to the Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, concerning the banishment of an unlawful assembly called Harlots, out of that Country.

Tertia Lond

EX Vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quod quidam, qui se Harlotos appellant, vagi & otium foventes, in diversis partibus regni nostri, Congregationes & conventicula, necnon contractus illicitos, &c.

In *English* thus:

Against unlawful assembly or meeting of men which called themselves Harlots.

The King to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire *sendeth Greeting: Because we understand that there be certain vagrant persons which call themselves Harlots, maintaining idle nest in divers parts of our Realm, most shamelessly making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawful matches against the honesty of the Church and good manners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalf thou forbid the said Harlots henceforth in the said Countries to make any more such meetings, conventicle, or contracts; or to presume according to their lewand manner and wonted fashion to Rogue about our Realm; and hereto thou shalt (if need be) bind them, as by Law may be done. Wherein so behave thy self in this behalf, as we may commend thy diligence. Witness the King at* Reading *the 23 of* November, *in the 48 year of our Reign.*

What manner of persons these were, or what their conversation was, it doth not further appear; nevertheless by the premisses it may seem to be some pretensed order of Religion. And it is most probable that the reproachful name of Harlot had his beginning from hence.

To conclude with special matters of the Church, wherein we have made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessary Records as came to hand, and brought with them their necessary use, this one remembrance notwithstanding remaineth, no less note-worthy than the rest, and falling within the revolution of the forty eighth year of this Kings reign, a year of great trouble, as by the premises may be gathered.

You are therefore to note that at this time the Prelates of *England* stood upon their Pantophles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one *Alureduc de Lincoln*, being as is suppofed, a Baron of this Realm, there is found (*Inter alia*) as followeth: *Quod præditus Alureduc tenuit quandam particulam parcæ de Dunetsih & Tilei de Abbate de Cerne, per servicium tenendi stropeim suum, quando Abbas debet ascendere equum suum, & dare ei locum in comitatu quando præsens fuerit.* That is, That the forenamed Alureduc held a certain piece of the Park of Dunetih and Tilei of the Abbot of Cerne, by service of holding his stirrup when the Abbot should take horseback, and to give him place in the Shire at such time as he should be present. The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giveth probable cause to conjecture that the occation of this matter came by this means: *viz.* That whereas the said *Alured* was desirous to enlarge his Park, and could not so do but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adjoyning, whereof the said Abbot was owner; he was therefore constrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my Lord Abbot; who like a Lord (as you see) was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is aboveraid. Wherein would be noted the pomp of Prelates in those days, and how near they drew in imitation to the Pope, in whose treading they traced.

But

But leaving these affairs of the Church, and Churchmen, wherein we have been somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the Temporal state. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the King and his Barons in the year of our Lord 1264. the same having been admitted by mutual and common consent of the Temporalty and Clergy. Nevertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to pass among the Lords and Barons, betwixt whom no such firm reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon insued after secret grudge and privy hatred, open Arms and Conflicts. For in this year 1265. the Sons of *Simon* the Earl, to wit, *Henry*, *Simon* and *Guido*, being all puft up, and with the pride of their success elevated, did that which nothing contented the Earl of *Gloucester*: insomuch that he challenged *Henry* the eldest Son of the Earl *Simon Mountfort* at the Barriers, to be tried at *Northampton*. But that challenge was taken up, left some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the Earl of *Glocester*, being moved therewith in his mind, sent unto his Father the Earl, that he should deliver him such Prisoners, being Noblemen, as he took at the Battel of *Lewis*; among whom the King of *Almain* was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, *that it might content and satisfie him for that he had saved and preserved to him his Lands, that day the Battel was fought at* Lewis; *and that furthermore, he would not send him such Prisoners as he demanded; and that he himself kept more noble than they in the Castle of* Dover: among them was *John Basset*, which undermined and burst down the Walls of *Northampton* at that Conflict, as is said before and specified.

Dissention between Earl *Simon* and the Earl of *Gloucester*.

The Earl of *Gloucester* & as he heard this, sent incontinently to the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, which always took the Kings part, desiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the King. Who, doubting some deceit, desired Sureties and Pledges for his safe return, and he would come to talk with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the Earl of *Glocester* shewed him all that he was purposed to do, and that further he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the King; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the King again to his Kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Therefore they sent secretly to *Robert* the Brother of the Earl of *Glocester*, which was near about the Earl *Simon*, and made him to consent with them therein. And to work this thing more circumspectly, when opportunity served thereunto, *Roger Mortimer* sent unto the Kings Son an Horse excelling all others in footmanship, unto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince *Edward* desired leave of the Earl to prove his Courser against such time as he should ride at the Tilt, as they might when they listed. Affoon as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field, he had wearied divers of their Horses: at the last, getting up upon that Horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a Servant on Horseback coming toward him with two Swords, he turned about unto his Keeper, whose name was *Robert de Rose*, and to others his Play-fellows that were with him,

The Earl of *Gloucester* & *Roger Mortimer* conspire together against Earl *Simon*.

Prince *Edward* escapeth from out of the custody of Earl *Simon* by a train.

saying, *My loving Lords, thou long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies; and now not purposing to use your companies any longer, I betake you to God.* And quickly turning his Horse about, put to the Spurs, and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw *Roger Mortimer* coming from his Castle of *Wigmore*, accompanied with many armed Men to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wise as when they came forth. And when this the Princes escape was divulgated, much people came unto him out of every Quarter, with great joy thereof. Amongst whom, the first was the Earl of *Glocester*, and the other Soldiers of the King, which had now long lain at *Bristow*, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mighty Host.

Which thing when the Earl *Simon* understood, he much doubted and mistrusted himself; and sending into *Wales*, he got from thence a great many Men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of *England*. He sent also *Simon* his Son to the Noblemen of the North parts, and with all possible speed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at *Kenelworth* a while they staid, and there pitched their Tents. But leaving *Kenelworth* for a certain time, they went to *Winchester*, and spoiled the same, and then returned again to *Kenelworth*. And when this was declared to *Edward* the Kings Son, who then was at *Worcester*, by a certain Spial, which he had gotten after he came from *Glocester* a little before; he prepared himself with his Soldiers, in the night season, to go to the place where the Spy should bring him, which was into a deep Valley, near unto the place where *Simon* and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themselves, and prepare their Horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies coming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselves against their coming, and so had been betrayed, they set forth in Battel array, marching forwards, till that they met certain of their enemies straggling in long Wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, and to have fought for Victuals; whom they took, and with their fresh Horses new horsed their Soldiers that had their Horses tired with long travel. And so marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping, and laying lustily about them, they slew divers; some they took, the rest they put to flight; and fifteen of their chiefest Ensignes they took, with many other rich spoils. But young *Simon* himself lodged in the Castle, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of *August*. *An.* 1265.

The first encounter of Prince *Edward* after he escaped his keepers.

But when *Edward* heard that Earl *Simon* was coming toward *Kenelworth*, to joyn with his Sons Battel, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at *Eusham*, where he divided his Host into three Battels, he himself having the leading of one, the Earl of *Glocester* the second, and *Roger Mortimer* the third, which came upon their backs. The Kings Son *Edward* came Northward, as though he came from *Kenelworth* to *Eusham*: and because he would not be descried, he caused his own Standards and Ensignes to be taken down, and young *Simons*, which he had taken before to be advanced. But the Earl *Simons* Scurier, whose name was *Nicholas*, shewed the Earl that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to have been *Simon* his Sons power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before, gave small credit thereunto, till that the said *Nicholas*, the better to descry them, went up to the Abby Steeple of *Eusham*, where he might plainly discern them all and their Standards; for by this time they were mounted the Hill which they laboured to attain, thinking to have that vantage, when they should give their charge as they had purposed, and had also advanced again his own Standards, and pulled down *Simons*, whereby they were the more easier descried and known. Then he cried aloud to the Earl *Simon*, and said, *We are all but dead men; for it is not your Son, as you suppose, that cometh, but it is Edward the Kings Son that cometh from one part, and the Earl of* Glocester *from another part, and* Roger Mortimer *from the third part.* Then said the Earl, *The Lord be merciful unto our souls, forsomuch as our bodies and lives are now in their hands*; commanding that every man should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for their laws, and in a just quarrel. And such as would depart, he gave leave to go their ways, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

The Earl *Simon* finding his enemies, and all advantages, prepareth to battel.

Then came unto him his eldest Son *Henry*, and comforted him, desiring him to have no despair, nor yet mistrust in the good success of this Victory, with other such cheerful words. *No my Son* (saith he) *I despair not; but yet, it is thy presumption, and the pride of the rest of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end you see; notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel.* After words of comfort given to all his Host, and the Oration made as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The King also (whom the Earl always kept with him) he armed in an armor of his own; and then dividing their Battels, they marched towards their enemies. But before they

The worth of Earl *Simon* now to his Son.

they joyned, the *Welshmen* ran their ways, and thinking to escape over the river of *Dee*, were these some drowned, and some slain. Then when the battel joyned and came to handy strokes, within short space many of the Earls part fell and were slain; and the King himself being thrucken at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying, Kill me not, I am *Henry* your King. And with these the Kings words the Lord *Adam Mombaux* knew him, and saved him. At whose voice and cry came also Prince *Edward* his Son, and delivered him to the guard and custody of certain Knights. In the mean season the Earl *Simon* was hard bestead and beaten down, and also slain before *Edward* the Prince came at him. Howbeit before he fell, when as he fought for life, and *Henry* his Son, and other Noblemen on his part were about him, he brake out into these words unto his enemies, saying, What is there no mercy and compassion with you? Who again answered, What compassion should there be shewed to Traytors? Then said he, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, our bodies are in your hands. And so soon as these words were spoken, they mangled his body, and divided his members, and cut off his head, which head *Roger Mortimer* sent unto his wife. And not far off from him also was slain *Henry* his Eldest Son, the Lord *Hugh Spenser*, the Lord *Radulph Basset*, the Lord *Thomas de Hastele*, the Lord *William Mandeville*, the Lord *John Beauchampe*, the Lord *Guido Baillofer*, the Lord *Roger Rowleie*, and many other Noblemen besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battel was fought in the month of *August*, and continued from one of the Clock till it was night: in the which was not so much as one man on the Earls part, of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battel loft his life: more than the Lord *John*, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten that the same day being Tuesday, at that instant hour, when the Battel began, which was at one of the Clock at Afternoon, there was such a darkness over all, such thunder and such tempest, that the like before that time was never seen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which seemed (saith mine Author) to give a plain demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

K. Henry almost taken in the battel, at length known by his voice, and released by his Son.

Earl *Simon* Son, and many more Lords slain at this battel of *Eusham*.

The disposing of the Prisoners taken at *Eusham* fought at *Eusham*.

After this great slaughter and overthrow there was a Parliament summoned at *Winchester* by the Earl of *Glocester*, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be considered, that the King although he was in the Camp of the Earl of *Leicester*, being then in custody, and his Son *Edward* with the Earl of *Glocester*, yet the King was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said Parliament the King was restored to his Kingly dignity, which was before that time under the custody of the Barons. But after the Battel was ended and done, certain of them that loved the Earl, upon an old Ladder gathered up such parts of his body as remained, and covering the same with an old Gown, brought it to *Eusham*, where they putting the same in a fair linnen Cloth, buried it in the Church. But not long after, such as thought not themselves sufficiently revenged with his death (to wreak them of the dead corpse) took up the same and threw it in another place, saying, That he which was both accursed, and a Traytor, was not worthy of Christian burial.

A Parliament summoned at *Winchester*, where King *Henry* was again restored to his Regality.

Prince *Edward* defieth whosoever shall withstand him.

The same year also died *Walter Camilopus* Bishop of *Winchester*, after whom succeeded *Nicolas* of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor.

The same year the King perceiving that unless the Castle of *Kenelworth* were recovered, and the boldness of them restrained that kept the same, many evils and inconveniences might ensue thereupon, to the prejudice of his Kingdom; for that the number increased every day more and more, wasting and spoiling the Country all about; therefore he gathered an Army and came down to *Warwick*, where he a while tarried expecting the meeting and assembling of his Marquesses and Lords, with Enfigns and other munition suitable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after *Midsummer* day he displayed his Banner, and began his voyage, marching towards *Kenelworth*, and besieged the same. During which siege, by the advice and counsel of the King, the Popes Legate, and other Noblemen, twelve persons were chosen which should have the disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the Realm, and of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who amongst other things, made and established this one Proviso, that was commonly called *Kenelworth* Decree, That all those which had lost their lands by attainder (although not yet attainted) should fine therefore at the King's pleasure, and take their lands of him again; paying some three years, some four years, some two years revenues of the same, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which Provisoes or provisions were established and confirmed as well by the corporal Oath, as by signment of the same with the hands and seals of all the Prelates and Clergy of *England*, there assembled for that purpose by the Popes Legate upon the Feast of *All-Saints*. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the Kings behalf, as well to those that kept the Castle of *Kenelworth*, as also to those that were assembled in the Isle of *Ely*; willing them to come under the protection of the Kings peace, and yield to the foresaid Provisoes, established by the twelve Commissioners. Who all together answered and said, That they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents, not being called unto it, and also for that the said Decree was over-strait and intolerable. Within short space after, great Famine and Pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the Castle, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same; wherefore soon after the King sending again to them to yield the Castle and take their pardons, they consulting together of their own estate, thus answered the Kings Messengers, If it please the King and his Council to permit us to send our Messenger to the Lord *Simon Montfort*, which is beyond the Sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his Garrison and Fort, and that in the mean space we be not disturbed by the Kings Army that hath invironed us, till the return of our Messengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yield up the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and moveables.

Kenelworth Decree established.

Kenelworth Castle yielded up to the King.

When the Messengers were returned, and had declared to the King their answer; he consulting with his Nobles about the matter, agreed unto their Petitions, and caused the Truce to be proclaimed throughout all his Camp, after that sufficient Hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same; whereupon they set forward their Messengers, as before was said they would. But after that many of them within the Castle being very grievously vexed with the Bloody-flux, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered up the Castle before the return of the Messengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering up of the Castle, the King committed the custody thereof to his Son *Edmund*, and so with his Host departing from his siege, came upon *Christmas* Even to *Oxnie*, where he with great solemnity and triumph kept his *Christmas* during seven days, and from thence with his Host came to *Windsor*, from whence after a few days he marched towards *Ely*; in which Iland he besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The Bishop of *Ely* beheaded.

The same year Pope *Clement* the Fourth promoted Master *Walter Gifford* Bishop of *Bath*, to be Archbishop of *York*.

In which year also the Church of *England* began to pay the Tenths of all their Revenues, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to the King, to continue for three years space; and this was done by the Authority Apostolical.

The Tenths of the Clergy given to the King by Authority Apostolical.

Within a while after the Barons which were yet remaining, gathered themselves together again; amongst whom *John Daiwill* (being a lusty and stout man of war) began to have a name, and was well esteemed amongst them; who altogether did what mischief they might, and in the month of *May* they assembled at *Chesterfield*, under the said *John Daiwill* and the Earl of *Ferrarence*, upon whom the Kings Souldiers coming sudden-ly in the night, took them sleeping, and flew many of them. Then the said *John Daiwill* quickly arming himself came forth, thinking with more defence both to save himself and to escape. Who in the way struck the Lord *Gilbert Humfard* such a blow with his Demi-lance, that he

A new assembly of the Barons at *Chesterfield*, where they had the overthrow.

Kenelworth Castle besieged at the King.

fell'd both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poor Soldiers fought and were slain, the Barons fled away, and saved themselves. Also the Earl *Ferarence* fled, and hid himself in a Church; but being betrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this the King kept a Parliament at *Northampton*, where he dishersited all those that took part with the Earl *Simon*, and all their Children. Where also the Popes Legate *Ottobonus* held a Convocation, and Excommunicated all such Bishops as had taken any part with *Simon* against the King; of whom divers he sent up to *Rome*, to be absolved of the Pope; and further the said Legate caused to be proclaimed certain Decrees, which he himself had made, and also the new grant of Pope *Clement* to the King and Queen, of all the Tenths for seven years to come. And shortly after, a Tax also was fined upon the Country of *Norfolk*; to the gathering whereof *Walter* the Bishop of *Norwich* was appointed. *Ex Scala Mundi.*

All the Confederates of *Simon. Montfort* with their children dishersited by the King. *Simon. Montfort* and his Confederates Excommunicated by the Popes Legate. Tenths granted by the Pope to the King and Queen for seven years.

After this in the year of our Lord 1267, King *Henry* besieged again the Castle of *Kenelworth*, from the seventh day before the first day of *July*, until the beginning of *December*; whither came *Ottobonus* the Popes Legate, by whose intreaty *Henry Hastings* delivered the same unto the King, which stoutly had defended the same, and resisted the King, having pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods and cattels. In which time also the Barons again assembled with *John Daiwill* in the Isle of *Axioline*, and so proceeded till they came to *Lincoln*, which they also took, and spoiled the *Jews*, and slew many of them; and entring their Synagogue, tare and rent the Book of their Law, and burnt the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the King heard, he sent thither his Son Prince *Edward*; but as soon as they heard that, they fled into the Isle of *Ely*, and fortified the same with Bulwarks as strongly as they might, at every entrance into the same. This was in the month of *April*, when *Edward* the Kings Son came thither; who for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no means enter the Island, till at length by the counsel of the inhabitants of that Province he caused with a number of workmen great Trenches and Ditches to be made, somewhat to convey away the water; and so long they used the counsel of them in making Bridges with Planks and Hurdles, till at the last they entred the Island; who as soon as they were entred, the Barons fled to *London*, where they were of the *Londoners* well entertained. The rest which were in the Island yielded themselves (amongst whom was *Roger Wake*, *Simon* the younger, and *Peeches*) having their lives and members. After this, both the King and *Edward* his Son came to *London* with a great power, but yet were kept out of the City by the Barons and Citizens for the space of forty days. And *Ottobonus* the Legate (who for fear was fled into the Tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length by the intreaty of the Earl of *Gloucester*, and other Earls that were his friends, both the Barons and Citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kings favour. And four Bishops, and eight other Noblemen were chosen, such as were at *Coventry* first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the King and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the form of their peace and raniome. And Proclamation was made upon the Feast of *All-Saints*, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the Realm.

Another assembly of the Barons at *Axioline*, and dissomfiture of them. The Jews spoiled and slain at *Lincoln*.

The Barons fortified the Island of *Ely*.

The Isle of *Ely* assaulted and entred by Prince *Edward*.

The King kept out of *London* forty days by the Barons and Citizens.

A peace concluded between the Barons and the King.

In the fifty second year of this King *Henry*'s reign, eight days after the Feast of St. *Martin*, he held a Parliament at *Marleberge*, in the year of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wife and discreet men, and with all the consents of the Nobles, he ordained and Enacted divers good and profitable Statutes for the reformation and bettering of the State of the Realm and execution of common justice, which are called the Statutes of *Marleberge*.

The statutes of Marleberge.

The same year upon St. *Gregories* day, *Ottobonus* the Legate called a Council at *London*, where were five Archbishops, and a great number of Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates; which Council also within three days brake up again.

A Convocation holden at *London* by *Ottobonus* the Popes Legate.

The same year upon St. *John*'s day the *Baptist*, *Edward* the Kings Son, and divers other Noblemen of *England* took upon them the Cross by the Legates hands at *Northampton*, to the relief of the Holy Land, and the subversion of the enemies of the Cross of Christ. Which done, the Legate (the same year went out of *England*, not purposing after that to return again. This holy Legate saith (mine Author) which might well be resembled to *Lynx* the monstrous beast, whose quick sight penetrateth every thing, inrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the Churches in the Realm of *England* so narrowly, as by any means possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was done he that made all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches Legate. to pay Pensions; so that those Churches which gave not Pensions out the vacancy of their Benefices to their Clerks and strangers, deral and should pay unto them a certain yearly pension, during the Conventual vacancy of the Benefices which they should have.

{KING. 1269.}

The Legate departing out of England.

Valuation taken of all Churches by the Popes Legate.

Pensions out of Cathedral and Conventual Churches payed to the Popes Clerks.

The same year died Pope *Clement* the Fourth, after whose death the Church of *Rome* was two years vacant; and then was chosen an Archdeacon Cardinal, whose name was *Theardus*, as he was taking his journey into the Holy Land, and they called him *Gregory* the Tenth.

Pope Clement the 4th. dieth. Pope Gregory the 10th.

Then also died *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Leicester*, and second Son of King *Henry*, take to Wife the Earl of *Albemarle* his Daughter, and the Niece of the Earl of *Gloucester*; of which Marriage was the King and the Queen, and all the Nobility of *England*.

The Marriage of Edmund Earl of Lancaster.

The same year was the Body of Saint *Edward* the King and Confessor, by *Walter Gifford* Archbishop of *York*, and other Bishops, Intombed in a new and rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, beset with precious stones, in the presence of *Henry* the King of *England*. In which year also fell a great rain and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seen, which increased and continued the space of forty days, and more.

Edward the King and Confessor, canonized.

The same year died *Walter de Laiwill*, Bishop of *Sarum*, the third day before the Nones of *January*. After whom succeeded *Robert* of *Northampton*, the Dean of the same Church. And because the See of *Canterbury* was then vacant, he was confirmed by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; which Chapter had always the jurisdiction in Spiritual causes, during the vacancy of that See, in as ample manner as the Bishop himself had being alive. After this, the Bishop Elect coming thither, thinking to have had his Confecration, was notwithstanding put back for two causes; one was, for that there was present then no more but one Bishop; the other was, for that all the other Bishops had appealed, that he might not be confecrated to their prejudice; that is, by the authority of the Chapter of *Canterbury*, saying, That they would not be under the obedience of the Monks.

The Bishop of Exon confecrated.

After this solemn Messengers were for this cause sent to the Cardinals of *Rome*, for that then the See of *Rome* was vacant; who received answer, That during the vacation of that See, the Confirmation and Confecration of the Bishop Elect pertained to the forefaid Chapter of *Canterbury*.

The same year also was the Lord *Henry*, the Son and heir of the Lord *Richard* King of *Almain*, and Brother to King *Henry* the Third, slain at *Viterbium*, in a certain Chappel hearing Mass, by the Lord *Simon* and *Guido*, the Sons of the Lord *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leicester*.

The death and Slaughter of Lord Richard the Kings Son of Almain at Viterbium.

During this Kings reign, there was made a great and general Expedition of divers and fundry Christian Princes to *Hierusalem*, taking upon them the Lords Character, that is, the Cross; among whom was also *Edward* the Kings Son, unto the which Expedition was granted him a Subsidy throughout all the Realm. And in the month of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1270, or as faith *Florilegus*, *Ann.* 1269, he set forward on his journey.

{ANNO 1270.}

The great Expedition to invade the Turk, raised by the exciting of a man. The peace rep'ed the Tenth granted to the King, against the Turk, turned into a mony-matter.

The death and Slaughter of Archbishop of Canterbury.

About the time when Prince *Edward* was preparing his journey toward *Asia*, *Boniface* of whom ye heard before, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* ended his life in the Country of *Sabaudia*, going belike to *Rome*, or coming thence. After whose death the Monks of *Canterbury* proceeding to a new Election granted by the King, agreed upon the Prior of their house, named *Adam Chelenden*, But the King and his Son Prince *Edward* consenting and speaking in the behalf of Robert Burnell their Chancellor, did sollicite the matter with the Monks, partly intreating, partly threatning them, to chuse the said *Robert* to be Archbishop. Notwithstanding, the Monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous request, no yet bow to

Adam Chelenden recommended. Archbishop of Canterbury.

{KING. 1269.}

Appellation from the King to the Pope by the Monks of Canterbury.

to their boisterous threats, but constantly perfisting in their former Election, appealed from the King and Prince to the Pope. Prince *Edward* being now on his journey, and feeing himself thus frustrated of the Monks, writeth back to the King his Father, devoutly praying and beseeching him in no wise to admit the Election of the forefaid Monks. And so passing to *Dover* with *Henry*, the Son of *Richard* his Uncle King of *Romans*, with their wives, they took their passage in the month of *August*. After this the Prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the King to be Archbishop, went up to *Rome*.

Adam Chelenden goeth up to Rome.

In the mean time the Monks in the absence of their Elect, ordained one *Geffrey Pomenall* to be their Official; who seeing himself advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudg against the Prior of *Dover*, caused him to be cited up to appear in the Chapter-house of *Canterbury*. The Prior of *Dover* seeing this Citation to be prejudicial to him and to the Church of *Dover*, and knowing that the Monks of *Canterbury* have no such jurisdiction (the See of *Canterbury* being vacant) but that all things appertaining to that Church, ought to be reserved whole to the Confecration of the new Archbishop, therefore for the state both of him, and of his Church, he appealed up also unto *Rome*. But to return to the Archbishop again.

Variance between the Official of Canterbury and the Prior of Dover.

Appellation to Rome.

The second year after *Chekenden* the foresaid Archbishop Elect, remaining all this while at *Rome*, at last resigned up his Election to the Popes hand, being *Gregory* the tenth, who then gave the same to *Robert Kilwarby*. Who then coming to *Dover*, restored again the Prior of that house, being before excluded upon certain causes. By these contentions judg good Reader of the Religion of these men, and of these times. And now to return to our former story.

Adam Chelenden resigneth to the Pope. Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Concordance.

About this time came out the great Concordance by an *English* Frier, called *John Dernington*. *Ex Eulogio.*

It was above declared how a general Voyage being proclaimed to war against the *Turks*, and a Subsidy being collected in *England* upon the same: Prince *Edward* with others was appointed to take their Voyage, and now were onward in their journey. Who at *Michaelmas* following, with his company came to *Egermont*, which is from *Marlia* eight Leagues westward, and there taking Ship again, (having a merry wind and prosperous) within ten days arrived at *Sunes* at *Tunicium*, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the Christian Princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of *Philip* the *French* King, whose Father *Ludovicus* died a little before, of *Carolus* the King of *Sicilia*, and the two Kings *Navar* and *Aragon*. And as the Lord *Edward* came thither for his Father the King of *England*, thither came also *Henry* the Son of the King of *Almain* for his Father; who at his return from the Voyage was slain in a Chappel at *Viterbium* hearing Mass, by the Lord *Simon* and *Guido*, the Sons of the Lord *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leicester*.

When Prince *Edward* demanded of these Kings and Princes what was to be done, they answered him again, and said, The Prince of this City, said they, and the Province adjoyning to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute unto the King of *Sicilia* every year. And now for that the same hath been for the space of seven years unpayed and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the King knowing the same tribute to be justly demanded, hath now according to our own desires satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

Then said he, My Lords what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight against the Infidels and enemies of Christ? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plain and hard, so that we may approach the holy City *Jerusalem*. Then said they, Now have we made a league with them; neither is it lawful for us to break the same, but let us return again to *Sicilia*, and when the Winter is past we may well take Shipping to *Acra*. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himself well pleased therewith; but after that he had made them a Princely Banket, he went into his Closet or privy Chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took Shipping, and for want of Ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince *Edward* being somewhat moved with compassion, came back to the land, and received and stowed them in his own Ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven days after, they arrived in the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, over against the City *Trapes*, casting their Anchors a league from thence within the Sea, for that their Ships were of great burthen, and throughly fraught. And from the haven of the City they sent out Barges and Boats to receive and bring fach of the Nobility to land as would; but their Horses for the most part, and all their Armor they kept still within board. At length towards the evening, the Sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty inforuach that their Ships were beaten one against another sides; and drowned there were of them, at that tempest lying at Anchor, more than an hundred and twenty, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable fouls besides; and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one Ship of Prince *Edward*'s, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had one man loft thereby; for that as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsel of the reft. When in the morning the Princes and Kings came to the Sea-side, and saw all their Ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their Ships and Mariners, which were in number fifteen hundred besides the common Souldiers, there were no more saved than the Mariners of one only Ship, and they in this wife: There was in that Ship a good and wife Matron (a Countess or an Earls wife) who perceiving the tempest to grow, and fearing her self, called to her the Master of the Ship, and asked whether in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to save themselves? Who answered that to save the Ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods help he doubted not. Then said the Countess, For the Ship force no whit, save the souls therein, and have to thee double the value of the Ship. Who immediately hoising the sails, with all force run the Ship aground to near the shore as was possible. Thus with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal, he braft the Ship, and saved all that was within the same, as the Master of the same Ship had shewed and said before.

The Clemency of Prince *Edward* moved to the poor Souldiers.

A great Shipwrack of the Christians lying at Anchor a little from *Tropes*. Money evil got, is evil loft. *Nil habet externa fortuna fine pretio quod donet homini. Ex Gualt. Gisborne. Ex Flor. Hist.* Prince Edward and his men preserved from the tempest. The Integrity of Prince Edward rewarded of God.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwrack) returned home again every one unto their own lands; only *Edward* the Kings Son remained behind with his Men and Ships, which the Lord had faved and preserved. Then Prince *Edward* (renovating his purpose) took Shipping again, and within fifteen days after *Easter* arrived he at *Acra*, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best Souldiers and most expert, and tarried there a whole month, refreshing both his Men and Horses, and that in this peace he might learn and know the secrets of the land. After this he took with him six or seven thousand Souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from *Acra*, and took *Nazareth*; and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to *Acra*. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some strait or other advantage; they were by the Prince premonished thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the reft they put to flight. After this about *Midsummer*, when the Prince had understanding that the *Saracens* began to gather at *Cackbow*, which was forty miles from *Acra*; he marching thither set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than a thousand, the reft he put to flight, and took rich spoils, marching forward till they came to a Castle named *Castrum Peregrinorum*, situate upon the Sea-coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward *Acra*. In the mean season the King of *Jerusalem* sent unto the Noblemen of *Cyprus*, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keep their own land and go no further.

Prince Edward arrived with at *Acra* and taketh *Nazareth*.

Then

The Noblemen of Cyprus shew their fidelity to the Prince and King of *England*.

Then Prince *Edward* fent unto them, defiring that at his requeft they would come and joyn in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, faying, that at his commandment they were bound to do no leſs, for that his Predeceſſors were fometimes Governours of their land, and that they ought always to fhew their fidelity to the Kings of *England*. Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated made a third Voyage or Rode, and came as far as the Fort called *Vincula S. Petri*, and to St. *Georges:* and when they had ſlain certain there,not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired again from whence they came.

A gulleful deceit of the Saracen, practiſed againſt Prince *Edward*. *Ex Guil. Scala manſi.*

When thus the fame of Prince *Edward* grew amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him; they deviſed among themſelves, how by ſome policy they might circumveng him, and betray him. Whereupon the great Prince and Admiral of *Joppa* ſent unto him, feigning himſelf under great deceit to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honourably entertained and uſed of the Chriſtians. This talk pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun, by writing again to who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote back unto him divers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring. This meſſenger, ſaith mine Author, was one *Ex eate nutritus*, one of the ſtony-hearted, that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this Meſſenger came,and was of the Princes ſervants ſearched, according to the manner and cuſtom what weapon and armor he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the Princes Chamber, and after his reverence done; he pulled out certain Letters, which he delivered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after *Whitſuntide*, upon a Tueſday ſomewhat before night; at which time the Prince was laid upon his bed bare headed in his Jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

The meſſenger ſearched before he came to the Princes preſence.

When the Prince had read the Letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his Lord would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe news by the Prince to the Standers by liked them well, whereby ſomewhat back to conſult thereof amongſt themſelves. In the mean time the Meſſenger kneeling and making his obeiſance to the Prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to the Belt, as though he would have pulled out ſome ſecret Letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an envenomed Knife, thinking to have ſtricken him into the belly therewith as he lay; but the Prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was ſtricken a great wound into the arm. And being about to fetch another ſtroke at him, the Prince again with his foot took him ſuch a blow that he fell'd him to the ground. With that the Prince gat him by the hand,and with ſuch violence wreſted the Knife from him, that he hurt himſelf therewith in the forehead, and immediately thruſt the ſame into the belly of the Meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him. The Princes ſervants being in the next Chamber not far off,hearing the buſtling, came with great haſt running in. And finding the Meſſenger lying dead on the Floor, one of them took up a ſtool and beat out his brains; whereat the Prince was wroth, for that he ſtruck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was ſtrange, ſo it ſoon went throughout all the Court, and from thence amongſt the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Captain of the Temple,and brought him a coſtly and precious drink againſt poyſon, leſt the venom of the Knife ſhould penetrate the lively blood, and in blamingwiſe ſaid unto him, Did I not ſhew your Grace before of the deceit and ſubtilty of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſaith he, let your Grace take a good heart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraightway the Surgeons and Phyſicians were ſent for, and the Prince was dreſſed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to look dead and black; whereupon they that were about the Prince began to mutter amongſt themſelves, and were very ſad and heavy. Which thing he himſelf perceiving, ſaid unto them, Why mutter you thus amongſt your ſelves? What ſee you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth,be ye not afraid. Whereupon one ſaid to him, and like your Grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering,ſaid he again,reſtore health? Yea, ſaith the other,on pain of loſing my head. Then, ſaid the Prince, I commit my ſelf unto you, do with me what you think good. Then ſaid one of the Phyſicians, Is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace repoſeth ſpecial truſt? To whom the Prince anſwered me, naming certain of the Noblemen that ſtood about him. Then ſaid the Phyſician unto the two whom the Prince firſt named,the Lord *Edmund*, and the Lord *John Veiſe*: And do you alſo faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who anſwered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then ſaith he,Take you away this Gentlewoman and Lady (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her Lord and Husband until ſuch a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they took her out of the Princes preſence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then ſaid they unto her,Be ye contented good Lady and Madam, it is better that one woman ſhould weep a little while, than that all the Realm of *England* ſhould weep a great ſeaſon. Then upon the morrow they cut out all the dead envenomed fleſh out of the Princes arm,and threw it from them, and ſaid unto him, How cheereth your Grace? We promiſe you within theſe fifteen days you ſhall ſhew your ſelf abroad (if God permit) upon your Horſe-back, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promiſe he made the Prince, it came to paſs, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his ſubjects. When the great Soldan heard of it,and that the Prince was yet alive,he would ſcarcely believe the fame: and ſending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, he excuſed himſelf by them, calling his gods to witneſs, that the ſame was done neither by him, nor his conſent. Which Princes and Meſſengers ſtanding aloof off from the Kings Son worſhipping him,fell flat upon the ground. You (ſaith the Prince) do reverence me, but as for you love me not. But they underſtood him not, becauſe he ſpake in *Engliſh* unto them, ſpeaking by an Interpreter. Nevertheleſs he honourably intreated them, and ſent them away in peace.

The Victory of the Prince and *Engliſhmen* againſt the Earl of *Chalons* and the *French*-men.

The Prince returned to health, and the Soldan ſent to search himſelf.

Thus when Prince *Edward* had been eighteen months in *Acra*, he took Shipping about the *Aſſumption* of our Lady (as we call it) returning homeward, and after ſeven weeks he arrived in *Sicilia* at *Trapes*, and from thence travelling through *Paleſtina* and *Metmes*, and ſo through the midſt of *Aquila*, till he came to *Rome*, where he was of the Pope honourably entertained; from thence he came into *France*, whoſe fame and Noble proweſs was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, eſpecially of the Earl *de Chalons*, who ſent unto him and required him that he might break a ſtaff with him at the Tilt in his Country. Which thing to do, for that the Prince would not diminiſh his honour and fame (although he might have well alledged a ſufficient cauſe and excuſe by means of his travel) yet he would not, but willingly conſented thereunto; whereupon it was proclaimed, that Prince *Edward* by ſuch a day, with thoſe that were with him, had challenged all comers at the Tilt and Barriers. Whereupon great Aſſemblies were made in the Country all about; and divers as well Horſe-men as Footmen, had conjured amongſt themſelves, and conſpired againſt the *Engliſhmen*, felling their Horſes and Armor aforehand, and thinking one to another in boun voyage of the ſpoil of them whom they would take as their priſoners. Prince *Edward* in the mean time ſent into *England* for divers Earls and Barons, which come unto him. When the day appointed was come, the Prince had with him more than one thouſand Horſemen, which were Knights, beſides his Footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other ſide both in Horſemen and Footmen. When the parties ſhould meet, the *French* Footmen which had before conſpired, began both to ſpoil, rifle, and kill. The *Engliſhmen* rallied and defended themſelves both with Bows and Slings; many of them they ſlew, and drave them to the Gates of their City, the other they chaſed over a river, where many of them were drowned. In the mean ſeaſon the Earl with fifty of his Knights which followed him, came forth and joyned together ſo many for ſo many, and a long time together they tried it with their ſwords,laying one at another. At the laſt the Earl perceiving himſelf not able to match with him at the arms end, incloſ'd with him,&tailing him about the neck,held him with his

The Prince returneth out of *Turkie* into *England* again.

A day of Barriers appointed, which ſhould be to good uſe.

A Conſpiracy of the *Frenchmen* againſt the *Engliſhmen*.

{KING Hen. 3} his arms very ſtrait. What mean you my Lord (ſaith the Prince) think you to have my Horſe? Yea marry (quoth the Earl) I mean to have both thee and thy Horſe. Hereat Prince *Edward*, being aſcorned, lifted up himſelf, and gave him ſuch a blow, that therewithal he, forſaking his Horſe, hung ſtill about the Princes neck, till that he ſhook him off to the ground. Herewith the Prince, being ſomewhat in a heat, left the preaſe to take the Air, thereby to refreſh himſelf. But when he ſaw the injury of the *French*-men towards his men, and how they had ſlain many of them, he then ſaid unto them, that they uſed rather the exerciſe of battel, than of tourney. Spare ye not therefore (ſaith he) from henceforth any of them all, but give them again as good as they bring. Then they aſſailed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their Swords walk.

Exerciſe of battels inſtead of Barriers and tourney.

And when by this time the *Engliſh* footmen were again returned, and ſaw the conflicts of Horſemen, and many other *Engliſhmen* overthrown; they put themſelves amidſt the preaſe; and ſome Panching the Horſes, ſome cutting a ſunder the girths of the *French*-mens ſaddles, they overthrew the Riders and gave them holy Bread. Then when the foreſaid Earl was Horſed again by ſome of his men and amongſt the throng, Prince *Edward* alſo ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt, and coupled again with him: To whom he often ſpake and cried, that he ſhould yield himſelf as vanquiſhed; but that he would not do. Notwithſtanding, when his ſtrength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himſelf unto a ſimple Knight, according as Prince *Edward* him bade, and all the reſt of his Horſemen and Knights fled and ſaved themſelves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were ſlain, and our men returned having the victory. But when after this they thought themſelves to be quiet and at reſt, they were killed of the Citizens, by two and by three at once as they went in the ſtreets. Which thing when the Prince heard, he ſent for the Maior and Burgeſſes, commanding them to ſee the ſame redreſſed, and that immediatly: For otherwiſe, of his Knighthood he affured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the City, and make it level with the ground. Whereupon they went their ways, and ſet watchmen in divers places of the ſame to keep peace, by which means the Prince and men were in ſafety and quiet. Thus in this paſtime of tornying and barriers, much blood was ſpilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed: So that it is not called *Torniamentum de Chalons*, but *Parvum bellum de Chalons*.

Prince *Edward* ſojourneth in *Veſconia* at the time of his Fathers death.

From thence the Prince came to *Paris*, and was of the *French* King Honourably entertained: And after certain days, he went from thence into *Vaſconia*, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the King his Father.

{ Anno 1272 } Pope *Clement* the Fourth. Pope *Gregory* the Tenth.

In the year of our Lord 1272. died Pope *Clement* the Fourth: after whom ſucceeded Pope *Gregory* the Tenth; who in the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1273. called a general Council at *Lions*, about the controverſie between the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and for the vacancy of the See Apoſtolical, &c.

Certain notes of other occurrents chancing in foreign Countries abroad, within the compaſs of the years and Reign of the foreſaid King Henry *the Third.*

HAving thus accompliſhed the life and Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Third, with ſuch accidents as happened within this Realm, I thought good to adjoyn unto the ſame ſome other foreign matters not unworthy the note, incident in other Countries during the time of the ſaid King: namely from the year of our Lord 1217 unto this year 1272. which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that, even from and about the beginning of this Kings Reign, ſprung up the very well-ſprings of all miſchief, the Sects of Monkiſh religions and other ſwarms of Popiſh Orders, which with their gyrds and horrible ſuperſtitions have incumbred the Church of Chriſt ever ſince.

Firſt, to omit the repetition of Pope *Innocentius* the Third, the great Grandſire of that foul Monſter Tranſubſtantiation and auricular confeſſion, Friers *Dominick*, and *Franciſcan* Friers, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Vincentius*, with Pope *Honorius* the Third, Coiner of the Canon Law, and the Cardinal *Poſtienſis*, as alſo *Bonaventure*, *Albertus Magnus*, with Pope *Urban* the Fourth, firſt founder of the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, beſides *Durandus* and many more: it followeth further to be noted,that the *Tartarians* about the year 1240. iſſuing out of *Muſcovia* into the parts of *Polonia*, made great waſte in Chriſtendom, ſo much the rather, becauſe the Princes about *Polonia*, being at variance amongſt themſelves,uſed none other remedy for their defence but heaps of Maſſes, invocation of the dead,and Worſhipping of Images, which indeed did nothing relieve them, but rather increaſe their trouble.

Ex Annalibus Sileſiæ. The Tartarians make great ſpoil in Chriſtendom.

The next year following, the whole Nation of the *Scythians* (muſtring like locuſts) invaded the parts of *Europe* with two mighty Armies, whereof the one entring upon *Polonia*, made great Havock and carried away many Chriſtians from thence Captives; the other, overrunning *Hungaria*, made no leſs ſpoil there. Add hereunto another freſh Army of *Tartarians*,to the number of 5000000. who at the very ſame time joyning themſelves together, entred into *Muſcovia* and *Cracovia*, and made moſt horrible ſlaughter, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, noble nor unnoble within the Land. From thence paſſing to *Uraſtlavia*, they made great ſpoil there alſo, and thinking there to win the Caſtle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the inſtance and prayers of good people, diſcomfited beyond all expectation of Man, by Thunder and Lightning falling upon them from Heaven in moſt terrible wiſe.

The Scythian Army like locuſts.

The ſame year immediatly after *Eaſter*, another Army of *Tartarians* were gathered againſt *Lignicium*, drawing near to *Germany*; by the brute whereof, the *Germans*, being put in great fears, were altogether diſmaied, but yet not able to help themſelves, by reaſon they lacked a good guid and governor amongſt them. All which came to paſs, ſpecially by the miſchievous practice of the *Roman* Popes, railing variance and diſcord among them. Notwithſtanding, *Henry* Prince of *Polonia* and *Sileſia*, gathering a power as well as he could, did incounter with him; but in fine, his whole Army was vanquiſhed, and the King himſelf ſlain. Notwithſtanding, which overthrow of Chriſtians, it pleaſed God to ſtrike ſuch a fear into the hearts of the ſaid *Tartarians*, that they durſt not approach any further or neerer into *Germany*, but retired for that time into their Country again: Who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Chriſtians that were ſlain, found the ſlaughter ſo great, as that they filled nine great facks full of ears. Nevertheleſs, after this in the year 1260. the ſame *Tartarians*, having the *Muſcovites* to their guids, returned again into *Polonia* and *Cracovia*, where in the ſpace of three months, they overran the Land with fire and ſword to the Coaſts of *Sileſia*, and had not the Princes of *Germany* put to their helping hand in this lamentable caſe, they had utterly waſted the whole Land of *Polonia*, and the Coaſts thereabout.

King *Henry* ſlain, and his Army vanquiſhed.

Nine facks full of Chriſtians ears being ſlain.

This year alſo in the month *April*, *Richard* King of *Almain* died at the Caſtle of *Barkhamſted*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Hailes*, which he built out of the ground. The ſame year alſo at *Norwich* there fell a great controverſie between the Monks and the Citizens, about certain tallagies and liberties. At laſt, after much diſtraction and wrangling words, the furious rage of the Citizens ſo much increaſed and prevailed, and ſo little was the fear of God before their eyes, that altogether they ſet upon the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the Church and Biſhops Palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very ſorry to hear of ſo bold and naughty an enterpriſe, and much diſcommended the ſame. At the laſt, King *Henry* calling for certain of his Lords and Barons, ſent them to the City of *Norwich*, that they might puniſh and fee execution done on the chiefeſt Malefactors; inſomuch that ſome of them were condemned and burnt, ſome of them hanged, and ſome were drawn by the heels with Horſes throughout the ſtreets of the City, and after in much miſery ended their wretched lives. The ſame year *Adam* the Prior of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop Eleſt, in

Richard King of *Almain* died.

A great variance between the Citizens of *Norwich*.

Execution done at *Norwich* by the commandment of King *Henry* the Third.

Adam Pelet of Canterbury, refuseth to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Robert Kilwardby Archbishop of Canterbury.

the presence of Pope *Gregory* the Tenth refused to be Archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the Pope gave the same Archbishoprick to Frier *Robert Kilwarby* the provoft of the Preaching Friers, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at *Canterbury* the fourth day of *March*, by Six Bishops of the same Province. The same year also at *Michaelmas*, the Lord *Edmund*, the Son of King *Richard* of *Almain*, married the Sister of *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*. Also in this year of our Lord 1273. the fixteenth day before the Kalends of *December*, upon Saint *Edmunds* day the Archbishop and confessor, died King *Henry*, in the fix and fiftieth year of his Reign, and was buried at *Westminster*, leaving after him two Sons, and two Daughters, to wit, *Edward* the Prince, and *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Leicester*: *Beatrice* and *Margaret*: which *Margaret* was married to to the King of *Scots*. This King *Henry* in his life time began the building of the Church and Steeple at *Westminster*, but did not throughly finith the same before his death.

The death of King Henry the Third.

King Edward *the First.*

Edward the First.

IN the time of the death of King *Henry*, *Edward* his his Eldeft Son was absent in *Vascovia*, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops and Nobles, he was ordained Heir and Succesor after his Father; who, after he had heard of his Fathers death, returned home to his Country, and was Crowned in the year of our Lord 1274. Who then laid down his Crown, saying, *he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the Lands appertaining to the same.* This *Edward* as he had always before been a loving and natural Child to his Father, whom he had delivered out of prison and captivity; and hearing afterward both together of the death of his Son, and of his Father, wept and lamented much more for his Father, than for his Son, saying to the *French* King (which asked the cause thereof) that the loss of his Child was but light; for Children might after increase and be multiplied, but the loss of his Parent was greater, which could not be recovered: *Robert Averbury*. So Almighty God, for the same his Piety to his Father shewed, rewarded him again with great succes, Felicity, and long Reign: Insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at Chess with a certain Souldier of his, suddenly having occasion given, rose up and went his way; who was not so soon voided the place, but incontinent fell down a mighty stone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he fate, able to have quathed him in peices, if he had tarried never so little more. In the preservation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty providence of the living God: So in the Kings Order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehention for that he, receiving such a living benefit at the hand of the living Lord, going therefore on Pilgrimage to *Walsingham*, gave thanks not only to our Lord, but rather to a rotten block. *Ibidem.* Of the gentle nature of this courageous Prince, sufficient proof is given by this one example: that what time he being in his disport of Hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his Gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his Hawk; the Gentleman being on the other side of the River, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the River was between them. With this answer the courageous blood of this Prince being moved, upon present heat he leaped fraight into the flood, both of a swift stream and of a dangerous deepnes, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger present, and having a good Horse, venturesh his own death, to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his sword drawn he pursueth his provoker. Who having not to good an Horse, and seeing himself in danger of taking, reineth his Horse, and returning back barehead into the Prince, submitteth his neck under his hand to strike. The Prince, whose fervent stomack the water of the whole River could not quench, a little submission of his man did so cool, that the quarrel fell, his anger ceased, and his sword was put up without any stroak given. And so both returned to their Game, good friends again. *Aveth. Nico. Trivet.*

Piety to Parents rewarded of God. Ex Chron. Tho. Walsi. A miracle of God in preserving King Edward.

Falsh worship reprehended. God giveth the benefit, and a dumb stock hath the thanks.

Example of Princely clemencie to be learned of Kings and Princes. Ex Chron. Nico. Trivet. & Thom. Walsingham.

In the first beginning of his Reign, the King had much ado in *Wales*, where he had divers conflicts with the *Welsh*-men, whom at last he subdued, and cut down their woods, suppressed rebellions, and vanquishing their Kings *Lewsline* and his Brother, ordained his Eldeft Son *Edward*, born in the same Country, to be Prince of *Wales*. This *Lewsline* Captain of the *Welsh*-men here mentioned, rebelling against King *Edward*, asked Counsel of conjuration, what event should come upon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should go forward boldly, for doubtless he should ride through *Cheapside* at *London*, with a Crown on his Head. Which so came to pass. For being slain, his Head was carried through *Cheap*, with a Crown of Silver to *London* Bridge. Whereby men may learn not to seek nor flick to these vain Prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they trains of the Divel to deceive men.

{KING 1 Edm. 1 Wales subdued.

The Kings first Son Prince of Wales.

Vain Prophecies not to be sought to.

About this time was a great Earthquake, and such a Rot, that consumed a great multitude of Sheep in the Land, through the occasion (as they say) of one scabbed Sheep that came out of *Spain*. The King returning from *Wales* to *England*, ordered certain new Laws for the wealth of the Realm. Among many others, this was one; that Authority was given to all Maiors, Bailiffs, and other Officers to see execution and punishment of all Bakers making Bread under the Size, with pillory. Of Millers stealing Corn, with the Tumbrel, &c. And within two years after the Statute of *Mortmain* was first enacted, which is as much to say, that no man should give unto the Church any Lands of Rents, without especial Licence of the King.

Punishment for Bakers and Millers. The Statute of Mortmain first Enacted.

About which time also, being the seventh year of his Reign, 1279. Jews for Money chipping were put to execution. In which year began first the foundation of the *Black-Friers* by *Ludgate*. And the Town of *Boston* was greatly wasted the same year with fire. The half penny and farthing began first to be coined the self same time, which was the Eighth year of his Reign. The great Conduit in Cheap began the Fourth year after to be made, *Anno.* 1284. And the next year following, the new work of the Church of *Westminster* (begun as is afore premonished in the Third year of *Henry* the Third) was finished, which was sixty fix years in edifying. The Jews were utterly banished this Realm of *England* the same time, for which the Commons gave to the King a fifteenth, &c.

{Anno 1279 Black-Friers by Ludgate builded. Boston miserably wasted with fire. The great Conduit in Cheap. Westminster Church finished. After in Fabian corrected. Ex Tho. Walf. & Gualter Guisburnef.

After that the Countrey of *Wales* was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing down of the Woods, and casting down the old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end, about the 24. year of this Kings Reign. Then ensued another broil as great or greater with *Scotland*, to the great disquiet of the King and the Realm of *England* many years after. This trouble first began by the death of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, who died without Issue left alive behind him. Although *Fabian* in the 7. Book of his Chronicles affirmeth; that he left three Daughters, the Eldeft married to Sir *John Baliol*, the second, to *Robert Bruce*, the third, to one *Hastings*. But this in *Fabian* is to be corrected, as which neither standeth with it self, and is clearly convicted by the witness and History of *Rob. Aveth.* and also of *Guisburn*.

For first, if King *Alexander* had left his Eldeft Daughter married to Sir *John Baliol*, then what controversie might rise among the Lords about succession, needing so diligent and anxious deciding by the King of *England*? Secondly, what claim or title could the King of *Norway* have to the Crown of *Scotland*, which was one of the Challengers, claiming the faid Crown in the behalf of *Margaret* the Niece of the forefaid King *Alexander* her Grandfather, if the Eldeft Daughter of the Father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the forefaid Story it is testified, that King *Alexander* had two Wives? Of the second whereof he had no issue. Of the first he had two Children; *Alexander* which died before his Father; and *Margaret* married to the King of *Norway*, which died also before her Father, of whom came *Margaret* the Niece of *Alexander*, and Daughter to the King of *Norway* afore mentioned. And she also died in the journey between *Norway* and *Scotland*, the fourth year after the decease of her Grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most clear, so let us now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that

Lack of succession, what disturbance it worketh in a Realm.

{KING 1 Edw. 1

with other Officers of the Land, and so returned unto *Barwick*, and so into *England*, and lastly to *Westminster*.

These Martial Affairs between *England* and *Scotland*, although they appertain not greatly to the purpose of our story Ecclesiastical, yet so much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby, that which followeth in the sequel hereof, might the better be understood by these premisses. As the *Scots* were thus warring and raging against the King, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent privily to Pope *Boniface* for his aid and counsel: who immediatly sendeth down his Precept to the King, to this effect, that he should hereafter forcease to disquiet or molest the *Scots*, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his Chappel. And therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the City of *Jerusalem* must needs defend his own Citizens; and as the Mount *Sion*, maintain such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the King briefly maketh answer again, swearing with an Oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known to all the world, &c. Thus the *Scots* bearing themselves bold upon the Popes Message, and also confederating themselves with the *Frenchmen*, passed over that year. The next year after that (which was the 29th year of the Kings Reign) the said Pope *Boniface* directeth his Letters again to the King, wherein he doth vindicate the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be proper to the Church of *Rome*, and not subject to the King of *England*. And therefore it was against God, against Justice, and also prejudicial to the Church of *Rome*, for him to have or hold Dominion over the same, which he proved by these Reasons:

Ex Chron. Tho. Walf.

The Kings answer to the Pope.

The Pope challengeth the Realm of Scotland to be free from the Dominion of England.

First, That when King *Henry*, the Father of this King received Aid of *Alexander* King of *Scots* in his Wars against *Simon Montford*, he recognized and acknowledged in his Letters Patents, that he received the same of King *Alexander*, not of any duty, but of special favour.

Item, When the said King *Alexander*, coming to *England*, did Homage to the said King *Henry*; he did it not as King of *Scotland*, but only for certain Lands of *Tindal* and *Penteth*, lying in *England*.

Item, Whereas the said King *Alexander* left behind him *Margaret* his Heir, being Niece to the King of *England*, and yet underage; yet the tuition of the said *Margaret* was committed not to the King of *England*, but to certain Lords of *Scotland*, depited to the same.

Moreover, when any Legacy was directed down from *Rome* to the Realm of *England*, for collecting of Tenths or other causes, the said Legacy took no place in the Realm of *Scotland*, and might well be refisted (as it was in King *Alexander* his days) except another special Commission touching the Realm of *Scotland*, were joyned withal. Whereby it appeareth, that these be two several Dominions, and not subject under one.

Adding Furthermore, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* first was converted by the reliques of the blessed Apostle Saint *Peter*, through the divine operation of God, to the unity of the Catholick Faith.

Wherefore upon these causes and reasons, Pope *Boniface* in his Letters to the King, required him to give over his claim, and cease his Wars against the *Scotish* Nation: and to release all such both of the spirituality and Laity, as he had of them Prisoners. Also to call home again his Officers and Deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grievance of that Nation, to the slander of all faithful people, and no less prejudice to the Church of *Rome*. And if he would claim any right or title to the said Realm, or any part thereof, he should send up his Procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himself alledge, unto the See Apostolick, there to receive what reason and right would require.

{Anno 1301.

The King replieth to the Pope.

The King, after he had received these Letters of the Pope, assembled a Council or Parliament at *Lincoln*: By the advice of which Council and Parliament, he addressed other Letters responsal to the Pope again; wherein first in all reverend manner he declareth him not to give light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and Imaginers of mischief. Then he declareth out of old Records and Histories from the first time of the *Britains*, that the Realm of *Scotland* hath always from time to time been all one with *England*, beginning first with *Brutus* in the

Ex Chron. Tho. Walf. The Popes Message sent to the King.

The King of *England* proved by old Records, chief Head and Soverain of *Scotland.*

{Anno 1291.

S. John Baliol made King of *Scotland* by King *Edward.* King of *Scots* doth homage to the King of *England.*

Scotland all one with England.

The falsehood of the *Scotish* King.

The Town and Castle of *Berwick* won of *Englishmen.*

Falsehood justly punished.

The Scot rebel again.

The second Voyage of King *Edward* into *Scotland.*

{Anno 1298.

Ex Fabian. A notable Victory against the *Scots.*

{Anno 1299. The *Scots* sweare to the King of *England.*

K k 2 time

Trevet. Lectium. Albanellus. Cambr.

time of *Helt* and *Samuel* the Prophet: which *Brutus*, coming from *Troy* to this Isle called then *Albion*, after called by him *Britannia*, had three Sons; *Locrinus*, to whom he gave that part of the Land, called then of him *Loegria*, now *Anglia*; *Albanactus* his second Son, to whom he gave *Albania*, now called *Scotia*; and his third Son *Cambet*, to whom he gave *Cambria*, now called *Wales*, &c.

And thus much concerning the first division of this Isle, as in ancient Histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing over the death of King Humber, *the Acts of* Dunwald *King of this Realm, the division of* Belyn *and* Brenne, *the Victories of King* Arthur, *we will resort (saith the King) to more nearer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient Authors, as* Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bicoto *and other. All which make special declaration, and give manifest evidence of the execution of the our right (saith he) and Title of Superiority ever continued and preserved hitherto.*

And first to begin with Edward *the Senior, before the Conquest, Son to* Alured *King of* England, *about the year* 1111. 907. *of our Lord,* 900. *it is plain and manifest, that he had under his Dominion and Obedience the King of* Scots: *And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as* Marian *the* Scot, *writing that story in those days, granteth, confesseth and testifieth the same: and this Dominion continued in that state* 23 *years. At which time,* Athelstane *succeeded in the Crown of* England, *and having by battel conquered* Scotland, *he made one* Constantine *King of that Party, to Rule and Govern the Country of* Scotland *under him, adding this Princely word,* That it was more honour to him to make a King, than to be a King.

Twenty four years after that, which was the year of our Lord, 947. Eldred *the King our Progenitor,* Athelstanus *Brother, took Homage of* Irile *then King of* Scots.

Thirty years after that, which was the year of our Lord, 977. *King* Edgar *our Predecessor took Homage of* Kynald *King of* Scots. *Here was a little trouble in* England *by the death of S.* Edward *King and Martyr, deftroyed by the deceit of his Mother in law, but yet within memory.*

Forty years after the Homage done by Kynald *to King* Edgar, *that is to say, in the year of our Lord,* 1017. Malcoline *the King of* Scots *did Homage to* Knute *our Predecessor. After this Homage done,* the Scots *uttered some piece of their natural disposition, wherenpon (by War made by our progenitor S.* Edward *the Confessor, Thirty and nine years after that Homage done, that is to say, the year of our Lord* 1056.) Malcoline *King of* Scots *was vanquished, and the Realm of* Scotland *given to* Malcoline *his Son by our said Progenitor S.* Edward, *unto whom the said* Malcoline *made Homage and Fealty.*

Within Forty years after that, William *Conqueror entred this Realm, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest until he had likewise subdued the* Scots: *and therefore in the said year (which was in the year of our Lord* 1068.) *the said* Malcoline *King of* Scots *did Homage to the said* William *the Conqueror, as his Superiror by conquest King of* England.

Twenty and five years after that, which was the year of our Lord 1093. *the said* Malcoline *did Homage and Fealty to* William Rufus, *Son to the said* William *Conqueror: and yet after that, he was for his offences and demerits deposed, and his Son Substitute in his place: who likewise failed in his duty, and therefore was ordained in that Estate, by the said* William Rufus, Edgar *Brother to the last* Malcoline, *and Son to the first, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly.*

Seven years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1100. *the said* Edgar, *King of the* Scots, *did Homage to* Henry *the first our Progenitor.*

Thirty seven years after that, David *King of* Scots *did Homage to* Matild *the Emperatrice, as Daughter and Heir to* Henry *the first. Wherefore being after required by* Stephen, *then obtaining possession of the Realm, to make his Homage: He refused soto do, because he had before made it to the said* Matild, *and thereupon forbare. After which* Davids *death, wich insued shortly after, the Son of the said* David *made Homage to the said King* Stephen.

Fourteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1150. William *King of* Scots, *and* David *his Brother, with all the Nobles of* Scotland, *made Homage to* Henry *the seconds Son, with a reservation of their duty to* Henry *the second his Father.*

Twenty five years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1175. William *King of* Scotland, *after much rebellion and resistance, according to their natural inclination (King* Henry *the second then being in* Normandy) *knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great Seal, and the Seals of the Nobility of* Scotland, *making therewith his Homage and Fealty.*

Within Fifteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1190. *the said* William *King of* Scots *came to our City of* Canterbury, *and there did Homage to our Noble Progenitor King* Richard *the First.*

Fourteen years after that, the said William *did Homage to our Progenitor King* John, *upon a Hill besides* Lincoln, *making his Oath upon the Cross of* Hubert, *then Archbishop of* Canterbury, *being there present, and a marvellous multitude assembled for that purpose.*

Twenty six years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1230. Alexander *King of* Scots *married* Margaret *the Daughter of our Progenitor* Henry *the Third, at our City of* York, *in the Feast of* Chriftmas: *At which time the said* Alexander *did his Homage to our said Progenitor, who Reigned in this Realm* 56. *years. And therefore between the Homage made by the said* Alexander *King of* Scotland, *and the Homage done by* Alexander, *Son to the said King of* Scots, *to us at our Coronation at* Weftminfter, *there was about Fifty years. At which time, the said* Alexander *King of* Scots *repaired to the said Feast of our Coronation, and there did he his Duty as is aforesaid.*

¶ Besides theſe Letters of the King, the Lords Temporal alſo, in the name of the whole Commonalty and Parliament, wrote another Letter to the Pope anſwering to that, whereas the Pope Arrogated to him to be Judge for the title of the Realm of *Scotland*, which the King of *England* claimed unto himſelf; which Letter I thought good alſo here to annex, containing, as in the words of the ſame here followeth to be read and ſeen.

The Lords Temporal, and the whole Barony of *England* to the Pope.

A Letter of the Lords temporal to the Pope.

THe Holy mother Church by whoſe miniſtry the Catholick See is Governed, in her deeds (as we throughly believe and hold) proceedeth with that ripeneſs in judgment, that ſhe will be hurtful to none: But like a mother would every mans right to be kept unbroken as well in other, as in her ſelf. Whereas therefore in a general Parliament, called at Lincoln *of late by our moſt dread Lord* Edward, *by the Grace of God the Noble King of* England: *the ſame our Lord cauſed certain Letters received from you to be read openly, and to be declared ſeriouſly before us, about certain buſineſſes touching the condition and ſtate of the Realm of* Scotland: *we did not a little muſe and marvel with our ſelves, bearing the meanings concerning the ſame, ſo wonderous and ſtrange, as the like we have not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holy Father, and it is well known as well in this Realm of* England, *as alſo it is not unknown to other perſons beſides, that from the firſt beginning of the Realm of* England, *the certain and direct Government of the Realm of* Scotland *in all Temporal cauſes, from time to time, belonged to the Kings of the ſame Realm of* England, *and Realm of* Scotland; *as well in the times of the* Britains, *as alſo of* Engliſh-*men. Yea rather, the ſame Realm of* Scotland *of old time was in fee to the Anceſtors of our ſaid Lord Kings of* England, *yea and to himſelf. Furthermore, the Kings of the* Scots, *and the Realm have not been under any other than the Kings of* England; *and the Kings of* England *have anſwered, or ought to anſwer for their rights in the foreſaid Realm, or for any his temporalities before any Judge Eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of his Royal Dignity, and Cuſtom kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treaty had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foreſaid Letters, this was the common agreeing and conſent with one mind, and ſhall be without fail in time to come by Gods grace; that our foreſaid*

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ſaid Lord the King ought by no means to anſwer in judgment in any caſe, or ſhould bring his foreſaid right into doubt; nor ought to ſend any Proctors or Meſſengers to your preſence; eſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the right of the Crown of England, *and the plain overthrow of the State of the ſaid Realm, and alſo hurt of the Liberties, Cuſtoms and Laws of our Fathers: for the keeping and defence of which we are bound by the duty of our oath made, and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods help) with all ſtrength. And further, we will not ſuffer our foreſaid Lord the King to do, or by any means to attempt the premiſſes, being ſo unaccuſtomed, unwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly beſeech your Holineſs that ſe would ſuffer the ſame our Lord King of* England *(who among other Princes of the World, ſheweth himſelf Catholick and devout to the* Romiſh *Church) quietly to enjoy his Rights, Liberties, Cuſtoms, and Laws aforeſaid; without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue untouched. In witneſs whereof we have ſet our ſeals to theſe preſents, as well for us, as for the whole Commonalty of the foreſaid Realm of* England. *Dated at* Lincoln *in the year of our Saviour* 1301. & Anno Edwardi primi 28.

{ANNO 1301. The Pope ſtirreth King againſt King.

The year following, which was from Chriſt *Anno* 1303. the ſaid Pope *Boniface* the eighth of that name, taking diſpleaſure with *Philip* the *French* King, did excite King *Edward* of *England* to War againſt him, promiſing him great aid thereunto. But he (as mine Author faith) little truſting the Popes falſe unſtable affection toward him well proved before, put him off with delaies.

Ex Rob. Avesh.

Ex Rob. Avesh. Whereupon, the *French* King fearing the power of King *Edward*, whom the Pope had ſet againſt his friendſhip, reſtored unto him again *Vaſcone*, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the Pope and the *French* King, how it began firſt, and to what end it fell out, the ſequel hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall declare, after that firſt I have finiſhed the diſcourſe begun between *England* and *Scotland*.

Another Scotiſh rebellion ſuppreſſed.

In the year 1303. the foreſaid *William Waleis* which had done ſo many diſpleaſures to the King before, continuing ſtill in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the *Scots* to withſtand the King, till at length the year following he was taken, and ſent up to *London*, and there Executed for the ſame. After which things done, the King then held his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, whither came out of *Scotland* the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, Robert *Bruſe* above mentioned, Earl of *Dunbare*, Earl of *Arles*, and Sir *John Comming*, with divers other: The which voluntarily were ſworn to be true to the King of *England*, and to keep the Land of *Scotland* to his uſe againſt all perſons. But ſhortly after the ſaid *Robert Bruſe*, who, as is ſaid, married the Second Daughter of Earl *Patrick*, forgetting his Oath before made unto the King, within a year or two after this, by the counſel of the Abbot of *Stone*, and the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* ſent up unto Pope *Clement* the fifth, for a diſpenſation of his Oath made; inſinuating to him, that King *Edward* vexed and grieved the Realm of *Scotland* wrongfully. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the King to leave off ſuch doings. Notwithſtanding which inhibition of the Pope, the King proſecuting his own right, after he had the underſtanding of the doings of the *Scots*, and of the miſchief of *Robert Bruſe*, (who had ſlain with his own hands Sir *John Comming*, for not conſenting with him and other Lords at his Parliament) arreated his power and ſtrength of men, preparing himſelf toward *Scotland*, where he joyning with the ſaid Sir *Robert* and all his power of *Scotland* in a plain, near unto Saint *Johns* Town, put him to flight, and ſo chaſed the *Scots*, that of them were ſlain to the number of ſeven Thouſand. In the which Victory, ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as were taken he ſent to the Pope; the Temporal Lords and other *Scots* he ſent to *London*, &c. Sir *Robert Bruſe* after this diſcomfiture, when he had thus loſt both the Field and his chief Friends, ſeeing himſelf not able to make his party good, fled into *Norway*, where he kept his abode during the time while King *Edward* lived. When this Noble *Edward* had thus ſubdued the *Scots*, he yielded thanks to God for his Victory, and ſo ſetting the Land in a quiet, and an Order, he returned unto *London*, which was the 35th year, and laſt of his Reign, &c.

The Pope diſpenſeth with due and true obedience of faithful towards their Prince.

The Popes inhibition neglected in England.

Another rebellion of the Scots repreſſed.

The Scots again ſubdued.

Now to return to that which I promiſed before touching the variance and grievous diſſention between *Philip* the *French* King, and Pope *Boniface* the eighth of that name: After the Biſhoprick of *Rome* had been long void through the diſſention of the *Cardinals*, for the ſpace of two years and three months; at length Pope *Celeſtine* was choſen ſucceſſor to Pope *Nicholas* the fourth. Which *Celeſtine* in his firſt conſiſtory began to reform the Clergy of *Rome*, thinking to make it an example to all other Churches. Wherefore, he procured to himſelf ſuch hatred among his Clergy men, that this *Boniface*, then called *Benedictus*, ſpeaking through a Reed in his Chamber wall, nightly admoniſhed him, as it had been a voice from Heaven, that he ſhould give over his Papacy, as being a burthen bigger than he could weild.

A grievous variance between Philip the French King and Pope Boniface.

Pope Nicholas the 4. Popedom vacant two years.

Pope Celeſtinus 5.

This Pope *Celeſtin* after he had ſate ſix months, by the treachery and falſhood of this *Boniface*, was induced to give up and reſign his Biſhoprick, partly for fear (as before is ſpoken of before, partly for fear; being told of certain craftily ſubomned in his Chamber, that, if he did not reſign, he ſhould loſe his life. Who then after his reſignation going to live in ſome ſolitary defart (being a ſimple man) was wilely taken and thruſt into perpetual priſon by Pope *Boniface*, craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred unto *Celeſtine*, but that ſeditious perſons might not have him as their head to raiſe up ſome ſtir in the Church. And ſo he was brought to his death. Wherefore, this Pope was worthily called the eighth *Nero*: of whom it was rightly ſaid, He came in like a Fox, Reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog.

Crafty lugling among Popes and Cardinals. Ex Meſſeta.

The 8 Nero.

Pope Boniface, ſucceeding, or rather invading after *Celeſtine*, behaved himſelf ſo imperiouſly, that he put down Princes, Excommunicated Kings, ſuch as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his Cardinals he drove away for fear, ſome of them as ſchiſmaticks he depoſed and ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance. *Philip* the *French* King he Excommunicated, for not ſuffering his money to go out of the Realm; and therefore curſed both him and his to the fourth Generation. *Albertus* the Emperor not once or twice, but thrice fought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unleſs he would promiſe to drive the *French* King out of his Realm. In the factious diſcord in *Italy* between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, which the part of a good Biſhop had been to extinguiſh, ſo little he helped to quench the ſmoak, that he of all other was the chiefeſt firebrand to increaſe the flame. Inſomuch that upon *Aſhwedne*/day, when *Perchetus* an Archbiſhop came and kneeled down before him to receive his Aſhes, Pope *Boniface* looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the *Gibellines* part, caſt his handful of aſhes in his eyes, ſaying, *Memento homo quod Gibellimus es, &c.* That is, Remember man that a *Gibellime* thou art, and to aſhes thou ſhalt go. This Pope moreover ordained firſt the Jubile in *Rome*, in the ſolemnizing whereof, the firſt day he ſhewed himſelf in his Pontificalibus, and gave free remiſſion of ſins to as many as came to *Rome* out of all the parts of the World. The ſecond day (being arraied with Imperial Enſigns) he commanded a naked ſword to be carried before him, and ſaid with a loud voice; *Ecce poteſtatem utriuſque gladii.* That is, Loe here the power and authority of both the ſwords, &c.

Pope Boniface fact & Author of the Book of decrees.

Jubile firſt begun in Rome.

The Pope claimed power of both Swords.

From the which very year (as moſt Stories do record) the Turks do begin the firſt Count of their *Turkiſh* Emperors, whereof the firſt was *Ottomannus*, as you ſhall hear diſcourſed hereafter by Gods grace in the Hiſtorie of the Turks.

By this ſaid Pope *Boniface* divers conſtitutions extravagants of his Predeceſſors were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and ſo made the Book called *Sextus decretalium &c.* By whom alſo firſt tale, ſprang up pardons and indulgences from *Rome*.

Romiſh pardons firſt begun by Pope Boniface. Extra. Sixt.

Theſe things thus premiſed of *Boniface* the Pope, now will I come to the occaſion of the ſtrife between him, and the *French* King. Concerning which matter, firſt I find in the Hiſtory of *Nicholas Trivet*, that in the year of our Lord, 1301. the Biſhop of *Oppanahum*, being accuſed for a conſpiracy againſt the *French* King, was brought up to his Court, and ſo committed to priſon. The Pope hear-

Ex Nic. Trivet.

hearing this, ſendeth word to the King by his Legate to ſet him at liberty. The *French* King, not daring to the contrary, looſeth the Biſhop. But when he had done, diſchargeth both the Biſhop and the Legate, commanding them to void his Realm. Whereupon, Pope *Boniface* revoketh all the Graces and Priviledges granted either by him or his Predeceſſors before to the Kingdom of *France*; alſo not long after he thundred out the ſentence of his Curſe againſt him. Moreover, he citeth all the Prelates, all Divines, and Lawyers both civil and canon, to appear perſonally before him at *Rome*, at a certain day, which was the firſt of *November*. Againſt this Citation the King, again provideth, and commandeth by ſtrait Proclamation, that no manner of perſon ſhould export out of the Realm of *France* either Gold, or Silver, or any other manner of Ware or Merchandiſe upon pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their bodies at the Kings pleaſure: providing withall, that the ways and paſſages, ſhould diligently be kept, that none might paſs unſearched. Over and beſides, the ſaid *French* King defeated the Pope in giving and beſtowing Prebends, and Benefices, and other Eccleſiaſtical Livings, contrary to the Popes profit. For the which cauſe, the Pope writeth to the foreſaid King in form and effect as followeth.

Philip the *French* King Excommunicated.

Boniface Biſhop, and Servant to Gods Servants, to his beloved Son *Philip*, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Bleſſing.

Ex lib. Stephan. Aurelienſi.

BOniface the *Servant of Gods Servants, &c. Fear God, and obſerve his Commandments. We will thee to underſtand, that thou art ſubject to us both in Spiritual things, and Temporal; And that no gift of Benefices or Prebends belonged to thee; and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reſerve the profits of them to the Succeſſors. But if thou have given any, we judge the Gift to be void, and call back how far ſoever thou haſt gone forward. And whoſoever believeth otherwiſe, we judge them Hereticks.*

Unto this Letter of the Pope, King *Philip* maketh anſwer again in manner and order as followeth, which is this:

Philip by the Grace of God King of *France*, to *Boniface* not in deeds behaving himſelf for Pope, little Friendſhip or none.

A Letter of King Philip of France to Pope Boniface.

TO Boniface *bearing himſelf for chief Biſhop, little health or none. Let thy fooliſhneſs know, that in Temporal things we are ſubject to no man, and that the Gifts of Prebends and Benefices, made and to be made by us, were and ſhall be good, both in time paſt and to come. And that we will defend manfully the Poſſeſſor of the ſaid Benefices, and we think them that believe or think otherwiſe, Fools and mad men. Given at* Paris *the Wedneſday after* Candlemas, 1301.

After theſe aforeſaid and other writings paſſing to and fro, between the *French* King and the Pope; within a year and an half after, the King ſummoneth a Parliament, ſending down his Letters to his Sheriffs and other Officers, to ſummon the Prelates and Barons of the Realm unto the ſaid Court of Parliament, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters here following:

A Parliament ſummoned by King Philip at Paris.

PHilip by the *Grace of God King of* France, &c. *Whereas we would take counſel with the* Prelates, *Barons, and other our faithful, about weighty matters and hard, and ſuch as belong greatly to our Right, and touching our Honour, State, Liberties, and Laws of this our Realm, Churches, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and would alſo go forward and proceed in the foreſaid matters according to their counſel: We command you, that ye diligently in our behalf require and ſtraightly charge all the Prelates in your Bayliwick, and alſo all and ſingular Abbots and Priors of the ſame your foreſaid Bayliwick, (to certain of the which we have directed down our ſpecial Letters for the ſame cauſe) that as they favour our Honour, the good ſtate both of the* KING. Edw. I. *Realm, of themſelves and of the Church, they repair to us* KING. Edw. I. *in their own perſons, all lets and delays ſet aſide, and all other buſineſs left off. Shewing to them moreover, that we can judge none of them to be either to us faithful Subjects, or Friends to the Realm, which ſhall fail herein, or withdraw himſelf in the foreſaid buſineſs, counſels, and helps in time. Wherein if peradventure any ſhall ſlack or refuſe to reſort and come toward us within eight days from the time of this Charge given by you, or your Commandment; then we require you to ſeize all his temporal goods in our hand, and ſo ſeized to hold them until you receive other Commandment from us. Given at* Paris *the* Monday *before the Nativity of S.* John Baptiſt, *in the year of our Lord*, 1303.

A Declaration of Maſter William Nagareta, *made againſt Pope* Boniface *the Eighth, with his Appellation alſo made at* Paris, *before the King and his Council in the Church of* Paris.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. In the year of our Lord, 1303. *Indictione ſecunda*, the 12. day of *March*, and the ninth year of the Popedom of the moſt holy Father the Lord *Boniface* the Eighth, by Gods Providence Pope, and in the preſence of us common Notaries, and witneſſes under written, the Nobleman Maſter *William Nagareta* Knight (a worſhipful Profeſſor of the Laws) ſtanding before the moſt excellent Prince the Lord *Philip*, by the Grace of God moſt noble King of *France*, ſpake with lively words, and gave in writings theſe things that follow:

The appeal of Nagareta made againſt Pope Boniface the eighth.

There have been falſe Prophets among the people, as there have been alſo among you falſe Teachers, &c. Saint Peter *the glorious Prince of the Apoſtles, ſpeaking to us by the Spirit, told us things to come; that likewiſe as there were falſe Prophets aforetimes, ſo there ſhould come among you falſe Teachers, bringing in Seds of deſtruction; by the which the way of truth ſhall be defaced, and covetouſly they ſhall make Merchandiſe of you with fained words; and further addeth, that ſuch Maſters did follow the way of* Balaam, *of* Boſor, *which loved the reward of wickedneſs, and had his bridled Aſs to correct his madneſs, which ſpeaking in a mans voice, did ſtop the fooliſhneſs of the Prophet. All which things as they be ſhewed to us by the greateſt Patriach himſelf; your eyes ſee them fulfilled the day according to the Letter. For there ſitteth in Saint* Peters *Chair the Maſter of Lyes, cauſing himſelf to be called* Boniface, i. *a well-doer, where he is mockable in all kind of evil doing, and ſo he hath taken to himſelf a falſe name; and where he is not a true Ruler and Maſter, he calleth himſelf the Lord, Judge, and Maſter of all men. And coming in contrary to the common Order appointed by the holy Fathers of Paris, contrary to the Rules of reaſon, and ſo not entring in at the door into the Lords Sheepfold, he is not a Shepherd nor Hireling, but rather a Thief and Robber. For he (the true Husband of the* Romiſh *Church as I ſuppoſing) deceived him that was delighted in ſimplicity, and entiſed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him have his Spouſe to be his wife, againſt truth, which crieth,* Thoſe whom God hath coupled, let no man ſeparate: *and at length laying violent hands upon him, perſwading him falſly that thing which the Deceiver ſaid to come from the holy Spirit, was not aſhamed to join to himſelf with wicked practice that holy Church, which is Miſtreſs of all Churches, calling himſelf her Husband, whereas he cannot be: for* Celeſtinus *the true* Romiſh *Biſhop agreed not to the ſaid Divorce, being deceived by ſo great ſubtilty: nothing is ſo contrary to agreeing as error and deceit, as mans Laws bear witneſs, that I need not to ſpeak of his violence. But becauſe the Spirit inſpireth where he will, and he that is led with the Spirit, is not under the Law; the holy univerſal Church of God, not knowing the craftis of that Deceiver, ſtumbling and doubting whether it came from the Holy Ghoſt that* Celeſtinus *ſhould leave off his Government, and the ſins of the people deſerving it, for fear of a Schiſm ſuffered the foreſaid Deceiver: although, according to the Doctrine of our Lord,* By his fruits he might be known, *whether he came to the ſaid Regiment by the Holy Ghoſt or otherwiſe: his*

{KING Edw. I} *his fruits (as it is plainly here written beneath) are now manifeſt to all men, by which it is apparent to the world, that he came not in by God, but otherways; and ſo came not in by the Sheepfold. His fruits are moſt wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſo evil a Tree (according to the Lords ſaying) ſhould be cut down and caſt into the fire. Thus cannot avail to his excuſe, which is ſaid of ſome men, that is, that the Cardinals did agree upon him again, after the death of the ſaid* Celeſtinus *the Pope, ſeeing he could not be her Husband, whom it is manifeſt that he defiled by Adultery, her firſt Husband yet living, and ſhe being worthy to have the promiſe of marriage kept unto her: therefore, becauſe that which is done againſt the Lord turneth to the wrong of all men; and eſpecially in ſo great a miſchief, by reaſon of the conſequence by which ſhe is judged of the people both a woman adulterous or defamed: Like a bridled Aſs, by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, being not able to bear ſo great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madneſs of the ſaid falſe Prophet* Balaam, *which at the inſtance of King* Balack; *that is, of the Prince of Devils, whom he ſerveth, ready to curſe the people bleſſed of the Lord. I beſeech you moſt excellent Prince, and Lord* Philip, *by the Grace of God King of* France, *that like at the Angel of God in time paſt met in the way with a Sword drawn, the Prophet* Balaam *going to curſe Gods people; ſo you (which are unwilling to execute Juſtice, and therefore like the Angel of the Lord, and Miniſter of Power and Office) would meet with a naked Sword this ſaid wicked man, which is far worſe than* Balaam, *that he perform not that evil which he intendeth to the people.*

The Pope well compared to Balaam which was wont to curſe Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded againſt Pope Boniface.

First, I propound that the foreſaid man, that nameth himſelf *Boniface*, is no Pope, but wrongfully keepeth the Seat which he hath, indeed to the great damage of all the Souls of Gods holy Church. I ſay alſo, that his entring many ways was faulty, and he entred not in at the door, but other ways, and therefore is to be judged a Thief and a Robber.

2. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface* is a manifeſt Heretick, and utterly cut off from the body of the holy Church, becauſe of many kinds of Hereſies, which are to be declared in convenient time and place.

3. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface* is an horrible Simoniack, and ſuch a one as hath not been ſithence the beginning of the world: and the miſchief of this ſin in him is notorious to all the world (which thing is manifeſt to all that will plainly underſtand) inſomuch that he, being openly ſlandered, ſaid openly, *That he could not commit ſimony.*

The nature of this Pope and all Popes by his Image painted out.

4. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface*, being wrapt in infinite manifeſt hainous ſins, is ſo hardned in them, that he is utterly not poſſible to be corrected: and lieth in dungeon of miſchief ſo deep, that he may not be ſuffered any longer without the overthrow of the ſtate of the Church. His mouth is full of curſing, his feet and ſteps are ſwift to ſhed blood. He utterly teareth in pieces the Churches, which he ought to cheriſh: waſting wickedly the goods of the poor, and making much of wicked men that give him Rewards: perſecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but ſcattering, bringing in new Sects of Deſtruction that have not been heard of: Blaſpheming the way of Truth, and by robbery thinking himſelf equal to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt which is bleſſed for ever. And he being moſt covetous thirſteth for Gold, coveteth Gold, and by ſome device getteth Gold of every people: and utterly not regarding the worſhipping of God, with fained words, ſometimes by flattering, ſometimes by threatning, ſometimes by falſe teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh Merchandiſe of us all; envying all things but his own; loving no man, nouriſhing War, perſecuting and hating the peace of his Subjects. He is rooted in all unſpeakable ſins, contrarying and ſtriving againſt all the Ways and Doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abomination of the people, which *Daniel* the Lords Prophet deſcribed.

An Invective againſt the placing of Boniface the eighth, in the Papal Sea.

The Pope thinks himſelf equal with Chriſt.

Abominatio deſolationis Dan.

Therefore I anſwer, that Laws, Weapons, and all the Elements ought to riſe againſt him, which thus overthroweth the ſtate of the Church; for whoſe ſins God plagueth the whole world. And finally nothing remaineth to him, being ſo unſtable to ſatisfie him withall, but only the unſatiable mouth of Hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for ever. Therefore ſeeing that in a General Council it ſo becometh, and I ſee this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men: I aſk and require as inſtantly as I can, and beſeech you my Lord and King aforeſaid, that you would declare thus much to the Prelates, Doctors, People, and Princes your Brethren in Chriſt, and chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a Council. In the which (when the foreſaid wicked man is condemned) by the worſhipful Cardinals, the Church may be provided of a Shepherd: and for that Council I offer my ſelf ready lawfully to purſue the foreſaid things. And whereas the ſaid man, being in the higheſt Dignity, in the mean time cannot be ſuſpended of his Superiors; therefore he ought to be taken, ſuſpended indeed for the things aforeſaid, ſeeing his ſtate is called into Judgment, by the means aforeſaid.

I beſeech and require the ſaid Cardinals by you, and I preſently require them and the Church of God, that this wicked man being put in priſon, the Church of *Rome* may be provided of a Vicar, which may miniſter thoſe things that ſhall appertain, until the Church of God be provided of a Biſhop, utterly to take away all occaſion of a Schiſm. And leſt the ſaid wicked man ſhould let and hinder the proſecuting thereof, I require theſe things of you my Lord King aforeſaid, affirming you to be bound to do this for many cauſes. Firſt, for the Faiths ſake. Secondly, for your Kingly dignity, to whoſe Office it belongeth to root out ſuch wicked men. Thirdly, for your Oath ſake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realm, which the foreſaid Ravener utterly teareth in pieces. Fourthly, becauſe ye be the Patron of the Churches, and therefore ye are not bound only to the defence of them, but to the calling for again of their goods, which this foreſaid man hath waſted. Fifthly, ye following the footſteps of your Anceſtors, ought to deliver your Mother the *Romiſh*-Church, from ſo wicked a Band wherein by Oppreſſion ſhe is tyed and bound. I require that a publick Inſtrument may be made of theſe Requeſts by the Notaries here preſent, under the witneſs of the worſhipful men that be here preſent. Theſe things were done and ſpoken as is aforeſaid at *Paris* in the Kings Houſe of *Lupara*.

After this Proteſtation of Maſter *Nagareta*, immediately inſued the Appeal of the King, pronounced and publiſhed againſt the ſaid *Boniface*, in form as followeth:

The Appeal made by the King and the Lovers of the Realm againſt *Boniface*.

The Appellation of the French King and Nobles againſt Pope Boniface the Eighth.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *In the year of our Lord*, 1303. Indictione prima, 13. *day of* June, *and the ninth year of the Popedom of* Boniface *the eighth. By the tenor of this publick Inſtrument be it unto all men known, that the moſt noble Prince and Lord,* Philip *by the Grace of God, King of* France, *the famous and reverend Fathers in Chriſt, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, religious men, Abbots and Priors here under-named, in the preſence of us common Notaries here under written, eſpecially called and required for this purpoſe, as it is contained in the Subſcriptions here under, the famous and Noblemen, the Lord* Lewis, *Son of the* French *King*; Guido *of Saint* Paul, *and* John Drocem *Earls, and* William *of* Pleſiano *Lord of* Vitenob *Knight: Moved as they ſaid with a fervent faith, with affection of ſincere love and zeal of Charity to be ſhewed to the holy* Romiſh *Church, and having pity from their heart, on their Mother the univerſal Church, which, as they ſaid, is oppreſſed dangerouſly under the rule of the ſaid Lord* Boniface, *and ſuffereth outragious defacing and loſs; and pitying the right Faith (as they ſay) in which ſtands the Salvation of Souls, and which (alas for pity) in theſe times miſerably pineth away, and periſheth for the lack of wholſome government of the Church through all* Chriſtendom, *and earneſtly taking paine, as they ſaid, for the repairing and enhauncing of the Catholick Faith: eſpecially ſeeing it was neceſſary for the ſame Church, for the foundation of the Faith, and health of the Souls that none ſhould rule the Fold of the Lords Flock, but the true and lawful Shepherd; and alſo becauſe the ſame Church was the Spouſe of Chriſt that hath*

no ſpot nor wrinkle, all error, offence, wickedneſs and wrong ſhould be put away; and ſalvation, peace and quietneſs through Gods mercy might be procured to the whole world, which they ſay, lieth in wars and darkneſs by the wicked Deeds, curſed Works, and hurtful Examples of the ſaid Boniface: *They ſaid and laid againſt the ſaid* Boniface *Hereſie, and other divers horrible and curſed faults, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriouſly reported, the King himſelf being preſent with Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates and Church-men (which were aſſembled to intreat of their own matters, and matters of their Churches) beſide Barons, Earls, and other Noblemen, whoſe names are under-written.*

The ſaid William *propounded and objected againſt him, ſwearing by the holy Goſpel of God, which he corporally touched, that he could prove all and every the premiſſes to be true. And the ſaid* William *of* Plefiano *ſware further this Oath, that he believed he could prove the premiſſes, and that he would purſue to the full end againſt the ſaid* Boniface *in the General Council, where, when, and before whomſoever of right it ought to be done: requiring earneſtly the ſaid King as a Champion of the Faith, and Defender of the Church; that for declaring of that truth to the praiſe of Gods Name, to the increaſe and promoting of the Catholick Faith, to the honour and wealth of the univerſal Church, and of all Chriſtian people, and the Congregation of the ſaid General Council, he would help and beſtow his profitable labour, with Souldiers and other like, for the love of men, and zeal to Juſtice (becauſe his Kingly houſe was ever a Ruler of the Truth) and that he would earneſtly require the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, and that he would be effectually inſtant with them. The Earls and Knights themſelves beſought earneſtly many of the ſame Prelates (as they were Pillars of the Church and the Faith) that they would help and effectually beſtow their labour to the calling and aſſembling of the ſaid Council, by all ways and means lawful, according to the Ordinances of the holy Fathers, and Decrees of the Canons. But when the Prelates heard and fully underſtood ſuch Objections, Oppoſitions, and Requeſts, as is aforeſaid; and conſidered that ſuch a matter was not only moſt hard, but needed wiſe counſel, they departed out of the ſame place. But on the* Friday *next following, the fourteenth day of the ſame month of* June, *the foreſaid Lord King being preſent, and alſo the Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and many witneſſes here under written the ſame time being preſent, and in the preſence of us common Notaries here ſubſcribed, and being ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe: the foreſaid* William *of* Plafiano *Knight, ſaid, propounded, affirmed, objected, and read; as was contained more fully in a certain Paper which he held in his hand, whoſe tenor was after this ſort:*

I *William of Pleſiano* Knight, ſay, propound, and affirm, that *Boniface* which now ruleth the Apoſtolical See is a rank Heretick in Hereſies, and by Hereſies, outragious Deeds; and wicked Doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to be true, I believe I am able to prove: or elſe, ſuch things as theſe ſhall be ſufficient to prove him a full Heretick, in a convenient place and time, and before whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I ſware on the holy Goſpel of God preſently touched of me.

1. Firſt, that he believeth not the immortality of men, and of Chriſtian Souls, but thinking much like as the *Sadducees* did believe, that there is no everlaſting life, and that men cannot get at the length Joy, but that all the lot and part of comfort and gladneſs is in this world: and by this means he affirmeth, that it is no ſin for the body to live daintily in all dainties. And out of the abundance of this leven, he was not aſhamed to ſay and openly to confeſs, that he had rather be an *Aſs*, or a *Dog*, or any other beaſt, than a *French-man*; which thing he would not have ſaid, if he believed a *French-man* had a Soul that could enjoy everlaſting life. This thing he taught many men, which acknowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in theſe things.

Pope Boniface had rather be a Dog than a Frenchman.

2. Alſo, he believeth not faithfully, that by the words ordained of Chriſt, and ſpoken over the Hoſt, after the faſhion of the Church by a faithful Prieſt that is lawfully ordered, the body of Chriſt to be there: and therefore it cometh to paſs, that he giveth no reverence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted up of the Prieſt, yea, he riſeth not to it, but turneth his back to it, and makes himſelf and his Seat to be honoured where he ſitteth, rather than the Altar where the Hoſt is conſecrate: and he is commonly reported to do this.

3. Alſo, he is reported to ſay, that Whoredom is no ſin, no more than rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voice and brute.

4. Alſo, he faid often, that to thruſt down the King and *Frenchmen* (if it could not be otherwiſe done) he would overthrow himſelf, the whole world and the whole Church. And when he had ſaid ſo, ſome that ſtood by ſaid, *God forbid*; he anſwered, *God grant*. And when good men that heard the words replied againſt him, that he ſhould not ſay ſo, becauſe the Church of God and all Chriſtian-men ſhould ſuffer great ſlander ſo: he anſwered, *I care not what ſlanders ſoever come, ſo that the* French*-men and their pride be deſtroyed; for it is neceſſary that ſlanders and offences come.*

5. *Item*, he called again and allowed a Book made by *M. Arnold* of *Newton*, containing and ſmelling of Hereſie, condemned by the Biſhop of *Paris*, and reproved by the Maſters of Divinity, and burned openly by *Boniface* himſelf: and in the full Conſiſtory of Cardinals being likewiſe reproved, condemned, and burned, yet he allowed it being written again, and containing the ſame fault.

6. *Item*, that he might make the moſt damnable remembrance of him perpetual, he cauſed his Images of ſilver to be ſet in the Church, by this means bringing men to Idolatry.

7. *Item*, he hath a private Devil, whoſe counſel he uſeth in all things, and through all things.

8. *Item*, he ſaid once, that if all men were on one ſide, and he on another, they could not deceive him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except he uſed a deviliſh Art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9. *Item*, he is a Witch, asking counſel at Soothſayers both Men and Women, and thus he is commonly judged.

10. *Item*, he ſaid openly, that the *Romiſh* Pope could not commit Simony, which is heretical to ſay. This is a ſin reproved as well in the *Old Teſtament* as in the *New*, and generally in the holy Councils. Alſo he is wont to make Merchandiſe of Prelates Livings, Dignities, Superiorities, and Benefices, to the which holy Orders be neceſſarily joyned, and of Abſolutions and Diſpenſations, like as Uſurers and Merchants uſe to buy and ſell common things in the Market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11. *Item*, he letteth with all his might among Chriſtian men the ſpecial Embaſſage of Chriſt, made to his own Sons, ſaying, *Peace I leave to you*, and ſoweth diſcord and wars: Wherefore once it was ſaid before him, that certain parties would friendly agree after a good ſort, but he letted the peace: and when the other party did humbly beſeech him, that he would give licence to agree (he ſaid) he would not: yea, if the Son of God or *Peter* the Apoſtle would come down into the Earth and command him; he would ſay, *I will not believe thee.*

12. *Item*, becauſe the *French* Nation (being manifeſtly a moſt Chriſtian Nation) followeth not his errors in the Faith; he reckoneth and openly calleth all and every of them *Paternani*.

13. *Item*, he is infect with Sodomitical ſin, keeping with him Boys for *Concubines*, and of this fault he is moſt commonly and openly reported.

14. *Item*, he hath cauſed many murthers of Clerks to be done in his preſence, commending it and rejoycing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the firſt by his Servants, as oft as he ſaw them ſmiting, he ſaid, *Smite, Smite*; by which example many were ſlain.

15. *Item*, when he had condemned a certain Noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be given him at the point of death, he deſiring it and being penitent, ſaying, *That the Sacrament of Penance was not neceſſary to Salvation.*

16. *Item*,

{KING Edm.} {KING Edm.}

16. *Item*, he compelled certain Prieſts to ſhew unto him the confeſſions of men, and he publiſhed them openly afterward contrary to the will of them that were confeſſed, to their ſhame and confuſion, and compelled them to redeem their ſins. Inſomuch that once he depoſed a certain Biſhop of *Spain*, for the faults that he confeſſed to a certain Cardinal, confeſſing unto him a certain privy horrible fault under *Benedicite*, and compelled the Cardinal againſt his will to declare his confeſſion: and yet afterward he reſtored the ſame Biſhop again to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the Heretick in the Sacrament of Penance.

17. *Item*, he faſteth not on the faſting-days, nor *Lent*, but eateth fleſh indifferently, and without cauſe ſuffereth his Houſhold and friends to eat, ſaying, *It is no ſin*: Doing in this thing againſt the general ſtate of the holy Church.

18. *Item*, he oppreſſed the Order of the Cardinals, and hath oppreſſed the Order of black and white Monks, of gray Fryers and Preachers: and ſaid oft, *That the world was deſtroyed by them, and that they were falſe Hypocrites, and that never good could chance unto any that would be confeſſed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keep them in their houſe.* And he never ſaid good word of any Prelate, religious man, or Clerk; but ever rebuketh and ſlandereth them, taking away their good name; and, to compel them to redeem their faults, he is glad of their Accuſations: and this is the common voice and report of him.

19. *Item*, of old time, he going about to deſtroy the Faith, conceived a hate againſt the *French* King, even to the abhorring of the Faith: becauſe of the light of Faith which is there, and becauſe of the great witneſs and example of Chriſtianity, which is and hath been there. And before he had this Seat, he is proved to have ſaid, that if he were Pope, he would rather overthrow all *Chriſtendom*, but he would overthrow and deſtroy the Nation, which he calleth the pride of the *French*.

20. Alſo, it is reported, that when the Embaſſadors of the King of *England*, in the name of the ſaid King did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realm of *England* to be given him; he anſwered, *That he would not give them the tenth, but on theſe conditions, that he would make War with them againſt the* French *King*. And beſides this, he is reported to have given great ſums of money to certain perſons, to hinder that peace ſhould not be betwixt the ſaid Kings. He himſelf alſo with all his might hath letted it, by Meſſengers, Letters, and other ways that he could, yea by giving Bribes.

21. *Item*, he is reported alſo to have commanded *Frederick* which keepeth the Iſle of *Sicil*, that if he would betray *Charles* the King, and break the peace which he made, and ſware that he would keep with him, and would ſtir againſt the King, and kill the *French-men*, that then he would give him aid, help, and counſel; and for ſo doing he would give and grant him the ſaid Kingdoms.

Pope Boniface forcaring to the Frenchmen.

22. He confirmed alſo the King of *Almain* to be Emperor, and ſaid openly, *That he did it to deſtroy the Nation*, which he calleth the pride of the *French-men*; which ſay, *That they are ſubjects to none in Temporal things.* Wherein ſaith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreover, that whoſoever (yea if it were an Angel from Heaven) would ſay, that all Kings of the world were not ſubject to the ſame King of *Almain*, he were accurſed.

Pope Boniface no enemy to the pope.

23. Further, he brake the Agreements of peace betwixt the King of *Almain* and the *French* King: in which, either of them ſhould have their own ſaved. And what encroachings ſoever had been on either ſide, ſhould be brought to a due ſtate, and under an Oath orderly given and taken: he is reported to have commanded the ſame King of *Almain*, that he ſhould not keep theſe conditions of peace, but be an enemy, and go about to ſow debate among Chriſtian men.

24. *Item*, it is openly reported, that the holy Land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of Faith; and that he ſuffered this for the nonſt, and denied to give Aid to the Chriſtians which defended it; ſpending the treaſures and money of the Church (which ſhould have been beſtowed on that uſe as the Patrimony of Chriſt) in perſecuting of faithful Chriſtians and Friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his Friends.

25. *Item*, he is openly reported to uſe Simony, not only in beſtowing of Benefices, but in giving of Orders, and making Diſpenſations. He hath ſet to ſale all Benefices of the Church, and would beſtow the Church commonly on him that would offer moſt: and he made his Servants Prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the Faith, nor to thruſt down Infidels, but to oppreſs the Faithful, and to enrich his Kindred by the Church-goods, and of the Patrimony of him that was crucified; and preferred to make them Marqueſſes, Earls, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them ſtrong Holds, rooting out and oppreſſing many Noblemen and others.

26. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he hath divorced many Marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and ſlander of many; and he did promote his Nephew to a Cardinalſhip, being married, unlearned, and altogether unworthy to live; and openly married one that was divorced, and compelled him to make a vow of chaſtity, and after that he is reported to have had two Baſtards by her, and ſo goeth the common bruit of him.

Pope Boniface a Murderer of his Predeceſſor.

27. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he handled ungently his Predeceſſor *Celeſtinus* of holy memory, leading an holy life (peradventure knowing in conſcience that he could not forſake his Popedom, and therefore *Boniface* himſelf had no lawful entrance to the See) and priſoned him, and there quickly and privily cauſed him to die. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, that he cauſed many and great men living a regular life (which diſputed of this, whether he might renounce the Popedom or not) to be ſet in priſon, and there to die.

28. *Item*, he is reported to have railed at religious perſons leading a regular life, without a reaſonable cauſe to the world, to the ſlander of many.

29. *Item*, he is reported to have ſaid, that he would within ſhort time make all the *French-men* either Martyrs, or forſakers of their Faith.

30. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he ſeeketh not the health of the Souls, but the deſtruction of them.

Theſe things being propounded and read, the ſame *William* proteſted, ſaid, declared, appealed, and added theſe words, reading them in writing.

The groſſeſt reputation of William Pleſiano.

I William of Pleſiano, *Knight, proteſt that I do not propound nor ſpeak the foreſaid things for any ſpecial hate of* Boniface *himſelf (for I hate not him, but his foreſaid evil deeds) nor do I ſeek his injury or ſlander, or any mans elſe: but I ſpeak it for the zeal of the Faith, and for the devotion that I have to the holy Church of God, and the holy* Romiſh See; *as well for thoſe things that I have ſeen and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likely preſumptions gathered of the foreſaid things, and many and divers other things to be declared in his due place and time.* And I ſware by the holy Goſpel of God (which I touch with my hand) *That I believe him to be a rank Heretick; and that I alſo believe that the foreſaid things, and ſuch other, may prove againſt him ſuch things as ſhall be ſufficient to prove him an Heretick, according to the ſtate of the holy Fathers.* I ware alſo that I will purſue againſt him by the Laws, the foreſaid things in the General Council that ſhall be aſſembled, in a place that ſhall be ſafe and ſure for me, to the honour of God, and increaſe of the Chriſtian Faith, ſaving the right, honour, and ſtate of the holy Apoſtolical See in all things. Wherefore, earneſtly and with reverence I require you, my Lord the King (to whom belongeth the defence of the holy Mother the Church, and the Catholick Faith, for of that ye ſhall make account in the laſt Judgment) and you my Lords the Prelates which be the pillars of the Faith, and which ought to be Judges of the foreſaid things, together with other reverend Fathers, the Catholick Prelates of the holy Church, in the General Council to be aſſembled; that ye would procure and take diligent pain that a General Council may be gathered in a fit and ſafe place, and convenient time, before which the foreſaid things may be propounded, brought forth and proved againſt the ſaid *Boniface*, as is premiſed. And I earneſtly alſo require you, my Lord King, that ye would require the ſame Prelates preſent and abſent, in what Country ſoever they be, or to whom it belongeth.

Pope Boniface proved an Heretick.

and

and that ye would effectually induce them manfully to' labour, and to require others faithfully, that the foresaid Council for the aforesaid matters might be gathered in fuch fort as is foresaid. And because so long as this is deferred to be proved, I suspect *Boniface* himself, lest he being angry and moved for the foresaid things against me and my Partakers, Procurers and Helpers, my Friends and Familiars, should go about by some means to stay and stop my good purpose and theirs for going forward: therefore, by these writings before you my Lord the King and divers Prelates, and before your common Notaries here present, I provoke and appeal to the said holy General-Council Apostolical and Catholick that shall be, and to the holy Apostolical See, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earnestly require, once, twice, and thrice, that testimonial Letters may be given me from you; supporting my self, my Followers, Favourers, Familiars, Friends, my Procurators, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be under the protection and keeping of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, and the said holy Council to be assembled by the holy *Romish* See, and the Catholick Apostolical Pope that shall be: flicking nevertheless and willing to flick to the Appellation and Appellations, Process and Processes made hereupon by the Nobleman Master *William* of *Nagareta* Knight, in as-much as they shall be found and made lawful, and yet not forsaking this present Appellation.

When these things were thus read and done, the foresaid King answered and required the foresaid Prelates, provoking and appealing and making request, Provocation and Appellation, as is contained in the Paper under written, both there and then with other Prelates: which things all are more fully contained in these writings following, and were read to them that heard it, whose tenour is such:

The Kings answer. The Appeal of *Philip* the French King from the Pope.

" We *Philip* by the Grace of God, hearing and understanding the Objections propounded by our beloved faithful Knight, *W.* of *Nagareta* against *Boniface*, now having the Regiment of the *Romish*-Church: although we would gladly cover with our own Cloke, the filthy parts of such a Father; yet for the love of the Catholick Faith and great devotion that we bear to the holy *Romish* and universal Church our Mother, and all faithful men, and Spouse of Christ, following the steps of our Ancestors, which doubted not to shed their own blood for the increase and defence of the Churches Liberty and the Faith; and coveting to provide for the purity of the Faith and State of the Church; as also to avoid the hurt of the general slander, being not able to pass over any longer the premisses with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driving to the same; seeing this climate and opinion of him in these matters is not rashly of us conceived, but vehemently and plainly increased by many and continual cryings of credible men, and great authority oft and oftentimes beaten into us, fearing moreover the destruction of the Faith, both of us and of all other Subjects, and specially of Kings and Princes of the world, which ought to reprove negligence, which acknowledge that we have received power given us from the Lord, to the promoting and increasment of it; we agree to your Requests in his behalf, and to the calling and assembling a Council for the Glory of God (saving the honour and reverence that is due to the holy *Romish*-Church in all things) whereby the truth may appear in the premisses, and all error avoided: that the state of the universal Church, and all Christianity, and the matters of Faith, and the holy Land may be provided for, and the slanders and jeopardies hanging over us may be withstanded; we be ready and offer our selves gladly, as much as in us is, to bestow our labour and diligent pain thereabout: Earnestly requiring and beseeching in the mercifull bowels of Jesus Christ, you Archbishops and other Prelates here present, as Children of the Church and Pillars of Faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increase and preserving thereof, to care for the same, that with all diligence ye would give heed, as becometh you, and effectually you would labour by all ways and fit means, to the calling and assembling of this Council, in which we intend to be personally present. And left the said *Boniface*, which hath boldly and wrongfully many times threatned to proceed against us, stopping and hindring our purposes and intent, left any of his works of darkness (if there be any) should come to light, directly or indirectly hindring the calling and gathering of this Councilnor left any state being in the same Realm that will indeed proceed against us, or our state, Churches, Prelates, Barons, and other faithful Vassals, our Subjects, our Lands, or our Realm, and the state of the Realm, by abusing any spiritual Sword, in Excommunicating, Suspending, or other ways by any means: for us and our well-wilters, and them that will follow us, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foresaid General-Council (which we infantly define to be called) and to one lawful chief Bishop that shall be, or to any other to whom we should appeal; and yet not going from the Appellation made by M. *William* of *Nagareta*, to whom we flicked then, and also yet flick: requiring earnestly a witness of our Appellation of you Prelates and Notaries, expressly to renew such Provocation and Appellation when and before whom it shall be thought meet to you. {KING Edw. I.}

Then the Archbishops within written, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, answered the premisses (as it is found in the acts) provoked and appealed, agreed to and protested, and made Provocation and Appellation, Agreement and Protestation, as is contained more fully in a certain Paper there openly and plainly read, whose tenour followeth with these words:

The protestation of Prelates.

W. *Archbishop* of Nicosen, Remen. Senorem, Narbonem, Turonem, *and Bishops of* Landviren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antifiodorem, Meldimen, Nurmen, Carnotem, Aurelianen, Ambiaven, Morinen, Silanen, Andeganen, Abricen, Constant, Ebroicen, Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromonti, Lemonicen, Avicen, Masticonen: *And we Abbots of* Cluniack, Premonstraten *of the greater Monastery of the Court of S.* Dionese *in* France, *camped S.* Victors, *S.* Genoveve, *S.* Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem, *and* Bellicem *in* Lemocinio, *and Fryer* Hugh, *Visitor of the Houses of the Order of Knights of S.* John *in* Jerusalem *in* France, *and the Father Prior of S.* Martin in the field, *bearing these things which were said, propounded, and objected yesterday, and to day by you the Lords, Earls, and* Wil. *aforesaid, against the Lord* Boniface *the Eighth and Pope, being moved with such sayings, purposes, assertions, and your Oaths, your request and other lawful causes, and compelled by need, considering that the matter of our Faith, which is Christ's, is handled in the premisses: we that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of Souls of the Realm, although unworthy, yet coveting to withstand the jeopardies that hang over us by reason of the premisses and other causes, thinking the calling and gathering of the said Council profitable and necessary, that the innocency of the Lord* Boniface *himself may clearly be discussed, as we desire (our consciences bearing witness) that it may be determined on him by the Council, touching such things as are laid against him, and that which they decree may be done according to the Canons: We answer you our Lord King, and you our Lords, Earls, and* William, *that (the honour and reverence of the holy* Romish-*Church saved in all points) we agree to your due request in this behalf for the calling of the Council, and are ready to give help and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the said Council, according to the Decrees of the holy Fathers, and to the lawful Orders of the Canons: not intending by any means to make Parties of this matter, nor to stick to any that maketh Parties. Yet lest the said* Boniface *being moved by these things, as we fear, by likely conjectures and threatnings made against us for the foresaid things, that he will proceed against our Parish-Churches and our Subjects by some means, or cause to proceed against us by some Authority of his own or others, by Excommunication, Suspension, Interdicting, Depriving, Depriving, or by some other means and colour sought to some impeachment or trouble of the said Council; and that we may sit in the same Council to judge and do all other things, that belong to the Office of Prelates; that our friends that stick to us, and would stick to us in all things, may remain safe for our selves, our Parish Churches, our Subjects, and them that stick to us, or would stick to us in this behalf, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foresaid Council, that is to be gathered, and to him that shall be the true and lawful highest Bishop,* {KING Edw. I.}

Bishop, and to him or them to whom of right we should appeal, and earnestly require our Appellations; committing us, our Parish-Churches, our Subjects, Friends, and them that stick to us, our State and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foresaid Counsel, and of him that shall be true and lawful highest Bishop: and we protest to renew his Appellation, where, when, and before whom it shall be thought meet. {KING Edw. I.}

This was done at *Paris* at *Lupara* in the Chamber of the said Lord our King, *Indictione prima*, the ninth year of his Popedom, the days of *Thursday* and *Friday* aforesaid, these Noblemen being present; The Lords of *Avia* and *Bolone*, the Lords *Martins* and other Earls named before, *Matthew Doteva*, *Peter* the Lord Chamberlain, *Philip* the Lord of *Wirtmos*, and *Henry* of *Bologna* Knight, and also *M. Philip* Archdeacon of *Bengem*, *Nicholas* Archdeacon of *Remein*, *William* Treasurer of *Anjou*, *Philip Beafteare*, *Rainold* of *Bourbon* and *John Momagre*, and many more both Clerks and other specially required and called to be Witnesses to this.

After these things thus in the Parliament decreed and agreed, the Prelates of the Clergy consulting with themselves what was to be done in so doubtful a matter, and dreading the Popes displeasure for this which was done already; to clear themselves in the matter, contrived among themselves a Letter to the Pope, partly to certifie him what there was done, and partly also to admonith him what he should do: the tenor of which their Letter contained these words following.

The form of a Letter which the Prelates of France *as well secular as religious, sent to* Boniface, *that he should cease his Enterprise, wherein he proceeded against the King.*

To the most holy Father and their deareft beloved Lord, the Lord *Boniface*, the chief Bishop of the holy *Romish* Church, and the universal Church, his humble and devout Archbishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, regular and secular, of all the Realm of *France*, being gathered together, do offer most devout kissings of your blessed feet.

The Letter of the French Prelates to Pope Boniface.

WE *are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter tears, to signifie unto your Holiness that the most famous Prince our most dear Lord* Philip, *by the Grace of God, the noble King of* France, *when he heard and saw the Apostolical Letters sealed, which were sent to him of late, on your behalf by the worshipfull man the Cardinal of* Narbo *your Notary and Messenger, and were presented by the same Cardinal to him, and certain other of the Barons: Upon the sight and perusing of those so bloody Letters, being read and declared to them sitting by him; both our Lord the King and the Barons themselves were highly moved with great marveling and great trouble. Insomuch that the said our Lord the King, by the advice of his Barons, commanded to be called before him the other Barons then absent, and us also; that is to say, All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges, as well of Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, regular and secular, and also all the Universities and Communalities of the Towns of his Realm; that we Prelates, Barons, Deans, Provosts, and two of the learneds of every Collegiate and Cathedral Church, should appear personally, and should procure the rest likewise to appear, by their Stewards, Officers, and sufficient Procters, with full and sufficient Commission at the appointed place and time. Further, when we and the other Ecclesiastical Persons aforesaid, and also the Barons, Stewards, Officers, and Procters, and other of the Community of the Towns were then called, and when, according to the form of the foresaid calling by the King's Commandment, we stood before the King the Wednesday, the tenth of this present April, in Saint Maries Church in* Paris: *Our Lord the King caused to be propounded openly and plainly to all men, that it was signified to him, from you among other things by the foresaid Cardinal and Letters, that for his Kingdom (which he and his Ancestors hitherto do acknowledge they hold of God only) now ought in Temporalties to be subject to you: and that ye were not content with these, so marvelous and strange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any Dwellers within the same Realm, but that ye went about to put them in practice; and that ye called to appear before you the Prelates of the said Realm, and Doctors of Divinity, and such Professors of both Laws, as were born within the said Realm, for the correcting and amending of such Excesses, Faults, Arrogancies, Wrongs, and Harms, as ye pretend to be done to the Ecclesiastical Prelates and Persons Ecclesiastical both regular and secular, abiding within the Realm and elsewhere, by our Lord the King himself and his Officers or Bayliffs, by his Peers, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, with the communalty and people of the said Realm: To the intent, by this means the foresaid Realm might be made strong, with precious Jewels and durable Treasures, which are to be preferred before the Bucklers or any armor of strong men, that is to say, by the wisdom of Prelates, and wise men, and others; through whose ripe faithful counsel, and circumspect foresight, the Realm might be ruled and governed, the Faith might be stablished, the Ecclesiastical Sacraments might be ministred, Justice might be executed; which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and utterly spoiled, is in a doubtful case and in jeopardy of miserable decay, and for ever to be destroyed.*

Among these and divers other griefs, which were done by you and the Romish *Church, to him, to his Realm, and the* French *Church, both in reserving and wilful ordering of Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, and bestowing of great Benefices of the Realm upon strange and unknown persons, yea, and oft upon suspected persons, never being at the Churches or Benefices aforesaid: by reason whereof the decay of Gods Worship ensued; the godly wills of the Founders and Givers are defrauded of their godly purpose; the accustomed Alms-giving is withdrawn from the poor of the said Realm, the impoverishing of the Realm followeth, and Churches run in danger to be defaced, while they remain destitute of Service: the Prophets being taken away, and the fruits of them that serve them, being appointed to the commodity of strangers. And while Prelates have no way to give yea to reward men for their deserts; Noblemen (whose Ancestors founded the Churches) and other learned men, cannot have Servants; and that for these causes, devotion began to be cold, and there was none at these days that would fretch out a liberal hand towards the Churches; and furthermore by the premises an evil example was given. Also he complained of new Taxes, of Pensions, newly laid on the Churches, of immeasurable Bondages, Exactions, and divers Extortions, with other prejudicial and hurtful Novelties, by which the general State of the Church is changed, in giving Suffragans, as helpers to the higher Prelates, whereby neither the Bishops themselves nor the Suffragans can do their duties, but for them they must run with Gifts to the Apostolical See. He complained also of divers Causes and some Articles long since, but true in the time that they presented, that were done, and be done continually: and also not purposing to suffer so great a disheriting of him and his Successors from the Realm, and so manifest a grief, they could not suffer any longer the evident loss of the Honour of him and the Realm, and said,* That he was certain that it was known to the whole world, that he did maintain in this matter a just cause, as he had learned by the agreable Sentence of Doctors in Divinity, and Masters of both Laws, that were born within his Realm, and others, which among the Doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned sort and more famous. *Therefore he required us, all and every one; both Prelates and Barons, and other, earnestly as our Lord; he prayed and gently begged as a friend, to consult and take diligent pains, that he might Ordain wholsome things, both for the keeping of their old liberty, the Honour and State of the Realm, and of the Inhabitants thereof, for the easing of the Griefs aforesaid, for redressing of the Realm and the* French *Church, by our counsel and his Barons, to the praise of God: name, the encrease of the Catholick Faith, the honour of the universal Church, and promoting of Gods Religion: specially seeing such griefs were done by his Officers and others of the Realm, to the Churches and Church-men, for the which he purposed a remedy of wholsome Correction, before the coming of the foresaid*

Cardinal

Cardinal, and would now have put it in execution effectually, but that he might be thought to have done that for fear, or at your commandment, which thing ye cannot ascribe to your self. Furthermore, he would spend not only his goods, but also his Realm, yea his Children if the case required: and therefore we should regard to be ready with counsel and help in season as we are bound by the duty of fidelity in these things: wherein it is manifest, that as all and every mans case is handled, generally and particularly their case is promoted, and every mans own interest is touched. And then he demanded by and by to be answered plainly and finally in these things, of all and every one.

Then the Barons sitting aside with the Officers and Proctors aforesaid, at the length after they had taken counsel, coming to our foresaid Lord the King, and praising greatly and heartily thanking him for his laudable purpose and good will, answered with one voice: that for those things they were ready not only to spend their goods, but offered the same goods, riches, and also their persons to death, and not to flee any kind of torment. And said further with one voice, That if our foresaid Lord the King would (as God forbid) suffer, or else willingly pass over those, they themselves would in no case suffer it.

Then when answer was asked of us afterward, although we defired longer respite of deliberation of the King himself our Lord, and of the greatest of the aforesaid Barons; and that for this intent, that in the mean while the Popes Letters might have come to our Lord the King; we answered, That we would not offend against the Liberty of the Realm, nor by any means innovate things contrary to the Kings Honour in this behalf.

We went about also to inform him with many goodly words, and earnest persuasions, and with many kinds of help, and by sundry ways to bring him to keep the special bond of Unity, which is known to have continued to these present days, betwixt the holy Romish-*Church, and his Predecessors. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mind, from thence-forth he should be manifestly counted for an Enemy of the King and the Realm: We considering warily, and seeing plainly, that except our Lord the King, and the Barons aforesaid were content with our Answer, besides other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and then the devotion both of the* Romish *and* French *Church, and also the whole Obedience of the Laity, and all the people from thence-forth should be taken away without recovery, nor without great fear and doubt; we therefore thought good to answer thus:*

That we would help our Lord the King with due counsel and convenient help for the preserving of his Person and of his earthly Honour, and the Liberty and Laws of the said Realm, like as we were (certain of us) by the duty of Allegiance bound to him, which hold of him Dukedoms, Earldoms, Baronies, Fees, and other noble parts of the said Realm, by the form of the Oath, as all others do: yet we made humble suit to the same our Lord the King, that seeing we were bound to obey the Popes Holinefs and your holy feet, he would suffer us to go according to the tenour of your forefaid Calling.

Then on the King's and Barons behalf followeth Answer, That in no case they would suffer us to go out of the Realm, and that by no means they would bear to be handled so dangerously, yea rather to be altogether wasted.

Then we considering so great an anger, and so perilous a jeopardous, and so great that none could be greater, both of the King, the Barons, and other Lay-people of the Realm; and now knowing plainly, that the old Enemy of Peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his Fall, with sowing of Darnel, to break the Unity of the Church; by troubling of peace, would break Charity, and infect the sweetness of good works with the poison of bitter envy, and would overthrow Mankind utterly, and would trouble with wickedness the band of lovely Unity, and singular Friendship, which hitherto have had a happy increase betwixt the Romish-*Church and our Lord the King, and his Predecessors, and the Realm, to the praise of the highest God, the increase of Christian-Faith, and the setting forth of the Honour of the Church, of the King and the Realm; and that now (alas) a door was open, to the lamentable breaking and pitiful separating, of great offences to rise on every side, dangers are attempted against Churches and Church-men, to spoil their goods and riches, with jeopardy of life, seeing that the Laity now do abhor and utterly flee the Obedience of Clerks, utterly banishing them from their counsels and doings; and have taken courage to condemn the Ecclesiastical Censure and Process: all which jeopardies, with other sundry and divers dangers (which neither Tongue is able to tell, nor Writing can declare) we seeing at hand, thought good in this point of greatest necessity, to run with weeping voice, and lamentable sighs to the circumspect wisdom of your Holiness: beseeching your fatherly mildness, and humbly praying you, that some wholsome remedy may be provided in the premisses; by which, the sound profitable agreement and mutual love, which hath continued so long time betwixt the Church, the King, and the Realm, might be maintained in that old sweet Concord; the state of the* French-*Church might continue in godly and quiet peace; and that he would vouchsafe to foresee how to withstand the dangers and offences aforesaid, that we and our States may be provided for, by the foresaid Commandment of your Calling, by the study of your Apostolical Wisdom, and fatherly love. The Almighty preserve your Holiness to his holy Church a long time.*

{ KING Edw. 3.

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the year of our Lord, 1304. In the which year, about the Nativity of our Lady, came a Garrison of hamessed Souldiers well appointed, sent partly by the *French* King, partly by the Cardinals of *Columpna*, whom the Pope before had deposed, unto the Gates of *Arvagium*, where the Pope did hide himself, because he was born in the Town. The Captains of which Army was one *Schaira*, Brother to the foresaid Cardinals; and another, *William de Longareto*, High Steward to the *French* King. Who invading the Popes Town, and finding the Gates open, gave assault to the Popes Frontire, where the Pope with his Nephew, a Marquess, and three other Cardinals were immured. The Townsmen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the Pope, caused the common Bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a Common-Council, Ordained *Adulphus*, one of the chiefest Rulers of the Town, for their Captain; who (unknowing unto them) was a great Adversary to the Pope. This *Adulphus* bringing with him *Reginaldus de Supino*, a great Lord in *Campania*, and the two Sons of *John Chitan*, a Nobleman, whole Father the Pope had then in prison; it length joyned with the *French* Company against the Pope, and so befet his Palace on every side. And first, setting upon the Palaces of the three Cardinals, which were then chief about the Pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a back-door hardly avoided their hands: but the Popes Palace, through munition and strength of the Marquess, was something better defended. At length the Pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired truce with *Schaira* and his Company, which was to him granted from One till Nine. During which time of truce, the Pope privily sendeth to the Townsmen of *Arvagium*, desiring them to save his life: which if they would do, he promised so to inrich them, that they should all have cause never to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer again, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their ability so to him any good; for that the whole power of the Town was with the Captain. Then the Pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto *Schaira*, befeeching him to draw out in Articles, wherein he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. *Schaira* to this maketh a pain answer, signifying to him again, *That he should in no wise escape with his life, except upon these three Conditions.* First, *To restore again the two Cardinals of* Columpna *his Brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all other dignities of their Stock and Kindred.* Secondly, *That after their Restitution, he should renounce his Papacy.* Thirdly, *That his body should remain in his Power and Custody.* These Articles seemed to the Pope so hard, that in no case he would agree unto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the Captains and Souldiers, in all forcible means bending themselves against the Bishop, first fired the Gates of the Palace, whereby the Army, having a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoil the house. The Marquess upon

{ KING Edw. 1.

Pope besieged.

A pretty handling of the Pope.

The Pope delivered out of prison.

Pope Benedict. 11.

Pope Benedict brought to a finish.

There cannot put the Pope.

Here may all Kings by the French King learn how to handle the Pope.

{ KING Edw. 3.

upon hope to have his life, and the life of his Children, yieldeth him to the hands of *Schaira* and the other Captain: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, thorow windows and doors, at length with much ado they braft in to the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choice, whether he would presently leave his life, or give over his Papacy. But that he denied flatly to do, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue, *Ecco col, ecco cape*; That is, *lo here my neck, lee here my head*: protesting, That he would never while he lived renounce his Popedom. Then *Schaira* went about, and was ready to slay him, but, by certain that were about him, he was staied; whereby it happned that the Pope received no harm, although divers of his Ministers and Servants were slain. The Souldiers, which ranged in the mean time through all the corners of the Popes House, did lade themselves with luch treasure of gold, silver, plate and ornaments, that the words of my Author (whom I follow) do thus expresse it: *Quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de Papali Palatio asportatum, & de palatiis trium Cardinalium, & Marchionis*: That is, *That all the Kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasure in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes Palace, and of the Palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marquess.* Thus *Boniface*, bereaved of all his goods remained in their custody three days. During which space, they had set him on a wild unbroken Colt, his face turned to the Horse tail, causing the Horse to run coutle, while the Pope was almoft breathless. Moreover, they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby near famished to death. After the third day, the *Arvagians* and people of the Town muftering themselves together (to the number of ten thousand) secretly braft into the House where the Pope was kept, and so slaying the Keepers, delivered the Pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the Town, gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for his life saved: promiling moreover, That forthmuch as he was out of all his goods, having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth, Gods blessing and his, to all them that now would relieve him with any thing, either to eat or drink. And here now see what poverty and affliction can work in a Man: the Pope before in all his pomp and moft ruffling wealth was never so proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that every poor simple Man (as mine Author teltifieth) might have a bold and free access to his person. To make the story short, the Pope, in that great distress of famine, was not so greedy of their victuals, as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the Women and people of the Town came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the Popes Chamber was too little to receive the offering; insomuch, that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the Chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine to win the Popes Holy Blessing. Thus Pope *Boniface*, being refreshed by the Town of *Arvagium*, took his journey from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of hamessed Souldiers to *Rome*, where he shortly upon the same, partly for fear which he was in, partly for Famine, partly for sorrow of so ineltimable a treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded *Benedictus* the 11th. of whom these Verses are written: *Ave nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem perverte, maledic, malefac, maledicte*, &c. And thus have ye the whole story of Pope *Boniface* the 8th. Author of the Decretals. Which story I thought the more diligently to set forth, that all the Latine Church might see what an Author he was, whose Laws and Decretals so devoutly they follow.

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the *French* King and Pope *Boniface*, let us proceed in our *English* story. About this time, in the days of King *Edward*, the Church of *Rome* began daily more and more to rise up, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no King almoft in his own Country could do any thing, but as pleased the Pope, who both had, and ruled all in all Countries, but chiefly here in *England*, as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage before signified may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments sent down, also by his Donations and reservations of Benefices and Church Livings; also in deposing and disposing such as him lifted, in place and Office to bear rule: insomuch, that when the King and the Church of *Canterbury* in their Election, had chosen one *Robert Burnhil* Bishop of *Bath*, and Clerk of *Canterbury*, Pope *Boniface* of his own singular presumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their Election, and transferred the named *John Pecham*: for among all other, this had always been one practice of the Court of *Rome*, ever to have the Archbishop of their own setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the King and other, whatsoever need should happen. To this *John Pecham* Pope *Boniface* directed down a solemn Bull from *Rome*, as also unto all other quarters of the universal Church. In the which Bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and Christian Obedience: That no Church nor Ecclesiastical person, should henceforth yield to his King or Temporal Magistrate, either any giving or lending, or promising of Tribute or Subsidy, or portion whatsoever, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all such subjection of Tallage or subvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the Prince and his affairs. Which decree manifestly rebelled against the commanded Ordinance of God, and the Apostolical Canon of S. *Peter*, and all other examples of Holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth Spiritual Men more than Temporal from obedience and subjection of Princes: so if it chance the Prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppreflion, that is no cause for the Clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burthen of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the Princes mind, and so (with prayer and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to help and amend that which is amiss. Concerning the Bull of *Boniface*, if any there be that either do not credit the same, so to contain, or would see his mind see and read the same, the words hereof follow.

Boniface chideth the Poet to dissuade him to give over his Popedom.

Ex R. Ad. urob. The excellent stoutness of the Popes bould talech.

What poverty and affliction can do in plucking down the pride of Man.

The Kings Election in his own Realm frustrated by Pope Boniface.

A point of practice in the Court of Rome.

Ecclesiastical persons exempted by the Pope, for not paying tribute to the King.

The Pope proceedeth against the manifest word, in setting the Clergy free from the Kings ordinances.

The Copy of the Popes Bull, wherein the Clergy is exempted from giving Tribute to Kings and Princes.

En Chron. Rob. Gisburnensis.

*Bonifacius, &c. Ad sempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & præsentium experimenta temporum manifesta declarant, dum suis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & ad illicita sua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo sit eis in Clericos Ecclesiasticasve personas, & bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Ecclesiis, Ecclesiasticisq; personis regularib. & secularibus imponuntur onera gravia, ipsos talliant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipsis quamque proventum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, seu vicesimam, vel quamvis aliam portionem, quotam exigunt & extorquent, assq; molunntur multifarie subjicere servituti, suaque fabdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli Ecclesiarum Prælati, Ecclesiasticique personæ trepidantes, ubi trepidandum non est, transitoriam pacem querentes, plus timentes majestatem temporalem offendere, quam æternam, talium abusibus non tam temerarie, quam improvide acquiescunt, sedis Apostolicæ authoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obviare volentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio * Apostolica authoritate statuimus, quod quicunq; Prælati, Ecclesiasticæve personæ, vel fratres seculares, quorumcunq; ordinum, conditionis, seu status, collegias vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, vicesimam, seu centesimam suorum & Ecclesiarum suarum proventuum vel bonorum laicis solverint, vel promiserint, vel se solutores exceslerint, aut quamvis aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quicquam ipsorum proventuum, vel bonorum æstimationem, vel valorem ipsorum, subventionis, subsidii, vel doni nomine, seu quovis alio timore, vel modo, vel quæsito colore absque auctoritate sedis ejusdem: Necnon Imperatores, Reges, seu Principes, Duces, seu Comites, vel Barones, Potestates, Capitaneos, officiales vel Rectores quoscunq; nomine censeantur, existentium extrorum, seu quorumq; locorum constituerunt vel imposuerint, aut quicquam ipsorum proventuum, vel bonorum æstimationem, vel valorem ipsorum, subventionis, subsidii, vel doni nomine, seu quovis alio timore, vel modo, vel quæsito colore absque auctoritate sedis ejusdem: Necnon Imperatores, Reges, seu Principes, Duces, seu Comites, vel Barones, Potestates, Capitaneos, officiales vel Rectores quoscunq; nomine censeantur, existentium extrorum, seu quorumq; locorum constituerunt vel imposuerint & * quis aliis cujuscunq; præeminentiæ, conditionis & status, qui talia imposuerint & exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes sacras deposita Ecclesiarum vel Ecclesiasticarum personarum ubilibet * arrestaverint, sasierint seu occupare præsumserint, vel arestari, sasiiri, aut occupari mandaverint, aut*

* Quisvis, præsumpserit, arrestaverint, Apostolicus.

* *Fines. Ad tucitionem ipſo Hiſtorie deſumpti.*

† *Quare cessavit Ritsonius.*

‡ *Tenet cursum, Want the Bulls locum.*

** Fines. Ad tucitionem ipſo Hiſtorie deſumpti.* † *Quare cessavit Ritsonius.* ‡ *Tenet cursum, Want the Bulls locum.*

occupata, ſaſſita, ſeu areſtata receperint: necnon omnes qui ſcienter in prædictis dederint conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem, publice vel occulte, eo ipſo ſententiam Excommunicationis ‡ incurrunt. Univerſitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint Eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus interdicto: Prælatis, & perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſupradictis, in virtute obedientiæ, & ſub pœna depoſitionis directe mandantes, ut talibus abſq; licentia expreſſa dictæ ſedis nullatenus acquieſcant. A ſupradictis autem Excommunicationis & interdicti ſententiis nullis abſolvi valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo abſque ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate & licentia ſpeciali, &c.

The Clergy denied to give tribute to the King.

This Bull being dereſted (as is ſaid) from *Rome* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and likewiſe thorow the whole Univerſal Church, under the Popes authority; it chanced not long after, the King held his Parliament at S. *Edmundsbury*; where was granted to him of all Cities and Boroughs an eighth, and of the Commons a twelfth of their goods. Only the Clergy, by vertue of his Bull, ſtood ſtout, denying to pay any thing to the King. This anſwer not well pleaſing the King, he willeth them to deliberate better with themſelves upon the matter; and after long adviſement, ſo to give him anſwer againſt the next Parliament, which ſhould be holden the next *Hillary* Term at *London*.

The Clergy forbidden from the Kings protection.

In concluſion, the Parliament came, the Clergy perſiſteth ſtill in the denial of their Subſidy, alledging the Popes Bull for their warrant and diſcharge. Whereupon the King likewiſe ſecludeth them under his protection and ſafeguard of his Laws. And as concerning the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, above mentioned, becauſe he was found more ſtubborn than the reſt, and was the inciter to the others, he ſeized upon all his goods, and cauſed an Inventory of the ſame to be inrolled in the Exchequer. Notwithſtanding, divers of the other Biſhops relented ſoon after to the King, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for his ſtubbornneſs, had his goods confiſcate to the King.

In the life of this Kings Father, it was declared before how the ſaid King *Henry* the Third, Father to this King, after divers Wars and commotions had with his Barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in *Magna Charta*, and in *Charta de Foreſta*. Concerning which matter, much ſtrifneſs happened in this Kings days alſo in the Realm, between the King and his Barons and Commons. The occaſion was this: A pack of Wool which before payed but a Mark to the King, was now by this King raiſed up to forty ſhillings. After this the King having a journey to make into *Flanders*, ſent to his Barons and divers others to give their attendance, and ſervice in the ſame, which they refuſed and denied to do. Notwithſtanding, the King perſiſting in his purpoſe, with ſuch a power as he had, prepareth toward his journey. To whom being in his way at *Wincheſter*, the foreſaid Earls and Barons, and Commons, ſent certain petitions contained in writing under the name of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, Earls and Barons, with the Commanalty of the Realm. In which writing, firſt lamenting and complaining of their afflicted ſtate and miſery, after humble manner they deſired their Lord the King to redreſs and amend certain grievances among them. And firſt they declared in the name of the whole Commons, that the promotion or Writs directed to them for their attendance upon his Grace into *Flanders*, was not ſufficient: for that there was no certain place in the ſaid Writs ſpecified unto them, whether to come for making their proviſion, and preparing money and other things according to the ſame. And if the place had been to them ſignified, yet, becauſe none of their Anceſtors ever ſerved the King over into *Flanders* before, the Commons therefore thought themſelves not bound to any ſervice in that Country. And albeit they had been ſo bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being ſo heavily oppreſſed with ſo many Tallages, Taxes, Tolls, Cuſtoms, and prices of Corn, Ores, Tin, Wool, Leather, Oxen, Kine, Flefh, Fiſh, &c. And beſides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges: Over and beſides, the lack of the Kings wages not paid them, their own poverty like an heavy burthen did ſo miſerably lie upon them, that ſome of them had no ſuſtentation, ſome of them were not able to till their own ground. They alledged moreover, that they were not now handled after the old Laws and cuſtoms of the Land, as their anceſtors were wont. Many alſo found themſelves grieved in that they were not uſed according to the Articles contained in *Magna Charta*; and again that the *Charta de Foreſta* was not obſerved nor kept, as it was wont to be. Wherefore moſt humbly they beſeeched the King, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of theſe things they might find redreſs. For the Cuſtom moreover of Wool, the whole Commons bewailed to the King their grief, in that for every Pack of Wool was fined the King, forty ſhillings, and for every fack of toſed Wool, ſeven marks. The which Wool of *England*, as it doth riſe up to the value of half the Realm; ſo the Tollage of the ſame ſurmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole Land. And becauſe therefore the Commons wiſhed the honor and preſervation of their King (as they were bound to do) they thought it not good for his Grace to fail over to *Flanders*, unleſs he had better aſſurance of their fidelity, eſpecially at this time the *Scots* being ſo buſie: who if they began to rebel, he being at home in his Land, much more were they like to ſtir, he being abroad out of the Land. And that not only for the *Scots*, but alſo for that the like peril was to be doubted of other Foreign Nations and Kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with *England*, &c.

Petitions of the Barons and Commons to the King.

To theſe petitions, the King ſaid that he could as yet make no reſolute anſwer, for that ſome of his Council was gone over already to *Flanders*, ſome were at *London*. Notwithſtanding, at his return again from *Flanders* (which he truſted ſhould be ſpeedily) they ſhould then hear his anſwer, and know more of his mind concerning the ſame. In the mean time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What anſwer the King had minded to make them at his return, it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody anſwer: but occaſion ſerved otherwiſe, and turned all to agreement. For the *Scots* with their Captain *William Waleis* above ſpecified, in the mean time, the King being abſent, invaded the Realm with ſuch violence, that Prince *Edward* the Kings Son, who was left to rule in his Fathers ſtead, was forced to Aſſemble a Parliament, and to call for the Earl of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Northfolk*, High Marſhal of *England*, Earl of *Eſſex*, High Conſtable, with other Earls, Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, to intreat peace and concord between his Father and them. Who coming up to *London* with 1500 well armed Souldiers, and obtaining the Gates of the City with their own Men, fell at length to agreement with the Prince, upon compoſition to have the Articles of *Magna Charta*, and of *Charta de Foreſta* confirmed; and that by his means and mediation they might be aſſured of the Kings diſpleaſure to be removed from them. The which foreſaid Articles of *Magna Charta*, with the other Articles adjoyned withal, here follow under written.

The variance between King *Edward* and his Barons and Commons.

Humfrey Bohun. Roger Bigot.

Firſt, No Tallage or Subſidy by the King or his heirs to be impoſed or levied hereafter within the Realm of *England*, without the common aſſent of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and other Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgeſſes, and Commons of the Realm.

The Articles contained in *Magna Charta*.

Item, No Taker or Servitor of the King, or of his heirs, henceforth within this Realm, to take Grain, Wool, Leather, or any goods of any Man, without the will and conſent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any Pack of Wool.

Item, To be granted by the King and his Heirs after him, both to the Clergy and Laity of this foreſaid Realm, to have to and enjoy their Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, If any Decrees or Statutes ſhall hereafter be made and ſet forth contrary to theſe foreſaid Articles, the ſame to ſtand void and of no effect for ever.

Beſides theſe Articles alſo, in the ſame compoſition was contained, that all grudge and diſpleaſure between the King and Barons for not going to *Flanders* ceaſing; the Earls and Barons might be aſſured to be received again into the Kings favor.

Agreement concluded and ſealed between the King and his Barons.

Theſe things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the Prince alſo confirmed and ſealed with the Kings Father, Seal: ſo was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no leſs ſtrength of the Realm againſt their enemies: and moſt chiefly to the commendation of the gentile, and wiſe nature of the King, who as he was gentle in promiſing his reconcilement with his ſubjects,

The moderate and good nature of King *Edward* noted.

§ KING Edw. I.

ſubjects, ſo no leſs conſtant was he in keeping that which he had promiſed.

Robert Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

After the death of *John Pecham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, above mentioned, who in the Parliament had refuſed the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages and ſuch Church matters, ſucceeded *Robert Winchelſey*; with whom alſo the King had like variance, who accuſed him to the Pope for breaking the peace, and took part with them that rebelled againſt the King about uſages and liberties of the Realm. Wherefore, the King being cited up to the Court of *Rome*, and there ſuſpended by the means of the ſaid Archbiſhop, directed his Letters again to the Pope, taken out of the Parliament Rolls, where I find divers Letters of the King to Pope *Clement*, againſt the ſaid *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the contents whereof here follow, *Videlicet*, *Qualiter idem*.

K. Edward was troubled with two Archbiſhops of Canterbury.

And as this King was troubled in his time with both the Archbiſhops, *John Pecham*, and alſo *Robert Winchelſey*; ſo it happened to all other Kings for the moſt part, from the time of *Lanefrancus* (that is, from Pope *Hildebrand*) that every King in his time had ſome buſineſs or other with that See. As *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the Firſt were troubled with *Anſelmus*; *Henry* the Second with *Thomas Becket*; King *Richard* and all *England* with *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Popes Legate; King *John* with *Stephen Langton*; King *Henry* the Third with *Edmund* Archbiſhop, called Saint *Edmund*, *Polyc. lib.* 7. likewiſe this King *Edward* the Firſt, with *John Pecham* and *Robert Winchelſey* aforeſaid. And ſo other Kings after him, with ſome Prelate or other: whereby ye have to underſtand, how and about what time the Church of *Rome*, which before time was ſubject to Kings and Princes, began firſt to take head above, and againſt Kings and Rulers, and ſo hath kept it ever ſince.

The Kings anſwer to the petitions of the Barons and Commons.

Faiths to have but one Biſhop.

By this *John Pecham* aforementioned, it was ordained, That no Spiritual Miniſter ſhould have any more Benefices than one, which alſo was decreed by the conſtitutions of *Otto* and *Octobonus*, the Popes Legates the ſame time in *England*.

Variance between the Archbiſhop of York and the Clergy of Durſme.

About the beginning of this Kings Reign, after the deceaſe of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Wickewanger* ſucceeding in that See, minding to go on Viſitation, came to *Durſme* to viſit the Church and Chapter there. But the Clergy and the people of the City ſhut the Gates againſt him, and kept him out, whereupon roſe no ſmall diſturbance. The Archbiſhop let fly his Curſe of Excommunication and Interdiction againſt them. The Biſhop of *Durſme* again with his Clergy, deſpiſed all his Curſings, grounding themſelves upon the conſtitution of *Innocentius* the Fourth, *De cenſibus & exactionibus*. And ſo they appealed to *Rome*, ſaying, That he ought not to be received there, before he had firſt begun to viſit his own Chapter and Dioceſs, which he had not done. For to ſay the words of the Conſtitution: *We Ordain and decree, That every Archbiſhop, that will viſit his Province, firſt muſt procure to viſit his own Church, City, and Dioceſs*, &c.

Inquiſition made againſt the rulers and falſe Officers.

Among other things in this King to be noted, that is not to be paſſed over; That where complaint was made to him of his Officers, as Juſtices, Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Eſchetors, and ſuch other, who, in their Offices abuſing themſelves, extortioned and oppreſſed the Kings Liege people, otherwiſe than was according to right and Conſcience: the ſaid King, not ſuffering ſuch miſorder to be unpuniſhed, did appoint certain Officers or Inquiſitors, to the number of twelve, which Inquiſition was called *Trailbaſton*, or *Trailbaſtoun*; by means of which Inquiſition, divers falſe Officers, were accuſed, and ſuch as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their Office at the Kings hand; to their no ſmall loſs, and great gain to the King, and much profit to the Common-wealth.

Trailbaſton.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walſingham.

In the Chronicle of *Robert Ameſbury*, it is Recorded of the ſaid King. That he being at *Ameſbury* to ſee his Mother (who was then in that Monaſtery profeſſed) there was a certain Man, that ſained himſelf blind a long time, brought to the preſence of the ſaid *Elinor* the Kings Mother, ſaying, how that he had his ſight again reſtored at the Tomb of King *Henry* her late Husband, inſomuch that ſhe was eaſily perſwaded the Miracle to be very true. But King *Edward* her Son, knowing the Man a long time to be a vile diſſembler, and a wicked perſon, uſed to lying and crafty deceiving, perſwading his Mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew ſo well of the juſtice of his Father, that, if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes, than once reſtore him one. Notwithſtanding, the Queen his Mother, remaining ſtill in the former fond perſwation, would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was ſo in anger with her Son, that ſhe bid him depart her Chamber; and ſo he did. By the example whereof may eaſily be conceived, how and after what ſort theſe blind Miracles in thoſe days, and ſince, have come up among the blind and ſuperſtitious people. For had not the King here been wiſer than the Mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a Miracle, and percaſe King *Henry* been made a Saint.

A falſe miracle well found out of the King.

En eodem Chron.

& true Miracle.

But as this was a fained Miracle, and falſe no doubt, ſo in the ſame author we read of another manner of Miracle, founding more near the truth, and ſo much the more likely, for that it ſerved to the Convertion unto Chriſtian Faith: to which uſe properly all true miracles do appertain. The Miracle was this: In the Reign of this King, and the later year of his Reign, *Caſſanus* King of the *Tartarians* (of whom come theſe whom now we call *Turks*) fighting againſt the *Soldan* King of the *Saracens*, in the plain of *Damaſcus*, ſlew of them a hundred thouſand of *Saracens*: and again at *Babylon*, fighting with the ſaid *Soldan*, ſlew him in the field, and 200000 of the *Saracens*, calling upon the help of Chriſt, and thereupon became Chriſtian. This *Caſſanus*, I ſay, had a Brother a Pagan, who being in love with the Daughter of the King of *Armenia*, a Chriſtian Woman, deſired of her Father that he might marry with her. Whereunto the King her Father would not agree, unleſs he promiſed to be a Chriſtian. Notwithſtanding, the other being ſtronger in power, and threatning to get her by War; the King at length was forced to agree. In concluſion, it happned that the Child being born betwixt them was overgrown, and all rough with hair like the ſkin of a Bear: which Child being brought to the Father he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burned. But the Mother, deſiring firſt to have the Child baptized, cauſed all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the Sacrament of Holy Baptiſm received, incontinently was altered and turned from all his hairy roughneſs, and feen as fair and ſmooth-skinned as any other. The which thing after the Father ſaw and beheld, he was chriſtned himſelf and all his Houſe, *&c.*

Victory as againſt the *Saracens*.

The Church of Rome and Romiſh Prelates fet againſt Kings and Rulers.

Kings of *England* commonly troubled with Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*.

In the Reign of this King, *Walter Merton* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* builded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*. In whoſe Raign alſo lived *Henricus de Gandavo*, *Arnoldus de Villa Nova*, *Dantes*, and other more, and *Scotus* called *Duns*. Who in his fourth Book of *Sent. Diſt.* 18. complaineth of the abuſe of Excommunication and of the Popes Keys. Whereas before, Excommunication was not uſed, but upon great and juſt cauſes, and therefore was feared: now, faith he it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the Prieſts wages, *&c.* and therefore, ſaith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the ſame King, about the beginning of his Reign, was the year ſo hot and ſo dry, that from the month of *May*, until the month near of *September*, fell no raign: inſomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the faid dry year long after.

Merton Colledge builded in Oxford.

I Scotus, Duns.

After Pope *Benedictus* above mentioned, ſucceeded Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who tranſlated the Popes Court to *Avignion* in *France*, where it remained the term of 74. years after. At the Coronation of this *Clement* was preſent *Philip* King of *France*, *Charles* his Son, and Duke *John* Duke of *Brittany*, with a great number of other Men of State and Nobility. At which Coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp, or proceſſion, a great Wall brake down and fell upon them: by the fall whereof Duke *John* with twelve other were ſlain, King *Philip* hurt and wounded, the Pope ſtrucken from his Horſe, and loſt out from his Mitre upon his head, a Carbuncle, eſteemed to the value of 6000 florence, *Plat. de vit. Pont.* By this *Clement* was ordained, that the Emperor, though he might be called King of the *Romans* before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the Emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperors ſeat being vacant, the Pope ſhould Reign as Emperor, till a new Emperor was choſen. By him the Order of the Templars (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the Council of *Vienne*, as ſhall be hereafter

Pope *Clement* the fifth.

Popes Court tranſlated to *France*.

A Daughter of Nobles at the pomp of the 15. Popes Coronation.

Carbuncle in the Popes Mitre valued at 6000 florence.

Emperor not the ſame Emperor, except he were confirmed by the Pope, the Turks put down.

The Feast of Corpus Christi.

hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, assigning Indulgences to such as heard the Service thereof. And as Pope *Bonifacius* before heaped up the Book of Decretals, called *Sextus Decretalium*, so this *Clement* compiled the Seventh Book of the Decretals, called of the same *Clement*, *The Clementines*. In the time of this Pope, *Henricus* the sixth of that name, Emperor, was poisoned in receiving the Sacrament, by a false dissembling Monk called *Bernard*, that fained himself to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the Popes Legate. The Emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away; for else the *Germans* would sure have slain him; who although he escaped himself, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slain.

Sixtinus de Decretalium called the Clementines, Henricus 6. Emperor poisoned by the Host.

Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople Excommunicated with all his adherents by Pope Clement, for not suffering the Greeks to appeal to Rome.

As this Pope *Clement* the 5. had well provided now (as ye have heard) against the Empire of *Rome* to bring it under his girdle, insomuch that, without the Popes benediction, no Emperor might take the state upon him, &c. now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the Empire of *Constantinople*. Where he first exerciseth his tyranny and power of Excommunication against *Andronicus Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, *An.* 1306, declaring him to be a Schismatick and Heretick, because he neither would nor durst suffer the *Grecians* to make their appeal from the *Greek* Church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his Superior, &c. Whereby it may appear, that the *Greek* Church did not admit the Popes superiority as yet, nor at any time before: Save only about the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, *An.* 1202. at what time the *French*-men with their Captain *Baldwinus*, Earl of *Flanders*, joyned together with the *Venetians*, were set against the *Grecians*, to place *Alexius* in the right of the Empire of *Constantinople*, upon condition (as writeth *Platina*) to subdue the *Greek* Church under the Church of *Rome*. Which *Alexius* being restored, and shortly after slain, the Empire came to the *French*-men, with whom it remained the space of 58. years, till the coming of *Michael Paleologus* in the days of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, who restored the Empire from the *French*-men unto his pristine state again. During all which time of the *French* Emperors, the *Greek* Church was subject to *Rome*, as by the Decretals of Pope *Gregory* the ninth may appear. Then followed after this, that the foresaid *Michael* Emperor of *Constantinople*, being called up to a Council at *Lions* by Pope *Gregory* the tenth, about the controversie of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost (as is above specified) and obedience to the Church of *Rome*: there because the said *Michael* the Emperor did submit himself and the *Grecians* to the subjection of *Rome* (as testifieth *Baptist Egnat.*) he thereby procured to himself such grudge and hatred among the *Greek* Monks and Priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The Son of this *Andronicus* was *Michael Paleologus* above mentioned: who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the *Grecians*, not to admit any appellation to the Bishop of *Rome*, was accursed by the Popes censures for an Heretick. Whereby appeareth, that the *Grecians*, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time unto the Church of *Rome*, which was the year of our Lord 1327, &c. After this *Clement* the fifth followed Pope *John* the 22. with whom *Ludovick* the Emperor had much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded Pope *Benedict* the 12. Which *Benedict* upon a time, being desired to make certain new Cardinals, to this answered again; that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is for these Cardinals that be made already. *Ex scripo Engelhusensis.* And thus much of the Popes: now to return a little back to the Kings story again.

Platina in vit. Innocentii.

When and how long the Greek Church was subject to Rome.

Ba. Egnat. Rom. princ. l. 7.

The Greek Church doth obey subjection to the Church of Rome.

In the year of our Lord 1237. which was 34th. of the Reign of this King, in the beginning of *Hilary* Term, the King kept a Parliament at *Carliel*, where great complaints were brought in by the Nobles and antients of the Realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of Churches and Monasteries, and exactions of money by the Popes Legate *William Testa* (otherwise termed *Mala Testa*) lately brought into the Realm of *England*. The coming of which *William Testa* was upon this occasion, as followeth: Pope *Clement*, who, as ye heard before, had translated his Court from *Rome* into *France*, where he had been Archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remain at his own See; the Princes of *Rome* thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy *Peters* Patrimony. And so by that means, falling into barenesse and poverty, he lived only of such money of Bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other shifts and gifts. So that by this means, partly of Bishops and other Religious Men and persons, partly under the name of courtesie and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing; he had within the first year 9500. Marks of silver, all his other charges and expences, which he largely that year bestowed, clearly born. Besides this, he sent moreover the foresaid Legate *William Testa* into *England* with his Bulls: in the which he reserved the first fruits of the first year of all Churches being vacant at any time, or by any Man within the Realm of *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and also the fruits of Abbies and Priories within the said Realms, &c. Whereupon the King with his Nobles, seeing the inconvenience and harm thereof ensuing to the whole Realm: in the foresaid Parliament, holden at *Carliel*, withstood the said Legate, charging and commanding him by the assent of the Earlsand Barons, that henceforth he should abstain from all such exactions. And as concerning his Lord the Pope, he would direct certain his Messengers unto him purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which Ambassadors, the King wrote unto the foresaid Pope, declaring and monithing the Pope, as right and reason was, That he should not exact the first fruits of the Churches and Abbies, by his prelecessors and Noble men of the Land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods Service, for Alms and Hospitality: which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this means, the Pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning Abbyes. But after that the fruit of *English* Churches was granted to the King for two years, in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid Churches, &c.

The Pope sending his compass. Ex Matth. Westm. The Pope Legate first into England.

First fruits first brought in by the Pope. King Ed. mocked with. Sandoth the Pope and his Legate.

First fruits of Abbies denied to the Pope.

First fruits for two years granted to the Pope.

During the which Parliament afore specified, as Men were talking many things of the Popes oppressions, which he began in the *English* Church; in the toll of the Parliament, suddenly fell down, as sent from Heaven, among them a certain paper, with this superscription.

An Epistle of *Cassiodorus* to the Church of *England*, concerning the abuses of the *Romish* Church.

Ex vetere Chronico Alberici.

TO *the noble Church of* England, *serving in Clay and Brick, as the* Jews *did in time past under the tyranny of the* Egyptians; Peter *the Son of* Cassiodorus *a Catholick Souldier, and devout Champion of Christ, sendeth Greeting, and wisheth it to cease off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.*

To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee, O Daughter of Jerusalem? *To whom shall I match thee, O Daughter of* Sion? *Great is thy perturbation, like unto the Sea. Thou sitest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heavinesse. Thou art given up into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without help of one to lift thee up: for the Scribes and Pharisees sitting upon the Chair of Moles, the enemies of the* Romans *are at thy heads and Rulers: inlarging their guarded Phylacteries, and seeking to be inriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heavy burthens, and not able to be born upon thy shoulders, and of thy Ministers, and they set thee under tribute, (which of old time hast been free) beyond all honesty or measure. But marvel not thereat, for thy Mother, which is the Lady of people, like a Widow having married and coupled her self to her subjects, hath appointed him to be thy Father: that is to say, the Bishop of* Rome, *who sheweth no point of any Fatherly love towards thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the uttermost his authority over thee, and by experience he declareth himself to be the Husband of thy Mother. He remembreth oft with himself the Prophetical saying of the Prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great Book, and write therein quickly with the pen of a Man: Take the spoil, rob quickly. But in this it which the Apostle saith, that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Every Bishop, taken from among Men, is appointed for Men in those things that belong to the Lord: not to spoil, nor*

{KING Edw.} *now to lay on them yearly Taxes, nor to kill Men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins, and to sorrow with them that be ignorant and do err. And so we read of* Peter *the Fisher (whose succesor he boasteth himself to be) that after the Resurrection of Christ, he returned with other Apostles, to the office of Fishing: who when he could take nothing on the left side of the Ship, at the bidding of Christ, turned to the right side, and drew to land a net full of Fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministry of the Church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the Devil is overcome, and plenty of souls be lucrified and won to Christ. But certainly the labor on the left side of the Ship is far otherwise: for in it the faith stumbleth, heavinesse heareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking, is not found. For who is so foolish to think, that he can both at one time serve God and Mam, and to satisfie his own will, or to stick to the revelations of flesh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtless that sheepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. And now behold, I say, O Daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy Father, such as have not been heard of before: he driveth away the good sheepherd from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead Bishops, to rule, but not to profit (his Nephews, Cousins, and Parents) some that know no Letters, and otherwhile dumb and deaf, which understand not the plain voyce of the sheep, not curing their wounds, that be hurt of the Wolves: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other Men have sown, whose hands moreover be always ready in their Baskets and Pouches, but their backs are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifest, that the Priesthood is clean changed at these days, the service of God decayed, Alms diminished and brought to naught, the whole devotion of Kings, Princes, and Christians, is banished. May not this be thought wonderful in the eyes of all Men: that whereas Christ commandeth tribute to be paid to Kings for him and for* Peter, *he now goeth about by dominion of his stile, to subdue to him both Realms, and Princes of Realms (against his will, whose Vicar he saith he is, and who refused the Realms and judgments of the world) which this Bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which be in his stile writeth to be his? Alack, O Daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? mark, he draweth from thee whatsoever pleaseth him, and yet he thinketh not himself content, to have the tenth part only of thy goods from thee: except he have also the first fruits of the Benefices of the Ministers, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himself as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the first founders. Over and besides all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his Legates and Messengers, whom he sendeth into* England; *which not only take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but also tear in pieces like Dogs your flesh and skins. May not this Prince be compared to King* Nebuchadnezer, *which despoyled the Temple of the Lord, and robbed away the silver and golden Vessels thereof? The very same acts this Man also's be robbed the Ministers of God his House, and left them destitute of due help. In like manner doth he: Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, than they which be pined with hunger; for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrenness of the Earth. O Daughter, all they that pass by, let them have pity and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker than coals, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more known in the streets: by forsaid ruler hath placed thee in darkness, and hath given thee wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the sorrow and sighings of thy people, behold Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid Man is more indurate than the heart of* Pharaoh. *For he will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not only miserably upon the Earth, but also after their death, he intendeth to incroach the goods of all Christians under the name and title of dying intestate, or making no Will. Therefore, let the Chevalry of* England *well remember, how the* French*-men in times past, directing their greedy eyes on the Realm of* England, *laboured with all their power how to bring the same under their subjection. But it is to be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the Realm, and spoiling of the Church goods, the Realm shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to help it self against the enemy. Therefore, O Daughter, and you the Ministers thereof suffer not your selves to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Christian King and the powers of the Realm, which have indued thee with great benefits, and you also which are indued with their benefits, do labour with all your power how to resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person: who not for any zeal of God, but for the inriching of his Parents, and for his own Kindred (exalting himself like an Eagle) by these and such other exactions goeth about, after another kind of extortion, to scrape up and devour all the money and treasure of* England. *Now, lest the dissembled simplicity of the Realm in this behalf do bring utter subversion, and afterward be compelled to seek remedy when it is too late: I beseech the Lord God of Hosts to turn away the veil from the heart of that Man, and to give him a contrite and an humble mind, in such sort as he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darkness, and be inforced to relinquish his old finster attempts; and that the Vineyard, which the Lords hand hath planted, may be replenished continually with the Preachers of the Word. Let the words of the Lord, prophesied by the mouth of* Jeremy, *stir up your minds to wisedom and resist the subtil practices of this Man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou Pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I will come and visit upon thee, and upon the malice of thy studies: neither shall there be any of thy seed which shall sit upon the seat of* David, *neither which shall have power any more in* Judah. *So that thy nest shall become barren, and utterly subverted, like* Sodom *and* Gomorah.

And if he being terrified by these words, do not leave off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those which he hath received, then let all and singular persons sing for him being indurate, to him that seeth all things, the Psal. 108. Deus laudem, &c. *For truly as favor, grace, benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so again the gentle benignity of Man, being too much oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from the same, striveth and searcheth to have the truth known, and casteth off that yoke by all means possible that grieveth him,* &c. Hæc Cassiodorus.

What effect this Letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in story expressed. This by the sequel may be conjectured; That no reason or perswation could prevail, but that the Pope retained here still his exactions, whatsoever was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in *England*; now to flip a little into the matters happning the same time in *France*, under the Reign of the foresaid King *Philip* above mentioned: For although as about this time, *An.* 1307. was commenced a Parliament by the said King of *France* against the Pope, touching the jurisdiction both Temporal pertaining to Princes, and Ecclesiastical belonging to the Church; I thought it not improfitable for the Reader to hear and learn the full discourse and tradition hereof, according as we have caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true Copy and Records of *Peter Bertrand* Bishop of *Edvenen*, and chief doer and Prolocutor in the said Parliament upon the Popes side, against the King and State Temporal.

A Parliament in France 40 assembled, wherein is discussed the jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, how far it extendeth. {Anno 1307}

Forasmuch as the High Prelate of *Rome*, otherwise called Antichrist, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himself above all Princes and Potentates of the world, as in other Countries, so also in *France* extended his usurped jurisdiction, above the Princely authority of the King, claiming to himself full government of both the States, as well Secular as also Ecclesiastical: the King therefore, not suffering the excessive proceedings of Pope *Clement* the 5. above specified, directeth his Letters Mandatory to the Prelates and Barons of the Realm of *France*, to Convent and Assemble themselves together at *Paris*, about the beginning of

December, the year above prefixed: The tenor of which Letters of the King directed to the Prelates, followeth in this form and manner.

The summons of a Parliament by *Philip* the *French* King.

The Letter of *Philip* King of France, to the Bishops and Prelates.

PHilip *by the Grace of God King of* France, *to our well-beloved Bishop of* Edvens, *Greeting and Salutation. Reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. The more sight and knowledge you have in Divinity and the Holy Scriptures of God, with the practice and experience of other good qualities and vertues; you know the better a great deal, how that the Clergy and Laity of this our Realm (as members of one body) ought to cleave and stick together; and how by their helping hand, unity and peace should be maintained of all, and the contrary eschewed and avoided, every State contenting it self, and not incroaching one upon another. And because we are advertised, how that our Barons and Officers (as well in time past as of late) have diversly in divers points injured you, as semblably you and yours in many causes have wrongfully damaged them; by occasion whereof, the knot of unity and concord, which ought to have flourished among you, is quite loosed and undone: To the end therefore by Gods Grace some good reformation and redress may be had herein; We most studious of unity and concord, require you, and by those our Letters command you, to appear personally before us at* Paris *the* 15th. *day of* December *next ensuing the date hereof, and there before us to make relation of such wrong as ye have received at the Laities hands. And we likewise straitly charge and command you, our Barons, Bailiffs, and Officers, not to fail, but to make your personal appearances, before us, the day and place above written, and there to exhibit before us a Bill of such complaints, wherewith you burden our Prelates and Clergy, with their Officials: that we with our Council, consulting thereupon, with due regard may see redress therein; whereby perpetual love and charity may ever hereafter reign and remain among them for ever.* Given at *Paris* the first day of *September*, *An.* 1309.

The Parliament convented.

At the day in the Letters above specified, the Prelates and Clergy Assembled themselves before the King at his Palace in *Paris*, that is to say, the Lord *Bituricen*, the Lord *Auxitan*, the Lord *Tironen*, the Lord *Rothom*, and the Lord *Senon*, all Archbishops: the Lord *Belvacen*, the Lord *Caihalen*, the Lord *Laudun*, the Lord of *Paris*, the Lord *Noviomen*, the Lord *Carnoten*, the Lord *Constan*, the Lord *Andegaven*, the Lord *Pictaven*, the Lord *Meldens*, the Lord of *Cameracen*, the Lord of *S. Feri*, the Lord *Briocc*, the Lord of *Cabulion*, and the Lord of *Edven*, all Bishops. Where after due reverence done unto the Kings Grace there sitting in his own person, with his Barons and Council about him; a certain Noble and wise person, Lord *Peter de Cugneriis*, (being one of the Kings Council) rose up, and openly in the Parliament House spake in the Kings behalf on this wise, taking for his Theam, *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari & quæ sunt Dei, Deo:* which is to say, Give and render unto *Cæsar*, that which is his; and unto God, that which is Gods: which he very artificially profecuted and applied, dividing it into two parts. First, That obedience and reverence is due unto the King. Secondly, That there ought to be a difference between the jurisdiction of the Clergy and Laity, so that spiritual matters should be defined and ordered by the Prelates and Spiritual Men, and Temporal Causes ruled and determined by the King, his Barons and Temporal Men. Which all he proved by many reasons both of Fact and Law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the answer of the Bishop of *Edven*: Finally, he concluded, That the Clergy ought only to deal and have to do with Spiritual matters; in defence whereof, the Kings Highness would stand their good Lord and maintainer. His Oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the *French* Tongue, which imported, That the Kings will and pleasure was in some points to renew the temporal state and jurisdiction; and therewith he exhibited a certain Bill in *French*, whereof also he gave a Copy to the Prelates, containing certain points and Articles under written, the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertain to the order and jurisdiction of the spiritualty, but only to the temporalty, complaining that the Clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding the premises, and for all this his complaint, he said that the Prelates should have time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the King. The Copy of which Articles, with answer ensuing upon same, and the grievances of the Kingdom of *France*, wrought by the Clergy, and exhibited to the King, hereafter followeth.

Lord Peter speaks in the Parliament.

The Theam of his Oration.

The Oration divided into two parts.

Obedience to the King.

Difference between the jurisdiction of the State Temporal and Ecclesiastical.

1. *First*, The cognition of causes real, whether they touch possession, or their propriety, or not, by Common-Law appertaineth to the jurisdiction temporal. But the Prelates with their Officials, to the end to infringe the temporal jurisdiction, take upon them the determination of such causes real, especially concerning possession and all other interdicts.

Article in the Parliament propounded, concerning the just complaints of the Laity against the Clergy.

Causes real.

2. *Item*, When a temporal man is sued by any Clerk or spiritual Man for the possession of his Land, obtaining an adjournment of the secular power, in the cause of Novelty or otherwise: the Prelates Officials, stopping hereby the temporal jurisdiction, at the instance of the Clerk, calleth by Process before them both the secular Judge and the party, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cause, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture of a certain summ.

3. *Item*, Although the secular Judge have the cognition of all Lay-mens matters (except in spiritual causes) yet will the Bishops Officials, at the instance of any party, call such before them. And if the temporal men do except against their jurisdiction, alledging the incompetency of the judge; or else if they require the cause to be remitted to them (under whom they are) as the right Judges, yet do the Officials refuse this to do, yea and by Excommunication compel the parties to proceed before them.

Prelates intermeddle in temporal mens matters.

4. *Item*, The Bishops Officials at the instance of the Clerks, alledging that they are injured in matters of inheritance by a Lay-man, call by Process the Laity. And if it be alledged that those causes stand upon reality, being so indeed, and that for that consideration the cause ought to be remitted to the Temporal Law; this notwithstanding, the Officials prohibite them under pain of Excommunication, or some great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5. *Item*, The Bishops Officials take upon them to hear the plea of such contracts, as either be conceived in writings, or made by word of mouth in the Temporal Law; sending out their monition of Excommunication against them that stand bound concerning the same contracts.

6. *Item*, The Bishops and Prelates decree Provincial Councils and Synodal Statutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great prejudice of the temporal jurisdiction, wherein they ought to have no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themselves therewith.

7. *Item*, The forefaid Officials take upon them, before Notaries to swear persons for performance of contracts and bargains (made by them in places under the jurisdiction temporal) concerning the sale of inheritance or otherwise; incroaching thereby upon their jurisdiction, when verily they have nothing to do with any contracts and obligations, but with such as are made and agreed upon within the compass of their own seat and jurisdiction.

Ex Officio.

8. *Item*, The said Officials, of their meer Office, call before them the Laity, to answer to such matters of correction as shall be laid to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they say, doth appertain unto them. And when the said persons do appear before them, and deny the crime objected against them, the Officials detain them and put them in prison, although in such cases they are to be released; and although imprisonment appertaineth only to the temporal power, and not to them.

Imprisonment appertaineth not to the Clergy.

9. *Item*, In the cases aforesaid, although by making of their purgations and other the process therein, they be found clear of that which is laid to their charge, and are acquited; these yet the said Officials will in no wise discharge and dismiss, before they have to the uttermost paid for the writings and process in that behalf, a good piece of money, when by Law it ought to be done *gratis*, and for nothing.

10. *Item*, It must not be forgotten to talk of the sentence of Excommunication, which is decreed by vertue of one only citation, so often as a Man falleth in his appearance.

11. *Item*,

{KING Edw. I.} {KING Edw. I.}

11 *Item*, Mention is to be made of those kind of Obligations *De nisi*. Whereby a man is Excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able so to do.

12 *Item*, Whosoever by Virtue of Excommunication in the Bishops Court is Excommunicate, and he so Excommunicate do not satisfy the sum due about the Excommunication, by and by the sum is doubled. And the Secular power is charged by the Bishops or their Officials, that they under pain of Excommunication compel the Excommunicate, by Attaching their Goods, to pay the said sum, and not to miss a jot: which Monition if the Laity refuse to put in execution, they themselves are then Excommunicate, and in no wise to be Absolved, before they disburse that mony, the which the principal Excommunicate person should have paid.

13 *Item*, If the Bailiffs, Headborows, or other the Kings Officers and Judges of the Temporalty, receiving the foresaid monitions, do put the same in execution, and find those that be Excommunicate, to be beggerly and nothing worth; the said Officers are bound at their own proper costs and charges, to resort to the Bishops See or Consistory, wheresoever it is, and there to take a Corporal Oath, That the Parties Excommunicate are nothing worth. This if they fail, those Officers are sure to be Excommunicate, and thereby inforced to disburse the due of the first Excommunicate persons.

Action real, personal.

14 *Item*, If two Lay-men be in Sute together before a Temporal Judge, about an Action either real or personal, and one of them after contestation of Law, and great proces thereing, do Appeal unto an Ecclesiastical Judge, he will presume then to detain before him the Plea of such Cases and Actions, both real and personal, causing, by vertue of his Monitions and Authority, the Temporal Judge

No man may Appeal from a Spiritual Judg to the Temporal Law by the Popes Divinity.

to cease and leave off from medling therein: which if the Secular Judge obeyeth not, he is pronounced Excommunicate and compelled to make satisfaction; by occasion whereof, the Temporal Jurisdiction is much anoided and clean loseth the Prerogative thereof; because by Law no man may Appeal from a Spiritual Judge to the Temporal Law.

15 *Item*, If a Lay-man, inhabiter of any of the Kings Towns, procureth his Debtor, being also a Lay-man, to be Arrested by virtue of Secular Justice in that place: and he which is so Arrested appealeth, and causeth also his Creditor to be Arrested, the Officials will take upon them to hear this matter; and if any thing be attempted concerning the Appeal, they miss not to demand cost and satisfaction both of the Justice, and also of him to whom the Arrest was made. And if any of the Princes Retinue compelleth them to refuse this injury, they are straightways pronounced Excommunicate.

Deans of the Clergy.

16 *Item*, If the said Bishops have a number of Officials under them, whom they term Deans of the Clergy, which usually causeth all sorts of people through the Kings Dominions, only by word of mouth, to come afore them, and that sometime without Commission: when that in every Diocess there ought only to be but one Seat or Consistory, wherein matters should be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth divers times, that many are wrongfully and without cause cited; to the end that they may pay mony enough, to rid themselves thereof: which is to the no small prejudice of the Kings Majesties Subjects, and the Temporal Jurisdiction.

17 *Item*, The said Rulers of the Clerks, Seal up the Houses of their Clergy, which are situate in the Kings Towns, and otherof his Noble Mens Villages, to the prejudice of the Kings Majesties Jurisdiction, and other of his Nobility: for that in such kind of places the Bishops have no such kind of Jurisdiction.

Married Clerks.

18 *Item*, The said Prelates or their Officials, do presume to Seal up the moveable Goods of married Clerks, and of Merchants; whereas in such Cases the order thereof appertaineth to the Temporal Law.

19 *Item*, They compel the Laity to put in surety to answer Clerks before them in the Spiritual Court, yea, and chiefly the Kings own Servitors.

20 *Item*, They presume to hear and have the cognition of Actions, which are real, or at least-wise mixt, that is, both real and personal.

21 *Item*, The said Prelates go about to have cognition of such Temporal mens matters as dwell in Hospitals, Almshouses, and the Kings peculiars, and in Villages of his Subjects, although the Plea thereof appertaineth to the King himself, and his subjects: forbidding under pain of Excommunication, and great forfeits, any man to be so hardy as to commence any Sute against any of them, but before themselves, in pain of a great sum of mony.

22 *Item*, To the end the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Rule should be multiplied, they confer a number of Tonsures to Children under age, some of them being Sons of bondmen, other some Bastards born; yea and to many more married folks insufficient, unable, and unlearned.

23 *Item*, They do cause by the Governors of their Clerks, Widow-women to be inforced and defiled, and will have the discussing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of Pupils, applying their Goods when they died, as they do the Goods of them which die intestate, to their own use; the cognition whereof belongeth to the King himself, because those kind of persons with their Goods are in ward to the King and under his tuition.

Gifts to get mony.

24 *Item*, They procure through the said Deans of the Clergy, of malice, Temporal men of the Kings Dominions or other where (without all order of Law) to be apprehended; objecting against them that they have straied from some Article of Christian Faith; and therewith shut them up; when as their Imprisonment appertaineth to the King till they be convicted thereof.

25 *Item*, They exercise their Jurisdiction in all places, having no regard, neither to the Kings peculiar Towns, nor yet to his Subjects; but run in every hole, when by Law they ought to have no Jurisdiction, without their own limits and precinct.

26 *Item*, When these Prelates or their Officials by virtue of their Monitions do charge the Kings Officers and his Justices to execute any thing; if they do not perform that, which is prescribed unto them, the forfeit (which the Monition containeth) is taken: yea and Excommunication denounced. And this is a new invention sprung up of late amongst them, much to the prejudice of the King and his Subjects.

27 *Item*, When the Bishops or their Officials do prosecute a matter of Office before themselves against any Temporal man, and have no proof thereof; they compel many of the Laity to be deposed therein what they know, having no respect whether they be the Kings Bargeffes, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allow any charges and expences for their pains taken in that behalf. But if they appear not at their day, they are sure to be Excommunicate.

28 *Item*, If malefactors be apprehended by any of the Kings Justices, and Indicted of Theft, and he (whose Goods they were which were stollen) cometh before the Kings Sheriffs, and proveth them to be his, and that therefore the matter ought to be ordered by them: if afterwards the Bishops or their Officials affirm the said Felon or Malefactor to be a Clerk, they will by virtue of their Decrees or Monitions compel the Kings Sheriffs to restore and bring in the stollen Goods: and if they do it not, they are pronounced Excommunicate.

29 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or Bailiff to take an offender for his offence, and he affirmeth himself to be a Clerk: although he never took any kind of Tonsures, or Orders, wearing no Habit appertaining thereunto; yet the Bishops or their Officials will cause the detainers of them by their censures to deliver unto them the said malefactor as their Clerk.

30 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or other his Justices to take a Thief or Murderer, which beareth a Clerks Mark and Tonsure, and therefore delivereth him to the Clergy to be ordered; it shall not be long before he be acquainted by them, although he afterward Recognize his Fact; yea, and notwithstanding that his fellows and partners of that Office, being meer Temporal, received Justice for the same, and appeached him thereof; and so the like Malefactors are encouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 *Item*, If any complaineth and saith that he is spoiled, by and by the Officials will Decree a Monition against the spoiler: by virtue whereof, some one of the Deans of the Clergy shall monish him to restore the things comprized in the Monition, and also minister to him an Oath whether he hath not spoiled the Plaintiff of such things, as he saith he was spoiled of. But if he refuse to take an Oath before him, then the Dean will straightways Seal up the Monition and

and Excommunicate him, and by no means shall he be Absolved before he restore and satisfy the Contents in the Motition, whereof the Plaintiff faid firft he was fpoiled.

32 *Item*, If any for his offence be cast into Prifon by the Secular power, although at the time of his taking he wear Temporal Habit, and was in no Orders, but all the days of his life lived like a Temporal man: yet if he fhall Avouch and Vow himfelf to be a Clerk, to the intent to have more expedition at the Clergies hands, and to efcape unpunifhed; the Clergy will incontinently give to the Laity in commandment to reftore unto them the malefactor, or elfe fufpenfion fhall be denounced throughout the whole Townfhip, where the faid malefactor fhall be fo Imprifoned. And for avoiding the jeopardy which might arife of the faid feifement; the Secular Judge of neceffity is compelled to deliver them the offender, to the great prejudice of the Kings Temporal Jurifdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertain, in cafe of refort and prerogative. *Reftitum.*

33 *Item*, When any offender is delivered by the Temporal Magiftrates to the Clergy, as their Clerks; his friends will make fute to the Bifhops Officials for him, and compound with them, by reafon whereof they difmifs them unpunifhed, and fo do worfe and worfe, although their Fact was never fo notorious

34 *Item*, So foon as any married Clerk, being a Merchant or of whatfoever other Science he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the Secular Judge: the faid Clerk obtaineth of the Officials a Monition, bringing with them fome Prieft, who doth inhibit the Secular Judge under pain of 100 or 200 Marks, yea and of Excommunication too, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in fuch Caufes, and not to moleft fuch Parties, neither in Body nor Goods: But if the Judges obey not, they fhall be fufpended from hearing of Mafs in that place, although the matter concerneth the Fact of Merchandife.

35 *Item*, The faid Officials grant Citations without number againft the Laity in Cafes of Warranties perfonally to affize before them perfons unknown. But if they be known, it is contained in the Citation, that in no wife, and that under a great pain, he caufe his adverfary to be called before a Secular Judge, during the return of the Citation.

36 *Item*, When one is Excommunicated in any place, the Officials grant out perfonal Citations againft them, which do participate, and are converfant with the excommunicate: caufing a whole Country by the fpace of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the Party fo excommunicate (fometimes by 40, fometimes 60, yea and fometimes by a 100 at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participate nor keep company with their friends the excommunicates. Whereby enfueth that many honeft, old and ancient men, for avoiding of troubles and expences, do pay fome twelve pence, fome two fhillings. By occafion whereof many Vines are unlooked to, much Ground untilled, yea, and many good men conftrained to lay the Key under the door, and run away.

37 *Item*, The faid Officials do burden many perfons of good name and fame, to be Ufurers: whereby they are conftrained to agree with them, for avoiding the infamy that thereby might infue.

38 *Item*, The forefaid Officials call by Citation afore them, the honeft wedded (as well Man as Woman) charing them, that they have committed Adultry to the perpetual infamy of their Husbands and Wives. And for nothing elfe but by extortion to wring money from them.

39 *Item*, Mention muft be made of the multitude and number of Proctors, which eat and devour up all the world with their Citations, catching up Clients, and keeping abroad in the Country Courts and Affizes; who for money return not the Citations, which by extortion they receive of them which are cited.

40 *Item*, There be many other griefs and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbots, Priors, Provofts, and other Eccleiiaftical perfons in the Realm of *France*, practice againft the people. As when they caufe to be cited before them, many of the Kings Burgeffes, and others in divers places being priviledged: that is to fay, *Batocenfes*, *Manmeclans* in *Britain*, *Lugdons*, *Mofticons*, with other more. But fpecially the Provofts of Hofpitals ufe more commonly this trick, than any other do, whereby the people is much indamaged, and will be every day more and more, if remedy be not had therein. {KING Edw. I}

41 *Item*, Eccleiiaftical Magiftrates labour to have cognition of Caufes of injury, in whatfoever Caufe it be: whether the injury be committed by word or fact. Likewife they take upon them to hear the Caufes of married Clerks, and of their Wives, although they both ufe Merchandize. And if at any time fuch couples be taken by the Secular Magiftrates, the Official cauſeth a fufpenſion to be denounced in that Parifh, by force of the Council *Silvanectен.*

42 *Item*, They challenge to have cognition concerning Widows Goods, both moveable and unmovable. And if it happeneth at any time that a Merchant Widow, in any of the Kings peculiars by way of Arreſt, procure that any Temporal man to be convented before the Secular Judges and the matter be fo far traverfed, that he fhould have been condemned by the Sentence of the Secular Judge, and then it come to the ear of the Eccleiiaftical Magiftrates, how and before whom the Widow did convent him: the faid Temporal Judge fhall be conſtrained to withdraw the fame. And by their monitions and cenſures they will correct the fame; and this oftentimes happeneth.

43 *Item*, Many of the Tenants and Inhabiters of the Bifhops Lands call one another to the Court of the Officials, by a kind of appellation: by virtue whereof the Officials take upon them to proceed in the fame, and to have cognition thereof, to the prejudice of the Temporal Jurifdiction of our Sovereign Lord the King.

44 *Item*, if any man be apprehended by Secular Juſtice in ſhedding of blood; he is to be ordered by them, if he be Lay: if he be a Clerk he is to be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge. But whether he be a Temporal man or Clerk that is ſo taken, and appealeth to the Officials Court; they will be ſo bold to have cognition thereof, requiring herewith amends of the Secular Court, which enterpired the foreſaid apprehenſion. If this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhall never be puniſhed. For by and by they will Appeal, and immediately after the appellation fly and avoid away. The Clergy preſidial to common Juſtice.

45 *Item*, When they cauſe many of office to be cited before them, they will admit them to have no Proctors: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they object the crime of Uſury. And except they anſwer as the promoters will themſelves, they are trodden under feet (although they be meer Lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed before they Fine even as the Officials liſt themſelves, although they be no Uſurers. But if any be Uſurers, they take of them ſatisfaction and bribes: and ſo they be permitted to uſe their Uſury, no leſs than before; So that they may have their old fees and bribes. *Ex officio.*

46 *Item*, They procure their Officers to apprehend Clerks in whatſoever ſoil they be found: albeit by Juſtice they may appeal therefrom. But if by any they be let of their will herein, they do forthwith, by ſentence of Excommunication, cauſe them to deliſt therefrom. Uſury conſtitutionally abolished by the Clergy againſt Lay-men. Title Preſcription againſt the Church of Rome.

47 *Item*, As oftentimes as any Temporal Magiſtrate doth apprehend any perſon, which afterward, being required of the Clergy, is quietly delivered unto them: yet for all that, the Officials cauſe thoſe Magiſtrats to be denounced Excommunicate by Law.

48 *Item*, The Prelates give order of Tonſures as well to men of thirty years as upward, as alſo to married men, when they come unto them, for fear of Imprifonment and puniſhment due unto them for their criminal offences, before committed; and this is oftentimes put in practice.

49 *Item*, If it happen any of the Kings ſervants or any other to be Excommunicate, who would fain be Abſolved, being glad to pay reaſonably for the ſame: the Clergy will not receive ſatisfaction but ſuch as ſhall pleaſe them, whereby many of them remain ſtill Excommunicate.

50 *Item*, When two perſons have been at Striſe and Law together for the Poſſeſſion of Land, and the matter contentious be put into the hands of the King by ſome ſervant or officer of the King, for the taking up of the matter: then do the Prelates admonith the one part not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwiſe if he do, they do Excommunicate him.

51 *Item*

{KING Edw. I} 51 *Item*, The foreſaid Prelates, Deans, Chaplains, and other the rout of the Clergy, put the Kings Officers to ſo much travel and expences in trying out the Kings uſurped Juriſdiction, as they term it; that oftentimes many of them ſpend and conſume, in the travel of the Right and Title thereof, all that they have and more too.

52 *Item*, If any Secular Juſtice in a true and juſt Cauſe, at the requeſt of the party, putteth in his helping hand concerning the Inheritance of Clerks: the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and their Miniſters, ſend out Monitions in writing againſt the ſaid Juſtices; yea, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leave off: enjoyning him further to ſuffer the other party quietly to enjoy the ſaid things. Otherwiſe they denounce him Excommunicate, and he ſhall not be Abſolved before he have well paid for it, even as pleaſeth Maſter Official, to the high prejudice of the Authority of our Sovereign Lord the King.

Note the preſſure of Officials to get money.

53 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates, ſo ſoon as they hear any rich or fat cob to die, or think that he will not live long, ſend out forthwith Letters under Seal to their Chaplain, commanding him in any wiſe not to preſume to bury him, although he made his Teſtament, and received the Rites of the Church. And when afterward the Friends and Kinſfolks of the dead reſort unto them to know the cauſe of their inhibition; they declare unto them that he was an Uſurer, and that he kept not the commandments of holy Church: and ſo long keep they the Corps of the dead unburied, till the Friends of him buy it out with good ſtore of money, heaping and hording by theſe means abundance of riches.

54 *Item*, If there be any violent ſhedding of blood in any Church-yard, whereby the interdict taketh place, the Clergy cauſeth a certain impoſition to be Levied of the Pariſhioners there, for the Salary towards the reſtoring thereof: Although ſome of the Pariſhiones be of an exempt Juriſdiction; yea, and although he which ſhed blood be able to pay the whole Tax which they Levied, and more too.

55 *Item*, Certain Chaplains affirm themſelves to have certain Apoſtolical priviledges, by virtue whereof they may appoint what Judges they will (yea and oftentimes of their own Houſe) and ſo they be Judges in their own Cauſe; which is plain againſt the Law. Whereby oftentimes it happeneth, that after great proceſs and expences laid and made in any great Cauſe of Inqueſt (more often about realty than otherwiſe) when they have notice by the Proctors and Advocates that they ſhall have the foil therein; they revoke forthwith thoſe named Judges, and ſo the Kings ſubjects are damaged, and can have no juſtice nor redreſs at their hands.

56 *Item*, If any Temporal man call a Clerk before a Secular Judge in caſe of Inheritance; the Eccleſiaſtical Judge preſenteth a ſtop to be made therein, attributing to themſelves the cognition thereof: and ſo by adjourning and removing, the Lay-man is conſtrained to make ſatisfaction.

57 *Item*, The Clergy challengeth the cognition of ſuch Cauſes as married Clerks being Merchants and Artificers do commence: when by Law it doth appertain to the Temporalty, eſpecially about the Trade of Merchandize.

58 *Item*, They oftentimes make Interdictions in many of the Kings Towns and Holds, and cauſe the Divine Service to ceaſe; againſt the Priviledges granted by many of the high Biſhops of *Rome* to our Sovereign Lord and Maſter the King.

59 *Item*, To and for the maintainance and keeping of their Temporalties, they appoint Bailiffs and other Officers: who, if they do offend, may not condignly be puniſhed according to Law and Juſtice.

60 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Judges have promoters belonging to them: whom, when any man is Excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to be made, that no man ſhall work or do any thing for him that is Excommunicate: whereby the Lands and Vines are oftentimes unlooked to and untilled, to the no ſmall prejudice of the King and his common people.

61 *Item*, The foreſaid prompters cauſe Citations to be made out, by virtue whereof they call in one Citation twenty, thirty, forty perſons to appear, for participating with ſuch Interdicted perſons; taking of ſome ten, of other-ſome twenty ſhillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppreſſed.

62 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Judges cauſe all the Advocates of their Courts to be Sworn, That none ſhall retain them of their Counſel againſt any of them, without their Licenſe: whereby oftentimes the poor man quite loſeth his right, and the Kings Cauſe is delaied; becauſe his Solicitors cannot freely retain Counſel, without ſpecial Licenſe.

63 *Item*, They will make Inventories of their Goods which die Inteſtate, or without making of Will; and will have the poſſeſſion of their Goods, as well movable as unmovable, in their own hands to diſtribute to the Heirs, or to whom they liſt.

64 *Item*, The execution alſo of Teſtaments they take into their own hands, taking Inventories of dead mens Goods, and keeping and diſpoſing them to the Heirs after their pleaſure. And they have Officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 *Item*, They will not give credit (ſometimes) to Teſtaments made before witneſs, unleſs they be firſt by their own Officials approved.

After he had thus ſpoken, the Prelates required to have time to anſwer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next inſuing, was appointed for the ſame: On the which day the Biſhop *Edven*, and Archbiſhop of *Senon* Elect, in the name of the whole Clergy anſwered for them all before the King, holding his Parliament as that day at *Vicenas*, and thus he there propounded: Foraſmuch as the Lord *Peter Cugner* of late propounding againſt the Church of *France* took to his Theme that which is written in the 22 of *Matthew*; *Render unto Ceſar that which is Ceſars, and unto God that which is Gods*; by which words, he ſaid, two points were to be noted: Firſt, The reverence and ſubjection of the Prelates, that they ought to have to the King their Soveraign: Secoudly, The diviſion of the Temporal Juriſdiction from the Spiritual. The which firſt part he proved out of the firſt *Epiſtle* of *Peter* in the ſecond *Chap.* where it is written: *Submit your ſelves unto every creature, for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the king, as unto the ſuperior, or unto governours, as unto them that are ſent of him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* The ſecond point he proved by the words of our Saviour Chriſt in the 22 of *Luke*, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *Lord, behold, here are two ſwords. And he ſaid unto them, It is enough*; ſignifying by the two ſwords the two Juriſdictions. And likewiſe out of the 17 of *Matth.* where Chriſt would pay Tribute for him and *Peter*; Giving hereby an example, how that Eccleſiaſtical perſons were bound to pay and yield to the Temporal power the Temporalties; which alſo is proved in the 11. *queſt. prim. cap. Si tributum & cap. magnum.* Biſhop *Edven* and Archbiſhop of *Senon* Elect in the name of the Clergy propounded for the Prelates. Repetition of the Lord Peter's Oration above touched, Pag. 402. Luk. 22. Mat. 17.

And further, becauſe this is proved by mans-law, where it is ſaid, two great gifts are beſtowed, Prieſthood and Empire; the Prieſthood to rule over matters Divine; the Empire to bear domination over human matters. Whereby he concluded, that ſeeing theſe Juriſdictions are diſtinguiſhed of God; the one being given and limited to the Church, and the other to the Temporalty: the Church in no wiſe ought to intermeddle, or to have any thing to do with the Temporal Juriſdiction. For it is written in the 22 of the *Provs.* *You ought not to paſs the old limits and bounds, which the fore-fathers have ſet.* And well by the way he bringeth in this word, *old and ancient*: becauſe cuſtoms brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are counted abuſes and corruptions. Neither can preſcription take place, for that *Jus fiſci* is imprefcriptible, neither can the King abrogate from himſelf ſuch Law, nor renounce his right, proving the ſame by many Chapters contained in the 10. *Diſt.* Wherefore ſeeing the King, at what time he was Crowned, ſwear not only not to alienate or infringe the Laws of his Realm, but alſo to call in ſuch Laws as were alienated and uſurped either by the Church, or by any other; the King was bound by his Oath to revoke the ſame abuſes. Two gifts given, Prieſthood, Empire. Prov. 22. *Diſt.* 10.

In eſpecial he did exhibit many Articles in writing, wherein (as he ſaid) the Church did uſurp upon the Juriſdiction Temporal. To anſwer theſe Premiſes with reconciling of the places, under proteſtation that whatſoever I ſay or ſhall ſay, it is not to ground or make any final judgment or determination herein; but only to inform the Conſcience of our Sovereign Lord the King and his aſſiſtants here aſſembled, alledging the firſt *Epiſtle* of *Peter*, the ſecond Chapter, where he ſaith, *Fear God and honour the King.* By which words, the holy Apoſtle St. *Peter* teacheth us two things: Firſt, that love, fear, and obedience, is due unto God for the mightineſs and puiſſance of his Majeſty, ſaying, 1 Pet. 2.

ſaying, *Fear God.* Secondly, That ſpecial honour and reverence is due to the King, for the excellency of his dignity; ſaying, *Honour the King.* But note you by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth his words: Firſt he ſaith, That fear is due unto God, becauſe principally and in chief we ought to fear God. For if the King or any other ſhould command things contrary to God, we ought to have no regard thereof, but to contemn the King and fear God. For it is written in the fifth of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles; *We ought rather to obey God than man:* and alſo in the 7*th* Chapter of *Machabees* the ſecond Book, where it is ſaid, *I will not obey the commandments of the king, but the law.*

Acts 5.

2 Mac. 7.

The reaſon whereof St. *Auguſtine* giveth both in the Gloſs upon the *Romans*, and alſo in the 11. *Queſt.* 1. He that reſiſteth the Superior power, reſiſteth the will and ordinance of God. But put caſe thou art commanded to do that which thou muſt not do, or not to do that which thou oughteſt to do. Doubtleſs, thou muſt neglect the leſſer power, and fear the higher, learning the degrees of worldly things.

11. 2. q. 1.

As for example, be it ſo that a Proctor commandeth thee any thing, and the ſame be againſt the Proconſul, thou oughteſt not to follow it. Yea, and further, put caſe the Proconſul commandeth one thing, the Emperor another, and God willeth the third: Thou muſt not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power. For they may threaten thee with Priſon, but God threateneth thee with Hell fire: they may ſlay and kill thy Body, but God may ſend thee Body and Soul to perpetual Hell fire. And therefore worthily it is put firſt, *Fear God.* And here the place in the laſt of *Eccleſiaſtes* is to be adjoyned, where it is written, *Fear God and keep his commandments.*

Fear of God ſtandeth in three points

And me thinketh that man is bound to fear God chiefly in three ſorts. That is to ſay: Firſt, in the bountiful beſtowing of his Gifts and Benefits. Secondly, In the evident promoting of his Servants. And laſtly, In the full rendring and reſtoring unto man that is his.

Firſt, I ſay, in the bountiful, &c. and for this cauſe the Emperor *Juſtinian* writeth: Although there is nothing to be accounted good, which doth exceed and is too great, yet for a Prince to beſtow accordingly upon the Church, it is very good. For why, the King and Emperor is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtance, how much the more God hath given to him, and to beſtow the ſame both frankly, and eſpecially to famous Churches, wherein the beſt and greateſt meaſure is of the Lords gifts; that is, a great gift. And to this end *Gregory* enacteth a Law, *cap.* 1. *de extra. de donationibus*, that Nobility ought in manner to preſcribe this Law to himſelf, to think himſelf bound to give, when he giveth freely; and unleſs he increaſe in giving ſtill, to think that he hath given nothing.

Wherefore *Abel*, as appeareth in the 4*th* Chapter of *Geneſis*, who offered of the beſt to the Lord, was bleſſed of God. And therefore other Kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both Spiritually and Temporally bleſſed of him: as we read of *Joſhua*, *David*, *Solomon*, and others in the Book of the *Kings*, and therefore it is ſo written in the 18*th* of *Numbers*: *and ye ſhall ſeparate unto the Lords treaſury, things that be cheiſeſt and moſt principal.* As likewiſe *David* ſaith in the firſt of *Paralipomenon* the laſt Chapter: *I have given all this with a glad heart, even with a good will, and now have I had joy to ſee thy people which here are preſent offer with a free will unto thee.* And no marvel, for *David* ſaith in that place: *For of thy hand we have received all, and to thee we give.* And therefore it ſeemeth to me, becauſe that the Kings of *France*, and Barons of the ſame, have given to God and his Church more than any other; therefore they were happy and bleſſed above all other Kings, and the more they did give to God, the more they received at his hands.

Numb. 18.

1. Paral. cap. ult.

What benefit cometh by giving to the Church.

Examples whereof we have of *Clovedo*, *Charles*, and St. *Lewis*: the more one giveth to God, the more he receiveth of him: For he in the 6*th* of *Luke* hath promiſed, *Give and it ſhall be given unto you*: Wherefore a gift that a Prince beſtoweth upon the Church is rendred again with triple encreaſe, and that no leſs in time of War, than in time of Peace. I ſay in War time, becauſe Victory proceedeth of no other, but only of God: for it is written in the firſt of *Machabees*, the third Chapter: *the victory of the battel ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoſt, but the ſtrength cometh from heaven.* And likewiſe, in the ſeventeenth Chapter of *Exodus*, it is declared, *that when Moſes held up his hands, Iſrael had the victory: but when he let down his hands, Amaleck had the victory.* To this end alſo ſerveth the laſt Chapter of 2 *Machabees* 2. *Where Judas being at the point to have the victory, thought he ſaw Onion and Jeremy* (which had been high Prieſts and very vertuous men) *holding up their hands towards heaven, and praying for their people and all the whole city, &c.* Likewiſe in Peace time now, the long days of the King and of his Sons, their Peace, Proſperity, and Obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is maintained and ſupported in the Realm. For as long as *Solomon* was bent and given in building the Houſe of God, ſo long he had Peace: who thus in the 10*th* Chapter of the *Proverbs* teacheth us: *When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be his friend:* And alſo in 1 *Eſdr.* the 6*th* Chapter, where it is read, *how the prieſts were commanded to offer ſweet ſavours to the God of heaven, and pray for the kings life and his children.* And well therefore may it be called a gift both favourable and irrevocable, whereby victory is given, life granted, and peace with ſecurity conſerved. To ſerve God therefore, and liberally to give toward the worſhipping of him, is the chiefeſt ſign and token of Divine fear and love. *Eccleſ.* Chap. 2. *O ye that fear the Lord, believe him, and your reward ſhall not be empty.*

2 Mac. 2.

Ex. 17.

Time of Peace.

Prov. 16.

1 Eſd. 6.

Eccleſ. 2.

Secondly, Concerning the fear of God, to you to underſtand, That among the Precepts of the Lord, the firſt and chiefeſt Commandement of the ſecond Table is, to *honour thy Father*: Which Precept is very well expounded in the 12*th* Chap. to *Heb.* Where it is not only meant of the Fathers of our Bodies, but alſo of the Father of Spirits. *For ae ſpiritual things do far exceed temporal matters; ſo much more a great deal the ſpiritual Son is bound to reverence the ſpiritual Father, and to be in ſubjection unto him, that he may live.* And that the Prieſts and Prelates be the ſpiritual Fathers, it is proved in the fourth Book of the *Kings*, the 6*th* Chapter: Where the King of *Iſrael* ſaid, 4 Kin. 6. led *Eliſeus* Father, ſaying: *My father, ſhall I ſmite them?* Unto this effect ſerveth the tenth of *Luke*, where Luke 10. our Saviour ſaid to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſors the Biſhops are) *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me.* Alſo in the firſt to the *Theſſalonians* the fourth Chap. *He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth not men, but God.* Wherefore *Juſtinian* the Emperor in another place ſaith, We have great care to the Church of God, that therein may be true Doctrine and Integrity of Prieſts life. Which having, we truſt that for our great gifts we ſhall receive ſuch rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and ſhall remain: yea, and alſo that hitherto have not happened. Bleſſed St. *Hierome* in his Regiſter writing to a certain Emperor, which is alſo to be ſeen in the Decrees, *Decret.* 11. *queſt.* 1. faith, Let not the Emperor diſdain Prieſts, but have ſpecial regard on them for his ſake whoſe ſervants they be: and ſo ler him rule over them that due and condign reverence be given unto them. For they in Divine Scriptures are ſometime termed God, ſometimes named Angels, *Exod.* 22. *Then ſhall both their cauſes come before the Gods.* Alſo *Malac.* the ſecond, *the prieſts lips ſhould be ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeek the law at his mouth: for he is a meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts.* And therefore it is no marvel, if we ſhould vouchſafe to honour them, when God himſelf in his ſpeech attributing to them honounour, tearmeth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted, how *Conſtantine* the Emperor, when certain of his ſubjects preſented unto him Libels accuſatory againſt the Biſhops, received them at their hands. But calling before him thoſe Biſhops which were accuſed therein, in their ſight he caſt thoſe Libels into the fire, ſaying, Depart you hence and diſcuſs thefe matters within your ſelves. For it is not convenient and meet that we judge Gods, becauſe it is written; *God ſtood in the Synagogue of Gods, and in the midſt of them he did judge Gods.* In which Chapter it is declared, how *that the Pagans, who worſhipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the prieſts.* What marvel is it then, if the godly and great and Chriſtian Emperors do honour and reverence the Prieſts of the true God? And doubtleſs, it is their duty ſo to do. And it is reaſon, which the Lord *Peter* the laſt day ſaid in this point; That there are two powers, Prieſthood and Dominion, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal which

Luke 6. Time of War.

1 Mac. 3.

Honour to be given to Prieſts.

Forms belonging diſſident and not contrary, may be compatible in one ſubject.

Two powers, Temporal and Spiritual, and what difference between them both.

{KING} {1 Edw. 1.} which no leſs differ one from the other, than the Sun from the Moon, the Heaven from the Earth, and Gold from Lead. And therefore if honour is due to be given to the leſſer power, by them that be underneath him: he that is chief of the higher power, of right good duty, is to be honoured and reverenced of all under him, as expreſly is declared, *Cap. Solit. De ma. & ob.* In which Chapter anſwer is fully made to the allegation of the Lord *Peter* (alledged by him to make for his purpoſe) that is to ſay, Be ye ſubject to all Creatures for Gods ſake, *&c.* There he ſpeaketh of the ſubjection which ſtandeth upon the merit of vertue, and not upon the duty of neceſſity. For elſe if he ſhould ſpeak of the ſubjection which is by duty of neceſſity; then muſt it needs follow, that every Biſhop ought to be ſubject to every beggerly Raſcal in the City of *Paris*. For the Text is, *Be ye ſubject to all human creatures:* but a Raſcal is a human Creature: *Ergo*, Biſhops muſt be ſubject to a Raſcal. Of the Dignity of a Biſhop, *Ambroſe* talketh in his Paſtoral. The honour, ſaith he, and the majeſty of a Biſhop is without all compariſon. If you compare it to the Royalty of a King, it is even as you would compare Metal or Lead to the beauty of Gold: For that is to be ſeen, that Kings and Princes ſtooping under the knees of Prieſts and kiſſing their right hand, think themſelves to be defended by their prayers. And beauſe the Kings of *France* have more than other honoured and reverenced the Prelates, they have above all other flouriſhed and proſpered. It is ſaid in *Eccleſ.* 4. *He that honoureth his father, ſhall rejoyce in his ſons.* And it followeth there, *He that honoureth his father, ſhall live a long life.* This is therefore the ſign of the fear of God. And as it is written in *Eccleſ.* 4. *He that feareth God honoureth his parents.*

Ex Mat. & exp. Solit.

Double ſubjection upon merit of vertue, and upon duty of neceſſity.

The Authority of a Biſhop and a King conferred.

The pride of the Prelacy ſtoop kings.

Eccleſ. 4.

Eccleſ. 4.

The firſt part of fearing God.

Thirdly, I ſay, That a man ought to fear God, in the full reverencing and reſtoring unto man that is his: For he that doth not give to another that is his, but goeth about to uſurp, doubtleſs he feareth not God. Contrary, he that reſtereth all again, he is ſaid to love and fear God. *Eccleſiaſt.* 18. *He that feareth God will do good things.* And in the *Pſalm*, *I have been afraid of thy judgments, and have done judgment and juſtice.* For as the Lawyers ſay, which is true, A thing may be made mine divers ways, as by ſucceſſion, commutation, preſcription, or any other acquiſition, either by Law or Cuſtom; And ſo of the reſt. And whereas the Lord *Peter* the laſt day, by diſtinction of Juriſdiction Temporal and Spiritual, endeavoured to prove that he which had Spiritual Juriſdiction, ought not to have Temporal; otherwiſe there were no diſtinction thereof, but rather a confuſion of Juriſdictions: I will therefore prove the contrary, that theſe Juriſdictions are compatible both in one perſon, eſpecially in an Eccleſiaſtical man. And this will I prove by the Law of God, by the Law of Nature, Canon Law, Civil Law, by Cuſtom and Priviledge. But firſt I alledge, that accidental forms (ſome of them are diſtinct, that they are not clean contrary, but diſlike; as whiteneſs and ſweetneſs. Other forms there be which are ſo diſtinct, that they are clean contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one ſubject. For one contrary expels another, and importeth the Negative of the other. Wherefore thoſe things be contrary, which one from another are moſt of all diſtant and diſagreeing, and in one ſuſceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philoſopher teacheth in the Predicaments. But thoſe forms which are ſo diſtinct that they be not contrary, but diſlike, are compatible in one ſubject, as quantity and quality, which, being diſtinct in reſpect of their *Genus generaliſſimum*, yet may be in one perſon. And fortitude and temperance, being under one kind of moral vertue, are found to be in one man, as *Logick* and *Grammer*, which are alſo *ſpecies* and kinds in one *genus*, *viz.* of *intellectus*. Therefore it is no good argument: Theſe forms be diſtinct, *Ergo*, they be not compatible in one ſubject. And therefore that the Juriſdictions Temporal and Spiritual are ſo diſtinct, that they are not contrary but compatible, it is evident hereby, becauſe things contrary be ſo, that the one cannot be ordained ſo conew with the other, but rather the one confoundeth and deſtroyeth the other: but in this caſe Juriſdiction Temporal is ordained for the Spiritual; and contrary, the Spiritual for the Temporal. Or rather, the one ſo dependeth on the other, as the clearneſs of the Moon doth on the brightneſs of the Sun. Alſo the one Juriſdiction ſo helpeth and comforts the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therefore it is no good conſequence, becauſe they are diſtinct: *Ergo*, they are not compatible in one perſon. This alſo is to be proved *de facto*. For the Earth is the Lords, and the plenty of the whole univerſal World; and all that dwell therein. It is proved likewiſe by this reaſon: For if the Juriſdictions be not compatible, it ſhould follow, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould have any jot of Temporal Juriſdiction, neither Land, Tower, Caſtle, Lordſhip, nor any thing elſe; which is moſt abſurd: and ſo by this means it ſhould follow, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould be in ſubjection unto the King, which were to the great derogation of the Kings Majeſties Crown and Dignity. It muſt needs be therefore that theſe Juriſdictions be compatible, notwithſtanding the diſtinction of them one from another. And thus much for anſwer to all theſe reaſons, by the which Lord *Peter* proved the diſtinction of theſe Juriſdictions.

Theſe things premiſed, thus I proceed further to prove that a perſon Eccleſiaſtical, which hath Juriſdiction Spiritual, may alſo have Temporal Juriſdiction: and that the Juriſdiction Temporal may be in an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, I will prove it by the Scriptures; and firſt out of the *Old Teſtament*, to the evident probation whereof, it is to be underſtood: That God, after the Creation of the World and Man, even unto *Noah's* time, would govern the World himſelf as King by the Miniſtry of Angels. By reaſon whereof he gave and pronounced Sentence himſelf againſt *Caiu*, *Geneſis* the fourth. *Noah* alſo which offered burnt Offerings unto the Lord, and built an Altar, as teacheth the eighth of *Geneſis* (which thing appertained only unto the Prieſts) had the government and rule of all things, as well Spiritual as Temporal, which were in the Ark of *Noah*. *Melchiſedech* likewiſe, the which was the Prieſt of the moſt high God, and alſo King of *Salem*, as appeareth in the fourteenth of *Geneſis*, had both the Juriſdictions in his own hands. For *Magiſter Hiſtoriarum*, in the ſaid fourteenth of *Geneſis*, declareth, That all the firſt begot of *Noah*, even unto *Aaron's* time, were Prieſts: which at Meals and Offerings bleſſed the people, and which only had the *Jus primogenituræ*, whereby the Regiment of others was due unto them. *Moſes* in like manner (of whom it is ſaid in the *Pſalm*, *Moſes and Aaron* in ſacerdotibus ejus) *conſecrated Aaron and his children to be prieſts*; which *Aaron* did judge the whole people in Temporal matters, yea and that in Cauſes of Inheritance and meer real, as appeareth in the ſeven and twentieth Chapter of *Numbers*, and many other places. To which purpoſe ſerveth the ſeventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomie*; where it is ſaid, *If a matter be too hard for thee in judgment betwixt blood and blood, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague, then ſhalt thou riſe and go up to that place, that the Lord thy God hath choſen, and ſhalt come to the Prieſts, the Levites, and to the Judge then being, and ſhalt ask, who ſhall ſhew unto us the truth of the judgment, and ſhalt follow their ſentence.* And if any man preſumptuouſly ſhall refuſe to obey the Prieſts Commandments and Decree of the Judge, the ſame ſhall die. Behold how manifeſtly it doth appear, how not only the Judgment appertaineth to a Prieſt, between Plague and Plague, concerning the circumſtances and regularity of the Law; but alſo betwixt Blood and Blood, in matters criminal; yea, and betwixt Plea and Plea in civil matters: which thing doth appear to be in many Judges out of the Book of *Judges*. For *Samuel*, which was both a Prophet and Prieſt, was appointed Judge of long time over the People in matters Temporal. And when the peopledeſired a King, the Lord was highly offended with them, and ſaid unto *Samuel*; *They have not refuſed thee but me, that I ſhould not be king over them.* Furthermore as long as Kings among the people of God, uſed the Advice and Counſel of Prieſts and Biſhops, it was well with them and their Kingdom: But when they forſook and left the Counſel of Biſhops and Prieſts, then was their Kingdom divided, and finally they brought into Captivity. In which Captivity, the people were altogether governed and ruled by the Prieſts and Prophets, as by *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*. And laſt of all, by the means of the *Machabees*, the Kingdom and Government was devolved and brought into the Prieſts hands, who were the Kings and Captains over the people, and had the Government as well of Spiritual matters

Proofs out of the Old Teſtament.

Melchiſedech was both King and Prieſt, *Ergo*, the Pope may have both Juriſdictions. Gen. 14.

Samuel was Judge in Temporal matters. *Ergo*, the Pope may have both Juriſdictions.

Deut. 17.

1 Mac.2. ters as of Temporal, as is read in the firſt Book of *Machabees*, the ſecond Chapter; Of *Mattathias* and his Sons, *viz.* delicet, of *Juda, Machaby, Jonathan, Simon,* and *John* the Son of *Simon*, which, in all Spiritual and Temporal matters, were Governors over the people of God. More-
Jerem.1. over, the firſt Chapter of *Jeremy*, which was one of the Prieſts, declareth after this manner: *I have ſet thee over the people and kingdoms, that thou maiſt root out, break, deſtroy, and make waſte, and that thou maiſt build up and plant.* Jerem. capite primo. Beſides this, in the time of Judge *Eliah*, a Prieſt in like manner had the Judgment of Temporal matters. And ſo much concerning the proof hereof, out of the *Old Teſtament*.

Secondly, I prove my former propoſition by Authorities taken out of the *New Teſtament*. For Chriſt had not only by Divine Nature both the Powers, whereby he Created all things of nothing; and by conſequence was God of all, but alſo by his humanity and both powers. For
Apoc.19 he was the Prieſt, *ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech* (as it is ſaid in the *Pſalmes*, had alſo, is alledged to the *Hebrews*) which had both in his Veſture and Thigh written, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*. By this Veſtiment or Thigh was meant his Humanity, which was joyned to his Divinity, as the Garment is to him that weareth it. He ſaid of himſelf in the laſt of *Matthew*: *Unto me is given all power both in Heaven and in Earth.* As alſo to the *Hebrews* in the firſt Chapter: *Whom he made and conſtituted heir of all univerſal things.* And likewiſe in the ſecond Chapter to the *Hebrews*, *He hath made him not much inferior to the Angels. He hath crowned him with glory and honour, and hath ſet him above the works of his hands: Thou haſt put all things in ſubjection under his feet, ſheep and oxen, and all the whole cattle of the field.* When therefore it is ſaid, *He made all things ſubject unto him*; He excludeth nothing as the Apoſtle there ſaith. Whereby it is apparent, that as concerning his Human Nature, in the which he was made leſs than the Angels, all things were ſubject to him.
Philip.2. Alſo this appeareth in the ſecond Chap. to the *Philippians*: *He humbled himſelf, wherefore God exalted him,* &c. And it followeth, *That in the Name of Jeſus, ſhould every knee bow, both of things in Heaven, and of things in Earth, and of things under the Earth.* Behold here, that in Nature, in which he did humble himſelf, he was exalted, *becauſe every knee ſhould bow down to him.* This in like
Act.2. manner hath St. *Peter* in the tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, where he ſaith, *he was conſtituted of God, the judge over the quick and the dead*: And he ſpeaketh of the Nature which God raiſed up the third day, as the whole Scripture proveth. And likewiſe St. *Peter* had this Power given him, whom Chriſt Conſtituted and made his Vicar; who alſo condemned by Sentence judicially *Ananias* and *Sa-*
Act.5. *phira*, for lying and ſtealing; *Acts* Chapter 5. Paul alſo
C. condemned a fornicator convicted, 1 *Cor.* 5. And that Chriſt would have the correction and judgment of ſuch matters to appertain to his Church: A Text in the 18th
Mat.18. of *Matthew* expreſly declareth, where it is ſaid: *If thy brother treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee: if he hear thee, thou haſt won thy brother: But if he heareth not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all things may be eſtabliſhed: if he hear not them, tell it unto the congregation: if he hear not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever you bind on earth, the ſame ſhall be bound in heaven: and whatſoever you looſe on earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in heaven.* Behold, how expreſly it is commanded, that whenſoever in any matter one offendeth the other,
E. he being firſt charitably admoniſhed, the matter muſt be publiſhed and referred to the order of the Church and Congregation. But if the offender do not obey and hear the admonition, he is to be taken as an Heathen and a Publican: which is as much to ſay, like one that is Excommunicate by the Church and Congregation, ſo that he may have no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Chriſt, this ſeemeth much to prove it, where in giving the reaſon hereof, he immediately addeth:
Omnis ter-minus diſtributionis. *Verily, I ſay unto you, Whatſoever*, &c. (where note this tearm diſtributive, whatſoever) ſo as the Apoſtle argueth to the *Hebrews* the ſecond Chapter, that if he ordained all things to be ſubject unto him, he excludeth nothing unſubjected. Wherefore thus I may argue: If all things
F. that the Church and Congregation doth loſe, be loſed, and every thing that the Church bindeth, is bound: There is nothing that the Church may not loſe and bind. Or by *Logick* thus I may reaſon; There is nothing bound by the Church, that is not bound in Heaven: which argument is good by a certain rule of *Logick*, which ſaith, That contraries, if the the Negation be put after, are equivalent. For every thing and nothing, whatſoever thing, and no manner of thing, be contrary one to the other. And ſo nothing not, is as much to ſay, as all things. Secondly, I do prove it out of another Text of St. *Luke*, Chap. 22. Which place he alledged to make for his purpoſe; but I will ſtrike him Luk. 22.
with his own weapon. For where he ſaid, *That by the two ſwords the two powers temporal and ſpiritual were to be underſtood*; it was ſo indeed: but to whoſe hands would he (I pray you) have theſe two Swords committed? Truly to the hands of *Peter* and other the Apoſtles, &c. But the holy Father the Pope ſucceeded *Peter* and the other Apoſtles, the Biſhops, Diſciples, Curates, Perſons, as in the Gloſs
G. appeareth. *Luke* 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two Swords, the two powers are meant: But Chriſt willed thoſe two Swords to be put into the Churches hands: *Ergo*, likewiſe the two powers. But you may reply and ſay, That Chriſt did reprehend *Peter* becauſe he ſtrook with a Temporal Sword, and cut off an Ear, ſaying unto him, *Put up thy ſword*, &c. Which reaſon is of no force: for Chriſt
H. did not will *Peter* to caſt away quite from him the Sword, but to put it into the Scabbard and to keep it, giving to underſtand thereby, that ſuch power, although it be in the Churches hands; yet the execution thereof (ſo much as appertaineth to bloodſhedding in the new Law) he would have to appertain to the Secular Judge; nothwithſtanding yet perhaps, according to the diſcretion and will of the Clergy.

Thirdly, I prove this by the intent of St. *Paul*, in the 1 Cor.6.
1 *Cor.* 6. where he ſaith, *That they which have ſecular buſineſs, and contend one againſt another, ought to be judged by the Saints.* And that they ſhould Judge therein
I. therefore he made this Argument: *Know you not that the Saints ſhall judge the world?* And if the World be Judged by you, are ye not good enough to Judge ſmall trifles? As though he would ſay, Do ye not know how that ye ſhall Judge the Angels? How much more then may you Judge things ſecular? And it followeth: *If you have judgment of ſecular and worldly matters, take them which are deſpiſed in the Church and Congregations, and make them Judges.* Neither doth it make any thing againſt it, becauſe the Apoſtle in the ſame place inferreth; *Ad verecundiam veſtram dico; Iſay it to your ſhame*: for that is to be referred to thoſe, where he ſaith, *Appoint thoſe which are deſpiſed.* Wherefore the Apoſtle ſpeaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the judgment of the deſpiſed which be in the Church, than to the judgment of thoſe which be out of the Church.

Ergo, the rather to reſort to the judgment of the wiſe, who remain in the Church and Congregation. Wherefore the Apoſtle by and by added, when he ſaid, *I ſpeak to your ſhame: What not one wiſe man amongſt you that can judge between brother and brother?* Meaning thereby that there were ſome. By theſe therefore and many other like reaſons (which for brevity I omit) it appeareth that both the powers may be in an Eccleſiaſtical mans hand: and that an Eccleſiaſtical man, is *Capax* both of the Temporal and Spiritual Juriſdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be objected, that *Peter*, and other Apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelf uſed little this Temporal power: for in them was not the like reaſon as now is in us, as is proved in the
K. 22. *Q.* 1. *cap.* and in many other places of the Law. The Apoſtles at the firſt beginning took no receit of Lands and Poſſeſſions, but the price only thereof; which now the Church with very good reaſon doth receive, and that to the great merit both of the giver and offerer, as it appeareth in *Conſtantine* and others: in the which foreſaid
L. 1. *cap.* the reaſon of diverſity is well proved: for that the Apoſtles did foreſee, that the Church ſhould be among *Gentiles*, and not be only in *Judea*, &c. And further, at the beginning Chriſt and his Apoſtles were wholly bent and given to our health, ſalvation and erudition; little flicking or ſtanding upon the exercife of every Churches Juriſdiction, having regard to that which is written in the ſixth Chapter
to

{KING Edw.1} to the *Corinthians*, *All things are lawful unto men, but all things are not expedient.* And likewiſe in the 8th. Chap. of *Eccleſ.* it is read, that *every thing hath his time.* But now (through the grace of God) the whole People of the Realm of *France* have ſubmitted themſelves to the Chriſtian Faith; worthily therefore the Church is occupied about miniſtring of Juſtice, and puniſhing of vice; for peace ſhall
Eſay 33. be the work of Juſtice, *Eſay Chap.* 33. And in theſe Judgments this only is to be conſidered, that the life of man be reformed, &c. Thus you ſee how this our concluſion ſomewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I prove it by natural law and reaſon, and firſt after this
M. manner: He ſeemeth moſt fit to play a good Judges part, Probation, by civil law and reaſon. which followeth neareſt God; for properly God is the ruler and directer of all Judgments, who ſaith *Proverb. ca-pite octavo, By me the law-maker ſhall decree juſtice and juſt things*: But Eccleſiaſtical Perſons follow next to God, and be neareſt him; for that they be elected of God
1 Pet. 2. into a peculiar people, whereof it is ſaid, 1 *Pet.*2. *You are a choſen Generation, a royal Prieſthood, a holy Nation, and a peculiar People, that you ſhould ſhew the vertues of him that called you*, &c. *Ergo*, It is moſt fit that perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and Church-men ſhould judge of ſuch matters. Moreover, none doubteth, but that the correction and puniſhment of ſin belongeth to Eccleſiaſtical perſons; wherefore when ſuch things be not committed without fin & offence of the one party, it is evident that the Church may have cognition thereof. Alſo, whoſo hath power to judge of the end, hath alſo power to judge of things ordained to the end; for the conſideration of the things ordained to the end, riſeth of the end. When therefore the body is ordained for the life and ſoul, and temporal things for ſpiritual, as for the end; the Church which doth judge of ſpiritual things, may in like manner lawfully judge of temporal things. All which is ſufficiently confirmed *In extr. c. Judicia.* where it is ſaid, that the accuſers followeth the nature of the principal, which appeareth ſufficiently by example. For ſomuch therefore, as theſe two Juriſdictions be compared to two lights, that is to ſay, to the Sun and to the Moon, and all the whole clearneſs and brightneſs of the Moon, both in form and vertue, dependeth of the Sun, and in the Sun; and that the brightneſs of the Sun is not of the Moon, or in the Moon it is plain that ſpiritual Juriſdiction, which is compared to the Sun, hath in it, both in form and vertue the Juriſdiction temporal, and not contrary. Many other like reaſons might be brought in. But for that the time waxeth ſhort, I will omit them.

Thirdly, I prove it by the Civil Law, *Auth. Diſſe. Jud.* ℭ *Si tamen ix. col.* where it is ſaid, If a Secular Judge be ſuſpected, let the Biſhop of the City be joyned unto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole judgment be referred to the Biſhop. In like ſort *Theodoſius* the Emperor enacted ſuch a Law, that whatſoever ſuter being Plaintiff in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after conteſtation of Law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to ſentence; if the Plaintiff had once choſen the Court and Juriſdiction of the holy See, there without all doubt, though the Defendant reſiſted and diſſented, the matter before the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges ſhould be determined and ended. Which Law afterward *Carolus* the Great, who was King of *France*, confirmed in theſe words, *We will and command, that all our Subjects, as well* Romans *and* Frenchmen, *as others under our Dominion whatſoever, be by law and cuſtom henceforth bound and charged to keep this for a perpetual and preſcript law; That whoſoever began, or commenced a Suit, &c. as is above mentioned.* &c. 11 *quæſt.* 1. *Quicunque*, &c. 22. But you may object and ſay, that this Law is abrogated, as the Gloſs ſeemeth there to touch. But all will not ſerve; for although this Law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But ſurely it is a privilege honourably granted to the whole Univerſal Church, which the Emperor cannot take away, no more than any other liberty of the Church. By the Canon Law alſo this
Probation of the Canon law. N. privilege is confirmed, *extra. de iud. c. timor. Novit.* and moreover, it ſeemeth to be confirmed by the Civil Law, *C. de ſacroſ. Sa. Eccle. privilegium*: although it be not expreſly, but generally named. And ſo it is clear by the Civil Law, that ſuch Juriſdiction doth pertain to Eccleſiaſtical perſons. By Canon Law in like manner in places infinite: *Diſtinct.* 22. *cap. Omnes Patriarchæ.* 2. *quæſt.* 5. *ca. Si quis Preſbyter.* 11. *quæſt.* 1. *cap. Relatum.* 25. *diſtinct. cap. eccl. Extrav. de judiciis. Novit. De competenti foro. cap. Licet*; with many other places infinite. Yea and further, the Canon Law ſo far proceeleth, that whoſoever goeth about by cuſtom to interrupt or hinder any, having ſuch Juriſdi- Cuſtom. ction, incurreth ſentence (*ipſo facto*) of Excommunication, as is proved *ca. Quoniam intelleximus de immunitate Eccle. lib. ſext.* Which is moſt plain by the notorious cuſtom, O. time out of mind, in the days of the good and Chriſtian Princes, where to violate ſuch cuſtom, it is plain, Sacrilege, 11. *quæſt.* 1. *Tit.* 1. &c. 2. For by the Law, Cuſtom winneth and gaineth Juriſdiction, eſpecially to him that is *Capax* thereof: yea and further, Cuſtom (time out of mind) is amongſt all perſons in place of written and confirmed law. Now ſeeing the Church of *France* hath in common uſed with the Temporalty, to judge and decree both of actions perſonal and real touching the Church, it is plain, that ſuch Cuſtom winneth Juriſdiction to it. *Ergo*, &c. But the Lord *Peter* avouched, that the Cuſtom could not prevail in this caſe, becauſe here lacked true dealing. Beſides, the ſaid law is called inpreſcriptible, for that it is *Jus fiſci*. But this maketh nothing againſt us; for the Church of *France* rather challengeth this law by cuſtom than by preſcription. Which cuſtom ſeemeth rather to be brought in of the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtories than the Secular Courts. Beſides this, cuſtom in that it hath been oftentimes decided in judgment contradictory, (many of the Barons diſſenting, and not conſenting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. This cuſtom *Judicium contradictorium.* I ſay, of the Church, hath been faſt eſtabliſhed by the conſent and aſſent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the Kings of *France* your Predeceſſors, and ſo peaceably obſerved of the Church.

And yet may the Church challenge this by preſcription; for that there are but three things which are required in preſcription: that is to ſay, title, true dealing, and continu- 3 things pertaining to preſcription 1. Titulus. 2. Bona fides. 3. Temporis continuatio. ance of time. And it is without doubt, that the Churches both purely have, and in times paſt had a good Title, as appeareth by the priviledge granted of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, and confirmed by *Charles*, who gave in commandment, to keep the ſame inviolably, which title it hath both by divine, natural and humane Law, as before is mentioned. Wherefore it muſt needs have true dealing, when ſo many great and clear Titles are known to confederat thereunto. Alſo there concurreth ſuch continuance, of time, *Jus fiſci.* that even againſt *Jus fiſci* it is preſcriptible: for it hath not only continued by the ſpace of an hundred years, but The Church not ſubject to the King. alſo more than 600 years paſt. Neither is this always true, this Law is inpreſcriptible, eſpecially of the Church; to the which, inaſmuch as it appertaineth to the Spiritualty, is not ſubject to the King, but is much more noble, and far excelleth; even no leſs than the Sun doth the Moon, Gold Lead, and Heaven the Earth. And this is certain, and no leſs reaſon, that the higher and equal may duly preſcribe law againſt him that is either equal or lower in degree; as one King may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the Church may preſcribe this although it were *Jus fiſci*, as indeed it is not.

Finally, This is proved by priviledge granted by *Carolus* the Great King of *France*, as before, and by *Ludovick* the ſecond, and by *Philip* your Uncle, and *Ludovick* and *Philip* your Kinſmen, which priviledges we have here ready to ſhew. But perhaps you will ſay, that theſe things cannot Objection. agree: That the Church hath this Juriſdiction both by law, cuſtom and priviledge, which all cannot well hang together; for if the Church have it by one of theſe, it ſhould follow, that the Church lacketh it by another. But this may I anſwer two manner of ways; Firſt, That the priviledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus Anſwer. it cannot be reconciled: The other, as a confirmative and declarative of the old law; and this way it may well be agreed, which diſtinction may alſo take place in cuſtom. Wherefore it may thus be anſwered, that although this Juriſdiction is due unto the Church by law, it appertaineth alſo unto the ſame by priviledge and cuſtom, but yet not by ſuch kind of cuſtom and priviledge which induceth a new law; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will reply, demanding wherefore the Church of *France* ſhould more challenge this, than any other Churches in other Realms, which have no ſuch Prerogative; I can ſoon anſwer them. If the Kings of *France* (whom God with ſingular

grace, honour and priviledge, far above all other Princes: hath blessed and indued for three speciall causes, to wit, for their great faith and devotion unto God, for their honour & reverence to the Church, & for their good justice shewed unto the people) have granted to the Church speciall liberties, or have permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to be kept and observed; why then they should have them, it is no marvel. Yea and further, their devotion unto the Church hath been such, that the nearer the Churches were unto them, the more liberties they enjoyed; and yet had these Princes never the less therefore, but rather the more; which is evident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobility oth the King and his Realm.

The *French* King more blessed than other in 3 things. 1. Faith to God. 2. Honour to the Church. 3. Justice to the People.

I have oftentimes heard of other, how that four or five things do especially nobilitate and adorn this Realm.

Five things do nobilitate the Realm of *France*.

First, *Their sincere and inviolable faith; for it was at no time read, that the Kings of* France *(since the receiving of the faith) did ever swarve from the same.*

The blood of *France* came out of *Priamus* K. of *Troy*.

Secondly, *The nobility of blood, which descended from* Priamus *the King of the* Trojans, *and successively from* Caballus *and other Royal Kings.*

Thirdly, *The unity and peace of concord, which especially above all other reigned and flourished in the Realm of* France.

Fourthly, *The solemnity and pomp of the Prelates and Clergy.*

Fifthly, *The good disposed readiness of the Barons and Subjects to obey.*

If therefore the Prelates of this Realm should not have this law and Priviledge, but should be deprived thereof; then should the King and his Realm lose one of his Noble Estates, whereby they are highly magnified, I mean the bravery, solemnity and royalty of the Prelates: for then, they should not only be neither pompous nor royal, but more beggerly and miserable than any other, the most part of their living consisting herein. I do conclude therefore, that it is proved both by divine law, natural law, canon law, civil law, custom and priviledge, that the right of determining such Temporal matters of the Church may of right appertain to the Church of *France*; and so I return the Lord *Peter*'s Theam against himself. Besides this, I will propound that which is most-plain and manifest; that whatsoever things be offered up to the Church, and are converted to the dominion and property of the same, be Gods, and appertain to him; forsomuch as they are said to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the *Levites* may appear, as declared in the 21 *cap.* 1 Reg. 21. *gum*, concerning the Bread offered to God, where it is said, *I have no common bread under my hands to eat, but holy bread.* Wherefore it was not lawful for the Laity to eat of the same bread, but in time of great necessity; which is also proved in *Daniel* the fifth Chapter, where it is read, Dan. 5. *Because King* Balthazar, *and his Lords, with his Queen, drunk in the golden and silver Vessels, which his Father* Nabuchadonezer *had taken out of the Temple of* Jerusalem; *in the same very hour there appeared Fingers, as it had bin of a Mans hand, writing right over the Candlestick upon the plain Wall in the Kings Palace. And the King saw the palm of the hand that wrote; and that which was written was* Mene, Thekel, Phares; *the interpretation whereof is this*, as there it appeareth: Mene, *God hath numbred this Kingdom and brought it to an end:* Thekel, *Thou art weighed in a balance, and art found too light:* Phares, *Thy Kingdom is deals in parts, and given to the* Medes *and* Persians. *The very self same night was* Balthazar *the King of the* Chaldees *slain, and* Darius *succeeded in the Kingdom of the* Medes; the Monarchy of the *Assyrians* being then translated unto the *Medes*. Whereby it appeareth, that those things which are offered up to the Church, belong to God, and are so dedicated to him, that no Layman may use them; which if they do, they must look to receive vengeance at Gods hand, as *Balthazar* did. These things now ended, I will argue out the Lord *Peter*'s Theam (which was) *Give unto the Emperor that is the Emperors, and unto God that is Gods*. But this Jurisdiction, which (as I proved before) is diverily converted to the dominion and property of the *French* Church, is now Gods; and therefore to be referred to and for him. Wherefore, whensoever any goeth about to take away the same, the *Ambrose* in case of doubt to obey the Emperor. *Gorbeo* Soldiers sent to him by the Emperor, which was good and godly ought to answer, as *Ambrose* did to the to this effect; *If the Emperor* (quoth he) *had requested that which had been mine, I would not have denied him.* [KING Edw. I.] *albeit that whatsoever I have, all is the poors; but because he demandeth those things which belong to God (wherein he hath no right or interest) I had rather he should imprison me, yea and cut off my head, than to condescend to his request therein:* alluding to the History of *Naboth*, which is to be seen, 3 *Reg.* 21. how *Naboth* the holy man, possessor of his Vineyard, was requested by the King to give up his Vineyard; who made answer, *I will not give unto thee the inheritance of my Fathers*: at which answer the King was marvellously offended: *Wherefore* (quoth *Ambrose*) *if* Naboth *would not deliver his Vineyard, shall we deliver to you the Church of Christ? No, God forbid, that I should deliver you Christs Heritage.* Naboth *did not deliver the Vineyard, nor surely will I deliver Christs Church.* And further he addeth a good saying, *I can neither diminish nor add any thing to the Church of God, for that I took not upon me the charge of keeping it: besides this, it is my duty and office to consult with the high Emperor of salvation in this matter what is to be done: and doubtless I may not deliver any thing to him, nor yet he receive any thing of me*, as is proved 24 *quæst. ultimo capite convenior. qui.* Wherefore, by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not only Jurisdiction Spiritual (as the Lord *Peter* falsly hath suggested) doth belong to God; but also all other kind of Jurisdiction whatsoever touching the Church, whether it be by law, custom or priviledge: insomuch that neither may we surrender the same to any, nor yet may the King at our hands take the same. Further, the Lord *Peter* affirmed, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute; which is untrue, as appeareth in *Genesis* the 48th. *chap.* For the Lands of Priests were free from paying of all kind of Tell and Tribute. And if the Lord *Peter* well considered the 17th. of *Matthew*, he should have found there, how that Christ did not only not pay Tribute for example sake, but rather proved, how he was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therefore, the children he free; but to pay, to avoid slander and offence: wherefore the Text saith: *Lest we should offend them, go to the Sea, &c.* But peradventure it may be answered, that by the example of Christ (to avoid offence) ye ought to pay. But this is untrue, because there is double offence of the weaklings and of the *Pharisees*: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which cometh of ignorance and not of malice, some things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better instructed; as the Apostle saith to the *Romans* in the 14th. *chap.* But for the offence of the *Pharisees*, which commit and offend of a pretended malice, there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in *Mat.* 16. Whereto his Disciples saying, *Do you not know how that the Pharisees hearing this word are offended?* he answered, *Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind*: For that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of little ones: but now is the offence of the *Pharisees*. Wherefore, then it was to be paid for avoiding of offence; but now not so. Now therefore it is apparent that the third token of the fear of God consisteth in the whole true reforting of goods: And of him which hath such fear whereby he reffored to God his own, it is spoken in *Eccles.* 15. *chap. The seed of the man that feareth God shall be brought to honour: but the seed which transgresseth the commandment of the Lord shall be shamed.* And thus it fully appeareth, how loving fear and obedience is due unto God, for the excellency of his Majesty; because the words be, *Fear God.*

[KING Edw. I.]

Secondly, I do say, that especial honour and reverence is due unto the King, for his dignity sake; which followeth in the Theam. Now it is said, *Honour the King.* I will allege the 10th. of *Ecclesiast.* where it is specified, *In the midst of the Brethren the Ruler is holden in honour among them.* Wherefore it feemeth to me that there are two kinds of honours, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is named flattery, whereto refer it is spoken in *Mat.* 17. *Chap. This people doth honour me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.* There is another kind of honour which is real, and cometh from the heart. And this is the very true honour indeed, wherewith the King ought to be honoured. But me thinketh, that he doth really, and *de facto* in very deed honour the King; which witheth and counselleth him to keep and do those things, whereby his Dominion is beloved, his Royalty not diminished, his Honour and Fame preferved, and his Conscience not

The 2d note of the first of God.

Eccl. 15.

Mark here a Fable.

Honour of the King.

Eccl. 10.

Two kinds of honours.

Mat. 17.

John 8.

Eccles. 4.

Double honour viz. the lips and the heart.

[KING Edw. I.] not burdened; and he that perswadeth him contrary to these, I think doth not honour the King. To proceed therefore further; I say first, that he doth *de facto* honour the King, who perswadeth him those things whereby he may be beloved of his Subjects; for a Prince ought to study rather to be beloved than feared. And what greater treasure can a Prince wish, than to have the hearts of his Subjects? According to the saying of *Seneca*, *The love of the Citizens is a fortress invincible, and a bulwark not faultable.* What thing is more to be wished for? What better, than to live and reign, every Man willing and rejoicing thereof? And in my opinion, there is nothing which causeth a Prince more to be beloved, than if he keep and maintain his ancient liberties, and bring in no alteration. Prov. 22. Wherefore it is said in the 22d. of *Prov. Thou shalt not remove the Land-marks, which thy fore-elders have set.* This place the Lord *Peter* alledged to make for himself, which I will prove to make against him, and that by this reason, Ye ought not to transgress the old limits and bounds which the fathers have set; for novelty and alteration doth ingender discord. And for this cause, in making of new alterations there ought to be both evident utility, and urgent necessity. If therefore the Prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessors, he shall not be of his Realm beloved, as it appeareth by *Rehoboam* in the 11th. *Chap.* of 3 *Reg.* All which likewise is to be seen in the *Chronicles*, how that by these means many Kingdoms and Dominions were translated from Nation to Nation, and from their own native Regiment to the rule of strange people. And now for this time, certain it is, that your grand predecessors *Charles* the great, Saint *Ludowick*, *Philip* the fair, *Ludowick* and *Philip* his Sons, with many others, have sealed and confirmed this liberty of the Church. Wherefore for a Man to counsel and perswade your Highness to spoil the Church of any thing; it is even the next way to spoil and undo your self, and bereave you of that by which your dominion is beloved. And for this cause I thought good to put your Grace in remembrance of the 20th. of *Matthew*, where it is written, *Remember the works of your forefathers, which they have done in their generations, and you shall receive great glory and renown for ever.* Note here, your Highness by the way, how that King *Philip*, Grandfather to S. *Lewis*, softered and kept in his Realm S. *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who, for that he stoutly defended the liberties of his Church, was banished out of *England*. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintain your own Prelates in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your Graces Predecessors, according to the saying of *Gregory* in 25. *quæst. cap. Si.* If I should destroy and pull down those things which my predecessors have built and ordained, I should not be called a builder and maker, but justly accounted a stroy-good and puller down, as the voice of the Lord saith, *Every king dom divided within it self shall be confounded.* All knowledge and learning divided one against the other, shall be destroyed. In another place he saith, It is oversharp, and against all good manner and civility (upon what reason and excuse soever) to break and subvert those things which are well ordained: or by his example, to teach others at their pleasures to dissolve old constitutions. Mark here a story about a Castle which was given to S. *Remige*, to the Churches use, by *Clodovy* the King, which afterward King *Pipin* desired to have by exchange and recovery. To whom the said S. *Remige* appeared in his Dream, and highly blamed him therefore, saying, *A better man than thou gave it me, and yet will thou take it away from me?* And with that he smote him, who the next day was found all black; since which time, no King of *France* durst even lie in that Castle. Verily therefore, he doth not honour the King, which giveth him counsel to pass the old limits that his old fathers did set. Yea rather, the Kings Majesty ought to say unto them, that which is written in S. *John. Chap.* 8. I do honour and glorifie my Father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you have dishonoured me, in counselling me that which seemeth best to please your selves, as it is written in *Eccles.* 4. *The worship of a man is his father is his own worship, and where the father is without honour, it is the dishonour of the son.*

A Prince rather to be beloved than feared. *Senec de clemen. ad Neronem.* A sentence.

Rom. 11

Mat. 20.

Eccles. 4.

25. q. 2. cap. Si.

Secondly, I say, That he truly doth honour the King, who counselleth him, whereby his power and dignity is not diminished. For as it is great honour to the Kings Highness to increase and augment his power; so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any jot thereof. And therefore the Emperors were wont to call themselves victorious, of augmenting and increasing their Common-wealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the Church, it were too too absurd, and to the too much derogation of your Majesties most honourable estate. And therefore for you (most sovereign Lord) who hold and possess so ample right and title in the Realm of *France*, both by Election and Inheritance, not to grant and leave this to your posterity, it were to the great debasing of your Majesties honour Crown and dignity. Yea, if it were (as God forbid) it would follow, that your predecessors lived continually in sin; yea and further it were as much to say (which were too vile) that bleffed S. *Lewis*, by whom all *France* is beautified, could not be justly canonized.

For as the Lord Speaker declared, if he took his Oath at his Coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to call in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the Crown, it should follow that he was forsworn, and consequently committed deadly sin, and so could never be Canonized, which is too too absurd to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he might have repented; it is soon to be answered, That his Sin is read of, but of his Repentance it is not found, as it is said of *Solomon*. But put case it be true that the Lord *Peter* said, then it must needs follow, that your Grace could beftow nothing, neither Country, Town nor Tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receive them, notwithstanding their Allegiance and Homage, which they pretend to your Highness. Keep therefore and confirm (most renowned Prince) that which was granted by your noble Progenitors, otherwise your Royal Honour shall decrease; that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the 11th. to the *Romans*, *I will honour my Ministry.*

Its alteration what is to be confirmed.

3 Reg. 11

Thirdly, I do affirm, that he rightly honoureth the King, which perswadeth him that whereby his honour and renown is preferved. For in matters of weight and of great importance, next after conscience we must have regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of *Prov. It is better to have a good name than riches.* A good name far passeth all things, and is above Silver and Gold. And S. *Augustine* saith, Two things are necessary for thee, and good Conscience and Name; Conscience for God, and Name for thy Neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 41th. *chap.* of *Eccles. Labour to get a good name, for that will continue surer by thee than many great treasures of Gold.* A good life hath a number of days. Which renown and name the Lord (who anointed your Grace with the oyl of gladness) hath in so little time more abundantly bleffed you withal, than any other Prince; wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and careful how to keep and enjoy the fame still: for it is no less vertue to keep that which is gotten, than to seek and get; whereby not only while you live, but also when you are dead, your glorious renown may live for ever; yea and further, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or foil should creep into that your so great renown; applying that to your Grace which is said in the 10th. of *Prov. The memorial of the just shall have good report, &c.* Beware therefore, most Noble Prince, and take heed, that in your days and time, the liberties of the Church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminished in any jot; for if your glorious name should be blotted therewith, there be thousands which would Chronicle the same to perpetual Memory. Wherefore most Christian Prince, if such (as truste after their death for no other life, but only for fame and renown) lived a life most godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Christians, which look after another life, by our well-doings here, to win us a perpetual name and memory after our death? And you besides, if you should dishonour your name and fame, what a matter were it? considering how the Kings of *France* were ever counted the most Christian Princes, and most bountiful towards the Church, giving examples to other Princes how to inrich their Churches and liberties thereof. And now especially, if your Grace, the Church in some places being in great perfection (which God forbid) should shew light to other to pull and take away that which was given by your forefathers to the Church; what might the World say? For then

Who honoureth the King. Rom. 11

Prov. 22.

Confidence and good Name.

Eccles. 41

by the like reason might the Emperor deprive the Church of all, which was given to it by *Constantine* the Emperor. Alſo other Kings would do the like in their Realms. God forbid, that your Highneſs ſhould give ſuch example. And for my part, I would rather with my ſelf to be dead, than give you ſuch counſel, that in ſo pernicious and naughty a matter you ſhould be example to other; eſpecially, when the Kings of *France*, your predeceſſors, were defenders always againſt ſuch as went about to take away the liberties from the Church, which is the office of a King. *Hieronymus* ſaith upon
24. q. 1. cap. Regnum. *Jeremy*, which is found alſo in the 24. *queſt.* 5. *ca. Regnum & C. princeps*, after this manner, Let the Princes of the World know and underſtand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the Church which they take upon them to keep. Note you alſo, and read ſome examples out of Stories and Commentaries, what regard the Kings of *France* had in obſerving thoſe things; and ſee you by their example, to follow and do the like; and then ſhall it be verified in your Grace which is written in the 37 *Chapt.* of Eccleſ. 3. *Eccl. A wiſe man ſhall obtain honour amongſt his people*: As alſo in the third of the ſame, *He that honoureth his Mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure together.*

Ecclo. 37.

The 4th honouring of the King. Fourthly, I ſay, That he indeed doth honour the King, which perſwadeth him to do that whereby his Conſcience is not hurt. For above all things, a Chriſtian Man ought to beware how he do that thing, which ſhould be a grudge unto his Conſcience, becauſe the life is more than is meat,

Matth. 6. *Mat.* the 6 *Chap.* And aſſuredly I believe, that your Grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your Conſcience ſhould be burdned, for all the Worlds good, and that juſtly. For the more miraculouſly God hath called your Highneſs to the ſtate of a King, and hath endued you with his grace; ſo much the more care ought you to have, and take heed that you offend him not. Nor is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, he will not be the more grieuouſly diſpleaſed with you, as he was with *Saul*, 1 *King*

1 Re. 15. *Chap.* 15. Conſider therefore moſt ſovereign Lord, that at what time you were crowned, you ſwore only theſe things

The Oath of the French Kings. following, and no other. Firſt, That you would defend and maintain the Canonical Law, priviledge and juſtice, granted to the Biſhops and the Church, and, as much as in you did lie, to inlarge and amplifie the ſame. Alſo, That by your arbitrement all Chriſtian People, at all times, ſhould keep the true peace of God and his Church. Alſo, That you ſhould forbid to all Nations all kind of facrileges, ſpoilings and iniquities. Alſo, That in all kind of Judgments, you ſhould will and command equity and mercy. Alſo, That throughout your whole Territory and Juriſdiction, you ſhould ſincerely, with all your endeavour, ſtudy to exterminate, and cut off from the Church the noted Hereticks: Which all, and no other, your Majeſty ſware to fulfil, at the time of your Coronation; under the leave and correction of the Lord *Peter*, which affirmed you were ſworn to ſome other thing beſides. Now therefore, ſeeing it is a Canonical priviledge of the Church, and in the heart of the whole. *Cano. 6. q. 1. Quicunque litem habens*, incorporate; when alſo by Cuſtom, which is Canonical, it came in, that the Church and Spirituality, may have cognition in a number of caſes, againſt which divers Articles have been here laid in: If this amongſt the Laity ſhould not be obſerved in the Church, your Graces Conſcience thereby might ſomewhat be burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole *Chriſtendom* ſhould keep the true peace of God and his Church: much more, have you to procure the ſame amongſt your own Barons and people, who evermore were all one with the Church. And always, where any Church was in honour and eſtimation, there were belonging to it 20 ſtout Barons and Knights, whoſe office, as it was to defend the Church; ſo was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer ſacrifice for them unto God. And to this end, that bleſſed S. *Lewis* ſo much laboured in his time: who, when the greateſt Barons of his Realm had confederate to ſuppreſs theſe liberties of the Church, and had conſulted to give him (to that end) the hundredth part of their goods, would never condeſcend thereunto, but always diſſwaded them therefrom: and finally, by his authority ſealed and confirmed theſe liberties of the Church. Conſider here your Majeſty, how that Pope *Innocent* at that time proceeded againſt thoſe Barons, *&c.* I dare be bold to ſay, that if there ſhould be now diſſention between the Prelates and Barons, it would not be long before the Commonalty would uſurp to rule and bear domination. As
1 KING 1 Edw. 11 by experience it hath been ſeen in many places, and likewiſe by practice we of late time might have ſeen; at what time the people ſtomaking the Spiritualty in the parts of *Campania* and *Burgundy*, at laſt roſe, and made in every Town a King; and therewithal cauſed the Officers, which brought Citations and Abſolutions from the Pope and other, to be well banged; and not long after, made inſurrection againſt the Lords Temporal, and ſerved them with the like ſauce; until that by the Kings power they were ſuppreſſed, and many of them hanged. And this doubtleſs was in the days of *Lewis* laſt King of that name. Truly the Nobleſmen ought not to be grieved with that that the Church is poſſeſſed withal, for that there be few of them, who have not their Brothers and Kinſfolks which live, and are maintained by the goods and revenues of the Church. Amongſt whom if they ſhould divide their inheritance, perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the Barons alſo conſider, how that there are but few which believe not in the Church; for the Church is one, as in the 6 of *Cant. My Dove and Dearling is one.* Wherefore without great peril of tranſgreſſion can they not in perſwade and counſel ſuch liberties of the Church to be abrogated and taken away.

Arg. By the poſſeſſions of the Church nourished and kinſmen of the Nobles be maintained. *Ergo*, Such poſſeſſions are not to be grudged at.

To believe in the Church, is not in our faith.

That therefore your Majeſties Conſcience may remain pure and immaculate, pleaſeth it your Highneſs by your authority to ſeal and confirm this good ancient and Canonical priviledge; and contrary attempts (if any be made by way of Proclamation or otherwiſe) to revoke and call them in. And further, to keep your Mother the Church of *France* in her ancient frank choice, liberty and cuſtoms. And then by you in all things God ſhall be glorified and honoured; to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.* Who then will honour you, as is ſaid, 1 *Reg.* 2. 1. Whoſoever ſhall honour me, I will crown him with that glory, in which conſiſteth the true honour, and is granted to none unworthy. Whereunto alſo none is admitted but worthy, as bleſſed S. *Auſtin* ſaith, which honour grant he unto you and us, who is bleſſed world without end. *Amen.* And becauſe a Bill of many Articles was exhibited, whereof part did infringe the whole Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to the defence thereof we will according to the 24. *Chap.* of *Eccleſiaſtica.* ſtand even to the death, it is ſaid, *For the truth ſhrive thou unto the death, and God ſhall fight for thee againſt thine enemies.* Some other of them contain only abuſe, and we believe none ſuch to be. But if there be, we will fee redreſs therein. Therefore for the honour of God, for the unburdening of our conſciences, for the Kings Majeſties reverence, and for the peoples profit and peace, all we here aſſembled have concluded to ſee remedy, that the aforeſaid abuſes, if any ſuch be, ſhall be left, to the quietneſs of the people, and praiſe of Almighty God. To whom be honour and glory world without end. *Amen.*

1 Kin. 21.

To the Bill of Articles exhibited.

Another Sitting in the Parliament.

Another days ſitting in the Parliament.

The next *Friday* following being the 29th. of *December*, the Prelates aſſembled themſelves again together at the Kings Palace in *Paris*, where the Reverend Father the Lord *Peter Bertrand*, by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of *Edven*, ſpake openly there before the King, ſitting with his Counſellors and Barons about him; taking to his Theam that which is written in the 18th of *Geneſis*, *O Lord be not angry that I ſpeak yet more, &c.* the which he applied to this end; that for the Majeſty of the King, the prudency of his Council, and inſufficiency of himſelf (conſidering the weightineſs of the cauſe) he trembled and was afraid to ſpeak; yet nevertheleſs, truſting upon his acccuſtomed clemency, he took to him audacity, and preſumed that which was appointed to him by the Prelates. Beginning with the 89th. *Pſal. Lord thou art our refuge, &c.* Which he proſecuted in extolling the Kings Perſon, and his miraculous attaining to the Crown of *France*; preaching further, how he ought to be the Champion and Defender of the Faith; all which he proved in few words, by many reaſons and authorities. Afterward, he touched thoſe propoſitions which were propounded by the foreſaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner*, and for no other cauſe, as he proteſted, but only to inform the conſcience of his Sovereign Lord and King, and to adviſe his Grace concerning the ſame; not going about to make any final judgment, determination or anſwer, whereby either ſentence, order, ſtatute, right to any man, or other proceſs, might thereof enſue or be grounded. And namely, the firſt beginning with the Theam of the Lord *Peter*; firſt affirmed *(Render unto the Emperor which is the Emperors,*

Biſhop of Edven again ſpeaketh.

1 KING 1 Edw. 11 Mat. 12. Mar. 12. *perors, and unto God which is his*; Mark 12.) By which words was ſignified the obedience and ſubjection to the King, with the difference of the Spiritualty from the Temporalty; whereof the firſt member is proved by the 1 *Pet.* 2. where it is ſaid, *Be ye ſubject to every humane creature, &c.* Alſo by the *Cap. ſolite, extra. de maio. & ob.* and by the *c. novit extra. de judiciis cap. de ſacerdotibus* 10. *q.* 1. with the notes about the ſame. Moreover, as touching the diſtinction of both Juriſdictions, whereof the Lord *Peter* proved the Temporal Juriſdiction to pertain to Secular Men, the Spiritual to the Clergy, by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Luke* 22. where he ſaid; Behold two Swords. Alſo for that Chriſt did pay tribute; teaching thereby, how that the Temporalties were to be reſerved to the Temporal Men, *Mat.* 17. 11. *q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.*

Why Chriſt paid tribute.

In like manner, by the Law of *Juſtinian*, where it is written, that two great gifts were ordained and granted of God; a Biſhoprick and a Kingdom: the firſt to bear rule over Gods matters, the other over worldly things, *&c.* And ſaid moreover, that theſe two be the caſes which in no wiſe could be altered or changed. *Prov.* 20. *de Tion mo. lib.* 1. *& ult.* And affirmed alſo, that of ſuch princely right the King could not abrogate and deprive himſelf; for that it was imprecriptible, appertaining to the Crown and his Regal Seat (conſidering how he took his Oath at the time of his Coronation) not only not to break or alienate the Laws of his Realm, but alſo to reſtore and revoke ſuch as were broken and alienated. To which his reaſons it was anſwered, that the juriſdiction and determination of civil cauſes (whereabout the controverſie now ſtandeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods Law and Mans Law. By Gods Law it was proved, even from *Adams* time to Chriſts coming; *per Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe.* And from Chriſts coming, to *Peters* time and his ſucceſſors, 22 *di. c. omnes patriarchæ, Matth. cap.* 16. But how the Church, in the Realms of Catholick Princes, attained unto this right and intereſt which at this preſent it doth enjoy, the Law proveth, 2. *q. ca.* 5. *Si quis Presbyter* 11. *q.* 1. *Relatum* 25 *diſt. Ecce.* Which alſo is confirmed by the Emperors in the body of the Law, *ff.* 3. ¶ *Si cauſam. col.* 9. 23. *q. ult. c. hic, & a quibus.* The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. *Peter* commanded all the Princes of the Earth, and others, to obey and give place to the Biſhops: *c. omnes, extra de major. & ob.* 16. *diſt. duo ſunt.* Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wiſe this right is to be ſeparated and taken away from the Church. And albeit, in the Realms of tyrannous Princes, this ſtate of the Church is violated and not kept; yet in this bleſſed Realm of *France* it hath been always, even to theſe days duly obſerved: *c. novit. extra. de judiciis.* This Juriſdiction the Laws of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, and *Carolus* the great, hath alſo confirmed: *extra. de judiciis. c. nonne.* 11 *Ed. cap.* 1. *& 2.* 11. *q. 1. quæcunque & c. de ſententia & re judicata. c. expreſſe.* Where it is mentioned, that the ſame *Carolus* King of *France* (and Emperor) eſpecially conſtituted the ſaid Law. And likewiſe to ſpeak of Cuſtoms, it hath been known from time out of mind, the ſame to have belonged to the Church of *France*: He therefore which ſhall go about to violate this Law, commitreth Sacrilege, 11. *q.* 1. *ca.* 1. *& 2.* And let not the Kings Majeſty marvel, if that in this moſt noble Realm of *France* this prerogative be due unto the Church; As when hereby his power and nobility is beautified. *Anth. ut. ind. ſine quoquo ſuffra. in principio col.* 2. Beſides this, our Sovereign Lord and King, at what time he was crowned, was ſworn by the Evangeliſts to keep and obſerve this canonical priviledge of the Church. Further, the Barons, who in a manner are all ſworn to the Church, ſwore fidelity to the ſame: by which Oath of fidelity they are bound to keep theſe Liberties and Rites of the Church. When therefore every Oath, which tendeth not to the peridition of the ſoul, is to be kept, *a fortiori* that Oath, which is taken in the favour of the Church, is much more to be obſerved: *c. Si vero extra de jure jurando*, 22. *queſt.* 4. *c. ult.* Beſides this bleſſed *Ludovick. Philip* of *Arragon, Philip* the fair, *Ludovick, Carolus* the Great, and *Philip*, confirmed theſe priviledges, cuſtoms and liberties of the Church, which all were ſworn at their Coronations, as before, *&c.* Theſe thing conſidered, who can adviſe the Kings Majeſty, without damning of his own ſoul, contrary to theſe liberties granted, and ſo confirmed to the Church? To him belongeth great reward, whoſoever beſtoweth any thing upon the Church: *Ambro. de non alie. ac permut. re. ecce: ſſ. ſi minus col.* 3. Neither maketh it againſt us, where it is ſaid, that there are two Swords, *&c.* Neither yet the diſtinction between the Biſhoprick and Kingdom; becauſe it is true that there are two Swords, the power whereof is left to the Churches hand, although the execution of the material Sword is committed to the temporal and ſecular Men, *Matth.* 26. where Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *Convert and put up the Sword into the place.* But as touching the diſtinction betwixt the Biſhoprick and Kingdom, indeed it is true as much as appertaineth to the end; and to the execution of blood, but not concerning the beginning and ſubject: for that in one ſubject, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proved. To that point, where it is ſaid, that Chriſt paid Tribute; it is anſwered, that not therefore he paid it, becauſe he ought, or was bound thereunto, becauſe it is certainly true, that the Sons of the King (as he was) ought not to pay; but this he did to avoid offence; yea alſo the Clergy is not bound hereunto, *Eſtræ* 1. *& ult.* Wherefore, ſuch things do not infer a conſequence. Neither yet maketh that againſt us, where it is ſaid, that the King our Sovereign Lord and Maſter cannot abdicate from himſelf this right, eſpecially for that he was ſworn thereunto at the time of his Coronation, *&c.* For it is anſwered, that he may well abdicate the ſame. And how doth he abdicate it from himſelf, which he giveth and beſtoweth to God and the Church? The land is the Lords. And doubtleſs, to give, is nothing elſe, but to render to God and the Church their own; for then by that reaſon, the gift given to the Church by *Conſtantine*, is naught and nothing worth, which is falſe; and this is proved 16 *diſt. ea. Conſt.* Whereby it appeareth, that an Emperor and King may alienate things of the Empire; *ff. de Conſtitutio. legatæ* 1. *l. apud Julianum ſſ. ult.* and yet hereby the Empire or Kingdom not be damaged; for that the thing returneth to the priſtinate ſtate, *ff. de pactis l. omnes ſſ. pactæ* 35 *diſt.* 35 *Diſt. ea. ab exordio.* Furthermore, by this reaſon propounded, all the Kings of *France* which ever were, and eſpecially bleſſed *Ludovick*, ſhould be ſpotted; for if that were true, as God forbid) then all they were periured and died in mortal ſin; which is too abſurd. Laſt of all it hurteth not where it is ſaid, that ſuch things are imprecriptible. It is true indeed, they cannot of Subjects, or otherwiſe than of the Church be preſcribed: but in this cauſe we talk not of Subjects. Alſo ſeeing they may be alienated, they may be preſcribed, eſpecially (the Kings thus conſenting, who confirmed the ſame ſo long a time) which excludeth all right both Fiſcal and Eccleſiaſtical. The Prelates therefore, all with one conſent agree and affirm to the ſame as a verity to be maintained and defended; beſeeching the Kings Majeſty their Lord, both for his ſouls health, and peace of the Church, to maintain the ſame, and to keep the liberties of the Church; deſiring him to conſider what commodity daily he receiveth by the Church; and that his Church never failed him yet, when he had need of the Laity, ſhewing the dangers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further he beſeeched his Highneſs to weigh how entirely his Lord the Pope doth and hath loved his Perſon and Realm; affirming, that never any placed in the ſeat of *Peter*, loved better his Realm, than he doth. Alledging the Text of *Eccleſ.* 6. where it is ſaid, *Stand in the multitude of the Prieſts, and believe them with thy*

Mat. 26.

Eccleſ. 6.

After this, in the ſaid Seſſion, the foreſaid Biſhop of *Edven* Prolocutor inferred many things beſide, and anſwered particularly to the Articles above ſpecified, and exhibited by the Lord *Peter* in writing to the King and Parliament; which, becauſe they touch more the ſubtilty of the Law, and ſtiles of the Courts, than are neceſſary to this our Hiſtory, and becauſe we would not burden the Volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpoſe for brevities ſake, omitted them, paſſing to the next ſitting, which was the *Friday* next following the ſame, as enſueth.

Special anſwers to the Articles preſented by Biſhop Edven.

The next *Friday* after this, the Prelates aſſembled at *Vincenas* before the King, to hear their anſwer: where the foreſaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner* (being Prolocutor for the King) ſpake on this wiſe, taking for his Theam; *I am peace unto you, do not fear, &c.* which he proſecuted, monſhing that they ſhould not be troubled in any thing that there had been ſpoken for that the intent and mind of the Sovereign Lord their King was, to keep the Rites of the Church and Prelates,

Another days ſitting in the Parliament.

lates, which they had by law and by good and reasonable custom: Where between the first and second conclusion, he went about to prove, that the cognition of civil causes ought not to appertain to the Church; for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the Temporalty, as spiritual things to the Spiritualty. And besides his other reasons, he alledged the 86 *dist.* declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the Clerks Crowns were shaven, in sign that they should be free from all worldliness, and forsake all temporal things. Alledging to that end, the 12, q. 2. Furthermore, he declared, that the Bishops had cognition in certain cases expressed by Law, wherefore, these said cases minuted a certain rule against him, alledging for the proof thereof. *De Reg. juris. ff. de lege. l. L. tiete reprorum.* Also he affirmed, that by reason of sin, the Decretal *Novit.* could not make for them. For the same did speak of the King of *France* his state, which hath no superiour; but in other persons it was (he said) otherwise. And these things thus being proved, then said he, and concluded; That nevertheless, their Lord and King was ready to hear the information of them, which would instruct him of any custome; and those customes which were good and reasonable he would observe. Which answer because it did not seem to please and suffice the Prelates, incontinently the Bishop of *Edven* answered for them all in manner following; First, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise; The Prince of the people, (said he) shall be praised for the prudence of his talk, commending therewith, as touching the former good general answer of the King, his purpose and talk propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord *Peter*, which ingendred and brought darkness and obscurity, and might give occasion to the Temporal Lords to break and infringe the Rites and Customs of the Church, his answer seemed not full and plain to the Prelates. Speaking moreover, to the said *Peter*, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her Son, *why did you so to us?* And so he protecuted the same, both marvelling with himself, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterward answering to those things which the Lord *Peter* affirmed, and first to the Chapter. *Ad verum*, he said, that it was before answered, touching the division of the two Jurisdictions, that they may be in one subject, as before is proved. Neither doth it let which the Lord *Peter* said, that these two Jurisdictions could not be in one subject, because that things which be in themselves diverse, and be under one *Genus*, as a Man and an Asse cannot be in one subject. But if they were under divers kinds, as whiteness and sweetness in Milk, they might be well in one subject. It was answered, that this rule was not true, becaue justice and temperance are two divers vertues and under one kind, and yet be in one subject. Besides these differing *Species*, a Man and an Asse be not compatible in one subject. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shaving of the Crown, it was answered, that the Crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the shaving did signifie, that they ought not to heap up store of temporal things, to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be subject to them, and not they to the temporalty, as is proved in the said Chapter, *duo sunt genera*. Also as concerning the thing which was talked of *de regula*: he answereth, that this maketh for the Church, as before was proved; yea also the Custom doth make the rule for the Church. Also Laws in all kind of sense do always except the Custom. And therefore his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the Lord *Peter* spake about the Decretal *Novit.* That the case was only in the Kings Person; yet for all that it is expressly said in the same Text of every Christian Man. And although their Law doth speak only of the Pope, yet the same is applied to all Bishops in their Dioces. Wherefore the said Bishop concluded and beseeched the King, that it would please his Grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all pensive and sad, whereby occasion might be given to the Laity to impugne the Rites and Liberties of the Church, and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their Sovereign Lord and King. In the end, it was answered to them in the behalf of the King, that his mind and intent was not to impugne the Customs of the Church.

The *Sunday* following, the Bishops assembled themselves again before the King at *Vicenar*, where the Lord Bishop of *Edven* repealed their last suppostition, with the last answer made unto them in the behalf of the King, when the Bishop of *Byturien* had given them to understand how the King willed them not to fear; for that they should suffer no hindrance or damage in his time, yea, and he would defend them in their Rites and Customs, because it should not be said, that he would give ensample to other to impugne the Church, assuring them, that even the Kings Grace willed him so to declare unto them. The said Lord Bishop of *Senon* in the name of the whole Prelates gave humble thanks to the King therefore, and the said Bishop of *Senon* beseeched that such Proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the King himself answereth with his own mouth, that they were not published at his commandment, neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the Bishop proposed, that those abuses which the Temporalty complained of, should be so ordered and reformed, that every Man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the Kings Highness, that he would of his gracious goodness give them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the Lord *Peter* in the name of the King; That if the Prelates and Bishops would fee reformation of those things which were to be amended (whereabouts he would take respite between this and *Christmas* next following,) his Grace would innovate nothing in the mean season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reform that which was amiss, His Majesty would appoint such order and remedy, that should be acceptable both to God and his Subjects. After this the Prelates had leave of the King to depart, and went home.

A brief recapitulation of the Bishops answer, with certain Notes answering to his *Popish* reasons unto the Reader.

THE *Answer of Bishop* Edven, *in the name of the other Prelates, to the Oration and Articles before objected by the Lord* Peter, *consisteth of two parts. First, in declaring the fear due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the King. Whereof the first is, the fear of God, which (he saith) consisteth in three things. 1. In giving to God. 2. In honouring his Ministers. 3. In reforming that which hath been taken away, &c. The second, which is, the honouring of the King, he saith, consisteth in a double sort, that is; in word only, wherein is flattery; and in deed; which deed he divideth into four members. First, when a man counselleth a King to that whereby his dominion is loved. 2. When the King is counselled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminished. 3. When the King is counselled to that, whereby his fame and renown is maintained. 4. When a King is counselled to that, whereby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like brevity, to recite the reasons and arguments in order, whereby he proveth the premisses, with the subdivision of every member and part thereof. Wherein the studious Reader may note both the subtil proceedings of these* Popish *Prelates, and also the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build. Whose building (as by this discourse and many other may appear) wholly and finally tendeth to this, to maintain their Liberties, Pomp and Estimation above all other secular Princes and persons.*

Notes upon the Bishops answer pag. 406. col. 1.
1. Fear of God consisting in 3 things.
2. In honouring his Ministers.
3. In reforming.
1. Honour to the King, devided. In word flattery. In deed 4 things.
1. Honour of his Royal Estate.
2. Standeth in 4 points.
1. In maintaining the Kings honour.
2. In maintaining his dignity.
3. In maintaining his good name.
4. In maintaining his conscience.

First, As concerning fear to be given to God, which he devideth into three parts, In giving, in honouring, and reforming; for the first, he proveth that Princes ought to give largely and without measure to the Church, by these arguments.

By the testimony of Justinian: *Although nothing is good which is too much, yet,* Pag. 406. col. 1. *I answer, that in the time of* Justinian, *goods then given to the Church, were the goods of the poor: wherein was used faithful distribution, voluntary giving, and necessary charity. But now in our* Popish *Churches, Revenues and Lands given are not distributed to the poor: and yet are men compelled against their will to give still. And again, so little necessity is now to give to such, that the most wealth of Realms almost is in their hands and houses; insomuch that they, flowing in such wealth, are now waxen so proud, that Kings can scarce bear any rule for them, as was proved before,* pag. 407. col. 1. *that the Popes revenues here in* England, *mounted to more*

Pag. 406. col. 1.

Religious persons disable'd from temporal matters.

Abomination of the Church in giving to the Church.

Pag. 406. col. 1.

Three things to be used in offering to God and to the Church.

Pag. 406. col. 1.

The first answer of the King to the Petition

Pag. 406. col. 1.

1 Tim. 5. Titus 2.

Qui bene præsunt.

more than three times double the stint of the Kings Crown, Wherefore by the counsel of Justinian, *it was so then, and then might stand,* quod Religio peperit divitias: *But now as the time is altered so that counsel holdeth not,* postquam nunc filia devoravit matrem: *that is,* after that the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. *Finally, concerning Mens giving to the Church in these our Popish days, four faults I note:*

First, That they give superfluously more than sufficient is to necessity of life.

Secondly, That they give to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, That in giving to them that need not. Noblemen in mean time defraud their poor Neighbors, which need indeed, and yet do not complain.

Fourthly, Because of this Title of giving, men have used and yet do use to put great hope of salvation therein, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, whereof examples are before.

Pag. 406. Col. 1. Abel *offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God. Ergo, Every great man that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath unto the Church.* Answer: *This Argument as it is far fet, so it is som answered, wherein three notes are to be observed.*

First, That he which offereth unto the Church of God, doth not therein offer unto God immediately as Abel *did.*

Secondly, Neither is this to be granted, that he which offereth to all Churchmen, offereth by and by to the Church of God; for many times the Church-men are one, and the Church of God is another. Lawrence *the Martyr shewing forth the Church of God, brought out the poor of the Parish, and not of the Priests of the Church.*

The third note is; That if noble persons should offer unto God (by the example of Abel) *that which is the best and fattest of the flock; then should they offer unto the Lord of their flocks only, and not of their Lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither Cattel nor Lands, but that which is the very best,* Rom. 12. *that is, their own bodies for a lively Sacrifice to God. He that offereth up to God a proud heart, and killeth it with the Ax of humility, giveth unto him the best and fattest* Pag. 406. col. 2. *Bullock he hath in all his flock. With like reason also I answer the place of* Num. 18. and of Paral. cap. ult. *that to offer up, or to separate unto the Lords Treasury, is not now to give to Priests and Chaplains of the Church, which peradventure have more than they do well occupy; but to give liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true Treasury of the Church indeed, as* Lawrence *the true Treasurer said*

Pag. 406. col. 2. *By Gods commandment we are bound of duty to honour our temporal Fathers.* Ergo, *By the same duty we are bound much rather to honour our spiritual Fathers, that is, Priests and Prelates.* Answer. *A Father in common speech is diversly taken, as by Age, by Nature, by Office. And to all these we of duty are bound to yield, honour, reverence, obedience, submission; albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our Fathers and Mothers so aged Men and Elders have also their honour and name of Fathers: So Magistrates and spiritual teachers, in their kind have their honour and reverence. And* S. Paul *saith, that such are worthy of double honour,* qui bene præsunt, & qui laborant in sermone. *But in this two things are to be noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how far it extendeth. These Spiritual Fathers of the Church think they be not honoured enough, unless Kings and Emperors give and surrender unto them all the temporal rule and government, to do what they list, and none to controul them: and unless Noblemen and Subjects endow them with temporal Lands and Possessions so much as they would have. And this they call honour, which they define only by giving temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giving spiritually, as to have a reverent opinion of their ministration, to yield a prompt obedience to their Doctrine, reverence to them as the Ministers of God, and not to despise, defame or molest their persons; wherof* S. Paul *also about the same place speaketh, writing to* Timothy, Let no man despise thy youth, &c. *Also to* Titus, *Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honour our spiritual Fathers.*

Secondly, To consider how far this honour extendeth: As no man doth deny, but these Pastors are worthy their double honour which rule well; so if they administer not their office well, they are under the oversight of the King bearing the Temporal Sword, worthy of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honour in them that rule well, how far it doth extendsif it be compared to the honour due to our Parents, case of necessity will soon decide it. For be it that our parents on the one side, and Pastor of the other, stand in extream need of the Sons supportation, wherein he can help but the one: Nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the Word of Christ will sooner drive us to our Father, than to the Priests Corban, Mark 7. *So that this distinction here may have place; that as the one standeth upon merit of vertue, so the other standeth upon meer duty of necessity.*

How far honour given to Priests extendeth. Mark 7.

Pag. 407. col. 1. *These Jurisdictions Temporal and Spiritual, are compatible in one person.* Answer: *I grant pro ratione subjecti: That is, in the subject it self there is no cause to the contrary, but these vocations may be exercised both of one person, as they have been of the Pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary forms also) and yet the Popes person hath been able to sustain them both. But now here is to be considered, not what the nature of the Subject is able to bear by Logick, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whose order is this: That they, which with* Peter *are called to the feeding of the Flock, should leave their Fishing-nets, and fish for men, and that they, which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselves with the business of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose Soldiers they are,* Tit. 2. &c.

Pag. 407. col. 1. *The Jurisdictions Temporal and Spiritual, are so distinct that they are not contrary, &c.* Answer: *And what let is there then, but our Queen now, and other Kings hereafter may have the government of both states, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal? Seeing both the forms being compatible, may concur both in one subject; why not as well in the person of the King within the Realm, as in the person of the Pope without the Realm?*

Titus 2.

Pag. 407. col. 1. Two forms not contrary may be compatible in one subject.

Pag. 407. col. 2. *God after the Creation of the World, &c. unto* Noahs *time, &c.* Answer: *If God unto* Noahs *time governing the World as King, gave sentence him self against* Cain *(as we say) how then did he that by the ministry of Angels? If he did it by the Angels his Ministers, whether is more like then that it make for the Pope, or rather for Kings and Princes, whom the Scripture thrice in one Chapter calleth the Ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth evil,* Rom. 13.

Pag. 407. c. 1.

Rom. 13.

Pag. 407. col. 2. Noah *also which offered, &c.* Answer: *If offering of burnt Sacrifice to God do make a Priest, then was* Cain *also,* Abel, Abraham, Isaac, *and all Patriarchs Priests. If he had both Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction over them which were in his Ark, I marvel why he did not curse then the disobedient Crow that returned not to him again.*

Pag. 407. c. 2. Noah was a Priest, and had both jurisdictions in the Ark.

Pag. 407. col. 2. Melchisedech *likewise, &c.* Answer: Melchisedech *properly did bear a figure of Christ, both King and Priest, and of none other.*

Pag. 407. c. 2.

Pag. 408. col. 1. A. *I have given tome, &c.* Answer: *That Christ hath all power given him, no man doubteth; but yet the same Christ saith, that* his Kingdom is not of this world; *neither would he be made a King in this World, &c.* Non eripit mortalia, qui regno dat cælestia, hymn, &c.

Pag. 408. c. 1. B.

Pag. 408. col. 1. B. *Whom Christ made his Vicar, &c.* Answer: *Here in one line he two lies. For neither had Peter the very same power in Heaven and Earth as Christ had, neither was he the Vicar of Christ.*

Ibid.

Pag. 408. col. 1. C. *As the offence of* Ananias *and* Saphira *was not temporal but spiritual; so did* Peter *kill them not judicially, that is, as a temporal judge; but spiritually, that is, by the power of the Spirit, which Spirit wrought by him, not as by a Judge, but as a Minister. And although this act of Peter was extraordinary for a singular example; yet not withstanding let any Prelate with the like power of Spirit so do, and none will blame him.*

Ibid.

Pag. 408. col. 1. D. *And so likewise the condemnation of* Paul *against the* Corinthian, *was only spiritual and not temporal.*

Ibid.

Pag. 408. col. 1. E. *Must be referred to the order, &c.* Answer: *Christ would have these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spiritual admonition, but not for Temporal Jurisdiction of the Prelates.*

Ibid.

Pag.

Pag. 408. Col. 2.

Pag. 408. Col. 2. F. *All things that the true Church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the Pope prove his Church to be the true Church, and himself to be the universal head thereof, and then let him claim the Keys.*

Ibid. *The two Swords do as much signifie the two Regiments, as do the two Fishes wherewith Christ did feed four thousand persons.*

Ibid. *Christ bade* Peter *put up his sword, and not to cast it away:* Ergo, *the Church may have the Temporal sword.* Answ. *God give you good morrow, I have brought you a Capon.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Pag. 408. Col. 2. *Know ye not the Saints, &c.* Answ. *St.* Paul *here willing the* Corinthians *to plead their matters, not before the Heathen, but before the Saints, meaneth the faithful of the Congregation, not only Prelates.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. K. *In them was not the like reason, &c.* Answ. *I grant: for Christ and true Christians is one thing; Antichrist and his Church is another thing.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Ibid. *As ye say, the Apostles had no leisure to take lands and possessions for preaching; but now for Lordly loitering you have leisure enough.*

Pag. 409. Col. 1. Pag. 409. Col. 1. M. *They are most fit to bear Temporal rule, which follow nearest to God. Prelates of the Clergy follow nearest to God.* Ergo, *Prelates of the Clergy are most meet to bear Temporal rule.*

Resp. *If God here be taken for that God, which is called the belly, I grant they seem to follow nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their own fruits, life and doctrine; and* Elay *also would deny their minor, and say, that thus people draweth near to me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.*

Pag. 409. Col. 1. Pag. 409. Col. 1. *You are a chosen generation, a Royal Priesthood, &c.* Answ. *This place of* Peter *was written not only to perfons Ecclesiastical, but to the whole congregation of the Saints disperfed, as the words following may declare:* Qui eratis quondam non populus, *&c.*

And thus much concerning *French* matters, which because they be Ecclesiastical, and bear with them some utility to the diligent Reader (such as list to search, note and observe the acts of men, and course of Religion) I thought therefore here to place and adjoyn them next after the other contention before proceeding between *Philip* the *French* King, and Pope *Boniface*. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of years and time, I am not ignorant that this forefaid Parliament, thus summoned and commenced against the *French* Prelates, falling in the year of our Lord 1329, was to be referred rather to the raign of King *Edward* the Second, of whom now remaineth (by the Grace of Christ) in order of History to profecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his Father given to him in the time of his departing. The year of our Lord 1307, and the last year of the King, the forefaid King *Edward*, in his journey marching toward *Scotland*, in the North fell sick of the Flux, which increased so fervently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his Earls and Barons, he caused them to be sworn that they should Crown his Son *Edward* in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the laws to his use, till he were Crowned. That done, he called before him his Son *Edward*, informing and lessoning him with wholsome precepts; and he charged him also with divers points upon his blessing: First, That he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good; and especially to the miserable to be merciful. After this, he gave him also charge not to be too hasty in taking his Crown before he had revenged his Fathers injuries shortly against the *Scots*: but that he should remain in those parts to take with him his Fathers bones, being well boiled from the flesh; and so being included in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the *Scots*; saying, That so long as he had his Fathers bones with him, none should overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to love his Brother *Thomas* and *Edmund*; also to cherish and tender his Mother *Margret* the Queen. Over and besides, he straightly charged him upon his blessing (as he would avoid his curse) that he should in no case call to him again, or send for *Peter Gaveston*; which *Peter Gaveston* the King before had banished the Realm, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his Son *Edward*, and for his seducing of him with smister counsel. For the which cause he banished both *Peter Gaveston* utterly out of the Realm, and also put the said *Edward* his Son in prison. And therefore so straitly he charged his Son in no wise to send for this *Gaveston*, or to have him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to have returned in his own person to the Holy Land (which for his manifold wars with the *Scots* he could not perform) therefore he had prepared 32000 pounds of silver; for the sending of certain Souldiers with his heart unto the Holy Land. Which thing he required of his Son to see accomplished: So that the forefaid money, under his curse and malediction be not imployed to other ufes. But these injunctions and precepts the disobedient Son did nothing observe or keep after the decease of his Father. Who forsaking and leaving off the war with the *Scots*, with all speed hasted him to his Coronation. Also contrary to the mind of his Nobles, and against the precept of his Father, he sent for the forefaid *Peter Gaveston*, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his Father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his Peers and Nobles; and therefore raigned infortunately, as by the sequel of the Story here following, by the Grace of Christ shall be declared. Thus King *Edward* first of that name, leaving behind him three Sons, *Thomas* and *Edmund* by his third wife, and *Edward* by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortal life, *Ann.* 1307, after he had raigned near 35 years. Of whom this Epitaph was written,

Dum viguit Rex, & valuit tua magna potestas,
Frans latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas.

To the tune of K. Edward.

In the time and raign of this King many other things happened, which here I omit to speak of, as the long discord and strife between the Prior of *Canterbury*, and the Prior of *Dover*, which continued above four years together, with much wrangling and unquietnes between them. Likewise another like contention growing between *John Romain*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* upon this occasion, that when *John* Archbishop of *York* after his Confecration returned from the Pope, coming to *Dover*, contrary to the inhibition of *Canterbury*, he passed through the middle of *Kent*, with his Cross born up; although the story reporteth that he had the Kings consent thereunto, *Ann.* 1286.

Item, Between *Thomas* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *John Pecham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this King. Which Bishop of *Hereford*, appealing from the Archbishop to the Pope, went up to *Rome*, and in his journey died. Who with less cost might have tarried at home, 1282.

King *Edward* the Second.

EDWARD the Second of that name, and Son of *Edward* the First, born, as is aforesaid, at *Carnarvan* in *Wales*, after the departure of his Father, entred the Government of the Land, *Anno* 1307, but was not Crowned before the year next following, *Anno* 1308, by reason of the absence of *Robert Winchelsey*, who was banished by King *Edward* the First. Whereupon the King this present year writeth to the Pope for the restitution of the said Archbishop, for that by an ancient Law of the Realm, the Coronation of the King could not otherwise proceed without the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Which *Edward* as he was perfonable in body and outward shape, so in conditions and evil dispositions much deformed; as unstedfast of his word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsel; also refusing the company of his Lords and men of honour; he much haunted among Villains and vile perfonages; given moreover to over much drinking, and such vices as thereupon be wont to enfue. And as of his own nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evil disposed persons, as first of *Peter*, or *Pierce Gaveston* before touched. Then after him, of the two *Spensers* and others, whose wanton counsel he wickedly following, gave himself to the appetite and pleasure of his body;

body; nothing ordering his Commonweal by gravity, discretion and justice; which thing caused first great variance between him and his Nobles; so that shortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his Kingdom. In the first year he took to wife *Isabel*, Daughter of *Philip* King of *France*; with whom (the year after) he was Crowned at *Westminster* by the Bishop of *Winchester*, for that *Robert Winchelsey* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding the Barons and Lords made first their requeft to the King to put *Peter Gaveston* from him, or else they would not consent to his Coronation. Whereupon he was inforced to grant them at the next Parliament to have their requests accomplished, and so he was Crowned. In the mean season the forefaid *Peter* or *Pierce*, bearing himself of the Kings favour bold, continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and Nobles of the Realm, so that he ruled both the King and the Realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the King any delight else, or kept company with any, but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This as it seemed strange unto the Lords and Earls, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this *Peter*, that through the exciting of the Nobles, the Bishops of the land did proceed in Excommunication against the said *Gaveston*, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion whereof the King the same first year of his raign, being grieved with the Bishops, writeth to the Pope, complaining that they had proceeded to Excommunication of the said *Peter* unless he departed the Realm within a time certain. The which Letter of the King what answer again it had from the Pope, I find not set down in Story. Over and besides, it befell in the said first year of the King, that the Bishoprick of *York* being vacant, the King gave the office of the Treasure to one of his own Clerks; whereof the Pope having intelligence, writeth to the King, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withal citeth up to *Rome* the said Clerk, there to answer the matter to a Nephew of one of his Cardinals, upon whom he had bestowed the said dignity; whereunto the King maketh answer, *Quod citationes hujusmodi, & illarum executio, &c. i.e.* That if such citations, and the execution of the same should proceed to the impeachment of our Kingly Jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our Crown (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concern our estate, should be profecuted in any other place than within this our Realm by any manner of ways, *&c.*) Certes, although we our selves would wink thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to pass our hands; yet the States and Nobles of our Kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and sworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the Crown of *England*, will in no wise suffer our right, and the Laws of the Land so to be violated.

Besides this, the forefaid Pope wrote to the King, complaining that by certain Counsellors of King *Edward* his Father lying sick, utterly ignorant thereof, a certain restraint was given out, charging his Nuncioes and Legates (whom he had sent for the gathering of the first-fruits of the Benefices vacant within the Realm) not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, *&c.* Whereunto the King maketh answer, *viz. Pater Sanctiss. Datum fuit vobis intelligi, &c.*

In *English* thus:

Most holy Father, it hath been given you to understand otherwise than the truth of the matter is. For most true it is indeed that the forefaid inhibition was ratified by good Act of Parliament holden at Karlin, *upon certain causes concerning the execution of such Collections (the said our Father not only being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his own meer knowledge agreeing to the same) in the presence not only of his own Earls, Barons, and States, and Commons of the Realm, but also your Legates and Liegers being called thereunto.*

Item, *Upon other Letters brought from the Pope to the King, for the Installing of one* Peter de Subaudia *his Kinsman into the Bishoprick of* Worcester, *being then vacant, and withal requiring that if the said* Peter *would not accept thereof, the Election should be referred to the Prior and Covent of the same place.* The King therewith grieved, maketh answer by his Letters to the Pope, and sundry his Cardinals: *Quod cum Electiones de futuris Prælatis in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, &c. That forsomuch as Elections of Prelates, to be placed in Cathedral Churches within his Kingdom are not to be attempted without his license first had and obtained, &c.* Therefore he could not abide that any such strange and unaccustomed reservations should, or could take place in his Realm without manifest prejudice of his Kingly estate, requiring further that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought in into his Kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him have accustomed to do.

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the Parliament appointed came, *Anno* 1310, which was the fourth of this Kings raign. The articles were drawn by the Nobles to be exhibited to the King, which articles were the same contained in *Magna Charta*, and *de Foresta* above specified; with such other articles as his Father had charged him with before; to wit, that he should remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and that all the matters of the Commonwealth should be debated by common Council of the Lords both Temporal and Spiritual; and that he should stir no war out of *England* in any other foreign Realm, without the common assent of the same, *&c.* The King perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder *Peter Gaveston* from his company; and seeing no other remedy, but needs he must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said *Gaveston* should be banished into *Ireland*. And so the Parliament breaking up, the Lords returned to their own, well appeased; although of the other Articles they could not speed, yet that they had driven *Peter Gaveston* out of the Realm, at this time it did sufficie them.

This *Peter Gaveston* was a certain Gentlemans Son of *Gascoin*; whom being by young K. *Edward* the First (for the good service his Father had done him in his wars) received to his Court, and placed him with his Son *Edward* now raigning. Who in proceis of time growing up with him, incensed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonnes. By whose occasion first he began in his Fathers days to break the Park of *Walter* Bishop of *Chester*, then Chancellor of *England*, and after Executor to the King; for the which so doing, the King (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his Son, and condemned this *Peter* to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding the young King after the death of his Father (as ye have heard) sent for this *Gaveston* again. And withal he so perfecuted this forefaid Bishop, that he clapt him in the Tower, and seized upon all his goods. Moreover he caused most strait inquisition to be made upon him for guiding his Office, wherein if the least crime might have been found, it would have cost him his life. And thus much of *Peter Gaveston*, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The King thus separated from his old compeere (that is, from the company of *Peter Gaveston* now exiled into *Ireland*) continued in great mourning and penfiveneis, seeking by all means possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him upon the same; who did intimate to the King, that forsomuch as the Earl of *Gloceiter* was a man well loved and favoured in all the Realm; if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his Sister and *Peter Gaveston*, it might be a mean both for him to obtain more friendship, and for the King to have his desire. To make short, *Peter Gaveston* in all haft was sent for, and the marriage through the Kings procuring, proceeded between the Earls Sister, and the forefaid *Peter*, albeit sore against the Earls mind. *Gaveston* thus restored and dignified, was so surprized in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more increased. Insomuch that he having the guiding of all the Kings Jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the Kings Jewel-house at *Westminster* a Table and a pair of Treffels of Gold unto Merchants beyond Sea, with other Jewels more; to the great impoverishing both of the King and Queen, and of the land. And over all that he brought the King (by means of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as adultery, and such other like. Wherefore the Lords seeing the mischief that daily increased

The Queen complaineth to the *French* King her Father of *Peter Gaveſton.*

fed by occaſion of this unhappy man, took their counſel together at *Lincoln*, and there concluded to avoid him again out of *England*; ſo that ſhortly after he was exiled again, and went into *Flanders*; for in *France* or his own Country he durſt not appear, for fear *Philip* the *French* King, to whom the Queen of *England* his Daughter had fent over great complaints of the ſaid *Gaveſton*, who had ſo impoveriſhed her and the whole Court, that ſhe had not wherewith to maintain her eſtate. Upon which complaint, the *French* King through all his Dominions laid ſtrait watch to apprehend the ſaid *Gaveſton*; but he not unwarned thereof, ſecretly coaſted into *Flanders*, from whence it was not long but he was fet again by the King, as in further proceſs followeth; ſo much was the Kings heart infatuated by this wicked perſon.

Gaveſton again exerciſed out of the land.

The *Cremſted-Friers*. The Knights of St. *John*, called the Knights of the *Rhodes*.

About this year, or the next before, came in firſt the *Crowched-Friers*; and alſo firſt began the Knights of the Order of St. *John Baptiſt*, otherwiſe called the Knights of *Rhodes*, for that they by manly Knighthood put out the *Turks* from the Ile of *Rhodes*.

Templars burned at *Paris*, to the number of 54. The Order of the *Templars* put down.

In the Hiſtory of King *Edward*, this Kings Father before precedent, mention was made of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who ſucceeded after *Benedict*; alſo of putting down of the *Templars*, which in this year hapned by means of the *French* King; who as he cauſed to be burned in the City of *Paris* this year fifty four *Templars*, with the great Maſter of the ſame Order, ſo by his procurement the foreſaid Pope *Clement* called a Council at *Vienna*, where the whole Order and Sect of *Templars* being condemned, was ſhortly after by the conſent of all Chriſtian Kings depoſed all in one day. After whom the *French* King thought to make his Son King of *Jeruſalem*, and to convert to him all the Lands of the ſaid *Templars*. But *Clement* the Pope would not thereto agree, tranſferring all their Lands to the Order of *Hoſpitalers*, for the great ſum of money given for the ſame. The cauſe why theſe impious *Templars* were put down was ſo abominable and filthy, that for reverence of chaſt ears it were better not told, if it be true that ſome write.

The horrible Sect of the *Templars*.

Another matter worthy to be noted of like abomination I thought here to inſert, touching a certain Nunnery in *France* called *Provines*, within the which at the cleanſing and caſting of a Fiſh-pond, were found many bones of young Children, and the bodies alſo of ſome Infants as yet whole unconſumed; upon occaſion whereof divers of the Nuns or the ſaid Nunnery, to the number of twenty ſeven, were had to *Paris*, and there impriſoned; what became of them afterward I find not in mine Author, *Arpontacus Burdegalenſis*.

Ciſtercian Monks for money redeem their exemptions of the Pope.

In the ſame Council alſo was decreed by the ſaid *Clement* That all Religious Orders exempted ſhould be ſubject under the common Laws as other were. But the *Ciſtercian* Monks with money and great gifts redeemed their Privileges and exemption of the Pope, and ſo had them granted. *Tho. Walſ.* Theſe *Ciſtercians* ſped better herein, than did the *Minorites* of the *Franciſcans* in their ſuit. Of which *Franciſcans* when certain of them had offered unto the ſaid Pope *Clement* forty thouſand Florences of Gold, beſides other Silver, that the Pope would diſpenſe with them to have lands and poſſeſſions againſt their rule: that the Pope asked them where was that money. They anſwered, In the Merchant-mens hands. So the ſpace of three days being given them to bring forth theſe Merchants; the Pope abſolved the Merchants of their Bond made to the Friers, and commanded all that money to be imployed and reverted to his uſe; declaring to the Friers that he would not infringe or violate the rule of St. *Francis* lately Canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich Friers loſt both their money and their indulgence. *Ex eodem autore.*

The Friers *Minorites* deceived of Pope *Clement*. *Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.* One thief beguileth another.

Concerning this Pope *Clement* the Fifth, *Sabellicus* writeth, that he Excommunicated the *Venetians* for aiding and preferring of *Azzolo* unto the State of *Ferrarie*; and wrote his Letters throughout all *Europe*, condemning them as enemies of the Church, and giving their Goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which cauſed them to ſuſtain great harm. But *Francis Dandulus* a Nobleman of *Venice*, being Ambaſſador from the *Venetians* to the ſaid *Clement*, for the obtaining of their abſolution and ſafeguard of their City and Country, and for the pacifying of the Popes fury toward them, was fain ſo to humble himſelf before this proud tyrannical Prelate, that he ſuffered a Chain of Iron {KING 7 Edw. 2.} to be tyed about his neck, and he to lye down flat before his Table, and ſo to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his Table, as it had been a dog, till the Popes fury was towards them aſſwaged; ſo that after that he in reproach (becauſe he ſo humbled himſelf for the behalf and helping of his Country) was of ſome called a Dog. But the City of *Venice* ſhewed themſelves not unkind again to *Dandulus* for his gentle good will declared to his Country; for as he had abaſed himſelf before in the vile and ignominious condition of a Dog for his Countries ſake, ſo they extolled him with as much glory again being returned home, decking and adorning him after the beſt array, with the chief Princely ornaments of the City, to make him amends for his former reproach received. *Sabel. Enn. 9. l. 7.*

The pride and tyranny of Pope *Clement*, 5. *Extravag. de elect. Multi inſolentiæ.* His gift of Gifts. Out of the bellum, and he adjudged to be hanged in the Book named the Image of Tyranny. The glory of *Dandulus* to his Country. Pope *Clement* thankfully rewarded.

Concerning the Conſtitutions of this Pope *Clement*, and of his Decretals and *Clementines*, and how *Henricus* the Emperor in his days was poyſoned in receiving of the Sacrament, ye have heard before. About this time *Robert Winchelſey* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom this Kings Father had baniſhed before) was releaſed and returned home from *Rome*.

Robert Winchelſey returneth home from Exile.

Theſe things thus declared, let us proceed (by the Lords Grace) to the next year, which is of the Lord 1311, and the fifth year of this Kings raign. In the which year, counting the year from *Michaelmaſs* to the ſame Feaſt again, as then the uſage of the Realm was, *Peter Gaveſton* who had wandred the Countries about, and could find no ſafe reſting place (notwithſtanding he was utterly baniſhed, upon forfeiting life and goods out of the Realm, yet truſting upon the Kings favour, and the good will of the Earl of *Glocester*, whoſe Siſter he had married) ſecretly returning into *England* with a certain company of ſtrangers, preſented himſelf to the Kings ſight. At the beholding of whom the King for joy ran to him, and imbracing him, did not only retain him, but alſo for his ſake undid all ſuch Acts as had been in the Parliament before Enacted. The Queen and the whole Court ſeeing this doting of the King, made an heavy *Chriſtmas*. After this return of *Gaveſton* was noiſed among the Commons, the Peers and Nobles of the Realm were not a little ſtirred, caſting with themſelves what way were beſt to take. If he were ſuffered ſtill, they ſaw not only themſelves rejected, but alſo that the Queen could not enjoy the love of the King, neither could there be any quietneſs in the Realm. Again to ſtir up war in the land, it were not the beſt; to vex or diſquiet the King, alſo they were afraid. But foraſmuch as they could not abide all the Nobility, ſo to be thruſt out and vilipended for the love of one ſtranger, and alſo the Realm ſo to be ſpoiled and impoveriſhed by the ſame; this way they took, that *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* ſhould be elected among them the Chiefrain, and chief doer in that buſineſs; to whom all other Earls and Barons, and Prelates alſo did cordially condeſcend and conſent, except only *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry*, whom *Robert* the Archbiſhop therefore afterward did Excommunicate. Which *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, by the publick aſſent of the reſt, ſent to the King (lying then at *York*) humble Petitions in the name as well of the whole Nobility as of the Commons, deſiring his Grace to give the foreſaid *Gaveſton* unto them, or elſe according to the Ordinance of the Realm, that the land might be avoided of him. But the tyrannous King, who ſet more by the love of one ſtranger than by his whole Realm beſides, neither would hearken to their counſel, nor give place to their ſupplications; but in all haſty fury removeth to *Newcaſtle*, where he remained almoſt till *Midſummer*.

How Gaveſton was beheaded. *Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.*

The exceſs of Pride condemned in the Kings Maſſe-book at *Langley*.

The Acts of Parliament at *Coventry* Excommunicated the Biſhop of *Coventry* for holding with *Peter Gaveſton*.

In the mean ſeaſon the Barons had gathered an Hoſt of ſufficient and able Souldiers, coming toward *Newcaſtle*, not intending any moleſtation againſt the King, but only the execution of the Laws upon the wicked *Gaveſton*. The King not having wherewith to reſiſt their power, removeth in all ſpeedy manner to *Tinmouth* where the Queen lay. And hearing there that *Newcaſtle* was taken, he taketh ſhipping and faileth from thence (notwithſtanding the Queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears, and all inſtance deſireth him to tarry with her, as ſafely he might) but he, nothing relenting to her, took *Peter* his Compeere with him, and coaſted over to the Caſtle of *Scarbrough*; where he leaving *Peter Gaveſton* to the ſafe keeping of his men, himſelf journeyeth toward the coaſt beſide *Warwick*. The Lords hearing where *Peter* was, bend thither all their power:

{KING 7 Edw. 2.} power; ſo that at length *Gaveſton* ſeeing no remedy but he muſt needs come into their hands, yeildeth and ſubmitteth himſelf; requiring none other condition, but only that he might talk but a few words with the King in his preſence. Thus *Gaveſton* being apprehended, the King hearing thereof ſendeth unto the Lords, requiring his life to be ſpared; and that he might be brought to his ſpeech; and promiſed that in ſo doing he would ſatisfie their minds and requeſts whatſoever. About this advizement was taken: but then the Earl of *Pembroke*, hearing the Kings promiſe, perſwaded the Barons to grant unto his Petition; promiſing himſelf upon loſing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the Kings ſpeech, and ſo to be recommitted to them again. Which when he had obtained, he taketh *Peter Gaveſton* with him, to bring him where the King lay. And ſo coming to *Dedington*, not far from *Warwick*, he leaveth him in the keeping of his Soldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from thence.

Peter Gaveſton taken of the Biſhop.

The King lamenteth *Peter Gaveſton*.

Earl of Warwick.

The ſame night it chanced *Guido* the Earl of *Warwick* to come to the ſame place where *Gaveſton* was left; who taking him out of the hands of his Keepers, carrieth him to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, where incontinently they would have put him to death; but doubting and fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, a little they ſtayed. At what time one of the company (a man of ſage and wiſe counſel, as mine Author writeth) ſtanding up among them, with his grave Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedneſs of his own condition, the Realm by him ſo greatly endamaged, the Nobles deſpiſed and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to enſue by him, and the great charges and expences they had been at in ſo long purſuing and getting of him; and now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them ſo to uſe and take the occaſion now preſent, that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might feek, and ſhould not find it.

Peter Gaveſton put againſt-manded by Guy of *Warwick*.

Briefly in ſuch ſort he perſwaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called *Blakelow*; which place in Stories I find to be called *Gaveſthead*; but that name (as I think) was derived upon this occaſion afterward. And thus he that before had called the Earl of *Warwick* the Black dog of *Ardeine*, was thus by the faid Dog worried, as ye have heard, *&c.* His carcaſs the *Dominick* Friers of *Oxford* had in their Monaſtry Interred the ſpace of two years; but after that the King cauſed the ſaid carcaſs to be taken up and buried within his own Mannor of *Langley*.

After this great diſturbance began to riſe between the King and the Lords; who having their power lying about *Dunſtable*, ſent ſtout meſſage unto the King at *London*, to have their former Acts confirmed. *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester* the Kings Nephew (who neither did hold againſt the King, nor yet againſt the Nobles) with the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At which time alſo came two Cardinals from *Rome*, with Letters ſent unto them from the Pope. The Nobles anſwered to the Meſſage of the Cardinals, lying then at St. *Albans*; that as touching themſelves, they ſhould be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their Letters (foraſmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms) therefore they cared not for ſeeing the ſame. Then meſſage was ſent again, that they would grant at leaſt but to ſpeak with the Popes Legates, which purpoſely came for the intent to fet quiet and unity in the Realm. They anſwered again, that they had Biſhops both godly and learned, by whoſe counſel they would be led only, and not by any ſtrangers, who knew not the true cauſe of their commotion. And therefore they ſaid preciſely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their buſineſs and affairs pertaining to the Realm. Yet notwithſtanding through the mediation of the Archbiſhop, and of the Earl of *Glocester*, the matter at length was ſo taken up, that the Barons ſhould reſtore to the King or his Attorney of St. *Albans* all the Treaſure, Horſes, and Jewels of the foreſaid *Gaveſton* taken at *Newcaſtle*, and ſo their requeſts ſhould be granted. And ſo was the matter at that time compoſed.

The Nobles of *England* cauſe not for the Popes Legates. The Popes Legats are not admitted of the Nobles of *England*.

Shortly upon the ſame, *Iſabel* the Queen was delivered of a fair Child at *Windſor*, whom *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son (the Queens Brother, with other *Frenchmen* there preſent) would have to be called by the name of the *French* King; but the *Engliſh* Lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of *Edward* his Father. At the birth of which *Edward* great rejoycing was through all the land, and eſpecially the King his Father ſo much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the ſorrow and remembrance of *Gaveſtons* death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his Nobles.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a {Anno 1312.} good towardneſs; which more and more might have been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan the Author and ſower of diſcord, ſtirred up his inſtruments (certain *Frenchmen*, *Titvillers* and Make-bates about the King) by which ceaſed not in carping and depraving the Nobles, to inflame the Kings hatred and grudg againſt them. By the exciting of whom the old quarrels being renewed afreſh, the King in his Parliament called upon the ſame, began to charge the foreſaid Barons and Nobles with fedition and rebellion, and for ſlaying *Peter Gaveſton*. Neither were the Nobles leſs ſtout again in defending their cauſe, declaring that they in ſo doing had deſerved rather thanks and favour with the King than any diſpleaſure, in vanquiſhing ſuch a publick enemy of the Realm who not only had ſpoiled and waſted the Kings ſubſtance, but alſo raiſed much diſturbance in the Realm. And foraſmuch as they had begun with the matter to their ſo great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they ſaid, not ceaſing till they ſaw an end thereof. To be ſhort, great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter like to have followed. But again, through the diligent mediation of the Queen, the Prelates, and the foreſaid Earl of *Glocester*, the matter was taken up and brought to reconcilement upon theſe conditions, that the Lords and Barons openly in *Weſtminſter*-Hall ſhould humble themſelves before the King, and aſk pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receive a Letter of the Kings pardon for their indemnity, and aſſurance. And ſo paſſed over that year, within the which year died *Robert Winchelſey* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In whoſe room *Thomas Cobham* was Elected by the King and Church of *Canterbury* to ſucceed; but the Pope ſtraſtring the Election, placed *Walter Reinold* Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

The King inſtigateth his Nobles.

Mediation for making peace.

The King reconciled again with his Nobles.

In the mean time the *Scots* hearing this civil diſcord in {Anno 1313.} the Realm, began to be buſie, and to rebell of new through the means of *Robert Bruis*; who being chaſed out of *Scotland* by King *Edward* the Firſt, as is above premiſed, into *Norway*, was now returned again into *Scotland*; where he demeaned himſelf in ſuch fort to the Lords there, that in ſhort proceſs he was again made King of the Realm, and warred ſo ſtrongly upon them that took the Kings part, that he wan from them many Caſtles and ſtrong holds, and invaded the borders of *England*. The King hearing this, aſſembleth a great power, and by water entreth the Realm of *Scotland*. Againſt whom incountred *Robert de Bruis* with his *Scots* at *Eſtrivelin*, where was fought a ſtrong battel; in the end whereof the *Engliſhmen* were diſcomfited, and ſo eagerly purſued by the *Scots*, that many of the Noblemen were ſlain, as the Earl of *Glocester*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Edmund Manle*, with other Lords to the number of forty two, and Knights and Barons 227, beſides men of name, which were taken priſoners; of common Souldiers ten thouſand, or after the *Scottiſh* Story, fifty thouſand ſlain. After which time Sir *Robert Bruis* raigned as King of *Scotland*.

What diſcord doth in a Common weal. The *Scots* invade the Realm of *England*.

Engliſhmen overcome by the *Scots*.

About which time, and in the next year died Pope *Clement*, who keeping in the Realm of *France*, never came to the See of *Rome*; after whoſe death the Papacy ſtood void two years.

Pope *Clement* never ſet in the See of *Rome*.

{Anno 1314.}

The *Scots* after this exalted with pride and fierceneſs, invaded the Realm of *England* ſo fore, killing and deſtroying man, woman, and child; that they came winning and waſting the North parts as far as to *York*. Beſides this, ſuch dearth of victuals, and penury of all things ſo oppreſſed the whole land, ſuch murrain of Sheep and Oxen; as men were fain to eat Horſe-fleſh, Dogs, Cats, Mice, and what elſe they could get. Moreover ſuch a price of Corn followed withal, that the King hardly had bread for the ſuſtentation of his own houſhold. Moreover, ſome there were that did ſtal children and eat them, and many for lack of victual died. And yet all this amended not the King of his evil living.

Miſerable dearth and famine in *England*.

The

A description of an horrible famine in the Realm of *England*.

The cauſe and origen of this great dearth, was partly the wars and diſſention between them and the *Scots*, whereby a great part of the land was waſted. But the chiefeſt cauſe was the unſeaſonable ſeaſon of the year, which contrary to the common courſe, was ſo moiſt with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the Sun, nor grow to any nourihment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be ſatisfied with fatority, but eſtſoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to ſteal and rob; the rich were conſtrained to avoid and diminiſh their houſholds; the poor for famine died. And not ſo much the want of victual, which could not be gotten, as the unwholſomeneſs of the ſame when it was taken, ſo conſumed the people, that the quick were not ſufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reaſon of the unſeaſonableneſs of the ground, was ſo infectious that many died of the Flux, many of hot Fevers, divers of the Peſtilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but alſo the beaſts by the putrifaction of the herbs and graſs fell into as great a murrain, ſo far forth as that the eating of fleſh was ſuſpect and thought contagious. A Quarter of Corn and Salt, from the month of *Iune* to *September* grew from thirty ſhillings unto forty ſhillings. The fleſh of Horſes was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to ſteal fat Dogs, and to eat them. Some were ſaid in ſecret corners to eat their own Children. Some would ſteal other mens Children to kill them and eat them privily. The priſoners and thieves that were in bands, for hunger fell upon ſuch as were newly brought in unto them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extream penury had extinguiſhed and conſumed (as it was thought) the greateſt part of the people of the land, had not the King by the advice of the *Londoners* given forth Commandment through all his land, that no Corn ſhould at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is diſpoſed to ſtrike. And yet we miſerable creatures in our wealth and abundance will not ſurceaſe daily to provoke his terrible Majeſty.

Ex Chron. Tho. Wolſ. in vita Edwardi 2.

But let us return to the order again of our Story. After the *Scots* had thus plagued miſerably (as ye have heard) the Realm of *England*; they invaded alſo *Ireland*, where they kept and continued war the ſpace of four years. But in fine, the *Iriſhmen* (by aid ſent to them from *England*) quit themſelves ſo well that they vanquiſhed the *Scots*, and ſlew *Edward Bruſ*, and many of the Nobles of *Scotland*, with many other, and drove the reſidue out of the Country.

The *Scots* driven out of *Ireland*.

{ Anno 1317. } The King about the twelfth year of his raign, aſſembled a new Hoſt, and went into *Scotland*, where he laid ſiege to *Barwick*. But in the mean time the *Scots* by another way, invaded the Merchants of *Yorkſhire*, robbing and harrying the Country, and they ſlew much people. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *York*, and other Abbots, Priors, Clerks, with Husbandmen, aſſembled a great company, and gave them battel at a place called *Mitton*, where the *Engliſhmen* were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain; but the Archbiſhop and the Abbot of *Selbie*, and divers others there eſcaped. But becauſe there were ſo many Spiritual men there ſlain, it was called therefore the *White Battel*. By reaſon whereof the King hearing of this, and partly becauſe Winter did approach, was conſtrained to break up his fiege, and ſo returned not without great danger.

The White battel of the Spiritual men in *Yorkſhire*.

The two *Spenſers*.

At this time the two *Spenſers* (Sir *Hugh Spenſer* the Father, and *Hugh Spenſer* the Son) were of great power in *England*, and by the favour of the King practiſed ſuch cruelty, and bear themſelves ſo haughtily and proud, that no Lord of this land might gain-ſay them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the Nobles, and the Commons, no leſs than *Peter Gaveſton* was before.

Two Legates ſent from *Rome*. The Popes pillage. The Popes Legates ſpoiled of all their in gotten treaſure. The Popes Curſe contemned of the *Scots*.

Soon upon this came two Legates from *Rome*, ſent by Pope *Iohn* the 22*th*, under pretence to ſet agreement between *England* and *Scotland*; who for their charges and expences, required of every Spiritual perſon four pence in every Mark. But all their labour nothing availed; for the Legates as they were in the North parts (about *Derlington*) with their whole family and train, were robbed and diſpoiled of their Horſes, Treaſure, Apparel, and what elſe they had, and with an evil favoured handling, retired back again to *Dureſme*, where they ſtaid a while waiting for an anſwer from the *Scots*. But when neither the Popes Legacy nor his curſe would take any place with the *Scots*, they returned again to *London*, where they firſt Excommunicated and curſed as black as foot all thoſe arrogant and preſumptuous robbers of *Northumberland*. Secondly, for ſupplying of the loſſes received, they exacted of the Clergy to be given and paid unto them eight pence in every Mark. But the Clergy thereunto would not agree, ſeeing it was their own covetouſneſs (as they ſaid) that made them venture farther than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four pence in a Mark, as they promiſed before, further they would not grant. Whereof the King being advertiſed, and taking part with his Clergy, directed his Letters to the ſaid Legates in form as followeth:

{ King Edwa. } The Clergy of *England* denieth to contribute to the ſaid Legion.

A prohibition againſt ſuch ſtrange Taxes and Impoſitions.

R*EX Magiſtro Rigando de Aſſerio, Canonico Aireli-an. Salutem*, &c.

In *Engliſh* thus:

The King to Maſter *Rigand* of *Aſſerio*, Canon of *Aurelia*, Greeting: We have taken notice of the clamors and lamentable petitions of the ſubjects of our Realm, perceiving by the ſame that you practiſe many and ſundry inconveniences very ſtrange, never heretofore accuſtomed, nor heard of in this our Realm, as well againſt the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, as againſt the Laity, even to the utter oppreſſion and impoveriſhing of many our liege people, which if it ſhould be winked at (as God forbid) may in proceſs of time be occaſion of greater perils to inſue; whereat we are (not without cauſe) moved, and not a little grieved: We forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practiſe not, ne preſume in any caſe to attempt any thing within this our Realm, either againſt our Clergy or Laity, that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our Royal perſon, or of our Crown and dignity Regal. Witneſs the King at *Windſor* the ſixth day of *February*, in the 11*th* year of his Raign.

Per Concilium.

Likewiſe in the ſame year the ſaid King writeth to the ſame effect to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as followeth: *Rex venerabili in Chriſto Patri, W. eadem gra. Archiepiſcopo Cant.* &c.

In *Engliſh* thus:

The King to the Reverend Father in God, *W.* by the ſame Grace Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, Greeting: We are credibly informed by many our ſubjects, that certain ſtrange Impoſitions, never heard of before within any our Dominions, upon Lands and Tenements, Goods and Cattels, concerning the teſtaments and caſes of Matrimony, are brought into our Realm to be executed upon our ſubjects by you or ſome others; which if it ſhould proceed to execution, would manifeſtly tend to the diſheriſon, and impeachment of our Crown and dignity Regal, and the intolerable damage of the ſubjects of our Realm, to the due preſervation of the which you are bound by ſolemn Oath of Allegiance. We therefore command and ſtraitly charge you, that you proceed not in any caſe to the execution of any ſuch Letters, either in your own perſon, or by any other, nor yet preſume by colour of the ſame to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our Crown or dignity Regal. And if you or any other in your name have done or attempted any thing by colour of the ſame, that ye call back and revoke the ſame forthwith without delay. Witneſs the King at *Shene* the 17*th* of *February*, the 11*th* year of his Raign.

Per ipſum Regem.

The like Letters in effect were directed to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and to every other Biſhop through *England*. By force of which Letters the greedy Legates being refrained of their ravening purpoſe, taking what they could get, and ſetling a peace (ſuch as it was) between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, were fain to pack.

Beſides the reſtraint above mentioned for ſtrange Impoſitions, there followed moreover the ſame year the Kings prohibition for the gathering of Peter-pence, directed to the foreſaid Legate, the tenour whereof followeth.

A

{ King Edwa. }

A Prohibition of Peter-*pence.*

Rex Magiſtro Rigando, &c. In Engliſh thus:

A Prohibition for paying the Popes Peter-pence.

The King to Maſter *Rigand* of *Aſſerio* Canon of *Aurelia*, Greeting. We are given to underſtand that you do demand and purpoſe to levy the *Peter-peny* within our Realm, otherwiſe than the ſaid *Peter-peny* hath been heretofore accuſtomed to be levied in the time of any our Progenitors, exerciſing herein grievous cenſures Eccleſiaſtical to the great annoyance and damnifying of the Subjects of our Realm: for preſent remedy whereof our loving ſubjects have made their humble ſupplication unto us. And for as much as the ſaid *Peter-peny* hath been hitherto accuſtomed to be gathered and levied upon Lands and Tenements within our Realm after a due manner and form: we not willing that any ſuch unaccuſtomed impoſitions ſhall in any wiſe be made upon the Lands and Tenements of any our ſubjects within our Dominions, prohibite you, upon grievous pain, ſtraitly charging that in no wiſe you preſume to exact, gather, or levy the ſaid *Peter-peny* in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accuſtomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our Progenitors, or ſince the beginning of our Reign until further order be taken in our high Court of Parliament by the advice of the Nobles and Peers of our Realm, ſuch as may well be taken without prejudice of our Crown and damage of ſubjects. Witneſs the King at *Weſtminſter* the firſt day of *March*.

Per ipſum Regem & Concilium.

To the ſame effect Letters were directed to the Archbiſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the reſt of the Clergy.

Touching the firſt original of which *Peter-pence* though mention be made before in the life of King *Offa* and others; yet to make a brief recapitulation of the ſame, according to the rolls as they come to our hands, thus it followeth, *De Denariis beati Petri ſic ſcriptum, &c.* That is to ſay, It is thus found recorded in Ancient Chronicles touching the *Peter-pence* of Saint *Peter*, *Anno.* 187. *Offa* King of *Mercia* travelled up to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Adrian* the firſt, to obtain the Canonizing of Saint *Albane*. And having performed his Vow, viſiting the Colledge of *Engliſh* Students which then florihed in *Rome*, he did give to the maintenance of the Scholars of *England*, Students in *Rome*, one peny out of every Tenement within this Realm that had land belonging to the ſame, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of the Pope *Adrian*, that no perſon within his Dominion publick, repenting him for not performing enjoyned penance, ſhould therefore be baniſhed.

Read before in the lives of Kinge Offa, and King Adelwulf.

Anno Dom. 857. *Adewulfus Rex Weſtſaxonum. tempore Leonis Papæ quarti Romæ ſingulis annis* 300. *Mancuſas portari præcipit, taliter dividendas ibidem, viz.* 100. *Mancuſas in honorem ſcilicet Petri ſpecialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia Luminaria Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ in veſpere paſche & in galli cantu, & 100. Mancuſas in honorem ſcilicet Pauli eiſdem de cauſis, 100. Preterea Mancuſas præcipit exhiberi Univerſali Papæ ad ſuas eleemoſynas ampliandas. Et ſciendum, quod ſecundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem differunt mancuſa, & manca, quia mancuſa idem nomen aria quadra, & valebat communiter* 30. *denarios argenteos.*

Of which Peter-pence is found a Tranſcript of the original Reſcript Apoſtolical, the Tenor whereof is thus: *Gregorius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. Archiepiſcopis & eorum ſuffragineis & dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Archidiaconis, eorumque officialibus per regnum Angliæ conſtitutis, ad quos literæ iſtæ pervenerint; ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarii beati Petri, qui debentur Cameræ noſtræ, colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus Epiſcopatibus & dioceſ. debeantur, ne ſuper hoc dubitari contingat. & præſentibus fecimus annotari, ſicut in Regiſtro ſedis Apoſtolicæ continetur. De* Cantuar. *dioceſ.* 7. l. 18. s. *ſterlingorum, De* London. *dioceſ.* 16. l. 10. s. *De* Roffenſ. *dioceſ.* 5. l. 12. s. *De* Norwicenſ. *dioceſ.* 21. l. 10. s. *De* Elienſ. 5. l. *De* Lincoln. 42. l. *De* Ciſtrenſ. 8. l. *De* Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. *De* Exon. 5. l. 5. s. *De* Wigorne. 10. l. 5. s. *De* Hereford. 6. l. *De* Bathon. *dioceſ.* 12. l. 5. s. *De* Sariſbur. 17. l. *De* Coventre. 10. l. 5. s. *De* Eborac. 11. l. 10. s. *Datum apud urbem Veterem.* 10. *Kal. Maii. Pontificatus noſtri anno ſecundo.*

Summa, 30. marcæ & dimidi.

Concerning which *Peter-pence*, it is touched in the Laws of King *Edward* the Saint, Chap. 10. when, where, of whom, under what pain this *Peter-pence* muſt be gathered, being but the Kings meer Almes, as is aforeſaid. And thus much touching *Peter-pence*. Now for other Letters writen by the King to the Pope, the ſame year, for other matters, as craving the Popes help in compounding the variance betwixt the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for bearing the Croſs from the one Province to the other, thus it followeth: that the King grievoully complaineth, *quod tantæ diſſentiones. i. e.* that ſuch hurly burly and uproar aroſe thereof, that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of Armed men aſſiſtants on both parts in the very bearing of the Croſs, to the great diſturbance of the People.

Now after this long digreſſion to turn to our *Engliſh* matters again, mention was made before of the variance between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure: which the King by his own default did break; ſending to the *Scots* a privy Meſſenger (which was taken in the way) to have the foreſaid Earl of *Lancaſter*, by their means made away.

The pride of the Spenwrought daily both great diſhonour to the King, and hinderance to the Commonweal; in ſuch wiſe confpired againſt them, that gathering their power together, they made a requeſt to the King, that he ſhould remove the *Spenſers* from his perſon. For the which there was a Parliament called at *London*, and the Barons came together with a great company. At the which Parliament both the *Spenſers* were baniſhed the Land for term of their lives: and they took Shipping at *Dover*, and ſo voided the Land. But it was not long after, but the King (contrary to the Ordinance made in the Parliament) ſent for the *Spenſers* again, and ſet them in High Authority: and they ruled all things after their ſenſual appetites, nothing regarding Juſtice nor the Commonwealth. Wherefore, the Barons intending again to reform this miſchief, aſſembled their powers: But the King (making ſo haſty ſpeed, and gathering his people ſo ſoon) was ſtronger than they, and purſued them ſo in divers places, that the Barons not fully joyned together (ſome flying, and ſome departing to the King, ſome ſlain by the way) in the end were chaſed ſo eagerly, that in ſhort ſpace, the foreſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* was taken and put to death with the reſt of the Nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greateſt Men, and chiefeſt Captains of this Realm. Of whom only *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, for the Nobility of his Blood, was beheaded: All the other Lords and Barons, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifulnes of the King toward his natural ſubjects, not only procured to him great diſhonor within the Realm, but alſo turned afterward to his much more greater harm and hindrance, in his foreign Wars againſt the *Scots*: and finally wrought his utter confuſion, and overthrow of his Seat Royal, as in the ſequel of his end, appeared, and worthily.

{ Anno 1321. } That *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* came of *Edward* younger ſon of King *Henry* the Third.

Twenty two of the greateſt Nobility of the Realm put to death by the King.

{ Anno 1322. } The cruel rejoycing of the King.

After the ruine of theſe Noble Perſonages, the King as though he had gotten a great conqueſt (who then indeed began firſt to be overcome and conquered himſelf, when he ſo oppreſſed and cut off the ſtrength and ſinews of his Chivalry) began to triumph not a little with the *Spenſers*; and to count himſelf ſure as though he were in Heaven, to exercife more ſharp ſeverity upon his ſubjects, trufting and committing all to the counſel only of the foreſaid *Spenſers*: Inſomuch, that both the Queen and the reſidue of the other Nobles could little be regarded. Who, as they

{Anno 1323.} grew ever in more contempt with the King; so they increased in more hatred against the *Spensers*: but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

The next year the King being at *York*, after he had made Sir *Hugh Spenser* Earl, and Sir *John Baldock* a Man of evil Fame, to be Chancellor of *England*; he then arreared a mighty Host against the *Scots*. But for lack of skilful guiding, expert Captains, and for want specially of due provision of Victuals necessary for such an Army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandring through *Scotland*, from whence the *Scots* had conveyed all their goods and cattel into mountains, and marshes) were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the Army, there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of Meats, escaped not. The King not having resistance of his Enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring, Sir *James Duglas* and the *Scots* having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many *English*-men, and had well neer taken the King himself. After which distress, the King, thus beaten and wearied with the *Scots*, would fain have joyned in Truce with the *Scots*: But because they stood Excommunicate by the Pope, he standing in fear thereof, defired licence to intreat with them of peace, the said Excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treaty was appointed by Commissioners on both parts at *Newcastle* at the Feast of Saint *Nicholas* next ensuing; and so Truce was taken for 12. years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle Reader) not unworthy of observation, That whereas in former times, and especially of the late King *Edward* the first, so long as the *Scots* were under the Popes Blessing, and we in displeasure with his Holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in manner of their whole Estate. But now so soon as the Pope took our part, and the *Scots* were under his Curse and Excommunication, then gat they greater victories against us, than at any time either before or sithence, insomuch as being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our Country.

The King purposing to erect a House of Friers *Augustines*, within the Town of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, first payed the Popes licence in that behalf.

Polydorus Virgilius among other Histories of our *English* Nation which he intermedleth withal, prosecuting also the Acts and life of this present King, and coming to write of the Queens going over into *France*, inferreth much variety and diversity of Authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he being an *Italian* and a Foreigner, could not understand our *English* Tongue: And partly again, being but one Man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin Authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin History fair written in Parchment (but without name) belonging to the Library of *William Cary* Citizen of *London*. In which Story, the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all Circumstances expressed, as here briefly is inserted.

{Anno 1324.} The King of *England* had been divers and sundry times cited up to the Court of *France*, to do Homage to the *French* King, for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and other Lands which the King then held of *France*. Which Homage, because the King of *England* refused to tender, the *French* King began to enter all such possessions as the King then did hold in *France*: whereupon great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length in this year now present, a Parliament was called at *London*; Where (after much alteration) at last it was determined; that certain should be sent over, to wit, the Bishops of *Winchester*, and *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, to make agreement betwixt the two Kings. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward, that Queen *Isabel*, Sister to *Charles* then the *French* King, should be sent over. Where is to be noted first, that the Queens Lands, and possessions and Castles a little before, upon the breach between the *French* King and the King of *England*, were seised into the Kings hands, and the Queen put unto her Pension, &c. Thus the Queen being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir *John Cromwel* Baron, and four Knights, took their passage into *France*: By whose mediation, it was there concluded, that the King of *England* (if he would not himself come to do his Homage) he should give to his Son *Edward* the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the Earldom of *Pontine*, and so he to come to make his Homage to the King, and to possess the same. This being in *France* concluded, was sent over by safflage to the King of *England*, with the Kings Letters Patents adjoyned for the safe Conduct of him or of him Son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the Council of *England*. But the two *Spensers* fearing either to take the Seas with the *King*, or else without the King to remain behind, for fear of the Nobles, so appointed, that Prince *Edward* the Kings Son was sent, which happened after to their utter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in *France*, King *Edward* of *England*, soon after *Michaelmas*, sendeth for his Wife and his Son again out of *France*. But the sending home most part of her family, refuseth her self to return. For what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the King, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the *Spensers*, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir *Roger Mortimer*. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir *Roger Mortimer*, with divers other of the Barons part, which had broken prison in *England*, were fled before into *France* and now reforted unto the Queen. The King seeing this, giveth forth in Proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the Queen and his Son to return; or else to be proclaimed Traytors to the King and to the Realm. Notwithstanding, the Queen perisiting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other Nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her. Whereupon, the King immediatly caused them both to be proclaimed Traytors, and all them that took their parts.

Here then began great hatred between King and King, between the King and the Queen, much preparation of War, great spoiling on the Sea, much sending between the Pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the King (by the Counsel of the *Spensers*) feandeth privily to procure the death of the Queen and of his Son; which should be wrought by the execution of the Earl of *Richmond*, the Queens familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrate. Albeit, the Queen yet notwithstanding, (whether misdoubting what corruption of Money might do in the Court of *France*: or whether the *French* King, being threatned by the King of *England*, and by the Pope durst not detain her) removed from thence, and was received, with *Edward* her Son, Joyoully and Honorably in the Court or Country of the Earl of *Henawde*. Where by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said *Edward* her Son being of the age of fourteen years, and *Philip* the foresaid Earls Daughter. When this was noised in *England*, divers Men of Honour and name came over to the Queen. And soon after the Earl of *Haynawde* prepared a Crew of five hundred men of Arms to set over the young Prince with his Mother into *England*. Of this the Fame sprang shortly through the Realm. Wherefore the King in all defensible ways made provision to have the Havens and Ports of his Land surely kept, to resist the landing of his Enemies. On the contrary side the Queen with no less preparation provideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who when she saw her time, speeding her self to the Sea Coast with Prince *Edward* her Son, Lord *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings Brother, Sir *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Wygmore* and other Exiles of *England*, accompanied also with the foresaid *Henawders*, of whom Sir *John Henawde* the Earls Brother was Captain, having with her of *English*-men and Strangers, the number of 2757. Souldiers: She took shipping in those parts and had the Wind so favourable, that they landed in *England* at a Port called *Orwel* befide *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, in the Dominion of the Earl *Marshal*, the month of *September*. To whom after her landing reforted Earl *Marshal*, the Earl of *Leicester*, with other Barons, Knights, and Bishops

{KING Edw. 2} The Queen sent to *France*.

Prince Edward made Duke of *Aquitain* and Earl of *Pontine*.

The Queen and the Prince refuse to return into *England*.

The Queen and the Prince proclaimed Traytors in *England*.

{Anno 1325} Prince Edward betrothed to the Earl of *Heinaults* Daughter.

The Queen returneth to *England*.

The Landing of the Queen.

{KING Edw. 2} Bishops also; namely of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Duresme*, and *Ely*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though he came not himself, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the Queen, well furnished with plenty both of men and victual, setteth forward toward *London*: So that the further she came, the more her number daily increased, and the Kings power contrarily decreased; insomuch that, as mine Author affirmeth, not one almost in all the Realm could be hired with any wages to fight on the Kings behalf against the Queen, neither did the Queens Army hurt any Man or Child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

{Anno 1326} The King destitute of help and Souldiers.

At the arriving of the Queen, the King was in *London*, which first would not believe it to be true. Afterward (seeing and perceiving how it was) he asketh help of the *Londoners*. Who after mature advisement, rendred this answer to the King again: That as touching the King, the Queen, and their Son (the lawful Heir of the Kingdom) they were ready with all duty and service, to Honor and Obey. As for Strangers and Traytors to the Realm, they would receive none such within their City gates. Furthermore, to go out of the City to fight, that they said they would not, unless it were so, that according to the Liberties of their City, they might return home again before Sun set. The King hearing this answer (which liked him not well) fortifieth the Tower of *London* with men and victual, committing the Custody thereof to *John Ealtham* his younger Son, and to the Wife of *Hugh Spenser* his Niece. And leaving *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter* behind him, to have the Rule of the City of *London*, he himself bearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the Queen, for more safegard to himself, fled with a small Company Wetward toward *Wales*. But before his departing from *London*, he caused a Proclamation to be made, wherein all and singular persons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every Man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the Queen, his Son, and his Brother reserved. Also that no Man upon pain Pretaxate, should help, sesue, or relieve the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. *Item*, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would bring to the King the Head and Body of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, either dead or alive, should have out of the Kings Coffers a Thousand pounds.

The answer of the Londoners to the King.

The Liberties of the City of *London* in going out to War.

The Kings Proclamation.

In contrariwise, the Queen setteth forth another Proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoil violently the value of any Mans goods against the will of the Owner, under pain of losing his Finger, if it were three pence: Of his Hand, if it were six pence: Of his Head, if it were twelve pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the Queen the Head of *Hugh Spenser* the younger, Chopt off from his Body, should receive for so doing of the Queen, two Thousand pounds. This done the Queen sendeth her Letters to the City of *London* for aid and succor to subdue the oppressor of the Realm, to the which Letters full no answer was made. Again, she wrote the second Letter, which was then Tacked upon the Cross in *Cheape*, which was then called the new Cross. The Copy and Tenor of which Letter was this.

The Queens Proclamation.

The Copy of a Letter that the Queen sent unto the Maior and Citizens of *London*.

The Queens Letter.

ISabel *by the Grace of God*, *Queen of* England, *Lady of* Ireland, *and Countess of* Pountife. *And We* Edward *the first Son of the King of* England, *Duke of* Guayn, Earl *of* Chester, *of* Pountife, *and of* Mountfrel, *to the Maior and all the Communalty of* London, *send Greeting. For as much as we have before this time sent to you by our Letters, and how we come into this Land in good Array, and good manner, for the profit of Holy Church, and of our right dear Lord and King, and all the Realm, with all our might and strength to keep and maintain the Realm, as all good people ought to do: and upon that we prayed you and desired you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the Realm; and we have had none answer of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore we send to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you so toward us, that ye have nor make us no cause to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the ways that you may. And wot you well in certain, that we and also those that come with us into this Realm, intend nothing to be done, but what shall be pleasing to God, and the common profit to all the Realm: nor any thing else, but to destroy the* Spensers, *Enemies to the Realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the Faith that you owe to our Lord the King, to the Crown and to us, and upon all that we may forfeit, that if* Hugh Spenser, *both the Father and the Son our Enemies, come within your power, that ye cause them hastily to be taken, and safely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye desire Profit and Honour of us and of the Realm. Understanding well, if it be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you. And also we shall do you profit and worship of that you send us hastily word again of your will. Given at* Baldock *the sixth day of* October.

These aforesaid Letters being published and perused, the Bishop of *Exeter*, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the Rule of the City, sent to the Maior for the Keyes of the Gates, using so sharp words in the Kings name, that variance began to kindle between him and the Citizens; so far forth that the Commons in their rage took the foresaid Bishop and beheaded him and two of his Houshold at the Standard in *Cheape*. Then the King went to *Bristow*, and ordained Sir *Hugh Spenser* the Father there to keep the Castle and the Town; and the King with *Hugh Spenser* the Son, and Sir *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and the Earl of *Arundel* went into *Wales*. And the Queen so pursued them, that first they took the Town yielded up to her; Then they took Sir *Hugh Spenser* the Father, whom being drawn and torn, they at last hanged up at *Bristow* in Chains of Iron. As the King was thus flying, the Queen caused to be proclaimed through her Army, that the King should come and appear, and so receive his Kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his Liege Subjects. Who when he did not appear, Prince *Edward* his Son was proclaimed high Keeper of the Realm.

The Bishop of *Exeter* beheaded of the Commons at the Standard in *Cheape*.

This Bishop of *Exeter* was builded in *Oxford* two Colledges, *Exeter* College, and *Hart-Hall*, whose name was *Gaulter Stapleton*.

Hugh Spenser the Father, taken and hanged in Chains.

In the mean time *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and Brother to the good Earl *Thomas* which before was beheaded, also Lord *William Souch*, and Master *Edward Spenser* by the Queen into *Wales* to pursue the King; and there they took him and sent him to the Castle of *Kenelworth*: and took *Hugh Spenser* the Son, and Sir *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and Sir *John* Earl of *Arundel*, and brought them all to the Town of *Hereford*. And anon after *Hugh Spenser* the Son was drawn and hanged on a Gallows Fifty Foot high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into four quarters of the Realm. Sir *John* of *Arundel* was beheaded, Sir *Robert Baldock* was put in *Newgate* at *London*, where shortly after he Pined away and died among the Thieves. This done, a Parliament was Assembled at *London*, from whence message was sent to the King, that if he would resign up his Crown, his Son should have it after him: If not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. Whereupon the King, being constrained to yield up his Crown to his Son, was kept in prison, and after had to *Barkley*; where he is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the King half condescending thereunto (the Parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward) there was a Bill exhibited and put up, containing certain Articles against the said King, then in prison in the Castle of *Barkley*, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the Realm: which Bill openly before the Lords and Commons, by the Speaker of the Parliament House was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselves touching those Articles, and also for the better and more circumspect Government of the Realm from that time forth: it was consulted and agreed upon by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons there Assembled, that the said *Edward* was a Man not meet to be their King, nor from that time forth any more to bear the Crown Royal or Title of a King: But that *Edward* his Eldest Son, who there in the same Court of high Parliament was present, as he was rightful Heir and Inheitor thereunto, so should he be Crowned King thereof in his Fathers stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed, That he should take wife, Sage, and true Counsellors unto him, that the Realm might be better and more circumspectly

A Bill exhibited in the Parliament House against King *Edward* the second.

King *Edward* deposed by consent of the Parliament House, and his Son *Edward* chosen King.

specifly governed, than before in the time of *Edward* his Father it was: That the old King his Father should be honourably provided for and kept, so long as he lived, according as unto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the Parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary to the Coronation of a Prince appertaining were in speedy wise prepared whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

In the mean time as touching the King which was yet in prison, it is thought by some Writers, that the next year following by the means of Sir *Roger Mortimer* he was miserably slain, with a Spit (as is said) being thrust up into his body, and was buried at *Gloucester*, after he had Reigned nineteen years.

Michael House in *Cambridge* founded. *Henry Stanton* new founder of *Michael* House in *Cambridge.*

In the time and Reign of this King, the Colledge of *Cambridge*, called *Michael* House, was founded and builded by Sir *Henry Stanton* Knight, to the use and increase of learning, a thing in a Commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and need whereof, many sundry times, is sooner felt in this Realm of ours and other Realms abroad, than is the discommodity thereof of most Men commonly understood.

Nicholaus de Lyra. Guilelmus Ockam.

About the same time also was *Nicolaus de Lyra*, which wrote the ordinary Glosa of the Bible. Also *Gulielmus Ockam* a Worthy Divine, and of a right sincere Judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

In the tractation of this Kings History, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the Hearts of the Barons against the King, for revoking such Acts and Customs, as had been before in the Parliament established, both for *Peter Gaveston*, and for the two *Spensers*. Also what severe punishment the King did execute upon them for the same in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of them, whom he could there find; so he never ceased all his life after to enquire out, and to be revenged of all such, as had been in any part, or consenting to that matter. For the which his extream and implacable Tyranny, he was in such hatred of all the people; that as he said, he could not find one of all the Commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford*: who being impeached of Treason with other more, was at length arrested to appear and answer to that which should be to him Objected. Many things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the King, with matters more, and Haynous rebukes, &c. Whereunto the Bishop a great while answered nothing.

Tyranny odious to the people.

A Spiritual Bishop called and arrested before a Secular Judge.

Ex Tho. Walsing.

At length the Bishop claiming the Liberties and Privileges of the Church, answered to the King in this Form. The due Reverence of your Princly Majesty ever saved, *Ego Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei Minister humilis, membrum ejus, & Episcopus consecratus, licet indignus, ad tam arduta nequeo respondere, nec debeo, absque* D. Cant. *Archiepiscopi, post summum pontificem mei directi judicis, cujus etiam sum suffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Episcoporum consensu.* That is, I an humble Minister and member of the holy Church of God, and Bishop consecrate (albeit unworthy) cannot, neither ought to answer to these so high matters without Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* my direct Judge, next under the High Bishop of *Rome*; whose Suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my Fellow Bishops. After which words by him pronounced, the Archbishop and other Bishops with him were ready to make humble Intercession for him to the King, and did. But when the King would not be won nor turned with any supplication; the said Bishop, together with the Archbishop and the Clergy, coming with their Crosses, took him away, Challenging him for the Church, without any more answer making; Charging moreover, under the Censures of the Church and Excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The King, moved with this boldness and stoutness of the Clergy commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in Judgment, and the Jury of twelve Men to go upon the inquiry of his Cause: who finding and pronouncing the Bishop to be Guilty, the King caused immediatly all his goods and possessions to be confiscate unto himself: Moreover, he made his Plate and all his Houshold Provision to be thrown out of his House into the Street; but yet he remained so still under the protection and defence of the Archbishop *&c.*

The form of words when any Bishop doth Challenge the privilege of the Church against a secular Judge.

The Bishop rescued by the Clergy.

The King proceedeth in judgment against the Bishop, the privileges of the Church notwithstanding to the contrary.

This Archbishop was *Walter Winchelsey*, after whom succeeded *Simon Mepham* in the same See of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1327. *Ex Thom. Walsingham.*

{KING Edw. 3. *Simon Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

After Pope *Clement* the Fifth, by whose decease the *Romish* See stood vacant (as ye have heard) two years and three months, next was Elected Pope *John* the two and twentieth, a *Cistercian* Monk, who sate in that Papacy eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible, given so much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them Hereticks, which taught that Christ and his Apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time was Emperor *Ludovicus Bavarus*, a worthy Man; who with this Pope, and other that followed him, had no less contention, than had *Fredericus* before mentioned in the time of King *Henry* the Third. Insomuch that this contention and variance continued the space of four and twenty years. The cause and first origine of this Tragical conflict, rose upon the constitution of *Clement* the fifth Predecessor to this Pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that Emperors, by the *German* Princes elected, might be called Kings of the *Romans*, but might not enjoy the Title or right of the Empire, to be Nominated Emperors, without their confirmation given by the Pope. Wherefore, this aforesaid Emperor, because he used the Emperial Dignity in *Italy*, before he was Authorised by the Pope; the said Pope therefore Excommunicated the Emperor. And notwithstanding the Emperor oftentimes did proffer himself to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the Pope inflexible would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said Bishop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depose Kings and Emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned Men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallowed the Bishops of *Romes* doings; among whom was *Gulielm Ockam*, whose Tractations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for writing against the Temporal Jurisdiction of their See. And another named *Marsilius Patavinus*, which Wrote the Book intitled *Defensor Pacis*, which was given into the Hands of the said Emperor; wherein the controversie of the Popes unlawful Jurisdiction in things Temporal is largely disputed, and the usurped Authority of that See set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some Writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the Emperors Secretaries, unknown to the Emperor, in certain of his Letters had likened the Papal See to the beast rising out of the Sea in the Apocalypse. At length when the Emperor after much fine made to the Pope at *Avinion*, could not obtain his Coronation; coming to *Rome* he was there received with great Honour, where he with his Wife were both Crowned by the full consent of all the Lords and Cardinals there; and moreover, another Pope was there set up, called *Nicolas* the fifth. After which things done, the Pope not long after departed at *Avinion* in *France*; after whom succeeded then *Benedictus* the twelfth a Monk of *Benedictins* order, and Reigned seven years. Who by the Counsel of *Philip* the *French* King, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that *John* his Predecessor had published against *Lewes* the Emperor: Moreover, he deprived him of his Emperial Crown, and also of his Dukedom of *Bavaria*. The Emperor upon this cometh to *Germany*, and *Austria*. Then calling the Princes Electors, Dukes, Bishops, Nobles, and the learned in a Council at *Frankford*, there declared before them out of the Ancient Laws and Customs of the Empire, how it standeth only in the Princes Electors, and in none other to Elect the Kings or the Emperors of the *Romans*, for in both these names was no difference) so that the same Electors, in choosing the King of the *Romans*, did also Elect and chuse the Emperor. Which Emperor so by them constitute had lawful right, without any Information of the Apostolical See, to exercise the Administration of the Empire. And if he were lawfully Elect, he ought to be annointed of the *Roman* Bishop: which if he do refuse, then might he be annointed and declared Emperor and *Augustus* by any other Catholick Bishop thereunto appointed; (as by the old manner and custom hath been) especially seeing these Injunctions are but certain solemnities added and invented by the Bishops, only for a token of unity between the Church and Empire, to govern and defend the Faith together. Wherefore in that the Emperor swear-

{KING Edw. 3.

Pope John the 22th a Monk Cistercian.

A new found Heresie. Heresie with the Pope to fly that Christ and the Apostles had no possessions him.

Strife between the Pope and the Emperor.

{KING Edw. 3.

Ex Hieron. Marin. Ex in Cronicis.

sweareth to the Bishop of *Rome*; in that is to be understood no Homage or fealty made to the Bishop, but only it is a Sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith. The which Oath or Sacrament so given, giveth no Majority to the Pope in any temporal Rule, but only bindeth the Emperor to be prest and ready to defend the Faith and Church of Christ, when need shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the Pope leaneth only to the Electors Authority to make the King of *Romans*, and taketh upon himself alone power to make the Emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and devised of late by Pope *Clement* the fifth, so is it contrary both to all Ancient Order, and also derogatory to the liberty and Majesty of the sacred Empire. Again, neither is that also less absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the Pope in time of the Imperial Seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the Empire, as lawful Emperor for the time. Which prerogative and function, by Ancient Orders of our fore-elders, should properly and only appertain to the *Palatine* of *Rhene*; the Constitution *Clementine* of the foresaid Pope *Clement* to the contrary notwithstanding. Then in the end, for his own excuse, he in the presence of them all receiveth the publick confession of his faith, to answer and purge himself of those objections laid to him by the Pope. This did the meek Emperor *Ludovick* in that Council. Yet all this notwithstanding, the said Emperor remained still excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this Pope *Benedict* and *Philip* the *French* King. Wherefore to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity, than for any good will to the Emperor. But not long after, this Pope died; of whom this Epitaph was made.

Hic situs est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devius a vero, cupa repleta mero.

Ex Chron. de Gestis Pontifi. intitulatis Antonium Archiepis. Flor. Cle. mens the fifth. The trouble of Ludovick the Emperor.

After whom followed Pope *Clement* the sixth, a man most furious and cruel. Who renewing again the former Excommunications of his former Predecessors, caused his Letters to be set upon Church doors, wherein he threatned and denounced most terrible Thunderbolts against the said *Lewis* the Emperor, unless within three days he should satisfie to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperial possession of the Crown. The Emperor upon this cometh to *Frankford*, and there ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the Pope, sendeth his Orators to the Court of *Rome*, to intreat the Pope of his favour and good will towards him. To the which Messengers the Pope answered again, that he would never pardon the Emperor, before he gave over and confessed his errors and Heresies, and resigning up his Empire to his hands, would submit himself, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the Bishop; promising that he should not receive again any part of the same, but upon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

The Sopp. rior Crowned against the will of the Pope. Pope Benedictus the 12th a Monk of Benedicts order. Ludovicus the Emperor deprived by the Pope. Ex Thom. Walsing. A Council held at Frankford. The Emperors Protestation to the Council of Germany.

Heresie of the Popes taking objected against the Emperor.

The Heresie here mentioned, which was to this Emperor objected by the Pope, was this; because (as is above touched) he used and executed the Imperial Dignity after his election, before he was of the Pope confirmed. Over and besides, the Pope sendeth to the Emperor by the said Orators a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the Emperor. Here if the Emperor *Lewis* had as much mind to ope the Pope with dint of sword, as he lacked neither occasion nor power so to do; what blood might here have been spilt? But the good Emperor, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill: and not only with his Seal doth confirm it, but also sweareth to observe all the conditions thereof. Which the Pope hearing of, doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollifie the modest heart of this *Pharao*.

The proud Heart of the Pope.

The Princes and Electors, seeing the Bill of the Articles and conditions, whereof some founded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the Empire, abhorring the wickedness thereof, defried the Emperor to stand to the defence of the Imperial Dominion, as he had begun, promising that their assistance and aid to the uttermost thereunto should not lack. Upon that other Orators were sent to Pope *Clement* from the Princes, desiring him to abstain from such manner of Articles conceived against the state and majesty of the Empire. The Pope surmising all this to spring from *Lewis* the Emperor, to the utter subversion of him, and all his posterity, on *Maundy-Thursday* blustreth out most black Curses against him, also reneweth all the former Processes of his Predecesse against him, as against both an Heretick and a schismatick: commanding moreover the Princes Electors to proceed in chusing a new Emperor. The Archbishop of *Mentz*, seeing the innocency of the Emperor, would not consent to the violating of his Majesty; wherefore he was deprived by the Pope of all his Dignities. The other Bishops Electors, as the Archbishop of *Colen*, which took eight thousand Marks, with the Duke of *Saxony*, which took two thousand Marks, being corrupted with money by *John* King of *Boheme*, elected *Charls* the Son of the said *John*; whom Pope *Clement* effloons in his consistory did approve. Who seeth not here what matter of war and bloodshed was ministred by the Pope between these two Emperors, if the patience of *Ludovick* had not been more prudent to quench the fire, than the Pope was to kindle it? *Charles* then the new Emperor elect, sped him to *Aquisgrane*, according to the custom, there to be Crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the Empress (*Ludovicus* Wife keeping thereabout) he was repelled. All this happened in the time and Reign of *Edward* the third, King of *England*; with whom the said *Charles*, with the *French* King, and King of *Boheme*, set on by the Pope, encountred in war; where the King of *England* had against them a noble Victory, and slew a great number of the *French*-men and *Almains*, and put *Charles* the new Emperor to flight. In the mean time, among the Princes and Citizens of *Germany* what sorrow and what complaints were against Pope *Clement* and those Electors, it cannot be expressed. For as they were all together at *Spires* Congregated in a general Assembly, so there was none among them all, that allowed the election of *Charls*, or that cared for the Popes process, promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to *Ludovick*, their lawful Emperor. But *Ludovick* remembring his Oath made before to the Popes bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his Imperial Dignity, and went to *Burgravia*; where shortly after, through the procured practice of Pope *Clement* (as *Hieronymus Marius* doth write) poison was given him to drink. After the which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his Horse and went to hunt the Boar, thereby through the chasing and heat of his body to expel the venom. And there the good and gentle Emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the Pope, fell down dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed Martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous doth make a Martyr, what Papist can justly dispprove his cause or faith? If persecution joyned thereunto causeth Martyrdom, what Martyr could be more persecuted than he, who having three Popes like three Banddogs upon him, at length was devoured by the same? The Princes then hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new Election, who refusing *Charles* aforesaid, elected another for Emperor, named *Gunterus de Monte Nigro*. Who, shortly after falling sick at *Frankford*, was likewise poisoned through his Physitians servant, whom the foresaid *Charles* had hired with money to work that feat. *Gunterus* tasting of the poison, although he did partly cast it up again, yet so much remained within him, as made him unable afterward to preserve that place. Wherefore for concord sake, being Counselled thereto by the *Germani*, he gave over his Empire to *Charles*. For else, great bloodshed was like to ensue. This *Charles* thus ambitiously aspiring to the Imperial Seat contrary to the minds of the States, and Peers of the Empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully come by it, so was he by his ambitious guiding, the first and principal meam of the utter ruine of that Monarchy. For that he, to have his Son set up Emperor after him, convented and granted to the Princes Electors of *Germany* all the publick Taxes and Tributes of the Empire. Which covenant, being once made between the Emperor and them, they afterward held to fast, that they caused the Emperor to swear never to revoke or call back again the same. By reason whereof, the Tribute of the Countries of *Germany*, which then belonged

Lewis the Emperor accused by the Pope for an Heretick.

A good and faithful Archbishop of Mentz.

Bribery corrupted with money.

The Pope stirred of effloon and bloodshed.

The Pope again stirreth up Wars.

Charles the new Emperor put to flight by the Englishmen.

Ludovick, the right Emperor refuseth up his Empire.

Ludovick Emperor and Martyr.

Ludovicus Emperor poisoned.

Gunterus de Monte Nigro, made Emperor.

Gunterus right Emperor poisoned.

The ruine of the Empire, and the first cause thereof.

only to the Emperor for the ſuſtentation of his Wars, ever ſince to this day is diſperſed diverſly into the hands of the Princes, and free Cities within the ſaid Monarchy. So that both the Empire being diſtreſſed and left deſolate, and the Emperors weakned thereby; they have neither been able ſufficiently ſince to defend themſelves, nor yet to reſiſt the *Turk*, or other foreign Enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the Popes, &c. *Hieronymus Marius.*

This Pope *Clement* firſt reduced the year of Jubilee to
The year of Jubilee reduced to the fiftieth year. every fiftieth year, which before was kept but on the hundredth year. And ſo he being abſent to *Avinion* (which he then purchaſed with his money to the See of *Rome*) cauſed it to be celebrated at *Rome*, *Anno* 1350. In the which year were numbred, of *Peregrines* going in and coming out every day at *Rome*, to the eſtimation of five thouſand. *Premonſtrat.* The Bull of Pope *Clement*, given
Pilgrimes in the year of Jubilee at *Rome.* out of this preſent year of Jubilee, proceedeth in theſe words as followeth, *What perſon or perſons ſoever, for devotion ſake, ſhall take their Peregrination unto the holy City, the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of his houſe, he may chuſe*
The abominable and bloudthirſtie ſtile of Pope Clement. *unto him what Confeſſor or Confeſſors either in the way or where elſe he liſteth; unto the which Confeſſors we grant, by our Authority, plenary Power to abſolve all Caſes Papal, as fully as if it were in our proper Perſon there preſent.* Item, *we grant that whoſoever being truly confeſſed ſhall chance by the way to die, he ſhall be quit and abſolved of all his ſins. Moreover, we command the Angels of Paradiſe to take his Soul out of his Body, being abſolved, and to carry*
The Pope commandeth the Angels. *it into the Glory of Paradiſe, &c.* And in another Bull, *We will* (ſaith he) *that no pain of Hell ſhall touch him; granting moreover to all and ſingular perſon and perſons, ſigned with the holy Croſs, Power and Authority to deliver and releaſe three or four Souls, whom they liſt themſelves, out of the pains of Purgatory, &c.*
O blaſphemy of the Pope.
Ex Bulla Clementis.

This *Clement* (as mine Author affirmeth) took upon him ſo prodigally in his Popedom, that he gave to his Cardinals of *Rome* Biſhopricks and Benefices, which then were vacant in *England*, and began to give them new Titles for the ſame Livings he gave them in *England*.
Ex Chron. Walſ. in vit. Edw. 3. Wherewith the King (as good cauſe he had) was offended, and undid all the proviſions of the Pope within his Realm: Commanding, under pain of Impriſonment and Life, no
The King reſiſteth the Pope. man to be ſo hardy, as to induce and bring in any ſuch proviſions of the Pope, any more within his Land. And under the ſame puniſhment he charged the two Cardinals to avoid the Realm, *Anno* 1342. In the ſame year of the
The tenths of Church goods given to the King. tenths, as well of the Templars as of other ſpiritual men, were given and paid to the King through the whole Realm, *Anno* 1343. And thus much concerning good *Ludovick* Emperor and Martyr, and Pope *Clement* the Sixth his enemy. Wherein, becauſe we have a little exceeded the courſe of years whereat we left, let us return ſomewhat back again, and take ſuch things in order as belong to the Church of *England* and *Scotland*, ſetting forth the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, and the doings of the Church which in his time have happened, as the Grace of Chriſt our Lord will aſſiſt and enable us thereunto.

{Anno 1325 *Oriel-College* and S. *Mary-Hall* in *Oxford* builded by King *Ed. 2.* & ſtory of the commotion between the Town and Abbey of *Bury.*
This foreſaid King *Edward* the Second in his time builded two Houſes in *Oxford* for good Letters, to wit, *Oriel-College*, and S. *Mary-Hall*.

Here I omit alſo by the way the furious Outrage and Conflict which happened in the time of this King, a little before his death, *Anno* 1236, between the Townſmen and the Abbey of *Bury*; wherein the Townſmen gathering themſelves together in a great multitude (for what cauſe or old grude between them, the Regiſter doth not declare) invaded and aſſact the Monaſtery. And after they had impriſoned the Monks, they rifled the goods and treaſure of the whole houſe, ſpoiling and carrying away their Plate, Money, Copes, Veſtiments, Cenſers, Croſſes, Chalices, Baſons, Jewels, Cups, Maſers, Books, with other Ornaments and Implements of the houſe, to the value uneſtimable. In the
Ex Latino quodam Regiſtro. which Conflict, certain alſo on both ſides were ſlain. Such was the madneſs then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourſe of Servants and light perſons of that Country to the number of twenty thouſand, to whom they promiſed liberty and freedom; by vertue of ſuch writs which they had out of that houſe, firſt they got into their hands all their Evidences, Copies and Inſtruments, that they could find; then they took off the lead; that done, ſetting fire to the Abbey-Gates, they burnt up near the whole houſe. After that they proceeded further to the Farms and Granges belonging to the ſame Abbey, whereof they waſted, ſpoiled and burnt to the number of two and twenty Manor places in one week, tranſporting away the Corn, Horſes, Cattel, or other moveables belonging to the ſame, the price whereof is regiſtred to come to *922 l. 4 s. 11 d.* beſides the valuation of other riches and treaſure within the Abbey, which cannot be eſteemed. {KING Edw. 3.}

The Abbot was all this ſpace at *London* in the Parliament, by whoſe procurement at length ſuch reſcue was ſent down, that 24 of the chief of the Town (ſubmitting themſelves) were committed to ward; Carts full of the Townſmen were carried to *Norwich*, of whom 19 were there hanged, divers convict were put to priſon. The whole Townſhip was condemned in ſeven ſcore thouſand pound to be paid for damages of the houſe. *John Berton* Alderman, *W. Herling*, with 32 Prieſts, 13 women, and 138 other of the ſaid Town were outlawed. Of whom divers, after grudging at the Abbot for breaking promiſe with them at *London*, did confederate themſelves together; and privily in the night coming to the Manor of *Chenington*, where the Abbot did lie, braſt open the Gates, who then entring in, firſt bound all his Family; and after they had robbed him of all his Plate, Jewels and Money, The Abbot robbed. they took the Abbot and ſhaved him, and ſecretly with them conveyed him away to *London*; where they removing him from ſtreet to ſtreet unknown, from thence had The Abbot ſtolen away to *Brabant.* him over *Thames* into *Kent*; at length over the Sea they ferried to *Diſt* in *Brabant*: where they a ſufficient time kept him in much penury, miſery and thraldom; till at length the matter being ſearched out, they were all Excommunicated, firſt by the Archbiſhop, then by the Pope. And at laſt it being known where he was, by his Friends The Abbot reſtored again. he was delivered and reſcued out of the Thieves hands, and finally brought home with proceſſion, and reſtored to his houſe again. And thus was that Abbey with the Abbot of the ſame (for what demerits I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more lagely I have ſeen in their *Latine* Regiſter. But thus much briefly; the reſt I omit here (about the later end of this *Edward* the Second ceaſeth the Hiſtory of *Nic. Trivet*, and of *Flor. Hiſt.*) paſſing over to the Reign of the next King.

King Edward *the Third.*

{KING Edw. 3.} Concerning the Acts and ſtory of King *Edward* the Second, his depoſing, and cruel death, wrought by the falſe and counterfeit Letter of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, ſent in the Kings Name to the Keepers (for the which he was charged, drawn, and quartered,) I have written ſufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profeſſion of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory will well admit. Notwithſtanding, for certain reſpects and cauſes I thought ſomewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both Kings, and ſuch as climb to be about them may take the better example by the ſame; the one to have the love of his Subjects, the other to learn to flee Ambition, and not bear themſelves too brag of their fortune and ſtate, how high ſoever it be: Conſidering with themſelves nothing to be in this world ſo firm and ſure, that may promiſe it ſelf any certain continuance, and is not in perpetual danger of mutation, unleſs it be faſtened by God his protection.

After the ſuppreſſion of this King, as is above expreſſed, King Edward the Third. *Edward* his Son was Crowned King of *England*, being about the years of fifteen, and reigned the ſpace of {Anno 1327. fifty years, who was a Prince of much and great Temperance; in feats of Arms very expert, and no leſs fortunate and lucky in all his Wars, than his Father was infortunate before him. For liberality alſo and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all Princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable Acts of which Prince, done both in Wars and Peace, as how he ſubdued the *Scots*, had great Victories by the Sea, how he Conquered *France*, *Anno* 1332. won *Calice*, 1348. and tranſlated the ſtaple thither, took the *French* King Priſoner, and how the *French* Arms firſt by him were brought in, and conjoyned with the *Engliſh* Arms; alſo how the Order of the Garter firſt by the ſaid King was invented and

{KING Edw. 3.} and ordained, *Anno* 1356. alſo *Anno* 1357. How the King in his Parliament at *Notingham* decreed, That all ſuch in *Flanders*, or other where, that had ſkill in making Cloth, ſhould peaceably inhabit the Land, and be welcome. For three years before that, it was Enacted, That no Wool ſhould be tranſported over the Sea. Which was to bridle the pride of the *Flemmings*, who then loved better the Sacks of Wool, than the Nation of *Engliſhmen*. All theſe, with other noble Acts of this worthy Prince, although in other Chronicles they be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I have begun (ſaying ſomewhat of each Kings Reign, although not pertinent to our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) I have here inſerted the ſame, making haſte to other matters, ſhortly and compendiouſly abridging them out of divers and ſundry Authors together compacted, mentioned in this wiſe.

The Coronation and Solemnity of King *Edward* the Third, and all the Pomp thereof was no ſooner ended: but *Robert* of *Bruce* King of *Scotland*, underſtanding the State and Government of the Realm to be (as it was indeed) in the Queen, the young King, the Earl of *Kent*, and Sir *Roger Mortimer*: And that the Lords and Barons, as he was informed, did ſcarcely well agree amongſt themſelves (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling diſeaſe) yet thought he this a meet time for his purpoſe, to make invaſion: hoping for as good ſucceſs and like Victory now, as but lately before he had at the Caſtle of *Enfrwvelin*. Whereupon, about the Feaſt of *Eaſter* The deſire of the King of *Scots.* he ſent his Embaſſadors with Heralds and Letters of Defiance to the young King *Edward* the Third, the Queen and the Council; declaring, that his purpoſe was with fire and ſword to enter and invade the Realm of *England*, &c. The King, Queen, and Council hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all ſpeedy preparation Muſters to be made throughout all the Realm: appointing to every Band Captains convenient, and at the City of *York* by a day aſſigned them, commanding every man to be with all their neceſſary furniture ready and throughly provided. They directed their Letters alſo with all ſpeed to Sir *John of Heinault*, requiring him with ſuch Souldiers and men at Arms as he might conveniently provide in *Flanders*, *Heinault*, and *Brabant*, to meet the King and Queen upon the *Aſcenſion-day* next enſuing at their City of *York*.

The King and Queen at *York* with an Army of 6000 men, ready to meet the King of *Scots* entring the Realm. The King and Queen made ſpeedy preparation for this Expedition: the Noblemen provided themſelves of all things neceſſary thereunto: the *Engliſh* Captains and Souldiers (their Bands throughly furniſhed) were ready at their appointed time and place: Sir *John of Heinault*, Lord *Bedmount* muſtering his men as fall, was ready to take ſhipping: where at *Wyſant* (in *Engliſh* Bottoms, there lying for him ready) he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at *Dover*, travelling from thence by ſmall Journeys daily, till he came within three days after the Feaſt of *Penteceſt* to the City of *York*: where the King and Queen with a great Power of 60000 men (within and about the City of *York*) expected his coming: Before whom, in courteous wiſe he preſented himſelf, and muſtered his Troop, wherein he had to the number of 500 good men at Arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the King and Queen: and he was by the Harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his Houſhold retinue, in the Abbey of white Monks. To be briefe, ſuch grudge and variance fell between ſome of the Kings Souldiers and his, within the Suburbs of the Town being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilſt the King and Queen with divers other of the Nobles, (ſtrangers and others) were at dinner, the ſaid Fray ſo greatly increaſed, that the whole Army, ſo many as were in the Town then lodged, ſtood to their defence; ſo that there were ſlain of the *Engliſh* Archers in ſhort ſpace by the The great fray in *York.* ſtrangers to the number of 300 men. Whereupon grew (after the Fray was with much difficulty both of the King and Queen ended) ſuch heart-burning between the parties; as that the number of 6000 conſpired together againſt them, thinking to have burnt them in their Lodgings; had they not been, by the great Grace of God and diſcreet handling, otherwiſe prevented and let. Whereupon the *Heinaulders* were fain to take and keep the field, uſing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had been among their Hoſtile Enemies. After this, the King ſet forward his Army towards *Durham*, and encamped himſelf near about the ſame; who alſo ſent the Lord *Vifford* and the Lord *Mountbray* to *Carlile* with a ſufficient Company to keep that Entrance; and alſo the Lord Marſhall of *England* to keep the Town of *New-Caſtle* with a ſufficient Company to defend the ſame, and the Country adjoyning. For well knew the King, that by one of theſe two Entries the *Scots* muſt paſs into *England*, ſtanding both of them upon the River of *Tine*, 24 mile diſtant. *Carlile* and *New-Caſtle* then the Keys of *England.* Northward Garriſons.

But the *Scots* privily with their Army paſſed the River betwixt the two Towns into *England*, few underſtanding thereof, till that the great fires which the *Scots* had kindled and made in *England*, bewrayed them: who came burning and deſtroying the Country all about as far as *Stanop* Park. This thing being declared to the King, he commandeth his Hoſt with all ſpeed to march towards them; which he ſo long travelled that they came in ſight each of other. The King alſo commanded the paſſages of the River to be ſo ſtraitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the *Scots* could retire and have eſcaped back again into *Scotland*, without battel given them of the King. But the *Scots*, underſtanding the great Power the King was of, kept always the advantage of the Hills, retiring in the nights from one to another: that without great odds and advantage on the one ſide, and hazard to the other, the King could not ſet upon them. The *Scots* privily paſſe over the River of *Tine*, burning and ſpoiling the Country all about.

Thus in the day time the *Scots* keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of ſuch other like, came near againſt that River where they firſt paſſed over, where they made a ſhew to offer battel to the King upon the morrow. Whereupon the King being bulled in putting his men and battels in a readineſs to fight the next morning, being almoſt forewearied in purſuing the *Scots* from place to place: the *Scots* in the mean ſeaſon gate over the River, and eſcaped the danger of the King. Which thing as it could not be done without great Treaſon of ſome near about the King; ſo Sir *Roger Mortimer* was grievouſly ſuſpected thereof, and after it was laid unto his Charge. But to be ſhort, by this The *Scots* eſcape through Treaſon means the *Scots* eſcaped the River; after whom it ſhould have availed the King very little to have made purſuit, as eſcape out of *England*, unfought withall. the wily *Scots* knew full well. For the joy whereof, the Lord *William Douglas*, one of the *Scots* Generals, with 200 horſes, gave alarum in the Kings Camp; and came ſo near, that he cut certain of the lines of the Kings Tent in ſunder with his Sword, and retired to his Company without great loſs of any of his men. Then on the morrow the King, perceiving the *Scots* to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found 500 great Oxen and fine ready killed; five hundred Cauldrons made of Beaſts skins full of fleſh, over the fire ſeething, a thouſand Spits full of fleſh ready to be roſted, and more than 10000 ſhoes of raw Leather (the hair ſtill upon the ſame) which the *Scots* had left behind them; and five poor *Engliſh* Priſoners tied to Trees, and their legs broken. All which the King ſeeing, returned with his Army, and left any further purſuing the *Scots*) to *Durham*: where he diſmiſſed his Army, and came again to *London*, ſending with Sir *John* of *Heinault* two hundred men at Arms for their better ſafeguard againſt the *Engliſh* Archers (with whom at *York*, as you have heard, they frayed) till they had taken ſhipping, and ſo returned home. The King ſendeth Heinaulters to *London.*

The King then being at *London*, confirmed the Liberties of the Citizens, and Ordained, That the Mayor ſhould ſit in all places as chief Juſtice within the Liberties of the ſame. And that what Alderman ſoever had been Mayor before, ſhould be a Juſtice of Peace within his own Ward.

Then the King, the Queen, and the Council ſent over to the Earl of *Heinaul* certain Embaſſadors, touching the Solemnization of the Marriage between the King and the Lady *Philip* his Daughter: who in ſuch ſort ſped their Meſſage, that ſhe was ſoon after conveyed over to *England* very honourably, and at *Dover* arrived. And from thence ſhe came to *London* (ſome Chronicles affirm to *York*) where upon the day of the *Converſion of S. Paul*, the year above ſpecified, the Marriage and Coronation of the Queen was with much Triumph during the ſpace of three weeks ſolemnized. The marriage of King *Edward* ſolemnized.

After which Coronation and Marriage, the King ſummoned his Parliament to be kept at *Northampton*: where- A Parliament at *Northampton* in at, by the means of Sir *Roger Mortimer* and the old

Queen,

Queen, a Peace was purchased for the *Scots* (who had for that purpose sent their Embassadors) for four years to endure. Also the King (then being within age) granted to release the *Scots* of all their Homage and Fealty unto the Realm of *England*, which by their Charter enfealed they were bound to; as also their Indenture, which was called the *Ragman Role*, wherein was specified the foresaid Homage and Fealty to the King and Crown of *England*, by the said King of *Scots*, Nobles, and Prelates to be made; having all their Seals annexed to the same. Also there was then delivered unto them the black Crosse of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* before for a rich Jewel and Relique had conquered and brought from *Scone* Abbey; with all such Rights and Tittles as any the Barons else had enjoyed in the said Realm of *Scotland*, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the Realm, and discontent of all the Nobles and Barons for the most part, more than the old Queen, Sir *Roger Mortimer* and the Bishop of *Ely*. Who in such sort ruled the Rost, that all the rest of the Nobles and Barons sat with themselves how best they might redress and remedy the great inconveniences, that grew to the Realm by means of them grew and happened. Whereupon the King and Queen, and Sir *Roger Mortimer*, caused another Parliament to be called at *Salisbury*; where the said Sir *Roger Mortimer* was made Earl of *March*, against all the Barons wills, to prevent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the Earl *Henry* of *Lancaster*, with others, would not be at the same: wherefore it was laid unto their Charges, that they went about to conspire the Kings death.

The Ragman Role delivered up to the *Scots*.

The black Crosse of *Scotland*.

The Barons give up their Tittles in *Scotland*.

A Parliament at *Salisbury*.

Earl Henry of *Lancaster* refuseth to come to the Parliament.

And further, for that the King was as well under the Government of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle, as the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *March*; and for that they could not do in all things as they listed for the said Earl the Kings Uncle, who loved the King and the Realm: envy began to rise between the Earl *Mortimer* and him; and, by *Isabel* the Queens practice, he found the means to perswade the King, that the Earl of *Kent* (to enjoy the Crown, as next Heir unto the King) went about to poison him. Whereunto the King giving light credit caused his said Uncle to be apprehended; and, without answer making to his Accusation and Accusers, to be beheaded at *Winchester*, the third of *October*, and third year of his Reign. But the just Judgment of God not permitting such odious Crimes in him to be unpunished nor undetected, so in fine it fell forth, that *Isabel* the old Queen, the Kings Mother, was found and understood to be with child by the said *Mortimer*. Complaint hereof was made to the King, as also of the killing of King *Edward* his Father, and of the Conspiracy of him against the Earl of *Kent* the Kings Uncle before put to death. Whereupon, divers other Articles laid against him, and manifestly read in the Court, he was arraigned and indited, and by Verdict found guilty; having his Judgment as in cases of High Treason, and suffered death accordingly at *London*: where, upon *London Bridge*, next unto *Spenfers*, his head obtained a place. The Queen his Mother also (by good advice of Council) was restrained of her liberty, and within a certain Castle not permitted once to come abroad: Unto whom the King her Son once or twice a year would resort, and visit her.

The Earl of *Kent* put to death guiltless.

The Queen with child by Sir *Roger Mortimer*.

Sir *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* arraigned, condemned, and put to execution.

The Queen put in prison, and so kept a long while.

The birth of Prince *Edward*.

This year Prince *Edward* was born at *Woodstock*; who in process of time and years grew to be a most valiant Prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the Follower of Chivalry.

The Expedition of King *Edward* into *Scotland*.

After this the King prepared another Army into *Scotland* in the year prefixed. But first he summoned King *David* of *Scotland*, who had (in the last truce, four years to continue as you heard, his Father then living) married the Lady *Jane*, Sister to the King; (termed *Jane* Makepeace) to do his Homage to the King; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithall the scoffing Rimes, which daily from that time of truce the *Scots* had in their mouths; he did so much, that with an Army well furnished he entred *Scotland* by the River *Twede*; for the *Scots* had then the possession of the Town of *Barwick*. The *Scotish* Giggs and Rimes were these, *Long Beards heartlesse, Painted Hoods wittlesse, Gay Coats gracelesse, Makes* England *thriftlesse*. To be short, the King wasted the Land, burnt, destroyed, and took Towns and Castles with small resistance or none: and the space of six months together did in that Land what him listed, without any battel offered to him. For the King of *Scots* was but a Child, and not above the age of 15 years, and wanted good Captains that should have defended the Realm: infomuch that they were all fain, saving those that kept in Holds for their defence, to take the Forest of *Godworth*, and there kept themselves so long as the King remained in *Scotland*. Who at length, when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned toward *Barwick*, about the which he bent his Siege, vowing not to remove the same, till he had gotten the Town.

The *Scotish* Rimes.

King *Edward* wasteth and destroyeth the Realm of *Scotland*.

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Barwick besieged and yielded up to the King.

The *Scots* that kept the same, after a certain time and many Assaults made, were contented upon certain conditions to have delivered up the Town. But that the King refused, unless that, all conditions set apart, they would with bag and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the King, that if by a certain time they were not by the King of *Scots* rescued, they would render up the Town, and with bag and baggage depart: and so the time expired, fruitrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The King then entred the Town, and tarried there the space of twelve days; who after he had appointed Sir *Edward Baillew* Captain over the Town, and leaving also behind him other Knights, Squires, and Souldiers, as well to keep the same as other Holds the King had conquered in *Scotland* and Frontiers thereof; he returned with his people towards *London*, permitting every man to depart and go what way them liked.

The King entreth the Town of Barwick, and appointeth the Captain thereof.

Then Sir *Robert de Artois*, a Nobleman of *France*, and Sir *Robert Artois* a Nobleman of *France* by whom which descended of the blood Royal, being in *England* with the King, ceased not oftentimes to advertise the King, and put him in memory of his good and right Title to the Inheritance of the Crown of *France*. This Sir *Robert* for a certain displeasure that *Philip* the *French* King took against him for a certain Plea which by him was moved before the King; was fain for the safegard of his life to flee the Realm of *France*, and so come to the Kings Court. King *Edward* was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his Right, Title, and Inheritance to the Crown of *France*. But yet notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without advised and circumspect counsel; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet he took it to deserve the same either of wisdom or prowess to let so good a Title die, or so fit opportunity to pass. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his Council, used their deliberate advices touching the forenamed of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the King should send certain Embassadors over to the Earl of *Heinault*, whose Daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counsel therein; as also what Friends and Aid, by him and his means, in this so great an Expedition to be begun in the Empire, to him might be procured. The King hereunto condescended, and appointeth for this Embassage the Bishop of *Lincoln* with two other Baronets, and two Doctors: who in such speedy wise made their Voyage, that in short space they returned again to the King with this answer, That not only the Earl his councel and advise should be herein prest to the King of *England* their Master, but also the whole Country of *Hemault*. And further, for that to such an Expedition as appertained, he said, The Province of *Heinault* was but a small matter to make account of; he would procure for the King greater Aid and Friendship in the Empire, as the Duke of *Brabant* his Cosin-German, and a puissant Prince, the Duke of *Guerlers*, the Archbishop of *Colayn*, the Marquess of *Juliers*, &c. which are all good men of War, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. Which answer well liked the King, and made him joyous thereof. But this counsel of the King, as secret as it was, came to *Philip* the *French* Kings ears: whereupon he stayed the Voyage of the *Cross* which then he had in hand, sending forth Countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the King of *England*.

The King deliberateth with his councell concerning the Title of *Heinault*.

Embassadors are sent to the Earl of *Heinault* concerning the Title.

The Embassadors return with answer from the Earl that pleaseth the King.

King *Philip* of *France* beareth of the Kings purpose, and forbeth his Voyage of the *Cross*.

The King hereupon himself taketh shipping accompanied as to a King appertained, and when he had consulted with all the foresaid Lords of the Empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity; he made his repair to the Emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained, and honourably received, whom the Emperor appointed

{KING Edw. 3} pointed to be his Lieutenant-General, having thereby more Authority both to will and command such as for this his Expedition he sted unto, and had made convention with. *Philip* hearing this, prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy, that so soon as the King should enter into the Dominion of *France*, they also might enter into *England*, requiting like for like.

King *Edward* ordaineth Lieutenant-General of the Empire.

The first Voyage of King *Edward* into *France*.

The King of *England*, after the Feast of S. *John Baptist*, according to his purpose prepared all things ready to such an Expedition, conducting his Army, and gathering a greater strength in the Empire, as before to him was promised, using the Emperors Authority therein, as his Lieutenant-General, howbeit at the charge altogether of the King of *England*. The *French* King, as soon as King *Edward* had landed his Army at *Macheline* in *Flanders*, hearing of the defiance, which the King and other Noblemen of the Empire had sent unto him, sent certain Ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity upon the Coast of *England*; which upon a *Sunday*, whilst the Townsmen were at the Church little looking for any such matter, entred the Haven of *Southampton*, took the Town and spoiled the same, deflowred Maidens, enforced Wives, burnt, kill'd, took Captives, and carried away rich Spoils and great Booties to their Ships, and so again departed into *France*. Further as the King of *England* had allied himself with the Noblemen of the Empire, and had the friendly favour of the Emperor also thereunto: so the *French* King made the like League and Alliance with *David* the King of *Scots*, whom the King had so hardly dealt withall in *Scotland* (as partly before you heard) and kept the most part of *Scotland* under his Subjection: Binding the said *David* as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace, nor conclude any truce with the King of *England*. Who again affiaed him of Aid, and Rescue, and Help, and to recover his Kingdom and Dominion to his use: and forthwith sent certain Garrisons and Bands into *Scotland*. to keep play with the *Englishmen*, and there to fortifie divers places till further opportunity served. He also fortified with men, money, victual, and munition, the Town of *Cambrey*: which he suspected would be besieged, lying so near upon the Empire, as indeed it came to pass. For King *Edward*, departing from *Macheline*, set forward his Host toward *Hemault*, and by the way assembled such Power as in the Empire he looked for, marching forward still till that they came to *Cambrey*, and besieged it with 40000 men, while that with another Company the *Flemings*, *Brabanters*, and *Hollanders*, went to S. *Quintin*. But in effect, neither there, nor at *Cambrey*, nor else-where, any thing notorious was atchieved. But the Summer being well spent, and little prevailing in the Siege of *Cambrey*, being of situation strong and well defenced therewithall with men and munition, he brake up the Siege, and marched further into the heart of *France* towards *Mutterel*. Which thing the *French* King having understanding of, prepared himself to give battel to the King of *England*, who with another great Army came to *Viromfosse*, where days were appointed to meet in battel: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted between the Princes. And the King of *England* (without any battel either giving or taking) returned with his Army from thence to *Gaunt*. Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of the King out of *France*, it seemeth most specially to rise of the Pope: who at the same time sent down his Legates, for the Order of a peace to be taken between the Kings. At *Gaunt* were gathered by the Kings appointment all the Nobles as well of *England*, as of the Empire in Council together what was best to be done. What plain answer was made to the King of *England*, that unless he would take upon him the Claim and Title of *France*, as his lawful Inheritance, and as King thereof profecute his Wars; it might not be lawful for them any further to Aid the King of *England*, or to fight with him against the *French* King: for that the Pope had bound them in two Millions of *Florens* of Gold, and under pain of Excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawful King of *France*. Whereupon, the King thought good therefore presently to make open Challenge to the Realm and Crown of *France*: and further, to quarter and intermingle the Arms of *France* with the Arms of *England* in one *Scutcheon*. Whereupon eftsoons King *Edward* made answer unto the Pope again, directing unto him his Letters, wherein he declareth at large his Right and Title unto the Crown of *France*, purging thereby himself and his cause unto the Bishop. The Copy and tenour of which Letter, because it is too long to express, it is to be found in story of *Tho. Walsingham*, remaining in the Library of *J. Stephenson* Citizen of *London*, who so hath lift or leisure to perufe the same. Besides this Letter to the Pope, he directed another to the Peers and Prelates of *France* (he remaining yet at *Gaunt*) in tenour as followeth.

The Scots stirred up against King *Edward* by the French King.

The Pope cause of the Kings removing out of *France*.

{Anno 1340.}

The King of *England* taketh the Title of *France*.

The Letter of King *Edward* to the Nobles and Commons of *France*.

King Edward unto the Nobles and Commons of *France*.

EDward *by the Grace of God King of* France *and of* England, *Lord of* Ireland. *Unto all Prelates and Ecclesiastical Persons, to the Peers, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and to the Commons of* France, *greeting. The high Lord and King above, to whom although his Will be in his own Power, yet would that Power should be subject unto Law; commanding every thing to be given unto him which is his, declaring thereby that Justice and Judgment ought to be the preparation of the Kings Seat. Wherefore seeing the Kingdom of* France, *through the Providence of God, by the death of* Charles *last King of* France *of famous memory, Brother-German to our Lady Mother, is fallen unto us by plain and manifest Law; And forsomuch as Lord* Philip de Valois, *being the Son of the Uncle of the foresaid King, and so being far from the Crown by a further degree of Consanguinity, through force and usurpation hath intruded himself in the foresaid Kingdom (whilst we were yet in our Minority) and so contrary both to God and to Justice doth detain and occupy the same; And lest we should seem to neglect our own Right and the Gift given us of God, or not to submit our Will to Gods Ordinance: We have thought good to acknowledge the Title of* France, *and by supportation of the Almighty King have taken upon us the Defence and Regiment of the said Kingdom; Firmly purposing with our selves (as every good man ought to do) graciously to minister Justice to every one, according to the Rites and laudable Custom of the foresaid Kingdom. Also to renew the good Laws and Customs which have been in the time of* Ludovike *our Progenitor; adding moreover, that which shall seem expedient according to the condition and quality of the time. As any change of Coin, or any other inordinate Exactions, we intend not to seek our Profits by your Detriments: when as (the Almighty be praised therefore) we abound and have enough. And as concerning the Affairs of the Realm, our purpose is not to proceed rashly or by our own will, but by the discreet advice and counsel of the Peers, Prelates, Nobles, and other our faithful Subjects of the Kingdom, so far forth as shall make for the Honour of God, the Defence and Advancement of the Church (which in all fulnesse of devotion we do reverence) and to the profit both publick and private of all the Subjects thereof, with full execution of Justice by the Grace of God to be executed upon all and singular persons, being earnestly careful for the Honour, profit, and tranquility of you all. For, as the Lord knoweth, nothing shall be more grateful to us, than that by our careful solicitude, peace may be engendred, specially betwixt us, and universally among all Christian men: so that by our concord the force and strength of all Christian Princes may be joyned together for the recovery of the holy Land: which our Saviour and Redeemer hath dedicated with his own proper blood, wherefore if we will endeavour our selves through the Grace of the Holy Ghost. And forasmuch as we have offered to the foresaid Lord* Philip *divers friendly and reasonable conditions of Peace, whereunto he would neither condescend, nor neither agree to any Conformation; yea, rather moveth against us unjust War, so the utter subversion of our State: we are inforced of necessity to the uttermost of our Power (for the defence both of us, and recovery of our Right) to defend our selves by force of battel; not seeking any slaughter of good and humble Subjects, but desiring their safegard and profit.*

Note the grossness of this time when the blood of Christ was thought but vainly dedicated to the holy Land.

The Title of *France* how it came to King *Edward*.

For the which cause, all and singular such Subjects of the Kingdom of France, *which shall submit themselves to*

to us at the true King of France, *at or before the Feaſt of* Eaſter *next enſuing; profeſſing unto us their Fealty, and doing to us as to the King of* France *by duty appertaineth, ſo as our beloved Subjects of* Flanders *have done already, or be ready to offer themſelves ſo to do; all ſuch we willingly admit and receive to our Peace and Grace under our Protection to be defended, them to maintain as is convenient from all moleſtation and unquietneſs whatſoever, in perſon or goods hereafter to be inforced either by us or by our Officers, upon whatſoever occaſion of Rebellion afore paſſed. And foraſmuch as the premiſſes cannot eaſily be intimated to all and ſingular perſons; we have provided the ſame to be fixed upon Church doors, and other publick places, whereby the manifeſt notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to us devout, and to the true information of them, which through ſiniſter ſurmiſes of our Enemies are otherwiſe informed of us.* Dated at *Gaunt* the 8th of *February*, the year of our Kingdom of *France* the firſt, of *England* the 14th.

Southampton burnt and ſpoiled by the French-men.

This done, for that the Winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the time ſerved, of farther doing good; the King thought beſt for a ſeaſon to return again to *England* with his Company, giving over the Wars until the next Spring; and ſo did, taking ſhipping, and ſo arrived at *Dover*. When he came to *London*, it was declared unto him, of the great ſpoil the *Frenchmen* had made at *Southampton*: who anſwered again, *That within one year he doubted not but the ſame ſhould be well paid for and recompenſed.* And according to the ſame purpoſe of his he lingred no time, but calling a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with much grudge and evil will of his Subjects there was for the maintenance of his Wars granted to him a great Subſidy, which was the fifth of every mans goods, and alſo the Cuſtoms of his Wools two years before hand, and the ninth Sheaf of every mans Corn. At the Spring the King again prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy, purpoſing to land in *Flanders*. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then Lord Chancellor, having underſtanding of the *French* Power upon the Sea, lying for the King, gave him advertiſement there, willing him to go more ſtrongly, or elſe not to venture. But the King not crediting the Archbiſhop, and being angry with him therefore, ſaid, *That he would go forward:* whereupon the Biſhop reſigned the Chancellorſhip, and removed himſelf from his Counciſthen the King conſulting hereupon further with the Lord *Morley* his Admiral, and others (hearing alſo the fame of them) furniſhed himſelf with ſtronger Power, and committed him to his Ship: and did ſo much, that a few days before *Midſummer*, he was upon the Sea with a great Fleet. Before the Town of *Sluſe*, the *French* King to ſtop his paſſage, had laid ready a great Navy, well near to the number of twenty ſcore Sail; and had made the *Chriſtopher* of *England* (which before the *Frenchmen* took at *Southampton*) their Admiral: betwixt which two Navies was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the Victory by Gods Grace fell to the King of *England*, in which fight he himſelf was perſonally. So that of the numbers of thirty thouſand *Frenchmen*, few or none were left and eſcaped alive, and two hundred Sail of Ships taken: in one of the which were found 400 dead bodies.

Counſel of the Archbiſhop given to the King.

Battel upon the Sea between King *Edward* and the French-men.

The French-men beaten upon the Sea.

After this great ſlaughter of the *Frenchmen* (of whom many for fear of the Sword lept into the Sea) when no man durſt bring tydings thereof to the *French* King; they which were next about the King did ſuborn his Fool, to inſinuate the underſtanding thereof by ſubtilty of covert words; which was thus. As the forſaid Fool being in the Kings preſence, and was talking of many things; among other talk he ſuddenly braſt out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing againſt the *Engliſhmen*, calling them Cowards and Daſtards, with many ſuch opprobrious words tending to that effect. The King not knowing wherunto the words of the Fool did appertain, asked the Fool, *Why he called the* Engliſhmen *ſuch Weaklings and Cowards, &c.* Why, ſaith the Fool? *Becauſe the fearful and cowardly* Engliſhmen *had not the hearts to leap into the Sea ſo luſtily, as our* Normans, *and Gentlemen of* France *had.* Whereby the *French* King began to underſtand the Victory of his part to be loſt, and the *Engliſhmen* to be Victorers.

The words of the Fool to the French King

This Victory atchieved, the ſame thereof ſpreading abroad in *England*, firſt was not believed, till Letters thereof came from the King to Prince *Edward* his Son being then at *Waltham*, directed to the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm: the effect of which Letters here followeth under written.

[KING Edw. 3]

The Letters of King Edward to the Biſhops of England.

THe bountiful benignity of Gods great Clemency powred upon us of late, for your true certification and rejoycing, we thought good to intimate unto you. It is not unknown (we ſuppoſe) to you, and to other our faithful Subjects, which alſo have been partakers with us of the ſame, with what ſtorms of boiſterous Wars of late we have been toſſed and ſhaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the riſing ſurges of the Sea be marvelous, yet more marvelous is the Lord above: who turning the Tempeſt into a Calm, in ſo great dangers, ſo mercifully hath protected us. For wherein we of late did ordain our paſſage upon urgent cauſes into Flanders: *the Lord* Philip de Valois *our bitter Enemy underſtanding thereof, laid againſt us a mighty Navy of Ships, intending thereby either to take us, or at leaſt to ſtop our Voyage. Which Voyage if it had been ſtaid, it had been the cutting off of all the great Enterprizes by us intended and taken in hand, and moreover we our ſelves had been brought to a great confuſion. But the God of Mercies, ſeeing us ſo diſtreſſed in ſuch perils and dangers, hath graciouſly and beyond mans expectation ſent to us great ſuccour and ſtrength of fighting Souldiers, and a proſperous Wind after our own deſires. By the means and help whereof, we ſet out of the Haven into the Sea, where we eſſoons perceived our Enemies well appointed and prepared with a main multitude to ſet upon us, upon* Midſummer-day *laſt paſt. Againſt whom notwithſtanding Chriſt our Lord and Saviour hath rendred to us the Victory, through a ſtrong and vehement Conflict. In the which Conflict, a mighty number of our Enemies were deſtroyed, and well near all their whole Navy was taken; with ſome loſs alſo of our part, but nothing like in compariſon to theirs. By reaſon whereof we doubt not but our paſſage by the Seas hereafter ſhall be more quiet and ſafe for our Subjects, and alſo many other Commodities ſhall enſue thereof, as we have good cauſe to hope well of the ſame. For which cauſe we, devoutly conſidering the heavenly Grace ſo mercifully wrought upon us, do render moſt humble Thanks and Praiſe to Chriſt our Lord and Saviour: Beſeeching him, that as he hath been and always is ready to prevent our neceſſities in time of opportunity, ſo he will continue his helping hand ever towards us, and ſo to direct us here temporally, that we may reign and joy with him in heaven eternally. And in like ſort we require your Charity, that you alſo with us riſing up to the praiſe of God alone, who hath begun ſo favourably to work with us to our goodneſs, in your Prayers and Divine Service do inſtantly recommend us unto the Lord, travelling here in theſe foreign Countries, and ſtudying to recover not only our Right here in* France; *but alſo to advance the whole Catholick Church of Chriſt, and to Rule our people in Juſtice. And that alſo ye call upon the Clergy and people, every one through his Dioceſs to do the ſame, invocating the Name of our Saviour, that of his mercy he will give to us his humble Servant a docible heart, ſo to Judge and Rule hereupon rightly, doing that which he hath commanded, that at length we may attain to that which he hath promiſed, &c.* Which Letter was written to the Biſhops and Prelates, *Anno* 1340.

After this foreſaid Victory upon the Sea, and News thereof, with due Thanks to our Saviour, ſent into *England*: the King ſtriking into *Flanders*, came to *Gaunt* in *Brabant*, where he had left the Queen; who joyfully received him, being a little before purified or churched, as we term it, of her fourth Son, whoſe name was *John*, and commonly called *John of Gaunt*, and was Earl of *Richmond*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*. At *Villenorth* the King aſſembled his Council, whereat the Noblemen of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hynalt* conjoyning together in moſt firm League, the one to help and defend the other, with the King of *England*, againſt the *French* King, purpoſing and determining from thence to march toward *Tourney*, and it to beſiege. But the *French* King, underſtanding their counſel, fortified and victualled the ſame before their coming thither.

A Counſel at Villenorth.

Flanders, Brabant and Hynalt take part with King Edward.

Further-

[KING Edw. 3]

Furthermore the ſaid *French* King the ſame time, to ſtop the Siege of King *Edward*, ſent with King *David* of *Scotland* a great Power, to that intent to make invaſion in *England*, thereby the ſooner to cauſe the King to remove his Siege. In the mean time King *Edward* wrote his Letters to *Philip de Valois*, making unto him certain Requeſts, as in the ſame his Letters here following is to be ſeen: who, for that he wrote not unto him as King of *France*, but by the name of *Philip de Valois*, refuſed to anſwer him touching the ſame, as by their Letters here placed may be ſeen.

The Letter of the King of *England*, to *Philip de Valois*, the *French* King, going to the Siege of *Tourney*.

The Letter of King Edward to the French King.

PHilip de Valois, *of long time we have gently requeſted you by our Embaſſadors (by all the reaſonable means we might) to that intent you ſhould have rendred unto us our lawful Right and Inheritance to the Crown of* France, *which from us a long time you have by great wrong and force detained. And for that we well perceive you mean to perſevere in the ſame your purpoſe and injuri- ous detinue, without making any reaſonable anſwer to our demand: We let you underſtand, that we are entred into the Country of* Flanders, *as the Sovereign Lord of the ſame, and ſo paſs through the Country. And further ſignifie unto you, how that by the help of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt and our righteous Cauſe therein, and with the Power of the ſaid Country, our People and Allies, we purpoſe to recover the Right which we have to that Inheritance you detain from us by your injurious force, and therefore approach we towards you to make a ſhort end of this our rightful Challenge, if you alſo will do like. And for that ſo great an Hoſt aſſembled as we bring with us on our part (ſuppoſing you alſo on the other part to do the like) cannot long remain together without great deſtruction both to our People and Country, which thing every good Chriſtian ought to eſchew; eſpecially Princes and others which have the Government of the ſame, avoiding, by as ſhort an end as may be, the mortality of Chriſtian men, according as the quarrel is apparent between you and me: For the which cauſes here touched, let the Challenge (if you think meet) between our own perſons and bodies be diſcuſſed, that the great Nobility and Proweſs of each other, may of every one be ſeen. And if you refuſe this way, then let there (to finiſh this Challenge) be an hundred of the beſt Souldiers you can chooſe out of your part matched with ſo many of our Liege-Subjects to try the ſame. And if of theſe two ways you refuſe both the one and the other, then that you will aſſign unto us a certain day before the Town of* Tourney, *to fight with us Power againſt Power, which may be within ten days next enſuing after the date of theſe our Letters: offering the ſaid conditions unto you above ſpecified (as we would all the world to know and underſtand) not upon any ergoil, preſumption or pride we take therein, but for the Cauſes before alledged, and to the end that (the will of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt betwixt us two herein declared and ſhewed) reſt and peace might grow amongſt Chriſtian men; the power and force of Gods Enemies may be abated: and in fine, the limits of Chriſtianity enlarged and enfranchiſed. And therefore hereupon conſider with your ſelf, what way you will take concerning our foreſaid Offers, and by the bearers of theſe our Letters ſend unto us herein quick and ſpeedy Anſwer.* Given under our Great Seal at *Chin* in the plain of *Leece* the 27th day of this preſent month of *July*.

The Anſwer of the Lord *Philip de Valois* unto the Letter aforeſaid.

The anſwer of the French King to King Edward.

PHilip *by the Grace of God, King of* France, to Edward King of England. *We have ſeen the Letters which you have ſent unto our Court to* Philip de Valois, *wherein are contained certain Requeſts which you make to the ſaid* Philip de Valois. *But for that the ſaid Letters come not as directed unto us, neither yet the ſaid Requeſts ſeem to be made unto us (which thing clearly by the tenour of the ſaid Letters appeareth) we therefore write unto you no Anſwer touching the ſame. Notwithſtanding this ſufficeth, that we underſtand by the ſaid Letters of your, as alſo other ways, that you are entred into our Realm of* France, *to the great damage both unto us, our Realm and People (more proceeding of will, than reaſon) and not regarding that which a Liege-man ought to do unto his Lord. For you are entred into our Homage by you liged unto us, acknowledging your ſelf as reaſon is, a Liege-man unto the King of* France; *and have promiſed unto us ſuch Obeiſance as men are wont to do unto their Liege-Lords (as more plainly by your Letters Patents appeareth, enſealed with your Great Seal, the which we have with us:) for the which thing we will you to underſtand, that our purpoſe is (when it ſhall ſeem good unto us) to drive you out of our Realm, to the honour both of us and our Kingdom, and to the profit and commodity of our people. And the thing to do we have firm and aſſured hope in Jeſus Chriſt, from whom we have all our power and ſtrength. For by your unreaſonable demand more willful than reaſonable, hath been hindred and ſtayed the holy Voyage to thoſe parts beyond the Seas, where a great number of Chriſtian-men have been ſlain; the Divine-Service diminiſhed, and the Service of the Church leſs reverenced. And as touching that where you ſay, Ye intend to have the Obeiſance of the Flemmings, we think and believe that the good people and Commons of that Country will behave themſelves in ſuch ſort toward our Coſin the Counteſs of* Flanders *their Lady, as it be not to their reproach; and to us their Sovereign Lord, they will reſpect their Honour and Loyalty. And that thing wherein they have done otherwiſe than well hitherto, hath been by the evil counſel of ſuch people, as neither regard the Weal-publick nor Honor of their Country, but their own only gain and commodity.* Given in the field near adjoyning to the Priory of S. *Andrew*, under our Privy-Seal in abſence of our Great-Seal, the 30th day of *July*, *Anno* 1340.

Mention was made a little before of *David* King of *Scots*, whom the *French* King had ſupported and ſtirred up againſt the King and Realm of *England*: which *David* (with the Aid of the *Scots* and *Frenchmen*) did ſo much prevail, that they recovered again almoſt all *Scotland*, which before he had loſt, and was confrained to live in the Foreſt of *Gedworth* many years before. Then invaded they *England*, and came with their Army, waſting and burning the Country before them, till they came as far as *Durham*, and then returned again into *Scotland*, where they recovered all their Holds again ſaving the Town of *Barwick*. *Edenborough* they took by a ſtratagem or ſubtil device practiſed by *Douglas*, and certain other: who apparelling themſelves in poor mens habits, as Victuallers with Corn and Provender, and other things, demanded the Porter early in the morning what need they had thereof? Who nothing miſtruſting, opened the outward Gate, where they ſhould tarry till the Captain roſe: and perceiving the Porter to have the Keys of the inward Gate, they threw down their Sacks in the outward Gate, that it might not be ſhut again, and ſlew the Porter, taking from him the Keys of the Town. Then they blew their Horn as a warning to their Bands, which privily they had laid not far off: who in haſtiwiſe coming, and finding the Gates ready opened, entred upon the ſudden, and killed as many as reſiſted them, and ſo obtained again the City of *Edenborough*.

The Scots invade England.

Edenborough recovered from the Engliſhmen by the Scots.

The *Scots* being thus buſie in *England*, the *French* King in the mean ſeaſon gathered together a puiſſant Power, purpoſing to remove the Siege from *Tourney*: and among other, ſent for the King of *Scots*, who came to him with great force, beſides divers other Noblemen of *France*: inſomuch that the *French* King had a great Army, and thought himſelf able enough to raiſe the Siege, and theither bent his Hoſt. But the *French* King, for all this his foreſaid huge Power and Force, durſt not yet approach the King ſo near, as either to give him battel, or elſe remove his Siege, but kept himſelf with his Army aloof, in a fare place for his better defence. And notwithſtanding the King of *England* waſted, burnt, ſpoiled and deſtroyed the Country, twenty miles in manner compaſs about *Tourney*, and took divers and ſundry ſtrong Towns and Holds, as *Ortois*, *Urſes*, *Greney*, *Archies*, *Odint*, S. *Amand*, and the

Tourney beſieged.

Town

Town of *Lisle*, where he slew above three hundred men of Arms, and about S. *Omers*, he slew and kill'd of Noble men, the Lord of *Duskune*, of *Mauresteon*, of *Rely*, of *Chastillion*, of *Melly*, of *Ferie*, of *Hamelor*, *Mountfaucon*, and other Barons, to the number of fourteen; and also slew and killed above 130 Knights, being all men of great Possessions and Prowess, and took other small Cities and Towns to the number of three hundred: yet for all this *Philip de Valois*, the *French* King, durst neither rescue his Towns, nor relieve his own men: but of his great Army he lost (which is to be marveled at, being in the midst of his own Country) by Famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men without any battel by him given. Whereupon at the intreaty of the said *Philip* by his Embassadors to the King sent, and by the mediation of the Lady *Jane*, Sister to the said *Philip*, and Mother to the Earl of *Henault*, whose Daughter King *Edward*, as you heard, had married; a truce containing the number of fifteen Articles for one was concluded, the King of *England* being very unwilling and loth thereunto. Yet notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the foresaid Lady, but specially for that the King was greatly dissappointed, through the negligence of his Officers in *England*, which sent him not over such money as he needed for the continuance of his Wars, and payment of his Souldiers wages (the Articles being somewhat reasonable) he agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow under written.

Articles of Truce.

1. First, that during the said truce no tales or mistruth of either part shall be a detriment or cause of breach of the same.

2. *Item*, that during the said respite or truce either of the Princes, their Helpers, Coadjutors and Allies whatsoever, shall remain and be in quiet possession of all such Possessions, Holds, Territories and Lands, as at this present day they keep and enjoy within the Realm and Dominion of *France*, in what manner soever they have atchieved the same, during the said truce.

3. *Item*, that the said Princes, their Aiders, Coadjutors, and Allies whatsoever, shall pass safely from one Country to another, and all Merchants with their Merchandise, as well by Sea as by Land, as accustomably they have been wont: except such banished men as have been banished out of the said Realms, or any of them for other causes, than the Wars, between the said Princes.

4. *Item*, that the said two Princes shall not procure, either by themselves or any other, any practice or other molestation to be made the one to the other, by the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other belonging to the holy Church whatsoever; either for the Wars begun, or any other cause, nor for the Service of any of their Allies, Coadjutors, and Aiders, or any of them. And that neither our holy Father the Pope, nor any other shall disturb or molest either of the said two Kings during the said time.

5. *Item*, that immediately after the truce be proclaimed in both the Holts, that may stand bound of either side, to keep and observe all and every such Article as shall be therein contained.

6. *Item*, that within 20 days next and immediately insuing, each of the Princes shall cause to be proclaimed in *Gascoine* and *Guyen*, and other their Lands these Articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better observed, kept and known.

7. *Item*, if by any the said Princes, their Allies, People or Coadjutors, any siege be laid in *Gascoin*, or the Dutchy of *Guyen*, or any other Isles of the Sea *Giernsey* or *Gersey*, or any other; that the same Sieges be raised so soon as they shall hear of this truce.

8. *Item*, that such as are Thieves and Fugitives out of the Country of *Flanders* shall not return during the truce: and if they do, that then such as apprehended them shall see justice done upon them, and they shall forfeit all the goods they have in *Flanders*.

9. *Item*, it is recorded, that the debts due to *Arras*, *Trefbonoux*, or other Titles of *France*, shall neither be demanded nor executed during the said truce.

10. *Item*, that all such Prisoners, as have been taken during these Wars, shall be released out of prison, and sent home upon their Faith and Oath to return, if they be not ransomed during the said truce. And if any shall refuse so to do, that then the Lord under whom he is, shall constrain him to return again to prison. {KING. 1 Edw. 3.}

11. *Item*, that all the Bands whatsoever they be, which he made before this said truce in the timeof War (whether they be of goods Spiritual or Temporal) be releafed without reftitution, during the faid truce.

12. Alſo, that theſe conditions of truce immediately may take effect between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, their Lords, Aiders, and Allies; and the ſame to endure until the Nativity of Saint *John Baptiſt*. And that certain perſons be appointed by a certain day to be at the Marches of *England* and *Scotland* to confirm the ſaid truce, under ſuch conditions as have been acculſomed in thoſe parts. And if the ſaid *Scots* refuſe ſo to do, that then they have no Aid out of *France* during the ſaid truce.

13. *Item*, that this ſaid truce be proclaimed in *England*, and in *Scotland*, within 26 days after the date hereof.

14. *Item*, it is accorded that within this truce be contained *Eſpanels*, *Chatellon*, *Genovois*, the Biſhop and the Town of *Cambrey* and Caſtles of the ſame.

In witneſs whereof, we *John* by the Grace of God King of *Bohemia*, and Earl of *Luxemburge*, *Adulph* Biſhop of *Liege*, *Radulph* Duke of *Lorein*, *Ayemes* Earl of *Savoy*, and *John* Earl of *Darminack* on the one party: and *B.* Duke of *Brabant*, *C.* Duke of *Gelre*, *D.* Marqueſs of *Juliers*, Sir *John* of *Henault*, and Sir *Beaumont* on the other party, betwixt the high and puiſſant Princes of *France* and *England*, have ſealed this inſtrument of truce and peace, and delivered the ſame accordingly in the Church of *Eſpleteline* on *Monday* the 25th day of *September*, the year of Grace, 1340.

This truce thus finiſhed, King *Edward* brake up his Camp, removing his Siege from *Tourney*, and came again to *Gant*. From whence (very early in the morning) he with a ſmall Company took ſhipping, and by long Seas came to the *Tower* of *London*, very few or none having underſtanding thereof. And being greatly diſpleaſed with divers of his Council and high Officers (for that through their default he was conſtrained againſt his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condeſcend unto the foreſaid truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the *Tower*, the Lord *John Stonehore* Chief Juſtice of *England*, and Sir *John Poulney*, with divers others. And the next morning, he ſent for *L. R.* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and the Lord *Wake*, the Lord Treaſurer, and divers other ſuch that were in Authority and Office, and commanded them all to be kept as Priſoners in the ſaid *Tower*, only the ſaid Biſhop excepted: whom for fear of the Conſtitution of Pope *Clement*, which commanded that no Biſhop ſhould be by the King impriſoned, he ſet at liberty, and ſuffered him to go his way, and in his place ſubſtituted Sir *Roger Boucher* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*. King Ed. ward returneth from Tourney. The King diſpleaſed by his Council. No Biſhop muſt be impriſoned by the Popes Law.

The Hiſtory intreating of this matter reporteth thus, that the King had at this time under him evil Subſtitutes, and covetous Officers: who, attending more to their own gain than to the publick Honour and Commodity of the Realm, left the King deſtitute and naked of money. With which Crime alſo *John Stratford* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was vehemently noted and ſuſpected; whether of his true deſerving, or by the ſetting on of other, hereafter ſhall more appear. Inſomuch that the King ardently incenſed againſt him, charged him with great fallhood uſed againſt his Perſon, as by theſe his Letters written and directed to the Dean and Chapter of *Paul's* againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, manifeſtly appeareth; the tenor of which Letter here followeth under written. Covetous Officers. *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edward by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France* and Lord of *Ireland*, To his well-beloved in Chriſt the Dean and Chapter of the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, greeting in the Lord.

IT *is manifeſt by ancient Hiſtories, but more plainly it appeareth by thoſe things which daily are proved and ſeen amongſt us, that many men aſpiring (otherwiſe greedy)* The King Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Paul. *the favour of Princes, and honour beſtowed upon them, have maliciouſly gone about to deprave the laudable endeavour of Kings. And now that the words which we ſpeak may be more manifeſt unto our ſubjects; we ſuppoſe that neither you nor they have forgotten, that we being eſtabliſhed in our Kingly Throne in younger years, and coveting even then to guide this our Regal charge taken upon us with wholeſome counſels, have called upon us* John *the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *now Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *whom we ſuppoſed for his fidelity and diſcretion to exceed others; whoſe counſel in matters appertaining unto the health of our ſoul, as in matters alſo reſpecting the augmenting and conſervation of our Kingdom, both ſpiritually and temporally we uſed, and he was received of us into all familiarity. We found in him alſo ſuch humanity, that he was ſaluted by the name of Father, and of all next unto the King had in honour. Now afterwards when by right of Succeſſion the Kingdom of* France *ſhould have deſcended unto us, and was by violent injury by the Lord* Philip *of* Valois *holden from us; the ſaid Archbiſhop by his importune inſtancy perſwaded us to enter league of amity with the Princes of* Almain *againſt the ſaid* Philip, *and to commit our ſelf and ours unto the hazard of wars; promiſing and affirming that he would bring to paſs, that the revenues of our lands, and other helps by him deviſed, ſhould ſuffice abundantly for the maintenance of our ſaid wars; adding moreover that our only care ſhould be for the furniture of ſtrong and able Souldiers, ſuch as were fit for the purpoſe, and expert in warfare; for the reſt he him ſelf would effectually procure, for money convenient to ſuffice our neceſſity, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great exploits) we convoyed our Army beyond the Seas, and with marvellous great charges (as beloved) we ſet forward; we became alſo bound in great ſums of money, making ſure account of the aid aforeſaid promiſed unto us. But alas, unhappy is that man that repoſeth confidence in mans deceitful ſtaff of brittle reed; whereunto (as ſaith the Prophet) if a man lean, it breaketh and pierceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for Subſidy, for very neceſſity ſake we were conſtrained to take upon us importable charges of debts by grievous uſury. And ſo our expedition being ſtayed, we were compelled to retire into* England, *deſiſting from our enterprizes ſo ſuddenly begun. Now when we were returned into* Englaitd, *we laid before our Archbiſhop our manifold calamities and miſfortunes before rehearſed, and thereupon called a Parliament; wherein the Prelates, Noblemen, and other the faithful ſubjects of our Dominions, granted unto us a new ſubſidy of Corn, Lamb, Wool, &c. beſides the tenth granted by the Clergy; which Subſidy (if it had been faithfully collected and obtained in due time) had greatly availed for the expedition of our ſaid wars, the payment of our debts, and confuſion of our enemies. Our ſaid Archbiſhop promiſed diligently to do his endeavour, as well in collecting the ſame, as alſo in procuring other neceſſaries to ſerve to our purpoſe. Whereupon truſting unto theſe fair promiſes, having all things in a readineſs both men and furniſhed Ships, we made Sail toward* Flanders, *and by the way upon the dangerous Seas buckled with our enemies (ſworn to the deſtruction of our* Engliſh Nation) *of whom we triumphed and were Victors, not by our merits (their multitude far exceeding ours) but by the merciful clemency of him that ruleth both Wind and Sea. Which being done, we paſſed from thence with a mighty power for the recovery of our right, and pitched our Tents near unto the puiſſant City of* Tourney; *where being detained for a time in the ſiege thereof, and wearied with continual toil, our charges ſtill increaſing, awaiting with ſilence our promiſed aid; day by day we hoped from our Archbiſhop to receive ſuccour in theſe our ſo great neceſſities. At length being fruſtrate of all conceived hope, we ſignified unto our ſaid Archbiſhop, and other his adherents, by divers Meſſengers, and ſundry Letters, our great neceſſity and perils which we were in for lack of the ſaid Subſidy granted unto us. We added alſo the utility and honour, which we ſaw might be atchieved if we had received money in time. All this notwithſtanding we received from them no ſuccour at all; for that preferring their private buſineſs and proper commodities, they cloaked their ſloth, or rather (as I may call it) their fraud and malice with vain excuſes, and painted gloſing words, like unto the deceitful, which (as ſaith* Elay) *uſe to deride with theſe words,* Manda remanda, *&c.*

{KING. 1 Ed. 3.}

By means whereof (alas for ſorrow) it came to paſs, that whiles good hope of ſubduing our enemies graciouſly ſmiled upon us, we were conſtrained (penury prevailing againſt us) to take truce to our ſhame, the hinderance of our expedition, and no ſmall rejoicing of our evil willers; and ſo we returned into Flanders *all void of money, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neither had we in our Treaſuries wherewith to diſcharge our neceſſities, nor yet to pay our Souldiers wages: inſomuch that we were compelled to enter into the devouring gulf of uſury, and to ſuſtain on our ſhoulders great burthens of debts, heap upon heap. This being done, our faithful friends, companions in wars, and partakers of our tribulations came unto us, with whom we conſulted diligently by what means we might beſt deliver our ſelves from this dangerous ſtorm of evil fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainly, that the protracting of our wars, and cauſe of our manifold neceſſity happened unto us through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the ſaid Archbiſhop (upon whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of the whole Kingdom ſeemed to depend) and other Officers whom we had adjoyned in counſel with him touching the affairs of our Kingdom; vehemently ſwearing and murmuring among ſt themſelves (for that we had left ſo long uncorrected the inſolency of the Biſhops and other Officers) that if remedy in theſe caſes were not had with ſpeed, they would withdraw themſelves from our Allegiance, and the Covenant which they had ſworn unto; to the utter ſubverſion of our Kingdom, and perpetual ignominy, and the everlaſting ſhame of our* Engliſh *Nation, which God our moſt merciful Father forbid ſhould come to paſs in our days, in whom is fixed immoveably the anchor of our hope. Whereupon intending the due correction of our Officers, we removed from Offices (as ſeemed good to our Wiſdom) divers perſons whom we ſuſpected in cauſes evident, of evil adminiſtration of juſtice, of ſubverſion, and oppreſſion of our ſubjects, of corruption, of bribes, and other heinous offences. Others alſo of inferior degree offending in the premiſſes, we cauſed to be detained in ſafe cuſtody; leſt by their liberty, juſtice might be troden under foot, and the inquiſition of the truth concerning the premiſes not to come to light. Foraſmuch therefore as the knowledg of the truth in theſe caſes might of none more certainly be known, than from the ſecret breſt of our foreſaid Archbiſhop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to be hid from him, unto whom of ſo long a time had been committed the adminiſtration of our whole Commonweal, and ſum of our buſineſs: We ſent unto him our faithful ſubject* Nicolas de Cantilupe *with ſpecial Commandments from us, that all delays ſet apart he ſhould forthwith make his perſonal appearance before us at our City of* London. *But he (as one always timorous as well in proſperity as in adverſity, and fearing where no fear was) unruly alledgeth that ſome of our aſſiſtants had threatned him, and laid wait for his life, if at any time he departed from the Church of* Canterbury, *which (God we take to witneſs, and a pure conſcience) we never meant nor any of our aſſiſtants.*

Archbiſhop of Canterbury's falſe accuſation of the King.

Evil Officers diſplaced by the King.

We ſuppoſe be touched thereby our Couſin, although to all others, as well of the Clergy as Commonalty through his malicious miſdemeanors he were become odious. Archbiſhop of Canterbury's accuſation to all the Clergy.

Wherefore intending the ſafeguard of our ſubjects by Letters, or otherwiſe called before us, we appointed our truſty and welbeloved Ralfe Stafford *our Harbinger, to offer unto him ſafe conduct, and moreover to preſent unto him our Letters Patents under our ſeal; willing and commanding him thereby again Perſonally to come before us, that we might be informed what of ſo long a time he had done touching the affairs of the Kingdom. Whereunto contemning our commandment and gentle requeſt, he anſwereth, that neither he would in perſon appear, neither yet in any matter confer with us, except it were in a full Parliament, which for divers reaſonable cauſes could not then be called. Thus may you ſee thus Archbiſhop, whom our Royal benignity had amplified with large honours, admitted into all familiarity, received into the bond of unanimity and friendſhip, upon whom as on a Father our whole hope did conſiſt (who ſo long as we accomplished his will in all things, pretended towards us a face of counterfeit love, cloaked with diſſembling benevolence, even as though he had been a loving Father) how cruelly againſt reaſon he* The Archbiſhop of Cant. denieth to come to the King.

the Archbiſhop charged with diſſemblings, and ingratitude.

hath now forsaken us, requiting benefits with ingratitude, oppressing his benefactor with the arrogancy of fear; and finally (according to the vulgar Proverb) rewarded us as a Horse in a Satchell, a Snake in a mans bosom, and fire cherisheth next the skin, rewardeth their receivers. When we were first exalted unto the Throne of our Kingdom, descended unto us by right of inheritance (Gods Divine Providence so working) we thought, and always think it a detestable thing to abuse so high authority, but rather desire to govern with clemency, lenity, and moderation of justice, that peace, of all men desired, might firmly take place.

The Archb. deffender of the King.

Nevertheless, our said Archbishop hath gone about to defame our innocency, and the fidelity and diligence of our faithful Counsellors, prosecutors of true justice; openly declaring in his Letters Patents, and publishing abroad in divers places, that he was oppressed by the Kings power contrary to justice; the Clergy and Commonalty confounded, and the Church over-charged with divers grievous Taxes and Exactions. He subtilly usurped the name of a good Pastor, when indeed he was nothing less, but rather (as it should seem by his own confession, and the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. He cloaked his crafty subtilness with the zeal of defending the Church, although he himself in very deed was the only cause, by his evil counsel and crafty devices, of the tribulation of the same. He also fained that not long ago, certain writings were brought unto him to be sealed, containing in effect the defence and excusation of all such in general that were violaters of the Liberties of the Church: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of us and our faithful Counsellors, to stir up sedition amongst the people, and finally to withdraw from us the hearts of our Nobility. He gave commandment by his Letters, that these things should be proclaimed in all places of great resort by divers special articles contrary to his former order in his Provincial Council. Wherefore resolving the integrity of our fame, intending to prevent the malice of the said Archbishop, and also to decline from us the snares prepared for us and ours; we have thought good at this present (over and besides those which before are rehearsed) amongst so many which we omit, to declare unto you some of his perverse and wicked acts. When in our minority we were constituted over our Dominions, he caused us through his unadvised counsel and rash perswasion (thereby to win excessive favour) to give away so many wastful gifts, and so many unlawful alienations, that now by means thereof our Treasury is clean consumed, the revenues of our Exchequer without all order diminished, and he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes also without cause why, when neither necessity nor utility so required, only through his perswasion, we forgave divers men great sums of money due unto us, yea and the rents and revenues which ought to have been conserved for our necessity and profit, we applied to the use of his friends, largely bestowing upon such as evil deserved it. Moreover (accepting as well persons as money) contrary to our mind, and his Oath of fidelity made unto us; he admitted unto publick offices throughout our Dominions persons unworthily, neglecting those that had well deserved. Many other things he rashly took in hand, to the detriment of our state, the hurt of our dignity Royal, and no small damage of our subjects, by abusing his authority and office committed unto him. But if he persist in his proud obstinacy and stout rebellion, we shall hereafter in convenient time and place, cause it to be more openly known; willing and commanding you to publish and cause to be published, all and singular the premisses openly and distinctly in places where you shall think it expedient, and to set forth (as shall seem best to your godly wisdoms) our good intent for the suppressing of incommodities, and furthering of the commodities of our subjects, that we may worthily commend your circumspect care herein.

The Archb. abuseth his Office.

Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10, *die* Februar. *Anno Regni nostri Angliæ* 15, *Regni vero* Franciæ *secundo.*

By these foresaid objections and accusations of the King premised, and laid against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; what is to be thought of the doings of the said Archbishop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle Reader, (as I said before) to be conjectured: For so much as our Histories somewhat bearing with the said Archbishop, seem either to be uncertain of the truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some part of that they knew. And especially of Polydore Virgil I marvel, who having so good occasion to touch the matter, doth so slightly pass it over without any word of mention. In which matter, if probable conjecture (besides History) might here be heard, it is not unlike but that some old practice of Prelates hath herein been put in ure, through some crafty conspiracy between the Pope and the Archbishop. And the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the Pope was enemy unto the King in this his challenge to the Crown of *France*; so the Archbishop against his Prince (as for the most part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the Pope. Which thing also more probably may be supposed, because of the coming down of the two Cardinals the same time, from the Pope to the King of *England*, about the matter of further Truce; whereof (Christ willing) more hereafter shall follow. Albeit the Archbishop (this yet notwithstanding) subtilly and featly excuseth himself to the King of the foresaid objections, and cunningly handleth the matter in words by his Letter directed to the King as followeth.

KING 1 Edw. 3

The Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury *to the King.*

The Letter of the Archbishop to the King.

REdoubted Sir, may it please your Majesty to understand, that the most chief and special thing that keeps Kings and Princes in the favour of God, and best preserveth them in their estate is sage, wise, and deliberate counsel. And therefore saith the wise man concerning counsel in this wise, *Good men have thereby their safety.* And it is written in the Book of Kings, how *Solomon*, which was the wisest Prince that ever was, took unto him the most ancient and sage men of his Realm to be his Counsellors; by whose advisement and discretion, he always kept the land of *Israel* in quiet, and in peace, and besides that, had all other Kings and Princes that bordered upon him at his will and commandment. After whose death raigned *Rehoboam* his Son, who neglecting the good counsel of his Father, and good advice of his sage and discreet Counsellors, hearkened to such counsel as lighter and younger men perswaded him unto, that fought rather how to please and flatter him, than the quiet state of his Realm; whereby he lost all the whole land of *Israel*, the twelfth part only excepted. In like manner have many Kings of *Israel*, and other Kingdoms beside, by rash and evil counsel come to great ruin and mischief. And Sir, (saving your Princely patience) you may call to remembrance your own time; for by the wicked and unlearned counsel to our late Soveraign Lord your Father given (whom God forgive) which he took and followed, both against the Law of his land, and grand Charter of the Peers, and other his people of the land; some he put to shameful death; from others some he took their goods; and such as fled he put unto their ransome; and what enemies he purchased thereby, your Grace well understandeth. And after this, Sir, you know, even in your own time, how by following and believing over-light counsel, you your self lost the hearts of many of your subjects, from the which God deliver you, if it be his will. And after that time again until now, by the good advisement of your Prelates, Peers, and sage Counsellors of your land, your Graces business and affairs have been so demeaned and ordered; that you have had the hearts again of all your subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal; as much or rather more, than any of your Graces Predecessors, Kings of *England* have had. So that by means of the said good counsel, the good will and aid of your people, and special grace of God, you have had the victory of all your enemies, as well in *Scotland* as in *France*, and all other places besides; that unto this day (Gods name be blessed therefore) your Grace hath been esteemed as one of the most noble Princes in all Christendom. And now your Grace (by the evil and perverse counsel of some such within the Realm which are not so wise as they might be, and such also as confider and respect rather their own private commodity, than your Graces honour and safety of your Realm) begin neth to apprehend divers Clerks, Peers, and other people of the land, and to direct process against them, not beseeming, but contrary to the Law

Good Counsellors necessary about Kings.

KING 2 Edw. 3

Law of the land, which to keep and maintain you are bound by the Oath you took at your Coronation; and contrary to the Grand Charter, whereof all the Realm are witnesses, and all the Prelates of the same, and contrary to the sentence confirmed by the Bull of our holy Father the Pope, which we have to shew. All which things as they are to the great peril and danger of your soul; so are they also to the utter debasing of your Regal state and honour. And Sir, although such as be your Graces Governours and Counsellors (being a calling above their degree) do give your Grace to understand that their enterprises and yours do please and content your subjects and commons; yet your Grace shall know for certain, and prove it your own self to be far otherwise, than they bear you in hand. And that unless God do remedy the same, if you prosecute your purpose begun in this order, you will lose the hearts of all your subjects, as also your good and rightful enterprise; and shall see such discord about the same, that you shall not be able to perform that you have begun, but rather inforce your enemies to seek your destruction, to lose your noble and renowned fame, and in the end your Kingdom it self, which God forbid. Wherefore Soveraign Lord and King, I beseech you that for the safeguard of your Honour and Realm, and enterprise begun, you will take unto you the most discreet and wisest men within your Realm, and work by their advice and counsel, as before this time you have been accustomed; without the aid and counsel of whom you can neither maintain your enterprise, nor govern your Realm. And for that some such as are about your Grace falsely devise against us treason and such like troubles (and therefore are of us Excommunicate, and as persons Excommunicate we do esteem of them) as your Spiritual Pastor, we also desire you so to esteem and think of them: which also make like report of other that have been with your Grace beyond the Seas, that they have naughtily and falsly served you, whereby you have lost the Town of *Tourney*, and much honour else, which you might have won and gotten there. May it please your Grace to call before you the Prelates and Peers of your Realm in some convenient place, where we and other moe may safely come and resort, and there also to make search and inquiry, in whose hands, after the beginning of your wars, the money, and what things else soever, which was granted unto you in aid of the same your wars, until this present day, doth remain and is not laid out again, as also by whose default you were so inforced to leave the said siege of *Tourney*; and that those which shall be found in any point faulty and guilty therein against you, as a good justicer, your Grace will cause to be punished according to the Law; and insomuch as appertaineth unto us therein, we ask judgment of our Peers (the state always of holy Church, of us, and of our Order reserved inviolate) according as we have written unto you herein. And for Gods sake, Sir, believe not either of us, or any other your true subjects else, more than that you shall understand the verity of; for if men should be punished without making answer to that which is objected against them, there should be then no difference in judgment betwixt the good doer and the bad.

Excommunication in his own private case allowed.

And Sir, may it please you well to consider of the great enterprise you have in hand, the great good will which you have need of for this cause, and of our great enemies the *Scots*, and the great jeopardy of your Realm besides. For if your Prelates, your Nobles, and all the wise men of your Realm were of one mind and will (without any discord or division amongst them) to dispose and set in order those things which are needful in so great affairs and business; they should have all enough to beat their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterprise begun, the honour of you, and safeguard of your Realm. And Sir, may it please your Grace, not to be displeased that so rudely and grossly we declare unto you the verity; for why, the great love and affection which we bear unto you, and always have done the same, the preservation of your Honour, and safeguard of your Realm, as also for that we are (although unworthy) the Primate of the whole Realm of *England*, which thing appertaining unto us by our office (and we being your Spiritual Father) doth incite us the rather both to say and command that which may turn to the benefit of your soul, and profit of your Realm and Kingly estate. Thus the Holy Spirit save you both body and soul, and give your Grace both to hear and believe good counsel, and further give you victory over all your enemies. Written at *Cant.* the first of *Janu.* By your Graces Chaplain the Archbishop of the same.

And thus stood the case between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who coming thus (as is said) in secret wise into *England* from the Siege of *Tourney*, his Army in the mean while by Ships was conveyed to *Little-Britain*. Of whom a great number through unseasonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there consumed. To whom also no less danger happened by the Seas, coming out of *Britain* into *England* by Tempest, Thunder and Lightning stirred up as is thought, by the Necromances of the *French* King.

The return of the King's Army from Tourney.

About which season approaching to the year of our Lord 1341, were sent from the Pope two other Cardinals to Entreat with King *Edward* for three years Truce more to be concluded with the *French* King, besides the former Truce taken before for one year, and all by the Popes means. For here is to be understood, that as it was not for the Popes purpose to have the King of *England* to raign over so many Countries, so his privy supportation lacked not by all means possible, both by the Archbishops and Cardinals, and also by the Emperor, to maintain the state of the *French* King, and to stablish him in his possessions. *Ex Thom. Walsing. Ex Chron. Albanens.*

Anno 1341.

Truce taken for three years between King Edward and the French King.

In the said Histories where these things be mentioned, it is also noted, that the same year such plenty there was here in the Realm of victuals, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 2 *s.* a flat Ox for a Noble, and as some say, a Sheep for 4 *d.* And thus far endureth the History of *Ramulphus Cestrensis*, called *Polychronicon.*

The next year following, which was 1342, *Ludovicus Bavarus* the Emperor, who before had shewed great courtesie to King *Edward*, in his first Voyage over, insomuch that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent General, and offered him also aid against the *French* King; now (either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the Pope) writeth to him contrary Letters, wherein he revoketh again the Vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all means in the favour of the *French* King, against King *Edward*, as by his Letters here under-written may better appear.

Anno 1342.

The Letter of the Emperor unto the KING *of* ENGLAND.

LUdovicus by the Grace of God Emperor of the *Romans* always *Augustus*, &c. To *Edward* King of *England*, his beloved Brother, Greeting and unfained love. Although great and urgent business of our own do oppress us, and about the same our weighty affairs we are daily incumbred, yet with the discord and variance between your Kingly dignity and the renowned *Philip* the King of *France* our Cousin, for your sake, we are not a little troubled. And the rather, the great charges which may hereafter grow both to you and to your Kingdom thereby confidered, both of men and money, unless the same be taken up, doth more easily provoke us to give our self to the careful study of your affairs. Wherefore we give you to understand that the foresaid *Philip* (at our request) hath given unto us by his Letters authority and power to intreat and conclude a peace between you, touching the variance begun: which peace (all the state diligently confidered both of your self, your Kingdom and subjects) we take and believe to be right expedient for you; moving therewithal your charity, and earnestly desiring you, that to this also you will give your consent; whereby we may bring you both to concord and unity, and establish between you a firm peace to endure, where unto with willing mind we would apply our self, and bestow our painful labour in profecuting of the same. And herein if you will condescend and agree unto our counsel, as we trust you will; it may please you by your Letters to give unto us the like authority as is above said, to intreat peace or ordering of a Truce for one year or two at least to continue. Neither let it move you, that between us and the said *Philip* of *France* a Truce is taken. For seeing that you without our consent took Truce with him: we by the advise of our Princes which know the bonds, deeds, and Covenants betwixt us, who also though no

'less, but that saving your honour we might do the same;
'have also made a league with the said *Philip* King of
'*France*; and for certain causes do revoke and call back
'the Lieutenantship which we assigned unto you by our
'Letters. Nevertheless, giving you for a certain to under-
'stand that in our said Treaties and peace concluded, we
'have so brotherly considered you, that if you will agree
'and condescend unto our counsel; your cause (by our
'mean and help) shall be brought to good pass and effect.
'About which things further to confer with your Brother-
'hood herein, we have sent a devout and religious man,
'*Elzearbordus*, Reader and Brother of the *Heremites* of
'Saint *Augustine*, and Chaplain of our Court; whom
'about the premisses we desire with speedy expedition to
'be sent unto us again.

'Dated at *Francford* the 14*th* day of *June*, in the 24*th*
'year of our Raign, and 14*th* of our Empire.

The answer of the King of England, *to the Emperor.*

TO the High and Mighty Prince Lord *Ludovick*, by
the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always
Augustus, *Edward* by the same Grace King of *France*,
and *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, Salutation and prof-
perous success.

'We have reverently received your Highness Letters, a-
'mongst other things containing, that the Noble *Philip de*
'*Valois* (to the intent a peace and concord between us and
'him might be concluded) hath given unto you by his Let-
'ters full power and authority thereunto at your Highness
'request; and that if the same might content us to do in
'like sort, your Highness would travel to bring the con-
'cord to pass; and that it would not move us any whit
'at all, that your Highness and the said *Philip* are in League
'together: For insomuch as we without your assent and
'consent (you say) took Truce with the said *Philip*, you
'have also done the like with him: which thing you might
'well do saving your honour, by the counsel of all your
'Nobles and Princes; and for certain causes you revoke a-
'gain the Lieutenantship which you committed unto us.
'Doubtless the zeal and good will you have to make this
'concord and agreement, we much commend; letting
'you to understand that we always have been desirous, and
'still are, to have a reasonable peace with the said *Philip*;
'which peace as much as to us (our honour saved) apper-
'tained, we have in justice and by law prosecuted; and in
'very deed, it should be to us acceptable, and as we would
'with, if by such a Mediator as your celsitude is, it might
'be brought to pass. But forasmuch as we understand the
'same our right and title to the Kingdom of *France* to be
'manifest and clear enough; we purpose not to commit
'the same by any of our Letters to doubtful arbitrement.
'But while we well consider and revolve with our selves,
'how upon circumspect consideration (you manifestly be-
'holding our just and rightful doing, and the strait deal-
'ing and obstinate purpose and injury of the said *Philip*)
'your gracious Highness made a special League with us,
'and in our behalf against the said *Philip*, adopting us of
'your great and bountiful love towards our Person to be
'one of your Sons; wherefore you should thus again alter
'and break the same, we cannot sufficiently marvel: See-
'ing your invincible Highness being instituted of God to
'the laud and commendation of good men, and revenge
'of evil and wicked doers, hath made a League against
'us with the said *Philip de Valois*, our notorious and in-
'jurious enemy. And as touching that which you say, with-
'out your affignment and consent we took a Truce, or
'days of respite with the said *Philip*, which we ought not
'to have done; if your Grace well consider the circum-
'stance of the matter, we have done but as we might
'therein. For when we laid our siege to *Tourney*, it was
'requisite that we should follow their advice, whose aid
'and society therein we had. Besides the sudden and emi-
'nent necessity which we there stood in, and the distance
'of the place betwixt your Highness and us furthermore
'was such, as that by no means we might attain the same,
'nor use your assent therein. Yea and further, if your Grace
'well remember your self, your grant unto us was such,
'that whensoever opportunity thereunto should serve, we
'might intreat of any peace, and grant what time we
'thought meet thereunto, without your consent therein:
'So that to conclude any final peace with the said *Philip*
'*de Valois*, without either your consent, or otherwise ma-
'king your Highness privy thereunto, it might not be law-
'ful for us; which thing without your said counsel, consent
'and advice, we never minded or purposed to do, but have
'in all our doings done that which us beseemed, so far as
'by any means our power would stretch; hoping likewise
'that your brotherly benevolence for a time would have
'more lovingly supported us. It is thought also by some,
'that the revoking back again, or restraint of your foresaid
'Lieutenantship, was prematurate or done all out of time;
'when as according to your promise made to us herein by
'your Letters Imperial, you ought not so to have done be-
'fore the Realm and Kingdom of *France* (or at the least
'the greatest part thereof) were of us obtained and quietly
'in peaceable wise enjoyed. These things premised there-
'fore we desire you according to your Nobility, duly to
'consider, and hereafter to do that which shall be thought
'both meet and convenient, because that (God willing)
'we mean to recompence and gratifie both you and yours,
'according to the measure of your benevolence bestowed
'upon us. The Almighty grant unto your celsitude so
'much felicity as your heart desireth.

'Dated at *London* the 18*th* day of *July*, in the second
'year of the Raign of our Kingdom of *France*, and of
'*England* the 15*th*.

KING Edw. 3.

In this mean time died Pope *Benedict* the Twelfth, men-
tioned a little before; after whom succeeded in that room
Pope *Clement* the Sixth. Of whom it is reported in Sto-
ries, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his Cardinals
of *Rome*, enriching and heaping them with goods and pos-
sessions, not of his own, but with the Ecclesiastical Dig-
nities and Preferments of the Churches of *England*. For so
recordeth the Author, that he bestowed upon his Cardinals
the Livings and Promotions, such as were or should be va-
cant in the Churches of *England*, and went about to set
up new Titles for his Cardinals, here within this Realm.
But the King being offended therewith, made void and
frustrate all those foresaid provisions of the Pope; charging
moreover and commanding that no person whatsoever
should bufie himself with any such provisions, under pain
of imprisonment and losing his life. Which Law was made
the next year following, which was *Ann.* 1344.

Pope Clement the 6.

Ex Chron. Alberici.

The King offendeth the Popes provisions.

It followeth then that the said Pope *Clement* again be-
gan to make new provisions for two of his Cardinals, of
Benefices and Churches that should be next vacant, besides
Bishopricks and Abbotships, to the extent of two thousand
Marks. Whereupon the Procurators of the said Cardinals
were sent down for the same. But the King and Nobility
of the Realm not suffering that under pain of imprison-
ment caused the said Procurators forthwith to depart the
Realm, whereupon the Nobles and Commons shortly after
writ a fruitful Epistle to the Pope, for the liberties and
maintenance of the *English* Church. Whereunto, as saith
the Author, the Pope and the Cardinals were not able to
answer. The argument and tenor of which Letter, out of
French, we have caused to be translated into *English*, as
ensueth.

The Pope frustrateth provisions driven out of England.

The Letter of the King of England, *and Nobles of the same, to the Pope, against the reservations and provisions which he had in* England.

TO the most Holy Father in God, Lord *Clement*, by
the Grace of God, of the holy Church of *Rome*, and
of the Universal Church, chief and high Bishop; his
humble and devout Children, the Princes, Dukes, Earls,
Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgesses, and all the Com-
monalty of the Realm of *England*, assembled at the Par-
liament holden at *Westminster* the fifteenth day of *May*
last past: Devout kissings of his holy feet, with all hum-
ble reverence and humility. Most holy Father, the holy
discretion, government and equity which appeareth to be
in you, and ought of duty so to be (being so high and holy
a Prelate, and head of the holy Church) by whom the
holy Universal Church and people of God ought to be
as by the Sun-beams enlightened, giveth us good hope and
likelihood, that the just petitions (to the honour of

A Letter of the Nobles and Commons of England to the Pope.

KING Edw. 3.

'Jesus Christ and holy Church, and your Holiness also) by
'us declared, shall be of you graciously heard and consider-
'ed; And that all errors and other iniquities should be quite
'taken away and removed; in stead whereof, fruitful ex-
'ploits and necessary remedies (by the grace of the holy Spi-
'rit which you in so high an estate have received) may be by
'you likewise graciously ordained and disposed. Wherefore
'most holy Father, all we (upon great deliberation and com-
'mon assent) come unto your Holiness, shewing and declaring
'that the noble Kings of *England* our Progenitors, and An-
'cestors, and we (according to the grace of the holy Spirit
'to them and us given, every one according to his devoti-
'on) have established, founded and endowed within the
'Realm of *England*, Churches, Cathedrals, Colledges, Ab-
'bies, Priories, and other divers houses of Religion in the
'same ordained; and to the Prelates and Governors of the
'same places, have given Lands, Possessions, Patrimonies,
'Franchises, Advowsons, and Patronages of Dignities, Re-
'venues, Offices, Churches, with many and divers other Be-
'nefices unto them given; whereby the service of God and
'faith of Christ might have been honoured and had in reve-
'rence, that the Hospitals and Almshouses that are made,
'with all the Churches and Edifices, might be honestly kept
'and maintained. and that devout prayers might in those
'places be made for the Founders, and the poor Parishio-
'ners aided and comforted. And such only ought to have
'the Cure thereof, as are able to hear Confessions; and in
'their own natural Tongue are otherwise meet to inform
'and teach their Parishioners. And forsomuch as (most
'holy Father) you cannot well come to the notice of di-
'vers such errors and defaults, neither yet understand the
'condition of the places, being so far off, unless your Holi-
'ness be informed and advertised; We having the perfect
'intelligence and understanding of the said errors and de-
'faults of the places aboveside, within the said Realm, have
'thought meet to signifie the same unto your Holiness:
'That divers reservations, provisions and collations by your
'Predecessors Apostolick of *Rome*, and by you, most holy
'Father, in your time have been granted (and that more
'largely than they have been accustomed to be) unto di-
'vers persons, as well strangers, and of sundry Nations, as
'unto some such as are our enemies having no understand-
'ing at all of the Tongue and conditions of them, of
'whom they have the government and cure. Whereby a
'great number of souls are in peril, a great many of their
'Parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the
'Alms and devotion of all men diminished, the Hospitals
'perished, the Churches with their appurtenances decayed,
'Charity withdrawn, the good and honest persons of our
'Realm unadvanced, the charge and government of souls
'not regarded, the devotion of the people restrained, ma-
'ny poor Scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the Realm
'carried out against the minds and intents of the Founders.
'All which errors, defaults and slanders, most holy Father,
'we neither can nor ought to suffer or endure. We there-
'fore most humbly require your Holiness, that the slan-
'ders, errors and defaults, which we have declared unto
'you, may be through your great discretion considered;
'and that it may please you that such reservations, provisi-
'ons and collations may be utterly repelled, that from hence-
'forth the same be no more amongst us used; and to take
'such order and remedy therein, that the said Benefices, E-
'difices, Rights, with their appurtenants, may be to the ho-
'nour of God by our own Countrymen cured, defended
'and governed. And that it may further please your Ho-
'liness by your Letters to signifie unto us, without delay
'and other protract of time, what your pleasure is touching
'this our lawful request and demand; that we may do our
'endeavour with diligence herein for the remedy, correcti-
'on and amendment of those enormities above specified. In
'witness whereof, unto these Letters Patents we have set
'our Seals. Given in the full Parliament at *Westminster*, the
'18*th*. day of *May*, *Anno* 1343.

Decay of the Church of England by the Pope.

After these things thus passed over, the King shortly af-
ter sent over his Procurators, the Earl of *Lancaster* and
Darby, *Hugh Spenser*, Lord *Ralph Stafford*, with the Bi-
shop of *Exeter*, and divers other, to the Popes Court to dif-
cuss and plead about the right of his Title before the Pope.
Unto whom the said Pope *Clement* the 6th. not long after
sent down this Message; how that *Ludovick* Duke of
Bavaria the Emperor, whom the Pope had before depos-
ed, had submitted himself to him in all things; and there-
fore deserved at his hands the benefit of Absolution; and
how the Pope therefore had conferred and restored unto
him justly and graciously the Empire, which he before un-
justly did hold, *&c.* Which Message when the King did
hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered again,
saying, *That if he also did agree and compound with the*
French *King, he was ready to fight with them both, &c.* *ex*
Chron. Albanen.

The Pope's Message to the King.

The Kings answer to the Popes message.

Within the time of this year, Pence, Half-pence and
Farthings began to be coined in the Tower. And the next
year following, which was *An.* 1344. the Castle of *Windsor*
(where the King was born) began to be repaired; and in
the same house called the Round-Table was situate, the
diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained
200 feet; to the expences of which House Weekly was al-
lowed an hundred Pound for the maintaining of the Kings
Chivalry, till at length by the occasion of the *French* Wars,
it came down to nine Pounds a Week. By the example
whereof the *French* K. being provoked, he began also the like
Round-Table in *France*, for the maintaining of the Knight-
hood. At which time the said *French* King moreover gave
free liberty through his Realm to fell down Trees for mak-
ing of Ships and maintaining of his Navy, whereby the
Realm of *England* was not a little damnified.

Anno 1344.

The Castle of *Windsor* inlarged.

The round table builded in *Windsor*.

During the same year the Clergy of *England* granted to
the King Tenths for three years; for the which the King
in recompence again granted to them his Charter, con-
taining these priviledges, That no Archbishop nor Bithop
should be arraigned before his Justices *sive ad sectam suam*,
sive patrie, if the said Clerk do submit and claim his Cler-
gy, professing himself to be a Member of holy Church;
whose doing, shall not be bound to come to his answer be-
fore the Justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have
married two Wives, or to have married a Widow, the Ju-
stices shall have no power to proceed against them, to en-
quire of the matter: So that the cause shall be referred to the
Spiritual Court, *&c.*

Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy for three years.

Priviledges granted by the K. to the Clergy.

By this it is like that Priests had Wives.

About this present time at the setting up of the Round-
Table, the King made Prince *Edward*, his eldest Son, the
first Prince of *Wales*. All this while yet continued the Truce
between the two Kings. Albeit it is likely to be thought
that the *French* King gave many attempts to infringe the
same. Whereupon *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, with 600
Men at Arms, and as many Archers, was sent over to
Gascoine, the year after 1345, who there so valiantly is
said to have behaved himself, that he subdued 55 Town-
ships unto the King, 23 Noblemen he took Prisoners, en-
countring with the *Frenchmen* at *Allebroke*. So courte-
ously and liberally he dealt with the Soldiers, that it was a
joy to them, and a preferment to fight underneath him.
His manner was in winning any Town, to reserve little or
nothing to himself, but to sparse the whole spoil to his Sol-
diers. One example in the Authour (whom I follow) is
touched; how the foresaid Earl at the winning of the
Town of *Briers*, where he had granted to every Soldier for
his Booty, the House with all the implements therein, which
he by Victory should obtain; among other his Soldiers, to
one named *Reb*, fell a certain House with the implements
thereof, wherein was contained the Mint and Mony coined
for that Country, to the value of a great substance; which
when the Soldier had found, in breaking up a House where
first the gross Metal was not yet perfectly wrought, he
came to the Earl declaring to him the Treasure, to know
what was his pleasure therein. To whom the Earl answer-
ed, *That the house was his, and whatsoever he found there-*
in. Afterward the Soldier, finding a whole Mint of pure
Silver ready coined, signified the same to the Earl, forso-
much as he thought such Treasure to be too great for his
portion; to whom the said Earl, again answering, *Declared*
that he had once given him the whole House, and that he
had once given, he would not call back again, as children
use to play. And therefore had him enjoy that which was
granted to him; and if the Mony were thrice as much,
it should be his own, *Ex Chron. Alban.* Which Story
whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not
to affirm. But *certes*, if in these our covetous, wretched days
now present, any Author should report the like act to be
practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

Anno 1345.

Henry Earl, after made Duke of *Lancaster*, sent over to *Gascoine*.

A rare example of a liberal Captain to his Soldiers.

The liberal heart and exultant voice of a worthy Captain.

The Scots partly a mean of breaking Truce.

As the Earl of *Lancaster* was thus occupied in *Gascoin*, the *Scots* were as busie here in *England*, wasting and spoiling without mercy; which were thought (and not unlike) to be set on by the *French* King. And therefore he was judged both by that, and by other divers ways to have broken the Covenants of Truce between him and the King of *England*.

{ Anno 1346. } The second voyage of K. Edward into France.

Wherefore the next year ensuing, *An.*1346. King *Edward* first sending his Letters to the Court of *Rome*, and therein complaining to the Pope of *Philip de Valois*, how he transgressed and broke the Truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifest; about the Month of *July* he made his Voyage into *Normandy*, in such secret wise, that no Man well knew whether he intended. Where first he entred the Town of *Hogs*, from thence proceeded unto *Cardone*. Where, about the 27*th.* of *July*, by the River of *Cardone*, he had a strong Battel with the *Normans* and other *Frenchmen*, which to stop his passage, defended the Bridge. At the which Battel were taken of the Lords of *France*, the Earl of *Ewe*, the Earl of *Tankervile*; and of Knights with other Men of Arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen six hundred: and the Town and Suburbs beaten down to the hard Walls. And all that could be born away was tranforted to the Ships.

The Battel at Cardone.

A little before, mention was made how the *French* King began first to infringe the Truce taken, and how the Earl of *Lancaster*, upon the same, was sent unto *Gascoine*. Now for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the *French* King from the League, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it shall better in the Kings Letter appear; who hearing word, that the Lord *Philip de Valois* (contrary to the form of Truce taken at *Vanes*) had apprehended certain of his Nobles of *England*, and had brought them to *Paris* to be imprisoned and put to death; besides other flaughters and spoilings made in *Britain*, *Gascoin*, and other places more: He therefore seeing the Truce to be broken of the *French* Kings part, and being thereto of necessity compelled, in the year above prefixed, the 14*th.* of the Month of *June*, did publish and send abroad his Letters of defiance, containing this effect.

The Kings Letters of defiance againſt the *French* King.

The Kings Letters of defiance againſt the French K.

TO *all and singular, to whom these Presents shall come, publick greeting. We think it is not unknown unto you all, that after the decease of* Charles *late King of* France *of famous memory, Brother to our redoubted Lady Mother* Queen Isabel *Queen of* England; *the Crown of* France, *by just inheritance, hath fallen unto us, as to the next Heir Male now living after the said King. Now* Philip de Valois, *being Son but only to the Uncle of the foresaid King* Charles, *and therefore by degree of Consanguinity being further off removed from the same (we being in the time of our minority) hath violently by force and power contrary to God and Justice usurped, occupied, and yet doth occupy the same, invading further, and spoiling our Lands in the Dukedom of* Aquitain, *and joyning himself with our rebellious enemies the* Scots, *seeking our subversion both by Land and by Sea, to the utter mosh of his endeavour. And although we, to prevent the damages which might rise by War, have offered to the said* Philip *divers friendly ways of Peace; to the intent we might better intend our purposed Voyage against Christs enemies the* Turks: *yet could nothing prevail with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driving us off by crafty dissimulation, through false pretended words, but performing nothing with heart and deed. Whereupon, we not neglecting the grace and gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulse the injuries of our enemy, have not refused by force of Arms, coming down to* Britany, *to encounter with him in open field. And so we being occupied in our Wars, there repaired unto us the Reverend Father Bishop of* Preveit, *and of* Tuſculane *Cardinals, and Legates from* Pope Clement *the 6th. to entreat some reformation of peace between us. At whose request we consented, agreeing to such forms and conditions of peace as then were taken between us, sending moreover our Embassadors to the Court of* Rome, *specially to intreat of the same matter. And thus while some hope of Truce seemed between us to appear; News suddenly came unto us, which not a little astonished our mind, of the death of certain of our Nobles and Adherents, whom the said* Philip *unjustly and cruelly at* Paris *commanded to be executed. Beside the wasting and spoiling our Lands and Subjects in* Britany, Gascony, *and other places; with innumerable wrongs and injuries, deceitfully intended against us both by Sea and Land. By reason whereof, the Truce on his part being notoriously broken, it is most manifest that it had been lawful for us, forthwith to have set upon him with open War. Yet notwithstanding, to avoid those incommodities that come by War, we thought first to prove, if by any gentle means some reformation might be had touching the premisses. And therefore sundry times, we have sent Embassadors to the Popes presence for the Treaty of a Peace and Reformation to be had in those aforesaid excesses; requiring also, for the tractation thereof, certain terms of times to be appointed, always reserving to our selves notwithstanding, free liberty to resume War at our pleasure, according as the doings of the said* Philip *shall constrain us thereunto. And now forsomuch as the foresaid terms be clearly expired, and yet no reasonable offer of peace appeareth, neither will the said* Philip *come to any conformity, being required and monished notwithstanding by the Popes Letter thereunto (as the Pope by his Letter hath written unto us) but always hath multiplied his Conspiracy and Obligations, using extremities against us; and to omit here to speak of the excessive enormity of the Popes Legate, who being sent by the Bishop of* Rome *for the keeping of Truce, and whose part had been rather to have quenched and staid the discord, hath stirred up our enemies more eagerly against us. In the which doing, neither hath the Bishop of* Rome *(saving his reverence) as yet provided any remedy, albeit he hath been divers times requested of us so to do. Which thing being so, we ought to be excused both before God and Man, if for the defect of other remedy to be had, we shall be constrained our selves to find remedy against such wrongs and injuries; the case of justice and necessity constraining us to give out these our Letters of defiance against the violator of the Truce, and the unjust invader of our Kingdom. Protesting, that this we do, not upon any displeasure to the Bishop of* Rome, *or to the Apostolick See, but only for the moderation of equity, standing upon the defence of our own right and lawful inheritance, intending always rather to have peace, if by any reasonable way it might be had. And thus much, for this stopping of slanderous fame and the mouths of backbiters. We thought good to signifie, first to the high Bishop of* Rome, *and the foresaid Cardinals; that by them as persons indifferent, and Mediators, the same may be insinuated to the contrary part; and also unto your whole University in general; recommending unto you all the innocency of my cause, and the community of justice. Dated at* Westminster *the 14th.of* June, *the 19th. year of our Reign in* England, *and of* France *the sixth.*

The Pope Legate like Pope. stirreth up War. Like Legate like Pope.

The K. complaineth to Pope.

And thus much for the Kings Letters. Now let us again return to his passage, from whence a little we have digressed. Concerning the which passage of the King, with the order of his acts atchieved in the same, from the winning of *Codane* or *Cardoine*, unto the Town of *Poissake*, it is sufficiently described by one of the Kings Chaplains and his Confessor; who being a *Dominick* Frier, and accompanying the King through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth:

A Letter of the Kings Confeſſor touching his acts doing at Cardoine.

BEnedicere debemus Deum Cœli, &c. *Great cause we have to praise and laud the God of Heaven, and most worthily to confess his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercy to us. For after the conflict had at* Codane, *in the which* 20*s doing many were slain, and the City taken and sacke even to the bare Walls, the City of* Bais *immediately yielded it self of his own accord, fearing lest their counsels had been bewrayed. After this the Lord our King directed his progress toward* Roan: *Who being at the Town of* Lexon, *there came certain Cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which Cardinals being courteously entertained of the King for the reverence of the Popes See, it was peace. thus answered to them again: That the King being much desirous*

The Cardinals send again intreat the King.

{ KING } { Ed. 3. } The Kings answer to the Cardinals.

desirous of peace, had assayed by all ways and means reasonable how to maintain the same; and therefore hath offered conditions, and manifold ways of peace to be had to the no small prejudice of his own cause. And yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any means it my be sought, &c. With this answer the Cardinals going to the French *King the Kings adversary, to perswade with him in like manner, returned to King* Edward *again, offering to him in the* French *Kings name, the Dukedom of* Aquitania, *in as full assurance as his father before him ever had it: besides further hope also of obtaining more, if intreaty of peace might be obtained. But forsomuch as that contented not enough the Kings mind, neither did the Cardinals find the* French *King so tractable and propense to the study of peace as they looked for, the Cardinals returned, leaving the matter as they found it. And so the King speeding forward, by the way as his journey did lie, he subdued the Country and the great Towns, without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and run away. Such fear God struck into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same Voyage, as the King had gotten many Towns and Villages, so also he subdued Castles and Munitions, very strong, and that with little stress. His enemy being at the same time at* Roan *had reared a great Army, who notwithstanding being well manned, yet ever kept on the other side of the* River Seane, *breaking down all the Bridges that we should not come over to him. And although the Country round about continually was spoiled, sacke, and with fire consumed by the circuit of 20 miles round about; yet the* French *King, being distant scarce the space of one mile from us, either would not, or else durst not (when he might easily have passed over the River) make any resistance for defence of his Country and People. And so our King journeying forward, came to* Puisake *or* Poisy, *where the* French *King had likewise broken down the Bridge, and keeping on the other side of the River would rest in no place.*

The French King sheweth no constancy, fickleness of peace.

After whole coming to *Poisy*, the forefaid Chaplain and Confessor to the King, named *Michael Northburgh*, describing the Kings Voyage, and the acts of the *Englishmen* from the Town of *Poisie*, to his coming to *Calis*, in his Letters writeth in this swife.

A Letter of William Northburgh *the Kings Confessor, describing the Kings Voyage into* France.

SAlutations premised, we give you to understand, that 'I our Soveraign Lord the King came to the Town of 'Poisie, the day before the Assumption of our Lady, where 'was a certain Bridge over the water of *Seane*, broken 'down of the enemy, but the King tarried there so long till 'that the Bridge was made again. And whiles the Bridge 'was in repairing, there came a great number of Men at 'Arms, and other Soldiers armed, to hinder the same. But 'the Earl of *Northampton* issued out against them and slew 'of them more than one thousand; the rest fled away, 'thanks be to God. And at another time our Men passed 'the Water, although with much travel, and slew a great 'number of the common Soldiers of *France*, about the 'City of *Paris*, and Country adjoyning, being part of the '*French* Kings Army; and thoroughly well appointed; so 'that our people have now made other good Bridges upon 'our enemies, God be thanked, without any great loss 'and damage to us. And on the Morrow after the Assumption of our Lady, the King passed the water of *Seane*, and 'marched toward *Poisie*, which is a Town of great defence, 'and strongly immured, and a marvellous strong Castle 'within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our 'Vanguard was passed the Town, our Rereguard gave an 'assault thereunto, and took the same: where were slain 'more than three hundred Men at Arms of our enemies 'part. And the next day following, the Earl of *Suffolk* and 'Sir *Hugh Spenser* marched forth upon the Commons of 'the Country assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slew of them more than 200, and 'took 600 Gentlemen Prisoners, beside others. And after 'that, the King marched toward *Grand Villers*, and while 'he was there encamped, the Kings Vanguard was descried 'by the Men of Arms by the King *Benames* whereupon our 'Men issued out in great haste, and joyned Battel with 'them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, 'thanks be unto God, the Earl of *Northampton* issued out, 'and refcued the Horsemen with other Soldiers; so that 'few or none of them were either taken or slain, saving only *Thomas Talbot*, but had again the enemy in chase with-'in two Leagues of *Amiens*, of whom we took 8, and 'slew twelve of their best Men at Arms; the rest being well 'horsed, took the Town of *Amiens*. After this, the King of '*England* marched toward *Pountife* upon *Bartholomew* 'day, and came unto the water of *Som*, where the *French* 'King had laid 500 Men at Arms, and three thousand foot-'men, purposing to have kept and stopped our passage; 'but thanks be to God, the King of *England* and his Host 'entred the same water of *Som*, where never Man passed 'before, without the loss of any of our Men; and after 'that encountred with the enemy, and slew of them 'more than two thousand; the rest fled to *Abeville*, in 'which chase were taken many Knights, Squires, and Men 'at Arms. The same day Sir *Hugh Spenser* took the Town 'of *Croylay*, where he and his Soldiers flew 400 Men at 'Arms, and kept the Town, where they found great store 'of Victuals. The same night encamped the King of *England* in the Forest of *Cressy* upon the same water, for that 'the *French* Kings Host came on the other side of the Town 'near unto our passage; but he would not take the water 'of us, and so marched toward *Abeville*. And upon the *Friday* next following, the King being still encamped in the 'said Forest, our Scuriers descried the *French* King, which 'marched toward us in four great Battels. And having then 'understanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little 'before the evening tide we drew unto the plain field, and 'set our Battels in array; and immediately the fight began, 'which was sore and cruel, and indured long, for our enemies 'behaved themselves right nobly. But thanks be given to 'God, the Victory fell on our side, and the King our adverfary was discomfited with all his Host, and put to flight, 'where also was slain the King of *Benarne*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Dabesen*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl 'of *Blois*, the Earl of *Arcot*, with his two Sons, the Earl of 'Damerler, the Earl of *Nevers*, and his Brother, the Lord 'of *Tronard*, the Archbishop of *Meymes*, the Archbishop 'of *Saundes*, the high Prior of *France*, the Earl of *Savoy*, 'the Lord of *Morles*, the Lord *de Guia*, Seigniour *de S. Novant*, Seigniour *de Rosnburgh*, with six Earls of *Almain*, 'and divers other Earls, Barons, Knights and Squires, whose 'names are unknown. And *Philip de Valois* himself, with 'another Marquess, which was called Lord Elector among 'the *Romans*, escaped from the Battel. The number of the 'Men at Arms which were found dead in the field, besides 'the common Soldiers and footmen, were 1542. And all 'that night the King of *England* with his Host, abode armed in the field where the Battel was fought. On the next 'morrow before the Sun rose, there marched toward us 'another great Host, mighty and strong of the *Frenchmen*. 'But the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Norfolk* issued out against them in three Battels; and after long and 'terrible fight, them in like wise they discomfited, by Gods 'great help and grace (for otherwise it could never have 'been) where they took of Knights and Squires a great 'number, and slew above 2000, pursuing the chase three 'Leagues from the place where the Battel was fought. The 'same night also the King encamped himself again in the 'Forest of *Cressy*, and on the morrow marched toward '*Boleine*, and by the way he took the Town of *Staples*; and 'from thence he marched toward *Calis*, where he intendeth 'to plant his Siege, and lay his Battery to the same. And 'therefore our Soveraign Lord the King willeth and com-'mandeth you, in all that ever you may, to send to the 'said Siege Victuals convenient. For after the time of our 'departing from *Cheam*, we have travelled through the 'Country, with great peril and danger of our people, but 'yet always had of Victual plenty, thanks be to God therefore. But now as the cafe standeth, we partly need your 'help to be refreshed with Victuals. Thus fare you well. 'Written at the Siege before the Town of *Calis* the 14*th.* 'day of *September*.

{ Ann. } { 1346 } *September An.* 1346. the King through the midst of *France* directed his passage unto *Calis*, as by the tenor of this Letter you

The Siege of Calis.

you hear, and beſieged the ſame. Which Siege he continued from the 3d. of *September* aforeſaid, till the 3d. day of *Auguſt* next enſuing; upon the which day it was rendred up unto the ſaid *Edward* the 3d. and ſubdued unto the Crown of *England*, as after, the Lord willing, ſhall more appear.

David K. of Scots invadeth England

In the mean time, during the Siege of *Calis*, *David* the *Scotiſh* King, at the requeſt of the *French* King, with a great Army braſt into the North parts of *England*; and firſt beſieging the Town of *Lidel*, within ſix days obtained the greateſt part of the Town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir *Walter Salby* a valiant Knight, which was the keeper of the Hold, he cauſed him uncourteouſly to be put to the Sword; and ſo from thence proceeded further into *England*; till at length being met withal by *William Sureb* Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord *Percy*, and the Lord *Nevil*, with other Nobles of thoſe parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the Plain near to *Durham*, the ſeventeenth day of *October* in the year above-ſaid, through the gracious hand of Chriſt, there they were ſubdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the Earls of *Murrife* and *Stratheron*, with the flower of all the Chivalry, and principal Warriors of *Scotland* were ſlain. Alſo the foreſaid King *David*, with the Earls of *Mentiffe* and *Fiffes*, and other Lords, and *William Douglaſs* Maſklime, *Fleming*, and *William Douglaſs*, and other many more Men of Arms were taken Priſoners; and ſo the miſchief which they intended to other, fell upon their own heads.

The Scots overthrown.

David the Scotiſh K. taken priſoner

During moreover, the ſaid Siege of *Calis*, the foreſaid Pope *Clement* the 6th. writing to the King of *England* went about under the pretence of peace to ſtop his proceedings: whoſe Letters follow here under written.

The Letter of the Pope to the King of England, *in the behalf of the* Frenchmen.

'*Clement* the Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, To his well-beloved Son in Chriſt, *Edward* the puiſſant 'King of *England*, Salutation and Apoſtolical Bleſſing. If 'you diligently conſider, dear Son, (as ought a Catholick 'Prince to do) the ſlaughter of ſuch an innumerable ſort, 'bought with the precious bloud of Chriſt our Redeemer; 'the loſs of their ſubſtance and ſouls, and the lamentable 'perils which the diſſentions and Wars ſtirred up between 'you and our well-beloved Son *Philip*, the noble King of '*France*, have brought upon us, and yet daily do without 'intermiſſion; and alſo the bewailing of ſo many poor peo-'ple, crying out of Orphans and Pupils, lamentation of Wi-'dows, and other miſerable People which be robbed and 'ſpoiled, and almoſt famiſhed; what exclamation they 'make with tears running down their Cheeks yelling and 'crying unto God for help; as alſo the deſtruction of 'Churches Monaſteries and holy places, holy Veſſels, and 'other ornaments unto Gods ſervice dedicated; the ſacrile-'legious Robberies, Sackings, and Impriſonings, the ſpoil-'ing of holy Churches, and religious perſons, with many 'other ſuch innumerable, deteſtable, execrable miſchiefs 'offending the eies of the Divine Majeſty; all which, it 'is your Princely intent would conſider and well remember; 'with this alſo, that Catholick Faith (eſpecially in the Eaſt 'parts) and the Chriſtians there abiding by means of the 'ſame diſſentions and Wars, deſtitute of the helps of ſuch 'Catholick Men as are in the Weſt parts, are ſo afflicted of 'the Infidels, ſeeing the other parts of *Chriſtendom* ſo trou-'bled with cruel Perſecutions, yea, and more cruel than 'ever it hath been (although in theſe times to amplifie this 'our Faith in the faid Eaſt parts is cruel Perſecution ſhew-'ed, more than hath been of many years paſt) doubtleſs we 'believe it would pity your heart. And to the end that ſuch 'and ſo great evils ſhould no further proceed; nor yet that 'ſo great good might be done by dilating of our foreſaid 'faith in theſe times ſhould be let and hindred, we deſire 'you that you would apply your mind to make ſome agree-'ment and peace with the foreſaid King. For if (my well-'beloved Son) God hath given unto you proſperous ſuc-'ceſs and fortune, ye ought rather to humble than to extol 'your ſelf; and be ſo much the more readier to incline to his 'peace, and to endeavour your ſelf to pleaſe God, which 'loveth peace, and delighteth in peaceable Men; and to eſ-'chew the foreſaid evils, which without doubt do grievously 'offend him. Furthermore, we marvel greatly, that unto our 'reverend Brother *Ambaldus* Biſhop of *Tuſculane*, and our 'beloved Son *Stephen*, of the Title of S. *John* and *Paul*, 'Prieſt and Cardinal of the Apoſtolical See, being ſent as 'Legates by us and the ſame See Apoſtolical, to intreat a 'Peace, who diligently and faithfully labouring for the ſame, 'as lovers of verity, juſtice and equity, and therewithal, re-'guarders of your honour, could not be ſuffered touching the 'intreaty of the ſame Peace, to come unto your Graces pre-'ſence.

{KING Ed. 3.}

'Wherefore we deſire your Kingly Highneſs more ear-'neſtly, and for the mercy of God, with more vehemency 'require the ſame; that you taking up the foreſaid horrible 'evils, and preventing the ſweetneſs of piety and compaſſi-'on; may eſcape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which 'were to be feared. if you ſhould perſevere in your forſaid 'evils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for 'Peace, for which our foreſaid Cardinals were ſent unto 'you (howbeit ſecretly, leſt it ſhould be any derogation to 'your honour) we deſire you to condeſcend thereunto, and 'and that with all your affection you will incline your mind 'to the ſame, ſo pleaſant unto God, ſo deſired of the world, 'as alſo to you, the foreſaid King, and unto the Catholick 'faith profitable. And that the ſame peace by Gods help 'grace eſtabliſhed and made perfect, you might aſſay your 'puiſſant ſtrength about Gods buſineſs in the foreſaid Eaſt 'parts (ſo good occaſion ſerving, as before is ſaid, in theſe 'our times, being ſo apt advancements of your honour, and 'happy increaſing of your Princely Name; for we have 'heard it of you reported, that you behave your ſelf fer-'vently in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that 'you will write unto us again touching the premiſſes, and 'the purpoſe of your intention touching the ſame. Dated at '*Avinion* the 18th. of *February*, and 5th. year of our Papacy.

The Anſwer of the King of *England*, to the foreſaid Letter of the Pope.

Moſt holy Father, we underſtand by the Letters of the reverend Fathers in God, the Biſhop of Tuſculane, *and* Stephen *of the Title of S.* John Prieſt, *Cardinals and Legates of the Court of* Rome, *as alſo by the Letters of your Holineſs ſent unto us, that ye marvel greatly for that your ſaid Legates were of purpoſe ſent unto us, and commanded to intreat of a Peace between our adverſary of* France *and us, that we would not ſuffer them ſecretly to talk with us, for the ſafeguard of our honour; the intention of your heart being to make the foreſaid peace; complaining and bewailing therein the death of Chriſtian Men, the loſs of their goods, the peril of their ſoule, the lamentable wailings of the poor, of Orphans, of Widows, and deſtruction of other pitiful perſons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other miſchiefs innumerable, and namely, the diminiſhing of Chriſtian faith in the Eaſt parts, which by the War between our adverſary of* France *and us ſo ſore decayed, as the ſaid Letters plainly do import. And that foraſmuch as God hath given us triumphant fortune, therefore much the more we ought to abaſe and humble our heart, and to the reader to make and incline to a peace. As touching theſe things, holy Father, we give your holineſs to underſtand, that as well unto your foreſaid Legates, as other meſſengers ſent from you unto us, we have offered unto every of them reaſonable ways of peace, and every day declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpoſe be underſtood; for he that is the high Judge both of him and us, in whoſe diſpoſition all things lie, hath given unto us the Crown of* France *to our right and proper heritage. The which right our foreſaid adverſary hath by force of long time detained from us, we ſeeking to obtain the ſame in peaceable wiſe; and yet do, if we might obtain the ſame in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Chriſtian Men, and that the foreſaid evils might ceaſe, which by his wrongful means only have increaſed and grown. Yet notwithſtanding, as before time you know, we aſſented to a Truce, with certain Articles contained in the ſame writing; all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong ſuffice him which he offereth us in our foreſaid Heritage, but he indeavoureth himſelf, during the ſaid Truce, to invade our Realm of* England, *and other our Lands; and furthermore, maintaineth the* Scots, *and aideth them to the utter*

{K. Edward anſwereth to the Pope.}

{KING Edward.}

utter deſtruction of us, our People and Lands aforeſaid; wherein we were inforced for the ſafeguard of our People and Lands, by ſuch lawful meant as we may, to defend our ſelves, and put him from his wicked purpoſe. And furthermore for the ſame, our quarrel being in the hands of God, have we come againſt him to conquer our Inheritance of France; *over whom God hath given us divers Victories, as we have truſted he would by his right-wiſe judgment and power; which thing he hath ſhewed upon us, (all chance of fortune ſet apart) in reſpect of our rightful Title therein, and without our deſerts: wherefore with all humility of heart we give him thanks always therefore, moſt devoutly night and day praiſing his holy name; for we acknowledge the ſame cometh not by our ſtrength and force. Wherefore, moſt holy Father, we deſire your Holineſs, and, ſo much as in us lieth, require the ſame, that you that ſupply the place of the Son of God in earth, and have the government of the ſouls of all Chriſtian men, and ought to be upright and equal towards all men, without exception of perſons, that ye, I ſay, will receive good information and true, of the objections aboveſaid, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our ſaid adverſary of* France *may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to us herein, and may be by your aid redreſſed, and that he in this his wrong have no maintenance and aid at*

The K. appeaſeth from the Pope to God.

your hand. For if it be ſo, we then appeal unto the Judge of Judges, which ſuffereth for a time wrongs to be done for the ſinful default of Man, but in the end redreſſeth the ſame, leaving no good deed unrewarded, nor evil unpuniſhed; moſt humbly requiring him to be to us a true and upright Judge of all our controverſies for his mercies ſake, as in the mean time we repoſe our full truſt and confidence in him. The holy Spirit of God, &c.

Offers made to the ſons of Flanders to forſake K. Edward.

Moreover, during yet the Siege of *Calis*, the *French* King had ſent certain offers to the Men of *Flanders*, that if they would relinquiſh the King of *England*, and adhere to him:

Firſt, He would remit all their former tranſgreſſions.

Secondly, He would unburden them of their indict.

Thirdly, He would ſend unto them ſuch plenty of Corn, that what was ſold for 12 ſhillings with them, ſhould be ſold for 4 ſhillings, and that for ſix years.

Fourthly, He would ſtore them with plenty of *French* Wooll to make Cloth for a ſmall price; and that they might ſell the ſaid Cloths both in *Flanders* and in *France*, and that the *Frenchmen* ſhould uſe the ſame Cloth, forſomuch as all other manner of Cloth ſhould be forbidden in *France*, ſo long as any of that (made of *French* Wooll) might be found.

Fifthly, He would reſtore to them theſe three Cities, *Inſulans*, *Rowocum* and *Betony*.

Sixthly, He would defend them from all their adverſaries; and in pledge of the ſame would ſend them money beforehand.

Seventhly, Such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But theſe offers, ſeeming to proceed more of fair words to ſerve the preſent turn, than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the Lord *John*, Prince and Heir to the *French* King, during the foreſaid Siege of *Calis* above mentioned, coming with a mighty Army of *Frenchmen*, ſet upon the Men of *Flanders* and *Engliſhmen* in the Town of *Caſſels*. In the which conflict, during from morning to noon, the *Frenchmen* were vanquiſhed, and the young *Dolphin* driven back from whence he came. Of whoſe number divers were ſlain and taken priſoners. Where on the other ſide (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to be grievously wounded.

The Diſcomfiture with the French diſcomfited at Caſſels.

{Ann. 1347.}

As this paſſed on, not long after, about the ſeventh day of *June*, *An.* 1347. King *Edward* continuing ſtill his Siege againſt *Calis*, *Philip* the *French* King came down with a mighty Army, purpoſing to remove the Siege; where, not far off from the *Engliſh* Hoſt, he encamped himſelf. Which done, two Cardinals, *Ambaldus* and *Stephanus* (procured for the ſame purpoſe) going between the two Kings, gave to the King of *England* thus to underſtand; That if he would condeſcend to any reaſonable way of peace, the *French* King was ready to offer ſuch honeſt proffers unto him, as to reaſon and to his contentation ſhould ſeem agreeable. But in concluſion, when it came to talk, the Nobles could not agree upon the conditions. Wherefore the *French* King, ſeeing no other remedy, cauſed it to be ſignified to King *Edward*; that between that preſent *Tueſday* and the next *Friday*, if he would come forth into the field he ſhould have Battel given him. Thus the place being viewed of four Captains of either Hoſt for the Battel to be fought; it ſo fell, that the *French* King on *Wedneſday* at night, before the Battel ſhould joyn, ſecretly by night ſetting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his Army out of the ſight of the *Engliſhmen*.

The *French* K. flieth before the Battel.

Upon the *Friday* following, they which were beſieged in the Town of *Calis*, ſeeing the King to be retired (upon whoſe help they truſted, being alſo in great penury and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwiſe in much misery vehemently diſtreſſed) ſurrendered the Town to the Kings hands: who like a merciful Prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the reſt with the whole Commons he let go with Bag and Baggage, diminiſhing no part of their goods, ſhewing therein more Princely favour to them, than they did of late in Queen *Marys* days unto our Men, in recovering the ſaid Town of *Calis* again.

The town of *Calis* won.

After the winning thus of *Calis*, as hath been premiſed, King *Edward*, remaining in the ſaid Town a certain ſpace, was in conſultation concerning his Voyage and proceeding further into *France*. But by means of the foreſaid Cardinals, Truce for a certain time was taken, and inſtruments made (ſo provided) that certain Noblemen as well for the *French* King, as for the King of *England*, ſhould come to the Pope, there to debate upon the Articles. Unto the which King *Edward*, for peace ſake, was not greatly diſagreeing. Which was *Anno* 1347. *Ex Tho. Walſing.*

Truce concluded between *England* and *France*.

The next year following, which was *An.* 1348. fell a ſore Plague, which they call the firſt general Peſtilence in the Realm of *England*. This Plague (as they ſay) firſt ſpringing from the Eaſt, and ſo proceeding Weſtward, did ſo mightily prevail here in this Land, beginning firſt at *Dorcaſter*, and the Countrys thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, ſome days forty, ſome ſixty, and more dead Corpſes were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the firſt day of *Auguſt*, by the firſt of *November* it came to *London*. Where the vehemency rage thereof was ſo hot, and did increaſe ſo much, that from the firſt day of *February*, till about the beginning of *May*, in a Churchyard then newly made by *Smithfield*, about 200 dead Corpſes every day were buried, beſides them which in other Church-yards of the City were laid aſſo. At length by the grace of Chriſt, ceaſing there, it proceeded from thence to the *North* parts. Where alſo the next year after, *An.* 1349. it ſwaged.

{Anno 1348 A vehement peſtilence in England.}

Now called the Charter-houſe Church yard

After this, in the next year enſuing, *An.* 1350. the Town of *Calis* was, by Treaſon of the keeper of the Caſtle, almoſt betrayed and won from the *Engliſhmen*. Within the compaſs of which year died *Philip* the *French* King. After whom King *John* his Son ſucceeded in the Crown. Who the next year after, under falſe pretence of friendſhip, cauſed the Conſtable of *France* Earl of *Ewe*, to be beheaded; who being taken priſoner before in war by *Engliſhmen*, and long detained in priſon in *England*, was licenſed by K. *Edward* to viſit his Country of *France*. In the ſame year the Town of *Gwines* was taken by *Engliſhmen*, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and aſleep.

{Ann. 1350}

Calis almoſt loſt by treaſon.

The death of the *French* K.

{Ann. 1351}

The Town of *Gwines* taken.

The next year following, the Marſhal of *France* with a great Army was put to flight by Sir *Roger Bentele* Knight, and Captain in *Britain*, having but only 600 Soldiers with him. In this Battel were taken 9 Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen 140. The *Frenchmen* and *Britains* by this Victory were exceedingly diſcouraged, and their pride cut down.

{Ann. 1352}

Victory of Sir *Roger Bentele*.

In the year after, was *Henry* firſt made Duke of *Lancaſter*, which before was Earl of *Derby* and *Lancaſter*. Alſo divers good Ordinances were appointed in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. Which after, by avarice and partial favour of the head men, were again undone.

Firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*

Concord and agreement about the year 1354. began to come well forward, and Inſtruments were drawn upon the ſame betweene the two Kings. But that the matter being brought up to Pope *Innocent* the ſixth, partly by the quarrelling of the *Frenchmen*, partly by the winking of the Pope, which ever held with the *French* ſide, the conditions were repealed, which were theſe: That to the King

{Anno 1354 Pope *Innocent* 6.}

King of *England* all the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, with other Lands there, should be restored without Homage to the *French* King. And that King *Edward* again should surrender to him all his right and title, which he had in *France*; whereupon rose the occasion of great War and Tumult which followed after between the two Realms.

Chron. Admiranei Meriscoucb. comunici D. Francie gestis Edw. 3.

It followed after this, the year of our Lord 1355. that King *Edward* hearing, of the death of *Philip* the *French* King, and that K. *John* his Son had granted the Dukedom of *Aquitain* to *Charles* his eldest Son and Dauphin of *Vienne*, sent over Prince *Edward* with the Earls of *Warwick*, of *Salisbury*, of *Oxford*, and with them a sufficient number of able Soldiers into *Aquitania*. Where he being willingly received of divers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly received, submitting themselves to his protection.

5 Ann. 1355

The third Voyage of K. Edward into France.

Not long after this, in the same year, word being brought to King *Edward*, that *John* the *French* King was ready to meet him at S. *Omers*, there to give him Battel, he gathered his power, and set over to *Calis* with his two Sons, *Leonel* Earl of *Wilton*, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*, and with *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, &c. Who being come to Saint *Omers*, the *French* King with a mighty Army of his *Francklings*, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; waiting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the *English* Army in pursuing them, should find no Victuals. By reason whereof, King *Edward* following him by the space of nine or ten days unto *Hadem* (when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor Victuals for forrage for his Army) he returned unto *Calis*; where war again being offered in the name of the King, upon unreasonable conditions, and yet the same not performed, King *Edward* seeing the shrinking of his enemy, from *Calis* crossed the Seas into *England*, where he recovered again the Town of *Barwick*, which the *Scots* before by subtil train had gotten. At which time was granted unto the King in Parliament, 50 *s.* for every Sack or Pack of Woll that should be carried over, for the space of six years together. By the which grant, the King might dispend every day by estimation above 100 Marks sterling. And forasmuch as every year 100000 Sacks of Woll were thought to be transported out of the Realm, the summ thereof for six years space was esteemed to mount to 1500000 pound sterling.

The French K. refuseth to join in Fartel with K. Edward.

Fifty shillings for every Sack of Woll carried out of England.

The custom of Woll for six years 3500000 l. sterling to K. Edward.

The same year, when King *Edward* had recovered *Barwick*, and subdued *Scotland*, Prince *Edward* being in *Gascoine*, made toward the *French* King. Who, notwithstanding by the way all Bridges were cast down, and great resistance made; yet the victorious Prince made way with his Sword, after much slaughter of the *Frenchmen*, and many Prisoners taken, at length joyning with the *French* King at *Poytiers*, scarce with 2000, gave the overthrow to the *French* King with 7000 Men of Arms and more. In which conflict, the *French* King himself, and *Philip* his Son, with Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, the Archbishop of *Senon*, 11 Earls, 22 Lords were taken. Of other Warriers and Men of Arms 2000. Some affirm, in this conflict were slain 2 Dukes, of Lords and Noblemen 24. of men of Arms 2002; of other Soldiers about 8000. The common report is, that more *Frenchmen* were there taken Prisoners, than were the number of them which took them. This noble Victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all Men.

{ 20 } { 21 } { 22 } { 23 } { 24 } { 25 } { 26 } { 27 } { 28 } { 29 } { 30 } { 31 } { 32 } {

Concerning the which Man and his Doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to History, to the intent Men may see that they which charge this Doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of novelty or newness, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the Histories and order of times forepast.

Johannes Gundamesis condemned by the Pope.

In the same part of condemnation at the same time also was *Johannes de Gunduno, Anno* 1330. and contained also in the foresaid *Extravagant* with *Marsilius Patavinus*. Which *Johannes* wrote much upon *Aristotle* and *Averroes*. and his Books are yet remaining. And no doubt but he wrote also of Divinity, but it is not unlike that these works have been abolished.

Guillelmus Ockam wrote against the Pope.

In the same number and catalogue cometh also *Guillelmus Ockam*, who was in the year of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned, pag. 424. and wrote likewise in defence of *Ludovicus* the Emperor against the Pope; and also in defence of *Michael*, General of *Grayfriers*, whom the Pope had excommunicated and curfed for an Heretick. Divers Treatises were by the said *Ockam* set forth, whereof some are extant and in Print, as his Questions and Distinctions; some are extinct and suppressed (as *Ascentius* reporteth) *quod essent aliquando asperiora*. Some again be published under no name of the Author, being of his doing; as the Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk; wherein it is to be conjectured, what Books and Works this *Ockam* had collected against the Pope. Of this *Ockam*, *John Sleidane* in his History inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose words be these: *William Ockam* in time of *Ludovicus* the fourth, Emperor, did flourish about the year of our Lord 1326. who among other things wrote of the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Michael general of the *Grayfriers*, excommunicated for an Heretick *Ascentius* so *professione erat austerè*. The Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk of *Ockam*'s making.

Eight questions discussed by *Ockam*.

In the which Book he handleth these eight Questions very copiously; Whether both the administrations of the Bishops office, and of the Emperors, may be in one Man? Secondly, Whether the Emperor taketh his power and authority only of God, or else of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope and Church of *Rome* have power by Christ to set and place Kings and Emperors, and to commit to them their Jurisdiction to be exercised? Fourthly, Whether the Emperor being elected, hath full authority upon the said his Election, to administer his Empire? Fifthly, Whether other Kings besides the Emperor and King of *Romans*, in that they are consecrated of Priests, receive of them any part of their power? Sixthly, Whether the said Kings in any case be subject to their Consecrators? Seventhly, Whether if the said Kings should admit any new Sacrifice, or should take to themselves the Diadem without any further Confecration, they should thereby lose their Kingly right, and title? Eighthly, Whether the seven Princes Electors give as much to the Election of the Emperor, as succession rightfully giveth to other Kings? Upon these Questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry Arguments and sundry reasons on both sides, at length he decideth the matter on the part of the Civil Magistrate; and by occation thereof entreth into the mention of the Popes Decrees extravagant: declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

Gregorius Ariminensis maintained the same Doctrine now received. *Ex Trithem.*

Trithemius maketh mention of one *Gregorius Ariminensis*, a learned and a famous and right godly Man; who not much differing from the age of this *Ockam*, about the year of our Lord 1350. disputed in the same Doctrine of Grace and Free-will as we do now, and dissented therein from the *Papists* and *Sophisters*, counting them worse than *Pelagians*.

Andreas de Castro and *Burdianus*, both Gospellers 200 years agoe.

Of the like judgment and in the same time was also *Andreas de Castro*, as appeareth *super lit.* 1. *Sent. dist.* 45. and *Burdianus* upon the Ethicks of *Aristotle*; which both maintained the grace of the Gospel, as is now in the Church received above 200 years since.

Eudo Duke of *Burgundy* against the Popes Decrees about 200 years since. *Ex Carolo Molinæo.*

And what should I speak of the Duke of *Burgundy*, named *Eudo*, who at the same time *An.* 1350. perswaded the *French* King not to receive in his Land the new found Constitutions, Decretal and Extravagant, nor to suffer them within his Realm: whose sage counsel then given, yet remaineth among the *French* Kings records, as witnesseth *Carol. Molinæus*.

Dantes an Italian Writer against the Pope.

Dantes an *Italian* Writer, a *Florentine*, lived in the time of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord 1300. and took part with *Marsilius Patavinus* against three sorts of Men, which he said were enemies to the truth: that is, the Pope; secondly, the order of religious Men, which count themselves the children of the Church, when they are the children of the Devil their Father: thirdly, the Doctors of Decrees and Decretals. Certain of his Writings be extant abroad, wherein he proveth the Pope not to be above the Emperor, nor to have any right or Jurisdiction in the Empire. He proveth the donation of *Constantine* to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right; for the which he was taken of many for an Heretick. He complaineth moreover very much, the preaching of Gods Word to be omitted and inflead thereof, the vain fables of Monks and Friers to be preached and believed of the people, and so the flock of Christ to be fed not with the food of the Gospel, but with wind. *The Pope, saith he, of a Pastor is made a Wolf, to waste the Church of Christ, and to procure with his Clergy, not the Word of God to be preached, but his own Decrees.* In his Cantcle of Purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the Whore of *Babylon*. And to her Ministers, to some he applieth two Horns, to some four. As to the Patriarchs, whom he noteth to be the Tower of the said Whore Babylonical. *Ex libris Dantis Italice.*

Donation of Constantine, a thing forged.

The Pope the Whore of Babylon.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the Book of *Jornandus*, imprinted with the foresaid *Dantes*; that forasmuch as Antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the Empire, therefore such as go about to have the Empire extinct, are in fo doing fore-runners and messengers of Antichrist. *Therefore let the* Romans (saith he) *and their Bishops beware, lest their sins and wickedness so deserving, by the just judgment of God, the Priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the Prelates and Princes of* Germany *take heed, &c.*

Jornandes, de rebus Geticis. Pope Antichrist.

Antimination to the Romans.

And because our adversaries which object unto us the newness of our Doctrine shall see and perceive the course and form of this Religion now received, not to have been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past: I will add to these above recited, Master *Taulerus* a Preacher of *Argentine* in *Germany*, *Anno* 1350. Who, contrary to the Popes proceedings, taught openly against all mens merits, and against Invocations of Saints, and preached sincerely of our free Justification by Grace; referring all Mans truth only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

Taulerus of Germany, a Preacher in Basile. Popes proceedings.

With whom also may be adjoyned *Franciscus Petrarcha*, a Writer of the same Age, who in his Works and his *Italian* Meeter, speaking of *Rome*, calleth it the Whore of *Babylon*, the School and Mother of Error, the Temple of Herefie, the Nest of Treachery, growing and increasing by the oppreffing of others: and faith further, that flie (meaning the Popes Court) extolleth her self against her Founders; that is, the Emperors who first set her up, and did so inrich her; and seemeth plainly to affirm, that the Pope was Antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any Man, than to be made Pope. This *Franciscus* was about the year of our Lord 1350.

Franciscus Petrarcha. His opinion from *Franciscus Senensis*. *Rome* the Mother of Schism of Errors.

Johannes de rupe scissa condemned to Prison.

And if time would serve us to seek out old Histories, we should find plenty of faithful witnesses, of old and ancient time, to give witness with us against the Pope, beside the other above rehearsed: as *Johannes de rupe scissa*, *An.* 1340. Who for rebuking the Spiritualty for their great enormities and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into Prison.

The Church of Rome the Whore of Babylon.

Illyricus a Writer in our days, testifieth that he found and read in an old Pamphlet, that the said *Johannes* should call the Church of *Rome* the Whore of *Babylon*; and the Pope to be the Minister of Antichrist; and the Cardinals to be the false Prophets. Being in Prison, he wrote a Book of Prophesies, bearing the Title; *Vade mecum in tribulationem*: in which Book (which also I have seen) he prophecied and admonished, affliction and tribulation to hang over the Spiritualty. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his Clergy, and will have Priests that shall be poor, godly and that shall faithfully feed the Lords Flock: Moreover, that the goods of the Church shall return again to the Laymen. He prophefied also the same time, that the *French* King and his Army should have an overthrow; which came likewise to pass during the time of his Imprisonment. Of this *Johannes de rupe*, writeth *Froyfard* in his time, and also *Wicklif*, of whose Prophesies much more may be said at more leisure (Christ willing) hereafter.

The destruction of the Church before prophecied.

About

{KING 7. Edw. 3. Conradus Hager.

About the same year of our Lord 1340. in the City of *Herbipoli*, was one named Master *Conradus Hager*. Who (as appeareth by the old Bulls and Registers of *Otho* Bishop of the said City) is there recorded to have maintained and taught the space of twenty four years together, the Mass to be no manner of Sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any Man either quick or dead, and that the money given of the dead for Masses, be very Robberies and Sacrildeges of Priests, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poor. And he said moreover, that if he had a Stove full of gold and silver, he would not give one farthing for any Mass. For the same his Doctrine, this good Preacher was Condemned and inclosed in prison: what afterward became of him, we do not find.

The Mass to be no Sacrifice.

Conradus cast into prison. *Ex bullis quibusdam Othonis Episc. Herbipol.*

There is, among other old and ancient Records of antiquity belonging to this present time, a certain Monument in Verses Poetically compiled, but not without a certain Moral, Intituled, *Penitentiarius Asini*. The Asses Confessor; bearing the date and year of our Lord in this number, *Completus, Anno.* 1343. In this Treatise are brought forth the Wolf, the Fox, and the Ass, coming to shrift and doing penance. First, The Wolf confesseth him to the Fox, who easily doth absolve him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like manner the Wolf, hearing the Foxes shrift, shewed to him the like favour again. After this cometh the Ass to Confession, whose fault was this; That he being hungry took a straw out from the sheaf of one that went in peregrination unto *Rome*. The Ass both repenting of this fact, and because he thought it not so heinous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly Ass had uttered his crime in Auricular Confession, immediately the discipline of the Law was executed upon him with severity: neither was he judged worthy of any Absolution, but was apprehended upon the same, slain, and devoured. Whosoever was the Author of this fabulous tale, he had a mystical understanding of the same; for by the Wolf no doubt was meant the Pope: But the Fox was resembled to the Prelates, Curtesans, Priests, and the rest of the Spiritualty. Of the Spiritualty the Lord Pope is soon absolved, as contrarily, the Pope doth soon Absolve them in like manner. By the Ass is meant the poor Laity, upon whose back the strait censure of the Law is sharply executed; especially when the *German* Emperors come under the Popes Inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no Absolution nor Pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be depoofed, as in these stories may partly appear before. And though the matter be not the weight of a straw, yet what faith the Holy Father the Wolf, if it please him to make any matter of it?

Pantientiarius Asini.

The Pope and the Spiritualty confederate against the Laity.

Immensum scelus est, injuria quam peregrino
Fecisti, stramen subripiendo tibi.
Non advertisti quod plura pericula passus,
Plurima passurus quod peregrinus erat.
Non advertisti quod ei per maxima terræ
Et pelagi spacia, sit peragranda via.
Non advertisti sanctos, nec limina sancta;
Sanctorum sanctam sed nec Hierusalem.
Ille vetrantsivit eadem loca, tam violentum
Ex inopinato sensit adesse malum.
De Papa taces, cujus protectio talem
Conduxit cunjus tu vulipendis opem.
Totius Ecclesiæ fuerit quum nuncius ipse,
Pertulo abstraxit gramine damna viæ, &c.

The Pope maketh the Emperor and Laymen Asses.

And thus they, aggregating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermost, slie upon the poor Ass and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practises of these Spiritual Romanists are lively described.

Not long after these above reherfed, about the year of our Lord 1350. *Gerhardus Ridder* wrote also against the Monks and Friers a Book, Intituled, *Lacryma Ecclesiæ*: wherein he disputeth against the foresaid Religious Orders, namely against the begging Friers; proving that kind of life to be far from Christian Perfection, for that it is against Charity to live upon others, when a Man may live by his own labors: And affirmeth them to be Hypocrites, filthy livers, and such as for mans favor, and for lucre fake, do mix with true Divinity, Fables, Apocryphaes, and Dreams of Vanity. Also that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour Widows Houses, and with their Confessions, Sermons and Burials, do trouble the Church of Christ manifold ways. And therefore perswaded the Prelates to bridle and keep short the inordinate licence and abuses of these monastical persons, *&c.*

Gerhardus Ridder a writer against Monks and Friers.

Yet I have made no mention of *Michael Sefenus*, Provincial of the Gray Friers, nor *Petrus de Corbaria*, of whom writeth *Antoninus*, *in quarta parte summæ*, and faith they were condemned in the extravagant of Pope *John*, with one *Johannes de Poliaco*. Their Opinions, faith *Antoninus*, were these, That *Peter* the Apostle was no more the head of the Church, than the other Apotles: And that Christ left no Vicar behind him or head in his Church: And that the Pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the Emperor: *Item*, That all Priests, of what degree soever, are of equal authority, power and jurisdiction by the institution of Christ: but by the institution of the Emperor, the Pope to be superior, which by the same Emperor also may be revoked again. *Item*, That neither the Pope nor yet the Church may punish any Man, *punitione coactiva*: That is, by extern coaction; unless they receive licence of the Emperor. This foresaid *Michael*, general of the Gray Fryers, wrote against the Tyranny, Pride, and Pimacy of the Pope, accusing him to be Antichrist, and the Church of *Rome* to be the Whore of *Babylon*, drunk with the blood of Saints. He faid there were two Churches, one of the wicked flourishing, wherein reigned the Pope; the other of the godly afflicted. *Item*, That the verity was almoft utterly extinct; And for this cause he was deptived of his dignity, and condemned of the Pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his affertions. This *Michael* was about the year of our Lord 1322. And he left behind him many tutors and followers of his Doctrine, of whom a great part were slain by the Pope: some were condemned, as *William Ockam*; some were burned, as *Johannes de Castilione*, and *Franciscus de Arcatara*. In *extravag. Joan.* 23.

The opinion of *Michael* against the Pope.

Michael Cesenas deprived and condemned of the Pope.

Martyrs. *Johannes de Castilione, Franciscus de Arcatara* burned.

With him also was condemned, in the said extravagant, *Johannes de Poliaco* above touched, whose affertions were these: That the Pope could not give licence to hear Confessions to whom he would, but that every Pastor in his own Church ought to suffice. *Item*, That Pastors and Bishops had their authority immediately from Christ and his Apostles, and not from the Pope. *Item*, That the conftitution of Pope *Benedict* the *11th.* wherein he granteth larger privileges to the Friers above other Pastors, was no declaration of the Law, but a subverfion. And for this he was by the said Friers oppressed, about the year of our Lord, 1322.

After *Simon Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* before mentioned, who lived not long, succeeded *John Stratford*. After whom came *John Offord*, who lived but ten months. In whose room succeeded *Thoresse*, and remained but one year, *Anno.* 1350. And after him *Simon Isip* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by Pope *Clement* the 6th. who fate 17 years, and builded *Canterbury* College in *Oxford*. Which *Simon Isip* succeeded the Bishop of *Ely*, named *Simon Langham*, who within two years was made Cardinal. In whose stead Pope *Urban* the 5th. ordained *William Wittlesey* Bishop of *Worcester* to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *An.*1366. In which year, *William* Bishop of *Wincheiter* elected and founded the new College in *Oxford*.

Archbishops of Canterbury the one succeeding the other.

New College in *Oxford* founded, *Anno*, 1366.

Again, in the order of the Popes, next unto Pope *Clement* the 6th. before mentioned, about the same time, *An.* 1353. succeeded Pope *Innocent* the 6th. In the first year of which Pope, two Friers Minors or Francifcans were burned at *Avinion*, *Pro opinionibus* (as mine Author faith) *erroneis, prout D. Papæ & ejus Cardinalibus videbatur.* 1. For certain Opinions, as seemed to the Pope and his Cardinals, Erronious. *Ex Chron. Walf.* Of the which two Friers I find, in the Chronicles *De actis Rom. pontificum*, and in the Hiftory of *Premonstratenses*, that the one was *Johannes Rochtaylada*; or rather, as I find in *Catal. testium*, sited out of the Chronicle of *Henricus de Herfordia*, his name to be *Hayabalus*. Who being (as he recordeth) a Frier Minorite, began first in the time of Pope *Clement* the 6th. *An.* 1345. to preach and affirm openly, that he

Two Franciscans burned at *Avinion*.

Johannes Rochtaylada Martyr. *Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia.*

was by Gods revelation charged and commanded to preach; that the Church of *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*, and the Pope with his Cardinals to be very Antichrists. And that Pope *Benedict*, and the other before him his predeceſſors were damned; with other ſuch like words tending much againſt the Popes tyrannical majeſty. And that the foreſaid *Hayabalus* being brought before the Popes face, conſtantly did ſtand in the ſame, ſaying, That he was commanded by Gods revelation ſo to ſay, and alſo that he would preach the ſame if he might. To whom it was then objected, That he had ſome Heretical Books, and ſo was committed to priſon in *Avinion*. In the time of his accuſation it happned that a certain Prieſt, coming before the Pope, caſt the Popes Bull down before his feet, ſaying; Lo here, take your Bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have labored now theſe three years withal, and yet notwithſtanding, for all this your Bull, I cannot be reſtored to my right. The Pope hearing this, commanded the poor Prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to be laid in priſon with the foreſaid Frier. What became of them afterward, the foreſaid Writer *Henricus de Herfordia* maketh no mention. But I may probably conjecture this Prieſt and this Frier, *Rochtayladus*, or rather *Hayabalus*, were the two, whom mine Author *Thom. Walſ.* writeth to be burned at this time in *Avinion*, about the firſt beginning of this Pope *Innocentius* the ſixth. Of this *Rochtaylada* I thought good here to infer the teſtimony and mention of *John Froyſard*, written of him in his firſt Volume, Chapter 211. in theſe words:

The Church of *Rome* declared to be the Whore of *Babylon* by Gods revelation. *Rochtayladus* with another Frier blaſtemyes.

A Prieſt for caſting the Popes Bull before the Popes feet, ſcourged, caſt in priſon, and after burned at *Avinion*.

Anno 1354.

There were (ſaith *Froyſard*) a Frier Minor, full of great Clergy in the City of *Avinion*, called Frier *John* of *Rochtayladas*, the which Frier Pope *Innocent* the ſixth held in priſon in the Caſtle of *Baignour*, for ſhewing of many marvails after to come; principally he ſhewed many things to fall unto the Prelates of the Church for the great ſuperfluity and pride, that was then uſed among them. And alſo he ſpake many things to fall of the Realm of *France*, and of the great Lords of Chriſtendom, for the oppreſſions that they did to the poor common people. This Frier, ſaid he, would prove all his ſaying by the authority of the *Apocalypſe*, and by other Books of Holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt: he ſhewed many things hard to believe, and many things fell after as he ſaid. He ſaid then not as a Prophet, but he ſhewed them by authority of antient Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, who gave him underſtanding to declare the antient Prophets, and to ſhew to all Chriſtian people the years and times when ſuch things ſhould fall. He made divers Books founded on great Sciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the year of our Lord 1346. wherein were written ſuch marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the wars of *France*, he ſaid that all that had been ſeen was not like that ſhould be ſeen after. For he ſaid that the wars in *France* ſhould not be ended, till the Realm were utterly waſted and ſpoiled in every part. The which ſaying was well ſeen after, for the noble Realm of *France* was ſore waſted and ſpoiled, and ſpecially in the term that the ſaid Frier had ſet. The which was in the years of our Lord 1356, 57, 58, and 59. He ſaid in thoſe years, the Princes and Gentlemen of the Realm ſhould not for fear ſhew themſelves againſt the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all Countries without head or captain; and they ſhould do as they liſt in the Realm of *France*; the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions aſſembled them together, and by reaſon of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captains.

Ex Joanne Froyſardo vol. 1. cap. 211.

About the ſame time happned in *France* a certain contention between the *French* Prelates, and the Friers of *Paris*, teſtified and recorded by *Godfridus de Fontanis*; the brief effect of which ſtory is this: The Prelates of *France* Conventing and Aſſembling together in the City of *Paris*, after a long deliberation among themſelves, cauſed by the Beadles to be called together all the Students, Maſters, and Batchelors of every faculty, with the chief heads alſo of all the Religious Houſes and Friers in the Univerſity of *Paris*. Who being all there Congregated together in the Biſhop of *Paris* his Houſe, where there were preſent four Archbiſhops, and twenty Biſhops: firſt ſtood up the Biſhop of *Bituricenſe*, who, there making his Sermon, took for his Theam the place of Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſians*; *Fratres, ut ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo & profunditas charitatis*, &c. and concluded thereupon, firſt, that true charity would compel them to fee and provide for their flocks. Secondly, That the vigor of Charity would arm them to withſtand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, That by duty of Charity they were bound to give their lives for the ſouls of their flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, That by the ſame Charity every Man ought to hold himſelf content with that which was his own, and not to intermeddle or buſie himſelf further than to him appertained or belonged to his Office. For there (ſaith he) all Order Eccleſiaſtical is diſſolved, whereas Men, not containing themſelves in their own Precincts, preſume in other Mens Charges where they have nothing to do. But this Charity (ſaith he) now adays waxeth cold, and all Eccleſiaſtical Order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which now adays preſume to thruſt in themſelves where they have nothing to do; ſo that now the Church may ſeem a monſter. For as in a natural body appeareth a monſter, where one member doth the office of another; ſo in the ſpiritual body which is the Church, it may be thought likewiſe. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers majors and minors, do take upon them to uſurp and occupy the office to us eſpecially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth us all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as *Aaron* was. Wherefore we have heretofore oftentimes cauſed the ſaid Friers both by the King himſelf in his own perſon, and alſo by other Nobles to be ſpoken to and deſired to furceaſe from doing and intermedling in our Office, and yet they would not, but have preached againſt our wills through all our Dioceſs, and have heard Confeſſions, ſaying, That they have the Popes privilege to bear them out therein. For the which cauſe we come to you, and not we here preſent only, but alſo we have the hand-writing, and the full conſent of all other our fellow Biſhops throughout the Kingdom of *France*, to complain to you of this ſo great inſolence and preſumption of the Friers. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither do I think that there be any of us Prelates here now, which have not ſometime been taken our of this Univerſity of yours. We have deſired moreover, and cauſed to be deſired of the foreſaid Friers, that they would ſend their privileges to the See Apoſtolical, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the Lord Pope: which they refuſed alſo to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better underſtand and ſee what their privileges be, and how far they do extend, we have appointed the ſaid privileges here openly to be read unto you.

The Biſhop *Ambianenſis* a great Lawyer.

Then ſtood up another in the publick place, and there read the privileges of both the Orders: and afterward read alſo the conſtitution of Pope *Innocent* the third, written in the fifth of the Decretals, and beginneth, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, &c. Which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to the foreſaid privileges, as he there manifeſtly proved, declaring how both the privileges were derogatory to that conſtitution.

The conſtitution of Pope *Innocent* 3. *Omnis utriuſque ſexus.*

This done, then roſe up the Biſhop *Ambianenſis*, a great Lawyer, who, diſcourſing from Article to Article, there proved by good Law, that the ſaid conſtitution ſtood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the Friers privileges in any part. And therefore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the Friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelves in hearing Confeſſions, in injoyning of penance, and preaching in Churches and Dioceſſes, without ſpecial licence of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and curate of the Pariſh: unto whoſe words never a Frier at that time replyed again. And ſo the Biſhop proceeding to his concluſion, deſired the Univerſity to aſſiſt them in that caſe, wherein they were all determined (ſaith he) to ſtand firmly to the ſhedding of their blood, in reſiſting that miſorder and injuries of the Friers. This happned the ſixth day of *December* which they dedicated to Saint *Nicolas*.

The

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The next day being *Sunday*, one of the Order of the Minorites or Franciſcans, went to the Church of the Minorites or preaching Friers: where he made a Sermon (which was never ſeen before, the one Order to come and reſort to the other) beginning in the foreſaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through every Article as well as he could; adding moreover and ſaying, That they went not ſo far in their privildges, as they lawfully might. And he ſaid moreover, That what time the ſaid privildges were in obtaining in *Rome*, the Biſhop *Ambianenſis* was there preſent himſelf, reſiſting the ſame with all his power; yea all the Prelates alſo of *France* ſent and wrote up to the Court againſt the ſame, and yet did not prevail. For when the Friers there preſently declared and opened to the Pope in what manner and how far they had uſed their privildeges; the Pope the ſame time ſaid, *Placet*, that is, agreed unto the ſame. And now (ſaith he) the Prelates require and demand of us to ſend up our privileges to the Court; which were great folly in us. For in ſo doing, what ſhould we elſe but give place and occaſion, to revoke again the authority which is given into our hands already? Furthermore, our Warden and Maſter is now lately dead, and the Maſter here of the Dominick Friers, is not now preſent. Wherefore we dare not determine in ſuch a weighty cauſe (touching the privildeges of our Order) without the preſence of them. And therefore we deſire you of the Univerſity to hold us therein excuſed, and not to be ſo lightly ſtirred againſt us, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the Univerſity, *&c.*

The Friers reply to gain the Prelates.

A Sermon of the Biſhop of *Bayonne* to the Students of *Paris* againſt the Friers.

The next day, being the 8th. day of the ſame month, is alſo dedicate to the Conception of our *Lady*: upon which day it was determined likewiſe, that one of the Dominick Friers ſhould Preach in the Church of the Franciſcan or Gray Friers, and ſo he did: tending to the ſame end, as the other Frier in the other Church had done before. Whereto it may ſeem the Proverb well anſwered, wherof we read in the Goſpel: *Facti ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.*

That is, the Dominick Friers, and the Franciſcan Friers.

Herod and Pilate were made friends in enadvising of Chriſt.

It was not long after, that the Feaſt of S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle followed, in whoſe Vigil all the heads of the Univerſity again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the Church of Saint *Bernard* at the Sermon time. Which being done, and the Aſſembly meeting together, another Sermon was made by a Divine of the Univerſity, whoſe Theam was, *Prope eſt Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued againſt them that would not be obedient unto their Prelates, *&c.* The Sermon being ended, then roſe again the Biſhop *Ambianenſis*, who proſecuted the reſt of the Theam, and coming to the word *in veritate* divided it into three parts, according to the common Gloſs of the Decretals:

Another Sermon againſt the Friers.

Biſhop *Ambianenſis* in veritate, *&c.*

Eſt verum vitæ, dictæ, doctrinæ, juſtitiaque,
Primum ſemper habe; duo propter ſcandala linque.

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of Canonical Scriptures and out of the Law, and by evident demonſtration of experience; that the Friers firſt had no verity of life, becauſe they were full of Hypocriſie; neither had they verity of Doctrine, becauſe in their hears they bare gall, and in their tongue honey: neither verity of Juſtice, becauſe they uſurped other Mens Offices. And thus concluding with the ſame, he cauſed again to be read the ſaid privildeges, with the Conſtitution above ſpecified. And ſo expounding place by place, he did argue and prove that the ſaid conſtitution in no part was evacuate or infringed by the privildeges aforeſaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreover, That whereas the Friers ſay (ſaith he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obtaining of the privildeges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the Pope reclaiming and requiring the ſaid privildeges to be revoked: but the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the Pope to ſend me out abroad upon weighty affairs, ſo that then the matter had no end. After that, we ſent alſo other Meſſengers with our Letters, for the ſame cauſe unto the Court of *Rome*, whom the Friers ſay not to have prevailed, but they lie therein. For the ſaid Meſſengers again brought us Letters, from the chief of the Court of *Rome*, ſealed with their Seals: which Letters we have divers times preſented to our King, and will ſhortly ſhew them unto you all. In the which the Lord Pope hath promiſed the ſaid privileges either to be utterly abrogate, or elſe to be mitigated with ſome more plain interpretation; of the which we truſt ſhortly to have the publick Bull or Writ from the Pope.

Verity in three parts conſiſteth.

The Friers privileges proved contrary to the Pope conſtitution.

The Biſhop *Ambianenſis.* Friers caught not to preach in Churches without ſpecial licence of them to whom the Church belonged.

The Friers preſent with a lie.

At laſt, the ſaid Biſhop required and deſired of all there, of what Dioceſs or Country ſoever they were, that they would Copy out the foreſaid privildeges, and ſend them abroad into their Countries, that all Men might ſee what they were, and how far they did extend. In fine the matter coming into open diſputation, it was concluded by Maſter *Giles* one of the *Auſtine* Friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all the other Friers) in this wiſe: that after his Sentence the Prelates were in the truer part, *&c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.*

The Friers privileges confuted in diſputation at *Paris.*

Concerning this wrangling contention between the Univerſity and Friers of *France* here before mentioned, whereof partly the original cauſe may be underſtood, by that which hath been ſaid, to riſe upon certain privileges granted by Popes to the Friers, to intermeddle in matters of Pariſh Churches; As to hear Confeſſions, to Preach and Teach, with power thereunto annexed to gather for their labour, to Bury within their Houſes, and to receive Impropriations, *&c.* becauſe it were too long here to deſcribe the full circumſtances thereof, alſo becauſe the ſaid contention did indure a long time, not only in *France*, but alſo came over into *England*: the whole diſcourſe thereof more amply (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in the beginning of the next Book following, when we come to the ſtory of *Armachanus*.

A ſeditious commotion between the Townſmen and the Scholars in the Univerſity of *Oxford.*

About what time and year this brawl was in the Univerſity of *Paris* between the Friers and Prelates there, as hath been declared; the like contention happned alſo in the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the year above preſixed, 1354. ſave only that the ſtrife among the Maſters of *Paris*, as it roſe upon Friarly Ceremonies, ſo it went no further than brawling words and matter of Excommunication: but this tumult, riſing of a drunken cauſe, proceeded further unto bloody ſtripes. The firſt original whereof began in a Tavern, between a Scholar and the good Man of the Houſe; Who falling together in altercation, grew to ſuch height of words, that the ſtudent *(contra jus hoſpitii)* poured the wine upon the head of the Hoſt, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occaſion given, eſſoons parts began to be taken between the Townſmen and the Scholars. Inſomuch that a grievous ſedition and conflict followed upon the ſame; wherein many of the Townſmen were wounded, and to the number of twenty ſlain. Divers alſo of the Scholars were grievouſly hurt. The ſpace of two days this hurly-burly continued. Upon the ſecond day certain Religious and devout perſons ordained a ſolemn Proceſſion General, to pray for peace. Yet notwithſtanding all that Proceſſion, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which proceſſion (the skirmiſh ſtill waxing hot) one of the ſtudents, being hardly purſued by the Townſmen, for ſuccour in his flight came running to the Prieſt or Frier, which carried about (as the manner was) the Pixe; thinking to find refuge at the preſence of the Tranſubſtantiated God of the Altar there carried inbraced. Notwithſtanding, the God being not there preſent, or elſe not ſeeing him, or elſe peradventure being aſleep, the Scholar found there ſmall help. For the Townſmen in the heat of the chaſe, forgetting belike the vertue of the Popes Tranſubſtantiation, followed him ſo hard, that in the preſence of the Pixe they brake his head, and wounded him grievouſly. This done, at length ſome peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morrow following, other Townſmen in the Villages about, joyning with the Townſmen of *Oxford*, confederated together in great force and power to ſet upon the ſtudents there, and ſo did, having a black flag born before them, and ſo invaded the Univerſity Men. Whereupon the Scholars being overmatched, and compelled to flee into their Halls and Hoſtles, were ſo purſued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their Halls and Chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded (and as it is ſaid) ſlain and thrown into Privies; their Books with Knives and Bills

The Friers privileges confuted in diſputation at *Paris.*

Proceſſion for Peace. The Holy Proceſſion would bring no Peace.

Tranſubſtantiation will not help in time of need.

A conqueſt of the Scholars of *Oxford.*

cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the ſtudents of that Univerſity being conquered by the Townſmen of *Oxford*, and of the Country about, departed and left the Univerſity. So that for a time the Schools there, and all School acts, did utterly ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudy, except only *Merton* College-Hall, with a few other remaining behind.

The Univerſity of *Oxford* diſſolved for a time.

This being done the 12*th.* day of *February*, the Queen at the ſame time being at *Woodſtock* was brought to bed, and purified on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* with great ſolemnity of Juſting. About which time the Biſhop of *Lincoln* their Dioceſan, hearing of this exceſſive outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all Parſons and Prieſts, forbidding them throughout all *Oxford*, to celebrate Maſs or any Divine Service in the preſence of any Lay perſon within the ſaid Town of *Oxford*, interdicting withal the whole Town. Which Interdiction indured the ſpace of a whole year and more.

The Town of *Oxford* interdicted.

The King alſo ſent thither his Juſtices to examine and inquire of the matter. Before whom divers Lay-men and of the Clergy were indicted, and four of the chief Burgeſſes of the ſaid Town were indicted, and by the Kings commandment ſent to the Tower of *London*, and were there impriſoned. At length through much labor of the Nobles, the King ſo took by the matter, that ſending his writings unto all Sheriffs in *England* he offered pardon to all and ſingular Sudents of that Univerſity, (whereſoever diſperſe) for that tranſgreſſion: Whereby the Univerſity in ſhort time was replenished again as before. Moreover it was granted to the Vice-Chancellor or Commiſſary (as they term him) of the Town and Univerſity of *Oxford*, to have the Aſſize of Bread, Ale, Wine, and all other Victual, the Major of the ſaid Town being excluded. Alſo it was granted and decreed, that the Commons of *Oxford* ſhould give to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, 200. pound ſterling, in part of ſatisfaction for their exceſſes: reſerved notwithſtanding to every one of the Students his ſeveral action againſt any ſeveral perſon of the Townſmen, *&c.*

Granted to the Commiſſary of *Oxford* to have the aſſize of bread and Ale and other priviledges about the Major of the Town.

About the year of our Lord 1354. the King, with the conſent of his Council, revoked home again out of *Flanders* the Staple of Wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and ſtabliſhed the ſame in ſundry places within the Realm, namely in *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chichiſter*, *Briſtow*, *Lincoln*, and in *Hull*. Which *Staple* after *An.* 1362. was tranſlated over into *Calis*.

Of *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* mentioned a little before, *pag.* 445. I read in the ſaid Author above ſpecified, That he by his Letters Patent directed to all Parſons and Vicars within his Province; ſtraightly charged them and their Pariſhioners, under pain of Excommunication, not to abſtain from bodily labor, upon certain Saints days, which before were wont to be Hallowed and Conſecrated to unthrifty idleneſs. *Item*, That to Prieſts ſhould be given no more for their yearly ſtipend, but three pound ſix ſhillings and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and ſteal, *&c. Anno.* 1362. The next year following, which was 1363. the foreſaid King *Edward* kept his Parliament at *London* in the month of *October*: wherein was prohibited, that gold nor ſilver ſhould be worn in Knives, Girdles, Brooches, Rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might diſpend 10 pound by year. *Item*, That none ſhould wear either Silks or coſtly Furrs, except ſuch as might diſpend 100 pounds by year. Alſo that Merchant Venturers ſhould not export over any Merchandiſe out of the Realm, or ſeek for Wines in other Countries; whereby other Nations ſhould be conſtrained rather to ſeek to us, *&c.* But none of this did take any great effect.

A wholeſome decree of a good Archbiſhop not to abſtain from bodily labor upon certain Holy days.

A Parliament.

After this *Simon Iſlip*, as is above recorded, followed *Simon Langham*, then *William Wittleſey*, after whom next in the place ſucceeded *Simon Sudbury*.

Simon Iſlip Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Much about the ſame time the Nuns of Saint *Bridget* in Order began firſt. About which time alſo was builded the Queens College in *Oxford*, by Queen *Philippa* of *England*, Wife to King *Edward* the third; *Circa annum Domini* 1360.

The Nuns of S. Bridgets Order.

Moreover in the time of this Pope *Innocent*, Frier *John Lyle* Biſhop of *Ely*, moved with certain injuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady *Blanch*, made his complaint to the Pope. Who ſending down his Curſe to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and other Prelates to be executed upon the adverſaries of the Biſhop of *Ely*, commanded them, That if they did know any of the ſaid adverſaries dead and buried (that notwithſtanding,) they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be taken up: which alſo they performed accordingly, of whom ſome had been of the Kings Council. Wherefore the King being diſpleaſed, and not unworthily, did trouble and moleſt again the ſaid Prelates. This coming to the Popes hearing, certain were directed down from the Court of *Rome*, in the behalf of the foreſaid Biſhop of *Ely*: who meeting with the Biſhop of *Rochester* the Kings Treaſurer, delivered unto him, being armed, Letters from the Biſhop of *Rome*, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently avoided away. But certain of the Kings Servants purſuing, did overtake them: of whom ſome they impriſoned, ſome they brought to the Juſtices, and ſo they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appear what reverence the Popes Letters, in this Kings days, had in this Realm of *England*. *Ex Chro. Walſing.* This Pope *Innocent* ordained the Feaſt of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

This Lady Blanch was Dutcheſs of Lancaſter.

Dead men Excommunicated by the Pope.

The Popes Meſſengers hanged. The Feaſt of the Spear and of the Holy Nails.

And here to make an end of this Fourth Book, now remaineth after our order and cuſtom before begun, to proſecute the race of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, in this foreſaid Fourth Book contained, beginning, where before we left, *pag.* 193. at *Lanfrancus*.

A Table

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A Table of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* in the Fourth Book contained.

Polydor. Virg. lib. 1numbereth this *Lanfrancus* to be the thirty third Archbiſhop. But by the count of other Authors (namely by the Chroniele of the Monk of *Dover*) he ſeemeth to be deceived, as he was in the 28. years of *Dunſtan*, which indeed did ſit but nineteen or twenty at the moſt. This error of *Polydore* ſeemeth to come by leaving out either *Elfius*, which was the 23*th.* or by leaving out *Elfricus*, which was the 26*th.* as in ſome Authors I find.

34. *Lanfrancus.* 19.

Moreover, here is to be noted, that although the ſaid *Elfricus* were left out, yet *Lanfrancus* cannot be 33.

Note alſo, That in the Table of the third Book before, after *Siricius*, you muſt put in *Sanctus Alnredus*. Which in order of Archbiſhops I left out in the end of the third Book, *page* 191.

This *Lanfrancus* was an *Italian*, and a ſtout Champion of the Pope. After his ſtubborn diſſention with *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* he wrote againſt *Berengarius*, Intituling his Book, *Opus Scintillarum*, *page* 196.

Alſo the ſame *Lanfrank* builded the new Church at *Canterbury*, and pluckt down the old. By him was builded the Church of S. *Gregory*. At length he was expulſed by King *William Rufus*.

35. *Anſelmus.* 20.

Of this *Anſelmus*, and the ſtrife between him and the King, look in the *page* 209.

36. *Radulphus.* 8.

Under *Rad* the Order of *Ciſtercians* began.

37. *Guliel. Curboil.* 13.

By this *William* the new work of the Church of Saint *Martins* at *Dover* was builded.

38. *Theobaldus.* 24.

By This *Theobald*, Monks were firſt brought into the Church of *Dover*. He was expulſed by King *Stephen*. In his time the Church of Saint *Gregory* was burned at *Canterbury*.

39. *Thomas Becket.* 9.

Of the life and death of this *Becket*, ſee the *page* 232.

Ex Hiſtor. Coniſtadenſi.

Ex Crickeladenſi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis Martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis ejus miracula prædicaret, interminantes minas mortis ſeu maximarum penarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuiſſe Martyrem, & miracula ejus prædicantibus, &c.

40. *Richardus.* 10.

This *Richard* was a Monk: in his time *Chriſts Church* in *Canterbury* was burned.

41. *Baldwinus.* 7.

Between this *Baldwin* and the Monks was great diſcord. He ſuſpended the Prior from his Prioriſhip, and two and twenty Monks from all Service. He cauſed the Sub-Prior with all his adherents to be Excommunicated through all *Kent*.

42. *Hubertus.* 14.

In the time of this *Hubert* the Chapel of *Lambeth* was pluckt down. Alſo the Church of *Dover* was burned.

This *Stephen*, with the Monks of *Canterbury*, were expulſed by King *John*.

This *Stephen*, intending to give Orders in the Chappel of *Lambeth*, was ſtopped by the Monks of *Canterbury*, through their appeal and prohibition. Wherefore he required *Euſtace* Biſhop of *London* to Miniſter the ſame Orders in the Church of S. *Paul*.

43. *Stephanus Langton.* 22.

In his time fell great variance between the Monks of *Rocheſter* and the Monks of *Canterbury*, for the Election of their Biſhop, which Election the Monks of *Canterbury* would not admit before the *Rocheſter* Monks had preſented the Biſhops ſtaff in the Church of *Canterbury*; ſo that both the Churches ſent their Meſſengers to the Court of *Rome*.

44. *Richardus Magnus.* 4.

At the Confecration of this *Richard*, contention roſe between the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and the Biſhop of *Bath*, who ſhould Conſecrate him.

Item, Between the ſaid *Richard* and the Monks of *Canterbury* fell a grievous diſcord, about certain Liberties belonging to the Archbiſhop.

The ſaid Archbiſhop, for certain quarels againſt the King, went up to *Rome*, who died in *Tuſcia*.

45. *Edmund* of *Abendon.* 7.

After this *Richard* the Election of three Archbiſhops was diſannulled at *Rome*, of *Radulphus de Nova Villa*, of *John* Prior of *Canterbury*, of *John Blund*.

This *Edmund* was called Saint *Edmund*, at whoſe Election the Prior of *Dover* thinking to be preſent, as at the marriage of his Mother, was not permitted by the Monks of *Canterbury*. For the which injury he appealed and went to *Rome* to complain, not againſt the Elect, but againſt the Election: where he obtained of the Pope, for all the Priors and Succeſſors of *Dover* to have full intereſt in the Election of the Archbiſhops, beſides other priviledges which he obtained, percaſe not without ſome good ſtore of money. Afterward the Monks of *Canterbury* accuſed him to the Archbiſhop, as though he ſtood againſt the perſon of the Elect, and ſo obtained of the Archbiſhop being angry with him, to have brought him under the Chapter of *Canterbury*, there to be puniſhed. Whereupon the Prior, ſeeing himſelf ſo deſtitute of all help of Lawyers, was conſtrained in the foreſaid Chapter to cry *peccavi*. Then being ſuſpended from his Prioriſhip, he was at length ſent home from *Dover*, being compelled firſt to ſet his hand to a certain compoſition between him and the foreſaid Monks.

The ſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop, having alſo ſome quarrel againſt the King, went up to *Rome*, and died before his coming home.

In the time of this *Boniface*, Pope *Gregory* wickedly granted to King *Henry* the Third (for the getting of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which belonged not to him to give, nor to the other to take) tenths of goods temporal and ſpiritual, for five years. *Item*, All the firſt years fruits of Churches that ſhould be vacant for five years. *Item*, Half of all the goods of Beneficed Men, not reſident at their Benefices. *Item*, All Legacies not diſtinctly given. And yet the Kingdom of *Sicily* never came to his hands, which belonged to *Manfredus*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor. Striſe there was between this *Boniface* and the Prior of *Canterbury*. *Item*,

Item, Between him and the Biſhop of *Roff*. *Item*, Between him and the Chapter of *Lincoln*: all which was after agreed; *Chro. Dovorenſ. fol.* 20. *pag.* 2.

Striſe alſo in *Wincheſter*, about chuſing the Biſhop after the death of *Ayomarus* the Kings Brother.

46. *Boniface.* 25. Striſe alſo in the Convocation which *Boniface* did hold at *Lambeth*. In the which Council were recited the Statutes of *Octobonus*, and other new Statutes made; againſt which *John Hemelingford* the Kings Chaplain with other more, and Prince *Edward* on the kings behalf, did appeal. *Chron. Dover. fol.* 21.

Under this *Boniface* Archbiſhop, *Tunbridge* and *Hadlo* firſt came under the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Maſter *John* of *Exeter* bought the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* for 6000. Marks; which being known, he was fain to pay the ſame ſumm again to the Pope, and ſo was ſent home.

Boniface the Archbiſhop being in the parts of *Subaudia*, *An.* 1262. there fell another altercation between the Prior and Chapter of *Canterbury* on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of *Dover* on the other part. Which two Houſes almoſt were never in quiet, and all about certain liberties and privildeges; as for making the Sub-Prior, for receiving in of Monks, and for Viſitations of the Church of *Dover*.

An. 1268. *Boniface* Archbiſhop Interdicted the City of *London*, becauſe in the ſame City the Archbiſhop of *York* did hold up his Croſs, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being there preſent, the King holding then his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

This Archbiſhop died in the parts of *Subaudia*.

John Prior of *Canterbury* was Elected by the Monks againſt the Kings mind, but by the Pope refuſed.

Adam Chilinden was Elect, but he reſigned his Election to the Pope.

In the time of this *Robert Kilwarby*, appeal was taken againſt the Chapter of *Canterbury* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of *Worceſter*, and *Exeter*, for the which cauſe the ſaid Biſhops went up to *Rome* to proſecute the Appeal. The matter was, becauſe they did not their obedience to the Monks of *Canterbury*, the See being empty.

Walter Giffard Archbiſhop of *York*, going toward the General Council, bare up his Croſs through the middle of *Kent*, in the time of this *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno.* 1272.

47. *Robert Kilwarby.* Fricr. 6. By Pope *Gregoty* the 10*th.* in the General Council at *Lions*, all the Orders of Friers were put down, Four Orders only excepted, that is, *Dominicks*, *Franciſcans*, *Carmalites*, and *Auguſtines*.

This *Robert Kilwarby* by the commandment of Pope *Nicholas* was made Cardinal of *Rome*, Biſhop of *Porvenſis*.

An untruth in *Polydore Virgil.* Where is to be noted an untruth in *Polydore Virgil*, which ſaith, That he was made Cardinal by Pope *Gregory*, which could not be.

Robert Burnel Biſhop of *Bath* was Elected, but by the Pope refuſed; For whom *John Peckham* a Grey-Frier, was placed by Pope *Nicholas*.

In the firſt year of this Frier *Peckham*, *W. Wikewane* Archbiſhop of *York* coming from his Conſecration at *Rome* to *Dover*, bare up his Croſs through the midſt of *Kent*, whereat was no little ado.

Robert Gernemine Archdeacon of *Canterbury* went to Law at *Rome* for the liberties and poſſeſſions of his Archdeaconſhip two years, and there died.

In this time alſo another wrangling fell between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the Monks of *Dover*, in the time of this *John Peckham*, for admitting certain Novices of *Dover* into Orders. *Ex chr. Monach. Dover. fol.* 42.

This *Peckham*, holding a Council at *Lambeth*, Ordained divers Statutes, and cauſed the Ordinances of the Council of *Lions*, and of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his predeceſſor to be obſerved.

Great grief and hatred was between this *Peckham* and *Thomas* Biſhop of *Hereford*: who being Excommunicated by *Peckham*, appealed to *Rome*, and went to the Pope.

48. *John Peckham.* 13. The Prior and Covent of *Canterbury* made their appeal againſt this Archbiſhop *Peckham*, that he ſhould not conſecrate *Walter le Schamel* new Elect Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, in any other place, except only in the Church of *Canterbury*, but by their leave and licence firſt obtained. Notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop, nothing regarding their appeal, proceeded in the Conſecration of the ſaid Biſhop near to the Town of *Reding*, whereupon the Prior and Covent ceaſed not to proſecute their appeal againſt the Archbiſhop.

Between *Richard Ferring* Archdeacon of *Canterbury* of the one party, and the Barons of *Dover* of the other party, the ſame year fell out another like wrangling, for that the Archdeacon claimed to viſit the Church of *Dover*: contrarily the Barons affirmed, That none had nor ſhould have to do there to or diſpoſe in Spiritual matters, but only the Archbiſhop, and the Prior and Convent of Saint *Martin*. *Ex eod. Chron. fol.* 46.

After the death of *William Whicwane* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John de Roma* ſucceeded after him; and coming from his Conſecration at *Rome* to *Dover*, bare his Croſs through the middle of *Kent*, contrary to the inhibition of *John Peckham*.

49. *Robert Winchelſey.* 19. This *Robert*, which was Archbiſhop in the later time of King *Edward* the Firſt, for certain diſpleaſure of the King conceived againſt him, departed the Realm, and in his baniſhment remained two or three years. And about the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the Second was reſtored again: *Anno.* 1309. *Ex Chron. Rich.* 2. Thus few Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* we find, with whom Kings have not had ſome quarrel or other. The cauſe between the King and him (ſaith mine Author) was this: That the King accuſed him to Pope *Clement* to diſturb his Realm, and to take part with Rebels, &c. *Ex Chron. S. Albani.*

This *Robert* alſo Excommunicated *Walter*, Biſhop of *Coventry*, for holding with the King and *Peter Gaweſton* againſt the Ordinances of the Barons; wherefore the ſaid Biſhop appealed to the Pope, againſt whom the Archbiſhop ſent *Adam Merimouth*.

This *Adam Merimouth* was compiler of the Hiſtory of K. Edward.

In the time of this *Robert* Archbiſhop, the Order of Templars were aboliſhed by Pope *Clement* the 5*th.* in the Council of *Vienna* with this Sentence definitive:

Quam-

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Quantum de jure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinem poteſtatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.

After the deceaſe of *Robert Winchelſey*, who departed *Anno* 1312, *Thomas Cobham* a learned man was Elected by full conſent of the Monks: who came to *Avinion* to have his Election Confirmed. But the Pope reſerving the vacant Seat in his own hands, put in *Walter Reynald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, who Governed the Seat 15 years.

50. *Gualter Reynald.* 15 The Chronicler of St. *Albans*, Recordeth alſo, how in the days of this Archbiſhop, *Anno* 1319, certain Lepers conſpiring with the *Turks* and *Jews* went about to impotionate, and infect all Chriſtendom, by invenoming their Fountains, Lakes, Pits, Barrels, and ſuch other places. Of the which crime divers of them being Convict were worthily burned in *France*. About the which year, the ſaid Author maketh alſo Relation, how in the Realm of *England* much murrain fell among the Beaſts: inſomuch, that the Dogs eating upon their fleſh (infected belike by the Waters and Fountains) fell down dead incontinently. Neither durſt men for that cauſe almoſt taſte of any Beef: *An.* 1318, 1319. *Ex Ch. Alban.*

This *Walter* Archbiſhop taking part with the Queen *Iſabel* againſt King *Edward* her Husband, died the ſame year in which he was depoſed: *An.* 1237. *Ex Chro. Sanct. Albani.*

After *Walter* the Archbiſhop, as affirmeth the Chronicle of St. *Alban*, ſucceded *Simon Mepham*. Of whom I marvel that *Polydore* maketh no word nor mention: belike he fate not long: after followed *John Stratford*.

In the Story of *Adam Merimouth*, it is Recorded that this *John Stratford*, intending to viſit the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*, was not received by the Biſhop, the Chapter and Clergy there alledging that he obſerved not the ordinary Canon therein. To whom the Archbiſhop ſaid again, He had the Popes Letters, and ſhewed the ſame. But the other anſwered, That thoſe Letters were falſly obtained and tended to the ſuppreſſion of the Clergy; and therefore they would not obey: wherefore the Archbiſhop Excommunicated the Biſhop, and Suſpended the Prior, and Interdicted the Covent: *An.* 1347.

51. *John Stratford.* 29.

Maſter *John Offord*, Chancellor of *England*, was Elected and Confirmed Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but not Conſecrated, and ſate but ten months, about the year of our Lord, 1350, *Peſtilentia in Anglia*.

52. *John Offord* 10 Months.

This *Thomas Braidwarden* following after *John Stratford*, ſate not long, but died within 10 months of the Plague, as they ſay. Which was called then the firſt great Plague in *England*, raging ſo ſore in all quarters, that it was thought ſcarce the tenth part of men to be left alive.

The firſt great Plague in *England*.

53. *Thomas Braidwarden.* 1.

In the time of *Simon Iſlyppe*, which followed after *Braidwarden*, King *Edward*, *Anno* 1362, is reported, after the blind Superſtition of thoſe days, to offer in the Church of *Weſtminſter* the Veſtments wherein St. *Peter* did Celebrate Maſs. Which belike were well kept from Moths, to laſt ſo long. *Ex Ch. Alban.*

The Veſtments wherein St. *Peter* ſaid Maſs, or elſe the Papiſts do lye.

54. *Simon Iſlyppe.* 17. The ſame *Simon Iſlyppe* among other Conſtitutions, Ordained through all Churches and Chappels under pain of Excommunication; that no man ſhould abſtain from Bodily labours upon certain Saints days, as is before touched: which Fact of his is not a little noted in our Monkiſh Hiſtories.

This *Simon* builded *Canterbury* College in *Oxford*.

Canterbury Colledge builded in *Oxford*.

The concluſion of this Fourth Book.

The concluſion of this Book. Antichriſt in his pride.

FOraſmuch as Satan being Chained up all this while for the ſpace of a Thouſand Years, beginneth about this time to be looſed and to come abroad, according to the fore-warning of St. John's Revelation: Therefore to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein ſufficiently hath been deſcribed the exceſſive pride and pomp of Antichriſt, flouriſhing in his ruff and ſecurity, from the time of William *Conqueror* hitherto: Now (Chriſt aſſiſting and aſſiſting us thereunto) we mind in theſe later Books hereafter following, in order of Hiſtory to expreſs the later Perſecutions and horrible Troubles of the Church, raiſed up by Satanas in his miniſter Antichriſt; with the reſiſtance againſt Chriſt's Church againſt him. And ſo to proſecute (by the merciful Grace of Chriſt) the proceeding and courſe of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the ſaid Antichriſt. To the intent that if any be in ſuch error to think that Antichriſt is yet to come, he may conſider and ponder well the Tragical Rages, the miſerable and moſt ſorrowful Perſecutions, Murthers, and Vexations of theſe later Three Hundred Years now following, and then I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only Antichriſt is already come, but alſo will know where he ſitteth, and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Chriſt be thanked for ever) to his decay and confuſion.

The looſing out of Satan.

THE

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THE FIFTH BOOK,

CONTAINING

The last Three Hundred Years from the loosing out of Satan.

The fifth Book.

THUS having discourſed in theſe former Books the order and courſe of Years, from the firſt tying up of Satan unto the Year of our Lord 1360. I have a little overpaſſed the ſtint of time in the Scripture, appointed for the loosing out of him again. For ſo it is written by St. *John*, *Apoc.* 20. that *after a thouſand years, Satan the old Dragon ſhall be let looſe again for a ſeaſon*, &c.

The years and time of loosing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the which Myſtery, let us firſt conſider the context of the Scripture: afterward let us examine, by Hiſtory and courſe of Times, the meaning of the ſame: And firſt, to recite the words of the *Apocalypſe*, the Text of the Propheſie is this, *Chap.* 20.

And I ſaw an Angel deſcending from heaven, having a key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he took the Dragon the old Serpent, which is the Divel and Satanas, and bound him for a thouſand years, and put him in the bottomleſs dungeon and ſhut him up, and ſigned him with his ſeal, that he ſhould not more ſeduce the Gentiles, till a thouſand years were expired. And after that he muſt be looſed again for a little ſpace of time. And I ſaw ſeats, and they ſate upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and the ſouls I ſaw of them which were beheaded for the teſtimony of Jeſus, &c.

Apoc. 20.

By theſe words of the *Revelation*, here recited, three ſpecial times are to be noted.

Firſt, The being abroad of Satan to deceive the World.

Secondly, The binding up of him.

Thirdly, The looſing out of him again, after a thouſand years conſummate, for a time.

The place of the Apoc. 20. expounded, for the loosing out of Satan.

Concerning the intepretation of which times, I ſee the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of Hiſtories, and ſtate of things done in the Church; they ſuppoſing, that the chaining up of Satan for a thouſand years, ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, was meant from the Birth of Chriſt our Lord. Wherein I grant that Spiritiually the ſtrength and dominion of Satan, in accuſing and condemning us for ſin, was caſt down at the Paſſion and by the Paſſion of Chriſt our Saviour, and locked up not only for a thouſand years, but for ever. Albeit, as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that Serpent, againſt the outward bodies of Chriſts poor Saints (which is the heel of Chriſt) to afflict and torment the Church outwardly; That I Judge to be meant in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, not to be reſtrained till the ceaſing of thoſe terrible Perſecutions of the Primitive Church. At what time it pleaſed God to pity the ſorrowful affliction of his poor flock, being ſo long under Perſecution, the ſpace of three hundred years, and to aſſwage their griefs and torments. Which is meant by binding up of Satan, worker of all thoſe miſchiefs: underſtanding thereby, that for ſo much as the Divel, the Prince of this World, had now by the Death of Chriſt the Son of God loſt all his power and intereſt againſt the Soul of man, he ſhould turn his furious rage and malice, which he had to Chriſt, againſt the People of Chriſt (which is meant by the heel of the ſeed, *Gen.* 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet ſhould not be for ever, but for a determinate time, when as it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to bridle the malice, and ſnaffle the power of the old Serpent, and give reſt unto his Church for the term of a thouſand years. Which time being expired, the ſaid Serpent ſhould be ſuffered looſe again for a certain or a ſmall time, *Apoc.* 20.

What the looſing of Satan doth mean in Scripture.

And thus to Expound this Prophetical place of Scripture I am led by three reaſons:

Three reaſons.

The firſt is, For that the binding up of Satan, and cloſing him in the bottomleſs pit by the Angel, importeth as much that he was at liberty, raging and doing miſchief before. And certes thoſe ſo terrible and ſo horrible Perſecutions of the Primitive Time univerſally through the whole World, during the ſpace of three hundred years of the Church, do declare no leſs. Wherein it is to be thought and ſuppoſed, that Satan all that time, was not faſtened and cloſed up.

The firſt reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon, moving me to think that the cloſing up of Satan was after the ten Perſecutions of the Primitive Church, is taken out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*: Where we read, That after the Woman (meaning the Church) had travelled forth her man-child; the old Dragon the Divel, the ſame time being caſt down from Heaven, drawing the third part of the Stars with him, ſtood before the Woman with great anger, and perſecuted her (that is, the Church of God) with a whole flood of water, (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments) and from thence went moreover to fight againſt the reſidue of her ſeed, and ſtood upon the Sands of the Sea; whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked up.

The ſecond reaſon.

The third reaſon I Collect out of the *Apocalypſe* thirteenth Chapter; where it is written of the Beaſt, ſignifying the Emperial Monarchy of *Rome*, that he had power to make War forty and two months. By the which months is meant, no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the perſecuting Emperors ſhould have in afflicting the Saints of the Primitive Church. The computation of which forty two months (counting every month for a Sabbath of years; that is, for ſeven years, after the order of Scripture) riſeth to the ſum (counting from the Paſſion of the Lord Chriſt) of three hundred years, lacking ſix; at what time *Maximius* the laſt Perſecutor in *Rome*, fighting againſt *Conſtantinus*, was drowned with his Soldiers, like as *Pharaoh* perſecuting the Children of *Iſrael* was drowned in the red Sea. Unto the which xlii months, or Sabbaths of years, if ye add the other ſix years wherein *Licinius* perſecuted in the *Eaſt*; ye ſhall find juſt three hundred years, as is ſpecified before in the firſt Book of this Volume, *pag.* 96.

The third reaſon. *Apoc.* cap. 13.

xlii months in the *Apoc.* cap. 13. examined.

What time Satan was tied up.

After the which forty and two months, being expired, manifeſt it is that the fury of Satan; that is, his violent malice and power over the Saints of Chriſt, was diminiſhed and reſtrained univerſally through the whole World.

Thus then the matter ſtanding evident, that Satan after 300 years, counting from the Paſſion of Chriſt, began to be chained up, at what time the perſecution of the Primitive Church began to ceaſe: now let us ſee how long this binding up of Satan ſhould continue, which was promiſed in the Book of the *Revelation* to be a thouſand years. Which thouſand years, if ye add to the xlii months of years, that is, to 294 years; they make 1294 years after the Paſſion of the Lord. To theſe moreover add the 30 years of the age of Chriſt, and it cometh to the year of our Lord 1324, which was the year of the letting out of Satan, according to the Propheſie of the *Apocalypſe*.

About what time and year Satan was let out by the count of the *Apocalypſe*.

{KING Edw.3}

A Table containing the time of the Perſecution both of the Primitive, and of the later Church, with the count of years from the firſt binding up of Satan, to his looſing again, after the mind of the Apocalypſe.

The firſt Perſecution of the Primitime Church, beginning at the 30 year of Chriſt, was Propheſied to continue 42 months, that is,	*Anno*	294
The ceaſing of the laſt Perſecution in the Primitive Church. The ceaſing of the laſt Perſecution of the Primitive Church by the death of *Licinius* the laſt perſecutor, began	*Anno* 324,	294
from the Nativity of Chriſt, which was from the 30 year of his age,		294.
The binding up of Satan after peace given to the Church, counting from the 30 years of Chriſt,	*An.*	294
The binding up of Satan. And laſted a thouſand years, that is, counting from the thirtieth year of Chriſt, to the year		1294
The time of looſing of Satan. About which year Pope *Boniface* the eighth was Pope, and made the ſixth Book of the *Decretals*, confirmed the orders of Friers, and priviledged them with great freedoms, as appeareth by his conſtitution, *Super cathedram*.	*An.*	1294
The time of Antichriſt, examined. Unto the which count of years doth not much diſagree that which I found in a certain old Chronicle propheſied and written in the later end of a Book; which Book was written, as it ſeemeth, by a Monk of *Dover*, and remaineth yet in the cuſtody of *William Carrie*, a Citizen of *London*; alledging the Propheſie of one *Haymcardus* a Gray Frier, grounded upon the Authority of *Joachim* the Abbot, Propheſying that Antichriſt ſhould be born the year from the Nativity of Chriſt 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords Paſſion, the very ſame year and time when the orders of Friers both *Dominicks* and *Franciſcans* began firſt to be ſet up by Pope *Honorius* the third, and by Pope *Gregorius* the ninth, which was the year of our Lord, counting after his Paſſion.		1226
And counting after the Nativity of the Lord, was the year		1260

Whereof theſe Verſes in the Author were written:

Verſes Propheſying of the coming of Antichriſt.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies ſeni poſt partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichriſtus naſcetur dæmone plenus.

And theſe Verſes were written, as appeareth by the ſaid Author, *An.* 1285.

Theſe things thus premiſed for the looſing out of Satan, according to the Propheſie of the *Apocalypſe*, now let us enter (Chriſt willing) to the declaration of theſe later times which followed after the leting out of Satan into the World. Deſcribing the wondrous pertubations and cruel tyranny ſtirred up by him againſt Chriſts Church; alſo the valiant reſiſtance of the Church of Chriſt againſt him and Antichriſt, as in theſe our Books here under-following may appear.

The Argument of the Books after following.

The argument of which Books conſiſteth in two parts; Firſt, To entreat of the raging fury of Satan now looſed, and of Antichriſt; againſt the Saints of Chriſts fighting and travelling for the maintainance of Truth, and Reformation of the Church. Secondly, To declare the decay and ruin of the ſaid Antichriſt, through the Power of the Word of God, being at length, either in a great part of the World overthrown: or at leaſt univerſally in the whole World detected.

{Anno 1360}

Thus then to begin with the year of our Lord 1360, wherein I have a little, as is aforeſaid, tranſpreſſed the ſtint of the firſt looſing out of Satan: we are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkneſs, beginneth ſome Reformation of his Church, by the diligent induſtry of ſundry his faithful and learned ſervants: of whom divers already we have fore-touched in the former Book before; as namely, *Guliel. de Sancto Amore*, *Marſilius Patavinus*, *Ockham*, *Robertus Gallus*, *Robertus Groſthead*, *Petrus de Cugneriis*, *Johannes Rupeciſſanus*, *Conradus Hager*, *Johannes de Poliaco*, *Ceſenas*, with other more; which withſtood the corrupt errors, and intolerable enormities of the Biſhop of *Rome*, beſide them which about theſe times were put to death by the paid Biſhop of *Rome*, as *Chaſtilio* and *Franciſcus* de *Arcatara* in the Book before Recorded; alſo the two *Franciſcans*, Martyrs, which were burned at *Avinion*, mentioned *pag.* 357.

A brief rehearſal of faithful learned men, which withſtood the proceedings of the Pope.

Now to theſe (the Lord willing) we will add ſuch other Holy Martyrs and Confeſſors, who following after in the courſe of years with like zeal and ſtrength of Gods Word; and alſo with like danger of their lives, gave the like reſiſtance againſt the enemy of Chriſts Religion, and ſuffered at his hands the like perſecutions. Firſt, beginning with that godly man, whoſoever he was, the Author of the Book (his name I have not) Intituled, *The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman*; written as it appeareth, about this preſent time.

The Author of the Ploughmans Prayer not known.

Which Book as it was faithfully ſet forth by *William Tindal*, ſo I have as truly diſtributed the ſame abroad to the Readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the Phraſe thereof. Although the oldneſs and age of his ſpeech and tearms be almoſt grown now out of uſe; yet I thought it ſo beſt, both for the utility of the Book to reſerve it from oblivion, as alſo in his own Language to let it go abroad, for the more credit and teſtimony of the true antiquity of the ſame. Adding withal in the Margent for the better underſtanding of the Reader, ſome interpretation of certain difficult tearms and ſpeeches, which otherwiſe might perhaps hinder or ſtay the Reader. The matter of this complaining Prayer of the Ploughman thus proceedeth:

An old ancient writing, Intituled, The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman.

An old Book, Intituled, *The Ploughmans Prayer*, written as it ſeemeth about *Wickliffes* time.

Jeſus Chriſt that was vbore of the maid Mary, *have on thy poor ſervants mercy and pity, and help them in their great need to fight againſt ſin, and againſt the Divel that is Author of ſin; and more needneſs there never was to cry to Chriſt for help, than it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God ſaid by* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, Ye riſeth up earlich to follow drunkennes, and to drink till it be even, the harp and other minſtrelſies beeth in your feaſts and wine. But the work of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keep to the works of his hands: And therefore my people is take priſoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren dry for thirſt, and therefore hell hath drawn abroad their ſoul, and harh yopened his mouth without any end. *And eftſoons ſaith* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, The word is ſloten away, and the highneſs of the people is ymade ſick, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they have broken my laws, and ychanged my right, and han deſtroyed mine everlaſting bond and † forward between them and me. And therefore curſing ſhall devour the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly ſhallen dons fin. And therefore the earth tilyars ſhallen waxe wood, and few men ſhullen ben yleft upon the earth. *And yet ſaith* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, This ſaith God, Foraſmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is far from me; And they han ydrad more mines commandment, than mine, and more draw to their doctrines, than mine; Therefore will I make a great wondring unto this people, wiſdome ſhall periſh away from wiſe men, and underſtanding of ready men ſhall be yhid. *And ſo it ſeemeth that another ſaying of* Iſaiah *is fulfilled here, as God bad him go teach the people, and ſaid*, Go forth and ſay to this people: Ears have ye, and underſtand ye not; and eyes ye have, and ſight ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and cloſe their eyen, leſt he ſee with his eyne, and yheare with his ears, and underſtand with his heart, and be ytumed, and ych heal him of his ſickneſs. *And* Iſaiah *ſaid to God*, How long Lord ſhall this be? *And God ſaid*, For

† Forward, that is, Covenant.

to

to that the Cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house without a man.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorwow, and to cry to our Lord Jesu Christ heartilech for help and succour, that he wole forgive us our sins, and give us grace and conning to serven him better hereafter. And God of his endeles mercy give us grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs Law in helping of mens soules for we beth lewd men and sinful men, and uncunning, and if he woll be our help and our succour, we shullen well perform our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth his wisdom from wise men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to small Children, as Christ teacheth in the Gospel.

The Law of Christ standeth on two parts.

Christen men have a Law to keep, the which Law hath two parties. Believe in Christ that is God, and is the foundement of their Law, and upon this foundament, as he said to Peter, and the Gospel heareth witnesse, he woll bylden his Church, and this is the first party of Christs Law. The second party of this Law beth Christs Commandments that beth written in the Gospel, and more verilich in Christen mens hearts.

*And as touching the Beleve, we beleven that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleven nevertheles that in the Godhead there bene Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and all these Three Persons ben one God, and not many gods, and all they beth ylich Mighty, ylich Good, and ylich Wise, and ever have ben, and ever shullen ben. We beleven this God made the World of nought, and man he made after his own likeness in Paradise, that was a Land of bliss, and gave him that Land for his Heritage, and bad him that he should not eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, that was * amid Paradise. Then the Divel, that was fallen out of Heaven for his pride, had envy to Man, and by a false suggestion he made Man eat of this Tree, and breake the Commandment of God, and tho was Man overcome of the Divel, and so he lost his Heritage, and was put out thereof into the World that was a Land of travel, and of sorrow under the fiends thraldome, to be punished for his trespass. There Man followed wickednes and sin, and God for the sin of Man sent a flood into this World, and drownd all mankind save eight souls. And after this flood he let men multiply in the World, and so he assayed whether man dread him or loved him, and among other he found a man, that highte* Abraham: *this man he greved whether he loved him and dread him, and bad him that he should offeren* Isaac *his Son upon an Hill: and* Abraham *as a true servant fulfilled the Lords Commandment: and for his buxumnes and truth, God sware unto* Abraham *that he would multiply his seed as the gravel in the Sea, and as the Stars of Heaven, and he behight to him and to his Heirs the Land of beheft for Heritage for ever, gif they wolden ben his true servants and keep his hefts. And God † held him forward, for* Isaac, Abraham's *Son, begat* Jacob *and* Esau: *and of* Jacob, *that is yclped* Israel, *comen Gods People that he chose to be his servants, and to whom he behight the Land of beheft. This people was in great thraldome in* Egypt *under* Pharaoh *that was King of* Egypt: *and they crieden to God that he should deliveren them out of that thraldome, and so he did: for he sent to* Pharaoh, Moses *and his Brother* Aaron, *and bad him deliver his People to done him Sacrifice: and tofore* Pharaoh *he made* Moses *done many wonders, or that* Pharaoh *would deliver his People, and at the last day by night he delivered his People out of thraldome, and led them through a desert toward the Land of beheft, and there he gave them a Law, that they shoulden liven after, when they comen into their Country, and in their way thitherward, the Ten Commandments God wrote himself in two Tables of Stone: the remnant of the Law he taught them by* Moses *his servant, how they should do everichone to other, and gif they trespassed against the Law, he ordained how they shoulden be punished. Also he taught them what manner Sacrifices they should do to him, and he chose him a People to ben his Priests, that was* Aaron *and his Children, to done Sacrifice in the Tabernacle, and afterward in the Temple also. He chose him the remnant of the Children of* Levi *to ben servants in the Tabernacle to the Priests, and he said: When ye come into the Land of beheft, the Children of* Levi *they shullen have none Heritage amongst their Brethren, for I would be their part, and their heritage, and they shullen serve me in the Tabernacles by days and by nights, and be ordained that Priests should have a part of the Sacrifices that were offered in the Tabernacle, and the first begotten Beasts, both of Men and Beasts, and other things, as the Law telleth. And the other Children of* Levi, *that served in the Tabernacle, should have Tithings of the people in their livelode, of the which Tithings they should given the Priests the tenth party in form of offering. The Children of* Levi, *both Priests and other, should have Houses and Crofts, and Lesswes for their Beasts in the Land of beheft, and none other Heritage: and so God gave them their Land of beheft, and bad them that they ne should worship no other than him: so he bad them that they should keep his Commandments: and gif they did so, all their Enemies about them should dread them, and be their servants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his Laws, he behight them that he would bring them out of that Land, and make them serve their Enemies: but yet he said he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amend their defaults: and all this was done on Gods side.*

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And here is much love showed of God to man. And who so looketh the Bible, *he shall find that man showed him little love againward: for when they were come into their Heritage, they forgatten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his Servants * fele times to bid them withdrawen them from their sins, and other they have slowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in Prison: and oft-times God took upon them great vengeance for their sins: and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them help and succour. This is the general process of the* Old Testament, *that God gave to his People by* Moses *his servant. And all this* Testament *and this doing ne was but a shadow and figure of a* New Testament *that was given by Christ. And it was bybeten by* Jeremiah *the Prophet, as St.* Paul *beareth witnesse in the* Epistle *that he writeth to the* Jews. *And* Jeremiah *saith in this wise:* Lo days shall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Judah, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I took their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden veine, and I had Lordship over them. But this shall be the forward that I wold make with them after those days: I will give my laws with them in their inwardnes, and I will written them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they should be my people: and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (*God saith*) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgiven them their fins, and will no more think on their fins.

God's love to man.

* Fele time, that is, often times.

This is the New Testament, *that Christ both God and Man, born of the Maid* Mary, *he taught here in the World to bring man out of sin, and out of the Divels thraldome and service to Heaven, that is a Land of Bliss and Heritage, to all tho that beleeven on him, and keepen his Commandments, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the Third Day he arose again from death to life, and set* Adam *and* Eve, *and many other folk out of Hell, and afterward he came to his Disciples, and comforted them. After, he fried up to Heaven to his Father, and tho he sent the Holy Ghost amongst his Disciples: and in time coming, he will come and demen all mankind after their works, and after the words he spake upon earth: some to bliss, within body and in soul ever withouten end: and some to pain withouten end, both in body and in soul.*

This is our beleeve and all Christen mens, and this beleeve is the first point of the New Testament, *that ych Christen man is hold stedfastly to believe, and rather to suffer the death, than forsaken this beleeve: and so this beleeve is the Bread of Spiritual life, in forsaking sin, that Christ brought us to life.*

But forasmuch as mans living ne stondeth not all only by Bread, he hath yeiven us a draught of Water of Life to drink. And who that drinketh of that Water he ne shall never afterward ben athurst. For this Water is the clear teaching of the Gospel, that enclofeth seven Commandments.

The first es this: Thou shalt love thy God over all other things, and thy Brother as thy self, both enemy and friend.

Special Precepts or Lessons of the Gospel.

The

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The second Commandment is of meeknes, in the which Christ chargeth us, to forsake lordship upon our Brethren, and other worldly worships: and so he did himself.

The Third Commandment is, In standing stedfastlich in truth, and forsaking all falsenes.

The fourth Commandment is, To suffer in this World diseases and wrongs, withouten againstondings.

The fifth Commandment is, Mercy to forgiven our Brethren their trespas, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth Commandment is, pooresse in spirit, but not to ben a begger.

The seventh Commandment, is chastity: *that is,* a forsaking of flesthlich likings displeasing to God. *These Commandments enclosen the Ten Commandments of the old, and somewhat more.*

Christs Law kept from clean vertue, and corrupted in Schisme, Pride.

This Water is a blessed drink for Christen mens Souls. But more harm is, much folk would drink of this Water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God saith by Ezekiel *the Prophet:* When ich geve to you the moft clean water to drink, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geve my sheep to drink. But the clean water is yhid fro the sheep, and but gif God clear this, it is dread left the sheep dyen for thurst. *And Christ that is the Wisdome of the Father of Heaven, and Well of this Wisdome, that come from Heaven to Earth to teach man this Wisdome, through the which man should overcome the sleights of the Divel, that is the principal enemy of mankind: have mercy and pity of his people, and shew, if it be his will, how this water is troubled, and by whom: and * sith clear this water that his sheep mowne drinken hereof, and kele the thirst of their Souls. Blessed mote our Lord ben, for he hath taught us in the Gospel, that ere then he would come to the universal dome, then should come many in his Name, and sayen, that they weren Christ: and they shoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men: and many false Prophets shoulden arisen and begulen much folk.*

* Sith, that is, afterward.

† Severeth, that is, nie every.

A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of everich Creature: which ben they that have yfaid that they weren in Christ, and have thus begiled thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy stead, and † bimemen thy worship, and maken the people worshippen them as God, and have hid thy Laws from thy people: Lord, who durft sit in thy seed, and benemen thee thy Worship and thy Sacrifice, and durst maken the people worshippen them as Gods? The Sauter tells, That God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich Sacrifices and Holocaustes: but God saith: Yeld to me Sacrifice of hery-ing, and yeld to God thine avowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ich will defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

* Herying, that is, prai-sing.

*The * herying of God standeth in three things. In loving God over all other things: in dreading God over all other things: in trusting God over all other things.*

These three points Christ teacheth in the Gospel. But I trow men loven him but a little. For who so loveth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for Heresie and Folly, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens Laws and their cursings, than Christ and his Laws and his Cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they do in Christ and in his help. And thus hath he, that setteth in Gods stede, bynomen God these three heryinges, and makes men loven him and his Laws more than Christ and Christs Law, and dreaden him also. And there as the people shullen yeeld to God their avowes, he saith, he hath power to assoylen them of their avowes, and so this Sacrifice he † nemeth away from God. And there as the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemeth God that Worship. This day of tribulation is when man is fallen through sin into the Divels service, and then we shullen cry to God after help, and axen forgivenes of our sin, and make great sorrow for our sin, and ben in full will to do so no more, ne none other sin, and that our Lord God wole forgiven us our sin, and maken our soul clean. For his mercy is endles.

The losse-ing of God standeth in three things.

† Nemeth, that is, taketh.

Asplah ac-tuelle confession.

But Lord, here men have benomen thee much worship: for men seyn that thou ne might not clean assoylen us of our sin: But if we knowledgen our sins to Priests, and taken of them a Penance for our sin, gif we mowen speak with them.

A Lord, thou forgavest sometime Petex *his sins, and also* Mary Magdalen, *and many other sinful men without shriving to Priests, and taking Penance of Priests for their sins. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man have bynomen thee thy might. And we lewd men beleven, that there is no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himself of so great power, he heighteth himself above God. And St. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the Temple of God, and heighten him above Gods, and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.*

* Heighteth, that is, exalteth.

But hereto seyn Priests, that when Christ made clean Leprous men, he bade them go and shew them to Priests. And therefore they seyn that it is a Commandment of Christ, that a man should shewen his sin to Priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the old Law betokenneth sin in this new Law. A Lord God, whether thine Apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest commanded men to shriven them to Priests, and they ne taught not that Commandment to the People, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy Commandments, ne needful to heal of mans Soul. And as me thinketh, the Law of Lepre is nothing to the purpose of shriving: for Priests in the old Law hadden certain points and tokens to know whether a man were Leprous or not: and gif they were Leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other clean men, for to that they weren clean: and then they hadden power to receiven him among his Brethren, and offeren for him a Sacrifice to God.

Objection of the Priests to maintain thisse. Answer to the Objection.

This is nothing to the purpose of shriving. For there is but one Priest, that is Christ, that may know in certain the Lepre of the Soul. Ne no Priest may make the Soul clean of her sin, but Christ that is Priest after Melchisedec's order: ne no Priest here beneath may yeven for certain whether a man be clean of his sin, or clean assoiled, but gif God tell it him by Revelation. Ne God ordained not that his Priests should set men a Penance for their sin, after the quantity of the sin, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wot well that God is much unworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his years of grace, than in Christs absolutions and thereby is the people much apaired. For now the sorrow a man should make for his sin, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to do sin for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich Penance.

Penance for sin, is mans Ordinance, and not Gods.

Another mischief is, That the people is shrought into this belief, that one Priest hath a great power to assoylen a man of his sin and clennere, than another Priest hath.

Mischiefs that come by unlerdat confession.

Another mischief is this, That fome Priest may assoylen them both of sin and pain: and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in Earth, ne he ne used it doughe on Earth himself.

Popish Priests charged with Simony.

*Another mischief is, that these Priests sellen forgivenes of many sins and absolutions for money: and this is an Heresie accursed that is ycleped Simony: and all thilk Priests that axeth price for granting of Spiritual Grace, * beth by holy Laws deprived of their Priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this Heresie. And be they ware, for Helyse the Prophet took no mony of* Naaman, *when he was made clean of his Lepre: but* Gieli *his servant: and therefore the Lepre of* Naaman *abode with him and with his Heirs evermore after.*

* Beth, that is be.

Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus far yladd away from God and worshippen a false God in Earth, that by might and by strength hath yblome away the great Sacrifice of God out of his Temple: of which mischief and discomfort, Daniel *maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witnes in the Gospel. Who that readeth it, understand it. Thus we have ytold apertly, how he that saith he sitteth in Christs stede † bynemeth Christ his Worship, and his Sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshipen him as a God on Earth.*

† Bynemeth, that is taketh away.

"Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sins everich
"one to other, as St. *James* teacheth, and pray we heartich to God everichone one for other, and then we shu-
"len hopen forgivenes of our sins. For God that is
"endles in mercy faith, *That he ne will not a sinful*
"*mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and li-*
"*ven.* And therefore, when he came down to save man-
"kind, he gave us a Law of love and of mercy; and
"bade

" bade, gif a man do a treſpaſs, amend him privilich, and
" gif he leve not his ſin, amend him before witneſs, and
" gif he amendeth not, men ſhould tell to the Church:
" and gif he ne amendeth not then, men ſhould ſhone his
" company as a Publican, or a man that is misbeleved:
" and this Law was yſigured in the Law of Lepre; who
" that reads it, he may ſee the ſooth.

" But Lord God, he that ſitteth in thy ſtede hath undo
" thy Law of mercy and love; Lord, thou biddeſt loven
" Enemies as our ſelf; and theweſt in the Goſpel there as
" the *Samaritan* had mercy on the *Jew*. And thou
" biddeſt us alſo prayen for them that curſen us, and that
" deſamen us, and purſuen us to death. And ſo Lord thou
" diddeſt, and thine Apoſtles alſo. But he that clepeth
" himſelf thy Vicar on Earth, and head of thy Church, he
" he hath undone thy Law of love and mercy. For gif we
" ſpeaken of loving our Enemies, he teacheth us to fight
" with our Enemies, that Chriſt hath forboden. He curſeth
" and deſireth vengeance to them that ſo doth to him. Gif
" any man purſueth him, he curſeth him, that it is a ſorrow
" a Chriſten man to hearen the curſings that they maken,
" and Blaſphemies in ſuch curſing. Of what thing that
" I know, I may bear true witneſs.

" But gif we ſpeak of loving of our Brethren, this is
" undone by him that ſaith he is Gods Vicar in Earth.
" For Chriſt in the Goſpel biddeth us, that we ſhoulder
" clepen us no Father upon Earth: but clepen God our
" Father, to maken us love perfitlich together. And he
" clepeth himſelf Father of fathers, and maketh many Re-
" ligions, and to everich a Father. But whether is Love
" and Charity encreaſed by theſe Fathers and by their Re-
" ligions, or elſe ymade leſs? For a Frier ne loveth not a
" Monk, ne a Secular man neither, nor yet one Frier
" another that is not of the Order, and it is againward,

" A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in
" theſe Religions: For Lord, what Charity haven ſuch
" men of Religion, that known how they mown again-
" ſtand ſin, and fleen away from their Brethren that ben
" more uncunning than they ben, and ſufferen them to tra-
" vellen in the World withouten their counſel as Beaſts?
" Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but but little
" Charity, and then is there little Perfection. Lord God,
" when thou were on Earth, thou were among ſinful men to
" drawen them from ſin, and thy Diſciples alſo. And Lord,
" I trow thou ne grantedſt not one man more cunning than
" another all for himſelf: and I wote well that lewd men
" that ben labourers, ne travel not alonich for himſelf.
" Lord our belief is, that thou ne were not of the World,
" ne thy teaching, neither thy ſervants that liveden after thy
" teaching. But all they forſaken the World, and ſo every
" Chriſten man muſt. But Lord, whether thou taughteſt
" men to forſake their Brethrens company and travel of the
" World, to liven in eaſe and in reſt, and out of trouble
" and anger of the World, by their Brethrens travel, and
" ſo forſaken the World?

" A Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken a
" poor eſtate and travel, to ben afterward a Lord of his
" Brethren, or been a Lords fellow, and dwelling with
" Lords, as doth men of theſe new Religions. Lord thou
" ne taughteſt not men of thy Religion thus to forſake the
" World, to liven in perfection by themſelf in eaſe, and
" by other mens travel. But Lord they ſayen they ben
" ybound to thy ſervice, and ſerven thee both night and
" day in ſinging their Prayers, both for themſelf and for
" the other men, that done them good both quick and
" dead, and ſome of them gone about to teach thy peo-
" ple when they haven leiſure.

" A Lord, gif they be thy ſervants; whoſe ſervants ben
" we that cannot preien as they done? And when thou
" were here on Earth for our nede, thou taughteſt thy ſer-
" vants to preien thy Father privilich and ſhortlich: and gif
" there had been a better manner of preying, I trow thou
" wouldeſt have taught it in help of thy people. And Lord
" thou reproveſt Hypocrites that preyen in long prayer, and
" in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou
" ſeyſt in the Goſpel; *Wo to you Phariſes hypocrites.* And
" Lord thou ne chargedſt not thy ſervants with ſuch man-
" ner ſervice: but thou ſeyſt in the Goſpel, *that the Pha-*
" *riſies worſhopen thee with their lips, and their heart is*
" *far from thee.* For they * chargen more mens traditions
" than thy Commandment.

" And Lord, we lewd men han a belief, that thy good-
" neſs is endleſs: and gif we keepen thine heſtes, then ben
" we thy true ſervants: and though we preyen thee but a
" little and ſhortlich, thou wilt thinken on us, and graunten
" us that us nedeth, for ſo thou † behited us ſometime.
" And Lord I trow, that pray a man never ſo many quaint
" prayers, gif he ne keep not thine heſts, he is not thy
" good ſervant. But gif he keep thine heſts, then he is
" thy good ſervant. And ſo me thinketh, Lord, that
" praying of long prayers ne is not the ſervice that thou
" deſireſt, but keeping of thine heſts: and then a lewd
" man may ſerve God as well as a man of Religion;
" though that the Ploughman ne may not have ſo much
" Silver for his prayer as men of Religion. For they
" * lumnen not ſo well preſten their praiers as theſe other
" chapmen: but Lord, our hope is, that our prayers be
" never the worſe, though it be not ſo well ſold as other
" mens prayers.

" Lord, *Ezekiel* the Prophet ſaith, *That when he ſpake*
" *to the people thy words, they turned thy words into ſongs*
" *and into tales.* And ſo Lord men done now: they ling
" in merikich thy words, and that ſinging they clepen thy
" ſervice. But Lord I trow that the beſt ſingers he heri-
" eth thee not moſt: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he
" † herieth thee full well, though he weep more than
" ſing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy
" Commandments be more pleaſing ſervice to thee than
" the ſinging of thy words. And would God that men
" would ſerve him in ſorrow for their ſins, and that they
" ſhoulden afterward ſerven thee in mirth. For Chriſt
" ſaith; ybleſſed ben they that maken ſorrow, for they
" ſhoulden ben ycomforted. And wo to them that ben
" merry, and have their comfort in this world. And
" Chriſt ſaid, that the world ſhould joyen, and his ſer-
" vants ſhoulden be ſorry, but their ſorrow ſhould be turn-
" ed into joy.

" A Lord, he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar upon Earth
" hath yordained an order of Prieſts to do thy ſervice in
" Church to force thy lewd people in ſinging Mattens,
" Evenſong, and Maſs. And therefore he chargeth lewd
" men in pain of curſing, to bring to his Prieſts Tithings
" and Offerings to ſniden his Prieſts, and he clepeth
" that Gods part, and due to Prieſts that ſerven him in
" Church.

" But Lord, in the old Law the Tithings of the lewd
" people ne were not due to Prieſts, but to that other Chirlder
" of *Levi* that ſerveden thee in the Temple, and the Prieſt
" hadden their part of Sacrifices, and the firſt bygeten Beaſts
" and other things as the Law telleth. And Lord ſeyſt *Paul*
" thy ſervant ſaith, That the order of the Prieſthood of
" *Aaron* ceaſed in Chriſts coming and the Law of that
" prieſthood. For Chriſt was end of Sacrifices yoffered
" upon the Croſs to the Father of Heaven, to bring man
" out of ſin, and become himſelf a Prieſt of *Melchiſedeks*
" order. For he was both King and Prieſt, without be-
" ginning and end; and both the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, and
" alſo the Law of that Prieſthood ben ychanged in the
" coming of Chriſt. And S. *Paul* ſaith it is reproved, for
" it brought no man to perfection. For blood of Goats,
" ne of other Beaſts ne might done away ſin, for to that
" Chriſt thad his blood.

" A Lord Jeſus; whether thou ordeneſt an order of Prieſts
" to offren in the auter thy fleſh and thy blood to bringen of
" men out of ſin, and alſo out of pein? And whether thou
" geve them alonelich a power to eat thy fleſh and thy
" blood, and whether none other man may eat thy fleſh
" and thy blood withouten leve of Prieſts? Lord, we be-
" leven, that thy fleſh is very meat, and thy blood very
" drink; and who eateth thy fleſh, and drinketh thy blood,
" dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth
" this Bread ſhall live without end. But Lord thine Di-
" ſciples ſaid; this is a word; but thou anſwereſt them and
" ſaideſt; when ye ſeeth man ſoon ſtiven up there he was
" rather, the Spirit is that maketh you live, the words that
" ych have ſpoken to you ben ſpirit and life. Lord, ybleſ-
" ſed mote thou be, for in this word thou teacheſt us that
" he that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth
" thy fleſh, and drinketh thy blood, and hath an ever-
" laſting life in thee. And for we ſhoulden have mind of
" this living, thou gaveſt us the Sacrament of thy fleſh and
" blood, in form of Bread and Wine at thy Supper, before
that

{KING Edw.3} " that thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer thy death, and took Bread in
" thine hand, and ſaideſt; *Take ye this, and eat it, for*
" *it is my body*: and thou tookeſt Wine, and bleſſedſt it,
" and ſaid; *This is the blood of a new and an everlaſting*
" *Teſtament, that ſhall be ſhed for many men in forgive-*
" *neſs of ſins: as oft as ye done this, do ye this in mind*
" *of me.*

" A Lord, thou ne bede not thine Diſciples maken this
" a ſacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a Prieſt offred
" thy body in the Altar; but thou bed them go and *
" Fullen all the folk in the name of the Father, and the
" Son and the Holy Ghoſt, in forgiveneſs of their ſins; and
" Teach ye them to keep thoſe things that ych have com-
" manded you. And Lord, thine Diſciples ne ordained
" not Prieſts principallich to make thy body in Sacrament,
" but for to teach the people, and good Husbandmen that
" well govern their Houſholds, both Wives and Children,
" and their meiny, they ordeined to be Prieſts to teachen
" other Men the Law of Chriſt, both in word, in dede,
" and they lived ein as true Chriſtian men, every day they
" eaten Chriſts body, and drinken his blood, to the ſuſte-
" nance of living of their Souls, and other whiles they
" token of the Sacrament of his body in form of Bread and
" Wine, in mind of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

" But all this is turned upſidown: for now whoſo will
" liven as them taughteſt, he ſhall ben holden a fool. And
" gif he ſpeak thy teachings, he ſhall ben holden an Here-
" tick, and accuſed. Lord, have no longer wonder
" hereof, for ſo they ſeiden to thee when thou were here
" ſometime. And therefore we moten take in patience
" their words of Blaſphemy as thou diddeſt thy ſelf, or
" elſe we were to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if
" thou were now in the World, and taughteſt as thou did-
" deſt ſometime, thou ſhouldeſt ben done to death. For thy
" teaching is damned for Hereſie of wife Men of the World,
" and then moten thy needs ben Hereticks that teachen thy
" lore, and all they alſo that travalen to live thereafter.

" And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine un-
" kunning and lewd ſervants, that wolen by their power
" and their kunning help to deſtroy ſin. Leve Lord, ſith
" thou madeſt Woman in help of Man, and in a more
" frail degree than Man is, to be governed by Mans reaſon:
" What perfection of charity is in theſe Prieſts and in Men
" of Religion, that have forſaken ſpouhod that thou or-
" deineddſt in Paradiſe betwixt man and woman, for per-
" fection to forſaken travail, and liven in eaſe by other
" Mens travail? For they mow not do bodilich works for
" defouling of their hands, with whom they touchen thy
" precious body in the Altar.

" Leve Lord, gif good men forſaken the company of
" woman, and needs they moten have the governail of
" man, then moten they ben ycoupled with threws, and
" therefore thy ſpouſehood that thou madeſt in cleanneſs
" from ſin, it is now ychanged into liking of the fleſh.
" And Lord, this is a great miſchief unto thy people. And
" young Prieſts and men of Religion, for default of Wives,
" maken many women horen, and drawn through their
" enſample many other men to ſin, and the eaſe that they
" liven in, and their welfare, is a great cauſe of this miſ-
" chief. And Lord me thinketh, that theſe ben quaint
" Orders of Religion, and none of thy Sect that wolen
" taken horen, whilke God forſendeth, and forſaken Wives
" that God ne forſendeth not; and forſaken travail that
" God commands, and geven their ſelf to idlenes, that is
" the Mother of all naughtineſs.

" And Lord, *Mary* thy Bleſſed Mother and *Joſeph* tou-
" ched ofentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands,
" and liveden in as much cleanneſs of Soul, as our Prieſts
" done now, and touched thy Body, and thou touchedeſt
" them in their Souls. And Lord our hope is, that thou
" goen not out of a poor Mans ſoul that travaileth for his
" livelode with his hands. For Lord, our belief is, that
" thine Houſe is Mans ſoul, that thou madeſt after thine
" own Likeneſs.

" But Lord God, Men maketh now great ſtonen Houſes
" full of glaſen windows, and clepeth thilke thine Houſes
" and Churches. And they ſetten in theſe Houſes Maw-
" mets of ſtocks and ſtones, † toſoze them they knelen
" privilich and apert, and maken their prayers; and all
" this they ſayen is thy worſhip, and a great † herying
" to thee. A Lord, thou forbideſt ſometime to make ſuch
" Mawmets, and who that had yworſhipped ſuch, had
" ben worthy to be dead.

" Lord in the Goſpel thou ſayſt, that true * heryers
" of God ne herieth him not in that Hill beſide *Samaria*,
" ne in *Hieruſalem* neither, but true heriers of God heri-
" eth him in ſpirit and in truth. And Lord God, what
" herying is it to bilden thee a Church of dead Stones,
" and robben thy quick Churches of their bodilich live-
" lood? Lord God, what herying is it, to cloth Maw-
" mets of ſtocks and of ſtones in ſilver and in gold, and
" in other good Colours? And Lord I ſee thine Image
" gone in cold and in hete, in clothes all to broken, with-
" out ſhone and hoſen, an hungred and athruſt. Lord
" what herying is it to teende tapers and torches before
" blind Mawmets that mowen not ſeyen? And hide thee
" that art our light and our lantern towards Heaven, and
" put thee under a bathel, that for darkneſs we ne may
" not ſeen our way toward bliſs? Lord what herying is it
" to kneel tofore Mawmets that mow not yheren, and
" worſhepen them with prayers, and maken thine quick
" Images kneel before them, and aſken of them abſoluti-
" ons and bleſſings, and worſhepen them as Gods, and
" putten thy quick Images in Thraldom and in travail
" evermore as beaſts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble
" fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what
" herying is it to fetch dead Mens bones out of the ground,
" there as they ſhoulden kindelich rotten, and ſhrinen
" them in gold and ſilver; and ſufferen the quick bones
" of thine Images to rot in priſon for default of clothings?
" And ſuffren alſo thy quick Images to periſh for default
" of ſuſtenance, and rooten in the hoorehouſe in abomi-
" nable lechery? Some become thieves and robbers, and
" manquellers, that mighten ben yholpen with the gold
" and ſilver that hongeth about deed Mens bones, and
" other blind Mawmets of ſtocks and ſtones.

" Lord, here ben great abominations that thou ſhewdiſt
" to *Ezechiel* thy Prophet, that Prieſts done in thy Temple,
" and yet they clepen that thine herying. But leve Lord,
" me thinketh that they loven thee little that thus defoulen
" thy quick Images, and worſhepen blind Mawmets.

" And Lord, another great miſchief there is now in the
" world, an hunger that *Amos* thy Prophet ſpeaketh of;
" that there ſhall comen an hunger in the Earth, of Gods
" Bread, ne thruſt of drink, but of hearing of Gods
" Words. And thy ſheep wolden be refiethed, but their
" ſhepheards taken of thy ſheep their livelode; as tythings,
" &c. And loven themſelves thereby where them liketh.

" Of ſuch ſhepheards thou ſpeaketh by *Ezechiel* thy
" Prophet, and ſeyeſt; Woe to the ſhepheards of *Iſrael*
" that feden himſelf, for the ſtocks of theep ſhoulden by
" yſed of their ſhepheards: but ye eaten the Milk, and
" clothen you with their Wool, and the fat ſheep ye ſlow,
" and my flock ye ne fede not, the ſick ſheep ye ne healed
" not thilke that weren to broken ye ne knit together,
" thilke that periſhed ye ne brought not again; but ye
" ratled them with ſtemthip and with power. And ſo the
" ſheep be ſprad abroad in devouring of all the Beaſts
" of the field. And *Jeremy* the Prophet ſaith; Woe to
" ſheepheard that deſpareſeth abroad and teareth the flock
" of my * Leſew.

" A Lord, thou were a good ſheepheard, for thou put
" teſt thy ſoul for thy ſheep. But Lord, thou teldeſt that
" thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night thieves
" and day-theemes, and a theefe, as thou ſeyeſt, cometh
" not but for to ſteal, to ſlein, and to deſtroy. And *Ze-*
" *chery* the Prophet ſaith; that thou wouldeſt reren up a
" ſhepheard unkunning, that ne wol not hele thy ſheep that
" beth ſick, ne ſeek thilke that beth loſt. Upon his
" Arm is a ſwerd, and upon his right eye; his Arm ſhall wax
" dry, and his right eye ſhall leſe his light. O Lord, help, for
" thy ſheep beth at great miſchief in the ſhepheards defaut.

" But Lord, there cometh hired men, and they ne
" feden not thy ſheep in thy pleniteous Leſew, but feden
" thy ſheep with * Swevens, and falſe miracles and tales.
" But at thy truth they ne comen not: for Lord, I trow
" thou ſendeſt them never. For have they hire of thy
" theep, they ne careth but little of the feeding and the kee-
" ping of thy ſheep. Lord, of theſe hired men ſpeaketh
" *Jeremy* the Prophet, and thou ſeyeſt that weard by him;
" I ne ſend them not, and they ronne † Blive; I ne ſpeak
" unto them, and they prophecieden. For if they had-

The Pope breaketh the Law of love and mercy.

The Pope would be a Father, but he beareth no Son.

To forſake the World, is not to live in eaſe from mankind.

* Charge, that is, they care for.

The Sacrament of the body of the Lord diſtributed.

Prieſts principally ſent to Preach, not to dy* Maſs, or to guide the Lords body.

Singing in Churches, falſly called Gods ſervice.

He that breaketh Gods teaching, is held an Hereticke.

The Order of Prieſts, not made to offer Chriſts body

He complaineth of the idleneſs of Prieſts.

What is the true Church of Chriſt, † Tofore, that is before.

He complaineth of Mawmets, and of the Idolatry.

* Herying, that is, worſhipping. † Herieth, worſhipeth.

He complaineth of Images in Churches.

What Inconvenience by the unmarried lives of Prieſts.

He complaineth of the abuſe of Tythings.

* Leſew, that is, Paſture.

Againſt Swevenings, that is, Dreams.

† Blive, quickly.

" den ſtonden in my Counſel, and they had made my
" words knowꝛn to the puple, ech would have turned
" them away from their yvill way, and from their wick-
" ed thoughts. For Lord, thou ſeyſt that thy words ben
" as fire, and as an hammer breaking ſtones. And Lord,
" thou ſayſt; Loe I to theſe Prophets meeting ſwevens of
" leſing, that have ytold her ſwevens, and have begiled
" my puple in their leſing and in their falſe miracles, when I
" neither ſent, ne bed them. And theſe have profited
" nothing to my puple. And as *Jeremy* faith; From
*Meſy,moth. " the leaſt to the * meſt all they ſtudien covetice, and from
" the Prophet to the Prieſt all they done gile.

" A Lord, herein is much miſchief and matere of ſorrow;
" and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would teach
" thy people truth of thy words, as he is yhold by thy
" commandment of Charity, he ſhall be forboden and
Popiſh Prieſts neither teach themſelves, nor will ſuffer others beſides themſelves to teach. " put in priſon gif he do it. And ſo Lord, thilke that
" have the key of conning, have ylockt the truth of thy
" teaching under many wardes, and yhid it from thy chil-
" dren. But Lord, ſith thy teaching is ycome from Heaven
" above, our hope is, that with thy grace it ſhall break
" theſe wards, and ſhew him to thy puple, to kele both
" the hunger and thruſt of the Soul. And then ſhall no
" ſhepheard, ner no falſe Herid-man begile thy puple no
† Yhighteth, promiſed. *Weten, know. " more. For by thy Law I write, as thou † yhighteſt
" ſometime, that from the leaſt to the meſt, all they
" ſhullen knowen thy will, and * weten how they ſhullen
" pleaſe thee evermore in certain.

" And leve Lord, gif it be thy will help at this need,
" for there is none help but in thee. Thus Lord, by him
" that maketh himſelf thy Viker in Earth, is thy com-
" mandment of love to thee and our Brethren ybroken;
" both to him and to thy puple. But Lord God mercy
† Twain, that is, two. " and patience, that beth † twein of thy commandments
" beth deſtroyed, and thy puple hath forſake mercy. For
" Lord, *David* in the *Sauter* ſaith; Bleſſed beth they that
" done dome and rightfulneſs in everich time.

" O Lord, thou haſt ytaught us as rightfulneſs of
" Heaven, and haſt ybeden us forgeven our Brethren as
" oft as they treſpaſſen againſt us. And Lord, thine old Law
" of Juſtice was, that ſuch harm as a Man did his Bro-
" ther, ſuch he ſhould ſuffer by the Law, as eye for an eye,
" and tooth for a tooth. But Chriſt made an end of
" this Law, that one Brother ſhould not deſire wracke of
" another: But not that he would that ſin ſhould ben
" unpuniſhed, for thereto hath he ordained Kings and
" Dukes, and other lewd Officers under them; whilke
" as S. *Paul* ſaith, ne carien not the ſwerd in vain, for
" they ben the Miniſters of God, and wrakers to wrath,
" to them that evil done. And thus hath Chriſt ymade
" an end of this old Law, that one Brother may not ſuen
* For, that is, but. " another himſelf, * for that to wreken without ſin,
" for breaking of Charity. But this Charity Lord hath
" thy Vicar ybroke, and ſays that we ſinnen, but gif we
" ſuen for our right. And we ſee, I wot, that thou
" taughteſt us ſometime to give our mantel alſo, ever that
" we ſhoulden ſuen for our Coat. And ſo Lord beleven
" we, that we ben ybonden to done by thy Law, that is
" all Charity, and Officers duty is to defenden us from
" thilke thecurry, though we complainen not. But Lord,
" thy Law is turned upſedown.

He complaineth for puniſhing Hereſie ſaults, and to let great faults eſcape. " A Lord, what dome is it to ſlean a theefe that take
" mans Cattel away from him, and ſufferen a Spouſe-
" breaker to live, and a lecherour that killeth a womans
" ſoul? And yet thy Law ſtoned the Spouſe-breakers and
" leacherous, and let the Theeves liven and have other
" puniſhment.

" A Lord, what dome is it to ſlean a theefe for ſtealing
" of an Horſe, and to let him live unpuniſhed, and to
" mainetaine him that robbeth thy poor people of their
" livelode, and the ſoul of his food?

If he be an Heretick that breaketh Mans law, what is the Pope that breaketh Gods law? " Lord, it was never thy dome to ſayen, that a Man is
" an Heretick, and Curſed for breaking of Mans law, and
" demen him for a good Man for breaking thy Heſts.

" Lord, what dome is it to Curſe a lewd Man if he ſmite
" a Prieſt, and not Curſe a Prieſt that ſmiteth a lewd Man
" and breſeth his Charity?

A lewd Man, that hath a Lay mans " Lord, what dome is it to Curſe the lewd people for
" tithings, and not Curſe the parſon that robbeth the
" people of tithings and teacheth them not Gods Law, but
" feedeth them with painting of ſtone walls, and Songs of
" Latin, that the people known not?

" Lord, what dome is it to puniſh the poor Man for his
" treſpaſs, and ſuffer the Rich to continue in his ſin for
" a quantity of Money?

KING Edw. 3. " Lord, what dome is it to ſlean an uncunning lewd
" Man for his ſin, and ſuffer a Prieſt, other a Clerk that
" doth the ſame ſin, ſcapea live? Lord the ſin of the Prieſt
" or of the Clerk is greater treſpaſs than it is of a lewd un-
" cunning Man; and greater enſample of wickedneſs to
" the common people?

" Lord, what manner people be we, that neither keep
" thy domes and thy rightfulneſs of the old Teſtament,
Againſt the Canon law. " that was a law of dread, nor thy domes and thy right-
" fulneſs of thy new Teſtament, that is a Law of love and
" ofmercy: But have another Law, and taken out of both
" thy Laws, that is liking to us, and remnant of heathen
" Mens laws? And Lord this is a great miſchief.

" O Lord, thou ſayeſt in thy Law, derne ye not and ye
" ſhould not be demed; for the ſame meſure that ye meten
" to other men, men ſhall meten to you again-ward;
" and Lord thou ſayeſt that by their work we ſhould
" know them; and by what we know that thou com-
The Popes law againſt Gods law, in casing him to accuſe themſelves. " manded us not to demen mens thoughts, not their works,
" that were not againſt thy Law expreſly. And yet Lord
" he, that ſaith he is thy Vicar, will demen our thoughts,
" and ask us what we think: not of the Lord, of thy
" Heſts, for they caren little for them, but of him and of
" his, whilke they ſate above thine, and maken us accuſen
" our ſelf, or elſe they willen accuſen us, for our accuſers
" mowen we not known. And Lord, thou ſayeſt in thine
Mowen, that is, may. " old Law, that under two witnes at the leaſt, or three
" ſhould ſtand every matter; and that the witnes ſhoulden
" ever be the firſt that ſhoulden help to kill them.

" And when the Scribes and the Phariſes ſometimes
" brought before thee a woman that was ytake Spouſe-
" breaking, and exeden of thee a dome, thou diddeſt write
" on the Earth, and then thou gave this dome; He that
" is without ſin, throw firſt at her a ſtone: and Lord they
" went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou
" forgave the woman her treſpaſs, and bade her go forth,
" and ſin no more.

Tooke boye, that is Iehoik hed. " Sweet Lord, if the Prieſt tooke keepe to thy dome, they
" would be agaſt to demen men as they done. O Lord, if
" eye of them break a commandment of thy Law, he
" will ask mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for
" the ſin, for peine of death were too litle. O Lord, how
" daren they demen any Man to the death for breaking of
The love-King of the Popes law more puniſhed than the breaking of Gods law. " their Laws, other aſſent to ſuch Law? For breaking of
" thy Law they will ſet penance, or pardon them, and
" maintaine them as often as they treſpaſſen. But Lord,
" if a Man once break their Laws, or ſpeak againſt them,
" he may done penance but once, and after be burnt.
" Trulich Lord thou ſayeſt, but if every one of us forgive
" not other his treſpaſs, thy Father will not forgeven us
" our ſins. And Lord when thou hong on the Croſs, thou
" prayedeſt to thy Father to have mercy on thy Enemies.

" And yet they ſein Lord, that they demen no Man to
" the death, for they ſain, they ne mowne by their Law
" demen any Man to the death. A leve Lord, even ſo faiden
" their Forefathers the Phariſes, that it ne was not lawful
" for them to kill any Man: and yet they bidden *Pilate* to
" done thee to the death againſt his own conſcience, for he
" would gladly have yquit thee, but for that they threatned
" him with the Emperor, and broughten againſt thee
" falſe witnes alſo: and he was an Heathen Man.

" O Lord, how much truer dome was there in *Pilat*,
" that was an heathen Juſtice, than in our Kings and Ju-
" ſtices that woulden demen to the death, and burn in the
For to, that is therefore. " fire him that the Prieſts deliveren unto them withouten
" witnes, or preſe? For *Pilat* ne would not demen thee;
" for that the Phariſes ſayden that gif thou nedadeſt not
" ben a miſdoer, we ne would not deliver him unto thee;
Pilat more commended than the Pope. " for to broughten in their falſe witneſs againſt thee. But
" Lord, as thou ſaidſt ſometime that it ſhould ben lighter
" at Domes-day to *Tyro*, and to *Sydon*, and *Gomorra*, than
" to the Cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles:
" So I dred, it ſhall be more light to *Pilat* in the dome
" than to our Kings and Domes-men, that ſo demen with-
" out witnes and preſe. For Lord, to demen thy folk for
" Hereticks is to holden thee an Heretick; and to brennen
" them, is to brennen thee: for thou ſaidſt to *Paul* when he
" perſecuted thy people; *Saul, Saul, wherefore perſeweſt*
" *thou*

KING Edw. 3. " *thou me?* And in the dome thou ſhalt ſay; that ye have
" done to the leaſt of mine, ye have den to me.

" Thus Lord is thy mercy and juſtice foredone by him
" that ſaith he is thy Vicar in Earth: For he neither keep-
" eth it himſelf, nor nill not ſuffer other to do it.

" The third commandment, that is, patience and ſuf-
" ferance, is alſo ybroken by this Vicar. Lord thou bid-
" deſt ſufferen both wrongs and ſtrokes withouten again-
" ſtanding; and ſo thou diddeſt thy ſelf to geven us en-
" ſample to ſufferen of our Brethren. For ſuffering nourith-
" eth love, and again-ſtandeth debate. All thy laws is
" love, or elſe the thing that draweth to love.

" But Lord, men teachen, that men ſhoulden pleten for
" their right, and fighten alſo therefore; and elſe they
" ſeyn, men ben in peril, and thou bid in the old Law
" men fight for their Countrey. And thy ſelf haddeſt two
The Pope breketh patience. " ſwords in thy company, when thou ſhouldeſt go to thy
" paſſion; that as theſe Clerks ſein, betoken eth a ſpiritu-
" al Sword, and a temporal Sword, that thou gave to thy
" Vicar to rule thy Church with.

" Lord, this is a fleight ſpeech; but Lord we beleeven
" that thou art King of bliſs, and that to thine Heretage and
" mankinds countrey; and in this World we ne ben but
" ſtrangers and Pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this
" World, ne thy Law neither, ne thy true Servants that
" keepen thy Law. And Lord, thou were King of *Juda* by
" Heretage, if thou wouldeſt have yhad it; but thou forſook
" it, and pletedeſt not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

" But Lord, for thy kind Heretage, and mandkindes
" country, that is a Land of bliſs, thou foughteſt migh-
" tilich. In battel thou overcame thy Enemy, and ſo thou
" won thine Heritage. For thou that were a Lord migh-
" tieſt in battel, and alſo Lord of vertues, are rightfullich
" King of bliſs; as *David* ſaith in the Pſalter. But Lord
" thine Enemy ſmote thee diſpitefullich, and had power of
" thee, and hang thee upon the Croſs as thou haddeſt ben a
" theefe and benomin thee all thy clothes, and ſticked thee
" to the Heart with a Spear.

" O Lord, this was an hard Aſſault of a battel, and
" here thou overcome by patience nightlich thin Ene-
" mies; for thou ne wouldeſt not done againſt the will of
" thy Fathers. And thus Lord thou taughteſt thy Servants
" to fight for their Countrey. And Lord this fighting
" was in figure ytaught in the old Law. But Lord, men
" holden now the ſhadow of the old fighting and leaven
" the light of thy fighting, that thou taughteſt openlich
" both in word and in deed.

" Lord, thou gave us a ſword to fighten againſt our Ene-
" mies for our Countrey, that was thine holy Teaching,
" and Chriſtien mens law. But Lord thy ſword is put in
" a ſheath, and in Prieſts ward, that have forſake the fight-
" ing that thou taughteſt. For as they ſeyn, it is againſt
" their order to ben Men of Arms in thy battel, for it is
" feemelich, as they ſeyn, that thy Vicar in Earth, other,
" his Prieſts ſhulden ſuffer of other men. And therefore
Chriſts Vicar and his Prieſts will ſuffer nothing. " gif any man ſmite him, other any of his Clerks, he ne
" taketh it not in patience, but anon he ſmiteth with his
" ſword of curſing, and afterward with his bodelich ſword,
" he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is
" a fighting againſt kind, and much againſt thy teaching.

" O Lord, whether axſedeſt thou after ſwerds in the
" time of thy paſſion to againſtond thine Enemies? nay
" forſooth thou Lord. For *Peter*, that ſmote for great
" love of thee, had no great thank of thee for his ſmit-
" ing. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to have
" againſtond thine Enemies, for through thy looking
" they fellen down to the ground, Lord ybleſſed mote
" thou be. Here thou teacheſt us that we ſhoulden ſuffren:
" for thou were mighty ynow to have againſtond thine
" Enemies, and thou haddeſt wepen, and thy men weren
" hearty to have ſmitten.

" O Sweet Lord, how may he for ſhame clepen him-
" ſelf thy Vicar and Head of the Church, that may not
" for ſhame ſuffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and ſufferedeſt of
" thy ſubjects, to given us enſample, and ſo did thy true
" ſervants.

Two temporal ſwords given to him. " O Lord whether geve thou to *Peter* a ſpiritual ſwerd
" to Curſe, and a temporal ſwerd to ſle mens bodies?
" Lord, I trow not, for then *Peter* that loved thee ſo
" much, would have ſmit with thy ſwerds. But Lord,
" he taughten us to bleſſen them that curſen us, and
" ſuffren and not ſmiten. And Lord, he ſed thy people
" as thou bed him, and therefore he ſuffred the death as
" thou diddſt.

" O Lord, why clepeth any Man him *Peters* ſucceſſor,
" that hath forſaken patience, and feedeth thy people
" with curſing, and with ſmiting? Lord thou ſaideſt in
" thy Goſpel, when thy Diſciples knewen well that thou
" were Chriſt, and that thou muſteſt go to *Jeruſalem*,
" and ſufferen of the Scribes and Phariſes, ſpittings, re-
" proofes, and alſo the death. And *Peter* took thee
" aſide, and ſaid; God forbid that. And Lord, thou
" ſayeſt to *Peter*, Goe behind me *Sathanas*, thou
" ſclaundereſt me in *Iſrael*. For thou ne favoureſt not
Thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. " thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of
" men. Lord to mens wit it is unreaſonable, that thou or
" thy Vicar, gif thou madeſt any on Earth, ſhoulden
" ſuffren of your ſuggets.

Faith cometh not by outward force. " A Lord, whether thou ordeineſt an order of fighters
" to turn men to the beliefe? Other ordeineſt that Knights
" ſhoulden ſwear to fight for thy words?

" A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif any Man turn to
" the faith, that he ſhould geve his goods and cattel to the
" Vicar that hath great Lordſhips, and more than him
" needeth? Lord I wot well, that in the beginning the
" Churchmen that were converted threwen adown their
" goods afore the Apoſtles feete. For all they weren in
" charity, and none of them ſaid this is mine, ne *Peter*
" made himſelf no Lord of theſe goods.

Pope breaketh the rule of charity of mercy, and of patience. " But Lord, now he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar
" upon Earth, and ſucceſſor to *Peter*, hath ybroke thy
" commandment of Charity, for he is become a Lord.
" And he hath alſo broken thy commandment of mercy,
" and alſo of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into miſ-
" chief and thraldom, for our Chiefetaine hath forſaken
" War and Arms, and hath treated to have peace with our
" Enemies.

Or than, before ther. " A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw thy ſwerd out of his
" ſheath, that thy Servants may fight therewith againſt
" their Enemies, and put cowardiſe out of our hearts: and
" comfort us in battaile, or than thou come with thy ſwerd
" in thy mouth, or take vengeance on thine Enemies.
" For gif we ben accorded with our Enemies till that time
" come, it is dread leſt thou take vengeance both of them
" and of us together. A Lord, there is no help now in
" this great miſchiefe but only in thee.

The Pope breaketh the Law of ſwearing. " Lord, thou geveſt us a commandment of truth, in
" bidding us ſay yea, yea, nay, nay, and ſwear for no-
" thing. Thou geve us alſo a maundment of meekneſs,
" and another of pooreneſs: but Lord, he that clepeth
" himſelf thy Vicar on Earth, hath both ybroken theſe
" commandments; for he maketh a Law to compel men
" to ſwear, and by his Laws he teacheth that a man, to
" ſave his life, may forſwear and lie. And ſo Lord,
" through comfort of him and his laws, the people ne
" dreadeth not to ſwear and to lie, ne oft times to for-
" ſwearen them. Lord here is little truth.

" O Lord, thou haſt ybrought us to a living of Souls
" that ſtands in beleeving in thee, and keeping thy
" Heſts, and when we breaken thy Heſts; then we flen
" our ſouls: and leſs harm it were to ſuffer bodilich
" death.

Note, that is would not. " Lord, King *Saul* brake thine Heſts, and thou tookſt
" his Kingdom from his Heires evermore after him, and
" give it to *David* thy Servant, that kept thine Heſts.
" And thou ſaidſt by *Samuel* thy Prophet to *Saul* the King,
" that it is a manner of worthipping of falſe Gods to break
" thy Heſts. For who that loveth thee over all things,
" and dreadeth thee alſo, he nole for nothing breake thine
" Heſts.

" O Lord, gif breaking of thine Heſts be herrying of
" falſe Gods, I trow that he that maketh the people break
" thine Heſts, and commandeth that his Heſts ben kept
" of the people, maketh himſelf a falſe God on Earth;
" as *Nebugadonoſor* did ſometime that was King of
" *Babylon*.

" But Lord, we forſaken ſuch falſe Gods, and beleven
" that there ne ben no mo Gods than thou: and though
" thou ſuffer us a while to ben in diſeaſe for knowledging
" of thee; we thanken thee with our heart, for it is a
" token that thou loveſt us, to given us in this world ſome
" penance for our treſpaſs.

" Lord, in the old Law, thy true servants took the death, | " by, but to profit the more to thy people, when they | KING
" for they would not eaten Swines flesh that thou haddest | " preach thy word. For as they suggen the people will | Edw.3
" forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in us to | " believe more the preaching of a Master that hath taken a
" eaten unclean mete of the soule, that thou hast forbid? | " state of school, than the preaching of another man that
" Lord thou saidst, he that doth sin is servant of sin, and | " hath not taken the state of maistry.
" then be that lieth in forswearing himself, is servant of | " Lord, whether it be any need that maisters bearen
" lesing, and then he is servant to the Divel, that is a lier | " witnes to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O
" and Father of lesings. And Lord, thou sayest, no man | " Lord, whether may any master now by his estate of
" may serve two Lords at once. O Lord then, every lier | " maistry, that thou hast forboden, draw any man from
" for the time that he lieth, other forswereth himself, | " his sin, rather then another man that is not a master, ne
" and forsaketh thy service for dread of his bodily death, | " wole be none; for it is forbodden him in thy Gospel.
" becometh the Divels servant. | " Lord thou sendest to masters to preach thy people; and
Servant of servants, the Popes stile abused. " O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himself | " thou knowledgest in the Gospel to thy Father, that he
" servant of thy servants, and in his doing he maketh him | " hath hid his wisdom from wise men and redy men;
" a Lord of thy servants. Lord thou were both Lord and | " and shewed it to little children. And Lord, masters
" Master, and so thou said thy self; but yet in thy warks | " of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and saiden that
" thou were as a servant. Lord this was a great truth, | " thou wouldest destroy thy people with thy teaching.
" and a great meekness: but Lord, bid thou thy servants | " Trulich Lord, so these masters seggeth now; for they
" that they should not have Lordship over their brethren. | " have written many Bookes against thy teaching, that is
" Lord thou saydst Kings of the Heathen men han Lordship | " truth; and so the Prophecy of *Jeremy* is fulfilled when Maiterships and Lordship in prestes.
" over their subjects, and they that use their power be | " he saith; Trulich the false points of the masters of
" cleped well doers. | " the law hath wrought leafing. And now is the time
" But Lord, thou saidst it should not be so amongst | " come that S. *Paul* speaketh of, where he saith;
" thy servant. But he that were most, should be as a | " Time shall come when men shall not sustain whole-
" servant. Thou Lord, thou taughtest thy Disciples to be | " some teaching; But they shullen gather to hepe maisters
" meek. Lord in the old Law thy servants durst have no | " with hitching ears, and from truth they shullen turnen
" Lordship of their brethren, but if that thou bid them: | " away their hearing, and turn them to tales, that ma-
Thrulles, that is to say, bond men. " and yet they should not do to their brethren as they did | " isters have maked to shown their maistry and their
" to thralles that served them. But they should do to their | " wisdom.
" brethren that were their servants, as to their own bre- | " And Lord, a man shall believe more a mans works
" thren: for all they were *Abrahams* Children: and at a | " than his words, and the deed sheweth well of these
" certain time, they should let their brethren pass from | " masters, that they desiren more maistery for their own
" them in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abide | " worship, than for profit of the people. For when
" still in service. | " they be masters, they ne preachen not so oft as they did
" O Lord, thou gave us in thy coming a Law of perfect | " before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is be-
" love, and in token of love thou cleptdit thy self our | " fore rich men, there as they mown beare worship and
" brother. And to make us perfect in love, thou bid that | " also profit of their preaching. But before poor
" we should clepe to us no Father upon Earth, but thy | " men they preachen but seldem, when they ben ma-
" Father of Heaven we should clepe our Father. Alas, | " isters: and so by their works we may seen that they ben
" Lord, how violently our brethren, and thy children ben | " false glosers.
" now put in bodily Thraldom, and in despite as beasts | " And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen False glosers.
" evermore in grievous travel to find proud men in ease. | " thine Hests, him needeth no gloses: but thilke that
" But Lord, if we take this desolate and this disease in pati- | " clepen themself Christen men, and liven against thy
" ence, and in meekness, and keep thine Hests, we hope | " teaching and thine Hests, needelich they more glose thine
" to be free. And Lord give our brethren grace to come | " Hests, after their living, other elsemen shulden openlich
Pride of Priests. " out of Thraldom of sin, that they fall in through the | " yknown their Hypocrisie and their falshod.
" desiring and usage of Lordship upon their brethren. And | " But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid that
" Lord, thy Priests in the old Law had no Lordships a- | " shall not be shewed sometime. And Lord ybleffed
" mong their brethren, but Houses and Pastures for their | " mote thou be: For somewhat thou shewest us now of
" beasts: but Lord our Priests now have great Lordships, | " our mischiefes that we been fallen in through the wise-
" and put their brethren in greater Thraldom than lewd | " doms of masters, that have by sleights ylad us away
" men that be Lords. Thus is meekness forsaken. | " from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were the
" Lord, thou biddest in the Gospel, that when a man | " master of Heaven, taught us for love, when thou
" is bid to the Feast, he should sit in the lowest place, and | " were here sometime to heal of our souls, withouten
" then he may be set higher with worship, when the Lord | " error or Heresie. But masters of worlds wisedom
" of the Feast beholdeth how his gests sitteth. Lord it | " and their founder have ydamned it for Heresie and for
" is dread that they, that sit now in the highest place, | " error.
" should be bid in time coming sit beneath: and that will | " O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to re-
" be shame and villany for them. And it is thy saying, | " prove thy wisedom and thy teaching. And Lord, me
" those that hyeth himself should be lowed, and those | " thinketh that this *Nabugodonosor* King of *Babylon*, that
" that lowen himself should be an heyghed. O Lord, | " thus hath reprooved thy teaching and thine Hests, and
" thou biddest in thy Gospel to beware of the Pharises, | " commandeth on all wise to keepen his Hests, maken thy
" for it is a point of pride contrary to meekness. And | " people hearen him as a God on Earth, and maketh them
" Lord, thou sayest that they love the first sittings at suppers, | " his thralls and his servants.
" and also the principal Chaires in Churches, and greetings | " But Lord, we lewd men known no God but
" in cheaping, and to be cleped Masters of men. And | " thee, and we with thine help and thy grace forsaken
" Lord, thou sayest be ye not cleped Masters, for one is | " *Nabugodonosor* and his Laws. For he in his proud Nebs, that is, will not.
" your Master, and that is Christ, and all ye be brethren: | " estate wole have all men under him, and he nele be
" and clepe ye to you no Father upon Earth, for one is | " under no man. He ondoth thy Laws that thou or-
Meekness commended in Maisters. " your Father that is in Heaven. O Lord, this is a blessed | " daineth to ben kept, and maketh his own Laws as
" Lesson to teach men to be meek. | " him liketh: and so he maketh him King above all
" But Lord, he that clepeth himself thy Vicar on Earth, | " other Kings of the Earth, and maketh men to worship-
Vicar in Earth not colerable in the Pope. " he clepeth himself Father of Fathers against thy forbid- | " pen him as a God, and thy great sacrifice he hate ydone
" ding. And all those worships thou hast forbad. He | " away.
" approveth them, and maketh them Maisters to many, | " O Lord, here is thy commandment of meekness mis- Poverty of Christ not followed.
" that teach thy people their own teaching, and leave thy | " chiffich to broke: and thy blessed commandment of
" teaching that is needful, and hidden it by quaint Glosses | " poornes is also to broken, and yhid from thy people.
Swevens, that is, dreames. " from thy lewd people and feed thy people with swevens | " Lord, *Zechary* thy Prophet saith, that thou that should-
" that they meet, and tales that doth little profit but much | " est be our King, shouldest ben a poor man, and so thou
" harm to the people. But Lord, these glosers object, that they | " were: for thou saidest thy self; Foxes have dens, and
" desire not the state of maistery to be worshipped there- | " Birds of Heaven nests, and Mans son hath not where
| " to

{KING Edw.3} " to ligge his head on. And thou saidest, ybleffed ben poor
" men in spirit, for thy Kingdom of Heaven is therein:
" and woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in
Covetise. " this world. And thou bad thy Disciples to ben war of
" all covetise, for thou saydest, in the abundance of mans
" having, ne is not his lifelode. And so thou teachest,
" that thilke that han more then them needeth to their
" living, liven in covetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a man
" forsake all things that he oweth, he ne may not ben
" thy Disciple. Lord, thou sayst also, that thy word,
" that is sown in rich mens hearts, bringeth forth no fruit;
" for riches and the busines of this world maken it with-
" outen fruit.
" O Lord, here ben many blessed teachings to teach
" men to ben poor, and love poornes. But Lord harm
Poverty counted folly. " is, poor men and poornes ben ybared, and rich men
" ben ylowed and honored: and gif a man be a poor man,
" men holden him a man withouten grace; and gif a
" man defaieth poornes, men holden him but a fool:
" and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious
" man, and thilke that ben busie in getting of riches, ben
" yholden wise men and ready: But Lord, these rich men
" sayen, that it both leful to them to gather riches toge-
" ther. For they ne gathereth it for themself, but for
" other men that ben needy, and Lord their works
" shewen the truth. For if a poor needy man would
Nele, that is, will not. " borrowen of their riches, he nele lene him none of his
" good; but gif he mow be seker to have it again by a
" certain day.
" But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not
" hoping yelding again of him that he lendeth to: and
" thy Father of Heaven wole quite him his mede. And
" gif a poor man ask a rich man any good, the rich man
" will give him but a little, and yet it shall be little worth.
" And Lord me thinketh that here is little love and charity,
" both to God and to our Brethren.
" For Lord, thou teachest in thy Gospel, that what
" men do to thy servants, they done to thee. A Lord gif a
God is fe-ward of the wurst. " poor man axe good for thy love, men giveth him a lit-
" tle of the wurst. For these rich men ordeinen both
" Bread and Ale for Gods men of the wurst that they have.
" O Lord, sith all good that men hath, cometh of thee;
" how dare any man geve thee of the wurst, and keep to
" himself of the best? How may such men say that they
" gathereen riches for others need, as well as himself, sith
" their works ben contrary to their words? And that is
" no greater truth. And be ye feler these goods, that
" rich man han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your
" keeping, to look how he wolen be setten them to the
" worshipping of God. And Lord, thou sayest in the
" Gospel, that who so is true in little, he is true in that
" thing that is more: and who that is false in a little thing,
" who wole taken him toward things of a greater value?
A lesson for them that have goods, well to spend them. " And therefore be ye ware that han Gods goods to keep.
" Spend ye thilke trulich to the worthip of God, left ye
" lesen the bliss of Heaven, for the untrue dispending of
" Gods goods in this world.
Seggen, that it hyde sky. " O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much
" for thy love. For many poor labourers ben yfound by
" them, that shoulden fare febelich, ne we not they and
" their readinesse. Forsooth me thinketh that poor laborers
" giveth to these rich men, moren then they given them
" againward. For the poor men more gone to his labour
" in cold and in heat, in wete and dry, and spend his
" flesh and his blood in rich mens works, upon Gods
" ground, to find the rich man in ease, and in liking,
" and in good fare of meat, of drink, and of clothing.
" Here is a great gift of the poor man, for he giveth his
" own body. But what giveth the rich man againward?
" Certes feeble meat, and feeble drink, and feeble cloth-
" ing. What ever they seggen, such be their works,
" and here is little love. And whosoever looketh well
" about, all the world fareth as we seggen: and all
" men studieth on every side, how they may wex rich
" men: and everich man almost is ashamed to ben holden
" a poor man.
" And Lord, I trow for thou were a poor man, men
" token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord
" thou came to give us a *New Testament* of love; and
" therefore it was semelich that thou came in poornes, to
" prove who would love thee, and kepen thy hests. For
| " gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich man and of a
| " Lord, men wold rather for thy dread than for thy love,
| " have yclept thine hests. And so Lord, now thou might The poverty of Christ rightly considered.
| " well ysee which loven thee as they should in keeping
| " thine hests. For who that loveth thee in thy poornes
| " and in thy lowness, needs he mote love thee in thy Lord-
| " ship and Highness.
| " But Lord, the World is turned upse downe, and
| " men love poor men but a little, ne poornes neither.
| " But men be ashamed of poornes; and therefore Lord,
| " I trow that thou art a poor King. And therefore I
| " trow that he that clepeth himself thy Vicar on Earth,
| " hath forsaken poornes, as he hath do the remnant of
| " thy Law, and is become a rich man and a Lord, and
| " maketh his Treasure upon the Earth, that thou for- A poor King and a proud Vicar, how joyn these two togeth-ther?
| " biddest in the Gospel; and for his Right and Riches,
| " he will plete, and right and curse. And yet Lord he will
| " segge, that he forsaketh all things that he oweth, as
| " thy true Disciple mete done after thy Teaching in the
| " Gospel.
| " But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken
| " his Goods, and plete for them, and fight, and curse.
| " And Lord, he taketh on him power to assoile a man
| " of all manner of things, but if it be of debt. Truly
| " Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of Charity. For Christ a servant upon Earth, the Pope a Lord.
| " who that beth in Charity, possesseth thy Goods in com-
| " mon, and not in proper at his Neighbours need. And
| " then shall there none of them segge this is mine, but it
| " is Gods that God granteth to us to spenden it to his
| " Worship. And so if any of them borroweth a portion The Pope for his right and riches will plead, fight and curse.
| " of those Goods, and dispendeth them to Gods Worship,
| " God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth him
| " this true doing. And if God is payed of that dif-
| " pending, this is the principal Lord of those Goods, how
| " dare any of his Servants axen thereof accounts, other
| " challenge it for it? Serten, of one thing I am incer-
| " teine, that these that charge so much det of worldly cat-
| " tel, they know little of Christs Law of Charity: for if
| " Ich am a Baily of Gods Goods in the World; If I see
| " my Brother in need, I am hold by Charity to part
| " with him of these Goods to his nede: and if he spend-
| " eth them well to the Worship of God. I more be well
| " apaid, as though I my self had had spended them to the
| " Worship of God. And if the principal Lord is well
| " payed of my Brothers doing, and the dispending of his
| " Goods, how may I segge for shame that my Brother is
| " detour to me of the Goods that I took him to spend
| " in Gods Worship at his nede? And if my Brother spend-
| " eth amiss the Goods that I take him, I am disclaunged of
| " my deliverance of the Goods, if I take him in Charity
| " thilke Goods at his nede. And I am hold to be fory of
| " his evil dispending, ne I may not axen the Goods, that
| " I took him at his nede in forme of det, for at his
| " need they were his as well as mine. And thus is my Propriety of goods here, is not taken away but charity is required to help the need of our neighbor.
| " Brother yhold to done to me gif he fee me in nede,
| " and gif we bed in Charity, little thould we chargen of
| " det. And ne we should not axen so dets, as men that
| " know not God: and then we be poor in forsaking all
| " things that we own. For gif we ben in Charity, we
| " wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods
| " with our Brethren.
| " O Lord, thou thou taughtest thy Servants to liven
| " and so they liveden while they hadden good Shepherds,
| " that fedden thy Sheep, and robbed them not of their
| " lifelod, as *Peter* thy good Shepherd and thy other
| " Apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth himself thy Vicar
| " upon Earth, and Successor to *Peter*, he robbeth thy
| " Puple of their bodilich lifelode, for he ordeineth
| " proud Shepherds to liven in ease by the tenth party of
| " poor mens travel: and he giveth them leave to liven
| " where them liketh. And gif men no wolen wil-
| " fullich given them the Tythings, they wolen had them
| " against their will by mastery and by curling, to maken
| " them rich.
| " Lord, how may any man segge that such Shep- The Pope maintainer of thieves and robbers.
| " herds that loven more the wolle than the Sheep, and
| " feeden not thy Sheep in body, ne in soul, ne ben such
| " ravenors and Thieves? And who may segge, that the
| " Maintenor of such Shepherds ne is not a Maintenor
| " of Thieves and Robbers? How wole he affoile
| " Shepherds of their robbing, without restitution of

" their goods, that they robben thy sheep of against their
" will? Lord of all shepheards, blessed mote thou be.
" For thou lovedst more the sheep then their wolle. For
" thou feedest thy sheep both in body and soul. And for
" love of thy sheep, thou took thy death to bring thy sheep
" out of Wolves mouths. And the moste charge that thou
" gove to *Peter* was to feed thy sheep. And so he did
" truelich, and took the death for thee and for thy sheep.
" For he came into the fold of sheep by thee that were
" the door. And so I trow a few other did as he did,
" though they clepen themself succesfors to *Peter*; for
" their works showen what they ben. For they rob-
" ben and sleen and destroyen; they robben thy sheep
" of the tenth part of their travel, and feeden them-
" selfs in ease. They steen thy sheep, for they pyenen
" them for hunger of their soul to the death. They
" destroyen the sheep, for with might and with fierm-
" ship they rulen thy sheep; that for dred they ben
" dispersed abroad in Mountains, and there the wild
" beasts of the field destroyeth them for default of a good
" shepheard.

" ℂ O Lord, sif it be thy will deliver thy sheep out of
" such shepheards ward that retcheth not of thy sheep, so
" they han their wolle to make themself rich. For thy
" sheep ben in great mischief, and soule accombred with
" their shepherds.

" ℂ * But for thy shepheards wolden be excused they
" have ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and
" these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredfels their
" works shewen that † within forth they ben but Wolves.
" For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little
" how sorrilich thy sheep ben kept. For as they feggen
" themself, they ben but hired men that han no charge
" of thy sheep. And when they shulden feden thy sheep
" in the pleuteous * lesew of thy teaching, they feeden
" between them and their lesew, so that the sheep ne han
" but a tight of thy lesew, but eaten they shall not there-
" of. But they feden them in a sorry sowre lesew of lesings
" and of tales. And so thy sheep fallen into grievous
" sickneſs through this evil lesew. And sif any sheep
" break over into thy lesew to tasten the sweetneſs thereof,
" anone these hired men drive him out with hounds.
" And thus thy sheep by these hired men ben ykept out
" of their kindlich lesew, and ben yfed with sowre grass
" and sorry barren lesew. And yet they feden but seldom,
" and when they han sorrilich fed them, they taken great
" hire, and gone away from thy sheep and letten them a
" worth.

" And for dread lest thy sheep wolden in their ab-
" sence go to thy sweet lesew, they han enclosed it all
" about so strongliche and so high, that there may no
" sheep comen there within, but sif it be a * walisch
" leper of the Mountains, that may with his long Legs
" lepen over the vallys. For the hired men ben full cer-
" tain, that sif thy sheep had once ystatted the sweetneſs
" of thy lesew: They ne would no more bene yfed of
" these hired men in their sowre lesewes, and therefore
" these hired men kepen them out of that lesew. For
" haden the sheep once ystatten well of that lesew, they
" wolden without a leader go thider to their mete, and
" then mote these hired men fechen them another labor to
" live by than keeping of sheep. And they ben fell and
" ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feeden thy sheep
" with sowre meat that naught is, and hiden from thy
" sheep the sweetneſs of thy lesew. And so though these
" hired men gon in sheepes clothing, in their works they
" ben Wolves, that much harm done to thy sheep as we
" have ytold.

" ℂ O Lord, they comen as sheep, for they seggen
" that they ben poor and have forsaken the world to li-
" ven perfitlich as thou taughtest in the Gospel. Lord
" this is sheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughtest
" not a man to forsaken the travellous living in poor-
" neſs in the world, to liven in ease with riches by
" other mens travel, and have Lordship on their brethren.
" For Lord, this is more to forsaken thee and go to the
" world.

" ℂ O Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake
" the world to liven in poorneſs of begging by other mens
" travel that ben as feeble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne
" taughtest not a man to live in poorneſs of begging, that
" were strong enough to travel for his livelode. Ne
" Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a beg-
" ger to begge of men more than him needeth, to
" build great Castles and make great Feasts to thilke that
" han no need.

" ℂ O Lord, thou ne taughtest not men this poorneſs,
" for it is out of Charity. But thy poorneſs, that thou
" taughtest, nourisheth Charity. Lord, sith *Paul* saith,
" That he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that bene
" * homelich with him, hath forsaken his Faith, and is
" worse than a misbeliéven man: How then now these
" men seggen that they believen in Christ, that han for-
" saken their poor feeble friends, and let them live in travel
" and in disease, that travelled full sore for them, when
" they weren young, and unmighty to help an themself?
" And they wolen live in ease by other mens travel, ever-
" more begging withouten shame.

" ℂ Lord thou ne taughtest not this manner poorneſs,
" for it is out of Charity. And all thy Law is Charity
" and thing that nourisheth Charity, and these Shepherds
" send about to keep thy Sheep, and to feden them other
" whiles in bareine lesewes. Lord thou ne madest none
" such Shepherds, ne Keepers of the Sheep that feed for-
" rilich thy Sheep, and for so little travel taken a great
" hire, and sithen all the year afterward, do what them
" liketh, and let thy Sheep perish for default of keeping.

" But thy Shepherds abiden still with their Sheep, and
" feeden them in thy pleuteous lesew of thy teaching, and
" gone before thy Sheep, and teachen them the way into
" pleuteous and sweet lesew, and keepen thy Flock from
" ravening of the wild Beasts of the field.

" O Lord deliver the Sheep out of the ward of these
" Shepherds, and these hired men, that stonden more to
" keep their riches that they robben of thy Sheep, than
" they stonden in keeping of thy Sheep.

" O Lord when thou come to *Jerusalem*, sometime
" thou drove out of the Temple Sellers of Beasts and of
" other Chaffare, and saidst, Mine House should ben
" cleped an House of Prayers, but they maden a Den of
" Thieves of it. O Lord thou art the Temple in whom
" we should praien thy Father of Heaven. And *Salo-*
mons Temple, that was ybelded at *Jerusalem*, was
" Figure of this Temple. But Lord, he that clepeth
" himself thy Vicar upon Earth, and saith that he occupi-
" eth thy place here on Earth, is become a Chapman in
" thy Temple, and hath his Chapmen walking in divers
" Countries to sellen his Chaffare, and to makes him rich.
" And he saith, Thou gave him so great a Power aboven
" all other men, That whatever he bindeth other un-
" bindeth in Earth, thou bindeth other unbindeth the
" same in Heaven. And so of great Power he selleth
" other men forgiveneſs of their sin. And for much
" money he will assoilen a man so clean of his sin, that
" he * behoveth men of the bliss of Heaven withouten
" any pain after that they be dead, that given him much
" money.

Bishopricks and Chirches, and such other Chaffares he
" selleth also for money, and maketh himself rich. And
" thus he beguiled the people.

O Lord Jesus here is much untruth, and mischief, and
" matter of sorrow. Lord thou saidest sometime, that
" thou wouldest be with thy Servants unto the end of the
" world. And thou saidest also, there as tweine or three
" ben ygraded togedder in thy name, that thou art in the
" middle of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee
" to maken Lieferenant, sith thou wolte be evermore
" amongst thy Servants.

" Lord, thou saydst of thy Disciples, who they trow-
" ed that thou were. And *Peter* answered and said,
" That thou art Christ Gods Son. And thou saidst to
" *Peter*, Thou art yblessed *Simon Barjona*, for flesh and
" blood ne showed not this to thee, but my Father
" that is in Heaven. And I say to thee, That thou art
" *Peter*, and upon this Stone ych would bilde my
" Church, and the Gates of Hell he shullen not availen
" agens it.

" And to thee ych wole geve the Keys of Heaven, and
" what ever thou bindest upon Earth shall be bound in
" Heaven, and what ever thou unbindest on Earth, shall
" be unbounden in Heaven. This Power also was granten
" unto the other Disciples, as well as to *Peter*, as the

" Gospel

" Gospel openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that
" thou granted to *Peters* Succesſors the selve Power that
" thou gave to *Peter*. And therefore the Bishop of *Rome*,
" that saith he is *Peters* Succesſors, taketh this Power to
" him to binden and unbinden in Earth what him
" liketh. But Lord, ych have much wonder how he
" may for shame clepen himself *Peters* Succesſor: for *Peter*
" knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kept
" the Hests of thy Law: but these han forsaken the Hests
" of thy Law, and hath ymaken a Law contrary to thine
" Hests of thy Law. And so he maketh himself a false
" Christ, and a false god in Earth. And I trow thou gave
" him no Power to undo thy Law. And so in taking
" this Power upon him, maketh him a false Christ and
" *Antichrist*.

" For who may be more agens Christ, than he that
" in his words maketh himself Christs Vicar in Earth;
" and in his werkes undoth the Ordinance of Christ, and
" maketh men believen that it is needful to the heal of
" mens Souls, to believen that he is Christs Vicar in Earth?
" And what ever he bindeth in Earth, is ybounden
" in Heaven, and under this colour he undoth Christs
" Law, and maketh men always to keepen his Law and
" Hests.

" And thus man may yseen that he is against Christ,
" and therefore he is *Antichrist* that maketh men wor-
" shippen him as a god on Earth, as the proud King
" *Nabugodonosor* did sometime, that was King of *Ba-*
bylon. And therefore we lewde men that knowen
" not God but thee Jesus Christ, believen in thee that
" art our God, and our King, and our Christ, and thy
" Laws: and forsaken *Antichrist*, and *Nabugodonosor* that
" is a false god, and a false Christ, and his Laws ben con-
" trary to thy preaching.

" And Lord strength thou us against our enemies. For
" they ben about to maken us forsaken thee and thy Law,
" other else to putten us to death.

" O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust to help us in this
" mischief, for thy great goodneſs that is withouten
" end.

" Lord thou ne taughtest not thy Disciples to assoilen
" men of their sin, and setten them a Penance for their
" sin, in Fasting, ne in Praying, ne other Almous Deed;
" ne thy self, ne thy Disciples, yeeden no such Power
" here on Earth. For Lord, thou forgive men her sins,
" and bede him sin no more. And thy Disciples * fil-
" leden men in thy Name, in forgiveneſs of her
" sins. Nor they took no such Power upon them as
" our Priests dare now. And Lord, thou ne assoilest no
" man both of his sin and of his pain, that was due for
" his sin, ne thou grantedst no man such power here on
" Earth.

" And Lord, me thinketh that sif there were a Purga-
" tory, and any Earthlich man had power to deliver sin-
" ful men from the peines of Purgatory, he should,
" and he were in Charity, saven everich man that
" were in way of Salvation from thilke peines, sith they
" make them greater than any bodilich peines of this
" World. Also sif the Bishop of *Rome* had such a
" Power, he himself should never comen in Purgatory,
" ne in Hell. And sith we see well that he ne hath no
" Power to keepen himself, ne other men nother out of
" these bodilich peines of the World, and he may go to
" Hell for his sin as another man may: I ne believe not,
" that he hath so great Power to assoylen men of
" their sin as he taketh upon him aboven all other
" men. And I trow that in this he higheth himself above
" God.

" As touching the selling of Bishopricks, and Parso-
" nages, I trow it be a point of Falsehed. For agenst
" Gods Ordinance he robbeth poor men of a portion
" of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giveth it, to find
" proud men in idleneſs that don the lewd puple little
" profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben
" thy commandments of truth, of meekneſs, and of poor-
" neſs undone by him, that clepeth himself thy Vicar here
" upon Earth.

" A Lord, thou gave us a Commandment of chastice,
" that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lust. For thou broughtest
" us to a living of Soul, that is, ygoverned by the word.
" For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than
" man to ben ygoverned by mans rule, and his help, to
" please thee and keep thine Hests. Ne thou ne ordeinedist
" that a man should desire the company of a woman, and
" maileen her his wife, to liven with her in his lustis, as
" a Swine doth or a Horse. And his wife ne like him
" not to his lustes, Lord ne gave not a man leave to
" departen him from his wife, and taken him ano-
" ther.

" But Lord, thy Marriage is a common accord be-
" tween man and woman, to liven together to their
" lives end, and in thy Service either the better for others
" help, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben
" joyned by thee, and thilke that God joyneth, may
" no man depart. But Lord, thou seiest, That sif a
" man fee a woman to coveten her, then he doth with
" the woman lechery in his heart. And so Lord, sif a
" man desire his wife in covetise of such lustis, and not to
" fly from Whoredome, his Weddins is lechery, ne thou
" ne joynest them not together. Thus was *Raguels*
" Daughter ywedded to seven Husbands that the Devil
" instrangled. But *Toby* took her to live with her in
" cleanneſs, and bringing up of her Children in thy
" Worship, and on him the Devil ne had no power. For
" the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through
" God.

" A Lord, the people is far ygo from this manner
" of Wedding. For now men wedden their wives for
" Fairneſs, other for Riches, or some such other flesh-
" lich lusts. And Lord, so it preveth by them for the
" most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in
" a Land, where the Husband loves the Wife, and the
" Wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulden after the
" law of Marriage. But other the man loves not his
" wife, or the wife if not buxum to her man. And thus
" Lord is the rule of prefe, that never faileth no preve
" whether it be done by thee or no. And Lord, all this
" mischief is common among thy people, for that they
" know not thy Word, but their Shepherds and hired
" men fedden them with their * swevens and leasings.
" And Lord, where they shoulden gon before us in
" the field, they seggen their Order is too holy for thy
" Marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himself thy Vi-
" car upon Earth will not sustren Priests to taken them
" wives, for that is against his Law: But Lord, he will
" dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certain sum
" of money. And Lord, all Whoredom is sforbended in
" thy Law. And Lord, thou never forbendedst Priests
" their wives, ner thy Apostles neither. And well I
" wote in our Land, Priests hadden wives until *An-*
selmus days in the year of our Lord God, 1129. as
" *Huntingdone* writes. And Lord, this makes people for
" the most part believen, that Lechery is no sin. There-
" fore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send
" us Shepherds of thine own, that wolen feeden thy
" Flock in thy lesew, and gon before themself, and so
" written thy Law in our hearts, that from the least to
" the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord,
" geve our King and his Lords heart to defenden thy
" true Shepherds and thy Sheep from out of the Wolves
" mouths, and Grace to know thee that art the true
" Christ, the Son of thy heavenly Father, from the
" *Antichrist*; that is, the Son of Pride. And Lord,
" geve us thy poor Sheep patience and strength to
" suffer for thy Law, the cruelneſs of the mischievous
" Wolves. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these
" days. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there
" never.

I doubt not, gentle Reader, but in reading this godly Treatise above prehixed, the matter is manifest and plain of it self without any further Explication, what is to be thought and judged of this Vicar of Christ, and Succesſor of *Peter*, whom we call the Bishop of *Rome*: whose life here thou seest not only to be disordered in all Points, swarving from the steps and example of Christ the Prince and Bishop of our Souls, but also whose Laws and Doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the Precepts and Rule of the Gospel, that almost there is no convenience between them: as in the perusing of this complaining Prayer, thou maist notoriously understand. Wherefore having no need to stand in any further

expressing

expreſſing of this matter, but leaving it to thine own conſideration and diſcretion, I will ſpeed my ſelf (Chriſt willing) to proceed toward the time of *John Wickliffe* and his Fellows, taking by order of years as I go, ſuch things by the way, as both happened before the ſaid time of *Wickliffe*, and alſo may the better prepare the mind of the Reader, to the entring of that ſtory. Where firſt I think it not inconvenient to infer a Prophetical Parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the Author morally applieth unto the Biſhop of *Rome*. To what Author this Prophecy or Moral is to be aſcribed, I have not certainly to affirm. Some ſay, that *Rupeſciſſamus* (of whom mention is made before) was the Author thereof, and alledge it out of *Froyſard*: but in *Froyſard* as yet I have not found it. In the mean ſeaſon, as I have found it in *Latin* expreſſed, becauſe it painteth out the Pope ſo rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, ſo I took this preſent place, as moſt fit (although peradventure miſſing the order of years a little) to inſert the ſame. The effect of which Parable followeth here underwritten.

In the time of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth above ſpecified, this *Joannes de Rupeſciſſa*, a Fryer, among other his Propheſies marvelouſly foreſpake (as alledgeth *Froyſard*, who both heard and ſaw him) of the taking of *John* the *French* King Priſoner, and brought forth many other notable Collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in the Church to come. And at what time the Pope kept him at *Avinion* in priſon (where *Froyſard* is ſaid to ſee him, and to ſpeak with him) the ſaid *Froyſard* heard in the Popes Court this example and parable recited by the foreſaid Fryer *Rupeſciſſamus*, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinal *Hoſtienſis*, and Cardinal *Auxerenſis*, which followeth theſe words:

A parable propheſying the deſtruction of the Pope.

When on a certain time a Bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other Birds hearing thereof, came to viſit her: and for that they ſaw her to be a marvelous fair and beauiful Bird, they counſelled together how they might beſt do her good, ſith by no means without feathers ſhe might either fly, or live commodiouſly. They all wiſhed her to live for her excellent form and beauties ſake, inſomuch that among them all there was not one, that would not grant ſome part of her own feathers to deck this Bird withall: yea, and the more trim they ſaw her to be, the more feathers ſtill they gave unto her, ſo that by this means ſhe was paſſing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other Birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to fly abroad, were marvelouſly delighted therewith. In the end this Bird ſeeing her ſelf ſo gorgeouſly feathered, and of all the reſt to be had in honour, began to wax proud and haughty. Inſomuch that ſhe had no regard at all unto them, by whom ſhe was advanced: yea, ſhe punged them with her beak, plucked them by the ſkin and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the Birds aſſiſting in Council again, called the matter in queſtion, demanding one of another what was beſt to be done touching this unkind Bird, whom they lovingly with their own feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gave not their feathers, to the intend that ſhe, thereby puft up with pride, ſhould contemptuouſly deſpiſe them all. The Peacock *therefore anſwereth firſt*, Truly, *ſaith he*, for that ſhe is bravely fet forth with my painted feathers, I will again take them from her. *Then ſaith the* Faulcon, And I alſo will have mine again. *This ſentence at length took place among them all, ſo that every one plucked from her thoſe feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their own again. Now this proud Bird, ſeeing her ſelf thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her haughty ſtomach, and humbly to ſubmit her ſelf openly, confeſſing and acknowledging that of her ſelf ſhe had nothing; but that her feathers, her honour and other Ornaments was their gift: ſhe came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receive them again. Wherefore in moſt humble wiſe ſhe deſireth pardon, promiſing to amend all that is paſt, neither would ſhe at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride ſhe might leeſe her feathers again. The gentle Birds, that before had given their feathers, ſeeing her ſo humble and lowly, being moved with pity, reſtored again the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition,* We will gladly, *ſay they*, behold thy flying among us, ſo long as thou wilt uſe thine Office with humbleneſs of mind, which is the chiefeſt comelineſs of all the reſt: But this have thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thy ſelf in pride, we will ſtraight-ways deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former ſtate wherein we found thee. *Even ſo, Oh you Cardinals (ſaith* Joannes Rupiſciſſanus) *ſhall it happen unto you: for the Emperors of the* Romans *and* Almains, *and other Chriſtian Kings, Potentates, and Princes of the Earth, have beſtowed upon you Goods, Lands and Riches, that ſhould ſerve God, but you have powred it out, and conſumed it upon Pride, all kind of Wickedneſs, Riot and Wantonneſs.*

The Pope compared to a Bird feathered with other Birds feathers.

The firſt ſtiling of the Pope. The proud Proſperity of the Pope.

The decay of the Pope deſcribed.

Armachanus.

IN the Catalogue of theſe learned and zealous Defenders of Chriſt againſt *Antichriſt* above rehearſed, whom the Lord about this time began to raiſe up for the Reamination of his Church, being then far out of frame; I cannot forget nor omit ſomething to write of the reverend Prelate, and famous Clerk, *Richard Armachanus*, Primate and Archbiſhop of *Ireland*: a man for his Life and Learning ſo memorable, as the condition of thoſe days then ſerved; that the ſame days then as they had but few good, ſo had they none almoſt his better. His name was *Richard Fixraf*, made Primate and Archbiſhop, as is ſaid of *Ireland*. Firſt brought up in the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the ſtudy of all liberal Knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit under *John Bakenthorpe* his Tutor and Inſtructor. In this time the begging-Fryers began greatly to multiply and ſpread, unto whom this *Bakenthorpe* was ever a great enemy: whoſe ſteps the Scholars alſo following, began to do the like. Such was the capacity and dexterity of this *Fixraf*, that he, being commended to King *Edward* the Third, was promoted by him, firſt, to be Archdeacon of *Lichfield*, then to be the Commiſſary of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; at length to be Archbiſhop of *Armach* in *Ireland*. He being Archbiſhop, upon a time had a Cauſe to come up to *London*: at what time here in the ſaid City of *London* was contention between the Fryers and the Clergy about preaching and hearing Confeſſions, &c. Whereupon, this *Armachanus*, being requeſted to preach, made ſeven or eight Sermons; Wherein he propounded nine Concluſions againſt the Fryers, for the which he was cited up by the Fryers before this Pope *Innocent* the Sixth then to appear; and ſo he did: who before the face of the Pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the ſame Concluſions, and therein ſtood conſtantly unto the death, as the words of *John Wickliffe* in this *Trialogo* do well teſtifie in this wiſe, *Ab* Anglorum *Epiſcopis conductus* Armachanus *novem in Avione Concluſiones coram* Innocentio *6. & ſuorum Cardinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audenter publicavit, verboque as ſcriptis ad morem uſque defendit.* The like alſo teſtifieth of him *Waldenus in faſciculo zizaniorum.* Alſo *Volaterranus* reporteth the ſame. *Guilielmus Botonerus* teſtifying of him in like manner, ſaith, That *Armachanus* firſt reproved begging-Fryers for hearing the confeſſions of profeſſed Nuns, without licence of their Superiors, and alſo of married women without knowledge of their Husbands. What dangers and troubles he ſuſtained by his Perſecutors, and how miraculouſly the Lord delivered him from their hands; inſomuch, that they meeting him in the open ſtreets, and in clear day-light, yet had no power to ſee him, nor to apprehend him. In what peril of Thieves and Searchers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him; yea, and cauſed his money, being taken from him, to be reſtored again to him by portions in time of his neceſſity and famine: And in what dangers he was of the Kings Officers, which coming with the Kings Letters, laid all the Havens for him; and how the Lord Jeſus delivered him, ſhewing him by what ways, and how to eſcape them, to the number of ſixteen, and yet how the Lord gave him to triumph over all his enemies: how the Lord alſo taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of *Ariſtotles* ſubtilty, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures of God. All this, with much more, he himſelf expreſſeth in a certain prayer or confeſſion made to Chriſt

{KING Edw. 3}

The life and ſtory of Armachanus. Archbiſhop and Primate of Ireland.

The commendation of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the Fryers to appear before the Pope.

Con. omnis utriuſque ſexus, Sim. en, & Ly de ta.

Note here, he calleth it not the Sacrament of the Altar.

The troubles and perſecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus perſecuted manifold ways by the Lord.

{KING Edw. 3} Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, in which he deſcribeth almoſt the whole hiſtory of his own life, Which prayer I have to ſhew in old written-hand, and hereafter (Chriſt willing) intend, as time ſerveth, to publiſh the ſame. The beginning of the prayer in *Latin* is this:

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Jeſu piiſſime, Jeſu pietiſſime, Jeſu dulciſſime; qui dixiſti, Ego ſum via, veritas & vita. Via ſine devio; veritas ſine nubilo; & vita ſine termino. Quod tute viam mihi oſtendiſti; Tute veritatem me docuiſti; Et tute vitam mihi promiſiſti. Via eras mihi in exilio; Veritas eras in confliio; Et vita eras mihi in præmio. With the reſt that followeth in the foreſaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited up by the Fryers to the Pope, you have partly heard. Now what were his Reaſons and Arguments wherewith he defended his Cauſe in the Popes preſence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, firſt, I muſt put the Reader in remembrance of the Controverſie mentioned before in the ſtory of *Gulielmus de ſancto Amore*, pag. 357. Alſo in the ſtory of the Univerſity of *Paris* contending againſt the Fryers, pag. 446. For ſo long did this Controverſie continue in the Church, from the year, 1240. when the *Oxford*-men began firſt to ſtand againſt the Fryers, to the time of this *Armachanus*; that is, to the year, 1360. and after this time yet more increaſed. So it pleaſed the ſecret Providence of God (for what cauſe he beſt knoweth) to ſuffer his Church to be entangled and exerciſed ſometimes with matters and controverſies of no great importance; either to keep the vanity of mens wits thus occupied from idleneſs; or elſe to prepare their minds, by theſe ſmaller matters, to the conſideration and ſearching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in theſe our Queens days we ſee what Tragedies be raiſed up in *England* about forms and faſhions of Miniſters wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and diſplacing there is about the ſame. Even ſo at this time happened the like ſtir about the Liberties and Priviledges of the Fryers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the Churches and Divines almoſt thorow *Chriſtendom*. The which controverſie, to the intent it may better be underſtood (all the circumſtances thereof being explained) we will firſt begin from the original and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and courſe of years, upon what occaſion this variance firſt riſing, in continuance of time increaſed and multiplied in gathering more matter, and braſt out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this preſent matter; firſt, it is to be underſtood, that in the year of our Lord, 1215. under Pope *Innocent* the Third, was called a General-Council at *Laterane*, mentioned before, pag. 288. in the days of King *John*. In the which Council among many other things, was conſtituted a certain Law or Canon, beginning *Omnis utriuſque ſexus, &c.* the tenor of which Canon in *Engliſh* is thus:

Be it decreed, That every faithful Chriſtian, both man and woman coming to the years of diſcretion, ſhall confeſs himſelf alone of all his ſins to the Prieſt of his own proper Pariſh, once in the year at leaſt: and that he ſhall endeavour by his own ſelf to fulfil the penance, whenſoever he receiveth the Sacrament of Euchariſt, at leaſt at the time of Eaſter. *Unleſs by the aſſent of his Miniſter, upon ſome reaſonable cauſe, he abſtain for the time. Otherwiſe doing, let him both lack the communion of the Church being alive, and Chriſtian-burial when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, That this wholſome Conſtitution ſhall be publiſhed acculſtomably in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or blindneſs make to himſelf a Cloke of Exceſe. And if any ſhall confeſs himſelf to any other Prieſt than of his own Pariſh upon any juſt cauſe, let him ask and obtain firſt licence of his own Prieſt: otherwiſe, the Prieſt ſhall have no power to bind him or to looſe him, &c.*

In the time of this *Innocentius*, and of this *Lateran* Council, was *Dominick*, the firſt Author and Founder of the preaching-Fryers; who laboured to the ſaid Pope *Innocent* for the confirmation of his Order, but did not obtain in his life time.

The next year after this *Lateran* Council died Pope *Innocent. An.* 1216. after whom came *Honorius* the Third. Who in the firſt year of his Popedom confirmed the Order of the Fryer *Dominick*, and gave to him and his Fryers Authority to preach, and to hear confeſſions, with divers other priviledges more. And under this Pope, which governed ten years, lived *Dominick* five years after the confirmation of his Order, and died, *Anno* 1221. About which year the Order of the *Franciſcan-Fryers* began alſo to breed, and to ſpread in the world, through preaching and hearing confeſſions.

Fryer-Dominick in the time of Pope Honorius the Third. The Order of Franciſcans confirmed ſhortly after the Dominicks.

After this *Honorius*, next followed Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, about the year of our Lord, 1228. who for the promoting of the foreſaid Order of *Dominicks*, gave out this Bull, in tenour as followeth:

The Bull of Pope Gregory the 9. in behalf of the Dominick-Fryers.

Gregorius *Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his reverend Brethren, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and to his welbeloved Children, Abbots Priors, and to all Prelates of Churches, to whomſoever theſe Preſents ſhall come, greeting, and Apoſtolical bleſſing. Becauſe* † *Iniquity hath abounded, and the Charity of many hath waxt cold; Behold, the Lord hath raiſed up the Order of our welbeloved Children the preaching-Fryers, who not ſeeing things of their own, but pertaining to Jeſus Chriſt, to the eſtirping aſwell of Hereſies, as to the rooting out alſo of other pernicious peſtilences, have dedicated themſelves to the preaching of the* ‡ *Word of God. We therefore minding to advance their ſacred purpoſe, &c. And followeth, commanding you to ſee the ſaid perſons gently to be received among you; and that your Flocks committed to your Charge do receive devoutly the feed of Gods Word out of their mouth, and do confeſs their ſins unto them, all ſuch as liſt, whom we have authoriſed to the ſame, to hear Confeſſions, and to enjoyn Penance, &c.* Dat. Peruſii. An. Pont. noſtri 8.

† Iniquity hath abounded at Rome.

‡ Nay,to the preaching rather of mens traditions againſt the Word of God. The Fryers authoriſed to hear confeſſions, and to enjoyn penance.

This Pope *Gregory* died about the year of our Lord, 1241. after whom came *Celeſtinus* the Fourth, and ſate but 18 days: then came *Innocentius* the Fourth, and ſate 11 years and ſix months. Who, although he began firſt to favour the Fryers; yet afterward being altered by certain Divines of Univerſities, Prelates of Churches, and Curates, he debarred them of their Liberties and Priviledges, and gave out againſt Precepts and Excommunications, as well againſt Fryers, as all other religious perſons. And not long after the ſame he was diſpatched and made away.

Pope Innocent the Fourth ſtill the ſame enemy to the ſect of Pope Innocent his Predeceſſor.

Innocentius being thus removed out of the way, about the year of our Lord, 1353. then ſucceeded Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, a great Maintainer of the Fryers, and late ſeven years. He revoked and repealed the Acts and Writings of Pope *Innocent* his Predeceſſor, given forth againſt the Fryers; wherewith the Divines and Students of *Paris* being not well contented, ſtirred up four principal Doctors: The firſt and chief Captain was *Galiel.de Sancto Amore*, mentioned before, pag. 357. againſt whom wrote *Albertus Magnus*, and *Thom. Aquine*. And at laſt he was condemned by this foreſaid Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, in the *Extrav. Non ſine multa*: The ſecond was *Simon Tornacenſis*: The third *Godfridus de fontibus*: The fourth *Henricus de Gandavo*. Theſe four with their other Complices, compiled a certain Book againſt the begging Order of Fryers, both *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, intituled, *De periculis Eccleſiæ*, containing fourteen Chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the laſt, with thirty nine Articles againſt the Fryers, we have already tranſlated and expreſſed, pag. 362. Beſides theſe thirty nine Articles, be other ſeven Articles moreover to the ſaid Book annexed, under the name of the Students of *Paris* againſt the Fryers, proving why the ſaid Fryers ought not to be admitted into their Society. Which ſeven Articles, becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here before to place, than to omit them.

Pope Alexander the Fourth ſtandeth in the acts of Pope Innocent his Predeceſſor, given forth againſt the Fryers.

Extrav. non ſine multa. Gul. de Sancto Amore. Simon Tornacenſis. Godfridus de Fontibus. Hen. de Gandavo. Four Champions againſt the Fryers.

Certain Articles given out by the Students of Paris, *againſt the Fryers, why they ſhould not be admitted to their Society.*

Articles of the Students of Paris againſt the Fryers.

FIrſt we ſay, they are not to be admitted to the Society of our School, but upon will and licence. For our Company or Fellowſhip ought not to be coactive, but voluntary, and free.

Secondly,

Secondly, We ſay they are not be admitted, forſomuch as we oft proved their Community manifold ways to be hurtful and incommodious.

Thirdly, Seeing they be of a diverſe Profeſſion from us (for they are called Regular, and not Scholaſtical) we therefore ought not to be joyned and aſſociate together in one Scholaſtical Office; foraſmuch as the Council of *Spain* doth ſay, *Thou ſhalt not plough with an Ox, and with an Aſs together.* Which is to ſay, Men of divers profeſſions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or ſtanding, for their ſtudies and conditions be diſagreeing and diſſevered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one Communion.

Concilium Hiſpan.

Fourthly, We affirm by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted, becauſe they work diſſentions and offences; for ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom. ult. We deſire you Brethren, that ye obſerve and take heed of ſuch as make diſſentions and offendicles about the Doctrine which you have learned by the Apoſtles, and avoid them: for ſuch ſerve not the Lord, but their own belly,* Gloſſ. *Some they flatter, ſome they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies.* That through their ſweet and pleaſant words, and by their Benedictions, they may deceive the hearts of the ſimple, *Gloſſ. That is, with their fine ſugered and trim couched words they ſet forth their own Traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the ſimple Innocents.*

The Fryers make diſſentions.

Fryers devour mens houſes *Fryers.* ſtrainers diſtrict.

Fifthly, We ſay they are not to be admitted, for that we fear left they be in the number of them, which go about and devour mens houſes: for they thruſt in themſelves into every mans houſe, ſearching and ſacking the conſcience and ſtates of all perſons: and whom they find eaſie to be ſeduced, and women, ſuch they do circumvent, and lead them away from the counſels of their Prelates, binding them either in act or oath: from ſuch we are warned by the Apoſtle to avoid.

Sixthly, We ſay they are to be avoided, becauſe we fear they are falſe Prophets. Which being neither Biſhops, nor Pariſh-Prieſts, nor yet their Vicars, nor ſent by them, yet they preach (not ſent) againſt the mind of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 10. ſaying, *How ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* for elſe there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach uncalled. Seeing therefore that ſuch are ſo dangerous to the Church, they ought to be avoided.

Fryers preach uncalled.

Seventhly, We ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearching and inquiring of other mens doings and ſpiritual demenor. And they yet be neither Apoſtles, nor yet Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, as Biſhops, nor of the number of the ſeventy two Diſciples of the Lord; nor their Succeſſors, that is, Pariſh-Prieſts, nor their Helpers, nor yet Vicars. Wherefore, ſeeing they live ſo in no Order, by the Sentence of the Apoſtle we are commanded to avoid them, 2 *Theſſ. ult.* where he ſaith, *We admoniſh and denounce unto you (O Brethren) in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; that is, as the *Gloſs* ſaith, *(We Command you by the Authority of Chriſt) that you withdraw your ſelves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you have received of us, &c.* Look upon the common gloſs of this place, and you ſhall find, that ſuch are to be avoided till time they amend from ſo doing, &c.

Fryers have no order of any calling in the Church.

Beſides theſe Articles above rehearſed, certain Propoſitions or Concluſions were alſo propounded in the Schools of *Paris* the ſame time, ſolemnly to be diſputed and defended againſt the Fryers: which, in a brief ſum of words to collect them, were theſe:

Certain concluſions in the Univerſity of *Paris* to be diſputed of againſt the Fryers.

Firſt, That the begging-Fryers were not in the ſtate of Salvation.

Secondly, That they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdly, That they ought not to exerciſe the Office of Preaching, or to hear the Confeſſions of them that will come unto them, although being licenſed thereunto by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by the Diocеſan: forſomuch as the ſame is prejudicial to the Miniſters and Prieſts of the Pariſhes.

All theſe aforeſaid Articles and Concluſions, with the Book ſet forth by theſe *Pariſ*-men, this Pope *Alexander* the Fourth condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, writing his Precepts to the *French* King, and alſo the Univerſity of *Paris*, in the favour of the Fryers; willing and commanding the ſaid Fryers to be reſtored to all their Privileges and Liberties in as ample manner, as in Pope *Gregories* time before.

[1 KING] [Edw. 3]

Pope *Alexander* the Fourth a great favourer of the Fryers.

Another Privilege given to the Fryers by Pope *Clement* the fourth. *Ex Clement. Religioſam vitam.*

Not long after Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, followed *Clement* the Fourth, *Anno* 1265. and ſate three years: who alſo gave the priviledge to the Fryers, beginning, *Quidam temere, &c.* In which priviledge he condemneth them that ſay, that no man without licence of his Curate or Miniſter, ought to confeſs him to the Fryers, or that a Subject ought to aſk licence of their Miniſters ſo to do, which was againſt the Canon *Omnis utriuſque ſexus, &c.* made by Pope *Innocent* the Third, before recited.

Pope *Martin* the fourth holdeth with Curates againſt the Fryers.

After this *Clement* again came Pope *Martin* the Fourth, *Anno* 1281. who renewed again the Canon, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, in the behalf of the Curates againſt the Fryers.

Pope *Boniface* the Eighth holdeth with the Fryers againſt the Curates. *Ex Clement. Conſtitu. Super Cathedram.*

This Pope *Boniface* the Eighth began to ſit, *Anno* 1294. and ſate eight years and nine months. Who taking ſide with the Fryers gave to them another Priviledge, beginning, *Supra Cathedram, &c.* In the which priviledge he licenſed the Fryers, that without licence of Vicars of Churches they ſhall firſt preſent themſelves to the Prelates to be admitted; by whom if they be refuſed the ſecond time, then they, upon ſpecial authority of this Pope, ſhall be priviledged, without either Biſhop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confeſſions, whoſoever will come to them revoking all that was decreed by his Predeceſſors before to the contrary.

Vide ult. Tom. de Concil. Conſtitu. Bonifac. octav. Sacro. Sanct. Concil. Lateran. ſub Leone 10. Sacro. Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. ſupra Calabrum.

By this Pope *Boniface*, a certain *Dominick-Fryer* was made Cardinal, named *Nicolaus de Tervoiſe*, and after the death of *Boniface* he was alſo made Pope, *Anno* 1303. ſurnamed Pope *Benedictus* 11. who, ſeeing the conſtitution of *Boniface* his Predeceſſor to gender diſſention between the Prieſts and Fryers, made another conſtitution, beginning, *Inter cunctas, &c.* revoking the conſtitution of *Boniface* his Predeceſſor. Upon which conſtitution of Pope *Benedict*, *Joannes Monachus* making a gloſs, revoked alſo his other made upon the conſtitution of Pope *Boniface* before.

The three Aſſertions of Joan. de Poliaco ſummed by the Fryers.

His three Aſſertions.

Ex Clement. Super cauſis. Ne pannus vnder nul autore allegid ſeu Interpretandis ſubi penæ mention.

Again, after this *Benedictus* the Eleventh, followed Pope *Clement* the Fifth, *Anno* 1305. and ſate nine years. Who, in his General-Council holden at *Vienna*, revoked the conſtitution of *Benedictus* his Predeceſſor, and renewed again the former Decree of *Boniface* by a new conſtitution of his, beginning *Dudum a Bonifacio* 8. *&c.* Which conſtitution moreover was confirmed afterward by Pope *John* the 22th. *Anno* 1316. Which Pope alſo cauſed *Joannes de Poliaco* to recant.

Pope *Clement* the Fifth holdeth with the Fryers, and repealeth the Conſtitution of *Bonifacius*. *Ex Clement. cap. Dudum.*

Upon this variable diverſity of the Popes (one diſſenting and repugning from another) roſe among the Divines and School-men in Univerſities great matter of contention, as well in the Univerſity of *Paris*, as the Univerſity of *Oxford* about the begging-Fryers, ſome holding one way, ſome another way. But eſpecially five principal Opinions be noted of learned men, who, then diſputing againſt the Fryers, were condemned for Hereticks, and their Aſſertions reproved.

The firſt was the Opinion of them which defended, that the Fryers might not by the Licence of the Biſhop of *Rome* and of the Prelates preach in Pariſhes, and hear confeſſions. And of this opinion was *Guliel. de ſancto Amore*, with his Fellows, who, as it is ſaid, were condemned.

Five diverſe opinions of learned men in this age holding againſt the Fryers.

The firſt Opinion.

The ſecond Opinion was this, that Fryers, although not by their own authority, yet by the priviledge of the Pope, and of the Biſhop, might preach and hear confeſſions in Pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the Pariſh-Prieſts. Of this opinion was *Bernardus*, gloſſing upon the Canon, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, afore mentioned.

The ſecond Opinion.

Bernardus ſuper cap. Omnis utriuſque.

The third Opinion was, that Fryers might preach and hear confeſſions without licence of the Pariſh-Prieſts; but yet the ſaid Pariſhioners notwithſtanding were bound, by the Canon *Omnis utriuſque ſexus* to repeat the ſame ſins again, if they had no other, to their own proper Curate: and of this opinion were many, as *Gloſſ. de*

The third Opinion.

[1 KING] [Edw. 3]

Gloſſ. de ſolitus, Henr. de Gandavo, Joannes Monachus cardi; Joannes de Poliaco, which *Joannes de Poliaco* Pope *John* the 22th cauſed openly in *Paris* to recant and retract.

Ex libro fratris Eglidii.

This *Joannes de Poliaco* Doctor of Divinity in *Paris*, being complained of by the Fryers for certain Articles or Aſſertions, was ſent for to the Pope: where time and place being to him aſſigned, he, in the audience of the Pope and of frierly Cardinals and other Doctors, was ſtraitly examined of his Articles. To make the ſtory ſhort, he, at length ſubmitting himſelf to the authority of the terrible See of *Rome*, was cauſed to recant his Aſſertions openly at *Paris*: his Aſſertions which he did hold were theſe.

The three Aſſertions of Joannes de Poliaco, *which he was cauſed by the Pope to recant at* Paris.

Vide de Proceſſu cauſed to recant by Pope John 22.

Whereof the firſt was, they which were confeſſed to Fryers, although having a general Licence to hear Confeſſions, were bound to confeſs again their ſins to their own Pariſh-Prieſt, by the Conſtitution *Omnis utriuſque ſexus, &c.*

The ſecond was, that the ſaid Conſtitution *Omnis utriuſque ſexus* ſtanding in his force, the Pope could not make, but Paſtiſhioners were bound once a year to confeſs their ſins to their Prieſt. For the doing otherwiſe importeth a contradiction in it ſelf.

The third was, that the Pope could not give general Licence to hear Confeſſions ſo, but that the Pariſhioner ſo confeſſed was bound to reiterate the ſame confeſſion made, unto his own Curate. Which he proved by theſe places of the Canon Law, 25. *queſt.* 1. *Quæ ad perpetuam.* Thoſe things which be generally ordained for publick utility, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. *Item*, the Decrees of the ſacred Canons, none ought to keep more than the Biſhop Apoſtolical, &c. *Ibidem. Item*, to alter or to ordain any thing againſt the Decrees of the Fathers, is not in the authority or power, no not of the Apoſtolical See, *Ibidem.*

The fourth Opinion.

The fourth Opinion was, that the Fryers by the Licence of the Pope and of the Biſhops might lawfully hear Confeſſions, and the people might be of them confeſſed and abſolved. But yet notwithſtanding, it was reaſon, convenient, honeſt, and profitable, that once in the year they ſhould be confeſſed to their Curates (although being confeſſed before to the Fryers) becauſe of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, eſpecially at *Eaſter*. Of which opinion was *Guliemus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gaudano* alſo held it not only to be convenient, but alſo that they were bound ſo to do.

Guliel. de monte Landuno, Henricus de Gandavo.

The fifth Opinion.

The fifth Opinion was, that albeit the Fryers might at all times, and at *Eaſter* alſo, hear Confeſſions as the Curates did; yet it was better and more ſafe, at the time of *Eaſter*, to confeſs to the Curates, than to the Fryers. And of this opinion was this our *Armachanus*, of whom we preſently now intreat.

And thus have ye, as in a brief ſum, opened unto you, what was the matter of contention between the Fryers and the Church-men. What Popes made with the Fryers, and what Popes made againſt them. Moreover, what learned men diſputed againſt them in *Paris*, and other places, and what were their Opinions.

The matter of contention about the Fryers ſtood in four Points: Firſt, preaching without Licence of Curates. Secondly, in hearing Confeſſion. Thirdly, in burying. Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

Popes that maintained the Fryers.		Popes that maintained Curates.	
Honorius,	3	*Innocentius,*	3
Gregorius,	9	*Innocentius,*	4
Were *Alexander,*	4	Were *Martinus,*	4
Clemens,	4	*Benedictus,*	11
Bonifacæ,	8		
Clemens,	5		

The learned men that diſputed againſt the Fryers.

Guliemus de S. Amore.	All theſe were condemned by the Popes, or elſe cauſed to recant.
Bernardus ſuper capitulum, Omnis utriuſque ſexus.	
Godfridus de Fontibus.	
Were *Henricus de Gandavo.*	
Guliemus de Landuno.	
Joannes Monachus Cardin.	
Joannes de Poliaco.	
Armachanus.	

Ex libris ejus dem, Declaratione cauſarum.

These conſiderations and circumſtances hitherto premiſed, for the more opening of this preſent cauſe of *Armachanus* ſuſtained againſt the idle beggerly Sects of Fryers, in whom the Reader may well perceive *Antichriſt* plainly reigning and fighting againſt the Church: it now remaineth, that as I have before declared the travels and troubles of divers godly learned men in the Church ſtriving againſt the ſaid Fryers, continually from the time of *Gulielmus de Amore*, hitherto; ſo now foraſmuch as this our *Armachanus* laboured, and in the ſame Cauſe ſuſtained the like Conflict with the ſame *Antichriſt*, we likewiſe collect and open his Reaſons and Arguments uttered in the Conſiſtory, and in the Audience of the Pope himſelf, wherewith he maintaineth the true Doctrine and Cauſe of the Church againſt the peſtiferous canker creeping in by theſe Fryers after ſubtil ways of hypocriſie, to corrupt the ſincere ſimplicity of Chriſts holy Faith and perfect Teſtament. The which Reaſons and Arguments of his, with the whole proceſs of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the utility of the Church more amply and largely to diſcourſe and profecute, for that I note in the Sects, Inſtitutions, and Doctrine of theſe Fryers, ſubtil poyſon to lurk, more pernicious and hurtful to the Religion of Chriſt and Souls of Chriſtians, than all men peradventure do conſider.

Thus *Armachanus*, joyning with the Clergy of *England*, diſputed and contended with the Fryers here of *England*, *Anno* 1358. about a double matter. Whereof the one was concerning confeſſion and other excheats which the Fryers incroached in Pariſh-Churches againſt the Curates, and publick Paſtors of Churches. The other was concerning wilful beggery and poverty, which the Fryers then took upon them, not upon any neceſſity, being otherwiſe ſtrong enough to work for their living, but only upon a wilful and affected profeſſion. For the which cauſe the Fryers appealed him up to the Court of *Rome*. The occaſion whereof thus did riſe.

It befel that *Armachanus*, upon certain buſineſs coming up to *London*, found there certain Doctors diſputing and contending about the begging of Chriſt our Saviour. Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requeſted oft times thereunto, at requeſt made ſeven or eight Sermons unto the people at *London*, wherein he uttered nine concluſions: whereof the firſt and principal concluſion was, touching the matter of the Fryers Privileges in hearing confeſſions. His concluſion was this:

Firſt, That if a doubt or queſtion be moved for hearing confeſſions, which of two places is rather to be choſen; The Pariſh-Church is to be preferred before the Church of the Fryers.

Secondly, being demanded, Whether is to be taken (to hear the confeſſion of the Pariſhioners, the Parſon or Curate, or the Fryer) it is to be ſaid, rather the Parſon or the Curate.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That our Lord Jesus Christ in his humane conversation was always poor, but that he loved not poverty, or did covet to be poor.

Fourthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never beg, wilfully professing to be poor.

Fifthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never teach wilfully to beg, or to profess wilful beggery.

The sixth conclusion was, That Christ our Lord held the contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purposely, without meer necessity, to beg.

Seventhly, That it is neither wisdom nor holiness, for any man to take upon him wilful beggery perpetually to be observed.

The eighth, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Observants, or Fryers minorites, to observe wilful poverty.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, which condemned the Libel of the Masters of *Paris*: that the same Bull touched none of these seven last Conclusions.

Armachanus cited up to the Pope by the Fryers.

Upon these nine Conclusions premised, *Armachanus* being appealed, cited, and brought up to the presence of the Pope, began to prove the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions under protestation made, that his intention was not to affirm any thing contrary to the Christian Faith, or to the Catholick Doctrine, or that should be prejudicial or destructive to the Orders of the begging-Fryers, such as were approved by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Bishops; but only his intention was, to have the said Orders reduced to the purity of their first Institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his Reasons to be heard; which if they should be found weaker than the Reasons of the Fryers, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the Fryers might justly be rewarded for their flatulentous Obtractations and publick Contumelies, and injurious dealings both privately and publickly wrought and fought against him: and so taking for his theme, *Nolite judicare secundum faciem, sed justum judicium judicate, &c.* That is, *Judge not after the outward face, but judge true Judgment, &c.* *John* the seventh; he entreth to the probation of his conclusion; first, beginning with the former conclusion; that the Parish-Church was a place more fit and convenient for the confessions or burials of the Parishioners to be used, than any other exempt Church or place of the Fryers. Which he proved by three Causes; First, for the more fureness or certainty to the conficence of the Parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the more utility and profit of him. Thirdly, for the less incommodity insuing by confessions taken in Parish-Churches, than in Fryers Churches.

The protestation of *Armachanus*.

His Theme.

John 7.

The first conclusion proponed.

Probation.

Certainty. Utility. Commodity

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed.

Deut. 12.

As touching the first, for the more assuredness and certainty, thus he argued upon the place of *Deut.* 12. *Unto that place which the Lord your God shall assign of all your Tribes, to place his Name and dwell therein; thither shall you resort, to offer up your Oblations, Tythes, &c.* And in the same place God saith, *See thou offer not thy Sacrifice in every place that liketh thee, but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the Tribes; and thou shalt do in all things as I command thee.* Also upon the words of *Levit.* 4. & 5. which be these, *Whosoever sinneth of ignorance shall offer to the Priest, and he shall pray for him, and he shall be forgiven, &c.* Upon these places thus he argued; that forasmuch as the Sacraments of the Church are to be frequented and used in no other place, but only in that, which by God himself peculiarly is assigned and commanded for the same; and seeing that elect place in the Law representeth the Parish-Churches; neither can it be proved that the Fryers Church is the place prescribed of God, but only permitted by Bishops of *Rome*; he concluded therefore, that Parish-Churches for confessions and burials were more fure and certain to the conficence of Parishioners, than the exempt places of the Fryers.

Levit. 4. 5.

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed by another reason.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that the Parish-Church standeth free from the Popes Interdict; so do not the Churches of the Fryers as which stand not so clear, but that they are under suspition and doubt of the Popes Interdict; by the *Decretal*, *De sepulturis in sexto cap. Animarum periculis.* In which *Decretal*, all such conventual Churches and Church-yards of Fryers be interdicted, which do induce any person or persons, either by Oath or Promise made, to choose their burying places in their Churches, as commonly the Fryers are reported to do: for else what Parishioner would forsake his own Church and Parish where his Ancestors do lie, to be buried among the Fryers, if the Fryers did not induce them so to do?

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Moreover, for the second part, concerning the utility of the place, that he confirmed doublewise; first, for that confessiõn, made within the Parish-Church, hath a double merit of Obedience, both for obeying the Commandment of God in opening his confessiõn (thus he speaketh according to the blindness of that time, for that auricular confession hath any Commandment of God cannot be proved) and also in obeying the Commandment of God in observing the place by him appointed, the which second merit of Obedience lacketh in the Fryers part. Secondly, he proved it to be greater utility for a Parishioner to confess him in his Parish-Church, than with the Fryers: because commonly the number of Christian-people praying is ten times more in Parish-Churches. Whereby it is to be thought, that each singular person may better be helped through more prayers, than in the Oratories of Fryers, &c.

The second part of the first conclusion confirmed.

Another confirmation of the second part of the first Article.

Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or Article he proved, that it had fewer incommodities every man to resort to his Parish-Church than to the Fryers; for that both great utility, and more certainty (as hath been proved) did insue thereof: which two being taken away, (as must needs, in resorting to the Fryers Church) then two special commodities should be hindred, and so great incommodities thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the Fryers.

The third part of the first conclusion proved.

Now to the second conclusion or Article, touching the person of the Fryer, and of the ordinary Curate. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the Office of Ecclesiastical Administration; the opinion of *Armachanus* was, that the ordinary Curate was better than the extraordinary Fryer, and that for the three foresaid respects, to wit, for certainty or assurance, for utility, and for incommodity to be avoided.

The second Conclusion or Article.

Three respects or causes to be proved.

First, that it is more safe and sure for the Parishioners, to resort to their Ordinary or Parish-Priest: he argued by three Reasons, First, because the person of the lawful Ordinary or Priest, is expressly of God commanded, where the person of the Fryer is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the Parishioner may more trust to his ordinary Curate; as who is more bound and obliged to provide, and to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary person. Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinary Curate, commonly there is no doubt of any Interdict to bind him; whereas contrary in the Fryers behalf there is good matter to doubt, whether he stand bound under the Popes Censure of Excommunication or not, and that for divers Causes, as by the *cap. Religiosi, in Clementinis de decimis.* Where it is decreed, That all such religious men which having no Benefices or Cure of Souls, presume to impropriate unto them Glebe-land, or other Tythes due unto Churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumvention) do incur the Sentence of Excommunication, *ipso facto.* Also by another *Cap. Religiosi, De privilegiis, in Clement.* Where it is said, That all such religious men are excommunicated *De facto*, whosoever do absolve any, against whom the Sentence of Excommunication hath been denounced by the Statute Provincial, or Synodal; as it is commonly said, that the Fryers hearing mens confessions are accustomed to do, in loosing them whom the Censure of Prelates or their Officials have bound. Whereof the said *Armachanus* bringeth forth example of his own Diocese: *For I* (said he) *in mine own Diocese of* Armach *have as good as two thousand under me, who by the Censure of Excommunication every year denounced against wilful Murtherers, common Thieves, burners of mens Houses, and such like Malefactors, stand accursed; of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely fourteen there be which come to me, or to any about me for their Absolution. And yet all they receive the Sacraments as others do, and all because they be absolved, or because they fain themselves to be absolved by none other than by Fryers; who in so doing are proved to be under the danger of Excommunication both the Fryer, and also the Parishioners, if they knowing thereof do consent to their error.*

Ca. Religiosi de privilegiis. Clement. in decimis.

In Clementinis de privilegiis. Religiosi.

The Fryers proved to be excommunicated by the Popes Law.

Also

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Also out of the said *Clementines* by three other places in one Chapter, he proved the Friers to be Excommunicate, to wit, in the Chapter *Cupientes, De panis in Clement.* In the which Chapter, First, all such Religious men are Excommunicate, which in their Sermons presume to withdraw their hearers from their Tythes-paying, due unto Churches. Secondly, In the said Chapter all such Friers are suspended from Preaching, and so are Excommunicate, which within a certain time did not make a Concion to such as come to their Confessions, they paying their Tythes truly and duly to the Church. Thirdly, In the foresaid Chapter also, all such Religious persons be bound in Excommunication, which induce men by any manner of means, either by vow, oath, or promise, to chuse their burials within their Churches, or not to change the same, if they have made any such promise before. In all which three points he proved the Friers to be culpable and Excommunicate.

Ca. Cupientes in Clement. The Friers proved to be excommunicated by the Popes Law.

The third part of the second conclusion argued.

Another proof that the Parish-Church is more safe than the Fryers Church, and that in confessions.

Moreover, that it is the more sure way for the Parishioners to resort to their appointed Curates, than to the Friers, he argueth thus: For that the Parish-Priest or Curate, being better acquainted with his own Parishioner than is a stranger, can better judg of the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister to him due Physick of penance for the same, and also will be more careful in curing him.

The second part of the second conclusion proved.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proved and argued, *Armachanus* proceedeth further to prove the second part; that it is better for the Parishioners to leave the Friers, and to resort to their own Pastors. Which he proved by eight or nine Reasons.

First, For that the ordinary Pastor is properly appointed of God unto that Ministry; whereas the Frier is but only permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, For that in resorting to the Ordinary of the Parish is a double reward of merit, whereas in coming to the Friers there is but one.

Thirdly, Because the Ordinary is more bound to his own flock, and is to be thought to be more tender and careful over them than a stranger.

Fourthly, Because in resorting to the person of his own Ordinary there is more affurance and certainty (as is above declared) than to another.

Example of the Friers theefs in *Oxford.*

Innocentius. *Si animarum.*

Fifthly, Because (as *Innocentius, Cap. Si Animarum*, saith) the coming to the Curate or Pastor Ordinary is more easie and light, both in the night, and in necessity.

Sixthly, Forsomuch as the Parishioner must needs come to his Curate at some time, and especially being in necessity, it is expedient and profitable that his former life before were known to him, rather than to the other.

Seventhly, For that (as the said *Innocentius* affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sin to the Parishioner to be confessed to his Curate whom he seeth every day, than to a Frier unknown.

Eighthly, Because it is more profitable, especially for them that live in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should hear also the confession of the other. So that hearing the confession of them both, as a spiritual Physician taking two Cures in one body, may better know what spiritual counsel is to be ministred to the one after he hath cured the other, *&c.*

These things thus proved before, then *Armachanus* consequently proceedeth to the third part; arguing how that greater detriments and inconveniences do ensue by Confessions, Burials, and other Ecclesiastical functions executed by the Friers, than by Pastors and Secular Curates, serving in Parishes. About the which matter the said *Armachanus* learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, proving and inferring how pernicious these Orders of Friers are to the whole state of the Church, and what mischief cometh by the priviledges of certain Popes, which have priviledged them to intermeddle in the office and function of Ecclesiastical Ministers, to preach and to take alms and tythes of the people, and Impropriations from the Church. All which his reasons and arguments to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, would make a matter of a large Book. Notwithstanding because it shall not be unfruitful both for the time present, and the posterity, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities received by these Friers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for us in unburdening the Church of this monstrous generation; and especially because the Book of *Armachanus* is rare otherwise to be found, intituled, *Defensorium Curatorum*; I have briefly therefore contracted out of the same certain of his reasons, such as seemed most appertaining and most worthy of noting.

Defensorium Curatorum. Armachanus.

The Friers a great cause of decay of learning.

And first, alledging the authority of *Innocent* the 4th; he imporreth four inconveniences rising by the Friers, which be these; Contempt of the people against their Ordinaries; decreasing of Devotion; taking away of shame from the people by confessing to the Friers; detaining of Oblations, such as the people are wont to give at their Confessions and Burials, and which by right belong to the Parish Churches.

Cap. Dudum

Item, By the said priviledges of the Popes, granted to the Friers, many other great enormities do rise. As first, because thereby the true shepherds do not know the faces of their flock.

The harms that come to the world by the Friers, declar'd.

Item, By the occasion of these priviledges given to the Friers, great contention, and sometimes blows rise between the Friers and secular Curates, about Titles, Impropriations, and other avails.

Item, By the occasion of the foresaid priviledges, divers young men as well in Universities as in their Fathers houses, are allured craftily by the Friers their Confessors to enter their Orders; from whence afterward they cannot get out though they would, to the great grief of their Parents, and no less repentance to the young men themselves. The example whereof *Armachanus* in the said his Treatise inferreth of a certain substantial *Englishman* being with him at his Inn in *Rome*; who having a Son at the University of *Oxford*, which was enticed by the Friers to enter into their Order, could by no means after release him out. But when his Father and his Mother would come unto him, they could not be suffered to speak with him, but under the Friers cuttody. Whereas the Scripture commandeth plainly, that whoso stealeth any man and selleth him (being thereof convicted) shall be put to death, *Exod.* 21. And for the same cause the Father was compelled to come up to *Rome* to seek remedy for his Son. And thus, saith *Armachanus*, it may appear what damage and detriments come by these Friers unto the common people.

Example of the Friers theefs in *Oxford.*

Friers who degree of Universities

And no less inconvenience and danger also by the said Friers riseth to the Clergy; forsomuch as Lay-men, seeing their Children thus to be stollen from them in the Universities by the Friers, do refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to follow the Plow, than so to be circumvented and defeated of their Sons at the Universities, as by daily experience (saith he) doth manifestly appeare. For whereas in my time (saith *Armachanus*) there were in the Universitie of *Oxford* thirty thousand Students; now are there not to be found six thousand. The occasion of which so great decay is to be ascribed to no other cause but to this circumvention only of the Friers above mentioned.

30000 Students in the time of *Oxford*, In *Armachanus.*

Over and besides this, another inconvenience as great or greater the said *Armachanus* inferred to proceed by the Friers through the decay of Doctrine, and knowledg in all manner of Faculties, and Liberal Sciences, which thus he declared: For that these begging Friers through their priviledges obtained of the Popes to preach, to hear Confessions, and to Bury; and through their Charters of Impropriations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craving, catching, and intermedling with Church-matters, that no Book could stir of any Science, either of Divinity, Law, or Physick, but they were both able and ready to buy it up. So that every Covent having a great Library full stuffed and furnished with Sorts of Books, and being so many Covents within the Realm, and in every Covent so many Friers increasing daily more and more; by reason thereof it came to pass that very few Books or none at all remain for other Students. Which by his own experience he thus testifieth, saying, That he himself sent forth to the Universitie four of his own Priests or Chaplains, who sending him word again, that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable Book of Divinity meet for their study, therefore were minded to return home to their Country; and one of them, he was sure, was returned by this time again.

Books not to be gotten for the Friers.

Example what lack of Books cometh by the Friers.

R r Further-

The Friers guilty in three ſeaſons: 1. Diſobedience. 2. Avarice. 3. Pride. *Armachanus* chargeth the Friers with diſobedience.

Furthermore, as he hath proved hitherto the Friers be hurtful both to the Laity, and to the Clergy; ſo proceeding farther, he proveth them to be hurtful alſo to themſelves: And that in three points, as incurring the vice of diſobedience againſt God, and againſt their own rule; the vice of avarice, and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he proſecuted in a long diſcourſe.

Firſt (ſaith he) they are diſobedient to the Law of God, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours houſe, ox, nor aſs, nor any thing that is his.* In that they procure the Popes Letters to preach in Churches, and to take Burials from Churches, with licence annexed withal to receive the avails which riſe of the ſame, which properly belongeth to the right of Pariſh-Priеſts.

Friers diſobedient to the rule of Scripture.

Item, They are diſobedient to this rule of the Goſpel: So do to other, as thou wouldeſt have done to thee.

Item, They be diſobedient againſt their own rule, which being founded upon ſtrait poverty and beggery, this licenſe obtained for them to require neceſſaries of the people for their labours, is repugning againſt the ſame foundation.

Item, They be diſobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which ſaith, *Let no man take honour unto him, except he be called*, as *Aaron*. Alſo St. *Paul* ſaith, *How ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?* And how obſerve they this rule of obedience, who profeſſing to keep the perfection of the Goſpel, yet contrary to the Goſpel procure to themſelves priviledges to run before they be ſent?

Item, To their own rule they are diſobedient; for where their Chapter ſaith, that if any will take upon them this Order, and will come to our Brethren; let our Brethren firſt ſend them to the Provincials to be examined of the Catholick Faith and Sacraments of the Church, *&c.* Contrary whereunto the Friers have procured a priviledg, that not only the Provincials, but other inferiors alſo may take unto them indifferently, whom they can catch; ſo far without all examination, that almoſt at this day there is no notable houſe of Friers, wherein is not either a whole, or half a Covent of Lads and Boys under ten years old, being circumvented, which neither can skill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

Friers diſobedient to their own profeſſion.

Again, the rule of *Francis* ſaith, that his Brethren Obſervants muſt obſerve not to preach in the Dioceſs of any Biſhop, without the conſent of the Biſhop. And moreover, the ſaid *Francis* in his Teſtament ſaith, That if he had as much wiſdom as *Solomon*, and found poor Secular Prieſts in the Pariſhes where they dwell, yet he would not preſume to preach without their will, and alſo would fear, love and honour them, and all other as his Maſters, and ſo they be. *Hæc ille.* Againſt which rule how the Friers do diſobey, how little they reverence Biſhops or Secular Prieſts, what priviledges, exemptions, and immunities they procure againſt them, the world may ſee and judg.

Item, When none may be admitted to preach, or to hear Confeſſions, unleſs they be entred into Orders; and ſeeing by the common Law of the Church, none muſt be admitted into holy Orders, except he have ſufficient title of living and clothing: the Friers therefore having no ſuch title (being wilful beggers) do diſobey in both reſpects, that is, both in entring into ſuch Orders without convenient title, and in exerciling the office of Preaching without ſuch lawful Orders.

Moreover, the foreſaid *Francis* to his Teſtament commandeth thus: I command (ſaith he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and ſingular my Brethren whereſoever they be, that none of them preſume to obtain in the Court of *Rome* any Letter or writing, either by himſelf, or by any other means, neither for the Church, nor for any other place, nor under any colour of preaching, nor yet for the perſecuting of their own bodies, *&c.* Againſt which Teſtament of *Francis*, the *Franciſcans*, in procuring their priviledges from the Biſhop of *Rome*, have incurred manifeſt diſobedience as all the world may ſee. Neither will this objection ſerve them, becauſe the Pope hath diſpenſed with *Francis* rule. For if the Teſtament of *Francis*, as he ſaith, came from God (and ſo ſhould God have three Teſtaments) how then can the Pope repeal his precept, or diſpenſe with his rule, when by the rule of the Law, *Par in parem non habet imperium?*

Secondly, Concerning the vice of avarice, manifeſtly it may be proved upon them (ſaith *Armachanus*) for elſe ſeeing ſo many charges belong to the office of a Pariſh Prieſt, as to miniſter the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, to viſit the ſick with extream unction, to baptize Children, to wed, with ſuch other, wherein ſtandeth as great devotion; how then happeneth it that theſe Friers, making no labour for theſe, only procure to themſelves priviledges to preach in Churches, to hear Confeſſions, and to receive licenſe to bury from Pariſh-Churches, but becauſe there is lucre and gain in theſe to be looked for, in the other is none?

{KING} {Luk. 9.} Armachanus chargeth the Friers with avarice.

Another proof.

Which alſo may appear by this, for otherwiſe if it were for meer devotion only, that they procure licenſe to bury from Pariſh-Churches, and to preach; why then have they procured with all licenſe to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their Funerals? And for their preaching, why have they annexed alſo licenſe to require and take of the people neceſſaries for their labour, but only avarice is the cauſe thereof?

Another proof.

Likewiſe for hearing of Confeſſions, when all good men have enough to know their own faults, and nothing left to hear the faults of other; it is probably to be ſuppoſed by this their priviledg of hearing all mens confeſſions, that they would never have been ſo deſirous of procuring that priviledg, were it not that theſe Friers did feel ſome ſweetneſs and gain to hang upon the ſame.

Another proof.

Item, where the rule of Frier *Francis* forbiddeth them to company with any woman, to enter into Monaſteries, to be God-fathers and Goſſips to men and women; how cometh it that they contrary to their rule enter into the ſecret Chambers of Queens, and other women, and are made to know the moſt ſecret counſels of their doings, but that avarice and commodity have ſo blinded their eyes, and lured their hearts.

Another proof. Armachanus chargeth the Friers with pride.

Thirdly, That the Friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the ſaid *Armachanus* proved thus:

To ſeek or to procure any high place in the Church, is a point of pride and ambition. *Chryſoſt. in opere perfecto: Nunquam ſine ambitione deſideratur primatus in Eccleſia.*

The Friers ſeek and procure a high place in the Church.

Ergo, The Friers are proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proveth, To have the ſtate of preaching and hearing confeſſions is in the Church a ſtate of honour.

The Friers ſeek and have procured the ſtate of preaching and hearing Confeſſions.

Ergo, The Friers ſeek and procure an high place in the Church, *&c.*

The third Concluſion of Article.

His third Concluſion was, that the Lord Chriſt in his humane converſation was always poor, not for that he loved or deſired poverty for it ſelf, *&c.* Wherein this is to be noted, that *Armachanus* differed not from the Friers in this, that Chriſt was poor, and that he loved poverty; but herein ſtood the difference, in manner of loving, that is, whether he loved poverty for it ſelf, or not. Wherein the foreſaid *Armachanus* uſed four probations.

Ex vita B. Clementis.

Firſt, forſomuch as to be poor is nothing elſe but to be miſerable, and ſeeing no man coveteth to be in miſery for it ſelf; therefore he concluded that Chriſt deſired not poverty for it ſelf.

Aeſt. Eccle. Lib. 1.

His ſecond reaſon was derived out of *Ariſtotle*: Nothing (ſaith he) is to be loved for it ſelf, but that which (all commodities being ſecluded which follow thereupon) is voluntarily fought and deſired. But take from poverty all reſpect of commodities following the ſame, it would be fought neither of God nor man. *Ergo*, he concluded, Chriſt loved no poverty for it ſelf.

Clements Example contrary to the Friers.

Thirdly again, No effect of ſin, ſaid he, is to be loved for it ſelf. But poverty is the effect of ſin. *Ergo*, poverty was not loved of Chriſt for it ſelf.

12 Goſſ. Cap. 1.

Fourthly, No privation of the thing that is good, is to be loved for it ſelf. Poverty is the privation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himſelf is principally rich): *Ergo*, Poverty for it ſelf was not loved of Chriſt.

The fourth Concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The fourth Concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord and Saviour did never beg wilfully. Which he proveth by ſundry reaſons.

Firſt, For that Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould break the Law, which ſaith, Thou ſhalt not covet thy Neighbours houſe, his wife, his ſervant, his maid, his ox, his aſs, or any

{KING} {Luk. 9.} any thing that is his, *Exod.* 20. Into the danger of which Commandment he that beggeth voluntarily muſt needs incur.

2. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged voluntarily, he ſhould have committed ſin againſt another Commandment, which ſaith, *There ſhall be no beggar, nor needy perſon among you*, &c. *Deut. 6.*

3. *Item*, Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould have tranſgreſſed the Emperors Law, under which he would himſelf be ſubject (as appeareth by giving, and bidding tribute to be given to *Ceſar*) foraſmuch as the ſame Emperors Law ſaith, There ſhall no valiant beggar be ſuffered in the City.

4. *Item*, If Chriſt had been a wilful beggar, he had broke the Law of loving his neighbour; whom he had vexed, having no need. For whoſo without need aſketh or craveth of his neighbour, doth but vex him, in ſuch ſort as he would not be vexed himſelf. Which Chriſt would never do.

5. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had moved ſlander thereby to his own Goſpel, which he with Miracles did confirm; for then they that ſaw his Miracle in feeding 5000 in the wilderneſs, would have thought much with themſelves how that miracle had been wrought, if he which fed other, either could not, or would not feed himſelf.

6. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himſelf condemneth by *Paul*, for ſo we read, 1 *Tim. 6.* that *Paul* condemneth them, which eſteem piety to be gain and lucre. Which all they do, that under the colour of piety, hunt or ſeek for gain, when otherwiſe they need not.

7. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaring an untruth in ſo doing; for he that knoweth in his mind that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he aſketh of other, declareth in himſelf an untruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwiſe than he is in very deed; which Chriſt without doubt never did, nor would ever do.

8. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, that is, having no true need thereunto, than had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, ſeeming to be that he was not, and to lack when he did not; or elſe to be a true beggar in very deed, not able to ſuffice his neceſſity. For he is a true beggar indeed, which being conſtrained by meer neceſſity is forced to aſk of other, that which he is not able to give to himſelf. But neither of theſe two agreeth to Chriſt.

Ex vita B. Clementis.

9. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, then why did *Peter* rebuke the Mother of St. *Clement* his Diſciple, finding her to ſtand among the beggers, whom he thought to be ſtrong enough to labour with her hands for her living, if the in ſo doing had followed the example of Chriſt?

Clements Example contrary to the Friers.

10. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully: And if the Friers do rightly define perfection of the Goſpel by wilful poverty, then was *Clement* St. *Peters* Succeſſor to blame, which laboured ſo much to remove away beggery and poverty from among all them that were converted to the faith of Chriſt, and is ſpecially for the ſame commended of the Church.

12 Goſſ. Cap. 1.

11. Again, why did the ſaid *Clement*, writing to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, command ſo much to obey the Doctrine and Examples of the Apoſtles; who as he ſheweth in that Epiſtle, had no begger nor needy perſon amongſt them, if Chriſtian perfection (by the Friers Philoſophy) ſtandeth in wilful beggery?

12. *Item*, If Chriſt the High Prieſt had begged wilfully, then did the holy Church err wittingly, which ordained that none without ſufficient title of living and clothing, ſhould be admitted to holy Orders. And moreover, when it is ſaid in the Canonical Decrees, that the Biſhop or Clerk that beggeth bringeth ſhame upon the whole Order of the Clergy.

13. *Item*, If Chriſt had wilfully begged, then the examples of wilful poverty had pertained to the perfection of Chriſtian life, which is contrary to the old Law, which commandeth the Prieſts (which lived then after the perfection of the Law) to have poſſeſſions and tythes to keep them from beggery.

14. *Item*, If Chriſt did wilfully beg, then beggery were a point of Chriſtian perfection. And ſo the Church of God ſhould err, in admitting ſuch Patrimonies and Donations given to the Church, and ſo in taking from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Again, what will theſe Friers which put their perfection in begging, ſay to *Melchiſedech*, who without begging or wilful poverty, was the High Prieſt of God, and King of *Salem*, and prefigured the Order and Prieſthood of Chriſt?

16. And if beggery be ſuch a perfection of the Goſpel (as the Friers ſay) how cometh it, that the Holy Ghoſt given to the Apoſtles, which ſhould lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggarly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned thereof throughout the whole Teſtament of God?

17. Moreover, where the Prophet ſaith, *I never did ſee the juſt man forſaken, nor his ſeed go begging their bread:* how ſtandeth this with the juſtice of Chriſt, which was moſt perfectly juſt, if he ſhould be forſaken, or his ſeed go beg their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable Doctrines of Friers *Franciſcan*, which put their perfection in wilful begging?

18. Finally, do we not read that Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to preach without ſcrip or wallet, and bid them ſalute no man by the way? Meaning that they ſhould beg nothing of any man: Did not the ſame Chriſt alſo labour with his hands under *Joſeph?* St. *Paul* likewiſe did he not labour with his hands, rather than he would burden the Church of the *Corinthians?* And where now is the Doctrine of the Friers, which putteth the ſtate of perfection in wilful begging?

The fifth Concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The fifth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers, was this, That Chriſt never taught any man wilfully to beg, which he proved thus: It is written, *Act.* 1. Chriſt began to do and to teach. If Chriſt therefore, which did never wilfully beg himſelf, as hath been proved, had taught men otherwiſe to do; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, If Chriſt which never begged himſelf wilfully, had taught men this Doctrine of wilful begging contrary to his own doing; he had given ſuſpition of his Doctrine, and miniſtred ſlander of the ſame, as hath been proved in the fourth Concluſion before.

Moreover, in ſo teaching, he had taught contrary to the Emperors juſt Law, which expreſly forbiddeth the ſame.

The ſixth Concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The ſixth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers was, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt teacheth us, that we ſhould not beg wilfully, which he proveth by ſeven or eight Reaſons.

Firſt, Where it is written, *Luk.* 14. *When thou makeſt a Feaſt call the poor, weak, lame, and blind; and thou ſhalt be bleſſed: for they have not wherewith to reward thee again.*

To this alſo pertaineth the Decree of the Apoſtle, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. *He that will not work, let him not eat.* Furthermore, the ſame Apoſtle addeth in the ſame place: *For you have no for example, how we were burdenous to no man, neither did we eat our bread freely, but with labour and wearineſs, toiling both day and night, and all becauſe we would not burthen you*, &c.

4. *Item*, where we read in the Scripture the ſlothful man reprehended, *Prov.* 6. *Why ſleepeſt thou? O ſluggard! thy poverty and beggery is coming upon thee like an armed man*, &c. And again in the ſame Book of *Proverbs*, *The ſlothful man* (ſaith the Scripture) *for cold would not go to the Plow, therefore he ſhall beg in ſummer, and no man ſhall give him*, &c. Alſo in the ſaid Book of *Proverbs*, the laſt Chapter, *The diligent labouring woman is commended, whoſe fingers are exerciſed about the rock and ſpindle.* And all theſe places make againſt the wilful begging of ſturdy Friers.

The Wiſdom of Frier Francis.

5. *Item*, Frier *Francis* their own founder in his own Teſtament ſaith, And I have laboured with mine own hands, and will labour, and will that all my Frierlings ſhall labour and live of their labour, whereby they may ſupport themſelves in an honeſt mean. And they that cannot work, let them learn to work, not for any covetouſneſs to receive for their labour, but for example of good works, and to avoid idleneſs. And when the price of their labour is not given them, let them reſort to the Lords Table, and aſk their alms from door to door, *&c.* Thus much in his

Testament. And in his rule he saith, Such brethren to whom the Lord hath given the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and devoutly, &c. Wherefore it is to be marvelled how those Friers with their wilful begging, dare transgress the rule and obedience of Frier *Francis* their great Grandfathers Testament.

6. *Item*, If Christ at any time did beg, or did lack, it was more because he would use a miracle in his own person, than because he would beg wilfully; as when he sent *Peter* to the Sea to find a Groat in the fishes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to do, than to beg the Groat of the people, which he might soon have obtained.

7. *Item*, By divers other his examples he seemeth to teach the same, as where he saith, *The workman is worthy of his hire*. Also, *The workman is worthy of his meat*, *Matt.* 10. *Luk.* 10. And when he spake to *Zache*, that he would turn into his house. And so likewise in *Bethany* and all other places he ever used rather to burden his friends than to beg of other unacquainted.

8. *Item*, With plain precept thus he sendeth forth his Disciples, willing them not to go from house to house, *Luk.* 10. so as Friers use now to go. Many other Scriptures there be which reprove begging, as where it is said, *The foot of a fool is swift to the house of his neighbour*, *Eccles.* 29. And in another place, *My child* (saith he) *see thou want not in the time of thy life, for better it is to die than to lack.* Eccles. 21.

9. *Item*, Where Christ counselling the young man, bad him go and sell that he had, and give to the poor, and follow him if he would be perfect; he doth not there call him to wilful begging, but calleth him to follow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The seventh Conclusion of *Armachanus* against the Friers.

The seventh Conclusion of *Armachanus* is, That no wife nor true holy man can take upon him wilful poverty to be observed always, which he proveth by four reasons.

First, That wilful beggery was reproved both by the Doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the Conclusion before hath been declared.

2. *Item*, A man in taking upon him wilful beggery, in so doing should lead himself into temptation, which were against the Lords-prayer. For as much as *Solomon*, Prov. 30. saith, O *Lord, beggery and great riches give me not, but only sufficiency to live upon, lest if I have too much, I be driven to deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? Again, if I have too little, I be forced thereby to steal, and perjure the name of my God.* Wherefore saith *Eccles.* 27. *For need many have offended.* And therefore they that chuse wilful poverty, take to them great occasion of temptation.

Wilful beggery not to be permitted.

3. *Item*, They that take wilful poverty upon them, when they need not, induce themselves voluntarily to break the Commandment of God, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours house, &c.* Again, where it is commanded, *There shall be no beggar among you*, &c.

4. *Item*, He that taketh upon him needlessly and wilfully to beg, maketh himself unapt to receive holy Orders, having (as is said) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the Laws of the Church.

The eighth Conclusion of *Armachanus* against the Friers.

The eighth Conclusion of this matter, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Friers observant, to observe wilful beggery. Which (saith he) may be proved, for that Frier *Francis*, both in his Rule and in his Testament being left to his *Franciscans*, doth plainly prefer labour before begging.

The ninth Conclusion of *Armachanus*. Touching this Book of the Masters of Paris condemned, took *A.* 1305. *Ex Clement. Extra quæ Nicholaus* the third revoketh the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the fourth.

The ninth and last Conclusion of this matter is, That the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, which condemneth the Book of the Masters of *Paris*, impugneth none of these Conclusions premised. For the proof thereof he thus inferred.

1. First, That Pope *John* the 24*th*, in his Constitution, beginning thus, *Quia quorundam*, affirmeth expreſly, how Pope *Nicholas* the Third revoked and called back the said Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, and all other writings of his, touching all such Articles, which in the same foresaid Constitution of this Pope *John* be contained and declared. Wherein also is declared how strait the poverty of the Friers ought to be, which they call wilful poverty.

2. *Item*, It is manifest and notorious to all men, how the said Pope *Nicholas* the Third, in his Declaration sheweth how the Friers both ought to labour with their hands, and how moreover the said Friers ought not to preach within the Dioceſs of any Bishop, wherefoever they be resisted. Which being so, the conclusion appeareth that the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, as touching these Articles, is void and of none effect. Besides the which Articles, there is nothing else in the said Bull of *Alexander* (that I remember) which impugneth any of these Conclusions premised.

{KING'S Book.}

Many things mo (said he) I had besides these, both to object and to answer again to the same, and to confirm more surely and firmly these my reasons and assertions premised. But I have already too much wearied your Holiness, and your reverend Lordships here present. Wherefore I conclude and humbly and devoutly beseech you according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter, that you judge not after the outward face, but judge ye true judgment, *Joh.* 7. *Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.*

The ended conclusion of this Oration of Armachanus before the Pope. *Ex Defensorio Curatorum.*

Notes to be observed in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be observed.

BY this Oration of Armachanus *the Learned Prelate, thus made before Pope* Innocent *and his Cardinals, divers and sundry things there be for the utility of the Church worthy to be observed. First, what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Christ by these Friers. Also what persecution followeth after by the means of them against so many Learned men and true servants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariete was among the Popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the Friers. Fourthly, what pestiferous Doctrine subverting well near the Testament of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, what decay of Ministers in Christs Church, as appeareth, pag.* 469. *Sixthly, what robbing and circumventing of mens children, as appeareth, pag.* 469. *Seventhly, what decay of Universities, as appeareth by* Oxford, *pag.* 469. *Eightly, that damage to Learning and lack of Books to Students came by these Friers, as appeareth, p.* 469. *Ninthly, to what pride, under colour of fained humility, to what riches, under dissimuled poverty they grew, here is to be seen. Insomuch that at length through their subtil and most dangerous hypocrisie they crept up to be Lords, Archbishops, Cardinals, and at last also Chancellors of Realms, yea and of most secret Counsel with Kings and Queens, as appeareth, pag.* 470.

Contrariety among the Popes.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the Church to be marked, that forsomuch as these Friers (with their new found Testament of Frier Francis) *not being contented with the Testament of God in his Son Christ, began to spring the same time when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose by order of the Scripture, whether therefore it is to be doubted that these Friers make up the body of Antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the Church or not; which is much lesse to be doubted, because whoso list to try shall find, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be privy, all be together cruel, yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiveth the simple Christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this Doctrine of the Friers.*

Whether the Friers make up the body of Antichrist or no.

But of this Oration of *Armachanus* enough. Which Oration what succes it had with the Pope, by Story it is not certain. By his own life declared it appeareth that the Lord so wrought that his enemies did not triumph over him. Nor withstanding, this by Story appeareth, that he was seven or eight years in banishment for the same matter, and there died and in the same at *Avinion*, of whom a certain Cardinal hearing of his death, openly protested that the same day a mighty pillar of Christs Church was fallen.

The death of godly *Armachanus*.

The testimony of a Cardinal upon *Armachanus*.

After the death of *Armachanus*, the Friers had contentions likewise with the Monks of *Benedicts* Order about the same year 1360. and so removed their cause, both against the Monks, and against the Univerſity of *Oxford*, unto the Court of *Rome*; wherein, saith the Author, they lacked another *Richard. Ex Botonero*. By this that appeareth to be true, which is reſerred in the first Tome of *Wald.* that long debate continued between the Friers and the Univerſity of *Oxford*: Against whom first stood *Robert Grosted* Bishop of *Lincoln*, above mentioned, then *Sevallus* of *York*, *Johan. Bacomhorp*, and now this *Armachanus*, of whom here presently

Ex Clem. Reg. Rich. 2.

Friers against the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

English writers against the Friers.

{KING'S Book.}

Friers that refuse to preach Armachanum.

Trifling by certain Friers where as like are not alive and have been ill.

Pope Urban the Fifth. 1362.

Urban commendeth the purpose of good Prelates.

An Answer made to Urban being made Pope.

fently we intreat. And after him again *John Wickliffe*, of whom (Christ willing) we will speak hereafter. *Ex Waldenso.* Against this foresaid *Armachanus* wrote divers Friers, *Roger Conaway* a *Franciscan*, *John Heydelshame* a *Carmelite*, *Galfridus Harby* a Frier *Augustine*. Also Frier *Engelbert* a *Dominican*, in a Book intituled, *Defensorium Privilegiorum*, and divers others. I credibly hear of certain old *Irish* Bibles translated long since into the *Irish* Tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this *Armachanus*. And thus much of this Learned Prelate and Archbishop of *Ireland*, a man worthy for his Christian zeal of immortal commendation.

After the death of this *Innocent*, next was Poped in the See of *Rome* Pope *Urban* the fifth, who by the Fathers side was an *Englishman*. This *Urban* had been a long waiter in the Court of *Rome*; and when he saw no promotion would light upon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his mone, saying, That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be Pope, and Inthronized in his threefold Crown, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith, That where his Holiness had moned his fortune to him, That if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall upon his head: Now (saith he) God hath otherwise so disposed that all the Churches in the world are fallen upon your head, &c.

This Pope maintained and kindled great wars in *Italy*, sending *Egidius* his Cardinal and Legate, and after him *Arduinus* a *Burgundian* his Legate and Abbot with great puiſſance and much money against sundry Cities in *Italy*: By whose means the Towns and Cities which before had broken from the Bishop of *Rome* were oppreſſed; also *Barnabes* and *Galeaceus* Princes of *Millain* vanquished. By whose example other being sore feared, submitted themselves to the Church of *Rome*. And thus came up that wicked Church to her great Poſſeſſions, which her Patrons would needs father upon *Conſtantine* the godly Emperour.

Ex Iohn. Aland 3. tit. 8. How the Church of Rome came by their Royal poſſeſſion.

In the time of this Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and in the second year of his raign, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1364, I find a certain Sermon of one *Nicholas Orem*, made before the Pope and his Cardinals on *Chriſtmas*-Even. In the which Sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the Prelates and Priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off, by certain signs taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the Prophets, spoken against the wicked Priests of the *Jews*, he doth aptly apply against the Clergy of his time, comparing the Church then present to the Spiritual strumpet spoken of in the sixteenth Chapter of the Prophet *Ezechiel*. And proveth in conclusion the Clergy of the Church then to be so much worse than the old Synagogue of the *Jews*, by how much it is worse to sell the Church and Sacraments, than to suffer Doves to be sold in the Church. With no less judgment also and learning he answereth to the old and false objections of the Papists, who albeit they be never so wicked, yet think themselves to be the Church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which things to the intent they may the better appear in his own words, I have thought good here to translate and exhibit the Sermon as it was spoken before the Pope.

Nicolaus Orem.

A Copy of a Sermon made before Pope Urban *the Fifth, the fourth Sunday in* Advent 1364, *by* Nicholas Orem.

A Sermon made before the Pope, Isa. 56. The words divided into two sorts of men before the Incarnation of Christ.

'IUsta est *salus mea, ut veniat, & justitia, &c.* That is, *My saving health is near at hand to come, and my righteousnes to be revealed*, &c. *Isa.* 56. After the sentence of St. *Paul*, Rom. 2. and in divers other places 'before the Nativity of Christ, the whole world was divided into two sorts of men, the *Jews* and Gentiles. 'The *Jews* who waited for the opening of the door of 'Paradise by the blood of the Saviour to come. The 'Gentiles, who yet sitting in darknes were to be call'ed to light, and to be justified by faith, as it is written, '*Rom.* 5.

'This Salvation pertaining both to the *Jew* and Gen'tile, God promised before time to the Fathers by the Pro'phets, to stir up the desire thereof in their hearts the 'more, and to increase their firm hope and faith in the 'same. As first in *Mich.* 6. the voice of the Lord crieth, '*Health and salvation shall be to all men which fear my 'name.* And *Isa.* 46. *I will give in Sion salvation, and 'in Jerusalem my glory*, &c. with divers such other pla'ces like. And forsomuch as hope which is deferred many 'times, doth afflict the soul, and conceiveth weariness of 'long deferring; he therefore prophesying of the nearness 'of the coming thereof, saith moreover, *Isa.* 14. *His 'time is near at hand to come.* Also *Abacuc.* 2. *He will 'come and will not tarry.* With many such other places 'more. So then the holy Fathers being in *Limbo*, look'ed and hoped that he should bring out them that sat 'bound, and which in the house of prison sat in darkness, 'as is read, *Isa.* 41. Then the time drew on in which 'came the fulness of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord 'would declare the riches of this mystery being hidden 'from the world, and from generations, *Col.* 1. Where'fore the Lord in this Text doth both certifie our Fathers 'of the coming of our Saviour, and doth comfort them 'touching the nearness thereof, and also teacheth the justi'fication of the Gentiles by faith approaching now near 'at hand, according to the words of my Text, *Juxta est 'salus mea*, &c. Which words were fulfilled then, what 'time the Lord did manifest his salvation, and did reveal 'his righteousness in the sight of all the Gentiles. And it is 'divided into three parts: Of which the first speaketh of 'the nearness of his coming, where it is said, *Juxta est 'salus*, &c. The second concerneth the mystery of the 'Advent of Christ and his Incarnation, where he saith, *Ut veniat*, &c. Thirdly, is confidered the severity of 'God, his terrible revenging judgment to be revealed, 'where he saith, *Ut reveletur*, &c. which is to be ex'pounded of his primitive justice, whereof speaketh *Amos* 'the fifth Chapter, saying, *And judgment shall be revealed like a flood, and righteousness like a strong stream.* 'Wherefore for our contemplation let us receive with joy 'the solemnity of his holy Vigil, the Word I say of God 'the Father, that is, Christ. To whom it is said, *Isa.* 49. '*I have given thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be 'my salvation through the ends of the world.* Again, *Isa.* '46. *My salvation shall not slack*, &c.

Division, 1. *Juxta est.* 2. *Ut veniat.* 3. *Ut reveletur.*

Amos 5.

'As touching the nearness thereof, it is in these days opened to us by the Gospel, where we read in St. *Mat'thew, When the Virgin Mary was espoused unto Joseph, 'before they did come together, she was found with child 'by the Holy Ghost.* By this it was evident to understand, that our Saviour ought shortly to proceed out of the chaft 'womb of the Virgin, according as the Prophet did fore'tell, saying, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bring 'forth a Son*, &c. For like as the Grape when it waxeth 'great and full, is near to the making of Wine; and the 'flower when it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit; 'so the salvation of the world, in the swelling and grow'ing of the Virgins womb, began to draw nigh to man'kind. For then appeared the grace and benignity of our 'Saviour, when his Mother was found to have in her 'womb by the Holy Ghost, as is declared, in that which 'followeth by the Angel, saying, *For that which is born of 'her is of the Holy Ghost.*

The second part of his Theme. Aggeus 2.

'Touching the second part of that which is said, *Ut 'veniat*: this may be applied to the contemplation of the 'mystery of Christ coming in the flesh. Whereof speaketh 'Aggeus the Prophet, *Chap.* 2. *He shall come who is de'sired and looked for of all Nations*, &c. Albeit the same 'also may be applied to the second *Advent*, spoken of the 'third of *Esay*, *The Lord shall come to judgment*, &c. In 'memorial whereof the fourth Sunday was dedicate in the 'old time of the Fathers. And of this day of judgment it 'is written in the Prophet *Sophon. Cap.* 2. *The day of the 'Lord is near, great and mighty, it is approaching at hand, 'and wondrous short*, &c. And albeit not in it self, 'yet it may be expounded in tribulations that go before, as preambles unto the same; as *Gregory* saith, 'The last tribulation is prevented with many and sun'dry tribulations going before, although the end of all be 'not yet.

The third part of his Sermon.

'Wherefore now coming to the third part of my Sermon or Theme, let us see of those tribulations that go before the last coming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approaching nigh at hand, whereof this last part of my Theme may be verified, where is said, *Ut reveletur*, that my righteousnesse shall be revealed, to wit, the righteousnesse primitive, that righteousnesse may be brought, and the Prophecy of *Daniel* fulfilled, *Dan. 9.* Concerning which matter four things here come in order to be declared.

1. *Ut reveletur.*

'First, Concerning the revealing of tribulation, according to that part of my Theme, *Ut reveletur*, &c.

2. *Ut juxta est.*

'Secondly, Concerning the nearnesse of the tribulation coming, according to that part of my Theme, *Quia juxta est*, &c.

3. *Ut veniat.*

'Thirdly, Of the false opinions of some upon this part of my Theme, *Ut veniat*, &c.

4. *Salus.*

Fourthly, What means and consultation we ought to take, *Ut juxta est salus.*

The first part of the subdivision.

'As for the first, it is of notorious and so common in the Scriptures that the Church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alledging any thing touching either the causes to be weighed, or the term to be conjectured thereof. In concerning the which causes I will give two rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that which is to follow: The first rule is, that by the two Kingdoms of the Nation of the *Hebrews*, which were in the old time, to wit, by the Kingdom of *Israel*, whose head was *Samaria*, is signified in the Prophets the erroneous Synagogue: And by the Kingdom of *Juda*, of whose stock came Christ, whose head metropolitan was *Jerusalem*, is signified the true Church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authentick gloss of St. *Jerome*, and also is the rule of *Origen* in the last Homily upon the Old Testament, and is approved by the Church.

Two rules to be noted.

The Kingdom of *Israel* signifieth the false Church.

The Kingdom of *Juda* signifieth the right Church.

The second rule.

'The second rule is, that by the Brodel-house and fornication mentioned in the Prophets, is signified Simony, and abuted Dispensations, and Promotions of persons unworthy, for lucres sake, or else for any other partial favour, which be unlawful ways, by all laws of the world, to come to office and honour. *Merx dicitur namque a merendo*; that is, for gain or price is derived of gaining; for the which gain or price that is sold, which by nature ought not to be sold. Therefore to give any thing for respect of gain or hire, which ought to be given freely for vertues sake, is a kind of spiritual corruption, and as a man would say, an whorish thing; whereof the Prophet *Esay* complaineth, speaking of *Jerusalem*, and saying, *The city which once was faithful and full of judgment, how is it now become an whorish city?* And in like manner *Osee* also the Prophet, *Cap. 9. Jerusalem thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring from thy God. Thou hast loved like an harlot to get gain in every barn of corn.* And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication cannot be otherwise expounded.

Esay 1.

Osee 9.

'These two rules thus premised, now let us mark the Scriptures, and according to the same judg of the whole state of the Church, both that is past, and that is to come: First, intreating of the causes of tribulation to come: Secondly, of the vicinity of time of the said tribulation to come.

Five flates of the Church &c. described.

'And first, concerning the state of the Church, and of causes of tribulation, thus saith the Lord in the Prophet, *Ezek. 16.* speaks to the Church under the name of *Jerusalem*, *In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and saw thee trodden down in thine own blood, &c.* Here he speaketh of the time of the Martydom of the Church. Then it followeth, *After this thou wast cleansed from thy blood, thou wast grown up, and waxen great; then washed I thee with water, I purged thy blood from thee* (speaking of ceasing of persecution) *I anointed thee with oyl, I gave thee change of raiments, I girded thee with white silk, I decked thee with coftly apparel, I put rings upon thy fingers, a chain about thy neck, spangles upon thy forehead, and ear-rings upon thine ears. Thus wast thou decke with silver and gold and a beautiful crown set upon thine head. Marvellous goodly wast thou and beautiful, even a very Queen wast thou: For thou wast excellent in my beauty, which I put upon thee, saith the Lord God, &c.* This Prophecy, or rather History speaketh of and declareth the prosperity of the Church.

1. The Martyrdom of the Church. 2. The prosperity of the Church.

'And now hear the corruption and transgression of the Church, for so it followeth, *But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and played the harlot, when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredom with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires; yea, thou hast taken thy garments of divers colours and decked the thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mightest fulfil thy whoredom of such a fashion as never was done, nor shall be.* Which whoredom can in no wise be expounded for carnal, but spiritual whoredom. And therefore, see how lively he hath painted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

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2. The corruption of the Church.

'And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the Church. It followeth, *Behold I stretch one my hand over thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliver thee over into the wills of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall break down thy stues, and destroy thy Brodel-houses*, (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickednesse) *they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: All thy fair beautiful jewels shall they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare, &c.*

4. The correction of the Church.

'Here is plainly to beseen what shall happen to the Church, and more followeth in the said Chapter: *Thine elder sister is Samaria, she and her daughters upon thy left hand: But the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodom with her daughters, whose sins were these, Pride, fulness of meat, abundance and idleness, neither reached they their hand to the poor. And yet another Sodom thy sister, with her daughters, hath done so evil as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria* (that is, the Synagogue) *done half of thy sins; yea thou hast exceeded them in wickednesse. Take therefore and bear thine own confusion, &c.* Again in *Ezek. 23.* after the Prophet had described at large the wickednesse, corruption, and punishment of the Synagogue, turning to the Church, he saith, *And when her sister saw this, she raged and was mad with lust-love of riches, and following voluptuousness. Her fornication and whoredom she committed with Princes and great Lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparel; so that her paps were bruised, and her brests were marred.* And then speaking of her punishment, he saith, *Then my heart forsook her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also.* And moreover, repeating again the cause thereof, he addeth, *Thy wickednesse and thy fornication hath wrought thee all this, &c.*

Ezek. 16.

Ezek. 23.

'The like we find also in *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and in all the other Prophets, who prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one manner of words; do conclude with a full agreement and prophesie to come, that the Church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, and be utterly spoiled, except the repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh *Osee*, Ch. 2. *Let her put away her whoredom out of her sight, and her adultery from her brests, lest I strip her naked, and set her even as she came naked into the world*, (that is, in her primitive poverty.) So if she do it not, it shall follow of her as in the Prophet *Nahum*, Ch. 3. *For the multitude of the fornication of the fair and beautiful harlot, which is a mistris of witchcrafts, yea and selleth the people through her whoredom, and the Nations through her witchcrafts.* And it followeth upon the same, *Behold I come upon thee, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will pull thy clothes over thy head, that thy nakednesse shall appear among the heathen, and thy shame amongst the Kingdoms, &c.*

Osee 2.

Nahum 3.

'Wherefore by these it is to be understood that upon this Church the primitive justice of God is to be revealed here after. And thus much of the first of the four members above touched.

The reformation of the Church.

'Now to the second member of my Theme, *Juxta est*, concerning the nearnesse of time. Although it is not for us to know the moments and articles of time; yet by certain notes and signs peradventure it may be collected and gathered, that which I have here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I ground my self upon the saying of the Apostle *Paul*, 2 *Thes.* 2. where he writeth, *That unless there come a defection first*, &c. By the which defection, *Jerome ultima quæst. ad inquisitiones Januarii*, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the Monarchy of *Rome*: Between the which desolation, and the perfection of the Church by Antichrist, he putteth no mean space. And now what is the state of that Commonwealth, if it be

Certain notes and signs, that the tribulation of the Church draweth near.

1. Sign.

2 Thes. 2. Except there come a defection first, how it is to be understood.

'com-

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'compared to the majesty of that it hath been, judge your selves. Another gloss there is that faith, how by that defection is meant; that from the Church of *Rome* shall come a departing of some other Churches.

2d Note or token.

'The second note and mark is this, when the Church shall be worse in manners than was the Synagogue; as appeareth by the ordinary gloss upon the third of *Jeremy*, where it is written, *The backslider Israel may seem just and righteous in comparison of sinful Judah.* That is, the Synagogue in comparison of the Church of God. Where fore writeth *Origen* saying, Think that to be spoken of us what the Lord saith in *Ezek. 16. Thou hast exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities.* Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other) First, ye know how Christ rebuked the *Pharises*, who as *Jerome* witnesseth, were then the Clergy of the *Jews*, of covetousnesse, for that they suffered Doves to be sold in the Temple of God. Secondly, for that they did honour God with their lips, and not with their heart, and because they said, but did not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let us see whether it be worse to sell both Church and Sacraments than to suffer Doves to be sold in the Temple or not. The 2d. whereas the *Pharises* were rebuked for honouring God with their lips, and not with their heart; there be some which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips; and which neither do well, nor yet say well, neither do they preach any word at all, but be dumb dogs, not able to bark, impudent and shameless dogs, that neither have enough, such Pastors as have no understanding, declining and straying all in their own way, every one given to covetousnesse from the highest to the lowest. And 3dly, As for hypocrisie there be also some, whose intolerable pride and malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled up like a fire, that no cloak or shadow of hypocrisie can cover it, but are so past all shame, that it may be well verified of them, which the Prophet speaks, *Thou hast gotten thee the face of an Harlot, thou would'st not blush, &c.*

The Synagogue and Church compared together in manners.

Ezek. 16.

Pride of Prelates noted.

3d. Note or token.

'The third sign and token of tribulation approaching near to the Church, may well be taken of the too much unequal proportion seen this day in the Church. Where one is hungry and starveth, another is drunk. By reason of which so great inequality, it cannot be that the state of the Church, as it is now, can long indure. For like as in good harmony, to make the Musick perfect, is required a moderate and proportionate equality of voices, which if it do much exceed, it taketh away all the sweet melody: so according to the sentence of the Philosopher, *by too much immoderate inequality or disparity of Citizens, the Commonwealth falleth to ruine.* Contrary, *where mediocrity, that is, where a mean inequality with some proportion is kept, that policy standeth firm and more sure to continue.* Now, among all the politick regiments of the Gentiles, I think none is to be found in Histories, wherein is to be seen so great and exceeding odds, as in the policy of Priests; of whom some be so high, that they exceed all Princes of the earth; some again be so base, that they are under all Rascals, so that such a Policy or Commonwealth may well be called *Oligarchia.*

Oligarchia, is where a few bear all the sway and all the rest be nothing worth.

'This may we plainly see and learn in the body of Man, to the which *Plutarchus* (writing to *Thracinius*) doth semblably compare the Commonwealth. In the which body, if the sustenance received should all run to one member, so that that member should be too much exceedingly pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that body could not long continue; so in the body of the wealth Ecclesiastical, if some who be the heads be so enormly overgrown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of the body be scant able to bear them up, there is a great token of dissolution and ruine shortly. Whereupon cometh well in place the saying of the Prophet *Esay*; *Every head is sick, every heart is full of sorrow*; of the which head it is also spoken in the Prophet *Amos*, Chap. 6. *Woe be to the secure, proud and wealthy in Sion, and to such as think themselves so secure upon the Mount of Samaria, taking themselves as heads and rulers over other, &c.* And moreover in the said Prophet *Esay* it followeth, *From the top of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole part in all the body*, to wit, in the inferiours, because they are not able to live for poverty; in the superior, because for their excessive riches, they are left from doing good. And it followeth in the same place, *but all are wounds, and botches,*

Esay 1.

Amos 6.

'*and stripes.* Behold here the danger coming, the wounds of discord and division, the botch or sore of rancour and envy, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischief.

'The fourth sign is the pride of Prelates. Some there have been which fondly have disputed of the poverty of Christ, and have inveighed against the Prelates, because they live not in poverty of the Saints. But this fancy cometh of the ignorance of moral Philosophy and Divinity, and of the defect of natural prudence; for that in all Nations, and by common Laws, Priests have had, and ought to have wherewith to sustain themselves more honestly than the vulgar sort, and Prelates more honestly than the Subjects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great Horses, their Troops of Horsemen, their superfluous pomp of their waiting-men and great Families, which scarcely can be maintained without pride, neither can be sustained with safe justice, and many not without fighting and injuries inconvenient; not much unlike to that as *Justine* the Historian writeth of the *Carthaginenses*, *The family* (saith he) *of so great Emperors, was intolerable to such a free City.* In ferildable wise, this great pride in the Church of God (especially in these days) doth move not so few to due reverence, as many to indignation; and yet more to those things aforesaid, which think not less but to do Sacrifice to God, if they may rob and spoil certain fat Prebends, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long lasting. For as *Solomon* saith, *Cap. 16. For it was requisite that (without any excuse) destruction should come upon those which exercised tyranny.* The property of a Tyrant is not to seek the commodity of his Subjects, but only his will and profit. Such were the Pastors that fed not the Lords flock, but fed themselves, of whom and to whom speaketh the Prophet *Ezek. 34. Wo be unto those pastors, of Israel that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flocks?* With many other threatnings against them in the said Chapter. Wo be unto them which rejoice at the transgressions of such whom it lieth in their power to condemn, neither do they seek what he is able to pay, to whom crieth *Micheas* the Prophet, *Cap. 3. To hate the good and love the evil, ye pluck off mens skins, and the flesh from the bones, ye eat the flesh of my people, and flay off their skin, ye break their bones, ye chop them in pieces as it were into a caldron, and as flesh into the pot, &c.* And therefore the foresaid *Ezekiel* pronounceth, *Behold, I will my self come upon the Shepherds and require my Sheep from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my Sheep, yea the Shepherds shall feed themselves no more, for I will deliver my Sheep out of their mouths, so that they shall not devour them any more.*

Pride of Prelates noted.

Cap. 16.

The tyranny of Prelates noted.

Ezek. 34.

Micha. 3.

Ezek. 34.

'The 6th. sign is in promoting of the unworthy, and of neglecting them that be worthy. This, as *Aristotle* saith, is a great cause many times of the dissolution of commonweals. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the Wars of Princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be less worthy, engendreth divers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For by the reason partly of the same, partly of the other cause above recited, we have read not only in Books, but have seen with our eies, divers flourishing Cities well nee subverted; whereas good men be not marked, but are vexed with sorrow and grief by the evil; the contention at length bresteth out upon the Prince, as *Haymo* reciteth out of *Origen*. This always hath been the perverse incredulity of mans hard heart, and that not only in hearing, but also in seeing; yet will they not believe that other have perished, unless they also perish themselves.

6th. Sign. Promoting of unworthy Ministers.

Haymo.

'The seventh sign is, the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part is now happened already. And therefore foratmuch as *Seneca* saith, *Men do complain commonly that evils only come so fast*; It is to be feared left also the Ecclesiastical policy be afflicted not only outwardly, but also in it self; and so that be fulfilled in us, that in *Jeremy* is prophetied, *Chap. 4. Murther is cried upon of murther, and the whole*

7th. Sign.

Jerem. 4.

'land

Ezek.7. 'land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly. And Ezek.7. Wherefore I will bring cruel tyrants from among the Heathen, to take their Houses in possession; I will make the pomp of the proud to cease, and their Sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischief and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumour shall come after another; then shall they seek Visions in vain at their Prophets, the Law shall be gone from their Priests, and wisdom from their Elders, &c.

2. Sign. 'The eighth sign is, the refusing of correction, neither will they hear their faults told them, so that it happened to the Princes and Rulers of the Church, as it is written

Zech.7. in the Prophet Zech. ca.7. They stopped their ears that they would not hear, yea they made their hearts as an Adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and words which the Lord of Hosts sent in his holy Spirit by the Prophets aforetime. Also Esay witnessing after the same effect, chap.

Esa. 30. 30. saith, For it is an obstinate people, lying children, and unfaithful children that will not hear the law of the Lord, which say to the Prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell us nothing, that is true and right, but speak friendly words to us, &c. All this shall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and have knowledge; like unto such of whom Amos speaketh, Chap.5.

Truth hated. Amos 5. They bear him evil will that reproveth them openly, and who so telleth them the plain truth, they abhor him. And therefore saith the Lord to the Church of Jerusalem,

Ose 4. Ose 4. Seeing thou hast refused understanding, I have refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my Priest. And forsomuch as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shall it be like Priest, like people, &c. And many other sayings there be in the Prophets, speaking of the dejecting and casting down of the Priestly honour.

Lack of learned Priests. Besides these foresaid signs and tokens hitherto recited, there be also divers others; as the backsliding from righteousness, the lack of discreet and learned Priests, promoting of children into the Church, with such other like. But these being already well noted and marked, you may easily judge and understand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and clear from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the Word of the Lord be true according to my Theme, *Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur, My righteousness is near at hand to be revealed, &c.* And thus much of the second part.

The third part or member of the diuision. Now to the third part or member of my subdivision, which is concerning the false and perilous opinions of some, upon this word of my Theme, *ut veniat, &c.* Which opinions principally be four, repugning all against the truth of the Canonical Scripture.

The first opinion. The first opinion is of such men, who having too much confidence in themselves, do think and persuade with themselves, that the Prelates be the Church which the Lord will always keep and never forsake, as he hath promised in the persons of the Apostles, *Matth.*28. saying, *And I will be with you to the end of the World, &c.* But

The Church where it is, and in whom it consisteth. this is to be understood of faith, whereof Christ speaketh, Luke 21. *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail.* Whereof we read Eccles.40. *Faith shall stand for ever, &c.* And albeit charity wax never so cold, yet faith

Eccl. 40. notwithstanding, shall remain in few, and in all afflictes of the world; of the which difficulties, our Saviour doth prophesie in many places to come. And left peradventure some should think themselves to be safe from tribulation, because they be of the Church; this opinion the Lord himself doth contrary in *Jerem.*7. *Trust not* (saith he) *in*

Jerem.7. *false lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord.* And a little after, *but you trust in words and lying counsels which deceive you, and do you no good.*

The second opinion. The second opinion is of them, which defer time; for this they will grant, that the Church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly; thinking thus with themselves, that these causes and tokens afore recited, have been before at other times as well in the Church. For both by *Gregory* and *Bernard*, holy Doctors, in time past, the Prelates have been in like fort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pomp and pride, for the promoting of persons and children unfit unto Ecclesiastical functions, and other vices more, which have reigned before this in the Church of God more than now, and yet by God his grace the Church hath prospered and stood. Do ye not see, that if an house have flood and continued ruinous a long season, it is never the more near the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreover, many times it cometh so to pass, in Realms and Kingdoms, that the posterity is punished for the sins of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the book of *Lamentations, Chap.*5. *Our Fathers have sinned, and are now gone, and we must bear their wickedness, &c.* Against this cogitation or opinion, well doth the Lord answer by the Prophet *Ezekiel, Chap.*12. saying, *Behold thou son of Man, the house of Israel saith in this manner, This is for the Vision that he hath seen, it will be many a day ere it come to pass; it is far off yet, the thing that he prophesieth. Therefore say unto them, thus saith the Lord God, The words that I have spoken shall be deferred no longer, look what I have said shall come to pass, saith the Lord, &c.* We have seen in our days things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seen in other times also, as we read written in the book of *Lament.* ch.4. *The Kings of the earth, nor all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the enemy and adversary should have come in at the gates of the City, for the sins of her Priests, and for the wickedness of her elders, that have shed innocents blood within her, &c.* By *Jerusalem*, as is said is meant the Church.

'The third opinion or error is very perilous and perverse, The third opinion or error. of all such as fay *veniat*, let come that will come; let us conform our selves to this world, and take our time with those temporizers which say in the Book of *Wisdom, Sap.*2. *Come* Sap. 2. *let us enjoy our goods and pleasures that be present, and let us use the creature as in youth quickly, &c.* Such as these be are in dangerous case, and be greatly prejudicial to good men in the Church. And if the Heads and Rulers of the Church were so vile to have any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in Hell too deep for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the blood of so many Martyrs, inlarged and increased with the vertues and merits of so many Saints, and indued so richly with the devotion of so many secular Princes, and so long prospered hitherto; if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickedness well deserved of God to be curfed; you here also in this present world to incur temporal tribulation and destruction, which they fear more; by the sentence of the Lord, saying to them in the Book of the *Proverbs, Chap.*1. *All my counsels ye have* Prov.1. *despised, and set my correction at nought; therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall upon you.*

The fourth opinion or error. 'Fourthly, another opinion or error is of such as being unfaithful believe not that any such thing will come. And since this error seemeth to have no warrody, but that as other things and other Kingdoms have their ends and limits set unto them, which they cannot overpass; so it muit needs be, that such a domination and government of the Church have an end, by reason of the demerits and obstinacies of the Governours provoking and requiring the same; like as we read in the Prophet *Jeremy, Chap.*8. *There is no* Jerem.8. *man that taketh repentance for his sin, that will so much as say, wherefore have I done this? But every man runneth forth still like a wild horse in battel.* And the Prophet *Jeremy* in the 13.ch. *Chap.* of his Prophesie, *Like as the man of Inde may change his skin, and the Cat of mountain* Jer. 13. *her spots, so may ye, that be exercised in evil, do good.* Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the Jer. 17. same Prophet, *Chap.*17. speaking of *Juda*, signifying the Church, *The sin of Judah* (saith he) *is written in the table of your hearts, and graven so upon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw*; which is as much to say, as indeleble, or *which cannot be rased out*; as also *Ezekiel* speaking of the punishment, *chap.*21. saith, Ezek.21. *I the Lord have drawn my sword out of the sheath, and it cannot be revoked.* Notwithstanding, all these signifie no impossibility, but difficulty, because that wicked men are hardly converted; for otherwise the Scripture imporreth no such inflexibility with God, but if conversion come, he will forgive. So we read in the Prophet *Jonae, Chap.*3. *Who can tell? God may turn and repent,* Jonas 3. *and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not.* And to the like effect saith the same Lord in *Jeremy, Chap.*26. Jer. 26. *Look thou keep not one word back, if peradventure they will hearken and turn every man from his wicked way,*

{KING} {Edw.3} *that I also may repent of the plague which I have determined to bring upon them, because of their wicked inventions, &c.* For the further proof whereof, *Ninive* we see converted, and remained undestroyed, *&c.* Likewise the Lord also had revealed destruction unto *Constantinople* by sundry signs and tokens, as *Augustine* in a certain Sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my division.

The fourth part or member of the diuision. 'Fourthly and lastly, It remaineth that I declare some wholesome concluding now upon the causes preceeding; That is, if by these causes and signs (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall upon the Church, then let us humble our minds mildly and wisely. And if we so return with heart and in deed unto God, verily he shall rescue and help after an inestimable wise, and will surcease from scourging us, as he promiseth by his Prophet *Jer.*18.

Jer.18. *If that people against whom I have thus devised, convert from their wickedness, immediately I will repent of the plague that I devised to bring upon them*, speakings here after the manner of Men, *&c.* Now therefore, forsomuch as tribulation and affliction is so near coming toward us, yea lieth already upon us, let us be the more diligent to call upon God for mercy. For I think verily these many years, there have not been so many and so deSpiteful hearts and evil willers, stout, and of such a rebellious heart against the Church of God, as be now adays: neither be they lacking that would work all that they can against it, and lovers of new-fangleness; whose hearts the

Esay 5. Lord happily will turn, that they shall not hate his people, and work deceit against his servants, I mean against Priests, whom they have now in little or no reputation at all, albeit many yet there be, through Gods grace, good and godly; But yet the fury of the Lord is not turned away, but still his hand is stretched out. And unless ye be converted, he thaketh his Sword, he hath bent his Bow, and

Esay 30. prepared it ready. Yet the Lord standeth waiting, that he may have mercy upon you, *Esay* 30. And therefore, as the greatness of fear ought to incite us, so hope of salvation may allure us to pray and call upon the Lord, especially now toward this holy and sacred time and solemnity of Christs Nativity: For that holy and continual prayer without intermission is profitable, and the instant devotion and vigilant deprecation of the just man is of great force. And if terrene Kings, in the day of celebration of their Nativity, be wont to shew themselves more liberal and bountiful, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heavenly King, of nature moSt benign, now at his Natal and Birth-day, will not deny pardon and remission to such as rightly call unto him.

John 7. 'And now therefore, as it is written in *Josua, Chap.*7. *Be ye sanctified against to morrow, &c.* And fay unto

1 Kin.25. him as it is written in the first Book of *Kings, Chap.*25. *Now let thy servants I pray thee find favour in thy sight, for we come to thee in a good season.* Moreover, ye may find that ye ask, if that ye ask that which he brought in the day of his Nativity; that is, the peace of the Church, not spiritual only, but also temporal; which the Angelical noise did sound, and experience the same did prove, testified by *T. Livius, Plinius*, and other Heathen Story-writers, which all marvelled thereat, saying, that such an universal peace as that could not come on earth, but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the Prophet

Esay 66. *Esay, Chap.*66. *Behold, I will let peace into* Jerusalem *like* Psal. 71. *a water flood, &c.* And in the *Psal.*71. *In his time righteousness shall flourish, ye and abundance of peace, &c.*

'Therefore now (O reverend fathers in the Lord) and you here in this present Assembly, behold, I say, the day of life and salvation; now is the opportune time to pray unto God, that the same thing, which he brought into the world at his birth, he will grant in these days to his Church, that is, his peace. And like as *Nineveh* was subverted, and over-turned, not in members but in manners, so the same words of my Theam, *Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur*, may be verified in us, not of the primitive justice, but of our sanctification by grace; so that, as to morrow is celebrated the Nativity of our Saviour, our righteousness may rise together with him, and his blessing may be upon us, which God hath promised saying, *My*

Esay 51. *saving health is near at hand to come, &c.* Whereof speaketh *Esay* the Prophet, *Chap.*51. *My saving health shall endure for ever, &c.* This health grant unto us, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, *Amen.*

This Sermon was made by Master *Nicholas Orem* before Pope *Urban* and his Cardinals, upon the Even of the Nativity of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of *Advent*, in the year of our Lord 1364. and the second of his Popedom.

The Order of Iesuites. In the 5th. year of this forenamed Pope *Urban*, began first the Order of the *Jesuites*. And unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 1367. the Offices here in {Anno} {1367} *England*, as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and of the Privy Seal, were wont to be in the hands of the Clergy. But about this year, through the motion of the Lords in the Parliament, and partly (as witnesseth mine Author) for hatred of the Clergy, all the said Offices were removed from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal. offices of the Realm translated from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal.

Pope Gregory the 11th. After the death of Pope *Urban*, next succeeded Pope *Gregory* the 11th. who, among his other acts, first reduced again the Papacy out of *France* unto *Rome*, which had from thence been absent the space now of 70 years, being there- {Anno} {1370.} tain Bishop, whom as the Pope saw standing by him, he asked, why he was so long from his charge and Church at home, saying that, *it was not the part of a good Pastor, to keep him from his flock so long.* Whereunto the Bishop answering again, said, *And you your self, being the chief Bishop, who may and ought to be a spectacle to us all, why are you from the place so long where your Church doth ly?* By the occasion whereof the Pope sought all means after that to remove and to rid his Court out of *France* again to *Rome*, and so he did. The Papacy reduced again from France to Rome.

This *Gregory* 11th. in a certain Bull of his sent to the Archbishop of *Prague*, maketh mention of one named *Militzius* a *Bohemian*, and saith in the same Bull, that this *Militzius* should hold opinion and teach *Anno* 1366. the Antichrist was already come. Also that the said *Militzius* had certain Congregations following him; and that in the same Congregations were certain Harlots, who being converted from their wickedness, were brought to a godly life. Which Harlots being so converted, he used to say, were to be preferred before all the holy religious Virgins. And therefore he commanded the Archbishop to excommunicate and persecute the said *Militzius*, which in foretime had bin a religious Man of *Prague*, and after forlook his Order, and gave himself to preaching, and at length was by the foresaid Archbishop imprisoned. *Militzius* a *Bohemian*, for the which was persecuted by the Pope. Ex Bulla Gregorii 11.

Jacobus Misnensis, a learned Man and a Writer in the time of *John Hus*, maketh mention of this *Militzius*, and calleth him a worthy and a famous Preacher. Also he citeth many things out of his Writings, in the which Writings this good *Militzius* thus declareth of himself, how he was moved and urged by the Holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, concerning the coming of Antichrist. And that he was compelled by the same holy Spirit publickly to preach at *Rome*, and also before the Inquisitor there, to proteSt plainly, that the same great Antichrist, which is prophesied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreover his saying was, *That the Church through negligence of the Pastors was desolate, did abound in temporal riches, but in spiritual riches was empty.* Also, *That in the Church of Christ were certain Idols which destroyed* Jerusalem, *and defaced the Temple, but hypocrisie caused that those Idols could not be seen.* Also, *That many there were which denied Christ, because that knowing the truth, yet for fear of men they durst not confeSt their conscience, &c.* And thus much of good *Militzius*, living in the time of *Gregory* 11. and King *Edward* the third, *An.*1370. The coming of Antichrist prophesied.

The which King of *England*, holding a Parliament in the third year of this Pope, sent his Embassadors to him, desiring him, that he from henceforth would abstain from his Reservations of Benefices used in the Court of *England's* and that spiritual Men, within this Realm promoted unto Bishoprics, might freely enjoy their Elections within the Realm, and be confirmed by their Metropolitans, according to the ancient custom of the Realm. Wherefore upon these, and such other like, wherein the King and the Realm thought themselves much grieved, he desired of the Pope some remedy to be provided, *&c.* Whereunto the Pope returned a certain answer again unto the King, requiring by his messengers to be certified again of the Kings mind concerning the same. But what answer it was, it is not in the story expreSsed, save that the year following, which was 1374; there was a tractation at *Burges* upon certain of the K. Edward complaineth of the Popes reservation of Benefices

said

said Articles between the King and the Pope, which did hang two years in suspence; and so at length it was thus agreed between them, that the Pope should no more use his reservations of Benefices in *England*, and likewise the King should no more confer and give Benefices upon the Writ, *Quare impedit*, &c. But as touching the freedom of Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the year before, thereof was nothing touched.

The Pope put from his referring of Benefices in England. Quare impedit.

As touching these Reservations, Provisions and Collations, with the Elections of the Archbishops, Bishops, Beneficed Men, and other, wherewith the Pope vexed this Realm of *England*, as before you have heard; the King by the consent of the Lords and Commons, in the 25th. year of his Reign enacted; that according to a Statute made in the 30th. year of his Grandfather *Edward* the first, wherein was made an Act against the ravenous pillage of the Pope, through the same Provisions, Reservations and Collations, &c. but not put in execution: By the which Provisions, the state of the Realm decreased more and more, the Kings Royalty and Prerogative was greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the Realm transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest Bishopricks, Abbeys and Benefices within the Realm; and such, as either for their Offices in *Rome*, as Cardinalships, and such like, could not be here resident, or if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly have been touched before; he not only revived the said Statute made by *Edward* the first his Grandfather, but also inlarged the same. Adding thereunto very strait and sharp penalties against the offendors, therein. or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the Kings protection, loss of all their Lands, Goods and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the Kings pleasure; and further, whosoever was lawfully convict, or otherwise, for want of appearance by Process

The love of *Præmunire*, with the penalty thereof.

directed forth, were within the lapse of this Statute or *Præmunire* (for so bare the name thereof) should suffer all and every such molestations and injuries, as men exempted from the protection of the King. Insomuch, that whosoever had killed such Men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, than for the killing of any Outlaw, or one not worthy to live in a Commonweal. Like unprofitable members were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance, ethened in this Commonweal of *England* which would offer themselves to the wilful slavery and servile obedience of the Pope; which thing in these days, yea and that amongst no small fools, is counted more than Evangelical holiness. He that list to perufe the Statute, and would see every branch and Article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the Penalties therefore due; let him read the Statute of Provision and *Præmunire* made in the 25th. year of this Kings days. And let him read in the Statutes made in the Parliaments holden the 27th. year, and 38th. year of his Reign: And under the same Title of Provision and *Præmunire* he shall find the Popes Primacy and Jurisdiction within this Realm more nearly touched, and much of his Papal power restrained: Insomuch that, whosoever for any cause or controversie in law, either spiritual or temporal, the same being determinable in any of the Kings Courts (as all matters were) whether they were personal or real citations, or other, should either appeal or consent to any appellation to be made out of the Realm to the Pope or See of *Rome*; should incur the said penalty and danger of *Præmunire*. Divers other matters wherein the Pope is restrained of his usurped power, authority and jurisdiction within this realm of *England*, are in the said Titles and Statutes expressed, and at large set forth, who ever list to perufe the same, which for brevities sake I omit, hasting to other matters.

The Popes Primacy here in England bridled

About this time, being the year of our Lord 1370. lived holy *Bridget*, whom the Church of *Rome* hath canonized not only for a Saint, but also for a Prophetess; who notwithstanding, in her Book of Revelations, which hath been oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the Pope, and of the filth of his Clergy, calling him a murtherer of souls, a spiller and a piller of the flock of Christ: more abominable than the *Jews*, more cruel than *Judas*, more unjust than *Pilate*, worse than Lucifer himself. The See of the Pope the prophetess shall be thrown down into the deep like a Millstone; and that his adherents shall burn with brimstone; Affirming, that the Prelates, Bishops and Priests are the cause why the Doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extinguished. And that the Clergy have turned the Ten Commandments of God into two words, to wit, *Da pecuniam*, that is *Give money*. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omit, let this suffice for all, whereas the said *Bridget* affirmeth in her Revelations, that when the holy Virgin should say to her Son, how *Rome* was a fruitful and fertil field; yea, said he, but of Weeds only and Cockle, &c.

S. Bridget.

Rev. lib. 7. extremum Divæ Brigittæ.

KING Ed. 3.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fertil ground till grown of Weeds and Cockle.

To this *Bridget* I will joyn also *Catharina Senensis*, also a holy Virgin, which lived much about the same time, *An.*1379. Of whom writeth *Antonimus part. historiæ* 3. This *Katharine*, having the spirit of Prophecy, was wont much to complain of the corrupt state of the Church, namely of the Prelates of the Court of *Rome*, and of the Pope; prophecying before of the great Schism, which then followed in the Church of *Rome*, and dured to the Council of *Constance*, the space of thirty nine years; also of the great Wars and Tribulation, which insued upon the same. And moreover, declared before, and foretold of this so excellent Reformation of Religion in the Church now present. The words of *Antonimus* be these: *After that Virgin in her going to* Rome *had told her Brother of the Wars and Tumults that should rise in the Countries about* Rome, *after the schism of the two Popes: I then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that she understood by Revelation what should happen, demanded of her I pray you (good Mother) said I, and what shall befal after these troubles in the Church of God? And she said:*

Catharina Senensis. lic. Anno. part. 3. fol. 370.

The refor. mation of Religion prognosticated of before.

By these Tribulations and Afflictions, after a secret manner unknown unto Man, God shall purge his holy Church, and stir up the spirit of his elect. And after these things, shall follow such a reformation of the holy Church of God, and such a renovation of holy Pastors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoyce in the Lord. And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spouse, which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decks with most rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faithful shall be glad and rejoyce to see themselves so beautified with so holy Shepherds. Yea, and also the Infidels them, allured by the sweet savour of Christ shall return to the Catholick field, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give to us a great calm. And after she had thus spoken, she said, and said no more.

The Prophecy of Katherine.

Note.

Besides these aforenamed, the Lord, which never ceaseth to work in his Church, stirred up against the malignant Church of *Rome*, the spirits of divers good and godly Teachers, as *Matthias Parisiensis*, a *Bohemian* born, who about the year of our Lord 1370. wrote a large Book of Antichrist, and proveth him to be already come, and noteth the Pope to be the same. Which Book one *Illiricus* a Writer in these our days hath, and promiseth to put it in Print. In this Book he doth greatly inveigh against the wickednesse and filthinesse of the Clergy, and against the neglecting of their duty in governing the Church. The Locust mentioned in the *Apocalyps* he faith, be the hypocrites reigning in the Church. The works of Antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inventions of Men reigning in the Church, the Images and feigned Reliques that are worshipped every where. *Item*, That men do worship every one his proper Saint and Saviour beside Christ, so that every Man and City almost hath his divers and peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed moreover, that godlinesse and true worship of God are not bound to place, persons or times, to be heard more in this place than in another, at this time more than at another, &c. He argueth also against the Cloisterers, which leaving the only and true Saviour, set up to themselves their *Franciscans*, their *Dominicks*, and such other, and have them for their Saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies upon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monks and Friers, for neglecting or rather burying the Word of Christ, and instead of him, for celebrating and setting up their own rules and Canons; affirming it to be much hurtful to true godlinesse, for that Priests, Monks and Nuns do account themselves only spiritual, and all other to be Lay and Secular, attributing only to themselves the opinion of holinesse, and

Matthias Parisiensis a Bohemian. Writes against the Pope. Antichrist already come. The Doctrine and portraiture of Antichrist.

KING Ed. 3.

and contemning other Men, with all their politick administration, and the office as prophane in comparison of their own. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seduced all Universities and Colledges of Learned Men, so that they teach no sincere Doctrine, neither give any light to the Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to pass, that God yet once again will raise up godly teachers, who being fervent in the Spirit and zeal of *Helias*, shall disclose and refute the errors of Antichrist, and Antichrist himself, openly to the whole World. This *Matthias* in the said Book of Antichrist, alledgeth the Sayings and Writings of the University of *Paris*, also the Writings of *Gulielmus de sancto Amore*, and of *Milizius* afore noted.

Joannes Aventinger Protestant against the Pope. *Anno* 1380.

About the same time, or shortly after, *An.*1384. we read also of *Joannes of Mountziger*, Rector of the University of *Ulme*, who openly in the Schools in his Oration propounded that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called *Latreia*, as the Sophister termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing; affirming also, that Christ in his Resurrection took to him again all his blood which in his Passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Christ, which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was refuted and withstood by the Monks and Friers; who by this kind of idolatry were greatly inriched, till at length the Senate and Council of the City was feign to take up the matter between them.

Nilus the Archbishop of Thessalonica.

Nilus was Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, and lived much about this time. He wrote a long work against the *Latines*, that is, against such as took part and held with the Church of *Rome*. His first Book being written in *Greek* was afterward translated into *Latine*, and lately now into *English*, in this our time. In the first Chapter of this Book, he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissention and schism between the East and the West Church, upon the Pope. He affirmed that the Pope only would command what him listed, were it never so contrary to all the old and ancient Canons; that he would hear and follow no mans advice; that he would not permit any free Councils to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the controversies between the *Greek* Church and *Latine* Church should be decided and determined.

In the second Chapter of his Book, he purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first, he declareth that he, no whit at all by Gods Commandment, but only by humane law, hath any dignity, more than hath other Bishops; which dignity, the Councils, the Fathers, the Emperors have granted unto him. Neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance, than for that the same City then had the Empire of all the whole world, and not at all for that *Peter* ever was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, That the same primacy or prerogative is not such and so great, as he and his Sycophants do usurp unto themselves. Also he refuteth the chiefest propositions of the *Papists* one after another. He declareth, That the Pope hath no dominion more than other Patriarchs have, and that he himself may err as well as other mortal Men; and that he is subject both to Laws and Councils as well as other Bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperor, to call general Councils; and that in Ecclesiastical causes he could establish and ordain no more than all other Bishops might. And lastly, that he getteth no more by *Peter*'s succession, than that he is a Bishop, as all other Bishops after the Apostles be, &c.

Joachim Mi. Sacrificulus and *Militarius.*

I cannot among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of *Jacobus Misenensis*, who also wrote of the coming of Antichrist. In the same he maketh mention of a certain learned Man, whose name was *Militzius*, which *Militzius* (saith he) was a famous and worthy Preacher in *Praga*. He lived about the year 1366. long before *Hus*, and before *Wickliff* also. In the same his writings he declareth, how the same good Man *Militzius* was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moved to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner and coming of Antichrist; and found that now in his time he was already come. And the same *Jacobus* saith, That the said *Militzius* was constrained by the Spirit of God to go up to *Rome*, and there publickly to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitor he affirmed the same. That the same mighty and great Antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

He affirmed also, that the Church, by the negligence of the Pastors should become desolate; and that iniquity should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquity. Also, he said that there were in the Church of Christ Idols, which should destroy *Jerusalem*, and make the Temple desolate, but were cloked by hypocrisie. Further, that there be many which deny Christ, for that they keep silence; neither do they hear Christ, whom all the world should know, and confess his verity before Men, which also wittingly do detain the verity and justice of God.

Militzius persecuted by the Pope.

There is also a certain Bull of Pope *Gregory* the 11th. to the Archbishop of *Praga*; wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute *Militzius* and his auditors. The same Bull declareth, that he was once a Canon of *Praga*, but afterward he renounced his Canonship, and began to preach; who also, for that he so manifestly preached of Antichrist to be already come, was of *John* Archbishop of *Pragca* put in Prison, declaring what his error was: To wit, how he had his company or congregation to whom he preached, and that amongst the same were certain converted Harlots, who had forsaken their evil life, and did live godly and well, which Harlots he accustomed in his Sermons to prefer before all the blessed Virgins that never offended. He taught also openly, that in the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, Priests, and other religious Men was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only he, and such as held with him, taught the true way of Salvation. His Postil in some places is yet to be seen. They alledge unto him certain other inconvenient Articles, which notwithstanding, I think the adversaries, to deprave him withal, have slanderously invented against him. He had, as appeared by the foretald Bull, very many of every state and condition, as well rich as poor, that cleaved unto him.

Henricus de Hassia.

About the year of our Lord 1371. lived *Henricus de Jota*, whom *Gerson* doth much commend, and also his companion *Henricus de Hassia*, an excellent learned and famous Man. An Epistle of this *Henricus de Hassia*, which he wrote to the Bishop of *Normacia*, *Jacobus Carrsiensis* inserted in his Book *De erroribus Christianorum*. In the same Epistle the Author doth greatly accuse the spiritual Men of every Order, yea and the most holy of all other, the Pope himself, of many and great vices. He said, that the Ecclesiastical Governours in the Primitive Church were compared to the Sun shining in the day time; and the Politick Governours, to the Moon shining in the night. But the spiritual Men, he said that now are, do neither shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkness do obscure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthy living, ignorance and impiety. He citeth also out of the Prophecy of *Hildegardis* these words: *Therefore doth the Devil in himself speak of you Priests; Dainty Banquets and Feasts, wherein is all voluptuousness, do I find amongst these men; Insomuch that mine eies, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be even filled with the froth of them, and my breasts stand afraid with the riches of them, &c.* Lastly, saith he, *they every day more and more, as Lucifer did, seek to climb higher and higher; till that every day with him more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.*

Henricus de Hassia.

The Citizens of *Mogantina* and *Bringa*.

About the year of our Lord 1390. there were burned at *Bringa* 36 Citizens of *Mogauntina*, for the Doctrine of *Waldensis*, as *Brullius* affirmeth; which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antichrist, which should come; Unless peradventure the Pope feemed then to be more evidently convicted of Antichristianity, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.

A brief rehearsal of such as were put to death for holding against the Bishop of *Rome*, before the time of *Wickliffe*.

For the like cause, many other beside these are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the Pope, if leisure would serve to perufe all that might be searched. As where *Mussens* recordeth of divers to the number of an hundred and forty; which in the Province of *Narbone* chose rather to suffer whatsoever grievous punishment by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the *Romish* Church, contrary to the upright truth of the Scripture.

What

What ſhould I here ſpeak of the 24 which ſuffered at *Paris An.* 1210? Alſo in the ſame Author is teſtified that *An.*1211. there were 400 under the name of Hereticks burned. So beheaded, Prince *Americus* hanged, and the Lady of the Caſtle ſtoned to death.

Moreover, in the Chronicles of *Hoveden*, and of other Writers, be recited a marvellous number, which in the Countries of *France* were burned for Hereticks. Of whom, ſome were called *Publicans*, ſome *Catharites*, ſome *Paterines*, and other by other names. What their aſſertions were, I find no certain report worthy of credit.

E. Aberdur a Scot burned. In *Trithemius* it is ſignified of one *Eckhardus* a *Dominican* Frier, who, not long before *Wickliff*'s time, was condemned and ſuffered for Hereſie at *Heidelburgh*, *An.*1330. who as he differeth not much in name, ſo may he be ſuppoſed to be the ſame, whom other do name *Beghardus*, and is ſaid to be burned at *Erphord*.

Of *Albingenſes* becauſe ſufficient mention is made before, of whom great number were burned about the time of King *John*, I paſs them over.

An Hermit diſcarding ſolemn Maſs and Sacraments. *Ranulphus.* Likewiſe, I let paſs the Hermite, of whom *John Bacon* maketh relation, in his 2 *Diſt. Quæſt.* 1. Who, diſputing in *Paul*'s Church, affirmed *That thoſe Sacraments which were then uſed in the Church, were not inſtituted by Chriſt*, *An.* 1306. Peradventure it was the ſame *Ranulphus*, mentioned in the Flower of Hiſtories, and is ſaid to die in Priſon; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In *Boetius*, why the Pope ſhould ſo much commend a certain King, becauſe for one man he had ſlain 400, cutting away the Generals from the reſt, I cannot judge, except the cauſe were that, which the Pope calleth Hereſie.

But to let theſe things overpaſs that be uncertain, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehend all them which have withſtood the corruption of the Popes See, neither have we any ſuch firm teſtimony left of their doings, credibly to ſtay upon: We will now (Chriſt willing) convert our ſtory to things more certain and undoubted; grounding upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous Legends without authority; but upon the true and ſubſtantial Copies of the publick Records of the Realm, remaining yet to be ſeen under the Kings moſt ſure and faithful cuſtody. Out of the which Records ſuch matter ap-
Ke Archiepiſ. Regiæ Majeſtatis. peareth againſt the *Popiſh* Church of *Rome*, and againſt his uſurped authority, ſuch open ſtanding and crying againſt the ſaid See, and that not privily, but alſo in open Parliament, in the days of this King *Edward* the third; that neither will the *Romiſh* people of this our age eaſily think it to be true when they ſee it, neither yet ſhall they be able to deny the ſame, ſo near ſtandeth the force of thoſe Records.

Partial diſſimulation in our Hiſtories of the Church of England. Ye heard a little before, *p.* 433. how *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being ſent for, and required by the King to come unto him, refuſed to do. What the cauſe was why he denied to come at the Kings ſending, is neither touched of *Polydore Virgil*, nor of any other Monkiſh Chronicler, writing of thoſe acts and times. Whoſe part had bin, faithfully to have diſpenced the ſimple truth of things done to their poſterity. But that which they diſſemblingly and colourably have concealed, contrary to the true law of ſtory, the true cauſe thereof we have found out by the true Parliament Rolls, declaring the ſtory thus.

Ex anno 6. *Reg. Ed.* 3. *tit.* 1. King *Edward* the 3*d.* in the 6th year of his Reign, hearing that *Edward Baſtol* had proclaimed himſelf King of *Scotland*, required counſel of the whole ſtate, to wit, whether it were better for him to aſſail *Scotland*, and to claim the demeſne or demains of the ſame; or elſe by making him party to take his advantage, and thereby to enjoy the ſervice, as other his anceſtors before him had done. For this cauſe he ſummoned a Parliament of all eſtates to meet at *York*, about the beginning of *December*. Where the King was already come, waiting for the coming of ſuch as were warned thereunto. For the want of whoſe coming the Parliament was rejourned till *Monday*, and from thence to *Tueſday* next enſuing. But forſomuch as moſt of the States were abſent, the Aſſembly required the continuance of the Parliament, until the *Uraſ* of Saint *Hilary* then enſuing at *York*, which was granted. And ſo a new Summons was eſpecially awarded to every perſon with ſpecial charge to attend, ſo that the affairs of the King and the Realm might not be hindred, becauſe of the debate between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Archbiſhop of *York*, for the ſuperior bearing of their croſs.

In concluſion, for all the Kings ſummoning, none other of all the Clergy came, but only the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and of *Carliſle*, and Abbots of *York* and *Selby*. So that hereunto came not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor any other of his Province, and all for bearing the Croſs. Whereby the ſame was not only a loſs to the opportunity to *Scotland*; but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a new reaſſembly. And thus much out of the Records, whereby thou mayſt eaſily judge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of theſe Pope-holy Catholick Church-men, being of the Popes brood and ſetting up; whom ſuch frivolous cauſes of contention ſtir up both to ſuch diſquietneſs among themſelves, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience againſt their Prince; excuſe them who can. *Ex An.* 6. *Regis Edwardi* 3.

It followeth moreover, in the ſame Records, concerning the abandoning of the Popes proviſions; how that the Commons find great default at Proviſions coming from *Rome*, whereby ſtrangers were enabled within this Realm to enjoy Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and ſhew divers inconveniences inſuing thereby, namely, the decay of daily Alms, the tranſporting of the Treaſure to nouriſh the Kings enemies, the diſcovering of the ſecrets of the Realm, and the diſabling and impoveriſhing of the Clerks within this Realm.

They alſo ſhew how the Pope had in moſt covertwiſe granted to two new Cardinals within this Realm (and namely to Cardinal *Peregoxs*) above ten thouſand Marks of yearly Taxes. They therefore required the King and Nobles to find ſome remedy, for that they never could ne would any longer bear thoſe ſtrange oppreſſions, or elſe to help them to expel out of this Realm the Popes power by force.

Hereupon the King, Lords and Commons, ſent for the Act made at *Carliſle*, in the 35*th.* year of King *Edward* the firſt, upon the like complaint; thereby forbidding that any thing ſhould be attempted or brought into the Realm, which ſhould tend to the blemiſhing of the Kings prerogative, or to the prejudice of his Lords or Commons. And ſo at this time the Statute called the Act of Proviſion, was made by common conſent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any Bulls, or ſuch Trinkets from the Court of *Rome*, or the uſing, enjoying, or allowing of any ſuch Bill, Proceſs, Inſtruments, or ſuch Ware, as thereby at large doth appear. Whereof ſufficiently is touched before *Pag.* 400.

The penalty of which Statute afterward followed in the next Parliament, *An. Reg. Ed.*1 8*tit.*32. the which penalty was this: the tranſgreſſors thereof were to lie in perpetual priſon, or to be forejured the Land; And that all Juſtices of Aſſiſe, Goal-delivery, and Oyer and *Determiner* may determine the ſame. Required withal, that the ſame Act of proviſion ſhould continue for ever.

Item, In the ſaid 18*th.* year of the Reign of King *Edward*. *tit.*34. it was moreover propounded; that if any Archbiſhop, or any perſon religious, or other, do not preſent within 4 Months ſome able Clerk to any Dignity, where any perſon hath obtained from *Rome*, any Proviſion, Bull, *&c.* but forceaſe the ſame; that then the King may preſent ſome able Clerk.

Item, It was propounded in the ſaid Parliament, *An.*18. *Reg. Ed.*3. That if any Biſhop elect ſhall refuſe to take any ſuch Biſhopricks, otherwiſe than by ſuch Bull; that then ſuch elect ſhall not enter ne enjoy his Temporalties without his ſpecial licence.

Alſo that the King ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch Benefices and Dignities of ſuch aliens his enemies, as remain in the Country of his enemies, and imploy the profits thereof to the defence of the Realm.

Moreover, it was propounded, that Commiſſioners be ſent to all the Kings Ports, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhall bring in any ſuch inſtrument from *Rome*, and to bring them forthwith before the Council to anſwer thereto.

Propounded furthermore, that the Deanry of *York*, which is to be recovered by judgment in the Kings Court, may be beſtowed upon ſome able Man within the Realm, who will maintain the ſame againſt him (meaning the Cardinal, who holdeth the ſame by proviſion from *Rome*, being the enemy to the King, and to the Realm) and that the profits may be imployed to the defence of the Realm.

The

{KING 7 *Edw.*3 The Kings anſwer and agreement to the forefaid Petitions. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury came not to the Parliament at *York*, and all for bearing the Croſs.

The Kings anſwer. To all which petitions anſwer was made in form following, It is agreed by the King, Earls, Barons, Juſtices, and otherwiſe Men of the Realm, that the petitions aforeſaid be made in ſufficient form of Law, according to the petitions aforeſaid.

Note that the Biſhops be not here named, and yet the Parliament ſtandeth in force. ¶ Note in this anſwer of the King (good Reader) that at the grant hereof the conſent of the Biſhops is neither named, nor expreſſed, with the other Lords of the Parliament: and yet the Parliament ſtandeth in his full force, notwithſtanding.

Notes of the Parliament holden in the Twentieth year of King Edward *the Third.*

Ex an. 13. *Reg Ed. tit.* 10. 39. The Pope proviſions refuſed. *tit.* 59. Aliens monks to recide, *An.* 20. *Ed.* 3. *tit.* 50. TO paſs further, in the twentieth year of the Kings Reign in the Parliament holden the ſame year, it was propounded; That all alien Monks ſhould avoid the Realm by the day of S. *Michael*, and that their livings ſhould be diſpoſed, to young *Engliſh* Scholars. The livings of theſe the King took to his hands.

The Liuings of ſtrangers Eccleſiaſtical taken into the Kings hands. *An.* 20. *Ed.* 3. *tit.* 1. The Liuings of ſtrangers diſpoſed to *Engliſh* men *tit.* 39, 33. *Item*, That the King may take the profits of all other ſtrangers Livings, as Cardinals and others, during their lives. The profits of whom were alſo in the Kings hands.

The Church of England fulfilled by the Pope and his Factours. That ſuch Aliens enemies, as be advanced to Livings here in *England* (being in their own Countries, Shoemakers, Taylers, or Chamberlains to Cardinals) ſhould depart before *Michaelmas*, and their Livings be diſpoſed to poor *Engliſh* Scholars. The Livings alſo of theſe remained in the Kings hands.

The Commons denyed to pay any payment to any Cardinals, lying in *France* to entreat of War or Peace, which alſo was granted of the Kings part as reaſonable.

The Act of Edward the firſt renewed. Cardinals deprived of their Livings in England. *tit.* 34. *Item*, propounded and fully agreed, That the yearly advancement of two thouſand marks (granted by the Pope to two Cardinals, out of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*) ſhould be reſtrained, and ſuch as ſhall purſue therefore to be out of the Law.

Likewiſe enacted and agreed, That no *Engliſh* Man ſhould take any thing in farm of any Alien Religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their counſel, on pain of perpetual impriſonment.

Enacted further, That no perſon ſhould bring into the Realm, to any Biſhop or other, any Bull, or any other Letters from *Rome*, or from any Alien; unleſs he ſhew the ſame to the Chancellor or Warden of the Cinque Ports, upon loſs of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſaid Parliament the Biſhops were commanded, before the next Convocation, to certifie unto the Chancery the names of ſuch Aliens, of their Benefices, and the values of the ſame.

Notes of the five and twentieth year of King Edward *the Third.*

Ex Archiv. *Ao. Reg. Ed.* 3. The Popes firſt fruits and reſervations hereſied to the Realm ſith all the Kings wars. *An.* 19. *tit.* 14. THE Parliament of the 25. year, was begun the ſixth day of *February*, the 25*th.* year of King *Edward* the Third. In the which Parliament beſide other matters moe, was propounded; that remedy might be had againſt the Popes reſervations by which brocage and means the Pope received the firſt fruits of all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: A more Conſumption to the Realm, than all the Kings Wars.

To break of all ſuch pain to *Rome*, *tit.* 4. Alſo that the like remedy might be had againſt ſuch as in the Court of *Rome* preſume to undo any judgment given in the Kings Court, as if they enforced to undo the Laws of the Realm.

Whereunto it was anſwered, That there was ſufficient remedy provided by Law.

Notes of the eight and thirtieth year of King Edward *the Third.*

The requeſt of the King for cauſes not to be determined at *Rome*, *tit.* 7. IN the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the 38*th.* year of *Edward* the Third, in the Utaves of *Hilary* (Simon Biſhop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor) it was required by the Kings own mouth, and declared to the whole Eſtates; How daily citation and falſe ſuggeſtions were made to the Pope, for matters determinable in his Courts within the Realm, and for procuring proviſions to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, to the great deficing of the ancient Laws, to the ſpoiling of his Crown, to the daily conveying away of the Treaſure, to the waſting of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, to the withdrawing of Divine Service, Alms, Hoſpitality, and other acceptable works, and to the daily increaſe of all miſchiefs: Wherefore, in perſon by his own mouth the King required the whole Eſtate to provide hereof due remedy.

What miſchiefs come by tranſportation, cauſes to *Rome*, *tit.* eadem. It is to be noted finally in this Parliament of the 38*th.* year, that the Act of Proviſions, the firſt Parliament, although in the Printed Copy, *Chap.* 1, 2, 3, 4. it doth agree with the Record, in manner; yet in the ſaid Records unprinted are moe biting words againſt the Pope: a myſtery not to be known of all Men.

The printed Statute of Proviſion not agreeing in all terms againſt the Pope with the Record, *tit.* 9.

Notes of the fortieth year of King Edward *the Third.*

Ex An. Reg. Ed. 40. *tit.* 8. *weſtminſt.* IT followeth moreover in the ſaid Acts of King *Edward* the Third, and in the 40*th.* year of his Reign, another Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter* the 3*d.* of *May*, *An.* 1366. the Biſhop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor and Speaker. Who in the ſecond day of the ſaid Aſſembly in the preſence of the King, Lords and Commons, declared; how the day before generally they underſtood the cauſe of this their Aſſembly, and now more particularly ſhould underſtand the ſame; ſpecially how that the King underſtood, that the Pope (for the homage which King *John* made to the See of *Rome* for the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the tribute by him granted) meant by Proceſs to cite the King to *Rome*, to anſwer thereto. Wherein the King required their advices, what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thing were attempted. The Biſhops by their ſelves required a reſpite of anſwer, until the next day. So did the Lords and Commons every of them by their ſelves.

The Pope miſdeth to the King up by Proceſs.

King *John* could not without conſent of Parliament become tributary to the Pope. *tit.* 8. The ſame next day the whole Eſtates re-aſſembled together, and by common conſent enacted in effect following, *viz.* Foraſmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King, could bring his Realm and people in ſuch thraldom and ſubjection, but by common aſſent of Parliament, the which was not done; and therefore was done againſt his Oath at his Coronation (whether many other cauſe) It agreed therefore the Pope ſhould attempt any thing againſt the King, by Proceſs or other matter indeed; That the King with all his Subjects ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt the ſame. Agreed by parliament, that the King by force ſhould reſiſt the Pope.

Here moreover is not to be omitted, how in the ſaid preſent Parliament the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* on the one ſide, and the Friers of the four Orders of Mendicants in the ſaid Univerſities on the other ſide, made long complaints the one againſt the other to the King in Parliament, and in the end ſubmitted themſelves to the Kings Order. Braul between the four orders of Friers and the two Univerſities *Ex tit.* 10.

After which, the King upon full diſgeſting of the whole matter (by aſſent of Parliament) took order; that as well the Chancellor and Scholars, as the Friers of thoſe Orders in the ſaid Univerſities, ſhould in all Graces and other School Exerciſes uſe each other in friendly wiſe, without any rumor as before. That none of thoſe Orders ſhould receive any Scholars into their ſaid Orders, being under the age of eighteen years.

The Friers ſhall not procure Bulls, but from the Kings Order only in all their controverſies, Parliament, *tit.* 12. That the ſaid Friers ſhall take no advantage, ne procure Bulls, or other Proceſs from *Rome*, againſt the ſaid Univerſities, or proceed therein.

Ex Archiepiſ Regiæ Majeſtatis An. 50. *Reg. Ed.* 3. *tit.* 34. And that the King have power to redreſs all controverſies between them from thenceforth; and the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the King, and of the Council.

Notes of the fiftieth year of King Edward *the Third.*

IN proceſs of the foreſaid Acts and Rolls, it followeth more, that in the 50*th.* year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the year of our Lord 1376. another great Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* the 24*th.* day of *April*: where, Sir *John Knyvet* being Lord Chancellor of *England*, a certain long Bill was put up againſt the uſurpations of the Pope; as being the cauſe of all

Sf the

Againſt the uſurpation of the Pope. The Pope cauſe of all miſchiefs in *England*. The Treaſure of the Realm conveyed away by the Popes means, an. 97.

the plagues, murrions, famine, and poverty of the Realm, ſo as thereby was not left the third perſon, or other commodity within the Realm that lately was.

2. That the Taxes paid to the Pope of *Rome* for Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, do amount to five-fold as much, as the Tax of all profits which appertain to the King, by the year, of his whole Realm; And that for ſome one Biſhoprick or other Dignity, the Pope, by way of tranſlation and death, hath three, four, or five ſeveral Taxes.

That the brokers of that ſinful City for money promote many Caitiffs (being altogether unlearned and unworthy) to a thouſand Marks Living by year, where the the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty Marks, whereby learning decayeth.

4. That Aliens (enemies to this Land) who never ſaw ne care not to ſee their Pariſhioners, have thoſe Livings, whereby they deſpiſe Gods ſervice, and convey away the Treaſure, and are worſe than *Jews* or *Saracens*.

5. Alſo it was put up in the ſaid Bill to be conſidered, That the Laws of the Church would have ſuch Livings to be beſtowed for Charity only, without praying or paying.

6. That reaſon would that Livings given of Devotion ſhould be beſtowed in Hoſpitality.

7. That God had committed his ſheep to the Pope, to be paſtured, and not ſhorn or ſhaven.

The Pope giveth example to fell Benefices, an. 99.

8. That Lay Patrons, perceiving the Covetouſneſs and Simony of the Pope, do thereby learn to ſell their Benefices unto Beaſts, none otherwiſe than Chriſt was ſold to the *Jews*.

Inſufferable that the Pope hath here out of *England*, an. 100.

9. That there is none ſo rich a Prince in Chriſtendom, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as the Pope hath out of this Realm for Churches, moſt ſinfully.

10. Over and beſides in the ſaid Bill, repearing again the tender zeal for the honour of the Church; were declared and particularly named, all the plagues which have juſtly fallen upon this Realm, for ſuffering the ſame Church to be ſo defaced, with declaration that it will daily increaſe without redreſs.

Reformation of the church of *England* deſired in the Parliament, an. 101.

11. Whereupon with much perſwaſion this was deſired, to help to re-edifie the ſame: and the rather for that this was the year of Jubile, the 50*th*. year of the Kings Reign, the year of joy and gladneſs, than the which there could be no greater.

12. The means how to begin this was to write two Letters to the Pope; the one in Latine under the Kings Seal, the other in French under the Seals of the Nobles, importing their particularities, and requiring redreſs; of the which Letter of the Lords the effect may be ſeen in a like Letter mentioned before, *pag.* 436.

Acts made for no money to be tranſported, an. 103.

13. And for a further accompliſhment hereof, to enact, that no money were carried forth of the Realm by Letter of Lumbardy or otherwiſe, on pain of forfeiture and impriſonment, and to Enact the Articles hereafter enſuing.

14. The King hath heretofore by Statute provided ſufficient remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the Holy Father the Pope, and ſo mindeth to do from time to time, until he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the Articles enſuing, being in a manner all one.

Againſt the Pope, Legates and Collectors, an. 104.

15. That the Popes Collector and other ſtrangers the Kings enemies, and only Lieger ſpies for *Engliſh* Dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecrets of the Realm may be touched.

The Popes Collection, what it commeth to, an. 105.

16. That the ſame Collector being alſo receiver of the Popes pence, keepeth a Houſe in *London*, with Clerks and Officers thereto, as it were one of the Kings ſolemn Courts, tranſporting yearly to the Pope twenty thouſand Marks and moſt commonly more.

The beſt dignities in *England* in the hands of Cardinals, an. 106.

17. That Cardinals and other Aliens remaining at *Rome*, whereof one Cardinal is Dean of *York*, another of *Salisbury*, another of *Lincoln*, another Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, another Archdeacon of *Dureſme*, another Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, another Archdeacon of *York*, another Prebendary of *Thame* and *Noſſington*, another Prebendary of *Bucks* in the Church of *York*, have divers of the beſt Dignities of *England* and have ſent over to them yearly twenty thouſand Marks, over and above that which *Engliſh* Brokers lying here have.

The Pope maintaineth the Kings enemies with the Kings money, an. 107.

18. That the Pope (to ranſom the *French*-men the Kings Enemies, who deſtand *Lumbardy* from him) doth always at his pleaſure Levy a Subſidy of the whole Clergy of *England*.

{KING Edw. 3. The Popes Profits in England to make merry, an. 108.

19. That the Pope for more gain maketh ſundry tranſlations of all the Biſhopricks and other Dignities within the Realm.

20. That the Popes Collector hath this year taken to his uſe the firſt fruits of all Benefices, by collation or proviſion.

The Law of Premunire to be renewed.

21. To renew all the Statutes againſt Proviſors from *Rome*; ſith that the Pope reſerveth all the Benefices of the world for his own proper gifts, and hath this year created twelve new Cardinals; ſo as now there are thirty, where was wont to be but twelve, and all thoſe Cardinals, except two or three, are the Kings enemies.

Againſt the Popes uſurpation, an. 111.

22. That the Pope in time will give the Temporal Manors of thoſe Dignities to the Kings Enemies, ſith he ſo dayly uſurpeth upon the Realm, and the Kings Regalities.

23. That all Houſes and Corporations of Religion, who unto the Kings Reign now had free Election of heads, the Pope hath incroached the ſame to himſelf.

24. That in all Legacies from the Pope, whatſoever, the *Engliſh* Clergy beareth the charge of the Legates, and all for the goodneſs of our money.

25. And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the Realm were as plentiful as ever it was; the Collectors aforeſaid, with the Proctors of Cardinals, would ſoon convey the ſame.

26. For remedy hereof it may be provided, That no ſuch Collector or Proctor do remain in *England*, on pain of life and member. And that no *Engliſh*-man, on the like pain, become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remain at *Rome*.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touching the Popes Collector, for that the whole Clergy being obedient unto him, dare not diſpleaſe him: It were good, that Sir *John Stronſale*, Parſon of Saint *Botolphs* in *Holborn*, may be ſent to come before the Lords and Commons of this Parliament. Who being ſtraitly charged, can declare much more; for that he ſerved the ſame Collector in Houſe five years.

¶ And thus much of this Bill touching the Popes matters: whereby it may appear, not to be for nought that hath been upon us reported by the *Italians* and other ſtrangers, which uſed to call *Engliſh-men* good Aſſes: for they bare all burthens that be laid upon them.

Item, in the ſaid Parliament it was provided alſo, That ſuch order as is made in *London* againſt the horrible vice of uſury, may be obſerved throughout the whole Realm.

The Popes Collector to be ſequeſtred.

Engliſh-men good Aſſes.

Order taken in London againſt uſury, an. 158.

The Commons of the Diocеſs of *York* complain of the outragious taking of the Biſhop and his Clerks, for admiſſions of Prieſts to their Benefices.

Complaint againſt the Biſhop of York and his Officers for their extortion taking for their admiſſions, an. 171.

To theſe Records of the Parliament above prefixed, of the fifteenth year of this King *Edward*, we will adjoyn alſo other Notes collected out of the Parliament in the year next following, which was 51. and the laſt year of this Kings life and Reign, *An.* 1377. the 27*th*. of *January*: Although in the printed Book, theſe Statutes are ſaid to be made at the Parliament holden, as above, in the fiftieth year: which is much miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the one and fiftieth year, as by the Records of the ſaid year manifeſtly doth appear.

Againſt the Popes Proviſions from *Rome*, an. 151.

In which Parliament, the Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, being Lord Chancellor, making a long Oration, taking his Theam out of S. *Paul*, *Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes*, *&c.* Declaring in the ſaid Oration many things; as firſt, in ſhewing the joyful news of the old Kings recovery; then declaring the love of God toward the King and Realm, in chaſtiſing him with ſickneſs: Afterward ſhewing the bleſſing of God upon the King in ſeeing his Childrens Children; Then by a ſimilitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one body to conform themſelves unto the goodneſs of the head: Laſtly, he turned his matter to the Lords and the reſt, declaring the cauſe of that Aſſembly: That foraſmuch as the *French* King had Allied himſelf with the *Spaniards* and *Scots*, the Kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conſpiring to blot out the *Engliſh* Tongue and name, the King therefore was willing to have therein their faithful counſel.

The effect of the Chancellors Oration.

This

{KING Edw. 3. The cauſe of this Parliament chiefly for the Popes uſurpation againſt the King.

This being declared by the Biſhop; Sir *Robert Aſſton* of the Kings Chamberlain, declaring that he was to move them from the King, for the profit of the Realm (the which words perceaſe lay not in the Biſhops mouth, for that it touched the Pope) *viz.* By protelting firſt, That the King was ready to do all that ought to be done for the Pope. But for that divers uſurpations were done by the Pope to the King his Crown, and Realm, as by particular Bills in this Parliament ſhould be ſhewed, he required of them to ſeek redreſs.

Againſt the Pope his proviſions from Rome An. Reg. 51. an. 35.

In this preſent Parliament petition was made by the Commons, that all Proviſors of things from *Rome*, and their Miniſters, ſhould be out of the Kings protection.

The Kings Anſwer.

Whereunto the King Anſwered, That the Pope had promiſed redreſs, which if he did not, the Laws then ſhould ſtand.

Againſt the Pope his diſpenſations, an. 62.

It was alſo in that Parliament required, That every perſon of what ſex ſoever, being profeſſed of any Religion, continuing the habit of fifteen years, may upon the tryal of the ſame in any of the Kings Courts, be in Law utterly fore-barred of all inheritance, albeit he have diſpenſation from the Pope. Againſt which diſpenſation, is the chief grudge. Whereunto the King and the Lords anſwered, ſaying, That they would provide.

Item, In the ſaid Parliament was propounded, That the Statute of Proviſors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had againſt ſuch Cardinals, as have within the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, purchaſed reſervations, with the clauſe of *Anteferri* to the value of twenty or thirty thouſand Scutes of Gold againſt the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an *Engliſh*-man, and now is a meer *French*, reſiding at *London*, and conveyeth yearly to the Pope twenty thouſand Marks, or twenty thouſand Pounds, who this year gathereth the firſt fruits whatſoever. Alledging the means to meet with theſe reſervations and novelties, as to command all ſtrangers to depart the Realm during the Warr; that no *Engliſh*-man become their Farmer, or ſend to them any money without a ſpecial licence, on pain to be out of the Kings protection. Whereunto was anſwered by the King, that the Statutes and Ordinances, therefore made, ſhould be obſerved.

The Popes Collector to be ſequeſtred. an. 114.

The Popes Collector or Proctor driven out of the Realm, an. 115.

No good money in the Realm for the Popes and Card. an. 113.

The Popes Legacies, an. 113.

By this Anſwer, that is, gratified, to meet the grievances above the King. The Popes Law of proviſions, which now we complain by all proximity, forbarred by the Kings an. 51.

Ex actis Parliamenti in An. Reg. Edw. Tertii 15. an. 24.

In theſe Rolls and Records of ſuch Parliament as were in this Kings time continued, divers other things are to be noted much worthy to be marked, and not to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Wherein the Reader may learn and underſtand the ſtate of the Kings juriſdiction here within this Realm, not to be ſtrained in thoſe days (although the Pope then ſeemed to be in his chief ruff) as afterward ſince in other Kings days was ſeen. As may appear in the Parliament of the fifteenth year of this King *Edward* the Third, and in the Twenty fourth Article of the ſaid Parliament: where it is to be read, That the Kings Officers and Temporal Juſtices did then both puniſh Uſurers, and impeached the Officers of the Church for bribery, and for taking money for temporal pain, probate of Wills, ſolemnity of Marriage, *&c.* all the pretended liberties of the Popiſh Church to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Parliament of the Clergy in the temporal manſlaughs.

Clerks forbidden to tranſpaſſ Laws.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the 25*th*. year it appeareth, That the liberties of the Clergy, and their exemptions in claiming the deliverance of Men by their Book under the name of Clerks, ſtood then in little force, as appeared by one *Hauksine Honby* Knight: who, for impriſoning one of the Kings Subjects till he made fine of twenty pound, was therefore executed, notwithſtanding the liberty of the Clergy, which by his Book would have ſaved him, but could not.

The like alſo appeared by judgment given againſt a Prieſt at *Nottingham*, for killing of his Maſter.

And likewiſe by hanging certain Monks of *Combe*. *Ex Parliam. An.* 23. *Ed.* 3.

Treaſurer, Patent of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, an. 15. *Ed.* 3. in. 43.

Item, In the Parliament of the 15*th*. year by apprehending of *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Arraignment: concerning which his Arraignment all things were committed to Sir *William* of *Kildeſby*.

Beſides theſe truths and notes of the Kings Parliaments, wherein may appear the toward proceedings of this King and all his Commons againſt the pretended Church of *Rome*; this is moreover to be added to the commendation of the King, how in the Volumes of the Acts and Rolls of the King it appeareth; That the ſaid King *Edward* the Third ſent alſo *John Wickliff*, B. cader then of Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, with certain other Lords and Ambaſſadors over into the parts of *Italy*, to treat with the Popes Legates concerning affairs betwixt the King and the Pope with full commiſſion: the tenor whereof here followeth expreſſed.

John Wickliff ſent with the Kings Ambaſſadors by the King.

R *EX Univerſis, ad quorum notitiam præſentes literæ perveverint*, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

The King to all and ſingular to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Know ye, that we repoſing aſſured confidence in the fidelity and wiſdom of the Reverend Father John Biſhop of Bangor, *and other our loving and faithful ſubjects, M.* John *Wickliff, Reader of the Divinity Lecture, M.* John Guntar *Dean of* Segobyen, *and M.* Simon Moulton *Doctor of Law, Sir* William Burton *Knights, M.* John Belknap, *and M.* John Honnington; *have directed them as our Ambaſſadors and ſpecial Commiſſioners to the parts beyond the Seas. Giving to the ſaid our Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners, to fix or ſwe of them, of whom I will that the ſaid Biſhop ſhall be one, full power and authority, with commandment ſpecial, to treat and conſult mildly and charitably with the Legates and Ambaſſadors of the Lord Pope touching certain affairs. Whereupon of late we ſent hereafore the ſaid Biſhop, and* William Ughtred *Monk of* Dureſme, *and M.* John Shepy *to the See Apoſtolical: And hereof to make full relation of all things done and paſt in the ſaid Aſſembly, that all ſuch things which may tend to the honour of Holy Church and the advancements of our Crown and this our Realm, may by the aſſiſtance of God and wiſdom of the See Apoſtolical be brought to good effect, and accompliſhed accordingly.* Witneſs our ſelves, *&c.* at *London*, dated the 26*th*. day of *July* in the forty eighth year of our Reign.

By the which it is to be noted, what good will the King then bare to the faid *Wickliff*, and what ſmall regard he had to the ſinful See of *Rome*.

Of the which *John Wickliff*, becauſe we are now approached to his time, it remaineth conſequently for our Story to entreat of, ſo as we have heretofore done of other like valiant Souldiers of Chriſts Church before him.

John Wickliff.

Here begineth the Hiſtory of *John Wickliff*.

AFter all theſe heretofore recited, by whom (as ye have heard) it pleaſed the Lord ſomething to work againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to weaken the pernitious ſuperſtition of the Friers: it now remaineth conſequently, following the courſe of years, orderly to enter into the ſtory and tractation of *John Wickliff* our Country-man, and other moe of his time, and ſame Country, whom the Lord (with the like zeal and power of ſpirit) raiſed up here in *England*, to detect more fully and amply the poyſon of the Popes Doctrine, and falſe Religion ſet up by the Friers. In whoſe opinions and aſſertions, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted; yet ſuch blemiſhes they be, which rather declare him to be a Man that might err, than which directly did fight againſt Chriſt our Saviour, as the Popes proceedings and Friers did. And what Doctor or learned Man hath been from the prime age of the Church ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whom no opinion hath ſometime ſwarved awry? And yet be the ſaid Articles of his neither in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſs in themſelves and ſo Cardinal, as thoſe Cardinal enemies of Chriſt perchance do give them out to be; if his Books which they abolished, were remaining to be conferred with thoſe blemiſhes, which they have wreſted to the worſt, as evil-will never ſaid the beſt.

The blemiſh's of *Wickliff* made worſe than they be.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the publick Reader of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was for the rude time wherein he lived, ſtrongly reputed for a great Clerk, a deep School-man, and no leſs expert in all kind of Philoſophy. The which doth

not only appear by his own most famous and learned Writings and Monuments, but also by the confession of *Walden* his most cruel and bitter Enemy. Who in a certain Epistle written unto Pope *Martin* the fifth, saith, *That he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong Arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons*, &c. And thus much out of *Walden*. It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this *Wickliff* flourished about the year of our Lord 1371, *Edward* the Third Reigning in *England*: for thus we do find in the Chronicles of *Caxton*: In the year of our Lord { Ann. 1371. } (saith he) *Edward* the Third, King of *England* in his Parliament was against the Popes Clergy: He willingly hearkned and gave ear to the voyces and tales of Hereticks with certain of his council: conceiving and following sinister opinions against the Clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he tatted and suffered much adversity and trouble. { Ann. 1372. } And not long after in the year of our Lord (saith he) 1372, he wrote unto the Bishop of *Rome*, that he should not by any means intermeddle any more within his Kingdom, as touching the reservation or distribution of Benefices, and that all such Bishops as were under his dominion, should injoy their former and antient liberty, and be confirmed of their Metropolitans, as hath been accustomed in times past, &c. Thus much writeth *Caxton*. But as touching the just number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or carfil about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God his Truth had over-shadowed the whole Earth, this Man stepped out like a valiant Champion, unto whom it may justly be applyed that is spoken in the Book called *Ecclesiasticus*, of one *Simon* the Son of *Onias*: *Even as the morning Star being in the midst of a Cloud, and as the Moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the Sun; so doth he shine and glister in the Temple and Church of God.*

The time of Iohn Wickliff.

Ex Cax-ton.

Thus doth Almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despair: being always (accordding to the Prophecy of the *Psalm*) a helper in time of need. The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these later days and extream age of the Church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of Religion, was depraved and corrupted. That like as the disease named *Lethargus* amongst the Phisitians, even so the state of Religion amongst the Divines, was past all Mans help and remedy. The only name of Christ remained amongst the Christians, but his true and lively Doctrine was as far unknown unto the most part, as his name was common unto all Men. As touching Faith, Confolation, the end and use of the Law, the Office of Christ, of our impotency and weakness, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatness and strength of Sin, of true Works, Grace and free justification by Faith, of liberty of a Christian Man, wherein consisteth and resteth the sum and matter of our profession, there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of. Scripture, Learning, and Divinity, was known but unto a few, and that in the Schools only, and there also turned and converted almost all into Sophistry. Instead of *Peter* and *Paul*, Men occupied their time in studying *Aquinas* and *Scotus*, and the Master of Sentences. The world leaving and forsaking the lively power of Gods spiritual Word and Doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward Ceremonies and humane Traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all Christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the Temples or Churches taught or spoken of in Sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowed Ceremonies upon Ceremonies, neither was there any end of there heaping.

A description of Wickliff's time.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see; and did see almoit nothing which they did not worship.

The Church being degenerated from the true Apostolick institution above all measure (reserving only the name of the Apostolick Church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverty and simplicity of Christ was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. Instead of the Apostolick gifts and continual labors and travels, sloathfulness and ambition was crept in amongst the Priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange Religions, being the only root and Well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the Sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signs of things for the very things themselves: and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials? Finally, what thing was there in the whole state of Christian Religion so sincere, so found and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of daily new fangled Ceremonies were the silly Consciences of Men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled? Insomuch that there could be no great difference almoit perceived between Christianity and Jewishness, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jews might seem somewhat more tolerable than ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true Fountains, but out of the durty puddels of the *Philistines*; The Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the Noses, with meer decrees and constitutions of Men, even whither as pleased the Bishops to lead them, and not as Christs Will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and over-whelmed with error and darkness. And no great marvel: for why, the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the Holy Scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know only these things which were delivered them by their Pastors and Sheepherds, and they on the other part taught in a manner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the Court of *Rome*; whereof the moit part tended to the profit of their Order, more than to the glory of Christ.

All good things defiled and coloured with superstitions.

Pope Urban.

Lambert Pope.

The Christian Faith was efteemed or counted none other thing then, but that every Man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, That all Men should know and understand that thing which the Divels themselves also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderful Holiness. All Men were so addict unto outward shews, that even they themselves, which profeised the moit absolute and singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely did understand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common fort of Doctors and Teachers, but also in the very heads and Captains of the Church; whose whole Religion and Holiness, consisted in a manner in the observing of days, meats, and garments, and such like Rhetorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of Vestures and Garments; so many differences of colours and meats, with so many Pilgrimages to several places, as though S. *Iames* at *Compostella* could do that, which Christ could not do at *Canterbury*: or else, that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found, but being sought for by running gaddding hither and thither. Thus the Holiness of the whole year was transported and put off unto the *Lent* season. No Country or Land was counted Holy, but only *Palestina*, where Christ had walked himself with his corporal feet. Such was the blindness of that time, that Men did strive and fight for the Crois at *Hierusalem*, as if it had been for the chief and only force and strength of our Faith. It is a wonder to read the Monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this Cross had caused almoit in every Christian Commonwealth. For the *Romish* Champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to move and stir up Princes to mind War and Battel, even as though the Faith and belief of the Gospel were of small force, or little effect without that wooden Cross. This was the cause of the expedition of the moit noble Prince King *Richard* unto *Hierusalem*. Who being taken in the same journey, and delivered unto the Emperor, could scarcely be ranlomed home again for 30 Marks, *pag.* 280. In the same enterprise or journey, *Frederickus* the Emperor of *Rome*, a Man of moit excellent vertue, was much endammaged, *Anno.* 1179. And also *Philip* the King of *France* scarcely returned home again in safety,

The Captains of the Church so blinded as well as the blindest sort.

Palestina deemed holy for Christs walking there.

Richard King of England.

Frederick the Emperor.

Philip King of France.

{ KING Edw. 3 } safety, and not without great losses: so much did they esteem the recovery of the Holy City and Cross.

Upon this alone all Mens eyes, minds, and devotions were so set and bent, as though either there were no other Cross but that, or that the Cross of Christ were in no other place but only at *Jerusalem*. Such was the blindness and superstition of those days, which understood or knew nothing but such as were outwardly seen: whereas the profession of our Religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that *Urbanus* did so vex and torment himself, because that *Antioch*, with the the Holy Cross, was lost out of the hands of the Christians. For so we do find it in the *Chronicles*, at what time as *Jerusalem* with King *Guido* and the Cross of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the *Sultan*, *Urbanus* took the matter so grievously, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded *Lambertus*, which was called *Gregory* the eighth, by whose motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (letting apart all riches and voluptuousness) they should Preach the Cross of Christ, and by their Poverty and Humility first of all should take the Cross upon them, and go before others into the Land of *Jerusalem*. These are the words of the History; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant Reader, unto what grosiness the true knowledg of the spiritual Doctrine of the Gospel was degenerate and grown in those days; how great blindness and darkness was in those days, even in the first primacy, and supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*: as though the outward succession of *Peter* and the Apostles had been of greater force and effect to the matter. What doth it force in what place *Peter* did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every Man should labour and study with all their endeavour to follow the life and confession of *Peter*: And that Man seemeth unto me to be true succesior of *Peter* against whom the Gates of Hell shall not prevail. For if that *Peter* in the Gospel do bear the type and figure of the Christian Church (as all Men in a manner do affirm) what more foolish or vain thing can there be; than through private usurpation to restrain and to bind that unto one Man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it self free and open to so many?

The knowledg of the Gospel grosly expounded by the Romanists.

The rising up of Wickliff in the times of King Edw. 3.

Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darknesses of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no one so little a spark of pure Doctrine left or remaining; this aforesaid *Wickliff* by Gods providence sprung and rose up: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep streams of humane Traditions. Thus you have here the time of *Wickliff*'s original.

Wickliff a Divine of Oxford.

Which *Wickliff*, after he had now a long time profeffed Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, and perceiving the true Doctrine of Christs Gospel to be adulterate and defiled with so many filthy inventions of Bishops, sects of Monks, and dark errors: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himself (with many secret sighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same; he at the last determined with himself to help and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide and out of the way. But forasmuch as he saw that this dangerous medling could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things, which had been so long time with use and custom rooted and grafted in Mens minds, could be suddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himself that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his original at small occasions, thereby opened himself a way or mean to greater matters. And first he affailed his adversaries in Logical and Metaphysical questions, disputing with them of the first form and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like Sophems of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding, it did not a little help and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began *Kenningham* (a *Carmelite*) to dispute and argue against *John Wickliff*.

By these originals, the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuses of the Church. Touching which things this holy Man took great pains, protesting (as they said) openly in the Schools, That it was his chief and principal purpose and intent, to revolve and call back the Church from her Idolatry to some better amendment; especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this Bile or fore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of Monks and begging Friers were set on a rage and madness, which (even as Hornets with their sharp stings) did assail this good Man on every side; fighting (as is said) for their Altars, Paunches and Bellies. After them the Priests, and then after them the Archbishop took the matter in hand, being then *Simon Sudbury*; who for the same cause deprived him of his Benefice, which then he had in *Oxford*. Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the King, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the Archbishop all this while of his first beginning, till about the year of our Lord, 1377. After which time, now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and sonflict, first I must fetch about a little compass, as requisite is, to infer some mention of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* the Kings Son, Lord *Henry Percy*, which were his special maintainers.

Wickliff deprived of his Benefice at *Oxford* by *Simon Sudbury*.

Ex Chron. de Abbend.

Duke of *Lancaster*, great maintainers of *Wickliff*.

As years and time grew on, King *Edward* the Third which had Reigned now about 51 years, after the decease of Prince *Edward* his Son, who departed the year before, was stucken in great age, and in such feebleness withal, that he was unwieldy through lack of strength to govern the affairs of the Realm. Wherefore a Parliament being called the year before his death, it was there put by the Knights and other the Burgesses of the Parliament because of the misgovernment of the Realm (by certain greedy persons about the King, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done) that twelve sage and discreet Lords, and Peers, such as were free from note of all avarice, should be placed as Tutors about the King, to have the doing and disposing under him (six at one time, and in their absence, six at another) of matters pertaining to the publick Regiment. Here by the way, I omit to speak of *Alice Perris* the wicked Harlot, which as the fory reporteth) had bewitched the Kings heart, and governed all, and sate upon causes her self through the diveliih help of a Frier Dominck: who by the Duke of *Lancaster* was caused to be taken, and was convicted, and should have suffered for the same, had not the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Friers (more regarding the liberty of their Church, than the punishment of vice) reclaimed him for their own prisoner. This *Alice Perris*, notwithstanding she was banished by this Parliament from the King, yet afterward she came again, and left him not, till at his death she took all his Rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and so fled away like an Harlot. But this of her by the way.

Alice Perris the Kings Concubine. The King bewitched by a woman through the help of a Frier.

The propets ey of an Whore.

These twelve Governors by Parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the King, and to attend the publick affairs of the Realm, remained for a certain space about him; till afterward it fo fell out, that they being again removed, all the Regiment of the Realm next under the King, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster* the Kings Son. For as yet *Richard*, the Son of Prince *Edward*, lately departed, was very young and under age.

Twelve Governors assigned about the King.

This Duke of *Lancaster* had in his heart of long time conceived a certain displeasure against the Popish Clergy; whether for corrupt and impure Doctrine joyned with like abominable excess of life, or for what other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Only by story the cause thereof may be guessed to rise by *William Wicham* Bishop of *Winchester*. The matter is this.

Ex Chron. Monasterii Abbend.

The Bishop of *Winchester* (as the saying went then) was reported to affirm, That the foresaid *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was not the Son of King *Edward*, nor of the Queen. Who, being in Travail at *Gaunt*, had no Son (as he said) but a Daughter: which the same time by lying upon of the Mother in the Bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the Queen, fearing the Kings displeasure, caused a certain Man Child of a Woman of *Flanders* (born the very same time) to be conveyed, and brought unto her instead of her Daughter

A praise of the Province latest against the Duke of *Lancaster*.

aforesaid. And so she brought up the Child whom she bare not, who now is called Duke of *Lancaster*. And this (said the Bishop) did the Queen tell him, lying in extreames on her death-bed under seal of Confession; charging him if the said Duke should ever aspire to get the Crown, or if the Kingdom by any means should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said Duke of *Lancaster* was no part of the Kings blood, but a false heir of the King. This slanderous report of the wicked Bishop, as it favoureth of a contumelious lye, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtile zeal toward the Popes Religion, meaning falshood. For the foresaid Duke, by favouring of *Wickliff*, declared himself to be a professed enemy against the Popes profession: Which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the Prelates and Bishops then in *England*. But the sequel of the Story thus followed:

This slanderous villany of the Bishops report being blazed abroad, and coming to the Dukes ear: he therewith being not a *little* discontented (as no marvel was) fought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of this forenamed Bishop. In conclusion, the Duke having now all the government of the Realm under the King his Father, in his own hands, so pursued the Bishop of *Winchester*, that by Act of Parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his Temporal Goods; which Goods were assigned to Prince *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, the next inheritor of the Crown after the King; and furthermore he inhibited the said Bishop not to approach near to the Court by twenty miles. Further as touching this Bishop, the story thus proceedeth: Not long after in the year of our Lord, 1377, a Parliament was called by the means of the Duke of *Lancaster*, upon certain causes and respects: in which Parliament great request and fute was made by the Clergy for the deliverance of the Bishop of *Winchester*. At length when a Subsidy was asked in the Kings name of the Clergy, and request also made in the Kings behalf for speedy expedition to be made for the diffolving of the Parliament, the Archbishop therefore accordingly convented the Bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the Bishops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow and Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*: Whose injury, said they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole Church: And therefore denied to joyn themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head. And (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwise do. And seemed moreover to be moved against the Archbishop for that he was not more stout in the cause, but suffered himself so to be cited of the Duke.

Wickham B. of Wint. deprived.

Bishops hold together. Liberties of the Church a great matter.

The Archbishop although having sufficient cause to excuse himself, wherefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof: yet being inforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunity of the Bishops, directed down his Letters to the foresaid Bishop of *Winchester*, willing him to resort unto the Convocation of the Clergy. Who being glad to obey the same, was received with great joy of the other Bishops. And at length by the means of *Alice Perris*, the Kings Paramour above mentioned, (giving to her a good quantity of money) the said *Winchester* was restored to his own Temporalties again.

B. of Winch. sent for to the convocation.

John Wickliff sent for by the Duke of Lancaster.

As the Bishops had thus sent for *Winchester*, the Duke in the mean time had sent for *John Wickliff* who, as is said, was then the Divinity Reader in *Oxford*, and had commenced in sundry acts and disputations contrary to the form and teaching of the Popes Church in many things: who also for the same had been deprived of his Benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in *Oxford*, first in his Lectures and Sermons to inveat of, and wherefore he was deprived, were these: That the Pope had no more power to Excommunicate any man than hath another. That if it be given by any person to the Pope to Excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another Priest as in his. He affirmed moreover, That neither the King nor any Temporal Lord could give any perpetuity to the Church, or to any Ecclesiastical person: for that when such Ecclesiastical persons do sin, *habitualiter*, continuing in the same still, the Temporal powers ought and may meritoriously take away from them, that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practised before here in *England* by *William Rufus*. Which thing (said he) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the Church err (saith he) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall fallow (Christ willing) hereafter. The story which ascribed to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of the Monastery of S. *Albans*, addeth withal: That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he furnisseth him to be an hypocrite, the cause was this:

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Example of W. Rufus.

Eulip. Monachus Dunelmi.

First, Because he reforted much to the Orders of the begging Friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty.

Secondly, Because he and his fellows usually accustomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in simple ruffet Gowns.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appear to the indifferent, the nature and condition of *Wickliff*, how far it was from the ambition and pride, which in the slanderous Pen of *Polydore Virgil* importing in his 25th Book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the Church (conceiving therefore indignation against the Clergy) he became their mortal enemy. How true was this, he only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other.

Striving for the Lords to pass by the people.

The slanderous Pen of Polydore.

In the mean time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly conjecture what is to be thought of the Man. But how soever it was in him either true or false; yet it had been *Polydores* part either not so intemperately to have abused his Pen, or at least to have shewed some greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashly to defame a Man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful Story-writer.

W. Courtney Bishop of London. The words of the Bishop of London to the Lord Percy.

Wickliff falsely charged with ambitiously Polydore.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and affertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to be brought in order; he began also then something nearly to touch the matter of the Sacrament, proving that in the said Sacrament, the accidents of Bread remained not without the subject of substance; both by the Holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the Doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the later Writers, that is to say, such as have written upon that argument under the thousand years since Christs time, he utterly refused; saying, That after these years Satan was loosed and set at liberty. And that since that time the life of Man hath been most subject and in danger of errors: and that the simple and plain truth doth appear and consist in the Scriptures, whereunto all humane Traditions whatsoever they be, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth and published now of late years. This was the cause why he refused the later Writers of Decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures and ancient Doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them, That in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrate, with bread, the accidents not to be present without the substance. That is to say, That the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of Priests in those days did dream. As for his Arguments what they were, we will shortly at more opportunity by Gods Grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the Poet speaketh very truly) had gotten *John Wickliff* great displeasure and hatred at many Mens hands; and especially of the Monks and richest sort of Priests.

Wickliff gloseth in touching the matter of the Sacrament.

The later writers of the Church to be misdoubted. The accidents not to be in the Sacrament without the substance.

Albeit through the favour and supportation of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, he persisted hitherto in some mean quiet against the Wolvish violence and cruelty: Till at last about the year of our Lord, 1376, the Bishops still urging and inciting their Archbishop *Simon Sudbury*, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained by Proces and order of Citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their usual form, was to him affigned.

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The Duke having intelligence that *Wickliff* his client should come before the Bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of Friers, four Bachelors of Divinity, out of every order one to join them with *Wickliff* also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said *Wickliff* to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of *February*: *John Wickliff* went accompanied with the four Friers aforesaid, and with them also the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, Lord Marshal of *England*; the said Lord *Percy* also going before them to make room and way where *Wickliff* should come.

B. Hist. Mauric. D. Albani ex commendat. D. Matth. Archiepisc. Cant.

Thus *Wickliff* (through the Providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the Bishops sate; whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to fear nor shrink awhit at the company of the Bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of them. For so proceed the words of my foresaid Author, whom I follow in this Narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves affist and defend, in such fort as he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, *Wickliff*, in heart incouraged, approached to the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the Lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshal) unneth with great difficulty could get way through: Insomuch that the Bishop of *London* (whose name was *William Courtney*) seeing the stir that the Lord Marshal kept in the Church among the people, speaking to the Lord *Percy*, said, That if he had known before what Misfries he would have kept in the Church, he would have stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the Bishop the Duke disdaining not a little, answered to the Bishop again, and said, That he would keep such mastry there, though he said nay.

Wickliff sent for by the Bishops.

Wickliff falsely charged to sit downbefore the Bishops. Wickliff defended by the Bishop of London to sit down, setteth between the Lord Marshal and Bishop of London. The people set in a fire. Strife between the Duke of Lancaster and Bishop of London. The Bishop overpoweth the Duke in scolding.

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies Chappel; where the Dukes and Barons were sitting together with the Archbishops and other Bishops. Before whom the foresaid *John Wickliff*, according to the manner, stood to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord *Percy*, bidding him to sit down, saying, That he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some better ease. But the Bishop of *London*, cast eftsoons into a fumish chafe with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to Law or Reason, that he, which was cited there to appear to answer before his Ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them: Insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

With Bishop of London was W. Courtney son to the Earl of Devonshire.

The Duke thereuntoth to draw the Bishop by the hair out of the Church. Londoners take part with their Bishop.

Then the Duke, taking the Lord *Percies* part, with hafty words began also to take up the Bishop. To whom the Bishop again nothing inferior to reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought; but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scoulding, that to use the words of mine Author, *Eruhuit Dux quod non potuit prævalere litigio. i.* that the Duke blushed and was athamed, because he could not overpass the Bishop in bawling and railing, and therefore fell to plain threatning, menacing the Bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the Prelacy of *England*. And speaking moreover unto him: Thou (said he) beareft thy self so brag upon thy Parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves. For his Parents were the Earl and Countess of *Devonshire*. To whom the Bishop again answered, That to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his Parents, nor in any man elfe, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the Duke softly whispering in the Ear of him next by him, said, That he would rather pluck the Bishop by the Hair of his Head out of the Church, than he would take this at his Hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the *Londoners* overheard him. Whereupon being set in rage, they cried out, saying, That they would not suffer their Bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives, than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that Council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the Clock. And the Duke with the Lord *Percy* went to the Parliament; where the same day before dinner, a Bill was put up in the name of the King by the Lord *Thomas Woftock*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, that the City of *London* should no more be governed by a Mayor, but by a Captain, as in times before. And that the Marshal of *England* should have all the ado in taking the Arrests within the said City, as in other Cities besides, with other Petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the Liberties of *London*. Which Bill being read, *John Philpot*, Burgess then for the City, standeth up, saying to them which read the Bill, That that was never seen so before; and adding moreover, That the Mayor would never suffer any such things, or other Arrest to be brought into the City, with more such words like rhoutnes.

Petitions put up to the Parliament against the City of London.

Hasty counsel of the Londoners.

The next day following the *Londoners* assembled themselves in a Council, to consider among them upon the Bill for changing the Mayor, and about the Office of the Marshal, also concerning the injuries done the day before of to their Bishop.

In which mean time they being busie in long Consultation of this matter, suddainly and unawares entred in the place two certain Lords, whether to come to spy, or for what other cause the Author leaveth it uncertain, the one called Lord *Fitz-Walter*, the other Lord *Guy Brian*. At the first coming in of them the vulgar fort was ready forthwith to fly upon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an Oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the Citizens to Swear to the City their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which Oath if they should rebel, they would be contented to forfeit whatsoever Goods and Possessions they had within the City.

The Oration of the Lord Fitz-Walter to the Londoners.

This done, then began the Lord *Fitz-Walter* in this wise to perswade and exhort the Citizens; first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their City; to not for the Oath only now newly received, but of old and ancient good will from his great Grand-fathers time. Besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principal fautors; forasmuch as whatsoever tendeth to their damage and detriment, redounded also no less unto his own; for which cause he could not otherwise chuse, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the publick Profit and Liberties of the City, he must needs communicate the same to them. Who unless they with speedy circumspection do occur and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turn in the end to their no small incommodity. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all, how the Lord Marshal *Henry Percy* in his place within himself had one in Ward and Custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said Lord Marshal was not allowed any such Ward or Prison in his House, within the Liberties of the City. Which thing if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in fine breed to such a prejudice unto their Customs and Liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reform the injury thereof.

The Londoners break up the Lord Percy his House at Savoy.

These words of the Lord *Fitz-Walter* were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash Citizens; who in all hafty fury running to their Armor and Weapons, went incontinently to the House of the Lord *Percy*, where, breaking up the Gates, by violence they took out the Prisoner, and burned the Stocks wherein he fate, in the midst of *London*. Then was the Lord *Percy* sought for; whom (saith the Story) they would doubtless have slain if they might have found him. With their Bills, and Javelins all corners and privy Chambers were searched, Beds and Hangings torn asunder. But the Lord *Percy* (as God would) was then with the Duke, whom one *John Iper* the same day with great instance had desired to Dinner.

Gods revelation in saving his servants.

The House of the Duke of Lancaster searched by the Londoners.

The *Londoners* not finding him at home, and suppoling that he was with the Duke at *Savoy*, in all hafty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to

to the Dukes House; where alſo in like manner they were diſappointed of their cruel purpoſe. In the mean while as this was doing, cometh one of the Dukes men running in poſt haſte to the Duke and to the Lord *Percy*, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his Oyſters, without any further tarrying, and alſo breaking both his thins at the Form for haſte, took Boat with the Lord *Percy*, and by Water went to *Kingſtone*, where then the Princeſs with *Richard* the young Prince did lie. Who there declared unto the Princeſs all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the *Londoners* as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed again, that ſuch an order ſhould be taken in the matter, as ſhould be to his contentation. At what time the Commons of *London* thus as is ſaid, were about the Dukes Houſe at *Sawoy*, there meeteth with them a certain Prieſt, who marvelling at the ſuddain rage and concourſe, asked what they fought. To whom anſwer was given again of ſome, that they fought for the Duke and the Lord Marſhal, to have of them the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, whom they wrongfully had detained in Priſon. To this the Prieſt anſwered again more boldly than opportunely: That *Peter* (ſaid he) is a falſe Traitor, to the King, and worthy long ſince to be hanged. At the hearing of theſe words the furious people with a terrible ſhout cried out upon him, that he was a Traitor and one that took the Dukes part, and ſo falling upon him with their Weapons, ſtrived who might firſt ſtrike him. Who after they had wounded him very ſore, ſo being wounded they had him into Priſon, where within few days upon the ſoreneſs of his wounds he died.

The Duke and Lord *Percy* fly to the Prince.

A Prieſt in the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Houſe cruelly killed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceaſed, had not the Biſhop of *London*, leaving his Dinner, come to them at *Sawoy*, and putting them in remembrance of the bleſſed time (as they term it) of *Lent*, had perſwaded them to ceaſe and to be quiet.

The villany of the *Londoners* againſt the Duke.

The *Londoners* ſeeing that they could get no vantage againſt the Duke, who was without their reach; to wreak their anger they took his Arms, which in moſt deſpiteful ways they hanged up, in the open places of the City in ſign of reproach, as for a Traitor. Inſomuch that when one of his Gentlemen came through the City, with a Plate containing the Dukes Arms, hanging by a Lace about his Neck, the Citizens not abiding the ſight thereof, caſt him from his Horſe, and pluckt his Eſcutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity againſt him, had not the Mayor reſcued him out of their hands, and ſent him home ſafe unto the Duke his Maſter. In ſuch hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of *London*.

The meſſage of the Princeſs to the *Londoners*.

After this the Princeſs, underſtanding the hearts and broil of the *Londoners* ſet againſt the foreſaid Duke, ſent unto *London* three Knights, Sir *Albred Lewer*, Sir *Simon Burle*, and Sir *Lewes Cliffort*, to entreat the Citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The *Londoners* anſwered, That they, for the honour of the Princeſs, would obey and do with all reverence what ſhe would require. But this they required and enjoyned the Meſſengers to ſay to the Duke by word of mouth: that he ſhould ſuffer the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* afore-mentioned, and alſo the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, to come to their anſwer, and to be judged by their Peers. Whereby either they might be quit if they were guiltleſs; or otherwiſe if they be found culpable, they might receive according to their deſerts after the Laws of the Realm. What grief and diſpleaſure the Duke conceived and retained in his mind thereof: Again, what means and ſuit the *Londoners* for their part made to the old King for their Liberties: What Rimes and Songs in *London* were made againſt the Duke: How the Biſhops at the Dukes requeſt were moved to Excommunicate thoſe malicious

The Duke revenged of the *Londoners*.

flanderers: And moreover how the Duke at laſt was revenged of thoſe contumelies and injuries: How he cauſed them to be brought before the King: How ſharply they were rebuked for their miſdemeanour by the worthy Oration of the Lord Chamberlain, *Robert Aſton*, in the preſence of the King, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, with divers other States the Kings Children, and other Nobilities of the Realm: In concluſion, how the *Londoners* were compelled to this at length, by the common aſſent and publick charges of the City, to make a great Taper of Wax, which, with the Dukes Arms ſet upon it, ſhould be brought with Solemn Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Paul*, there to burn continually before the Image of our Lady: And at laſt, how both the ſaid Duke and the *Londoners* were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new King: with the kiſs of peace, and the ſame reconcilement publickly denounced in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and what joy was in the whole City thereof: Theſe, becauſe they are impertinent and make too long a digreſſion from the matter of *Wickliff*, I cut off with brevity, referring the Reader to other Hiſtories namely of St. *Albans*, where they are to be found at large.

{ KING } { Edw. 3 } The Londoners cauſed to bear a Taper of Wax in proceſſion in honour of the Duke.

As theſe foreſaid for brevity ſake I paſs over, ſo will I not be long, and yet cannot omit that, which happened the ſame time and year to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to the intent that this Poſterity now may ſee, to what pride the Clergy of the Popes Church was then grown. The ſame time as this broil was at *London*, the Biſhop of *Norwich* a little after the time of *Eaſter* coming to the Town of *Lennam*, belonging to his Lordſhip: being not contented with the old accuſtomed honour due unto him, and uſed of his predeceſſors before in the ſame Town, required moreover with a new and unuſed kind of magnificence to be exalted: Inſomuch that when he ſaw the chief Magiſtrate or Mayor of that Town to go in the ſtreets with his Officer going before him, holding a certain Wand in his hand tipped at both ends with black Horn, as the manner was; he reputing himſelf to be Lord of that Town (as he was) and thinking to be higher than the higheſt, commanded the honour of that Staff due to the Mayor, to be yielded and born before his Lordly perſonage. The Mayor or Baliff with other the Townſmen, courteouſly anſwered to him again, That they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him, and would ſo do, if he firſt of the King and Council could obtain that Cuſtom, and if the ſame might be induced after any peaceable way with the good wills of the Commons and Body of the Town: Otherwiſe ſaid they, as the matter was dangerous, ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch new alteration of ancient Cuſtoms and Liberties, leſt the people (which is always inclinable and prone to evil) do fall upon them with ſtones, and drive them out of the Town. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they beſought him that he would require no ſuch thing of them: that he would ſave his own honour and their lives, who otherwiſe if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the Biſhop, youthful and haughty, taking occaſion by their humbleneſs, to ſwell the more in himſelf, anſwered, That he would not be taught by their counſel, but that he would have it done, though all the Commons (whom he named Ribals) ſaid nay. Alſo he rebuked the Mayor and his Brethren for Meccks and daſtards, for ſo fearing the vulgar fort of people.

A ſtory of the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Example of Pride in the Popiſh Clergy.

The contumelies of King Ludward.

The counſel of the Townſmen toward the Biſhop.

The firſt anſwer of the Biſhop to the Townſhip.

The Citizens perceiving the wilful ſtoutneſs of the Biſhop, meekly anſwering again, ſaid, They minded not to reſiſt him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: only they deſired him that he would License them to depart, and ſhold them excuſed for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the Town with that reverence which he required. For if they ſhould be ſeen in his company, all the ſuſpition thereof would be upon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in danger, ſo much as their lives were worth. The Biſhop not regarding their advice and counſel, commanded one of his men to take the Rod born before the Mayor, and to carry the ſame before him. Which being done, and perceived of the Commons, the Biſhop after that manner went not far, but the rude people running to ſhut the Gates, came out with their Bows, ſome with Clubs and Staves, ſome with other inſtruments, ſome with Stones, and let drive at the Biſhop and his men, as faſt as they might; in ſuch ſort, that both the Biſhop and his Horſe under him with moſt part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this jolly Prelate, ruffling in his new Scepter, was received and welcomed there. That is, he was ſo pelted with Bats and ſtones, ſo wounded with Arrows and other inſtruments fit for ſuch a skirmiſh, that the moſt part of his men, with his Mace-bearer, all running away from him, the poor wounded Biſhop was there left alone, not able to keep his old power, which went about to uſurp a new power more than to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, ſo is it well exemplified here, which is commonly ſaid, and as it is commonly ſeen, that Pride will have a fall, and Power uſurped will never ſtand. In like manner, if the Citizens of *Rome*,

The Townſmen cauſed to bear a Taper of Wax in proceſſion in honour of the Duke.

The Torrent of Londons reſiſteth the Biſhop.

Pride will have a fall. Power uſurped will never ſtand.

{ KING } { Edw. 3 } *Rome*, following the example of theſe *Lennam*-men, as they have the like cauſe, and greater, to do by the uſurped power of their Biſhop, would after the ſame ſawce handle the Pope, and unſcepter him of his Mace and regality, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in ſo doing both ſhould recover their own liberties, with more honor at home, and alſo with much more commendation abroad. *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.*

The uſurped power of the Pope would have a bridle.

This Tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at *Lennam*, which was a little after *Eaſter*, (as is ſaid) about the month of *April*, *An.* 1377. the ſame year upon the 21*th.* day of the month of *June* next after, died the worthy and victorious Prince King *Edward* the Third, after he had Reigned 51 years. A Prince no more aged in years than renowned for many ſingular and Heroical vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſingular meekneſs and clemency towards his ſubjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleneſs and mercy without all rigor or auſtere ſeverity. Among other Noble and Royal Ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiouſly ſet forth of many, thus he is deſcribed by ſome, which may briefly ſuffice for the comprehenſion of all the reſt: *Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris condolens, oppreſſos relevans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna.* That is, *To the Orphans he was as a Father, compatient to the afflicted, mourning with the miſerable, relieving the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of need*, &c. But chiefly above all other things in this Prince, in my mind, to be commemorate is this, that he above all other Kings of this Realm, unto the time of King *Henry* the eighth, was the greateſt bridler of the Popes uſurped power, and outragious oppreſſions: during all the time of which King, neither the Pope could greatly prevail in this Realm, and alſo *John Wickliff* was maintained with favour and aid ſufficient.

{ Anno } { 1377. } The death of King Edward.

But before we cloſe up the ſtory of this King, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, a noble preſcript of the King in requiring a view to be taken in all his Dominions of all Benefices and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical remaining in the hands of *Italians* and Aliens, with the true valuation of the ſame, directed down by Commiſſion; whereof the like alſo is to be found in the time of King *Richard* the Second, the tenor of which Commiſſion of King *Edward* I thought here under to ſet down for worthy memory.

The King directed Writs unto all the Biſhops of England *in this form.*

{ Anno } { 48 } Edwardi Tertii.

EDward by the Grace of God, *King*, &c. *To the Reverend Father in Chriſt* N. *by the ſame Grace Biſhop* L. *Greeting. Being willing upon certain cauſes to be certified what and how many Benefices as well Archdeaconries and other Dignities, as Vicarages, Perſonages, Prebends and Chappels, within your Dioceſs, be at this preſent in the hands of* Italians *and other ſtrangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the ſaid Benefices be called by name; and how much every of the ſame is worth by the year, not as by way of Tax or extent, but according to the true value of the ſame; and likewiſe of the names of all and ſingular ſuch ſtrangers being now Incumbents or occupying the ſame and every of them; moreover the names of all them, whether Engliſh-men or Strangers, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be, which have the occupation or diſpoſition of any ſuch Benefices with the fruits and profits of the ſame, in the behalf, or by the authority of any the foreſaid ſtrangers by way of farm, or title, or procuration, or by any other ways or means whatſoever, and how long they have occupied or diſpoſed the ſame; and withal if any the ſaid ſtrangers be now reſidents upon any Benefices; we command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you ſend us a true certificate of all and ſingular the premiſes, into our High Court of Chancery under your Seal diſtinctly and openly, on this ſide the Feaſt of the* Aſcenſion *of our Lord next coming, without further delay: returning unto us this our Writ withal.* Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the 16*th.* day of *April* in the 48*th.* year of our Reign of *England*, and over *France* the 35*th.* year.

By vertue hereof, Certificate was ſent up to the King into his Chancery, out of every Dioceſs of *England*, of all ſuch Spiritual Livings as were then in the occupation either of Priors Aliens, or other ſtrangers; whereof the number was ſo great, as being all ſet down, it would fill almoſt half a Quier of Paper. Whereby may appear that it was high time for the King to ſeek remedy herein, either by treaty with the Pope or otherwiſe; conſider ſo great a portion of the revenues of his Realm was by this means conveyed away and employed either to the relief of his Enemies, or maintenance of the Foreigners: amongſt which number the Cardinals of the Court of *Rome* lacked not their ſhare; as may appear by this which followeth.

The Lord *Francis* of the title of *S. Sabine*, Prieſt and Cardinal of the Holy Church of *Rome*, doth hold and enjoy the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *Lichfield*, in the juriſdiction of *Lichfield*, which is worth five hundred Marks by the year; and the Prebend of *Brewood*, and the Perſonage of *Addaſton* to the ſame Deanry annexed, which Prebend is worth by the year fourſcore Marks, and the Patronage twenty pounds; which Deanry with the Prebends and Perſonage aforeſaid, he hath holden and occupied by the ſpace of three years. And one Maſter *De Ingris* a ſtranger, as Proctor to the ſaid Cardinal, doth hold and occupy the ſame Deanry with other the premiſes with the appurtenances, by name of Proctor during the years aforeſaid, and hath taken up the fruits and profits, for the ſaid Cardinal, dwelling not in the Realm.

Coventry and Lichfield.

Lord *William* Cardinal of S. *Angelo*, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *Suffolk*, by vertue of proviſion Apoſtolical, from the Feaſt of Saint *Nicholas* laſt paſt; he is not reſident upon his ſaid Archdeaconry. And the ſaid Archdeaconry, together with the Procurations due by reaſon of the Viſitation, is worth by year, *66 l. 13 s. 4 d.* And Maſter *John* of *Helmington*, *&c.* doth occupy the Seal of the Official of the ſaid Archdeaconry, *&c.*

Norwich.

Lord *Reinald* of S. *Adrian* Deacon Cardinal, hath in the ſaid County the Parſonage of *Godalmonge*, worth by year forty pound, and one *Edward Tewiſe* doth farm the ſaid Parſonage for nine years paſt.

Surrey.

The Lord *Anglicus* of the Holy Church of *Rome* Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, was Incumbent, and did hold in poſſeſſion the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *York*, from the 11*th.* day of *November*, *Anno.* 1366. and is yearly worth according to the true value thereof, four hundred pounds; and M. *John* of *Stoke*, Canon of the ſaid Church, doth occupy the ſaid Deanry and the profits of the ſame, in the name or by the authority of the ſaid Lord Dean, *&c.* But the ſaid Dean was never reſident upon the ſaid Deanry ſince he was admitted thereunto. *Item*, Lord *Hugh* of our Lady in Deacon and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Driffild* in the ſaid Church of *York* from the ſeventh day of *June*, *An. Dom.* 1363. from which day, *&c. John* of *Gisbourne*, and *George Compemanthorp*, *&c.* do occupy the ſaid Prebend, worth by year one hundred pounds; the ſaid Lord *Hugh* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend.

Elor.

Item, Lord *Simon* of the title of S. *Sixt* Prieſt and Cardinal, *&c.* doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Wiſtow* in the ſaid Church of *York*, worth by year 100 *l.* And the foreſaid Maſter *John* of *Stoke* doth occupy the foreſaid Prebend and the profits thereof, *&c.* But the ſaid Lord *Simon* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend.

Sarisbur.

Item, Lord *Francus* of the title of S. *Sabine*, Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Strenſal* in the ſaid Church of *York*, worth by year 100 Marks. And Maſter *William* of *Merfield*, *&c.* doth occupy the ſaid Prebend, *&c.* but the ſaid Lord *Francis* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend.

Lord *Peter* of the title of S. *Praxed*, Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *York*, worth by year 100 *l.* and M. *William* of *Merfield*, *&c.* for farmers.

The Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *Sar.* with Churches and Chappels underwritten to the ſame Deanry annexed, doth remain in the hands of Lord *Reginald* of the title of S. *Adrian* Deacon and Cardinal, and ſo hath remained theſe 26 years, who is never reſident; his Proctor is one *Lawrence de Ingris*, a ſtranger, and is worth by year 254 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.* *Richard*

Richard Biſhop doth hold the Vicarage of *Meere* to the Deanry annexed, and hath holden the ſame for nineteen years, worth by year 40 *l.*

Robert Coaſor, farmer of the Church of *Heightredbury*, to the ſame annexed, worth by year 50 *l.*

The Dean of Sarisbury.

The Church of *Stoning* and the Chapel of *Reſcomp* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 70 Marks.

The Chappel of *Herſt* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 40 *l.*

The Chappel of *Wokenhame* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 36 *l.*

The Chappel of *Sanhurſt*, worth by year 40 *s.*

The Church of *Godalining*, to the ſame Deanry annexed, in the Dioceſs of *Winchęſter*, worth by year 40 *l.*

Treaſurer of the Church of Sar.

The dignity of Treaſurer in the Church of *Sarum*, with Church and Chappels underwritten to the ſame annexed is in the hands of Lord *John* of the title of S. *Mark* Prieſt and Cardinal, and hath ſo continued twelve years, who was never reſident in the ſame, worth by year 136 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Church of *Figheldon* to the ſame annexed, worth by year, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Church of *Alwardbury* with the Chappel of *Puton*, worth by year 10 *l.*

The Prebend of *Calve* to the ſame Treaſurer annexed, worth by year 100 *l.*

The Archdeaconry of *Berck*, in the Cathedral Church of *Sarisbury*, with the Church of *Mordon* to the ſame annexed, is in the hands of the Lord *William* of the title of S. *Stephen*, who was never reſident in the ſame, worth by year eight ſcore Marks.

The Archdeaconry of *Dorſet* in the Church of *Sariſbury*, with the Church of *Giſſiche* to the ſame annexed, in the hands of Lord *Robert*, of the title of the Twelve Apoſtles, Prieſt and Cardinal, and is worth by year 103 Marks.

The Prebend of *Woodford* and *Wyvelford* in the Church of *Sarisbury*, is in the hands of *Robert* the Cardinal aforeſaid, and is worth 40 Marks.

The Prebend of *Heiworth* in the Church of *Sarisbury* is in the hands of the Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* who is never reſident, and is worth by year 80 *l.*

The Prebend of *Netherbarnby* and *Beminſter*, in the Church of *Sarisbury*, one *Hugh Pelgrimi* a ſtranger did hold twenty years and more, and was never reſident in the ſame, worth by the year eight ſcore Marks.

The Church Prebendary of *Gillinham* in the Nunnery of *Salisbury* lately holden of Lord *Richard* now Biſhop of *Ely*, is in the hands of the Lord *Peter* of the title of Saint *Praxed*, Prieſt and Cardinal, *&c.* worth by the year 80 *l.*

Canterbury.

Lord *William* of the Holy Church of *Rome* Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury*, and is not reſident; the true value of all the yearly fruits, rents and profits, is worth ſeven hundred Florens.

Bath and Wells.

The Lord Cardinal of *Canterbury* is Archdeacon of *Wells*, and hath annexed to his Archdeaconry the Churches of *Henvith*, *Berwes*, and *Southbrent* which are worth by year, with their procuration of viſitations of the ſaid Archdeaconry, 160 *l.*

Item, The Lord Cardinal is Treaſurer of the Church of *Wells*, and hath the moity of the Church of *Mertock* annexed thereunto, worth by year 60 *l.*

Item, The Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* is Archdeacon of *Taunton* in the Church of *Wells*, and is worth by year with the procurations and the Prebend of *Myſmerton* to the ſame annexed, 80 *l.*

Like matter is alſo found in the time of King *Richard* the Second, upon what occaſion it is uncertain: but as it ſeemeth by record that of time; A new Pope being come in place, he would take no knowledge of any matter done by his Predeceſſors, that might any way abridge his commodity. And therefore this King was forced to begin anew, as may appear by this following.

An. 1. Rich. 2. The Archdeaconry of Dorſet.

Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Soringham*, together with a portion of S. *Mary* of *Stow* to the ſame annexed; the fruits whereof by common eſtimate be worth by year, 165 *l.* Maſter *John* Vicar of *Coringham*, and Maſter *Robert* Parſon of *Kettelthorp*, and *W. Thurly*, be Farmers.

Lord Cardinal *Albanum* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Suſton*, the Fruits whereof be commonly eſteemed worth by year 400 Marks. *Roger Skyret* of *Buckingham*, and *William Bedeford* of *Sutton* do Farm the ſame Prebend. The Lord Cardinal *Glandacen* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Naſſington*, worth by eſtimation 300 Marks. *Robert* of *Naſſington*, and *John* Son of *Robert* of *Abethorp*, do occupy the ſame Prebend.

The Archdeaconry of Herdingham.

Lord Cardinal *Nonnacem* is Parſon of *Addarbury*, worth by eſtimation, 100 *l.* *Adam Robelyn* Clerk, is his Proctor, and occupieth the ſame.

Lord Cardinal of S. Prebendary of *Thame*, worth yearly by common eſtimation, 200 Marks, *John Heyward* and *Thomas* a Lay-man, do occupy the ſame Prebend. In the Archdeaconry of Oxon.

Lord *Peter de Teverino*, Cardinal, is Prebendary of *Aylesbury*, worth yearly by common eſtimation, 80 Marks. Holy *Duſe* of *Aylesbury* doth occupy the ſame Prebend. In the Archdeaconry of York.

The Cardinal of S. *Angelo* hath the Archdeaconry of *Suff.* and is worth by year by common eſtimation an hundred Marks. In the Dioceſs of Norwich.

Lord Cardinal *Neminacem* Treaſurer of the Church of *Sar.* hath the Archdeaconry of *Sar.* the Church of *Figheldon* to his dignity annexed, which is let to farm to *Grace*, late Wife of *Edmund Swayne* deceaſed, paying yearly 50 Marks. He hath alſo, in the ſame Archdeaconry and County, the ſaid Church of *Alwerbury*, with the Chappels of *Puxton* and *Farld* to the ſame annexed, which is let to farm to the Prior of the Houſe of *Ederoſe* for the yearly rent of 23 *l.* he hath alſo the Prebend of *Calve* in the ſaid Archdeaconry and County, worth by year, 100 pound, and farmer thereof is *Raymund Peregrine*. In the Dioceſs of Sar.

Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio*, Hath the Archdeaconry of *Berk*, worth by year 120 Marks, and it remaineth in his own hands. *Item*, He hath the Prebend of *Worth*, worth by year a hundred pound; *Raymund Peregrine* is Farmer there.

Lord Cardinal *Gebanen* hath the Prebends of *Woodford* and *Willeford* in the County of *Wiltſhire*, let to farm to *John Bennet* of *Sar.* worth by year 40 Marks.

Lord *Andomer de Rupy* is Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, to the which Archdeacon belongs the Church of *Lymin* within the ſame Dioceſs, worth by year after the taxation of the tenth, 20 *l.* The Church of *Tenham*, worth by year after the ſaid taxation, 130 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* The Church of *Hakington* near *Canterbury*, worth by year twenty Marks. The Church of Saint *Clemens* in *Sandwich*, worth by year after the taxations aforeſaid eight Marks. The Church of Saint *Mary* in *Sandwich*, worth by year eight pound, of the which the ſaid Archdeacon receiveth only ſix Marks. The profits of all which premiſſes S. *William Latimer* Knight hath received, together with the profits ariſing out of the juriſdiction of the Archdeaconry, worth by year, 20 *l.* In the Dioceſs of Canterbury.

Anglicus of the Church of *Rome*, Prieſt and Cardinal, hath the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *York*, worth by year 373 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And the Prebend of *Southcaue*, valued yearly at 160 Marks. In the Dioceſs of York.

Lord Cardinal *Gebaven* doth hold the Church of *Wermouth*, and Archdeaconry of *Durham*, worth by year 200 Marks. And *John* of *Chambre*, and *Thomas* of *Harington* of *Newcaſtle* be the Farmers and Proctors of the ſaid Cardinal. In the Dioceſs of Durham.

Ex Bundelio Brevium Regis de An. 2. *Rich.* 2. *part.* 1.

King RICHARD *the Second.*

King Richard II.

AFTER King *Edward* the Third ſucceeded his Son *Richard* the Second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven years: who in the ſame year of his Fathers deceaſe with great pomp and ſolemnity was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *An.* 1377. who, following his Fathers ſteps was no great diſavourer of the way and Doctrine of *Wickliff*: albeit at the firſt beginnings, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the Popes Letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithſtanding ſomething he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the Papiſts, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appear. But as times do change, ſo changeth

{KING} {An. 2.}

changeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of Man. The Biſhops now ſeeing the aged King to be taken away, during the time of whoſe old age all the government of the Realm depended upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*; And now the ſaid Biſhops again ſeeing the ſaid Duke, with the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Marſhal*, to give other Offices, and to remain in their private Houſes without intermedling; thought now the time to ſerve them, to have ſome vantage againſt *John Wickliff*: who hitherto, under the protection of the foreſaid Duke and Lord Marſhal, had ſome reſt and quiet. Concerning the ſtory of which *Wickliff*, I truſt, (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before, *pag.* 487. how he being brought before the Biſhops, by the means of the Duke and Lord *Henry Percy*, the Council was interrupted, and brake before nine of the Clock. By reaſon whereof *Wickliff* at that time eſcaped without any further trouble. Who notwithſtanding, being by the Biſhops forbid to deal in that Doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows going barefoot, and in long Friſe Gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whoſe Sermons theſe Articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

The Biſhops take vantage of time.

The firſt Article collected out of Wickliffs Sermons.

That the Holy Euchariſt, after the Conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figuratively.

That the Church of *Rome* is not the head of all Churches more than any other Church is: Nor that *Peter* hath any more power given of Chriſt, than any other Apoſtle hath.

Item, That the Pope of *Rome* hath no more in the Keys of the Church, than hath any other within the Order of Prieſthood.

Item, If God be, the Lords Temporal may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away their Temporalties from the Church-men offending *habitualiter*.

Item, If any Temporal Lord do know the Church ſo offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the Temporalties from the ſame.

Item, That all the Goſpel is a rule ſufficient of it ſelf to rule the life of every Chriſtian Man here, without any other rule.

Item, That all other rules, under whoſe obſervances divers Religious perſons be governed, do add no more perfection to the Goſpel, than doth the white colour to the Wall.

Item, That neither the Pope, nor any other Prelate of the Church, ought to have priſons wherein to puniſh tranſgreſſors.

The Articles of Wickliff ſent to the Pope.

Pope Gregory 11. cit.

Wickliff called before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Beſides theſe Articles, divers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by Biſhops at *England*, which they ſent diligently to Pope *Gregory* at *Rome*: Where the ſaid Articles being read and peruſed, were condemned for Heretical and erroneous by three and twenty Cardinals.

In the mean time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſending forth his citations, as is aforeſaid, called before him the ſaid *John Wickliff* in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Lord *Percy*; who, upon the declaration of the Popes Letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbidding him not to intreat any more of theſe matters. But then through the diſturbance of the Biſhop of *London* and the Duke, and Lord *Percy*, that matter was ſoon diſpatched, as hath been above recorded, *pag.* 487. And all this was done in the days and laſt year of King *Edward* the Third, and Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh.

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The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1378. being the firſt year of King *Richard* the Second, the ſaid Pope *Gregory* taking his time, after the death of King *Edward*, ſendeth his Bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one Maſter *Edmund Stafford*, directed unto the Univerſity of *Oxford*, rebuking them ſharply, imperiouſly, and like a Pope, for ſuffering ſo long the Doctrine of *John Wickliff* to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked ſickle of their Catholick Doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the Popes Meſſenger aforeſaid; Proctors and Maſters of the Univerſity, joyning together in conſultation, ſtood long in doubt, deliberating with themſelves whether to receive the Popes Bull with honor, or to refuſe and reject it with ſhame.

Edmund Stafford bringer of the Popes Bull.

The Maſters of Oxford doubt whether to receive the Popes Bull.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the Authors of this ſtory whom I follow; what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels they make at theſe Oxford *Men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo plain, ſo manifeſt of it ſelf, (as they ſay) whether the Popes Bull ſent to them from* Rome *was to be received or contrary. Which rating to our Monkiſh writers ſeemed then ſuch a prodigious wonder, that they with bluſhing cheeks are fain to cut off the matter in the midſt with ſilence.*

The Copy of this wild Bull, ſent to them from the Pope, was this:

The Popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

Gregory the Biſhop, the ſervant of Gods ſervants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.

WE are compelled not only to marvel, but alſo to lament, that you, conſidering the Apoſtolical Seat hath given unto your Univerſity of Oxford ſo great favour and priviledge, and alſo for that you flow as in a large Sea in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and Catholick Faith, (without the which there is no ſalvation) by your great negligence and ſloth will ſuffer wild Cockle, not only to grow up among the pure Wheat of the flouriſhing field of your Univerſity, but alſo to wax ſtrong and choke the Corn. Neither have ye any care (as we are informed) to extirp and pluck the ſame up by the roots, to the great blemiſhing of your renowmed name, the peril of your ſouls, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the antient Faith. And further (which grieveth us) the increaſe of that filthy weed was more ſharply rebuked and judged of in Rome, than in England where it ſprang. Wherefore let there be means ſought by the help of the faithful, to root out the ſame. Grievouſly it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliff, Parſon of Lutterworth in Lincoln Dioceſs, a profeſſor of Divinity (would God he were not rather a Maſter of Errors) is run into a kind of deteſtable wickedneſs, not only and openly publiſhing, but alſo vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breaſt, diverſe propoſitions, falſe and erroneous concluſions, and moſt wicked and damnable Hereſies. Whereby he might defile the faithful ſort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the ſtate of the Church, and utterly ſubvert the ſecular policy. Of which his miſchievous Hereſies ſome ſeem to agree (only certain names and terms changed) with the perverſe opinions, and unlearned Doctrine of Marſilius of Padua, and of John Gandine, of unworthy memory, whoſe Books were utterly abroliſhed in the Realm of England, by our predeceſſor of happy memory John the 22th. which Kingdom doth not only flouriſh in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhining in pureneſs of Faith; accuſtomed always to bring forth Men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, Men not ſlow to devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore we will and command you by our writing Apoſtolical in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences and priviledges granted unto you and your Univerſity from the ſaid See Apoſtolical; that hereafter ye ſuffer not thoſe peſtilent Hereſies, and thoſe ſubtil and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruing the right ſenſe of faith and good works (howſoever they term it, or what curious implication of words ſoever they uſe) any longer to be diſputed of, or brought in queſtion; Leſt if it be not withſtood at the firſt, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare Medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cauſe to be apprehended the ſaid* John Wickliff, *and deliver him to be detained in the ſafe cuſtody of our well-beloved brethren, the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Biſhop of* London, *or either of them. And if you ſhall find any gainſayers, corrupted with the ſaid Doctrine (which God forbid) in your ſaid Univerſity within your juriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſaid errors, that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to ſafe cuſtody, and otherwiſe to do in this caſe as it ſhall appertain*

The Popes complaint of John Wickliff.

Marſilius Patavinus, Joan de Gandavo noted.

Here the wild Bull ſtriketh.

pertain unto you: So as by your careful proceedings herein, your negligence paſt concerning the premiſes may now fully be ſupplied and recompenced with preſent diligence. Whereby you ſhall not only purchaſe unto you the favour and benevolence of the ſeat Apoſtolical, but alſo great reward and merit of Almighty God.

Yeven at *Rome* at S. *Maries* the greater, xi. *Kalend.* of *June*, and in the *7th.* year of our Confecration.

Beſide this Bull ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the ſaid Pope *Gregory* directed moreover his Letters the ſame time to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Simon Sudbury*, to the Biſhop of *London* named *William Courtney*, with the concluſions of *John Wickliff* therein incloſed, commanding them, by vertue of thoſe his Letters Apoſtolical, and ſtraitly enjoyning them to cauſe the ſaid *John Wicklif* to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon; and that the King and the Nobles of *England* ſhould be admonithed by them, not to give any credit to the ſaid *John Wickliff*, or to his Doctrine in any wiſe.

Simon Sudbury Archbiſhop of Canterbury. W. Courtney Biſhop of London.

Beſide this Bill or Bull of the Pope, ſent unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and to the Biſhop of *London*, bearing date, 11. *Kalend. Jun.* and the ſeventh year of the Reign of the Pope; I find moreover in the ſaid ſtory two other Letters of the Pope concerning the ſame matter, but differing in form, ſent unto the ſame Biſhops and all bearing the ſame date, both of the day, year, and month of the Reign of the ſaid Pope *Gregory*. Whereby it is to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid Pope either was very exquiſite and ſolicitous about the matter, to have *Wickliff* to be apprehended, which wrote three divers Letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſineſs; or elſe that he did ſuſpect the bearers thereof; the ſcruple whereof I leave to the judgement of the Reader.

Three ſunday Letters of the Pope to one perſon, about one matter.

Furthermore, beſide theſe Letters written to the Univerſity, and to the Biſhops, he directeth alſo another Epiſtle bearing the ſame date unto King *Edward*; as one of my ſtories ſaith, but as another ſaith, to King *Richard*, which ſoundeth more near to the truth, foraſmuch as in the ſeventh year of Pope *Gregory* the *11th.* which was the year of our Lord, 1378. King Edward was not alive. The Copy of his Letters to the King here followeth.

The Copy of the Epiſtle ſent by the Biſhop of *Rome* to *Richard* King of *England*, to perſecute *John Wickliff*.

The Popes Letter to K. Richard againſt John Wickliff.

UNTO *his Welbeloved Son in Chriſt*, Richard, *the moſt noble King of* England, *health*, &c.

The Kingdom of England, *which the moſt bliſſed hath put under your power and governance, being ſo famous and renowned in valiancy and ſtrength, ſo abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, reſplendent and ſhining through the brightneſs and clearneſs of all godlineſs and faith, hath acculſomed always to bring forth Men indued with the true knowledge and underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith: The which have not only directed and inſtructed their own people through their wholeſome Doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods Commandments; but alſo we have heard by the report and information of many credible perſons (to our great grief and heart ſorrow) that* John Wickliff *Parſon of* Lutterworth, *in the Dioceſs of* Lincoln, *profeſſor of Divinity (I would to God he were no author of Hereſie) to be fallen into ſuch a deteſtable and abominable madneſs, that he hath propounded and ſet forth diverſe and ſundry concluſions full of errors, and containing moſt manifeſt Hereſie, the which do tend utterly to ſubvert and overthrow the ſtate of the whole Church. Of the which, ſome of them Called it under coloured phraſe and ſpeech) ſeem to ſmell and favour of perverſe opinion, the fooliſh doctrine of condemned memory of* Marſilius of Padua, *and* John of Gandano, *whoſe Books were by* Pope John *the* 22th. *our predeceſſor, a Man of a moſt happy memory, reproved and condemned*, &c.

Hitherto, gentle Reader, thou haſt heard how *Wickliff* was accuſed by the Biſhop. Now you ſhall alſo hear the Popes mighty reaſons and arguments, by the which he did conſute him, to the King. It followeth.

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Therefore, forſomuch as our Reverend Brethren the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *and the Biſhop of* London *have received a ſpecial commandment from us, by our authority to apprehend and commit the forenamed* John Wickliff *unto priſon, and to tranſport his confeſſion unto us: if they ſhall ſeem in the proſecution of this their buſineſs to lack your favour or help, we require and moſt earneſly deſire your Majeſty, even as your moſt noble predeceſſors have always been moſt earneſt lovers of the Catholick Faith (whoſe caſe or quarrel in this matter is chiefly handled) that you would vouchſafe (even for the reverence of God, and the Faith aforeſaid, and alſo of the Apoſtolick Seat, and of our perſon) with your help and favour to aſſiſt the ſaid Archbiſhop and all other that ſhall go about to execute the ſaid buſineſs. Whereby beſides the praiſe of Men, you ſhall obtain an Heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the See aforeſaid.* Dated at *Rome* at S. *Mary* the greater, the *11th. Kal.* of *June* in the *7th.* year of our Biſhoprick, *An.*1378.

Here is paſſed, but no touching.

The Articles included in the Popes Letters, which he ſent to the Biſhops, and to the King againſt *Wickliff*, were theſe which in order do follow.

The Concluſions of *J. Wickliff*, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Biſhops at *Lambeth*.

Certain Concluſions of John Wickliff.

ALL *the whole race of Mankind here on Earth, beſides Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, That* Peter *and all his off-ſpring ſhould politickly rule over the world for ever.*

Wickliff's again called before the Biſhops. Lewis Clifford.

2. *God cannot give to any Man for him and his heirs any Civil Dominion for ever.*

3. *All writings invented by Men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impoſſible*

John Wickliff again delivered from the Biſhops.

4. *Every Man, being in grace juſtifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.*

5. *A Man cannot only miniſtratorioufly give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural Son, as to his Son by imitation.*

6. *If God be, the temporal Lords may lawfully and mettitoriouſly take away the riches from the Church when they do offend* habituliter.

7. *We know that Chriſt's Vicar cannot, neither is able by his Bulls, neither by his own will and conſent, neither by the conſent of his College, either to make able or diſable any Man.*

8. *A Man cannot be Excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be firſt and principally Excommunicate by himſelf.*

9. *No Man ought, but in Gods cauſe alone, to Excommunicate, ſuſpend, or forbid, or otherwiſe to proceed to revenge by any Eccleſiaſtical cenſure.*

10. *A Curſe or Excommunication doth not ſimply bind, but in caſe it be pronounced and given out againſt the adverſary of Gods Law.*

11. *There is no power given by any example, either by Chriſt or by his Apoſtles, to Excommunicate any ſubject, ſpecially for denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwiſe.*

12. *The Diſciples of Chriſt have no power to excit, by any civil authority, temporalties by cenſures.*

13. *It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope, or any other Chriſtian do pretend by any means to bind or to looſe, that thereby he doth ſo bind and looſe.*

14. *We ought to believe that the Vicar of Chriſt doth at ſuch times only bind and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and Ordinance of Chriſt.*

15. *This ought univerſally to be believed, that every Prieſt rightly and duly ordered, according unto the Law of Grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may miniſter the Sacraments, and conſequently abſolve any*

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any man confeſſing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the ſame.

16. *It is lawful for Kings, in cauſes licenſed by the law, to take away the temporalties from the ſpiritualty, ſinning* habitualiter, *that is, which continue in the cuſtoms of ſin, and will not amend.*

17. *Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatſoever they be, which have endowed any Church with temporalties; it is lawful for them to take away the ſame temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid ſin, notwithſtanding any Excommunication or other Eccleſiaſtical cenſure; forſomuch as they are not given but under a condition.*

18. *An Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, and alſo the Biſhop of* Rome, *may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accuſed either of the Clergy or of the Laity.*

These Letters with the Articles incloſed being thus received from the Pope, the Biſhops took no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themſelves, and that in open profeſſion before their provincial Council, that all manner reſpects of fear or favour ſet apart, no perſon neither high nor low ſhould let them, neither would they be ſeduced by the intreaty of any Man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely upright juſtice and equity: yea albeit preſent danger of life ſhould follow thereupon. But theſe ſo fierce braggs, and ſtout promiſes, with the ſubtil practices of theſe Biſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before, the Lord (againſt whom no determination of Mans counſel can prevail) by a ſmall occaſion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the Examination being come; a certain perſonage of the princes Court, and yet of no great Noble birth, named *Lewes Clifford*, entring in among the Biſhops, commanded them that they ſhould not proceed with any definitive ſentence againſt *John Wickliffe*. With which words they all were ſo amazed, and their Combs ſo cut, that (as in the Story is mentioned) they became ſo mute and ſpeechleſs, as men having not one word in their mouths to anſwer. And thus by the wonderous work of God his providence, eſcaped *John Wickliffe* the ſecond time out of the Biſhops hands; and was by them clearly diſmiſſed upon his declaration made of his Articles, as anon ſhall follow.

The ſtout braggs of the Biſhops overthrown.

Moreover, here is not to be paſſed over, how at the ſame time, and in the ſaid Chappel of the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth*, where the Biſhops were ſitting upon *John Wickliffe*, the Story writing of the doing thereof, addeth theſe words, ſaying, *Non dico cives tamum Londinenſes, ſed viles iſtius civitatis ſe impudenter ingerere præſumpſerunt in eandem capellam & verba facere pro eodem, & iſtud negotium impedire, conſiſi, ut reor, de ipſorum præmiſſa negligentia præſatorum, &c.* That is, I ſay not only, that the Citizens of *London*, but alſo the vile abjects of the City preſumed to be ſo bold in the ſame Chappel at *Lambeth*, where the Biſhops were ſitting upon *John Wickliffe*, both to intreat for him, and alſo to let and ſtop the ſame matter: truſting, as I ſuppoſe, upon the negligence which they ſaw before in the Biſhops, &c.

Over and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how the ſaid *John Wickliffe*, the ſame time of his Examination, offered and exhibited unto the Biſhops in writing a proteſtation, with a declaration or expoſition of his own mind, upon the ſaid his Articles, the effect hereof followeth.

The Proteſtation of John Wickliffe.

The Proteſtation of John Wickliff.

FIrſt I proteſt (as I have often before done) that I do mind and intend with my whole Heart (by the grace of God) to be a true Chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhall remain in me, to proteſs and defend the Law of Chriſt. And if it ſhall happen that through ignorance or otherwiſe I ſhall fall therein: I deſire my Lord God of pardon and forgiveneſs. And now again as before alſo, I do revoke and make retractation; moſt humbly ſubmitting my ſelf under the correction of our Holy mother the Church. And forſomuch as the ſentence of my faith, which I have holden in the ſchools and elſewhere, is reported even by Children, and moreover is carried by children even unto *Rome*: therefore leſt my Dear beloved Brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I will ſet forth in writing the ſentence and articles, for the which I am now accuſed and impeached: the which alſo even unto the death I will defend, as I believe all Chriſtians ought to do, and ſpecially the Biſhop of *Rome* and all other Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church. For I do underſtand the concluſions after the ſenſe and manner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures and holy Doctors, the which I am ready to expound: And if they ſhall be found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and ſpeedily to call them back again.

An Expoſition upon the Concluſions of John Wickliffe, *exhibited by him to the Biſhop.*

Expoſition of John Wickliffe upon his concluſions.

1. ALL *the race of mankind here in Earth beſide Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, that* Peter, *&c.*

This concluſion of it ſelf is evident, foraſmuch as it is not in Mans power to ſtop the coming of Chriſt to his final Judgment, but he muſt needs come, according to the Article of our Creed, to judge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the Scripture teacheth) ſhall ſurceaſe all civil and politick rule here; I underſtand the temporal and ſecular Dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortal life. For ſo do the Philoſophers ſpeak of civil Dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called ſometimes perpetual: yet becauſe in holy Scripture, and in uſe of the Church, and in the Books of Philoſophers moſt commouly that is taken to be perpetual, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which ſenſe the Church ſingeth *Gloria patri &c. Nunc & in perpetuum*; I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this word (perpetually) and ſo is this concluſion conſonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in Mans power to ordain the courſe and voyage of the Church, here perpetually to laſt.

2. *God cannot give to any man, &c.*

Expoſition of the ſecond concluſion.

To the Second concluſion I anſwer, underſtanding civil Dominion, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I hold, that God firſt by his ordinate power cannot give to any perſon civil Dominion here for ever. Secondly, by his abſolute power it is not probable that he will ſo do: Forſomuch as he cannot ever detain his ſpouſe in perpetual priſon of this life, nor always defer the final beatitude of his Church.

3. *To the Third concluſion. Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetual Heritage civil, be impoſſible.*

The verity of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not Canonize all manner of charts whatſoever, as Catholick, or Univeral: for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or ſequeſter things given by Chart or charter, when any doth unjuſtly occupy the ſame. And ſo if that ſtand confirmed and ratified by the Faith of the Church, great occaſion thereby ſhould be miniſtred to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporal Charts; and ſo might grow thereby much liberty and licence to ſin. For like as by ſome ſuppoſition every truth is neceſſary: So by the ſame ſuppoſition every falſe thing is poſſible, as it is plain by the Teſtimony of the Scripture, and of holy Doctors ſpeaking of neceſſity of things to come.

In what ſignification he ſpeaketh of the finalleſt.

4. *Every man being in grace juſtifying finally, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God.*

The verity hereof is evident, by holy Scripture, *Mat.*24. Where verity promiſeth to every man entring into his joy: verily (ſaith he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet and place him over all the goods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the Communion of Saints in their countrey (he meaneth in the Kingdom of Heaven) *Fundatur objective ſupra univerſitatem bonorum Dei*: That is, Hath his relation, as unto his object, to all the goods and poſſeſſion of God.

Note here he ſpeaketh only of the right of things in the country to come, and not in this exile.

5. *A man can but only miniſtratorioufly give any temporal Dominion or gift perpetual, as well to his own natural ſon, as to his ſon by imitation.*

It is evident. For every man ought to recognize himſelf in all his works and doings, as an humble ſervant and miniſter of God. As the words of Scripture do teach us. Let a man ſo eſteem of us as the Miniſters of Chriſt.

Yea, so Christ himself did teach his chief Apostles to minister; but in their country the Saints shall give unto their fellow Brethren the Dominion of their goods, *Ut patet de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura*, according to the words of *Luke* 6. They shall give you, and put into your bosoms a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over.

6. *If God be temporal Lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of Fortune from the Church when they do offend* habitualiter.

This conclusion is Correlative with the first Article of our Faith: *I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.* Where I understand this word (may) in this conclusion after the manner of Authentick Scripture, which saith and granteth, *that God is able of these stones to raise up children to* Abraham; for otherwise all Christian Princes were Hereticks. For upon this conclusion thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is Omnipotent, and if he be Almighty, he is able to command the Lords temporal so to do: and if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods, &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian Princes have practised the said sentence upon the Churchmen heretofore, as did *William Rufus*, &c. But God forbid that any should believe hereby my intention to have been, that secular Lords may lawfully take away what goods soever, and by what means soever, by their own naked authority at their pleasure: But only by the Authority of the Church they may so do, in cases and form limited by the Law.

7. *We know that it is not possible that the Vicar of Christ is able by his pure Bulls, &c.*

¶ This is manifest by the Catholick Faith; forasmuch as the Church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore no Man being Christ his Vicar, hath any power in this matter, but only as Vicar in the name of the Lord, so far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notifie unto the Church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any Man do any thing, not as Vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethink to be his author and head; it is a presumption of *Lucifer*, forsomuch as Christ by his Apostle saith, 1 *Cor.* 3. All our ability or sufficiency cometh of God. And so consequently, it cometh not purely by the Ministery of his Vicarship, that he is enabled; but the ableness or unableness of him, being the Vicar of Christ, cometh to him another way from above.

8. *A Man cannot be Excommunicate to his hurt or undoing, except he be Excommunicate first and principally of himself.*

It is evident, forsomuch as all such Excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his own sin which is damnified: whereupon *Augustine* saith, *De verbis Domini Sermone* 51. Do not thou conculcate thy self, and Man overcometh thee not. And moreover the Faith of the Church doth teach, *quod nulla ei nocebit adversitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas*: That is to say, No adversity shall hurt, if no inquity hath the upper hand. And yet notwithstanding, every Excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although that the Excommunication of the Church, to the humble Man being Excommunicated, be not damnable but wholsome.

9. *No man ought but in Gods cause alone to Excommunicate, suspend, &c.*

It is clear, forasmuch as every just cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondred. Yea, the love of the person excommunicate, ought to surmount the zeal of revengement, and the desire of all temporal goods whatsoever; for otherwise he that doth excommunicate, doth damnifie himself. To this 9th conclution notwithstanding, it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of Man, so that his principal respect in so doing be had to the injury done to his God, as appeareth 13. *quæst.* 4. *Inter querelas.*

10. *No curse or Excommunication can bind simply, but in case it be given out against the adversary of Christs Law.*

And it appereth thus, because that God doth bind simply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but only for transgreſſion of his Law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the Church doth not bind simply, but secondarily in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the adversary of the members of the Church.

{KING Ric. 2.}

11. *There is no example of Christ, which giveth power to his Disciples to excommunicate any subject (especially for denying of any temporalties) but contrary.*

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we believe that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloved above all temporal goods of this world necessarily; for the Law of God cannot be contrary unto it self.

12. *The Disciples of Christ have no power by any civil coaction to exact temporal things by their censures.*

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture, *Luke* 23. Where Christ did forbid his Apostles civilly to reign or to bear any Lordship. The Kings (saith he) of the Gentiles bear rule over them; but you not so. And after this sense it is expounded of S. *Bernard*, of S. *Chrysostome*, and other holy Men: which conclution notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporal things by Ecclesiastical censures incidently, if cause be that it appertain to the revengement of their God.

13. *It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Christian do pretend to bind or loose at their pleasure by what means soever, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.*

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole Catholick Faith, importing no less but him to be a blasphemer who doth so usurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclution I intend not to derogate from the power of the Pope, or of any other Prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head so bind and loose: But do understand the conditional of this negative (to be impossible) after this sense, that it cannot be that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himself to bind or loose (how and after what manner he lift himself) except in such sort, that he do indeed so bind and loose before God, as he doth pretend to do.

The power of all Prelates and God equal.

14. *We ought to believe, that the Vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and ordinance of Christ, &c.*

Gods sentences now stands as they stood.

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is unlawful for him so to do, except he should do it in the vertue of that Law; and so consequently, unless it be conformable to the Law and ordinance of Christ.

Pontifex nihil potest contra Deum.

15. *To this conclusion, this ought universally to be believed, that every Priest rightly and duly ordered hath power according to his vocation, &c.*

The reason hereof is this, because that the order of Priesthood in his own nature and substance receiveth no such degrees, either of more or less. And yet notwithstanding the power of inferior Priests in these days, is upon due consideration restrained, and sometimes again, in time of extream necessity, released. And thus according to the Doctors, a Prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction or regiment. And according to this second power, the Prelates are in a higher majesty and regiment.

16. *It is lawful for Princes and Kings (in cases by the Law limited) to withdraw temporal Commodities from Churchmen, abusing the same* habitualiter.

The reason thereof is plain, for that temporal Lords ought rather to lean to spiritual Alms, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to temporal Alms, the case so standing, that sometime it were a necessary work of spiritual Alms, to chastise such Clerks by taking from them their temporal livings, which use to abuse the same, to the damnifying both of their soul and body. The cases which the Law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spiritual Head, or els for lack of correcting the Faith of the Clerk which so offendeth, as appeareth. 16. *q.* 7. *filius*, *Dist.* 40. *cap. Si Papa.*

16. *q.* 7. *filius.*

17. *Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatsoever, which have indued any Church with temporalties, &c.*

The truth thereof is evidently seen, for that nothing ought to stop a Man from the principal works of Charity necessarily, because in every action and work of Man is to be understood a privy condition necessary of God, his good will concurring withal, as it is in the civil Law *de eo Cornab. cap.* 5. *in fine collat.* 2. And yet, God forbid, that

{KING Ric. 2.}

that by these words occasion should be given to the Lords temporal to take away the goods of fortune from the Church.

18. *An Ecclesiastical Minister, yea, the Bishop of* Rome *may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity.*

The proof of this is manifest hereby, because the said Bishop of *Rome* is subject to fall into the sin against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, saving the Sanctitude, Humility and Reverence due to such a Father. For so long as our Brother is subject unto the infirmity of falling, he lieth under the Law of Brotherly correction. And when the whole College of Cardinals may be slothful in Ministring due correction for the necessary prosperity of the Church: it is apparent that the residue of the Body of the Church, which possibly may stand most of Lay men, may wholsomely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, *Dist.* 40. *Si Papa.* If the Pope do erre from the right Faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to be supposed in the Lord Pope without manifest evidence: So again, such an obstinancy ought not to be supposed in him, possibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholsome Medicine of his superior, correcting him in the Lord. The practice of which conclusion also is testified in many Chronicles. For be it from the Church of Christ, that verity should be condemned which foundeth evil to transgressors and other slothful persons, for then the whole Faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus *John Wickliffe* in giving his expositon unto his forefaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the *Londoners*, either shifted off the Bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the said Bishops, that he should not Teach or Preach any such Doctrine any more, for the offence of the Lay people.

Thus this good Man, being escaped from the Bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his Godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the Church as he had begun.

Unto whom also (as it happened by the providence of God) this was also a great help and stay, for that in the same year, or in the beginning of the next year following, the foresaid Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh which was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. After whom ensued such a Schism in *Rome*, between two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striving against another; that the Schism thereof endured the space of 39. years, until the time of the Council of *Constance*.

The death of Pope Gregory the 11th.

A Schism in Rome.

Urbanus 6th Pope.

The occasion of which Schism first was Pope *Urban* the Sixth, who in the first beginning of his Popedom was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queens, and so set to advance his Nephews and kindred, with injuries to other Princes, that the greatest number of his Cardinals and Coutiers by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another *French* Pope against him, named *Clement*, who Reigned 11. years. And after him *Benedictus* the Thirteenth who Reigned 26. years. Again of the contrary side after *Urbanus* the Sixth, succeeded *Boniface* the Ninth, *Innocentius* the Eighth, *Gregory* the Twelth, *Alexander* the Fifth, *John* the Thirteenth.

Papæ.	Years.	Months.	Antipapæ.	Years.
Urbanus 6.	11.	8.	*Clement.*	11.
Bonifacius 9.	14.	9.	*Benedictus*, 13.	26.
Innocentius 8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius 12.	2.	7.		
Alexander 5.	0.	11.		
Johannes 13.	5.	10.		

As touching this Pestilent and most miserable Schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof, what trouble in the whole Church, what parts taking in every Countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of Priests and Prelates taken by Land and Sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How *Otho*, Duke of *Brunswick* and Prince of *Tarentum*, was taken and murthered. How *Joan* his Wife, Queen of *Jerusalem* and *Sicilia*, who before had sent to Pope *Urban*, beside other gifts at his Coronation, 40000 Duckets in pure Gold, was after by the said *Urban* committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What Cardinals were racked, and miserably without all mercy tormented on Gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what barrels were fought between the two Popes, whereof 5000 on the one side were slain, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of five Cardinals together after long torments, and how the Bishop of *Aquilonensis*, being suspected of Pope *Urban*, for not Riding safter with the Pope, his Horse being not good, was there slain by the Popes commandment, sending his Souldiers unto him to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with divers other more Acts of horrible cruelty, hapning in the time of this abominable Schism, because they are abundantly discourted at full by *Theodoricus a Niem*, *de schismate*, I pass over.

Was not here a jolly agreement?

Theodoricus a Niem, de schismate.

About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel Diffention in *England*, between the Common people and the Nobilty, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the Common-wealth. In this tumult *Simon of Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after succeeded *William Courtney*, which was no less diligent than his Predeceſſor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out Hereticks. Notwithstanding in the mean seafon *Wickliff's* Sect increased privily, and daily drew to greater force, until the time that *William Barton* Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, about the year of our Lord 1380, had the whole Rule of that Univerſity: who calling together eight Monastical Doctors, and four other, with the consent of the reſt of his affinity, putting the common Seal of the Univerſity unto certain writings, set forth an Edict, declaring unto every Man, and threatning them under a greivous penalty, that no Man should be so hardy, hereafter to afficiate themſelves with any of *Wickliffs* fautors or favourers: and unto *Wickliffe* himself he threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unleſs that they after three days Canonical admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when *Wickliffe* underſtood, forſaking the Pope and all the Clergy, he thought to appeal unto the Kings Majesty: But the Duke of *Lancaster* coming between, forbade him, that he ſhould not hereafter attempt or begin any ſuch matters, but rather ſubmit himſelf unto the cenſure and judgment of his Ordinary. Whereby *Wickliffe* being beſet with troubles and vexations, as it were in the middeſt of the waves, he was forced once again to make confeſſion of his Doctrine: in the which his confeſſion, to avoid the rigor of things, he anſwered as is aforeſaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his aſſertions after ſuch a ſort, that he did mitigate and aſſwage the rigor of his Enemies.

Simon the Archbiſhop beheaded.

William Courtney, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Barton chancellor of Oxford. Anno 1380.

An edict against the Wickliffists.

The next year after, which was 1382, by the commandment of *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, there was a Convocation holden at *London*, whereas *John Wickliffe* was alſo commanded to be preſent. But whether he there appeared perſonally or not, I find it not in ſtory certainly affirmed. The mandate of the Archbiſhop *William Courtney* (ſent abroad for the conventing together of his Council) here followeth under-written, truly copied out of his own Regiſters.

Anno 1382.

Memorandum, That where as well amongſt the Nobles as Commons of this Realm of *England*, there hath a certain haute been ſpread of divers concluſions both erroneous, and alſo repugnant to the determination of the Church, which tend to the ſubverſion of the whole Church, and to our province of *Canterbury*, and alſo to the ſubverſion of the whole Realm, being Preached in divers and ſundry places of our ſaid province, generally, commonly, and publickly: We *William* by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and

The mandate of the Archbiſhop.

Ex Regiſtro Archiepiſcopi Williami Courtney.

and Legate of the See Apostolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein; have convocated or called together certain of our fellow Brethren and others a great many, as well Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, as Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, and these whom we thought to be the most famous Men, skilfullest Men, and Men of soundest Judgment in Religion, that were in all the Realm, whose names hereunder ensue. And the same being (the 17th day of the Month of *May*) in the Year of our Lord 1382. in a certain Chamber within the Territories of the Priory of the Friers Preachers of *London*, before us and our foresaid fellow Brethren assembled, then and there personally present: After that the said conclusions (the Tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) were openly proponed, and distinctly and plainly read: We burthened our foresaid fellow Brethren, Doctors and Bachelors, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the High Judge in the day of Judgment, that they should speak their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what every of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premisses, the foresaid our Brethren the Bishops, Doctors and Bachelors reassembled before us the 21st day of the same Month in the foresaid Chamber, the foresaid Conclusions being again and again repeated and plainly read; by us and by the common consents of us all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and othersome erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appear. And forasmuch as by sufficient information we find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said Province have been, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons do hold and maintain the same, and be of Heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected: we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this Process underwritten.

The names of the Jurors were these.

Imprimis Eight Bishops, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Exceter*, *Hereford*, *Sarum*, *Rochester*, and Frier *Botlesham*. *B.*

Item, Three Friers Preachers, *Siward*, *Paris*, *Langley*.

Item, Four Minorities, *Folvile*, *Carlel*, *Frisly*, *Bernwel*.

Item, *Augustine* Friers four, *Ashborne*, *Bowkin*, *Woldley*, *Hermington*.

Item, Carmelites Four, *Glanvile*, *Dis*, *Lomey*, *Kingham*.

Item, Monks four, *Wels*, *Ramsey*, *Bloxam*, *Marton*.

Item, Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, fourteen, *Appelly*, *Waltrom*; *Baketon*, *Chadesen*, *Tregision*, *Stow*, *Blanchard*, *Rocombey*, *Lidford*, *Welbourne*, *Flatnburgh*, *Motrum*, *Brandon* and *Prophet*.

Item, Bachelors of Divinity fix, *Humbleton*. *Pickwech*, *Lindlow*, *Wich*, *Chiseden*, *Tomson*.

The Articles of *John Wickliffe* here above specified, whereof there were ten which were by these Friers condemned as Heretical, the rest as Erroneous, here in order follow, and are these. Although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, than he meant them in his own works and writings.

The Articles of John Wickliff, *condemned as Heretical.*

1. THe substance of material Bread and Wine, doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the consecration.

2. The accidents do not remain without the subject in the same Sacrament, after the consecration.

3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.

4. That if a Bishop or a Priest be in deadly sin, he doth not Order, Consecrate, nor Baptize.

5. That if a Man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him. {KING Rich. 2.}

6. That it is not found or stablished by the Gospel, that Christ did make or ordain Mass. This Article either is slanderously reported, or else can hardly be defended.

7. If the Pope be a reprobate and evil Man, and consequently a Member of the Devil; he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him from the Emperor.

8. That since the time of *Urban* the sixth, there is none to be received for Pope, but every Man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own Law. He meaneth Church goods not to be given unto Prelates to maintain Ministers, but that they may be taken away if they do offend.

9. That it is against the Scripture, that Ecclesiastical Ministers should have any temporal possessions.

The other Articles of John Wickliff, *condemned as Erroneous.*

10. THat no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any Man except he knew him first to be Excommunicate of God.

11. That he, which doth so Excommunicate any Man, is thereby himself either an Heretick or Excommunicated.

12. That a Prelate or Bishop Excommunicating any of the Clergy, which hath appealed to the King or the Council, is thereby himself a Traitor to the King and Realm.

13. That all such, which do leave off Preaching or hearing the Word of God or Preaching of the Gospel for fear of Excommunication; they are already Excommunicated, and in the day of Judgment shall be counted as Traitors unto God.

14. That it is lawful for any Man, either Deacon or Priest, to Preach the Word of God without Authority or Licence of the Apostolick See or any other of his Catholicks.

15. † That so long as a Man is in deadly sin, he is neither Bishop nor Prelate in the Church of God. † This Article peradventure was scarce forgiven at the moment of him article was gathered as heterodox.

16. * Also that the temporal Lords may, according to their own will and discretion take away the temporal goods from the Churchmen whensoever they do offend.

17. That tenths are pure alms, and that the Parishioners may, for offence of their Curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own will and pleasures. This Article expoundeth the tenth Article above.

18. Also, that all special Prayers applied to any private or particuler person, by any Prelate or religious Man, do no more profit the same person, than general or universal Prayers do profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

19. Moreover, in that any Man doth enter into any private Religion, whatsoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keep the Commandments of God.

20. That holy Men, which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the Order of begging Friers having no possessions) in so doing, have grievously offended.

21. That religious Men, being in their private Religions, are not of the Christian Religion.

22. That Friers are bounden to get their living by the labour of their Hands, and not by begging.

23. That whosoever doth give any Alms unto Friers, or to any begging observant, is accursed, or in danger thereof.

The Letter of the Archbishop directed to the Bishop of *London*, against *John Wickliff* and his adherents.

WIlliam *by Gods permission Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *and of the Apostolical See Legate. To our Reverend Brother by the Grace of God Bishop of* London, *Salutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flock committed unto them; how much the more they shall understand the* A Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury against Wickliffe.

{KING Rich. 2.} *the Wolves, being clothed in sheeps apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly by the continual cry and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge that although by the Canonical Sanctions, no Man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publickly or privately without the Authority of the Apostolical See or Bishop of that place, usurpe or take upon him the Office of a Preacher: Some notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the vale of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doting mind, that they take upon them to Preach, and are not affraid to affirm and teach diverse and sundry propositions and conclusions here under recited, both heretical, erroneous and false, condemned by the Church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy Church, which tend to the subverting of the whole State of the same, of our Province of* Canterbury, *and to the destruction and weakning of the tranquility of the same; and that as well in the Churches, as in the Streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said Province, generally, commonly, and publickly, do Preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the Catholick Church, without which there is no salvation. We therefore, considering that so pernicious a mischief, which may creep amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the souls of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing so much as God will permit us to do, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the Counsel and consent of many of our Brethren and Suffragans, we have convented divers and sundry Doctors of Divinity, as also professors and other Clerks of the Canon and civil Laws, the best learned within the Realm, and of the most soundest opinion and judgment in the Catholick Faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions, being in the presence of us, and our fellow Brethren and other convocates openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by the Common council and consent as well of them as of us, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the Church, as hereunder are described. We will and command your brotherhood and by vertue of holy Obedience straitly injoyn all and singular our Brethren, and Suffragans of our body and Church of* Canterbury, *that with all speedy diligence you possibly can, you likewise enjoyn them (as we have enjoyned you) and every of them. And that every one of them in their Churches and other places of their City and Diocese do admonish and warn, and that you, in your Church and other Churches of your City and Diocese do admonish and warn as we by the Tenor of these presents do admonish and warn the first time, the second time, and the third time; and yet more straitly do warn, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition Canonical and peremptory, another day: That no Man from henceforth of what estate or condition soever, do hold, preach, or defend the foresaid Heresies and errors or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he hear or hearken to the Heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him either publickly or privately; but that immediately he flush him, as he would avoid a Serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, under pain of the greater Curse, the which we command to be thundred against all and every one which shall be disobedient in this behalf; and not regarding these our monitions, after that those three days be past which are assigned for the Canonical monition, and that their delay, fault or offence committed require the same: And then according to the Tenor of these writings, we command both by every one of our fellow Brethren and our Suffragans in their Cities and Dioceses, and by you in your City and Dioces (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermost both ye and they cause the same Excommunications to be pronounced. And Furthermore we will and commend our foresaid fellow Brethren, and all and singular of you apart by our selves, to be admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ we likewise admonish you; that according to* Yea rather for the honour of your Pope and the destruction of Christian Faith.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the Archbishop and Suffragans, with the other Doctors of Divinity and Lawyers, with a great company of babling Friers and religious persons were gathered together to consult as touching *John Wickliffs* Books, and that whole Sect; When as I say, they were gathered together at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*, to begin their business, upon S. *Dunstans* day after Dinner, about two of the Clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible Earthquake fell throughout all *England*: Whereupon diverse of the Suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderful Demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the Archbishop (as chief Captain of that Army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing *Wickliffs* Articles, not according unto the Sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly Heretical, other some half Erroneous, other Irreligious, some Seditious, and not consonant to the Church of *Rome*. An Earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined. 2 *Esr. Chron. Matt. Paris.*

Item, The Twelth day of *June*, in the year aforesaid, in the Chamber of the Friers Preachers, the foresaid Master the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being examined what his opinion was touching the foresaid Articles, publickly affirmed and declared, that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other Doctors and Clerks afore mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the foresaid *Thomas Brightwel* was examined, which upon some of the Conclusions at first somwhat staggered, but in the end being by the said Archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and repute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the foresaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelor of Divinity also there was named *N.* stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgment of the foresaid Chancellor and *Thomas* as is above declared. Whereupon the said Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, willing to let and hinder the peril of such heresies and errors, delivered unto the foresaid Chancellor, there being publickly read, his Letters Patents to be executed, the Tenor whereof in these words doth follow. Determination upon the Articles of Wickliff. A Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Chancellor of Oxford.

WIlliam *by the Grace of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolical See, To our welbeloved Son in Christ the Chancellor of the University of* Oxford, *within the Diocese of* Lincoln, *Greeting, Grace, and Benediction. The Prelates of the Church, about the Lords flock committed to their charge, ought to be so much more vigilant as that they see the Wolf, clothed in sheeps attire, fraudulently go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Doubtless, the*

He that killeth you will think he doth God good service.

common fame and brute is come unto our ears, &c. Ut in mandato præcedenti. *We will therefore and command, ſtraitly enjoyning you, that in the Church of our bleſſed Lady in* Oxford, *upon thoſe days in the which accuſtomably the Sermon is made, in alſo in the Schools of the ſaid Univerſity upon thoſe days the Lectures be read, ye publiſh and cauſe by others to be publiſhed to the Clergy and people, as well in their Vulgar-Tongue, as in the Latin-Tongue, manifeſtly and plainly without any curious implication, the ſame heretical and erroneous Concluſions, ſo repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforeſaid; to have been and be condemned; which Concluſions we alſo declare by theſe our Letters to be utterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admoniſh and cauſe to be admoniſhed, as we by the tenour of theſe preſents do forbid and admoniſh you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend the Hereſies and Errors above ſaid, or any of them, either in School or out of School by any ſophiſtical Cavillation or otherwiſe: or that any admit to preach, hear or hearken unto* John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, *Canon regular, or* John Ashton, *or* Lawrence Redman, *which be vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, or elſe any other whatſoever, ſo ſuſpected or defamed; or that either privately or publickly they either aid or favour them or any of them, but that incontinently they ſhun and avoid the ſame as a Serpent which putteth forth moſt peſtiferous poiſon. And furthermore we ſuſpend the ſaid ſuſpected perſons from all ſcholaſtical act, till ſuch time as they ſhall purge themſelves before us in that behalf: and that you denounce the ſame publickly by us to have been and be ſuſpended; and that ye diligently and faithfully enquire of all their Favourers and Favourers, and cauſe to be enquired throughout all the Halls of the ſaid Univerſity. And that when you ſhall have intelligence of their Names and Perſons, that ye compel all and every of them to abjure their Outrages by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and other pains Canonical whatſoever, under pain of the greater Curſe, the which againſt all and ſingular the rebellious in this behalf, and diſobeying our monitions, we pronounce: ſo that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf deſerve the ſame (the ſaid monition of ours being firſt ſent) which in this behalf we eſteem and allow Canonical, that then and again according to the effect of theſe our Letters, &c. The abſolution of all and ſingular ſuch, which ſhall incur the Sentence of this Inſtrument by us ſent forth (which God forbid) we ſpecially reſerve unto our ſelves: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aſperſion of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that to the uttermoſt of your Power hereafter you do your endeavour, that the Clergy and people being ſubject unto you, if there be any which have ſtraied from the Catholick Faith by ſuch Errors, may be brought home again to the laud and honour of his Name that was Crucified, and preſervation of the true Faith. And further our will is, that whatſoever you ſhall do in the premiſſes, in manner and form of our Proceſs in this behalf it be had and done: and that you for your part, when you ſhall be required thereunto, plainly and diſtinctly do certifie us by your Letters Patents, having the tenour hereof.*

Make ſure work.

The Concluſions and Articles here mentioned in this Letter are above prefixed. Of which ſome were condemned for hereticall, ſome for erroneous.

After this, within few days the foreſaid Archbiſhop *William Courtney* directed down his Letters of Admonition to *Robert Rigge* Commiſſary of *Oxford*, for the repreſſing of this Doctrine: which yet notwithſtanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praiſed) doth remain: the Copy of his monition to the Commiſſary here out of his own Regiſter followeth.

The monition of the Archbiſhop unto the foreſaid Chancellor.

Another Letter of the Archbiſhop to the Commiſſary of Oxford.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Whereas we* Will. *by the permiſſion of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Lord Primate of* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolical See, by the conſent of our Suffragans, have cauſed to be aſſembled together divers Clerks both ſecular and regular of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *within our Province of* Canterbury, *and other Catholick perſons to inform us of, and upon certain Concluſions hereticall and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and publiſhed in divers places of the ſaid Province of* Canterbury, *to the ſubverſion of the whole State of the Church, and our ſaid Province: And whereas alſo mature deliberation had upon the ſame, by the Common Council of the ſaid our Suffragans and their Convocates, it was declared, that certain of the ſaid Concluſions, have been and be condemned, ſome for hereticall, and ſome for erroneous, and notoriouſly repugnant to the determination of the Church, which we alſo our ſelves have declared to be damnable: And have underſtood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou* Robert Rigge, *Chancellor of the Univerſity aforeſaid, haſt and doſt incline partly to the foreſaid damnable Concluſions, whom alſo we in this part have partly ſuſpected, doſt intend to moleſt theſe our Clerks above ſpecified, and others adhering unto us in the behalf as they ought to do, through thy ſubtil and ſophiſtical imaginations, ſundry and manifold ways: therefore we admoniſh thee Maſter* Robert Chancellor *aforeſaid, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily, that thou doſt not grieve, let, or moleſt, judicially or extrajudicially, openly or privily, or cauſe to be grieved, let, and moleſted, or procure directly or indirectly by thy ſelf or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be grieved, the foreſaid Clerks ſecular or regular, or ſuch as favour them in the premiſes, in their ſcholaſtical acts, or in any other condition whatſoever. And that thou ſuffer none hereafter to teach, maintain, preach or defend any ſuch Hereſies or Errors in the ſaid Univerſity, either within or without the Schools: Neither that thou do admit* John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, *which are vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, or any other ſo ſuſpected or defamed unto that Office of Preaching; but that thou denounce the ſaid perſons to be ſuſpended, whom we have ſuſpended from all ſcholaſtical act, whilſt they clear their Innocency in this part before us, under the pain of the great Curſe, which we here in theſe writings denounce againſt thy perſon if thou ſhalt not obey thoſe our admonitions with effect, as thy crime, ſubtilty and offence in this behalf ſhall require according to this our admonition premiſed; which we repute in this part for Canonical, as well then, as now, and now as well as then; reſerving the abſolution of this ſentence Excommunicatory, if it happen to light upon thee, (as GOD forbid) ſpecially unto our ſelves. Teſtified with the hands of the Furors, above in the* page 496. *before ſpecified.*

The Examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, *and* John Ashton.

THe 18*th* day of the month and year aforeſaid, in the Chamber of the Preaching-Fryers afore-mentioned, before the foreſaid Archbiſhop in the preſence of divers Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and many Lawyers both Canon and Civil, whoſe names are under written, appeared M. *Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington,* and *John Aſhton* Bachelors of Divinity. Who after a corporal Oath taken to ſhew their judgment upon the Concluſions aforeſaid, were examined ſeverally, each one by himſelf, before the Archbiſhop. Who there required day and place to deliberate upon the Concluſions aforeſaid, and to give their anſwer unto the ſame in writing. And alſo required to have a Copy of the ſaid Concluſions to be delivered unto them. The which Copy the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* (being openly read unto them) received. Alſo the foreſaid M. *John Aſhton* likewiſe was examined, and judicially admoniſhed by the ſaid Archbiſhop by vertue of the Oath, that he, ſetting aſide all ſophiſtical words and ſubtilties, would ſay his mind fully and plainly upon the Concluſions aforeſaid. And being asked moreover by the ſaid Archbiſhop whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his Anſwers, as the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* had before; ſaid expreſly that he would not, but would anſwer preſently to thoſe Concluſions; and ſo for

{KING Hic. 2.} {KING Hic. 2.}

M. John Aſhton examined.

{KING Hic. 2.} for final anſwer ſaid, as concerning all theſe Concluſions (containing them all together) that his judgment was in

The anſwer of John Aſhton.

this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore the foreſaid Archbiſhop, reputing the ſaid *John* herein to be ſuſpected, admoniſhed him in form of words as followeth, *We admoniſh thee* John Ashton, *whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, the firſt, the ſecond, and third time, that in our Province of* Canterbury *hereafter thou do not Preach publickly or privately without our ſpecial Licence, under pain of the greater Curſe, which we denounce here by theſe preſents againſt thy perſon, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then.* And conſequently, foraſmuch as the ſaid *John* being asked of the Archbiſhop, confeſſed that he had heard before of the publication of the Archbiſhops Mandate, wherein was contained that no perſon prohibited or not ſent ſhould preach

M. Aſhton moulded again to appear.

hereafter; the foreſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned to him *Friday* next following, which was the 20*th* day of the ſame month, after dinner, to appear before him either at *Lambeth*, or in the ſame place, to ſay for himſelf wherefore he might not be pronounced for an Heretick, and for ſuch an one to be denounced through his whole Province. Alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned to the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, the ſaid day and place to anſwer peremptorily, and to ſay fully and plainly to the concluſion aforeſaid, all ſophiſtication of words and diſputation ſet apart.

The Names of the Fryers that ſate upon them.
Fryers Preachers.

Thomas Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Haker.

Carmelites three.

Walter Diſh, John Kiningham, John Lovey.

Auguſtine Fryers.
Thomall Aſſborne, Doctor.

20th of June.

In the twentieth day aforeſaid of the ſaid month of *June*, the year and place above prefixed, before the foreſaid Archbiſhop ſitting in his Tribunal Seat, in the preſence of divers Doctors of Divinity, and Lawyers both Civil and Canon, perſonally appeared Maſter *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington*, Bachelors of Divinity, and *John Aſhton*, Maſter of Art. Where the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, being required by the ſaid Archbiſhop to anſwer, and ſay fully and plainly their judgment upon the Concluſions prefixed, to which purpoſe the ſaid Archbiſhop had aſſigned to the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* the ſame Term, did exhibit to the ſaid Archbiſhop, there judicially ſitting, certain anſwers in writing contained after the manner of Indenture; the tenour whereof here under is contained, and after the ſame form anſwered to the ſame concluſions. The tenour of which Indenture, containing the foreſaid concluſions to them moved as afore, followeth in theſe words.

Herford and Reppington appear.

The Proteſtation of Nicholas, Philip, *and* John, *with their Articles and Anſwers to the ſame.*

The proteſtation of Herford and Aſhton exhibited to the Archbiſhop.

WE proteſt here as before, publickly in theſe preſents, that we intend to be humble and faithful Children to the Church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it ſhall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to ſwarve from this our intention, we ſubmit our ſelves humbly to the correction of our reverend Father, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all *England*: and of all other which have intereſt to correct ſuch Swarvers. This Proteſtation premiſed, thus we anſwer to the concluſions aforeſaid.

Articles with the anſwers.

That the ſubſtance of material Bread and Wine remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar after Conſecration.

After the ſenſe contrary to the Decretal, beginning *Firmiter credimus*, we grant that it is Hereſie.

That the accidents do not remain without the ſubject, after conſecration of the Sacrament.

After the ſenſe contrary to that Decretal, *Cum Marthe:* we grant that it is Hereſie.

That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really in his own corporal preſence.

Although this concluſion as the words ſtand, found to be probable and intelligible, yet in the ſenſe contrary to the Decretal in *Ele. Si dudum*, we grant that it is Hereſie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, as touching alſo all other things, we profeſs that we will both in word and ſenſe hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy Church, and ſayings of the holy Doctors.

Obſtinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ordained the Maſs;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

That God ought to obey the Devil.

In this ſenſe, that God in his own Perſon or Eſſence, ought to obey the Devil with the obedience of neceſſity;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

If a man be duly contrite, that all external confeſſion is to him ſuperfluous and unprofitable;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

If the Pope be a Reprobate, and an evil man, and conſequently a Member of the Devil, he hath no Power over the faithful of Chriſt given to him of any, unleſs it be of *Cæſar*;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

That after Pope *Urban* the Sixth none is to be received for Pope, but that we ought to live after the manner of the *Grecians*, under our own Laws;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

To ſay that it is againſt the holy Scripture for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to have Temporal Poſſeſſions.

If obſtinacy be joyned withall, we grant that it is Hereſie.

That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any man, unleſs he know him before to be excommunicated of God. We grant that it is an Error; Underſtanding this knowledge to ſignifie an experimental knowledge; ſo that herewith may ſtand the Decree of the Church. 11. *q.* 3. *Nemo Epiſco.*

That he which doth ſo Excommunicate, is thereby an Heretick or Excommunicate.

After the ſenſe, agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an Error.

That a Prelate Excommunicating a Clerk, which appealeth to the King or Council of the Realm, in ſo doing is a Traitor to God, the King, and the Realm;

We grant it is an error.

That they which leave off to preach, or to hear the Word of God and the Goſpel Preached, for the Excommunication of Men, are Excommunicate, and in the day of Judgment ſhall be counted for Traitors to God.

Underſtanding this concluſion univerſally, ſo as Scripture and Laws do underſtand ſuch indefinite propoſitions;

We grant it is an error.

To affirm that it is lawful for any Deacon or Prieſt to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, or Catholick Biſhop, or of any other whoſe Authority he knoweth ſufficient;

We grant it is an error.

To affirm that there is no civil Lord, no Biſhop nor Prelate, whileſt he is in Mortal ſin; We grant it is an error.

That temporal Lords may at their pleaſure take away the temporal Goods from the Churches, offending *habitualiter*; We grant it is an error, After this ſenſe, that they may ſo take away temporal Goods of the Churches, without the Caſes limited in the Laws of the Church and Kingdoms.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lord offending at their pleaſure: underſtanding by this word *May*, that they may do it by the Law, We grant it is an error, becauſe that ſubjects have no power over their Lords.

That Tithes be pure Alms, and that Pariſhioners may, for the offences of their Curates, detain the ſame, and beſtow them to others at their pleaſure: underſtanding by his word *May*, as before, to may by the Law, We grant it is an error.

That

That ſpecial prayers applied to any one perſon by Prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike: underſtanding this Concluſion univerſally negatively, and underſtanding by ſpecial prayers, the prayers made upon ſpecial devotion, and general prayers of general devotion: then after this ſenſe, no ſuch ſpecial prayers, applied to any one perſon, by ſpecial Orators, do profit more ſpecially the ſaid perſon, than general prayers do, which are made of the ſame, and for the ſame perſons, we grant it is an Error.

He that giveth Alms to the Fryers, or to any Fryer that preacheth, is Excommunicate; both he that giveth, and he that taketh: underſtanding this Propoſition univerſally, or conditionally, as is aforeſaid; we grant to be an Error.

That who ſo entreth into any private Religion whatſoever is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the Commandments of God; we grant it is an Error.

That ſuch holy men as did inſtitute any private Religions whatſoever, as well of ſecular having poſſeſſions, as of Fryers having none, in ſo inſtituting did ſin: underſtanding this reduplicatively or univerſally, we grant it an Error. After this ſenſe, that what Saint ſoever did inſtitute private Religion, inſtituting the ſaid Religion upon that conſideration as they did, did ſin.

That religious men living in private Religions, be not of the Religion of Chriſt: underſtanding the Propoſition univerſally, as is aforeſaid; we grant it is an Error.

That Fryers are bound to get their Livings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging: underſtanding this Propoſition univerſally, as before; we grant it is an Error.

Theſe things have we ſpoken reverend Father and Lord, in all humility, under your gracious ſupportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and ſlender capacities for this preſent (the honour of GOD, the verity of our Belief, and ſafe Conſcience in all points reſerved) more humbly yet befeeching you, that if any other thing there be, that ſeemeth meet unto your Excellency and Direction to be more or otherwiſe ſaid and ſpoken, that your gracious Fatherhood would vouchſafe to inform us as Children by the Sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the Church, or authorities of the holy Doctors. And doubtleſs with ready Wills, and obedient Minds, we will conſent and agree unto your wholſome Doctrine. May it therefore pleaſe your Fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accuſtomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept theſe our words and ſayings, foraſmuch as the foreſaid Concluſions were never by us either in Schools affirmed, or elſe in Sermons publickly preached.

Further Examinations and Proceedings againſt the foreſaid Nicholas Herford, P. Reppington, *and* John Aſhton.

Further Examinations againſt the ſaid Nicholas, Philip, and John, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Aſhton examined. An. Domini, Anno 1382.

WHen all theſe Anſwers were made unto the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, for that they anſwered not unto the meaning and words of the firſt Concluſion expreſly, but contrary to the ſenſe of the decretal *Firmiter credimus*, were there judicially examined what their ſenſe and meaning was; but they would not expreſs the ſame. Then was it demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion declared on the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, whether the ſame material bread *in numero*, which before the Conſecration is laid upon the Altar, remain in proper ſubſtance and nature, after the Conſecration in the Sacrament of the Altar; and likewiſe of the wine? To this the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* anſwered, *That for that time they could ſay no more therein, than that they already anſwered, as is before alledged in writing.* And for that unto the ſenſe and words of the ſecond Concluſion they anſwered not fully and expreſly, but in a ſenſe contrary to the Decretal *Cum Marthe*: being asked what was their meaning, they would not expreſs the ſame: therefore it was demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion, declared in the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, whether thoſe corporal accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the conſecration of them, were in the ſame bread and wine after the conſecration, or elſe were ſubjected in any other ſubſtance? To this they anſwered, *That better to anſwer, than before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not.* To the meaning alſo and words of the third Concluſion for that they anſwered not plainly and expreſly, but in ſenſe contrary to the Decretal in the *Clementines*, *Si dudum*, being asked what was that ſenſe and meaning, would not declare the ſame. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion, declared on the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, Whether the ſame Body of Chriſt, which was aſſumed of the Virgin, be in the Sacrament of the Altar, *ſecundum ſeipſum*, even as he is really in camal ſubſtance, proper eſſence and nature? To this they anſwered, *That for that time they could ſay no more than that they had ſaid, as before is ſpecified in writing.*

{KING} {Ric. 2.}

Furthermore, to the ſenſe and text of the ſixth Concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully and expreſly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the Devil or not: they ſaid, *Yea, as the obedience of love, becauſe he loveth, and puniſhed him as he ought.* And to prove that God ought ſo to obey the Devil, they offered themſelves to the fire.

To the 11*th* Concluſion, for that they anſwered not expreſly, being asked whether a Prelate might Excommunicate any man being in the ſtate of Grace: they ſaid, *Yea.*

Unto the 20*th* Concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully, ſimply, and expreſly; being demanded whether ſpecial or general prayers did moſt profit, and were of greater force; they would not ſay but that ſpecial.

Unto the laſt Concluſion, for that they anſwered neither ſimply, nor expreſly; and being demanded particularly, whether any Fryer were bound to get his living with his manual labour, ſo that it might not be lawful for them to live by begging; they would make no anſwer at all.

After that, the foreſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* demanded of all the foreſaid Doctors, what their judgment was touching the anſwers that were made upon all and ſingular ſuch Concluſions. All which Doctors and every of them ſeverally ſaid, *That all the anſwers given unto the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixth Concluſions (as is before recited) were inſufficient, heretical and fabrik; and that all the anſwers made ſpecially to the ninth, tenth, and laſt Concluſions, as is above mentioned, were inſufficient, erroneous, and perverſe.* Whereupon the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, conſidering the ſaid anſwers to be heretical, fabtil, erroneous, and perverſe, accordingly as the ſaid Doctors (as is aforeſaid) had weighed and conſidered, admoniſhed the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* ſufficiently under this form of words.

The judgments of the Doctors upon theſe Articles.

Admoniſhment and citation of the Archbiſhop againſt the Examinants.

The name of Chriſt being called upon, we William *by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, and through all our Province of* Canterbury, *Inquiſitor of all heretical Pravity, do ſufficiently and lawfully admoniſh and cite you* Nicholas Herford *and* Philip Reppington, *Profeſſors of Divinity, having this day and place aſſigned you by your own conſent and our preſcition, peremptorily to anſwer and to ſay fully and plainly your Opinions touching theſe Concluſions, wherevnto we do refer you (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical, and logical words ſet apart) being thereunto ſworn, cited, and commanded. Which thing to do, without cauſe reaſonable or any licence given thereunto, you neither have been willing, nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuouſly refuſed to anſwer to ſome of thoſe Concluſions before us judicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandment beforeſaid. But for that ye have anſwered unto ſome of them heretically, and to other ſome erroneouſly, although not fully; we admoniſh and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical and logical words ſet apart) you and every of you anſwer unto the ſame Concluſions, and unto that ſenſe and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwiſe ſuch Concluſions by you confeſſed deſerve, and that for the ſame Concluſions you ought to have.*

Which Admonition being made and done, for that the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* would make none other anſwer,

{KING} {Ric. 2.}

Another day aſſigned for the examinants to appear.

anſwer, the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* concluded that buſineſs, prefixing and aſſigning unto the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, eight days ſpace; that is to ſay, until the 27*th* day of the ſame month, and that then they ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereſoever within the ſame his Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould fortune to be, to hear his Decree that ſhould be made in that behalf. This done, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moniſhed and cited lawfully and ſufficiently, *John Aſhton* under the tenour of theſe words following.

Proceſs made by the Archbiſhop againſt John Aſhton.

In the Name of God; We *William* by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, Legate of the See Apoſtolical, and through all our Province of *Canterbury*, of all heretical pravity chief Inquiſitor, do moniſh and cite thee *J. Aſhton*, Maſter of Art, and Student in Divinity, appearing before us, judicially to ſay and ſpeak the plain verity touching theſe Concluſions, to the which we do refer thee; and to the which we have cauſed thee to ſwear, laying thy hand upon a Book; as being alſo otherwiſe by us admoniſhed and commanded to keep this day and place by us appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone ſuch reaſonable cauſe (if thou haſt any) wherefore thou oughteſt not to be pronounced an Heretick. And ſufficiently and lawfully we moniſh and cite thee, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical, and logical words ſet apart) do anſwer unto the ſame Concluſions under the pain that unto ſuch Concluſions belong, and on thy part confeſſed, and that thou for ſuch Concluſions oughteſt to ſuffer. Which monition being thus premiſed, the ſaid Archbiſhop read the firſt Concluſion, and of the ſaid *John* inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he ſaid his mind concerning the foreſaid monition. Then the foreſaid *John Aſhton*, being often required by the Archbiſhop, that he would anſwer in the *Latin*-Tongue, to thoſe queſtions which were demanded of him, becauſe of the Lay-people that ſtood about him; he crying out in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious Contumelies to move and excite the people againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop; as it ſhould ſeem. Neither did he unto the firſt Concluſion, nor unto any of theſe other Concluſions, effectually and pertinently ſeem to them to anſwer; but rather by ſubtilties and ſhifts, ſaying oftentimes, and as expreſly as *Luke* ſaid, it was ſufficient for him to believe as the holy Church believed. Then the ſaid Archbiſhop examined him upon the firſt Concluſion touching the Sacrament of the Altar; whether that after the words of Conſecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or univerſal bread? He ſaid the matter paſſed his underſtanding, and therefore ſaid, he would in that form and manner anſwer, and otherwiſe not: But amongſt other things, he ſpake in deriding-wiſe unto the ſaid Archbiſhop againſt this word *Material*, ſaying, *You may put that in your purſe, if you have any.* Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop calling that an unwiſe and fooliſh anſwer, as the reſt of the Doctors did (of whom mention was made before) the rather for that he was a Graduate in the Schools, farther proceeded againſt the ſaid *John Aſhton* in this wiſe.

John Aſhton ſeverally examined.

The Archbiſhop and his Fryers do fear the Engliſh Tongue for the people.

Whether material bread remain in the Sacrament.

And thou *John Aſhton* moniſhed and commanded by us, as is aforeſaid, after thine Oath taken, without any reaſonable cauſe or any other licence, neither wouldſt thou, nor yet wilt, but refuſeſt, and yet doſt contemptuouſly, to anſwer unto ſuch Concluſions before us; judicially according to our monition and commandment aforeſaid; we do hold all ſuch Concluſions to be by thee confeſſed, and thee the foreſaid *John*, with all thy foreſaid Concluſions, convicted. And therefore we do pronounce, and declare by Sentence giving, that thou *John Aſhton*, concerning thoſe Concluſions, which by us with good deliberation of divers Prelates our Suffragans, and alſo divers and ſundry Profeſſors of Divinity, and other wiſe men and learned in the Law, according to the Canonical Sanctions, being condemned and declared for an Heretick, and heretical haſt been, and ſtill art an Heretick, and thy Concluſions heretical. And as touching thy other Concluſions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare ſententially by theſe our Writings, that both thou haſt erred, and doſt err.

Upon the ſame 20*th* day of *June*, in the year and place above recited, the foreſaid Lord of *Canterbury* being deſirous, as he pretended, to be informed by *Thomas Hilman*, Bachelor of Divinity, there being preſent, and ſomewhat favouring the ſaid Maſter *John Aſhton*, what his Judgment and Opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions, prefixed and aſſigned unto the ſaid *Thomas* (for that time demanding the ſame deliberation and day) eight days after; that is to ſay, the 28*th* of the ſaid month, to appear before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereſoever within his ſaid Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions. *Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.*

Maſter Thomas Hilman ſuſpected to be a favourer of John Aſhton.

The 20*th* day of June

Days given to Thomas Hilman to anſwer.

The Names of Fryers and Doctors aſſiſtant at the Examination aforeſaid.

FRyers Obſervants, *Botlesham* Biſhop of *Nevaton*, Fryer *John Langley*, *William Suard.*

Fryers of *Dominicks* Order, *John Kingham*, *John Lovey*, *Peter Stokes*, *Walter Diſh.*

Fryers *Carmelites*, *Thomas Aſhburn*, *Baukine*, *Robert Walbey.*

Doctors and Fryers *Auguſtines*, Maſter *John Barnet*, Maſter *Thomas Backton*, Maſter *John Blanchard*, Maſter *John Shillingford*, Maſter *Lidford*, Maſter *Thomas Southam.*

The 28*th* day of June An. 1382.

The *Fryday* next following, that is to ſay, the 28*th* day of *June*, the foreſaid M. *Nicholas*, *Philip*, and *Thomas Hilman*, appeared before the ſaid Archbiſhop and Lord Inquiſitor of *Canterbury*, in the Chappel of his Mannor of *Oſford*, in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* there ſitting in his Tribunal-Seat. To whom the ſaid Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaying, That becauſe at that time he had not the preſence and aſſiſtance of the Doctors in Divinity and of the Canon and Civil Law, he continued the ſaid buſineſs touching the ſaid *Nicholas*, *Philip* and *Thomas*, in the ſame ſtate wherein then it was, till *Tueſday* next and immediately enſuing; that is to ſay, the firſt day of *July*, the year of our Lord aforeſaid: and prefixed unto the ſaid *Nicholas Philip*, and *Thomas Hilman* the ſame day to appear before him, wherſoever within his Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould then chance to be, to do that which upon the ſaid 28*th* day, they were purpoſed to do together or apart.

The 1*ſt* day of July, An. 1382.

Which *Tueſday* being come, the foreſaid Archbiſhop in the chief houſe of his Church at *Canterbury*, before the hour of Nine with the Doctors, whoſe names are under contained, and other Clerks a great multitude; expected the foreſaid *Nicholas*, *Philip*, and *Thomas* long time, by the Beadle, calling them and looking after them; who nevertheleſs appeared not before two of the Clock after dinner the ſame day, continuing the foreſaid buſineſs in the priſtine ſtate till the ſame hour. At which hour the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having Aſſiſtants the Doctors and Clerks under recited, examined the foreſaid Maſter *Thomas Hilman*, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions; who at them and the meaning of them ſomewhat ſtammering, at laſt to all and ſingular the ſame Concluſions then to him read and expounded, thus anſwered, *I ſuppoſe and judge all and ſingular thoſe Concluſions lately condemned by my Lord of* Canterbury *that now is, together with the council and conſent of his Clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the ſame my Lord of* Canterbury *and other Doctors of Divinity, of the Canon and Civil Law, by common conſent and counſel have ſuppoſed and thought. And the ſame (being for Hereſies and Errors, as before is ſaid condemned) I do as much as in me is condemn; proteſting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of thoſe Concluſions, and in the ſame Faith live and die.* Then the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then and there ſitting as Tribunal or Judge, pronouncing the ſaid Maſters, *Nicholas* and *Philip*, long in Court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing, guilty of Contumacy and Diſobedience; excommunicated them for the penalty of this their Contumacy, in tenour of theſe words following:

The anſwer of Thomas Hilman.

Nic. Herford and Philip Reppington, for not appearing, excommunicated.

We *William* by the Grace of God Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, Legate of the Apoſtolical

See,

Excommunic. tion pronounced by the Archbishop.

See, and through all our Province of *Canterbury*; of all Heretical pravity chief Inquisitor; do pronounce Master *Nicholas Herford* and Master *Philip Reppington*, Professors of Divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear and decree in this business of Heretical pravity (being in Court by our Bedle long called and tarried for, and yet not appearing) to be stubborn and disobedient persons; and, for the penalty of this their contumacy, we do Excommunicate them and either of them by these presents.

The denouncing of the Excommunication against Nicholas Herford, *and* Philip Reppington.

The 13th day of July, An. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Pauls Cros.

William by Gods permission Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c. To our beloved Son in Christ, whosoever he be, that this instant Sunday shall Preach at *Pauls* Cros in *London*, salutation grace and blessing. Forasmuch as we prefixed a certain competent day and place to Master *Nicholas Herford*, and Master *Philip Reppington*, Canon Regular of the Monastery of our Lady of *Leicester*, being Doctors of Divinity, and of Heretical pravity vehemently suspected (after certain answers not fully made, but impertinent and nothing to the purpose, as also Heretical and Erroneous) in divers places of our said Province commonly, generally, and publickly taught and preached; and that therefore they should judicially appear before us, to do and to receive peremptorily in that behalf, what thing soever the quality of that business should move us unto: and that we have for their contumacy in not appearing before us at that day and place, judicially appointed, as right therein required: We by these presents command and commit unto you, firmly injoyning you, that when all the multitude of People shall be gathered together to hear your Sermon, that in the day and place appointed you publickly and solemnly denounce the foresaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, holding up a Cross, and lighting up a Candle, and then throwing down the same upon the ground, to have been so and in such manner Excommunicated, and still be.

Fare ye well. In our Mannor House at *Lambeth*, the 13*th* day of *July*, the Year of our Lord, 1382. and first Year of our Translation.

The Citation against the said *Nicholas* and *Philip*.

William *by the Grace of God, &c. To our Welbeloved Son M.* Robert Rigge, *Chancellor of the Universsity of* Oxford, *Salutation, &c. Forasmuch as we have prefixed a competent day and place to M.* Nicholas Herford, *and M.* Philip Reppington, &c. *As before: We straitly charge and command you, that you publickly and solemnly denounce in the Church of our Lady, and in the Schools of the Universsity, the foresaid* Nicholas *and* Philip *to have been by us Excommunicated, and still be. And that you further cite, or cause to be cited peremptorily the foresaid* Nicholas *and* Philip, *that they and every of them appear before us within* 15. *days after the date of this Citation, wheresoever it shall fortune us, within our said Province of* Canterbury, *then to be: To hear and see how we proceed to proceed against them, and every of them, concerning the foresaid Heretical and Erroneous conclusions, according to the form of retroactions, and quality of the business in this behalf had and used. And that both of the day of the receit of this present Citation, of the manner and form thereof; or if that you shall apprehend by personal Citation the said* Nicholas *and* Philip, *or either of them, or whether they shall be absent and hide themselves, as of every thing else, which in this behalf you shall think meet to be done; that between this and the Feast of S.* Laurence, *you clearly certifie us by your Letters Patents, containing the effect of these things.*

Fare ye well. At our Mannor of Lambeth, *the 13th day of* July *in the Year of our Lord* 1382. *and first Year of our Translation.*

{KING *Rich.* 2.}

The names of the Doctors and Friers assistants at this sitting.

Seculars, M. *William Blankpaine*, M. *William Barton*.

Friers *Carmelites*, *Robert Every*, Prior, *John Rennyngham*, Prior, and *John Lumne*.

Friers *Minors*, *William Barnwel*, *John Rydden*, and *William Brunscombe*.

Friers *Augustines*, *John Court*, *Patrington*, *Tomson* and *Keapes*.

Against this blind Excommunication of the said Archbishop the parties Excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the Bishop of *Rome*. Which appeal of theirs as insufficient, or rather to him unpleasant, the said Archbishop utterly rejected (as might oftentimes overcometh right) proceeding in his preconceived Excommunication against them, and writing moreover his Letters to him that should Preach next at *Pauls* Cros, as is aforesaid, to denounce and to publish openly the said *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* to be Excommunicate, for not appearing at their tearm affigned. Which was in the 13*th* day of the Month of *July*.

The Excommunication of Herford and Reppington denounced at Pauls Cros.

13th day of July, An. 1382.

Which Archbishop moreover the said year, the month and day aforesaid, sent also another Letter to M. Rigge, Commissary of *Oxford*, straightly injoyning and charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of Excommunication, and to give out publick Citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all *Oxford* for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day prescribed for the same. Whereby may appear how busie this Bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor Men, whom rather he should have nourished and Cherished as his Brethren. But as his labor is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his Tribunal Seat, to Judge both the quick and the dead.

Other Letters of the Archbishop sent to the Chancellor of *Oxford*.

The Archbishop not yet contented with this, doth moreover by all means possible solicite the King to joyn withal the power of his temporal Sword; for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the Popish Clergy had not Authority sufficient, by any publick Law or Statute of this Land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of Religion, but only by the usurped Tyranny and example of the Court of *Rome*. Where note (Gentle Reader) for thy better understanding the practice of the Romish Prelates in seeking the Kings help to further their bloody purpose against the good Saints of God. Which King being but young, and under years of ripe Judgment, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune sute of the foresaid Archbishop, partly also either for fear of the Bishops (for Kings cannot always do in their Realms what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of lubtidy to be gathered by the Clergy, was content to adjoyn his private assent (such as it was) to the setting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first Law that is to be found made against Religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, *An.* 5. *Rich.* 2. Where among sundry other Statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed Books of Statutes, this supposed Statute is to be found, *cap.* 5. *& ultimo*.

Hitherto no Law to burn any Man for Religion.

The King circumvented by the Archbishop.

The selfsame to be found prejudicial to the Clergy for burning the professors of religion. *An.* 5. Rich. Secundi.

Item, Forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within the Realm, going from County to County, and from Town to Town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great Holiness, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient Authority, Preaching daily not only in Churches and Churchyards, but also in Markets, Fairs, and other open places where a great Congregation of people is, divers Sermons containing Heresies and notorious Errors, to the great empblemishing of Christian Faith and destruction of the Laws, and of the Estate of holy Church, to the great peril of the souls of the people, and of all the Realm of *England* as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops and other Prelates, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of Canon and of civil Law, and a great

This Statute was made by the Clergy, without consent or knowledge of the Commons.

{KING *Rich.* 2.} a great part of the Clergy of the said Realm, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissention betwixt divers Estates of the said Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, in exciting of the people to the great peril of all the Realm: which Preachers being cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their Summons and Commandments, nor care not for their Monitions nor Censures of the holy Church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtil and ingenious words, do draw the people to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their Errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and affented in this present Parliament, That the Kings Commissions be made and directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the *Chancery* from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and also their Fautors, Maintainers and Abbetters, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justifie themselves according to the law and reason of holy Church. And the King willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them shall be certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

Note that this Statute was repealed after, under the influence of the Commons.

An Examination of the foresaid supposed Statute, and of the invalidity thereof.

Which supposed Statute forasmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examine the same more particularly, whereby it shall appear, that as the same was fraudulently and unduely devised by the Prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderly executed by them. For immediately upon the publishing of this Law, without further warrant either from the King or his Council, Commissions under the Great Seal of *England* were made in this form, *Richard by the Grace of God, &c. ut patet. act. pag.* 541. *Witnes my self at* Westminster *the 26th day of* June, *in the sixth year of our Reign.* Without more words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite, *viz. per ipsum Regem: per Regem & concilium: per breve de privato Sigillo.* All or any which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be seen in the Kings Records of that time; it must therefore be done either by warrant of this foresaid Statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said Statute appointed the Commissions to be directed to the Sheriff, or other Ministers of the Kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arretting of such persons; the said Commissions are directed to the Archbishop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth Parties in the case, authorizing them further without either the words, or reasonable meaning of the said Statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or where else pleased them.

No usual words of warrant affixed to this Commission

Besides also, what manner of Law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, Judge by that that followeth, *viz.*

In the *Utas* of Saint *Michael* next following, at a Parliament summoned and holden at *Westminster*, the sixth year of the said King, among sundry Petitions made to the King by his Commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this form, *Article* 52.

The petition of the Commons for the repealing of the foresaid Statutes.

Item, prayen the Commons, That whereas an Estatute was made the last Parliament in these words, It is Ordained in this present Parliament, That Commissions from the King be directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of the King, or to other sufficient persons skilful, and according to the Certificates of the Prelates thereof, to be made unto the *Chancery* from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and their Fautors, Maintainers and Abbetters: And them to detain in strong prison, until they will justifie themselves according to reason, and law of holy Church: And the King willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times as he shall be by the Prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid. The which was never agreed nor granted by the Commons: but whatsoever was moved therein, was without their assent. That the said Statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the Prelates, than were their Ancestors in former times, whereunto is answered, *il plaist al, Roy.*

The Statute repealed.

The King ratifieth the repeal.

The King is pleased.

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust Law of *An.* 5. was repealed, and the fraud of the Framers thereof sufficiently discovered: yet such means was there made by the Prelates, that this Act of repeal was never published, nor ever sithence imprinted with the rest of the Statutes of that Parliament. Insomuch as the said Repeal being concealed, like Commissions and other Process were made from time to time, by vertue of the said Bastard-Statute, as well during all the Reign of this King, as ever sithence against the Professors of Religion; as shall hereafter by the Grace of God appear in the second year of King *Henry* the Fourth, where the Clergy pursued the like practice. And now again to the story of our *Oxford* Divines, and of the Archbishop, to whom the King writeth his Letters Patents, first to the Archbishop, then to the Vice-Chancellor in *Oxford* as followeth.

The Kings Letters Patents to the Archbishop.

The Kings Letters against the Favourers of Wickliff.

Richard *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and Lord of* Ireland. *To all those to whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. By the Petition of the reverend Father in God,* William *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of* England, *exhibited unto us, we right well understand: That divers and sundry Conclusions, very contrary to wholsome Doctrine, and redounding both to the subversion of the Catholick Faith, the holy Church, and to his Province of* Canterbury, *in divers and sundry places of the same his Province, have been openly and publickly preached, although damnably preached: Of the which Conclusions, some as Heresies, otherwise as Errors have been condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and used; and by common council of the said Archbishop, his Suffragans, and many Doctors in Divinity, and other Clerks and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were sententially and wholsomely declared. Whereupon the said Archbishop hath made his Supplication unto us; that both for the coertion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth of an obstinate mind, preach or maintain the foresaid Conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our Kingly Power. We therefore moved by the zeal of the Catholick Faith, whereof we be, and will be Defenders, and unwilling that any such Heresies or Errors should spring up within the Limits of our Dominion: Give and grant special Licence and Authority, by the tenour of these presents, unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to his Suffragans, to arrest and imprison either in their own prisons, or any other, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or openly preach and maintain the foresaid Conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleasures to detain, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such heretical Pravities, or else so shall be of such arrests, by us and our Council otherwise determined and provided: Further charging and commanding all and singular our Liege-men, Ministers and Subjects, of what state and condition soever they be, upon their Fidelity and Allegiance, wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsel, or help the Preachers, or else Maintainers of the said Conclusions so condemned, or their Favourers, upon pain and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the said Archbishop, his Suffragans, and Ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the foresaid Conclusions and their Maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the Defence of our Realm and Catholick Faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made.*

The 16th day of June Anno 1382.

Witness our self at *Westminster* the 16*th* of *June*, and sixth year of our Reign.

The

The Kings Letters Patents to the Vice-Chancellor.

Another Letter of the King to the Vice-Chancellor.

THe King to the Chancellor and the Procurators of the University of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall be greeting. Moved by the zeal of Christian Faith, whereof we be, and always will be Defenders, and for our Souls health induced thereunto, having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain the Impugners of the foresaid Faith, which newly and wickedly go about and presume to sow their naughty and perverse Doctrine within our Kingdom of England, and to preach and hold damnable Conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same Faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others. We have by these Presents appointed you to be Inquisitor-General (all the chief Divines of the said University being your Assistants) and the same likewise to be done of all and singular the Graduates, Divines and Lawyers of the same University. And if they shall know any which be of the Jurisdiction of the said University of Oxford, which be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any Heresie or Error, and specially of any of the Conclusions publickly condemned by the reverend Father, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Council of his Clergy, or else of any other Conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall believe, favour, or defend any of the foresaid Heresies or Errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be bold to receive into their Houses and Inns, Master John Wickliffe, Master Nicholas Herford, Master Philip Reppington, or Master John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid Heresies, or Errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word: Or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such Favourers, Receivers, Communicants, and Defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, that you banish and expel them from the University and Town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their Innocency before the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certifie us and the said Archbishop, under your Seals, from time to time within one month, that they be such manner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the Halls of the said University ye cause diligently to be searched and inquired out of hand; If any man have any Book or Tractation of the Edition, or compiling of the foresaid M. John Wickliffe, or N. Herford: and that when and wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such Book or Tractation, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the foresaid Archbishop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoever) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore we straitly enjoyn and command you, upon your Fidelity and Allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and singular your Liberties and Privileges of your said University, and of all that ever you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and form aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid Archbishop, and his lawful and honest Mandates, that he shall think good to direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet ye should. And we give in charge unto the Vice-Chancellor and Major of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our Sheriffs, and Under-Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Subjects by these presents; that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premisses. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of his Reign.

The 13th day of July, Anno 1382.

Besides these Letters Patents, the said young King moved by the unquiet importunity of the Archbishop, sendeth moreover another special Letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of the University of *Oxford*. Wherein, under a pretensed zeal of Defence of Christian Faith, he straitly and sharply enjoyneth and assigneth them (for the utter abolishing of those Conclusions and Opinions) to make a general Inquisition through the whole Universities, as well for the Parties aforesaid, *John Wickliffe*, *Nicholas Herford*, *Philip Reppington*, *John Ashton*, and such others; as also for all other whom they know or judge to be suspected of that Doctrine, or to be Maintainers, Receivers, and Defenders of the foresaid Parties, or their Conclusions any manner of way; to the intent that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be within seven days of their Admonitions expulsed the University, and cited up to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, before him to appear and to stand to their Answers. Willing moreover and commanding the said Vice-Chancellor and Proctors with other Regents their Assisters, that if any person or persons in any House, Hall, or College, or in any other place shall be found to have any of their Books or Treatises compiled by the said *John Wickliffe*, *Nicholas Herford*, &c. they will cause without delay the said person or persons with their Books, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresaid Archbishop, upon their Faith and Allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the Liberties and Priviledges of the Universlity appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the Archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his Injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honest. Giving moreover in these our Letters charge and commandment to the Major, Bailiffs, and other the Inhabitants of *Oxford* to be Assistant and Attendant unto the foresaid Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, touching the execution of the Premisses, bearing the date of the *14th* day of *July*, which was the year of our Lord, 1382.

{KING} Ric. 2.

Another Charg. Letter of King Richard sent to Oxford against Wickliffe and his Sect.

The effect of the Kings Letter briefly compounded.

The persons with their Books to be arrested.

The 14th day of July, Anno 1382.

Matters incident of Robert Rigges, *Vice-Chancellor of* Oxford, Nicholas Herford, *and* Philip Reppington, *with others.*

THe Vice-Chancellor the same time in *Oxford* was M. *Robert Rigge*. The two Proctors were *John Huntman* and *Walter Disch*, who then, as far as they durst, favoured the Cause of *John Wickliffe* and that side. Insomuch that the same time and year, which was *Anno* 1382. when certain publick Sermons should be appointed customably at the Feast of the *Ascension*, and of *Corpus Christi*, to be preached in the Cloyster of Saint *Frideswide* (now called *Christ's Church*) before the people, by the Vice-Chancellor aforesaid and the Proctors: the doings thereof the Vice-Chancellor aforesaid and Proctors had committed to *Philip Reppington* and *Nicholas Herford*, so that *Nicholas Herford* should preach on the *Ascension-day*, and *Reppington* upon *Corpus Christi* day. First, *Herford* beginning was noted to defend *John Wickliffe*, openly to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with Out-cries was amongst the Fryers. This *Herford*, after he had long favoured and maintained *Wickliffes* part, grew first in suspition amongst the Enemies of the Truth. For assoon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing, which tended to the defence of *Wickliffe*; by and by the *Carmelites*, and all the Orders of Religion were on his top, and laid not a few Heresies unto his Charge; the which they had strained here and there out of his Sermons, and had compiled together in a certain forme, by the hands of certain Notaries (through the industry and diligence of one Peter *Stokes* a *Carmelite*, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief, uproars, and debate, and dissention,) After this the Feast of *Corpus Christi* drew near; upon which day it was looked for that *Reppington* should preach. This man was a Canon of *Leicester*, and had before taken his first Degree unto Doctorship, who preaching the same time at *Brodgates*, for the same Sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaical brood of the Fryers: but through the great and notable dexterity of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modesty and honestly, he did so overcome, or at the least asswage this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole Fellowship, he was admitted Doctor.

Robert Rigge Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

Nicholas Herford preaching on the Ascension-day defended Wickliffe.

The Bishop by an Appeale.

Who assoon as he had taken it upon him, by and by he stepped forth in the Schools, and began immediately to shew forth and utter, that which he had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting openly, that in all moral matters he would defend *Wickliff*. But as touching the Sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the Clergy.

Now the day of *Corpus Christi* aforesaid approaching near, when the Friers understood that this Man should preach, fearing lest that he would rub the galls of their Religion, they convented with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that the same day, a little before that *Philip* should preach, *Wickliff's* Conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the prefence of the whole Universlty. The doing of which matter was committed to *Peter Stokes* Frier, Standard-bearer, and chief Champion of that side against *Wickliff*.

Peter Stokes standard-bearer to the Fryers.

There were also Letters sent unto the Commissary, that he should help and aid him in publishing of the same Conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, *Reppington* at the hour appointed, proceeded to his Sermon. In the which Sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect:

Note of the Sermon of Reppington.

That the Popes or Bishops ought not to be recommended above Temporal Lords.

Also, *That in moral matters he would defend Master* Wickliff *as a true Catholick Doctor.*

Moreover, *That the Duke of* Lancaster *was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection*; besides many things more, which touched the praise and defence of *Wickliff*.

And finally, in concluding his Sermon, he dismissed the People with this Sentence; *I will* (said he) *in the speculative Doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, keep silence and hold my peace, until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the Clergy.*

When the Sermon was done, *Reppington* entred into S. *Frideswides* Church, accompanied with many of his friends; who, as the enemies furnished, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Frier *Stokes* the *Carmelite* aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept him within the Sanctuary of the Church, not daring as then, to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and *Reppington*, friendly saluting one another in the Church-porch, sent away the People, and so departed every man home to his own house. There was not a little joy through the whole Universlty for that Sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and busie *Carmelite* flipt not his matter. For first, by his Letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the Archbishop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his help and aid, pretermitting nothing whereby to move and stir up the Archbishops mind, which of his own nature was as hot as a Toft, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three days after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said Frier, breathing out threatnings and Heresies against them, took the way unto the Schools, minding there to prove, that the Pope and the Bishops ought to be prayed for before the Lords Temporal. Whilst this Frier was thus occupied in the Schools, he was mocked and derided of all Men, and shortly after he was sent for by the Archbishop to *London*; whom immediately after the Vicechancellor and *Brightwel* followed up, to purge and clear themselves and their adherents, from the accusations of this Frier *Peter*. At the length, they being examined upon *Wickliff's* Conclusions that were condemned; they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned. The Vicechancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the Archbishops Letters, when as he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he defired pardon. The which when he had now again (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained; by the help of the Bishop of *Winchester* he was sent away again with certain commandments, and Suspentions of Hereticks. Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these Friers and Religious Men; unto whom, whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one *Henry Crompe*, a Monk *Cistercian*, a well learned Divine, which afterward was accused by the Bishops of Heresie. He at that time was openly suspected by the Commissary, because in his Lectures he called the Hereticks *Lollards* in his Acts (as they term them) in the School. Then he, coming by and by up to *London*, made his complaint unto the Archbishop, and to the Kings Council.

Whereupon he obtaining the Letters of the King, and of his Council, by the vertue thereof (returning again to the Universlty) he was released and restored again to his former state, the words of which Letter here followeth under written.

Where the Lords Temporal were to be prayed for before the Bishops.

The Frier derided and mocked in the Schools.

Reppington first Canon of Leicester, after Bishop of Lincoln.

The Reppington commended Doctor.

Religious Men first causers of this trouble.

Hen. Crompe first an accuser of others, after accused himself for Heresie.

The Copy of the King's Letter.

The Kings Letter to the Vicechancellor and Procurators of Oxf.

THE King to the Vicechancellor and Procurators of the Universlty of *Oxford*, greeting. Whereas we of late understanding by the grievous complaint of *Henry Crompe* Monk, and Regent in Divinity within the said Universlty, how that he, being affsited by the Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by other Clerks and Divines in the City of *London*, to proceed in the condemnation of certain conclusions erroneous and heretical, hath been therefore molested by you, and that you through smister suggestion of some adverfaries (pretending the peace of the said Universlty to have been broken by the said *Henry* in his last Lecture) did therefore call him before you to appear and answer; and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinate, and convict of peace breaking, and have also suspended the said *Henry* from his Lectures, and all Scholastical Acts. And whereas we by our Writ did call you up for the same, to appear and answer before our Council unto the premises; and, all things being well tried and examined by the said Council, it was found and determined, that all your process against the said *Henry*, was void and of none effect, and commandment given that the said *Henry* should be restored and admitted again to his former Lectures and Scholastical Acts, and to his prisine state as you know. To the intent therefore that this Decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these Presents straitly charge and command you, that you speedily revoking again all your Process against the said *Henry* in the Universlty aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof, do admit and cause to be restored again the said *Henry* to his Scholastical Acts, his accustomed Lectures, and prisline estate, without all delay, according to the form of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enjoyning you moreover, and your Commissaries or Deputies, and your successors, and all other masters regent and not regent, and other Presidents, Officers, Ministers and Scholars of the Universlty aforesaid, upon your faith and allegiance you ow to us, that you do not impeach, molest or grieve, or cause to be grieved (any manner of way, privy or apert) the said Frier *Henry* for the causes premised, or Frier *Peter Stokes Carmelite*, for the occasion of his absence from the Universlty, or Frier *Stephen Packington Carmelite*, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, upon occasion of any either word or deed whatsoever, concerning the Doctrine of Mr. *J. Wickliff*, *Nich. Herford* and *Ph. Reppington*, or the reproof and condemnation of their Heresies and Errors, or the correction of their favourers; but that you do procure the peace, unity and quiet within the said Universlty, and chiefly between the religious and secular persons; and that you with all diligence, nourish, increase and preserve the same to the utterment of your strength. And that you in no case omit to do it accordingly, upon the forfeitures of all and singular the liberties and priviledges of the Universlty aforesaid.

Hen. Crompe complain-eth to the Kings Council of the most secular Masters of Oxford.

Hen. Crompe, Peter Stokes, Carm. Steph. Packing-ton, Carm. reffu-red by the King to their scholastical Acts.

'Witness my self at *Westminster* the 'fourteenth day of *July*.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Master *Rigges* Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, coming up with Master *Brightwel* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of *Wickliff*, where he notwithstanding, through the help of the Bishop of *Winchester*, obtained pardon, and was sent away again with commandments and charges to seek out all the favourers of *John Wickliff*. This commandment being received, *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* (being privily warned by the said Vicechancellor) in the mean season conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the Duke of *Lancaster* for succour and help; but the Duke, whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsook his poor and miserable Clients.

Herford and Reppington fled to the Duke of Lancaster.

In the mean time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found. Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Courtney*, directed out his Letters first to the Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, then to the Bishop of *London* named *Robert Braybroke*; charging them not only to excommunicate the said *Nicholas* and *Philip* within their jurisdiction, and the said Excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the Diocese of his Suffragans: but also moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in *Oxford* and in *London*, that they might be apprehended; requiring moreover by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premises. And this was written the 14*th.* day of *July*, *Anno* 1382. *Ex Regist.*

Letters of the Archbishop to the Vicechancellor.

Letters of the Archbishop to the Bishop of London.

Robert Braybroke Bishop of London.

The 14th. day of July, Anno 1382.

Unto these Letters received from the Archbishop diligent Certificat was given accordingly, as well of the Bishop of *London* his part, as also of the Vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this:

The Letter Certificatory of the Vicechancellor to the Archbishop.

The Letter of R. Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford to the Archbishop.

To the reverend father in Christ, Lord William *Archbishop* of Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolick See*, Robert Rigges, *Professor of Divinity, and Vicechancellor of the University of* Oxford, *greeting with due honour. Your Letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of* July *I have received; by the authority wherewof I have denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid* Nicholas *and* Philip *to have been, and to be excommunicate publickly and solemnly in the Church of* S. Mary, *and in the Schools, and to be cited, also personally, if by any means they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them of my part, to have them personally cited and apprehended, I could not find neither the said Mr.* Nicholas, *nor Mr.* Philip, *who have hid or conveyed themselves, unknown to me, as here is well known. Whereof I thought here to give signification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the Seal of mine office. From* Oxford

The 25th. day of July, Anno 1382.

the 25th. of July.

In the mean time *Nicholas Herford* and *Reppington* being repulsed of the Duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went to the Archbishop, it was uncertain. This I find in a Letter of the foresaid Archbishop, contained in his Register; that *Reppington* the 23*d.* day of *October*, the same year 1382. was reconciled again to the Archbishop, and also by his general Letter was released, and admitted to his scholastical Acts in the University. And so was also *John Ashton*, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of *Nicholas Herford* all this while I find no special relation.

Herford and Reppington repulsed from the Duke of Lancaster.

The 23d. day of October. Reppington released by the Archbishop.

J. Ashton reconciled by the Archbishop.

In the mean time, about the twenty third of the Month of *September* the said year, the King sent his Mandate to the Archbishop for collecting of a Subsidy, and to have a Convocation of the Clergy summoned against the next Parliament, which should begin the 18*th.* day of *November*. The Archbishop likewise, on the 15*th* day of *October*, directed his Letters Monitory (as the manner is) to *Robert Braybroke* Bishop of *London*, to give the same admonition to all his Suffragans, and other of the Clergy within his Province, for the assembling of the Convocation aforesaid.

A Parliament summoned the 15th. of Octob. 1382.

All which done and executed, the Parliament begun, being holden at *Oxford* the eighteenth day of *November*, where the Convocation was kept in the Monastery of *Frideswide* in *Oxford*. In the which Convocation the Archbishop, with other Bishops there sitting in their *Pontifical bus*, declared two causes of that their present Assembly, the one (saith he) to repress Heresies, which began newly in the Realm to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the Church. The other cause (said he) was to aid and support the King with some necessary Subsidy of Money to be gathered, which thus declared, the Convocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19*th.* of *November*.

The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in Oxford the 18th. day of Nov.

At the said day and place, the Archbishop with the other Prelates, assembling themselves as before: the Archbishop after the used solemnity, willed the Procurators of the Clergy, appointed for every Diocese, to consult within themselves, in some convenient several place, what they thought for their parts touching the redress of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, *&c.*

The 19th. of Novemb. Anno 1382.

Furthermore, forsomuch (saith he) as it is so noised through all the Realm, that there were certain in the University of *Oxford*, which did hold and maintain conclusions (as he called them) Heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other Lawyers and Doctors of Divinity; he therefore affigned the Bishops of *Sarum*, *Hereford*, and *Rochester*, with *William Rugge* then Vicechancellor of the University of *Oxford* (for belike *Robert Rigge* was then displaced) as also *William Berton*, and *John Middleton* Doctors; giving them his full authority with curing and banning, to compel them to search, and to enquire with all diligence and ways possible, over all, and singular whatsoever, either Doctors, Bachelors, or Scholars of the said University, which did hold, teach, maintain and defend, in Schools, or out of Schools, the said Conclusions Heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give Certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus for that day the Assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third being *Monday*, the 24*th.* day of *November*; *Ex Regist. W. Courtney.*

Rob. Rigge displaced from the Vicechancellorship.

Inquisition made at Oxford.

The 24th. day of Nov. Anno 1382.

On the which day, in the presence of the Prelates and the Clergy in the Chapter house of St. *Frideswide*, came in *Philip Reppington* (otherwise called of the Brethren afterward *Rampington*) who there abjured the Conclusions and Assertions aforesaid, in this form of words as followeth.

The Abjuration of Ph. Reppington.

In Dei nomine, Amen. *I* Philip Reppington, *Canon of the House of* Leicester, *acknowledging one Catholick and Apostolick Faith, do curse and also abjure all Heresy, namely these Heresies and errors under written, condemned and reproved by the Decrees Canonical, and by you most reverend Father touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning moreover, and reproving both them and the Authors of them, and do confess the same to be Catholically condemned. And I swear also by these holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions underwritten: but do and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy Catholick Church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them with their Doctrine and Followers worthy of everlasting curse. And if I my self shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the Canons. Subscribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord*, Philip Reppington. And thus the said *Rampington* was discharged, who afterward was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, and became at length the most bitter and extream Persecutor of this side, of all the other Bishops within the Realm, as in process hereafter may appear.

Philip Reppington after his abjuration became a terrible Persecutor.

After the Abjuration of this *Reppington*, immediately was brought in *John Ashton* Student of Divinity; who being examined of those Conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered, *That he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not answer any thing clearly or distinctly to those Conclusions.* Whereupon the Archbishop affigned to him Doctor *William Rugge* the Vicechancellor and other Divines, such as he required himself,

A therefore is a man is one ignorant, loth to learn, afraid to be convicted. The Archbishop assigneth the action of J. Ashton.

{KING Rich. 2.} himself, to be instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon; who then, appearing again after Dinner before the Archbishop and the Prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure as did *Reppington* before.

Of this *John Ashton* we read, that afterward, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in Prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to shew. This is certain, by the plain words of the Chronicle of *S. Albans*, that when the Archbishop with his Doctors and Friers sate in examination upon this said *John Ashton* in *London*, the *Londoners* brake open the door of the Conclave, *ipsumque Archiepiscopum in civitate fedentem impedivierunt, cum processum fecisset contra Johannem Ashton, &c.* That is, *And did let the Archbishop himself sitting in the City of* London, *when he would have made process against* John Ashton, *An.* 1382. And thus much of *John Ashton*.

Ex Chr. Mon. S. Albani. The Londoners open the door where the Archbishop sate against J. Ashton.

As touching *Nicholas Herford*, during the time of this Convocation he did not appear; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeal from the Archbishop to the King and his Council. The Archbishop would not admit it, but finding flays and stops, caused him to be apprehended and inclosed in Prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God and good means, he escaped out of the Prison, returning again to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret manner as he could. Whereupon the Archbishop, thundring out his bolts of Excommunication against him, sending to all Pastors and Ministers, willing them in all Churches, and on all Festival days, to divulge the said Excommunication against him to all Men; he writeth moreover, and sendeth special charge to all and singular of the Laity, to beware that their simplicity be not deceived by his Doctrine, but that they like Catholick children will avoid him, and cause him of all other to be avoided.

Mr. Herford would not appear. Mr. Herford appealed from the Archbishop to K. Herford cast into prison. Herford escapeth out of Prison.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his Letter unto the King, requiring also the aid of his temporal sword to chop off his Neck, whom he had already cast down. See and note, Reader, the seraphical charity of these Priestly Prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ. And yet these be they which, waffing their hands with *Pilate*, say, and pretend, *Nobis non licet interficere quenquam; it is not our parts to kill any man.* The Copy of the Letter written to the King is this:

The Letter of the Archbishop to the King.

The cruel Letter of the Archbishop to the King against K. Herford.

To the most excellent Prince in Christ, &c. William, *&c. Greeting in him by whom Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule. Unto your Kingly celsitude by the tenor of these presents we intimate, that one Master* Nicholas Herford *Doctor of Divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offence in not appearing before us being called at the day and place assigned, is therefore involved in the sentence of the greater curse, publickly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence hath continued now forty days, and yet still continueth with obdurate heart, wickedly contemning the keis of the Church, both to the great peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of other. Forsomuch therefore, as the holy Mother the Church hath not to do, or to proceed any further in this matter, we humbly desire your Kingly Majesty to direct out your Letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this Realm of* England, *wholesomely observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such, whom the fear of God doth not restrain from evil, the discipline of the Secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your Princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From* Lambeth *the 15th. of* January.

To this Letter of the Archbishop might not the King (gentle Reader) thus answer again, and answer well.

This is not to seek, again that which is hid by the rule of Ecclesi.

Peripopeia. What the King might have answered again.

YOur Letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained, we have received and well considered: For the accomplishing whereof ye shall understand, that as we are readily bent to gratifie and satisfie your mind in this behalf on the one side; so we must beware again on the other, that our authority be not abused, either to oppress before we know, or to judge before we have tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your Letters do excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword against one *Nicholas Herford*, for his not appearing before you; and yet shewing in the said your Letters no certain cause to us what you have to charge him withal: we therefore following the example of *Alexander Magnus*, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our ears indifferently, to hear as well the one part as the other, doth assign both to him, when as he may be found, and to you, when ye shall be called, a term to appear before us. To the intent that the controversie between you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true Touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may be ministred according as the offence shall be found. In the mean time, this we cannot but something marvel at in your said Letters: First, to see you Men of the Church, and Angels of peace, to be so desirous of bloud. Secondly, to consider you again so fierce in professing the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the express law of God and his Commandments. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doubleness in your proceedings, who pretending in your publick sentence to become as intreaters for them to us in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our severity, yet in your Letters be they which most set us on. If not appearing before you be such a matter of contumacy in case of your law, that it is in no case to be spared; what should then our Princely discipline have done to Men of your calling? *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, being at *Canterbury*, was sent for by our special commandment, to come to our speech, who denied to come, and yet we sped him. *John Stratford* Archbishop, your predecessor, being required of our Progenitor King *Edward* the 3*d.* to come to him at *York*, would not appear; by the ocation whereof *Scotland* the same time was lost, and yet was he suffered. The like might be said of *Robert Winchelsey* in the days of King *Edward* the first, and of *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the days of King *Henry* the third; *Stephen Langton* was sent for by King *John* to come, he came not. The like contumacy was in *Becket* toward K. *Henry* the second. Also in *Anselm* toward K. *Henry* the first. All these for their not appearing before their Princes ye do excuse, who notwithstanding might have appeared without danger of life; this one man for not appearing before you, you think worthy of death, whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. If the Squirril climing to the Tree from the Lions claws would not appear, being sent for to be devoured, it is no reason that the Eagle therefore should seise upon him without any just cause declared against the party. Wherefore, according to this and to that aforesaid, when he shall appear, and you be called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be ministred.

Bishops of Canterbury appeared not before their Kings, and yet they were not persecuted.

And thus far concerning *Nicholas Herford*, and the other aforesaid: But all this mean while what became of *John Wickliff* it is not certainly known. Albeit, so far as may be gathered out of *Walden*, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile. In the mean time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he was, as by his Letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to Pope *Urban* the sixth. In the which Letter he doth purge himself, that being commanded to appear before the Pope at *Rome*, he came not; declaring also in the same a brief confession of his faith. The Copy of which Epistle here followeth.

The Epistle of *John Wickliff* sent unto Pope *Urban* the sixth, *Anno* 1382.

The Epistle of J. Wicklif to Pope Urban.

VErily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold, and specially unto the Bishop of Rome*: the which forsomuch as I do suppose to be found and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.*

First, I suppose that the Gospel of Christ is the whole body of Gods Law; and that Christ, which did give that same law himself, I believe to be a very Man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the Gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the

Bishop of Rome, *forsomuch as he is the Vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other Men unto that law of the Gospel. For the greatness amongst Christs Disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: wherupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Gospel of St.* Matthew, *the 8th. Chapter, and the 2d. of the* Corinthians, *the 8th. Chapter.*

The true Disciples of Christ seek no honour.

Hereof I do gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the Pope himself, or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter *and the Sons of* Zebede, *by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Christs steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.*

Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the Pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole Clergy; for so did Christ, and especially by his Apostles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit my self unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present my self before the Bishop of Rome; *but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than Men. Forsomuch then as God hath given unto our Pope just and true Evangelical Institutions, we ought to pray that those motions be not extinguished by any subtile or crafty device.*

And that the Pope and Cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our Pope Urban *the sixth, as he began, that he with his Clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our Pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his houshold would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; forsomuch as that is the plain condition and manner of Antichrist.*

The Pope occasion'd to his Schismatical Wars, that he had no leisure to other matters.

This much wrote *John Wickliff* unto Pope *Urban*. But this Pope *Urban*, otherwise termed *Turbanus*, was so hot in his Wars against *Clement* the *French* Pope his adversary, that he had no leisure, and less list, to attend unto *Wickliff*'s matters. By the occation of which Schism, God so provided for poor *Wickliff*, that he was in some more rest and quietness. Concerning which Schismatical Wars of these Popes, forasmuch as we have here entred into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of *John Wickliff*, to touch something of the tragical doings of these two holy Popes, striving for the Triple Crown; to the intent that the Christian Reader (judging by their fruits and proceedings) may see and understand what difference is between these Popes, and Christ and his Apostles. For though in the story of the Gospel it is read, *that certain of the Disciples did strive which should be the greater*; yet neither do we read that one of them took vengeance with Weapon against the other; and moreover, in the said story of the Gospel it doth appear, that they, for so striving as they did, were therefore sharply rebuked of our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

Difference between the Apostles and the Popes in striving for preheminence.

{ Ann. 1383 }

The Pope set to War.

About the beginning of the next year following, which was *Anno* 1383. Pope *Urban* setting all his study how to repress and conquer the contrary Pope his adversary, being then at *Avinion* (seeing all his other means to fail, and that his Cross-keies could do no good) took to him the Sword of *Romulus*, and set upon him with open War. And first devising with himself whom he might best chuse for his chief Champion; he thought none meeter for such affairs than *Henry Spencer*, being then Bishop of *Norwich*, a young and stout Prelate, more fitting for the Camping Cure, than for the peaceable Church of Christ, as partly also might appear before by his acts done at *Lenham*, in striving for the Mayors Mace, mentioned before pag. 488. Unto this Bishop of *Norwich* the Pope had sent his Bulls about this time, to Croisy whomsoever would go with him into *France*, to destroy the Antipope, which named himself *Clement*, and to make War against all those that took his part. Which Bulls, for that they gave unto him such great authority, he caused to be published in the Parliament house, and caused the Copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastned upon all the Church Doors and Monastery Gates, that all Men might read them. In the which Bulls these priviledges were granted, the Copy whereof here followeth:

{ KING } { Ric. 2. }

1. *Imprimis*, That the said Bishop of *Norwich* may use his Sword against the Antipope, and all his adherents, favourers and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

The very fruits of Antichrist.

2. *Item*, That he hath full power to enquire of all and singular such Schismaticks, and to put them in Prison, and to confiscate all their Goods, moveable and immoveable.

3. *Item*, That he hath power and authority to deprive all lay men that are such Schismaticks of all manner of secular Offices whatsoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.

4. *Item*, That he may deprive all such Clerks, and declare them to be schismaticks, and in this behalf to give and bestow their Benefices either with Cure or without Cure, their dignities, parsonages or offices, to other persons more meet for the same.

5. *Item*, He hath power and authority over lay persons that are exempt, and Clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be Friers Mendicants, or Masters and Professors of other Houses or Hospitals of St. *Johns* of *Jerusalem*, or S. *Mary* of *Flanders*, or Professors of what Order soever else.

6. *Item*, He hath power to dispence with what secular Clerk soever, being beneficed either with Cure or without Cure, and also with such as have dignities, parsonages, or offices, being regulars either exempt or not exempt, that every one of them may be absent with him from their Dignities and Benefices, *&c.* under the standard of the Cross, without licence of any of their Prelates required, and yet to receive and take the entire commodities of their Benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.

7. *Item*, There is granted to all that pass the Seas in this quarrel, either at their own expences, or at the expences of any other, full remission of their sins; and as large privileges are granted to all those that go over the Sea with him, as to any that pay their mony, or go to fight for the Holy Land.

8. Also all such as with their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able Soldiers, at the discretion of the foresaid Lord Bishop mustered, or by any other his Deputy, although he himself be not personally at this business aforesaid; yet shall he have like remission and indulgence, as they which have been personally with him in this expedition.

9. *Item*, All they are partakers of this remission, which shall give any part of their goods to the said Bishop to fight against the said Schismaticks.

10. *Item*, If any shall chance to die in the journey that are Soldiers under the said standard of the Cross, or else before the quarrel by some means be finished; they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the foresaid remission and indulgence.

11. *Item*, He hath power to excommunicate, suspend and interdict what persons soever be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authority committed unto him, of what dignity, state, degree, preheminence, order, place or condition soever they shall be; whether they shall be either of Regal, Queenly or Imperial Dignity, or of what dignity else soever, either ecclesiastical or mundane.

12. *Item*, He hath power and authority to compel and inforce what religious person soever, and to appoint them, and send them over Sea, if it seem good to him; yea although they be professors of the Friers Mendicants, for the execution of the premises.

{ KING } { Ric. 2. }

The Popes Absolution by the Bishop pronounced.

Christs Passion hath here no place.

By the authority Apostolical to me in this behalf committed, We Absolve thee A.B. *from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldest be confessed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remission of all manner of sins, and we promise unto thee thy part of the reward of all just men, and of everlasting Salvation. And as many priviledges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and of all the prayers and benefits of the Church, the universal Synod, as also of the holy Catholick Church, we make thee partaker.*

This couragious or rather outragious Bishop, armed thus with the Popes Authority, and prompt with his priviledges, in the year aforesaid 1383. about the time of Lent came to the Parliament, where great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, was about the Voyage of this *Popish* Bishop in the Parliament, than was between the Popes themselves. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the Kings People and Subjects unto a rude and unskilful Priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf that the Voyage of the said Bishop was protracted unto the *Saturday* before *Passion Sunday*. In the which *Sunday* was sung the solemn Anthem, *Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ*: That is, *Behold the Cross of the Lord, Fly away all you adversaries*. After which *Sunday* the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common Decree, that the Bishop should set forward in his Voyage, having to him given the Fifteenth which was granted to the King in the Parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Bishop preparing before all things in a readiness, fet forward in this Pope-holy journey. Who about the Month of *May* being come to *Canterbury*, and there tarrying for a Wind in the Monastery of St. *Augustine*, received a Writ from the King that he should return to the King, to know further of his pleasure. The Bishop fearing, that if he turned again to the King, his journey should be staid, and so all his labour and preparance lost with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himself to fortune with that little Army he had, than by tarrying to be made a laughing stock to his adversaries. Wherefore he sent word back again to the King, that he was now ready prepared, and will forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk which peradventure should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his journey to Gods glory, and also to the honour of the King. And thus he calling his Men unto him, entred forthwith the Seas, and went to *Calis*, where he waiting a few days for the relt of his Army, after the receipt of them, took his journey first to the Town of *Gravenidge*; which he besieged so desperately, without any preparance of Engines of War, or counsel, or of politick Men, skilful in such affairs, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our Men, trusting upon the Popes Absolution, he so hastily approached the Walls, and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiously slain with Shot and Wild-fire; till at the end (the inhabiters being oppressed and vanquished) our men entred the Town with their Bishop, where they at his commandment destroying both Man, Woman and Child, left not one alive of all them, which remained in the whole Town. *Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita delerentur, quod unus ex eis non remanst*: that is, *And so it came to pass by the vertue of the Cross, that our Men crossed so prevailed against the enemies of the Cross, that not one of them remained alive.* Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloodshed of Antichrist.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb. in vita Ric. 2.

From *Gravenidge* this warlike Bishop set forward to *Dunkirk*, where not long after the *Frenchmen* meeting with him, joyned with them in battel; in which battel (if the story be true) twelve thousand of the *Frenchmen* were slain in the Chase, and of our Men but seven only missing. It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these *Popish* Wars. Also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart Captain. But *certes*, lamentable it is to see the pitiful slaughter and murther of Christs people by the means of these pitiful Popes, during these Wars in *France*. As when the Bishop coming from *Dunkirk* to the Siege of *Ypres*, a great number of *Englishmen* there were lost, and much Mony consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominy of the Bishop. Again, after the Siege of *Ypres*, thus with shame broke up, the same Bishop proceeding with a small power to fight with the *French* Kings Camp, contrary to the counsel of his Captains, which counted him rash and unskilful in his attempt, was faign to break company with them; whereby part of the Army went unto *Burburgh*, and the Bishop with his part returned to *Gravenidge*; which both Towns shortly after were besieged by the *French* Army, to the great loss both of the *English* and *French* Men. In time, when the Bishop could keep *Gravenidge* no longer, the said Bishop with his Croylies, crossing the Seas, came home again as wise as he went. And thus making an end of this Pontifical War, we will return again from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of *John Wickliff*.

Which *John Wickliff* returning again within short space, either from his Banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his Parish of *Lutterworth*, where he was Parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384. upon *Silvesters* day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this Man, as in divers other, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by *Thomas Walden*, writing against him in his Tomes entituled *De Sacramentis contra Wiclevium*, that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the foresaid *Walden* writeth of him in his Epilogue, speaking of *Wickliff* in these words; *Ita ut cano placeret, quod juveni complacebat, &c.* That is, *so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young.* Whereby it seemeth that *Wickliff* lived till he was an old Man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

Waldensis, tomo de Sacramentis.

This *Wickliff* had written divers and sundry Works, the which in the year of our Lord 1410. were burnt at *Oxford*, the Abbot of *Shrewsbury* being then Commissary, and sent to oversee that matter. And not only in *England*, but in *Bohemе* likewise, the Books of the said *Wickliff* were set on fire by one *Subinens* Archbishop of *Prague*, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them; the number of the Volumes which he is said to have burned, most excellently writted, and richly adorned with bosses of Gold, and rich Coverings (as *Eneas Silvius* writeth) were about the number of two hundred.

The number of Wickliffs Books came to 200 Volumes. Eneas Silvius.

Johannes Cocleus in his Book *De historia Hussitarum*, speaking of the Books of *Wickliff*, testifieth, that he wrote very many Books, Sermons and Tractations. Moreover, the said *Cocleus* speaking of himself, recordeth also, that there was a certain Bishop in *England*, which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custody two huge and mighty Volumes of *John Wickliff*'s Works, which for the quantity thereof might seem to be equal with the Works of Saint *Augustine*. *Hæc Cocleus.*

The Books of Wickliff.

Among other of his Treatises, I my self also have found out certain, as *de sensu & veritate Scripturæ. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi*, which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

As concerning certain Answers of *John Wickliff* which he wrote to King *Richard* the second, touching the right and title of the King, and of the Pope; because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth:

John Wickliff's *Answer unto King* Richard *the Second, as touching the right and title of the King and the Pope.*

IT was demanded whether the Kingdom of *England* may lawfully in cafe of neceſſity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treaſure of the Kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and ſtrange Nations, the Pope himſelf demanding and requiring the ſame under pain of cenſure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliff ſetting apart the minds of learned Men, and what might be ſaid in the matter, either by the Canon law, or by the law of *England*, or the civil law; it reſteth (ſaith he) now only to perſwade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Chriſts law. And firſt I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given of God to reſiſt againſt his contrary, and to preſerve it ſelf in due eſtate, as Philoſophers know very well. Inſomuch, that bodies without life are indued with ſuch kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardneſs is given to reſiſt thoſe things that would break them, and coldneſs to withſtand the heat that diſſolveth them. Forſomuch then, as the Kingdom of *England* after the manner and phraſe of the Scriptures ought to be one body, and the Clergy with the Commonalty the members thereof, it ſeemeth that the ſame Kingdom hath ſuch power given it of God; and ſo much the more apparently, by how much the ſame body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forſomuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpoſe, but that he may lawfully uſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe; it followeth that our Kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treaſure for the defence of it ſelf, in what caſe ſoever neceſſity doth require the ſame.

The Popes riches is but the alms of good men.

Secondly, The ſame is proved by the law of the Goſpel. for the Pope cannot challenge the treaſure of this Kingdom, but under the title of alms, and conſequently under the pretence of the works of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

But in caſe aforeſaid, the title of alms ought utterly to ceaſe: *Ergo*, the right and title of challenging the treaſure of our Realm ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſity. Forſomuch as all charity hath his beginning of himſelf, it were no work of charity, but of meer madneſs, to ſend away the treaſures of the Realm unto foreign Nations, whereby the Realm it ſelf may fall into ruine, under the pretence of ſuch charity.

Neceſſity taketh away the Popes alms.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt the Head of the Church, whom all Chriſtian Prieſts ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women, *Luke* 7.8. He hungred and thirſted, he was a ſtranger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not only in his members, but alſo in his own body, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, 2 *Cor.* 8. *He was made poor for your ſakes, that through his poverty you might be rich:* whereby in the firſt endowing of the Church, whatſoever he were of the Clergy that had any temporal poſſeſſions, he had the ſame by form of a perpetual alms, as both Writings and Chronicles do witneſs.

Whereupon S. *Bernard*, declaring in his ſecond Book to *Eugenius*, that he could not challenge any ſecular dominion by right of ſucceſſion, as being the Vicar of Saint *Peter*, writeth thus; *That if Saint* John *ſhould ſpeak unto the Pope himſelf, as* Bernard *doth unto* Eugenius, *were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be ſo, that you do challenge it unto you by ſome other ways or means; but truly by any right or title Apoſtolical you cannot ſo do. For how could he give unto you that which he had not himſelf? That which he had he gave you, that is to ſay, care over the Church; but did he give you any lordſhip or rule? Hearken what he ſaith,* Not bearing rule (*ſaith he*) as Lords over the Clergy, but behaving your ſelves as examples to the Flock. *And becauſe thou ſhalt not think it to be ſpoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himſelf in the Goſpel.* The Kings of the people do rule over them, but you ſhall not do ſo.

Note well the ſaying here of Bernard.

Here lordſhip and dominion is plainly forbidden to the Apoſtles, and dareſt thou then uſurp the ſame? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou ſhalt loſe thine Apoſtleſhip; or if thou wilt be an Apoſtle thou ſhalt loſe thy Lordſhip: for truly thou ſhalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or elſe think thy ſelf to be of that number, of whom God doth ſo greatly complain, ſaying, They have reigned, but not through me; they are become Princes, and I have not known it. *Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the Lord, then haſt thy glory but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is ſaid,* He that is the greateſt amongſt you (*ſaith Chriſt*) ſhall be made as the leaſt, and he which is the higheſt ſhall be as the Miniſter; *and for example he ſet a child in the midſt of them. So this then is the true form and inſtitution of the Apoſtles trade; Lordſhip and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſervice commanded.*

[KING] Ric. 2.

The Pope muſt leave his Lordſhip, or elſe Apoſtleſhip is loſt him ſaith Wickliffe.

The manner of the Apoſtles.

By theſe words of this bleſſed Man, whom the whole Church doth reverence and worſhip, it doth appear that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goods, as the Lord thereof, but as Miniſter, and Servant, and Proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the ſame proud and greedy deſire of rule and Lordſhip, which this Seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto Antichriſt. For it is evident by the Goſpel, that Chriſt through his poverty, humility, and ſuffering of injury, got unto him the children of his Kingdom.

Howe the Pope ought to occupy the Church goods.

The way to obtain the Kingdom of Chriſt.

And moreover, ſo far as I remember; the ſame bleſſed Man *Bernard*, in his Third Book, writeth alſo thus unto *Eugenius*, *I fear no other greater poiſon to happen unto thee, than greedy deſire of rule and dominion.*

This *Wickliff*, albeit in his life time he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none ſo cruel unto him, as the Clergy it ſelf. Yet notwithſtanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the baſe and meaneſt ſort, but alſo of the Nobility, amongſt whom theſe Men are to be numbred, *John Clenbon, Lewes Cliffford, Richard Sturits, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Mountegew*, who plucked down all the Images in his Church. Beſides all theſe, there was the Earl of *Salsbury*; who, for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carrying it home to his houſe, was enjoyned by *Radulph Ergon* Biſhop of *Salsbury*, to make in *Salsbury* a Croſs of ſtone, in which all the ſtory of the matter ſhould be written: and he every *Friday* during his life, to come to the Croſs barefoot, and bareheaded in his ſhirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do Penance for his faſt. *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric.* 2.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb.

Sir John Clenbon, Sir Lewis Clifford, Richard Sturton, Sir Lutimer, Sir Nevil, John Montegew.

The Earl of Salsbury.

The penance of the Earl of Salsbury

The *Londoners* at this time ſomewhat boldly truſting to the Mayors authority, who for that year was *John* of *Northampton*, took upon them the office of the Biſhops, in puniſhing the vices (belonging to civil law) of ſuch perſons as they had found and apprehended in committing both Fornication and Adultery. For firſt they put the Women in the Priſon, which amongſt them was then named *Dolium*. And laſtly, bringing them into the Market-place, where every Man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they cauſed them to be carried about the Streets, with Bag-pipes and Trumpets blown before them, to the intent they ſhould be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the ancient order then of certain Thieves that were named *Appellatores*, (accuſers or appeachers of others that were guiltleſs) which were ſo ſerved. And with other ſuch like opprobrious and reproachful contumelies did they ſerve the Men alſo that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickedneſs and vices. Here the ſtory recordeth how the ſaid *Londoners* were incouraged hereunto by *John Wickliff*, and others that followed his Doctrine, to perpetrate this act, in the reproach of the Prelates being of the Clergy. For they ſaid, that they did not only abhor to ſee the great negligence of thoſe to whom that charge belonged, but alſo their filthy avarice they did as much deteſt; which for greedineſs of Mony were choaked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to ſuch perſons by the laws appointed, ſuffered ſuch fornicators and inceſtuous perſons favourably to continue in their wickedneſs. They ſaid furthermore, that they greatly feared,

Cron. lumg. found with good life & politick.

The boons of Wickliff were not yet commended. Ex Recognicion of Cron. Iumg. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb.

The fruits of good and true Doctrine.

[KING] Ric. 2.

feared, leſt for ſuch wickedneſs perpetrated within the City, and ſo apparently diffimuled, that God would take vengeance upon them, and deſtroy their City. Wherefore they ſaid, that they could do no leſs than purge the ſame; leſt by the ſufferance thereof God would bring a Plague upon them, or deſtroy them with the Sword, or cauſe the earth to ſwallow up both them and their City. *Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.*

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb.

¶ This ſtory (gentle Reader) albeit the Author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful wiſe, to the great diſcommendation of the *Londoners* for ſo doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the ſame to memory; which ſeemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the *Londoners* that ſo did, and to the neceſſary example of all other Cities to follow the ſame. After theſe things thus declared, let us now adjoyn the teſtimonial of the Univerſity of *Oxford* of *John Wickliff*.

The publick teſtimony given out by the Univerſity of Oxford, *touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of* John Wickliff.

Ex Arch. Cant. Regiſtr. Sudbur. fol. 99. b. Inſtrum. Publicum.

'UNto all and ſingular the Children of our holy Mother the Church, to whom this preſent Letter ſhall come, the Vicechancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, 'with the whole Congregation of the Maſters, with perpe-'tual health in the Lord. Forſomuch as it is not com-'monly ſeen, that the Acts and Monuments of valiant Men, 'nor the praiſe and merits of good Men ſhould be paſſed 'over and hidden with perpetual ſilence, but that true re-'port and fame ſhould continually ſpread abread the ſame 'in ſtrange and far diſtant places, both for the witneſs of 'the ſame, and example of others; Forſomuch alſo as the 'provident diſcretion of mans nature, being recompenced 'with cruelty, hath deviſed and ordained this buckler and 'defence againſt ſuch as do blaſpheme and ſlander other 'mens doings, that whenſoever witneſs by word of mouth 'cannot be preſent, the Pen by writing may ſupply the 'ſame.

'Hereupon it followeth, that the ſpecial good will and 'care which we bear unto *John Wickliff*, ſometime Child 'of this our Univerſity, and Profeſſor of Divinity, moving 'and ſtirring our minds (as his manners and conditions re-'quired no leſs) with one mind, voice and teſtimony, we 'do witneſs, all his conditions and doings throughout his 'whole life to have been moſt ſincere and commendable; 'whoſe honeſt manners and conditions, profoundneſs of 'learning, and moſt redolent renown and fame, we de-'ſire the more earneſtly to be notified and known unto all 'faithful, for that we underſtand the maturity and ripeneſs 'of his converſation, his diligent labours and travels to 'tend to the praiſe of God, the help and ſafeguard of others, 'and the profit of the Church.

'Wherefore we ſignifie unto you by theſe preſents, that 'his converſation (even from his youth upward, unto the 'time of his death) was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt, that 'never at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpicion 'noiſed of him. But in his anſwering, reading, preaching 'and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, and as a 'ſtout and valiant Champion of the faith; vanquiſhing by 'the force of the Scriptures, all ſuch, who by their wilful 'beggery, blaſphemed and ſlandered Chriſts Religion Nei-'ther was this Doctor convict of any Hereſie, either burned 'of our Prelates after his burial. God forbid, that our Pre-'lates ſhould have condemned a man of ſuch honeſty, for 'an Hereticke; who, amongſt all the reſt of the Univerſity, 'had written in Logick, Philoſophy, Divinity, Morality, and 'the ſpeculative Arts, without peer. The knowledge of 'which all and ſingular things we do deſire to teſtifie and 'deliver forth, to the intent that the fame and renown of 'this ſaid Doctor may be the more evident and had in repu-'tation amongſt them unto whoſe hands theſe preſent Let-'ters teſtimonial ſhall come.

In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters teſtimonial to be ſealed with our common Seal. Dated at Oxford *in our Congregation-houſe, the 1ſt. day of* October, *in the year of our Lord* 1406.

The teſtimony and words of Mr. John Huſs, *as touching Mr.* John Wickliff.

The teſtimony and Iudgement of M. J. Hus concerning J. Wickliff.

VERILY, as I do not believe, neither grant, that Mr. *John Wickliff* is an Hereticke; ſo do I not deny, but firmly hope that he is no Hereticke; forſomuch as in all matters of doubt I ought, as near as I can, to chuſe the beſt part. Wherefore I ſurely truſt, that Maſter *John Wickliff* is one of the number of them which are ſaved. The words of Chriſt move me thereunto, ſaying *Matt.* 7. *Do ye not judge, that ye be not judged*; and *Luke* the 6th. *Do not condemn, and ye ſhall not be condemned*; and the words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 4. *Do ye not judge before the Lord himſelf do come, the which ſhall open thoſe things that are hid in darkneſs, to manifeſt the privities of all hearts.*

Secondly, The love and charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour (loving him as my ſelf) doth move me thereunto. *Luke* 10.

Thirdly, His good fame and report moveth me, the which he hath of the good Prieſts of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar ſort; although not of the covetous, proud and luxurious Prelates.

Fourthly, His own works and writings do ſtir me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all Men unto the law of Chriſt, and ſpecially the Clergy, that they ſhould forſake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the Apoſtles lead the life of Chriſt.

Fifthly, His own proteſtations, which he doth oftentimes uſe in his ſentences, often repeating the ſame, do not a little move me.

Lib. de ſenſu & ſententia Scripturæ per J. Wick.

Sixthly, His earneſt deſire and affection which he had unto the law of Chriſt, doth not a little allure me thereunto, diſputing of the piety thereof, the which cannot fail in any one jot or title. Whereupon he made a Book of the verity of the holy Scripture, approving, even unto the uttermoſt, the truth of Gods Law.

Burning of Books proveth not by and by an Hereticke.

Wherefore, it were too fooliſh a conſequence to ſay, that becauſe the number of the Prelates and Clergy in *England*, *France* and *Boheme*, do count *John Wickliff* for an Hereticke, that therefore he is an Hereticke, *&c.* Like as the reaſon for burning of the Books; for it is written in the firſt Book of *Machabees*, the firſt Chapter, *That they did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whoſoever was found to have kept any books of the teſtament or will of the Lord, or which obſerved and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the Kings commandment put to death.* If then the burning of the Books by wicked men, did argue, or prove the evilneſs of theſe Books, then was the law of God evil and naught.

A falſe conſequence reproved by Scripture.

So likewiſe the burning of St. *Gregory*'s Books, and divers other Saints and good Men, ſhould argue and prove that they were evil and naughty Men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that becauſe the Biſhops, Scribes and Phariſes, with the elders of the People, condemned Chriſt Jeſus as an Hereticke, that therefore he is an Hereticke: ſo likewiſe doth it not follow, of any other Man: The Biſhops, Maſters of Divinity, Monks and Prelates, condemned this Man as an Hereticke; *Ergo* he is an Hereticke. For this conſequence is reproved by *John Chryſoſtome*, which was twice condemned as an Hereticke by the Biſhops and whole Clergy. Likewiſe St. *Gregory* in his Books, was condemned by the Cardinals.

John Duke of Lancaſter defended J. Wickliff.

By like proof alſo, as they affirm by Mr. *John Wickliff* to be an Hereticke, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* (a Man of worthy memory, and Progenitor of *Henry* King of *England*) ſhould alſo be an Hereticke. For the ſaid Duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved Mr. *John Wickliff*: *Ergo*, the ſaid Duke is, or was an Hereticke; the conſequence is good. The *Minor* is well known to the *Engliſhmen*. The *Major* appeareth in the Canon, where it is ſaid, *He which defendeth an Hereticke, &c.*

J. Wickliff proved no Hereticke.

But theſe things ſet apart, I demand of the adverſary, whether Maſter *John Wickliff* be damned for ever or no? If he ſay, that he is damned, becauſe he is an Hereticke; I propound this unto him, whether Maſter *John Wickliff* whilſt he lived, held any falſe Doctrine contrary to the

the holy Scripture? If he do affirm it, let him then shew what Doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obstinately. But he shall find that in his Books he always wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacy and stiff-neckedness. And by and by after, Master *John Stokes* in his *Intimation* saith, that Master *John Wickliff* in *England* is counted for an Heretick. This seemeth also false by the Letter testimonial of the Univerisity of *Oxford*: unto the which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

¶ Now as we have declared the Testimony of the Univerisity of *Oxford*, and of *John Hus*, concerning the praise of *John Wickliff*: it followeth likewise that we set forth and express the contrary censures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the Popes Council gathered at *Constance*, proceeding first in condemning his Books, then of his Articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The Copy of which their sentence given against him by that Council here followeth.

The Council of *Constance* against *John Wickliff.*

The sentence given by the Council of Constance, *in condemning the Doctrine, and five and forty Articles of* John Wickliff.

The sentence of the Council of *Constance* against *John Wickliff.*

THE most holy and Sacred Council of *Constance*, making and representing the Catholick Church, for the extirpation of this present schism, and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing under the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the Acts and Histories of the Holy Fathers, that the Catholick Faith, without the which, as the holy Apostle St. *Paul* saith, it is unpossible to please God, hath been always defended by the faithful and spiritual Souldiers of the Church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather perverse impugners; which through their proud curiosity will seem to know more, and to be wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the same. These kinds of wars and battels have been prefigured to us before in those carnal wars of the *Israelites* against the Idolatrous people. For in those spiritual wars the holy Catholick Church through the vertue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beams of the Heavenly light, by the Providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the Saints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and (the darknesse of errors, as her most cruel enemies being put to flight) she hath most gloriously triumphed over all. But in these our days the old and unclean enemy hath raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whose Prince and Captain in time past was one *John Wickliff* a false Christian; who during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many Articles contrary and against the Christian Religion, and the Catholick faith. And the same *John Wickliff* wrote certain Books which he called a *Dialogue*, and a *Trialogue*, besides many other Treatises and Works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles the which his Books for the publication and advancement of his perverse Doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read. Whereby besides many offences great hurt and damage of soul hath ensued in divers Regions and Countries, but specially in the Kingdom of *England* and *Boheme*. Against whom the Masters and Doctors of the Universities of *Oxford* and *Prague*, rising up in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of Schools, within a while after did reprove and condemn the said Articles.

The Dialogue and Trialogue of *J. Wickliff.*

The Books of *Wickliff* condemned to be burned.

Moreover the most reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops, (for that time present) of *Canterbury*, *York* and *Prague*, Legates of the Apostolick See, in the Kingdom of *England* and *Boheme*, did condemn the Books of the said *Wickliff* to be burnt. And the said Archbishop of *Prague*, Commissary of the Apostolick See, did likewise in this behalf determine and judg. And moreover he did forbid that any of those Books, which did remain unburned, should be hereafter any more read. And again, those things being brought to the knowledg and understanding of the Apostolick See, and in the General Council; the Bishop of *Rome* in his last Council condemned the said Books, Treatises and Volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. Most straitly forbidding that any men which should bear the name of Christ should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the said Books or Treatises, Volumes or works, or by any means to use or occupy them; or else to alledg them openly or privily, but to their reproof and infamy. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthy Doctrine should be utterly wiped away out of the Church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the Ordinaries should diligently enquire and seek out by the Apostolick authority and Ecclesiastical censure, for all such Books, Treatises, Volumes and Works. And the same so being found, to burn and consume them with fire; providing withal, that if there be any such found, which will not obey the same Process to be made against them, as against the favourers and maintainers of Heresies. And this most holy Synod hath caused the said forty five Articles to be examined, and oftentimes perused, by many most reverend Fathers of the Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of both Laws, besides a great number of other learned men; the which Articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no less) that many, yea and a great number of them be notoriously for Heretical reproved and condemned by the holy Fathers; othersome not to be Catholick, but erroneous; some full of offence and blasphemy; certain of them offensive unto godly ears, and many of them to be rashful and seditious. It is found also that his Books do contain many Articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the Church unsound and unwholsome Doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the Church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred Synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the Archbishops and Council of *Rome*, do by this their Decree and Ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the said Articles, and every one of them, his Books which he intituled his *Dialogue* and *Trialogue*, and all other Books of the same Author, Volumes, Treatises and Works, by what name soever they be intituled or called, the which we will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, expoition, or alledging of any of the said Books unto all faithful Christians, but so far forth as shall tend to the reproof of the same; forbidding all and singular Catholick persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach or hold, or by any means to alledg the said Articles, or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it do tend unto the reproof of them; commanding all those Books, Treatises, Works and Volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synod at *Rome*, as is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred Synod doth straitly charge and command the Ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every mans duty by the Canonical Laws and Ordinances.

Words of authority without prohibition.

Ask my fellow if I be a thief.

So we hear you say.

Unmeetness, because they teach against the counsel of the Pope. So thought the South-Britons perpetually to keep down Christ from rising. O marvel! lows sacred Synod.

Rash gallants on the back, and he will restore. At *Rome*, restore barrel better Herring. Enough for Squalder to watched cheese will cific.

What these Articles were here condemned by the Council, collected out of all his Works, and exhibited to that said Council, to the number of forty five, the Copy of them following under written declareth.

Certain

KING} Ric. 2.

KING} Rich. 2.

Certain other Articles gathered out of Wickliffs *Books by his adversaries, to the number of forty five, exhibited up to the Council of* Constance *after his death, and in the same Council condemned.*

Other Articles of Wickliff to the number of 45. condemned by the Council of *Constance*

BEsides the twenty four Articles above mentioned, there were other also gathered out of his Books, to the number of forty five in all, which his malicious adversaries perversly collecting, and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of *Constance*; all which to repeat, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they stand in that Council, it shall not be superfluous.

25. All such as be hired for temporal living to pray for other, offend and sin of Simony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate prevaileth for no man.

27. Hallowing of Churches, Confirmation of Children, the Sacrament of Orders be reserved to the Pope and Bishops only, for the respect of temporal lucre.

28. Graduations and Doctorships in Universities and Colleges as they be used, conduce nothing to the Church.

29. The Excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

30. Such as found and build Monasteries, do offend and sin, and all such as enter into the same, be members of the Devil.

31. To enrich the Clergy is against the rule of Christ.

32. *Silvester* the Pope, and *Constantine* the Emperor were deceived, in giving and taking possessions into the Church.

33. A Deacon or a Priest may preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolick See.

34. Such as enter into Order, or Religion Monastical, are thereby unable to keep Gods Commandments, and also to attain to the Kingdom of Heaven, except they return from the same.

35. The Pope with all his Clergy, having those great possessions as they have, be Hereticks in so having, and the Secular powers in so suffering them do not well.

36. The Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan, neither is the Pope immediately the Vicar of Christ, nor of the Apostles.

37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apocrypha, and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the Clergy that study them be fools.

38. The Emperor and Secular Lords be seduced, which so inrich the Church with such ample possessions.

39. It is not necessary to Salvation to believe the Church of *Rome* to be supreme head over all Churches.

40. It is but folly to believe the Popes Pardons.

41. All Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

42. *Benedict*, *Francis*, *Dominick*, *Bernard*, with all such as have been Patrons of private Religion, except they have repented, with such also as have entred into the same, be in a damnable state, and so from the Pope to the lowest Novices, they be altogether Hereticks.

Besides these Articles, to the number of forty and five, condemned (as is said) by the Council of *Constance*, other Articles also I find diverly collected, or rather wrested out of the Books and writings of *Wickliff*; some by *William Woodford*, some by *Walden*, by Frier *Tissington*, and other, whom they in their Books have impugned rather than confuted. In the number of whom *William Woodford* especially findeth out these Articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of eighteen, as here under follow.

Wiclifites Tiffington, writers & friars v. *Wickliff.*

Articles extracted out of Wickliff by Wm. *Woodford.*

1. The bread remaineth in his own substance, after the consecration thereof upon the Altar, and ceaseth not to be bread still.

2. As *John* was figuratively *Helias*, and not personally; so the bread is figuratively the body of Christ, and not natually. And that without all doubt it is as well a figurative speech, to say, This is my body; as to say, This *John* is *Helias*.

2. In the Decree, *Ergo Berengarius*, the Court of *Rome* hath determined, that the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist is naturally true bread.

4. They which do affirm that the Infants of the faithful, departing without the Sacrament of Baptism, are not saved, be presumptuous and fools in so affirming.

5. The administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation is not only referred to the Bishops.

6. In the time of St. *Paul*, only two Orders of Clerks did suffice in the Church, Priests and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apostles any distinction of Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops; but these the Emperors pride did find out.

7. Such as in times past, either for covetousness of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they despaired of issue) were married; were not coupled together by true Matrimony.

8. The causes of Divorcement, either for spiritual consanguinity, or for affinity, be not founded in Scripture, but are only Ordinances of men.

9. These words, *I will take thee to wife*, are rather to be taken in contract of Matrimony, than these words, *I do take thee to wife*. And the contract with any party, by the words of the future tense, ought not to be fruftrate for the contract with any party afterward made by the words of the prefent time.

10. There be twelve Disciples of Antichrist, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deans, Monks, Canons, Friers and Pardoners.

11. In the Book of *Numbers*, the 18 Chapter, and in *Ezechiel* 44 Chapter, it is commanded simply, that neither the Priests of *Aaron*, nor the Levites should have any part of inheritance with other Tribes, but should live meerly of Tythes and Oblations.

12. There is no greater Heretick or Antichrist than that Clerk which teacheth, that it is lawful for Priests and Levites of the Law of Grace to be indued with Temporal possessions. And if there be any Hereticks, Apostates, or Blasphemers, these Clerks be such.

13. It is not only lawful for the Lords Temporal to take away goods of fortune from the Churchmen, issuing usually; but also they are bound so to do, under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more serviceable to the Church, and more enamored with the love of Christ, is in the Church militant the greater, and the more near Vicar of Christ.

15. If Corporal Unction or anoyling were a Sacrament (as now it is fained to be) Christ and his Apostles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16. Unto the true Dominion secular is required the vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All things that happen do come absolutely of neceffity.

18. Whatsoever the Pope or his Cardinals can deduce clearly out of the Scripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition: and whatsoever otherwise they do command, is to be condemned as Heretical.

Besides this *W. Woodford* afore-mentioned, divers other there were which wrote against these Articles of *Wickliff* aforesaid, maintaining the Popes part, as seemeth by flattery, rather than following any just cause so to do, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding on the contrary part some there were again both learned and godly, which taking the part of *Wickliff*, without all flattery, defended the most of the said Articles openly in Schools and other places, as appeareth by the works of *John Hus*; who in his publick determinations in the Univerisity of *Prague*, stood in defence of the same against all his adversaries, as partly is here to be seen in these Tractations under following.

Treatise Gen. *W. Woodford contra Trialogum Wicklevi.*

¶ The

The publick defence of certain Articles of *John Wickliff*, in the first Act before the whole University of *Prague*, in *Charles* College.

The determination of John Hus *upon the Fourteenth Article of* Wickliff, *as touching the Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God, made in the year of our Lord,* 1412.

The whole University is against the judgment of the Doctors which condemned the 45 Articles.

FOrasmuch as to condemn the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith, *Luk.* 6. *Do ye not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned.* Therefore to avoid this great danger, the University of *Prague*, and the whole Communalty thereof, the Rector, Masters, Doctors, Bachelors and Students in their general assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in their Council-house, requireth of the said Doctors a reasonable proof of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falshood of every those five and forty Articles: The which being once done, the said University will agree to the said condemnation as just: For the University doth well know, that as *Augustine* saith in the end of his second Book of *Christian Doctrine*, whatsoever a man doth learn besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtful, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly find those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth, and marvellous profoundness of those most sacred Scriptures only.

Aug. Lib. de Doct. Christ. Lib. 2.

Greg. Moral. Lib. 23.

Thus writeth *Augustine*. And *Gregory* in his Three and twentieth Book of *Morals*, saith thus, God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reform their lives. Whereby it appeareth that if every of the five and forty Articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, It followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty Articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas again St. *Augustine* writeth unto St. *Hierom*, in his Eighth Epistle, and the ninth Distinction, I (saith he) have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only which are called Canonical, that I dare affirm none of them to have erred in their Works or Writings. As for all other Writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excell in Doctrine, I do not by and by think it true, because they themselves do so judg; but if they can, by other Canonical Authors or probable reasons, perswade or prove that they do not digress from the truth.

Also the said *Augustine* in his Book *de Unico Baptismo*, *Lib.* 2. saith thus, Who doth not know or understand the holy Canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other Letters and Decrees of Bishops, *&c.* And a little after he hath the like saying, as for the Letters of other Bishops which have been written, or be written, (after the Canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproved, both by the word of them that be more skilful in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other Bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by General Councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of St. *Austin* and other like, *&c.* the University of *Prague* hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty Articles, made by the Doctors in their Council-house as just and true, except they which condemned them, will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons upon every of the five and forty Articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no, we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth Article of the number of the five and forty: which Article is this,

{KING Art. 2.}

They which leave off Preaching and hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ.

The 14 Article of J. Wickliff.

This Article containeth, first, that all Priests, omitting the Preaching of the Word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

The defence of the 14 Article.

Secondly, It containeth that all such as do omit the hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication, are already Excommunicated.

Thirdly, That both these sorts of men in the day of judgment, shall be counted Traytors of Christ.

The preaching of the Gospel commanded of God.

As concerning the first point, it is presupposed, that the Preaching of the Word of God is commanded unto the Apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in *Mat.* 10. where it is said, *Jesus sent his twelve Disciples, commanding them and saying, Go and preach that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Also in the last of *Matthew*, and the tenth of *Luke*. Whereupon *Peter* the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himself, and for the other Apostles and Successors, in the tenth of the *Acts*, saith thus, *He commanded us to preach and testifie, that it is he which is ordained of God the Judg both of the quick and the dead.* This commandment also the other Apostles did acknowledg, and specially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatning, 1 *Cor.* 9. *Wo be unto me if I do not preach the Gospel.* And Pope *Nicholas* considering that great threatning in 43 *Distinction*, saith, The dispensation and distribution of the Heavenly feed is commanded and injoyned to us: Wo be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing when as the Vessel of Election did fear and cry out upon, how much more ought all other inferiors to fear and dread the same? To the same purpose doth Saint *Gregory* write in his Pastoral in the Distinction, *Sit rector.* It is also evident by many other Doctors and holy men, as by Saint *Augustine*, *Hierome*, *Isidore*, *Bernard*, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

Greg. Dist. 40. cap. iii. *initio.*

The hearing of the word commanded by God.

As touching the second point, That the hearing of the Word and Law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new Law; for it is said in the 28 of the *Proverbs*, *He that turneth away his ear, and will not hear the Law of God, his Prayer shall be cursed.* And our Saviour rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, concludeth thus in the eighth of St. *John*, saying, *He that is of God, heareth Gods word; but forsomuch as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word.*

Excommunication.

Thirdly, It is to be noted that Excommunication is a seperation from the Communion, the 11 *Queest.* 3. *Nihil. & Cap. Canonica.* And 27. Question, first, *Vidnas*, 34. Question 3. *Cum Sacerdos.* And this Excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret Excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the Mystical Body of Christ, and so from God through sin, according unto the 59 of *Esay*, *Your iniquities have made separation between your God and you.* And with this Excommunication doth the Apostle Excommunicate every man which doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ; saying in the first of the *Corinthians*, and last Chapter, *If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed.* The manifest and apert Excommunication may be divided into a manifest Excommunication by God, whereof it is spoken, *Mat.* 25. *Go ye cursed, &c.* And oftentimes elsewhere in the Law of God. Also into a manifest Excommunication by men, whereby the Prelate doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from the participation of the Communion of the Church; whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Excommunication double.

The probation of the first part.

Then as touching the first part of the Article, it is thus argued, *&c.*

Whosoever forsake or leave the Commandments of God undone, they are Excommunicate of God. But the Priests which leave off the preaching of the Word of God, for fear of the unjust Excommunication of men, do leave the Commandment of God undone. *Ergo*, those Priests which do leave off preaching of the Word are Excommunicated of God.

The

{KING Art. 2.}

The first part of this Article is true: The Major appareth by the Psalm, *Cursed be they which do decline and swerve from thy precepts.* The Minor is evident by the first Proposition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is the Commandment of God injoyned unto those Priests and Ministers. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour, *Mat.* 15. is spoken unto them, *Wherefore do you transgress the Commandments of God for your own Traditions?* Leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of unjust Excommunication; and so dishonouring the Father Christ, and the Mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed, All they which do omit or let slip any manner of work, principally and frutily injoyned them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace, for fear of any Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. But Priests, and especially Curates, admonished by the Spirit of God, leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, omit and leave off, for fear of the same Excommunication, a work principally and frutily injoyned unto them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace: *Ergo*, Priests, and specially Curates and such as be admonished and warned by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of Excommunication, are Excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The Major appareth by the Psalm, *Cursed be they which do decline and go away from thy Commandments.* The Minor is also evident again by the first supposition.

The Apostles did not obey any wicked Inhibition.

Item, If the Apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, which the Lord did foresthew unto them in the 16th of St. *John*, saying, *They shall Excommunicate you out of their Synagogues*: They had been Excommunicated of God: *Ergo*, by like evidence the Priests and Ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same spirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leave it undone for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the Antecedent is evident; for if the Apostles had left off preaching for fear of Excommunication, they had broken the Commandments of God; and so consequently had been accursed. Wherefore they willing to observe and keep the Commandments of God, and to put off the Excommunication of men, said unto the High Priests, Elders, and Scribes at *Jerusalem*, to *Annas*, *Caiphas*, to *John* and *Alexander*, and all other of the kindred of the Priests which were gathered together, and commanded them that they should not preach nor teach in the name of Jesus, *if it be just in the sight of God, that we should rather obey you than God, that judg you*, Act. 4. And in the fifth of the *Acts* they said unto them, *We ought rather to obey God than man.* By this saying of the Holy Ghost it is concluded, that the Priests and Ministers of Christ, inspired by the Holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the Holy Ghost, than those that shall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to suffer the Excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon Pope *Anacletus* spake very well in this, as it is written, *Distinction* 43. We know (saith he) that many do go about to molest and trouble the Doctors and Teachers to this end, that they might utterly destroy them, and fulfill their own proper lusts and delires; yet notwithstanding the said Doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or go back from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake. Thus much writeth he. And for reverend *Bede* (upon these words, *Je shall find an ass tyed up, and an he-fole with her, loose her and bring her unto me*; *and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them*), writeth thus: Here it is mystically commanded unto the Doctors and Teachers, that if any adversity do let or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners cannot be loosed from their bonds or snares, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their faith, that they notwithstanding should not leave off preaching, but constantly and boldly affirm and say, that the Lord hath need of such to edifie and build again his Church. For so did the Apostles; so likewise ought all the humble and meek Ministers of Christ to do. And St. *Hierome* writing unto *Rusticus* the Bishop of *Narbone*, saith thus, Let no Bishop from henceforth be puffed up or inflamed with the envy of Divelish temptation, if the Priests now and then do exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the Churches; or as it is said, do bless the people: For unto him which should deny unto me the doing hereof, I would say in this manner, He that will not that Priests should do those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater and above Christ. By the which words St. *Hierom* doth openly declare, that Priests are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the Churches. Secondly, That a Bishop denying or forbidding the same to be done, specially the Priests or Ministers being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ. And therefore consequently is not to be obeyed nor heard in his doings.

Anacletus, *Dist.* 4.

Hieronymus ad Rusticum.

If the Pope be an Heretick, the godly Bishops may preach against him.

Item, Admit that the Pope be an Heretick, and teach perverse and contrary Doctrine unto the holy Scriptures, and that the Bishop be a Catholick man, unto whom the Pope giveth in commandment that he shall suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it hapned in Pope *Leo*, and Saint *Hilary* the Bishop: Adding this also, That the Bishop do execute the Popes commandment under pain of Excommunication; this notwithstanding if the Catholick Priests, learned in the Law of God, do leave off preaching against the Popes Heresies, for fear of Excommunication of men, they are already Excommunicate. The which thing is evident, forsomuch as they are accurfed through the consent of their silence, as St. *Isidore* saith, 11. *Queest.* 1. He that doth consent unto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, he shall be curfed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most severe rebuke. And in the 7 *Queestion*, 4. *Omnis*, it is said, He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, committeth no less fault than he which had before offended; for not only they which do commit the offence, but also they which consent thereunto are judged partakers thereof. In like case Priests which do not preach against the Heresie which the Pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to open their mouths, or bark against the wolf, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ: *Ergo*, how can it then be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of the sheep of their own shepherd.

Albeit the chief Priests be adulterers, yet ought the Ministers to preach against Adultery.

Item, Let it be so, that the Bishop with the chief Prelates be adulterers, or otherwise open offenders, and that he together with his Prelates do command under pain of Excommunication, that none be so hardy to preach against adultery; in such a case they which do omit their duty in preaching against Adultery, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicated of God; *Ergo*, the first part of the Article is true. The Antecedent is proved: For our Saviour in the eighth of *Mark* saith thus, *He that acknowledgeth me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of man shall also acknowledg and confess him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels.* Therefore he that shall confess Christ, and these words of Christ, *Mat.* 5. *You have heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, that every one which shall behold a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart:* He, I say, that shall confess these things before an adulterous Bishop with his chief Prelates, the which perchance are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of man shall also acknowledg him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Contrariwise, he which for the fear of Excommunication of men will not confess Christ and his words, before the sinful and adulterous generation is accurfed. The consequence holdeth by the words of Christ, *Luk.* 9. *He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Son of man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his Majesty, and in the glory of his Father, and his holy Angels*: pronouncing that which is spoken, *Mat.* 25. *Verily I say unto you, I know you not; go you cursed into everlasting fire.*

The example of Christ.

Also our Saviour Jesus Christ did not omit, or leave off the preaching of the Kingdom of God for any pretended Excommunication of the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisees; so likewise his true and humble Priests ought not to omit their preaching for any pretended Excommunication of men; the consequence holdeth by the saying of Christ, *Joh.* 15. *Be ye mindful of the words which I have spoken unto you, the servant is not greater than his master: If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also.* The Antecedent is apparent by the saying of Saint *John* in his

his ninth Chapter. Even now the *Jews* had conſpired, that whoſoever did confeſs him to be Chriſt, ſhould be Excommunicate. And likewiſe *Joh. 7. Whether did any of the Princes or Rulers, or any of the Phariſees believe in him. But this people which knoweth not the Law are accurſed.*

The obedience of Chriſtian Prieſts toward their Prelates.

Alſo the humble and juſt Miniſters of God ought not, under pain of ſin, to ceaſe from the fruitful preaching of the Law of God for any unjuſt Excommunication, or unlawful Commandment; and it is proved thus: the humble and juſt Miniſters of Chriſt ought not to obey their Prelates in ſuch things as are contrary to God; as all the holy Doctors, and ſuch as are learned in the Law of God, do wholly with one conſent affirm. And forſomuch as an unjuſt Excommunication, and unlawful Commandment are againſt God, therefore the juſt and true Miniſters of God ought not to obey ſuch unlawful Excommunication and Commandments; and conſequently ought not to ceaſe for them from the fruitful preaching of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the ſame. Forſomuch as the Lord doth comfort them in the fifth of *Matthew*, ſaying thus, *Bleſſed and happy are ye when ax men do curſe you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all kind of evil againſt you, making lies and ſlanders upon you for my ſake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.*

The power of preaching to edification ought not to ceaſe.

Alſo every Miniſter having power given him from above to preach the Goſpel, hath the ſame given unto him for the edifying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction of the ſame.

And the Apoſtle ſaith, 2 *Cor.* 10. But every one leaving off the preaching of the Goſpel, for fear of any pretenſed Excommunication of men, ſhould fruſtrate the power given him for the edifying of the Church. And therefore in ſo doing he ſhould ſin againſt God and his Church, and conſequently ought rather to cauſe not to ceaſe from preaching for fear of any ſuch Excommunication, leſt that he be Excommunicate of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The preaching of the Goſpel is not to be left off for all the Popes prohibitions.

Item, Set caſe that the Pope doth command that there ſhall be no preaching in any place, then the Miniſters of Chriſt leaving off their preaching for fear of the Popes Curſe, are already Excommunicated of God. It is evident forſomuch as they have neglected the Commandment of God for the Commandment of men. And this caſe is poſſible: for by what reaſon the Pope may command under pain of Excommunication, that there ſhall be no preaching in ſome place, and namely in the Pariſh Churches; by the ſame reaſon he may command that no man ſhould preach in any place.

The firſt part is evident by the prohibition of Pope *Alexander*, who in his Bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in Chappels, although the ſaid Chappels were confirmed by the priviledg of the See Apoſtolick. The which Bull the Lord *Subincon*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, with his Canons, obtained. By theſe aforeſaid, the firſt part of the Article is evident, which is this, that all Prieſts omitting the preaching of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

The ſecond part of the Article.

The ſecond part of the Article is this, That all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

And it is proved thus: All ſuch as neglect the Commandments of God are Excommunicate. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, are they which neglect the Commandments of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication are already Excommunicate.

Means neceſſary unto Salvation are not to be omitted.

The Major is apparent by the 118 *Pſalm*, *Curſed be they which decline from thy Commandments*. And the Minor is evident by the ſecond Suppoſition, which ſaith, That the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people.

This is confirmed, All ſuch as omit the neceſſary means unto Salvation are Excommunicate: But ſuch as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication by men, be ſuch as do omit the neceſſary means unto ſalvation. Therefore in ſo doing they are Excommunicate. The conſequence is plain: the Major is made evident by this, That all ſuch as do omit the neceſſary means unto Salvation, do alſo neglect their Salvation, and ſo are out of the way of Salvation, and be Excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is the means moſt neceſſary unto Salvation, as the Apoſtle doth prove in his tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, *How*, ſaith he, *ſhall they believe on him, whom they never heard of? And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher?* And by and by after the Apoſtle inferreth unto the purpoſe, *That faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*

{KING. Ric. 2.}

A man ought to do nothing againſt his conſcience.

Item, Whatſoever is done contrary unto Conſcience, doth edifie unto eternal damnation; as it is ſaid, as touching the reſtitution of the ſpoiled goods, *Chap. Literas porro.* But to omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of Excommunication of men, is a thing which is done againſt Conſcience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God, for Excommunication doth edifie unto eternal damnation, and therefore conſequently ought not to be done, for fear of any Excommunication. Wherefore a woman being judged unto a man, whom the knoweth to be within the degrees of conſanguinity, which Gods Law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that judgment, leſt that ſhe offend againſt God; but meekly and patiently to ſuſtain the Excommunication, as it appeareth in the Chapter before alledged. So likewiſe all true Chriſtians ought rather, than to offend againſt God, meekly to ſuffer the Excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpoſe alſo ſerveth that which is ſpoken in the 11 *Queſt.* 3. He that feareth the Omnipotent God, will not preſume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the Goſpel or Apoſtles, either contrary unto the Prophets, or the Inſtitutions of the holy Fathers. By theſe premiſſes, the ſecond part of this Article is manifeſt, that all ſuch as do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicated.

The proof of the third part.

And forſomuch as all Chriſtians being of lawful age, not repenting at the end, ſhall be counted in a manner as Traytors to Chriſt in the day of judgment, becauſe that they were unfaithful ſervants of Chriſt; therefore they which through fear omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, ſhall be counted as Traytors to Chriſt, and ſhall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon *Chryſoſtom* touching both thoſe ſorts in the 41 *Homily*, ſhewing how the Lord would have ſome to be teachers, and otherſome to be teachers, and otherſome to be diſciples, ſaith thus, For unto thoſe which he would have to be teachers, he ſpeaketh thus by his Prophet *Eſay*, *Ye Prieſts ſpeak to the hearts of the people, for if the Prieſts do not manifeſt all the truth unto the people, they ſhall render account thereof at the day of judgment: and likewiſe if the people do not learn the truth, they ſhall alſo give an account at the day of judgment.* It is alſo made more evident by him upon the tenth of *Matthew*, Do not fear them which kill the body, leſt that through the fear of death, you do not freely ſpeak that which you have heard, neither boldly preach that unto all men which you alone have heard in your ears. So that hereby alone it is evident that not only he is a betrayer of the truth, which tranſgreſſing the truth, doth openly ſpeak lyes inſtead of the truth; but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is alſo a Traytor unto the Truth. For like as the Prieſt is a debtor to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord; even ſo the lay-man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the Miniſter, approved by the Scriptures; which if he do not, then is he a Traytor unto the truth: for fledfaſt belief with the heart prevaileth unto righteouſneſs; the confeſſion which is made with the mouth helpeth unto ſalvation. Thus much writeth *Chryſoſtom*; who together with the people meekly bearing the Excommunication of the Biſhops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and ſo by his word and his works he freely taught the truth, leſt he ſhould be a Traytor unto the truth, and conſequently be counted as a Traytor unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the day of Judgment. And thus the third part of the Article aforeſaid is manifeſt.

Chryſoſtom in his 41 Homily.

Chryſoſtom although he was Excommunicate, yet he did preach.

The

{KING. Ric. 2.}

The defenſion of the Fifteenth Article of John Wickliff *by* John Hus.

The 15th Article of Wickliff.

IT is lawful for any Deacon or Prieſt to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, or of his Catholicks.

Firſt, I underſtand here by the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, properly his ſpecial conſent authoriſing. And likewiſe I underſtand by Authority of the Biſhop, a ſpecial conſent of the Biſhop authoriſing the ſaid Deacon or Prieſt to Preach.

The conſtitution of the Article. Every man being lawfully called of the Church, ought to Preach the Word of God without the Popes licence.

Now as touching the truth of this Article, I thus argue: Like as after Matrimony once complete, the Man and Wife may lawfully, without any ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop, procreate carnal children: So likewiſe of Deacons or Prieſts, by the motion of God through the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, may lawfully without any ſpecial licence either of Pope or Biſhop, generate ſpiritual children. *Ergo*, this Article is true, and the Antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for Man and Wife, without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop, to generate carnal children; ſo it is acceptable unto him, that Deacons or Prieſts, by the motion of God through the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould lawfully generate ſpiritual children, without the ſpecial licence of the Pope, or of any other Biſhop: *Ergo*, the aſſumption is true.

But if any Man will deny this ſimilitude, let him ſhew the diverſity. Yea, as it is worſe not to receive or to choke the Seed of Gods word, than the Carnal ſeed; ſo contrariwiſe, it is better to receive and ſow abroad that Seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raiſed up unto God, than to receive or give Seed whereby Carnal children may be gotten. Whereupon our Saviour in the 10th of *Matthew* ſaith thus; *Whoſoever doth not receive you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the duſt from your feet: verily I ſay unto you, that in the day of judgment it ſhall be better unto the land of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *than to that city.*

Alſo a Deacon or Prieſt being ſtirred by the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, may Preach the Word of God without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop. *Ergo*, it is lawful for him ſo to do. The conſequence is thus manifeſt; ſomuch as the Spirit of God, moving the Deacon or Prieſt unto the Preaching of the Goſpel, is of greater force than any prohibition of Pope or Biſhop invented by Man. *Ergo*, according unto the rule of the Apoſtles, they ought infallibly to be obedient unto the Spirit of Chriſt, which doth ſo move them thereunto, and rather to obey God than Man, *Acts* 5. Alſo by like reaſon, as *Heldad* and *Medad*; upon whom the Spirit of God did reſt, did lawfully prophecy without requiring any licence at *Moſes* hands, as it is written, *Numb.* 11. By the ſame reaſon may the meek Miniſter of Chriſt, upon whom the Spirit of God doth reſt, without the requiring of any licence either of the Pope or Biſhop, lawfully Preach the Word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalf all Prelates had the Spirit of *Moſes*; for it is ſaid, *Numb.* 11. That when as *Heldad* and *Medad* were prophecying in the Tents, a child ran unto *Moſes*, and told him, ſaying; *Heldad* and *Medad* do prophecy in the Tents; and by and *Joſua* the Son of *Nun*, the ſervant of *Moſes* which he had choſen out amongſt many, ſaid, My Maſter *Moſes*, forbid them: and he ſaid, Why envieſt thou for my ſake? Would God that all the people could prophecy, and that the Lord would give them his Spirit. O would to God the Pope and Biſhops had the affections which this holy Man the friend of God had. Then would he not prohibit the meek Deacons and Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt to Preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The like affection had the bleſſed Man *Gregory*, which in his 22d Book of Morals, writing upon theſe words of *Job*; And I have not afflicted the Soul of his Husbandmen, ſaith thus; The Husbandmen of this Earth are theſe, which being ſet in ſamll Authority, with as fervent deſire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, do work by the preaching of grace, to the endition of the holy Church, the which Husbandmen of this World not to afflict, is not to envy their labours and doings: neither ought the Ruler of the Church, albeit he do challenge unto himſelf alone the title of Preaching, through envy gainſay others which do Preach truly and uprightly. For the Godly mind of the Paſtor, which ſeeketh not his own glory amongſt men, deſireth to be holpen: the which thing alſo the faithful Preacher doth with, if it might by any means be brought to paſs, that the truth, which he alone cannot ſufficiently expreſs, all mens mouths might declare.

God grant that all the people may prophecy.

Wherefore, when as *Joſua* would have reſiſted, the two which were prophecying in the hoſt, why doſt thou envy (ſaith he) for my ſake? For he did not envy that good in other which he himſelf had. Thus writeth *S. Gregory.*

The cauſe of the word of God ought not to be ſtopped. *Bernard.*

Alſo the meek Miniſters of Chriſt have, by a ſpecial gift of God, knowledge and mind to Preach the Goſpel; but neither is it lawful for the Pope or Biſhop, or any other Man to let or hinder them, leſt thereby they ſhould let the Word of God, that it have not his free courſe. *Ergo*, this Article is true; for the King doth not ſo much rule over the goods of his ſubjects, no not of his own Sons, but that they may give Alms to whom they will: much leſs hath the Biſhop ſo great Authority over the knowledge of the meek Miniſter, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely under the title of ſpiritual Alms Preach the Goſpel unto the people. *Ergo*, foraſmuch as it ſhould ſeem ſtrange, that a Biſhop ſhould forbid any Man to give any corporal Alms to the poor that are an hungred; much more ſtrange and marvellous would it be, if that he ſhould prohibit the ſpiritual Miniſter of Chriſt to give ſpiritual Alms, by the Preaching of the Goſpel of the Word of God.

Item, No Catholick Man ought to doubt, but that a Man able for the purpoſe, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counſel and comfort the weak in Spirit, to correct ſuch as are unruly, to forgive thoſe that do them wrong, than to do any other work of mercy: Forſomuch then as he that hath ſufficient is bound, under pain of damnation, to give corporal Alms, as it appeareth *Matth.* 25. much more he, which is able, is bound to do ſpiritual Alms. And this Alms S. *Barnard*, writing unto *Eugenius* in his 3d Book, perceived to be very neceſſary for the Biſhop of *Rome*, whereas he ſaid thus: I fear no greater poiſon, nor greater ſword or miſchief will happen unto thee, than this unſatiable deſire of dominion. With what face then can the faithful Miniſter withdraw or keep back the ſpiritual Alms for the Pope and any other, even without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or of the Biſhop; which licence, through the far diſtance from the Pope, the Miniſters cannot ſo eaſily obtain or come by? For all prohibition of any Prelate, being broken through neceſſity, is not to be blamed, 11. *Queſt.* 3. *Interceſſor*, and alſo in the Chapter following.

Item, All authority of preaching given unto Deacons and Prieſts in their conſecration, were but vain, except that in caſe of neceſſity, without any ſpecial licence, they might Preach the Goſpel. It is evident, forſomuch as it is not lawful for them to uſe that Authority, by their adverſary, without a ſpecial licence. *Ergo*, it is given them in vain. The conſequence is evident by the common ſaying of the Philoſopher, That power is but vain, whereof proceedeth no uſe of action. But foraſmuch as this Article doth as it were depend upon the Article before paſſed, therefore this ſhall ſuffice to be ſpoken thereof at this preſent.

Objections.

But againſt the affirmations of both theſe Articles this is objected out of the 16. *Queſt.* 1. All faithful people, and ſpecially all Prieſts, Deacons, and all others of the Clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the licence of their Biſhop. It is alſo objected out of the 9th Book of Decretals, *Titulo de hæreticis cap. Cum ex injuncto*; where, it is ſaid, No Man ought to uſurp to himſelf indifferently the Office of Preaching, forſomuch as the Apoſtle ſaith; How ſhall they Preach, except they be ſent? Whereas alſo *Innocentius* doth declare, that it is not ſufficient for a Man to ſay, that he is ſent of God to Preach except he do ſhew the ſame. As touching the firſt point, the *Gloſs* doth ſufficiently anſwer upon this word, *without licence*; That is to be expounded, ſaith he without general licence; the which is obtained and given, when as a Biſhop doth appoint any Prieſt to govern the people, For thereby (ſaith he) it ſeemeth a Biſhop is thought to give him general power to Miniſter unto the people, and to Rule the Church. Thus much in the *Gloſs*. And to the ſame end and purpoſe

The anſwers to the objection.

pose it is said in the 7*th Quæst.* 1. Chapter, *Episcopi*. Bishops or Priests, if they come into the Church of another Bishop to visit the same, as it is said *Glos.* 1. *in honore suo*, Let them be received in their degree, and desired as well to Preach the Word, as to do any other confecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, which is very well spoken in the same place; No man ought to usurp unto himself the Office of Preaching, as a thing indifferent, For to usurp, is unlawfully to use any thing. *Ergo*, the same Deacon or Priest doth then usurp the Office of Preaching as indifferently, who living viciously, contrary unto Law the of Christ, or being ignorant of the Law of God, doth Preach either for gain, or covetousness of living, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vain glory: But he which doth live according unto the Laws of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere Charity, intending purely the Honor of God, and the Salvation of himself and his neighbours, doth Preach no lies nor vain jests, or other things not authorized, but only the Law of Christ, and the minds of the holy Doctors. And he that doth so Preach, necessity occasioning or moving him thereunto, in case there be no Pope or Bishop, or in case possible to withstand the Preaching of Hereticks or false Preachers, in so doing doth not usurp the Office of Preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God. And this doth also answer unto that which is consequently said; that if any man will peradventure craftily answer, that such Preachers are invisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, when as that invisible sending of God is much better than the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answer thereunto, that forsomuch as that internal sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a Man only to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as every Heretick may so say; but he ought to prove the same his invisible calling by the working of some miracle, or by some special Testimony of the Scripture.

What is folly to usurp the Office of a Preacher.

Who is a true Minister of the Church.

Here it is to be noted, according to Saint *Augustine* in his 65*th* Book of Quest. unto *Orosius*, that there are four kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we read in *Moses* and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the danger of the Statute: So that he whom the Spirit of God hath inspired. this Prelate giving thanks may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon Pope *Urban* said 19. Quæst. 2*d* There be (said he) two Laws, the one publick, the other private. The publick Law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy Fathers such as is the canon Law, which is only given for transgressions. As for example, it is decreed in the Canons, that none of the Clergy shall go from one Bishoprick unto another, without the Letters commendatory of his Bishop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamed persons should be received of any Bishop. For they were wont, when they could not celebrate or do their Office under their own Bishoprick, to go unto another: which now is forbidden by the Laws and Precepts. The private Law is that, which, by the instruction of the Holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh of many, which have the Law of God written in their hearts. And in another place; forsomuch as the Gentiles have not the Law of God, but naturally do those things which are of the Law, they are Laws unto themselves. And afterward he saith, the private Law is much more worthy than the publick Law. For the Spirit of God is a Law; And they which are moved by the Spirit of God, are led by the Law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the Holy Ghost? Whosoever therefore is led by the Spirit of God, albeit his Bishop do say him nay, let him go freely by our Authority; for the Law is not appointed for the just Man, for where as the Spirit of God is, there is liberty; and if ye be led by the Spirit of God, ye are not under the Law.

Four kinds of sending or callings.

The common Law.

The private Law.

Private Law, that is the secret and inward working of Gods spirit in the heart.

The words of Pope *Urban*.

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the sending by God, through inspiration, is not bound under the bondage of the Law; for that Law is more worthy than the publick Law. Secondly, that the Law is made for Transgressors and Offenders, and not for the Just. Thirdly, that whosoever is led by the Spirit of God, although his Bishop stand against him, he may proceed unto a better life. Whereby it is evident, that a Deacon or Priest disposed to Preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, may freely Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the spiritual licence of his Bishop. It is evident, forsomuch as it is good, that a Deacon or Priest do live well, and Preach fruitfully. *Ergo*, he may proceed from idleness unto the labor and Office of Preaching, and so unto a better life.

{KING *Eliz.* 2.}

But whereas it is said afore, that forsomuch as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is sent of God, when as every Heretick may so say; but it is necessary, that he do confirm and prove his invisible sending by the working of some miracle, or by some special Testimony of the Scripture: Here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of Preachers; some true Preachers of our Saviour Christ; and others seducers, of Antichrist. The first sort following their Master Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching Faith, resist against the verity; and through covetousness, by their fained words do make merchandize of the people. And these men do give, and shall give miracles, as our Saviour saith, *Matth.* 24. There shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, the which shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that even the elect themselves, if it were by any means possible, should be brought into error. And the Apostle in the 2. to the *Thessal.* 2. As touching their head Antichrist, writeth thus: Whose coming shall be according to the operation of *Satan*, with all power and signs, false miracles, seducing unto iniquity those which do perish, because they have not received the charity and love of truth, that they might be saved: Therefore will the Lord send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit unto lies: that all such as have not believed the truth, but consent unto wickedness, should be judged. Behold how expredly our Saviour by himself, and by his Apostle doth teach us, how the Disciples of Antichrist, with their head, should shine through their great signs and wonders. But the true Disciples of Christ shall not so do in the time of Antichrist. For as Saint *Isidore* saith in his first Book, 22. *De summo bono*: Before that Antichrist shall appear, all vertues and signs shall cease from the Church, that he may the boldlier persecute the same, as an abject. For this profit shall all miracles and signs cease under Antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy Men might be known, and the lightness of the reprobate, which are offended, my be opened, and also that the cruelty of the persecutors should be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint *Isidor*. And Saint *Gregory* in his 24*th* Book of Morals faith; For why? By a terrible examination of Gods secret dispensation shall all signs of vertue or power be taken away from the holy Church, before that the *Leviathan* appear in that most wicked and damnable Man, whose shape he doth take upon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of Doctrine are put to silence, and the wonderful works of miracles are extinguished; which things nothing can utterly take away, but only the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not so openly and manifoldly declared, as it hath been in times past; the which also is done by a marvellous dispensation, that through one only thing both Gods love and justice should be fulfilled. For the power of miracles being a while taken away, the holy Church appeareth the more abject and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which reverenced the same for the hope of heavenly riches, and not for any prefent signs: and that the minds of evil men against the same might the sooner be known, which neglect to follow the invisible things which the Church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signs.

Every man may pretend to be sent of God immediately.

Two kinds of Preachers.

Of the signs and wonders of Antichrist.

Why true miracles shall cease under Antichrist.

Forsomuch then as the humility of the faithful is as it were destitute of the multitude and appearing of signs by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, whereby mercy is given unto the good and just, wrath heaped upon the evil; Forsomuch then, as it is truly said, that before this *Leviathan* shall plainly and manifestly come, poverty shall go before his face (for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithful.) Then shall that Ancient enemy shew himself against them by open wonders; that as he is extolled through signs and wonders, so shall he the more manly be vanquished of the faithful, without any signs or miracles. Also in his 16*th* Book upon these words, which the blessed man *Job* said; Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done? Whilest he did speak of the body of all evil, he suddenly converted his speech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that toward the end of the world *Satan* should enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth Antichrist, he shall be extolled with such pride, he shall rule with such power, he shall be accused with such signs and wonders, under the pretence of holiness, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, forsomuch as his signs and tokens are joyned with power and terror, and with a certain shew of Holiness. Wherefore he saith, who shall controul his ways before him, what man is he that dare once rebuke or check him, whose look or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithstanding not only *Enoch* and *Elias*, the which are brought as example for his probation, but also the elect do argue and reprove his way, whiles that they do contemn, and by the force and power of their minds, resist his malice. But forsomuch as this thing is not done by their own power and strength, but by Gods help and grace, therefore it is very well said: Who shall argue or reprove his ways before him? Who but only God? By whose help, the elect are aided and made able to resist.

{KING *Eliz.* 2.}

The defenpline of Antichrift out of S. *Gregor.*

The proof of Holineſs.

And a little after, upon the same Book of *Job*, *Gregory* saith, insomuch as holy men do withstand his iniquity; It is not they themselves which do so rebuke his ways, but it is he through whose help they are strengthened. Also in his second Book he saith; Now the holy Church doth not regard, but despise the signs and miracles of the Hereticks, if they do any; forsomuch as the Church doth sufficiently understand, that it is no kind of Holiness: For why? The proof of Holiness is not to make signs or wonders, but to love every man as himself, to think truly of the very true God, and to think better of thy Neighbour than of thy self: For true vertue and holiness consisteth in love, and not in shewing of miracles. This the verity declareth saying; Hereby shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye love one another: But he saith not, that hereby men shall know that ye are my Disciples, because ye work miracles; but contrariwise, if ye love one another: declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the mear charity and love of God, which maketh us the servants of God. Wherefore the chief Testimony of being Gods Disciple is to have the gift of brotherly love. This thorowout doth Saint *Gregory* write, and oftentimes in other places he speaketh very much of miracles, how that they shall cease amongst the just, and abound amongst the wicked.

Signs common and indifferent to the Ministers of Christ and Antichrist.

Also *Chrysostom* in his 55*th* Homily saith thus; *It is a common and an indifferent work between the Ministers of God and the Ministers of the Divel, to cast out Divels; but to confess the truth, and to work righteousness, is the only work of the Saints and holy Men: therefore whomsoever thou dost see casting out of Divels, if he have not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God: But if thou dost see a man openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing justice, although he do not cast out any Divels, yet is he the man of God.* And it followeth, Let us know, that like as at the coming of Christ, before him the Prophets, and with him the Apostles wrought miracles through the Holy Ghost; for such as the thing is which is stirred, such feat and favour will proceed from the same. He writeth also upon the beginning of *Matthew*, The whole world did marvel and wonder at three things, *That Christ rose again after his death; that flesh ascended into Heaven; and that he did convert the whole World by his Twelve Apostles.* There are four causes which wrought the same; that is to say, the contempt of riches or money; the despising of pomp and glory, the separation of themselves from all worldly occupation and business, and the patient suffering of torments. Thus much writeth *Chrysostom* also. Also S. *Isidore* in his first Book and 25*th* Chap. *De summo bono*, writeth thus. Like as in the Apostles, the marvellous effect and power of works was much more commendable than the vertue of their signs; even so now in the Church it is much better to live well, than to work any signs or miracles. And the cause why that the Church of God doth not at this present work miracles, as it did in the time of the Apostles, is this; that it was necessary at that time that the World should believe miracles, and now at this present, every faithful believer ought to shine with good works, for to this end were signs and miracles then outwardly wrought, that their Faith thereby might be inwardly strengthened and established: for whatsoever faithful man he be that seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh vain-glory to be praised of men, for it is written; Miracles are signs and tokens unto the infidels and unbelievers, and not unto the faithful. Thus much writeth *Isidore*.

The principal miracles.

The cauſe why the Church now worketh not miracles.

Item, S. *Augustine* in his Book of confessions, saith thus; There is no greater miracle amongst men, than to love our Enemies. By these words of these holy men a man may easily gather, that, both in our days, and in the time to come, the Disciples of Antichrist both do, and shall more flourish and shew themselves by strange signs and miracles, than the Disciples of Christ, according to the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ; *There shall rise up amongst you false prophets, which shall work strange miracles.* Secondly, it is approved that they are greater and stranger miracles, to confess the truth, and to do Justice, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly it is gathered thereby, that whatsoever Minister or Deacon doth love his Enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, and flieth from all worldly troubles, meekly sustaineth and suffereth moft terrible and cruel threatnings and strokes for the Gospel sake; he worketh miracles, having thereby a Testimony and witness, that he is the true Disciple of Jesus Christ. And it is evident by the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Mat.* 5*th* *Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heaven.* And likewise *John* 10*th* *Truft unto your good works.* Whereupon S. *Gregory*, in his first Book of Dialogues, writeth thus: *The estimation of a true life consisteth in the vertue of his works, and not in the shewing of signs.* Whereby it is fourthly concluded, by that which is aforesaid, that it is a more effectual Testimony and witness for a Priest or Deacon that he is sent of God to confess the truth, and follow Christ in the foresaid vertues, than to cast out Divels, or to do any other miracles, as it is evident by the saying of *Chrysostome* before alledged. Whomsoever thou dost see to cast out Divels, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousness nor justice in his hands, he is not a Man of God. This is also confirmed by the words of Christ. *Matth.* 7. *Many shall say unto me in that day; Lord, Lord, have not we prophesied in thy name; have not we cast out divels in thy name; and have not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will answer and say unto them; forsomuch as I have not known you at any time, Depart from me ye workers of iniquity.* And as touching the second part, *Chrysostome* saith; *If you see a man confessing and preaching the truth, and working righteousness, although he do not cast out divels, he is a man of God.*

A great miracle to love a mans Enemy.

The true miracles of Christs ministers.

Hereby it appeareth, that every Deacon, Priest, or Minister, confessing the truth, and working justice, hath a perfect and sure Testimony that he is sent of God; and that it is not necessary for him to approve this his sending by the working of any miracle, in stead of working righteousness; neither by any Testimonial, the which should plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to Preach.

The Testimony of a true Priest.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already spoken, that all miracles in the time of Antichrist shall cease in the elect.

The second part is also evident; forsomuch as none of the present Preachers can shew by the Scripture of the Law of God, that he is specially named thereunto.

And likewise I do also affirm and say, as touching all Preachers which shall come hereafter, that they are not named by name. But let no man here object *Enoch* and *Elias*, which were ancient Preachers, and prophelied by the holy Spirit of God. And it is appeared, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to prove, that this Priest or Deacon is sent of God to Preach, because he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to prove, that he is not sent of God to Preach, because he doth no miracles; but to confess the truth, to work righteousness, to contemn the World with the glory thereof, patiently to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient Testimony for any Priest or Deacon, having knowledge of the Law of God, freely to Preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, forsomuch as in such case he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the Apostle speaketh of in

the 10. to the *Romans*; *How ſhould they preach, except they be ſent?* Whereupon the *Gloſs* of S. *Auguſtine* writeth thus; Theſe things ſerve to ſet forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodneſs is prevented of grace.

For he ſaith, Belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of Preaching, and Preaching by the ſending of God; ſo that altogether wholly cometh out of the Fountain of Grace, and Preaching truly cometh of ſending. This hath the *Gloſs*: how ſhall they then Preach, without they be ſent of God? And this is evident, that the great and principal ſending is from God alone, as it is approved by *Moſes*.

The ſecond ſending is both from God and Man; as by the example of *Joſua* and others, which were ſent both by God and the Rulers to Preach.

The third ſending is from Man alone; the which is not founded in the Law of God, but in mens Traditions, which they rather eſteem.

The fourth ſending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, which of themſelves unworthily uſurp the Office of Preaching, as thoſe falſe Prophets of whom God ſpeaketh in the 23. of *Jeremy*: I did not ſend them, and they ran: I ſpake not unto them, and they prophecied: if they had continued in my counſels, and had declared my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil ways, and wicked imaginations. And our Saviour ſpeaketh of theſe Prophets in *Matthew*, ſaying, *There ſhall ariſe falſe Prophets*. And *Peter* his true Vicar, in his ſecond Epiſtle and ſecond Chapter, propheſying unto the faithful Believers in Chriſt, ſpeaketh thus of them; There were amongſt the people falſe Prophets, as there ſhall be amongſt you alſo Maſters of lies, through whom the truth ſhall be blaſphemed and ſlandered; and that he might the better inſtruct the people to know them, he addeth, That they ſhall go about with fained words, for covetouſneſs ſake, to make merchandize of you.

The difference between the Miniſters of Chriſt and Antichriſt.

Wherefore every faithful man, diligently weighing theſe things in his mind, may now eaſily perceive how great a number of falſe Prophets there be, through whom the Chriſtian truth is blaſphemed, and all covetous dealing is exerciſed, and theſe are they which freely Preach lies. But the humble and true Miniſters of Chriſt, wherefoever they do appear, by and by are perſecuted, whereby the prophecy of the Apoſtle is verified, which is written in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, the 3. All men, ſaith he, which deſire to live godly, ſhall ſuffer perſecution: But the evil men and Seducers ſhall proſper in their wickedneſs, running daily more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked have now ſo much prevailed, that they do Preach lies, making Hereticks of the faithful Chriſtians; neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, ſo that they do not Preach againſt the vices of the Prelates. How then can you ſay, that Antichriſt is not exalted above all that which is called God, ſuppreſſing the members of Chriſt, in his Office, fortifying and ſoftering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithful Diſciples of Chriſt ought to ſtand ready girt about their loins, and ſhooes upon their feet in defence of the Goſpel, taking the Sword in hand, which is the word of God. *Epheſ.* 6. And to fight againſt the crafts of Antichriſt, who goeth about utterly to extinguiſh the true Preaching of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The Miſdeeds of Antichriſtic do cloke the vices of their Prelates.

The ſecond diſputation in the Univerſity of *Prague*, upon the ſeventeenth Article of *John Wickliff*, moſt fruitful to be read; proving by four and Twenty reaſons out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords temporal have lawful authority and juriſdiction over the ſpirituality and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and correcting their abuſes according to their doings and deſerts.

The contemnation of the xiv. Articles, and therefore is not to be allowed.

"TO the Honour of Almighty God, and of our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, both for the trying out of truth, and "the profit of holy Mother the Church, according to the "Congregation of our Univerſity of *Prague*, which, avoiding always to do that whichſhall be prejudicial to the "truth, hath deferred to give their conſent unto the con- "demnation of the ſix Articles, wiſhing even unto "this preſent ſufficient probation to be given of the con- "demnation of the ſaid Articles, and particularly of every "one of them. Whereupon the ſaid Univerſity doth al- "ways require due proof of the ſame, forſomuch as Pope "*Damaſius* in his Canon, Diſtinction ſixty eighth Chapter, "*Chorepiſcopi*, ſaith thus: That it is neceſſary that whatſo- "ever thing ſtandeth not by due reaſon ſhould be rooted "out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the "five and forty Articles, if it ſtand not with proof and ſuf- "ficient demonſtration for every Article, is neceſſary to be "rooted out.

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"But if any man will object and ſay, that to require a "reaſon of every thing, is to derogate from Gods divine "power. Unto this objection Maſter *William* doth anſwer "himſelf in his Philoſophy, the firſt Book, almoſt at the end, "where he intreating of the place, in the ſecond Chapter of "*Geneſis*, God made man of the ſlime of the Earth, &c. "Hath theſe words; For in what point (ſay we) are we "contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we ſeek by reaſon to de- "clare wherefore any thing is done, which is ſaid in the "Scriptures to be done? For if that a wiſe man ſhould ſay "that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done, "and another man ſpeaketh the very ſelf ſame thing, and "declareth how it is done, what contrariety is there? But "forſomuch as they themſelves know not the force of na- "ture, to the intent that they might have all men partakers "with them of their ignorance, they would have no man "to inquire it out. But they would have us believe as igno- "rant people, neither to ſeek any reaſon of our belief, that "the prophecy might be fulfilled: Such as the people is, "ſuch ſhall be the Prieſt. But we truly do ſay, that in all "things a reaſon is to be ſought, if it may by any means be "found. But if that any man do ſtay at any thing which "the Scriptures do affirm, let him commit the ſame un- "to faith, and unto the holy Ghoſt. For *Moſes* ſaith, If the "Lamb cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by conſumed "in the fire; but let him firſt call his Neighbour which "dwelleth next houſe unto him; and if they alſo be not "ſufficient to eat the Lamb, then let it be burned in the "fire. So likewiſe, when as we go about to ſeek any thing "as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our "ſelves to comprehend the ſame, let us call our Neighbour "which dwelleth next houſe unto us; that is to ſay, let us "ſeek out ſuch a one as dwelleth in the ſame Catholick faith "with us; and if then neither we, neither yet he be able to "comprehend the ſame, let it then be burned with the fire "of Faith.

An Alleſory upon the Paſſeover Lamb.

"But theſe men, albeit they have many Neighbours "dwelling near unto them, yet for very pride they will not "call any man unto them, chuſing rather to continue ſtill "ignorant, than to ask any queſtion. And if they do know "any man to enquire for his Neighbour in ſuch caſe, by "and by they cry out upon him as an Heretick; preſum- "ing more upon their own heads, than having confidence "in their wiſdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto "their outward appearance, for already it is verified in "them which the Satyrical Poet ſaith; No credit is to be "given unto the outward ſhew: For which of them all is "it that doth not abound with moſt ſhameful and deteſtable "vices? And in another place he ſaith; They are very "dainty of their ſpeech, and have great deſire to keep ſi- "lence. And thus much hath M. *Wilhelmus*. Let all ſuch "bear whom this parable doth touch: for I will not ſpeak "of the Maſters, Bachelors, and Students of our Univerſity, "conſidering how hard a matter the condemnation of the "Forty five Articles of *Wickliff*, without reaſon, is, and how "grievous a thing it were if we ſhould thereunto conſent, "do call together my Neighbours, the Doctors of this "Univerſity, and all others which would object any thing "againſt the ſame, that we might preſently find out the "reaſon of the condemnation of this Article, concerning the "taking away the temporalties from the Clergy.

A proteſtation, wherein he giveth light unto Readers, how the propoſition aforeſaid is to be underſtood, and addeth, that the goods of the Clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in caſe they do abuſe the ſame.

"Notwithſtanding I do profeſs that it is not my intents "like as it is not the meaning of the Univerſity to perſwade, "that Princes or ſecular Lords ſhould take away the goods "from the Clergy when they would, or how they would, "and convert them to what uſe they liſt. But our whole "intent is, diligently to ſearch out whether this Article, as "touching the taking away of temporalties from the Cler- "gy, may have in it any true ſenſe, whereby it may be de- "fended without reproof. Wherefore this Article, being "the ſeventeenth in the number of the Forty five, is, pro-

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The ſeventeenth Article proved by 44. Arguments.

"pounded under this form: The Lords temporal "may at their own will and pleaſure, take away the tem- "poral Goods from the Clergy, if they do offend, and "therein continue. It is thus proved: The Kings of the "*Old Teſtament* took away the temporal Goods at Gods "commandment from the Clergy; that is to ſay, from "the Prieſts offending. Therefore the Kings alſo of the "*New Teſtament*, at Gods commandment, may do the "like, when as the Prieſts of the new Law do offend. The "conſequence dependeth upon a ſimilitude. And the an- "tecedent is evident. Firſt, it is proved by *Solomon* in the "3d of the *Kings*, 2. Chapter, which *Solomon* depoſed *A-* "*biathar* the high Prieſt, becauſe he had taken part with "*Adonias* the Brother of *Solomon* to make him King, "without the advice either of *David*, or of *Solomon* him- "ſelf, which ought to reign, and ſet up *Sadoc* the Prieſt in "the place of *Abiathar*, becauſe he had not conſented with "*Abiathar* unto *Adonias*, as it is written in the 3d Book of "*Kings*, 1. Chapter, where it is ſaid; *Adonias*, the Son "of *Agithe*, exalted himſelf, ſaying, I will Reign, and made "unto himſelf Chariots and Horſemen, and Fourty men "which ſhould run before him; neither did his Father re- "buke him at any time, ſaying, Wherefore haſt thou done "this? For he was very comely, being ſecond Son, next to "*Abſolom*, and his talk was with *Joab* the Son of *Sarvia* and "*Abiathar* the Prieſt, which took part with *Adonias*. But "*Sadoc* the Prieſt, and *Benaias* the Son of *Joiada*, and *Na-* "*than* the Prophet, and *Semei*, and *Serethi*, and *Felethi*, and "all the power of *Davids* Hoſt, were not on *Adonias* part.

Caſe of neceſſity.

"This was the cauſe of the depoſing of *Abiathar*, be- "cauſe he took part with *Adonias*, that he ſhould be King "againſt *Solomon* the eldeſt Son of King *David*: Where- "fore it is written in the third Book, and ſecond Chapter "of the *Kings*; *The King ſaid unto* Abiathar *the Prieſt*, "*Go your ways unto* Anathoth *thine own Fields, for thou* "*art a Man of death; but this day I will not ſlay thee,* "*becauſe thou haſt carried the Ark of the Lord before my* "*Father David, and didſt labour in all things wherein my* "*Father laboured*. Then did *Solomon* caſt out *Abiathar*, "that he ſhould be no more the Prieſt of the Lord; that "the Word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he ſpake "upon the houſe of *Heli* in *Silo*.

"Behold, the moſt prudent King *Salomon*, according to "the wiſdom which was given him of God, did exerciſe "his power upon the ſaid Prieſt, putting him out of his "Prieſthood, and ſetting in his place *Sadoc* the Prieſt. This "was a greater matter than to take away the temporalties. "If then in the Law of Chriſt, which now reigneth over us, "a Biſhop ſhould likewiſe rebel againſt the true Heir of the "Kingdom, willing to ſet up another for King; why "ſhould not the King or his Heir have power, in like caſe, "to take away the temporalties from him ſo offending?

2. *Nabuchadonoſor.*

"*Item*, It is alſo evident by the King *Nabuchadonoſor*, "which had power given him of God to lead away the "children of *Iſrael*, with their Prieſts and Levites, into "the Captivity of *Babylon*, as it is written in the 4th Book "of the Kings, 25. Chapter.

3. *Joas.*

"*Item*, It is read in the 4th Book of *Kings*, and 12th "Chap. How that *Joas* the moſt godly King of *Juda*, ac- "cording to the wiſdom which God had granted him, took "away all the confecrate veſſels which *Joſaphat*, *Joram*, "and *Ochaſias*, his Fore-fathers Kings of *Juda* had conſe- "crated, and thoſe which he himſelf had offered, and all the "Treaſure that could be found in the Temple of the Lord, "and in the Kings Palace, and ſent it unto *Azahel* King "of *Syria*, and he departed from *Jeruſalem*. Mark how "this moſt holy King exerciſed his power, not only in ta- "king away the Temporalties of the Prieſts, but alſo thoſe "things which were conſecrate in the Temple of the Lord, "to procure unto the Common-wealth the benefit of peace.

4. *Ezechias.*

"*Item*, In the 4th Book, and 18th Chap. of the Kings, it "is written, how that the holy King *Ezechias* took all the "Treaſure that was found in the houſe of the Lord, and in "the Kings Treaſury, and brake down the Pillars of the "Temple of the Lord, and all the Plates of Gold which he "himſelf had faſtned thereupon, and gave them unto the "King of the *Aſſyrians*; yet was he not rebuked of the "Lord therefore, as he was for his other ſins, as it appeareth "in the 2d Book of *Paralip.* 32. Chap. Forſomuch then as "in time of neceſſity all things ought to be in common "unto Chriſtians, it followeth that the ſecular Lords in caſe "of neceſſity, and in many other common caſes, may law- "fully take away the moveable goods from the Clergy, "when they do offend.

5. Titus and Veſpaſian.

"*Item*, It is alſo read in the 12th of S. *Matthew*, That "the Diſciples of Jeſus, to ſlack their hunger, upon the Sab- "bath day pulled the ears of corn, and did eat them, and "the Pharifees rebuked them therefore; unto whom Chriſt "anſwered, *Have ye not read what* David *did when he* "*was hungry, and thoſe that were with him: How he* "*entred into the Houſe of the Lord, and did eat the Shew-* "*bread, which it was not lawful for him, neither for* "*them that were with him to eat, but only for the Prieſts?* "This ſtory is written in the firſt Book of the *Kings*, and "21. Chapter. And the commandment in the 12th Chapter "of *Deuteronomie*. Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful in "time of neceſſity to uſe any thing, be it never ſo much "conſecrate. Otherwiſe children by giving their moveа- "bles to the confecration of any Temple, ſhould not be "bound to help their Parents; which is contrary and a- "gainſt the Goſpel of S. *Matthew* in the ſixteenth Cha- "pter. Whereas our Saviour ſharply rebuked the Phariſees, "that for their own Traditions they did tranſgreſs the "commandment of God.

6. Titus and Veſpaſian.

"*Item*, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* ſecular Princes had power "given them of God, twenty four years after the Lords Aſ- "cenſion, to take away the Temporalties from the Prieſts "which had offended againſt the Lords holy one, and "thereby alſo bereft them of their lives: And it ſeemeth "unto many, they did and might worthily do the ſame "according to Gods good will and pleaſure. Then forſo- "much as our Prieſts in theſe days may tranſgreſs and of- "fend as much, and rather more againſt the Lords anoin- "ted, it followeth, that by the pleaſure of God, the ſecular "Lords may likewiſe puniſh them for their offence.

7. The example of Chriſt paying of Tribute.

"Our Saviour being King of Kings, and high Biſhop, "with his Diſciples, did give Tribute unto *Cæſar*, as it ap- "peareth in the 17th Chap. of S. *Matthews Goſpel*, and "commanded the Scribes and Phariſees to give the like "unto *Cæſar*, S. *Matth.* 22. Whereby he gave example "unto all Prieſts that would come after him to render Tri- "bute unto their Kings: Whereupon bleſſed S. *Ambroſe* "in his fourth Book upon theſe Words in the 5th of S. *Luke*, "(Caſt out your nets) writeth thus; There is another "kind of fiſhing amongſt the Apoſtles, after which man- "ner the Lord commanded *Peter* only to fiſh, ſaying, "Caſt out thy Hook, and that Fiſh which cometh firſt up, "take him. And then unto the purpoſe he ſaith; It is "truly a great and ſpiritual document, whereby all Chri- "ſtian men are taught, that they ought to be ſubject unto "the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that "the Laws of a King here on Earth are to be broken. For "if the Son of God did pay Tribute, who art thou ſo "great a man, that thinkeſt thou oughteſt not to pay "Tribute? He payed Tribute which had no poſſeſſions; "and thou which daily ſeekeſt after the lucre of the World, "why doſt thou not acknowledge the obedience and du- "ty of the World? Why doſt thou through the arrogan- "cy of thy mind exalt thy ſelf above the World, when "as, through thine own miſerable covetouſneſs, thou art "ſubject unto the World? Thus writeth S. *Ambroſe*, and "it is put in the 11. q. 1. *Magnum quidem*. He alſo writeth "upon theſe words in *Luke* 20. *Shew me a peny, whoſe* "*Image hath it?* If Chriſt had not the Image of *Cæſar*, "why did he pay any Tribute? He gave it not of his own, "but rendred unto the World, that which was the Worlds: "and if thou wilt not be in danger of *Cæſar*, poſſeſs not "thoſe things which are the Worlds; for if thou haſt riches "thou art in danger of *Cæſar*.

S. *Ambroſes* mind.

Chriſt commanded Tribute to be paid unto the Emperor.

"Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing unto any Earthly "King, forſake all thoſe things, and follow Chriſt. If "then all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, having riches, ought to "be under the ſubjection of Kings, and give unto them "Tribute: It followeth that Kings may lawfully, by the "Authority which is given them take away their Tempo- "ralties from them.

Paul appealed to the Emperor.

"Hereupon S. *Paul*, acknowledging himſelf to be under "juriſdiction of the Emperor, appealed unto *Cæſar*, as it "appeareth, *Acts* 25.

S. *Ambroſe* there in the 8 Diſtinct.

"I ſtand, ſaith he, at *Cæſars* Judgment ſeat, there I "ought to be judged. Whereupon in the eighth Diſtinc- "on, Chapter *Quo jure*, S. *Ambroſe* alledgeth, that all

" things are lawful unto the Emperor, and all things under
" his Power. For the confirmation whereof it is faid,
Dan. 2. " *Daniel* fecond Chapter, The God of Heaven hath given
" unto thee a Kingdom, Strength, Empire and Glory,
" and all places wherein the Children of men do dwell,
" and hath given into thy Power the Beafts of the field,
" and Fowls of the Air, and fet all things under thy Sub-
" jection.

" Alfo in the 11. *queſtion* and 1. he faith, If the Em-
9. " peror require Tribute, we do not deny that the Lands of
" the Church fhall pay Tribute; if the Emperor have need
" of our Lands, he hath power to challenge them, let him
" take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the Em-
" peror, neither do I deny them. This writeth S. *Ambroſe*,
" expreſly declaring that the fecular Lord hath power at
" his pleaſure to take away the Lands of the Church; and
" ſo conſequently the fecular Lords have power at their
" own pleaſures to take away the Temporal goods from
" the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, when they do offend.

10. S. Auguſtine " *Item*, S. *Auguſtine* writeth, If thou ſayſt, what have
" we do with the Emperor? But now as I faid, we ſpeak
" of manas Law. The Apoſtles would be Obedient unto
" Kings, and honour them, ſaying, *Reverence your Kings*;
" *and do not ſay, What have I to do with the King?*
" What hait thou then to do with Poſſeſſions? By the
" Kings Law thy Poſſeſſions are poſſeſſed. Thou haſt ſaid,
" What have I to do with the King? but do not ſay, What
" have thy Poſſeſſions to do with the King? For then haſt
" thou renounced the Laws of men, whereby thou didſt
" poſſeſs thy Lands. Thus writeth S. *Auguſtine* in his
" eigth *Diſtinct.* by whoſe words it is manifeſt, that the
" King hath power over the Church-goods, and conſe-
" quently may take them away from the Clergy tranſ-
" greſſing or offending.

11. Magiſtrates, Keepers of both Laws. " *Item*, in his three and thirtieth Epiſtle unto *Boniface*,
" he ſaith, What ſober man will ſay unto our Kings, Care
" not you in your Kingdom, by whom the Church of the
" Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppreſſed; it
" pertaineth not unto you, who will be either a religious
" man, or who will be a Church-Robber? Unto whom
" it may be thus anſwered, Doth it not pertain unto us in
" our Kingdom, who will either live a chaſt life, or who
" will be an unchaſt Whoremonger? Behold, this holy
The duty of Kings to punish the Clergy. " man ſheweth here how that it is the duty of Kings to
" puniſh ſuch as are Robbers of Churches, and conſequent-
" ly the proud Clergy when as they do offend.

12. " *Item*, he writeth in the 33. *queſt.* 7. *Si de rebus*;
" The fecular Lords may lawfully take away the Temporal
" goods from Hereticks; and forſomuch it is a caſe greatly
" poſſible that many of the Clergy are ufers of Simony, and
" thereby Hereticks, therefore the fecular Lords may very
" lawfully take away their Temporalties from them. For
" what unworthy thing is it, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, if the *Cacho-*
" *licks* do poſſeſs, according unto the will of the Lord, thoſe
" things which the Hereticks held? Forſomuch as this is
" the word of the Lord unto all wicked men, *Mat.* 21. *The*
Mat. 21. " *Kingdom of God ſhall be taken away from you, and given*
" *unto a Nation, which ſhall do the righteouſneſs thereof*;
" is it in vain which is written in the eleventh Chapter of
Wiſdom 11. " the Book of *Wiſdom*? *The juſt ſhall eat the labours of*
" *the wicked.*

An objection of the deſire of other mens goods. " And whereas it may be objected as touching the de-
" ſire of other mens goods, S. *Auguſtine* anſwereth, That
" by that evidence the ſeven Nations, which did abuſe the
" Land of Promiſe, and were driven out from thence by
" the Power of God, may object the ſame unto the people
" of God, which inhabit the ſame. And the *Jews* them-
" ſelves, from whom, according unto the word of the
" Lord, The Kingdom is taken away, and given unto a
" people, which ſhall do the works of Righteouſneſs, may
" object the ſame unto the Church of Chriſt, as touching
" the deſire of other mens goods; but S. *Auguſtines* An-
" ſwer is thus:

" *We*, ſaith he, *do not deſire another mans goods; for-*
" *ſomuch as they are ours by the Commandment of him,*
" *by whom all things were made.* By like evidence the
" Clergy having offended, their Temporal goods are
" made the goods of others, for the profit of the Church.
S. Auguſtine 24 queſt 4. " To this purpoſe alſo, according to Saint *Auguſtine*
" ſerveth the fourteenth *queſtion* 4. Unto a misbeliever it
" is not a half-penny matter, but unto the Faithful is a
" whole World of riches: ſhall we not then convince all
" ſuch to poſſeſs another mans goods, which ſeemed to
" have gathered great riches together, and know not how
" to uſe them? for that truly is not anothers, which is
" poſſeſſed by right: and that is lawfully poſſeſſed, which
" is juſtly poſſeſſed; and that is juſtly poſſeſſed, which is
" well poſſeſſed. *Ergo*, all that which is evil poſſeſſed is
" another mans, and he doth ill poſſeſs it, which doth evil
" uſe it.

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" If then any of the Clergy do abuſe the Temporal
" goods, the Temporal Lords may at their own pleaſure, ac-
" cording unto the rule of charity, take away the ſaid Tem-
" poral goods from the Clergy ſo tranſgreſſing. For then,
" according to the Allegation aforeſaid, the Clergy doth not
" juſtly poſſeſs thoſe Temporal goods, but the Temporal
" Lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, do
" juſtly poſſeſs thoſe Temporalties, forſomuch as all things
" are the juſt mans, 1 *Cor.* 3. *All things*, ſaith the Apoſtle,
" *are yours*; *whether it be* Paul, *or* Apollo, *or* Cephas; 1 *Cor.* 3.
" *either the World, either Life or Death, or things preſent,*
" *or things to come: for all things be yours, you be Chriſts,* By Gods
" *and Chriſt is Gods.* Alſo in the twenty third *queſtion* 7. Law.
" *Quicunque*, it is written; *Sure divino omnia ſunt juſto-* Conſil. juſto-
" *rum*, The words of S. *Auguſtine* in that place, *ad Vincen-* rum. ufq. ad.
" *tium*, be theſe, Whoſoever, faith he, upon the occaſion of *cunctari.*
" this Law or Ordinance of the Emperor, doth moleſt or
" perſecute you, not for love of any charitable correction,
" but only for hatred and malice to do you diſpleaſure, I
" hold not with him in ſo doing.

" And although there is nothing here in this earth, that
" any man may poſſeſs aſſuredly, but either he muſt hold
" it by Gods Law, by which *cuncta juſtorum eſſe dicuntur*;
" that is, all things be ſaid to pertain to the poſſeſſion of
" the Juſt: or elſe by mans Law, which ſtandeth in the
" Kings Power to ſet and to ordain, &c. Here, by the words
" of S. *Auguſtine* alledged, ye ſee all things belong to the
" poſſeſſion of the Juſt, by Gods Law.

12. The Clergy ſubject unto the Emperor and King by means of their poſſeſſions. " *Item*, forſomuch as the Clergy by means of their poſ-
" ſeſſions are in danger of the Emperor and King: it fol-
" loweth, that if they do offend, the Emperor or King
" may lawfully take away their poſſeſſions from them:
" The conſequence dependeth on this point, forſomuch as
" otherwiſe they were not in ſubjection under the Emperor
" or King: and the antecedent is manifeſt by the eleventh
" *queſtion* and firſt *Parag. His ita reſpondetur.* Whereas
" it is ſpecified in *Latin* thus, *His ita reſpondetur, Clerici*
" *ex officio Epiſcopo ſunt ſuppoſiti, ex poſſeſſionibus præ-*
" *diorum Imperatori ſunt obnoxii: ab Epiſcopo unctionem,*
" *decimas, & primitias accipiunt; ab Imperatore vero*
" *prædiorum poſſeſſiones nanciſcuntur*: that is to ſay, The
" Clergy by means of their Office are under the Biſhop, but
" by reaſon of their poſſeſſions they be ſubject unto the
" Emperor: Of the Biſhop they receive Unction, Tythes,
" and Firſt-fruits; of the Emperor they receive poſſeſſions.
" Thus then it is decreed by the Emperial Law, That
" Livelihoods ſhould be poſſeſſed; whereby it appeareth,
" that the Clergy by the poſſeſſion of their Livelihoods
" are in danger of the Emperor for him to take away from
" them, or to correct them according to their deſervings,
" and to have the controulment of them, as it ſhall ſeem
" good unto him.

14. Uſes of Simony are puniſhed by the civil Magiſtrate. " *Item*, the Temporal Lords may take away the Tem-
" poralties from ſuch as uſe Simony, becauſe they are He-
" reticks. *Ergo*, this Article is true.

" The Antecedent is manifeſt, forſomuch as the Secular
" Lords may refuſe ſuch as uſe Simony, and puniſh them
" except they do repent. For by the decree of Pope *Paſ-* *Paſchalis in* E. 9. *alis. cap. piter.*
" *chalis* in the firſt and laſt *queſtion* it appeareth, that
" ſuch as uſed Simony were to be refuſed of all faithful
" people, as chief and principal Hereticks; and if they do
" not repent after they be warned, they are alſo to be
" puniſhed by the extern Power. For all other faults and
" crimes, in compariſon of Simony, be counted but light,
" and ſeem ſmall offences.

The Laity correctors of the Clergy. " Whereupon the *Gloſs*, expounding the ſame Text,
" ſaith, That by this word *Extern*, is underſtood the Laity,
" which have power over the Clergy, beſides the Church,
" as in the 17. *Diſtinct. Non licuit, &* 23. *queſt.* 5. *Prin-*
" *cipes.* Whereby it is evident, that the Temporal Lords
" may take away the Temporal goods from the Clergy
" when as they do offend.

" *Item*,

{ KING } *Ric. 2.*

Gregory writeth to the French Queen.

" *Item*, S. *Gregory* in the Regiſter upon his ſeventh Book
" and ninth Chapter, writeth thus unto the *French* Queen:
" For ſo much as it is written that righteouſneſs helpeth
" the people, and ſin maketh them miſerable: then is that
" Kingdom counted ſtable, when as the offence which is
" known, is ſoon amended.

Wicked Prieſts the deſtruction of the people.

" Therefore, for ſo much as wicked Prieſts are the cauſe
" of the ruine of the people, (for who ſhall take upon him,
" to be Intercceſſor for the ſins of the people, if the Prieſt
" which ought to intreat for the ſame, have committed
" greater offences) and under your Dominions the Prieſts
" do live wickedly and unchaſtly: therefore that the of-
" fence of a few might not turn to the deſtruction of
" many, we ought earneſtly to ſeek the punihment of the
" ſame. And it followeth, If we do command any perſon,
" we do ſend him forth, with the conſent of your Autho-
" rity, who together with other Prieſts, ſhall diligently
" ſeek out, and according unto Gods word correct and
" amend the ſame. Neither are theſe things to be diſſembled,
" the which we have ſpoken of, for he that may correct
" any thing, and doth neglect the ſame, without all doubt
" he maketh himſelf partaker of the ſin or offence.

" Therefore foreſee unto your own Soul, provide for
" your Nephews, and for ſuch as you do deſire to Reign
" after you, provide for your Country, and with diligence
" provide for the correction and puniſhment of that ſin, be-
" fore our Creator do ſtretch out his hand to ſtrike.

S. Gregory to the French King.

" And in his next Chapter he writeth unto the *French*
" King: Whatſoever you do underſtand to pertain either
" unto the Honour and Glory of our God, to the reverence
" of the Church, or to the honour of the Prieſts, that do
" you diligently cauſe to be decreed, and in all points to be
" obſerved. Wherefore once again we do move you, that
" you command a Synod to be congregate, and as we
" wrote lately unto you, to cauſe all the carnal Vices, which
" reign amongſt your Prieſts, and all the wickedneſs and
" Simony of your Biſhops (which is moſt hard to be con-
" demned and reproved) utterly to be baniſhed out of your
" Kingdom; and that you will not ſuffer them to poſſeſs
" any more ſubſtance under your Dominion, than Gods
" commandment doth allow.

" Behold how carefully bleſſed *Gregory* doth exhort the
" Queen and the King to puniſh the Vices of the Clergy, leſt
" through their negligence they ſhould be partakers of the
" ſame; and how they ought to correct their Subjects.
" For as it is convenient to be circumſpect and careful
" againſt the outward enemies; even ſo likewiſe ought
" they to be againſt the inward enemies of the Soul. And
" like as in juſt War againſt the outward enemies it is
" lawful to take away their goods, ſo long as they continue
" in their malice; ſo alſo it is lawful to take away the
" goods of the Clergy, being the inward enemy. The con-
" ſequence is proved thus, for ſo much as the domeſtical
" enemies are moſt hurtful.

" *Item*, it is thus argued; If God be, the Temporal Lords
" may meritoriouſly and lawfully take away the Temporal
" goods from the Clergy, if they do offend. For this point
" let us ſuppoſe that we ſpeak of power, as the true authen-
" tick Scripture doth ſpeak, *Mat.* 3. 9. *God is able even*
" *of thoſe ſtones to raiſe up Children to* Abraham.

" Whereupon it is thus argued; For if God be, he is
" Omnipotent, and if he ſo be, he may give like power
" unto the ſecular Lords. And ſo conſequently they may
" meritoriouſly and lawfully uſe the ſame power. But leſt
" that any man may object, that a proof made by a ſtrange
" thing is not ſufficient; it is therefore declared how that
" the Temporal Lords have power to take away their
" Alms beſtowed upon the Church, the Church abuſing
" the ſame, as it ſhall be proved hereafter. And firſt thus,
" It is lawful for Kings, in caſes limited by the Law, to
" take away the moveables from the Clergy when they do
" offend: it is thus proved, For the Temporal Lords are
" moſt bound unto the works of greateſt mercy moſt eaſie
" for them: but in caſe poſſible, it ſhould be greater Alms
" and eaſier Temporal Dominion, to take away their Alms
" from ſuch as build therewithall unto eternal damna-
" tion, through the abuſe thereof, than to give the ſaid
" Alms for any bodily relief. *Ergo*, the aſſumption is true.

" Whereupon firſt this Sentence of the Law of Chriſt in
" the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* the third Chapter
" is noted, whereas the Apoſtle writeth thus; when we
" were amongſt you, we declared this unto you, *That he*
" *that would not work ſhould not eat.* Wherefore the law
" of Nature doth licence all ſuch as have the Governance
" of Kingdoms, to correct the abuſe of the Temporalties,
" which would be the chief cauſe of the deſtruction of their
" Kingdoms; whether the Temporal Lords, or any other,
" had endowed the Church with thoſe Temporalties or
" not. It is lawful for them in ſome caſe to take away the
" Temporalties, as it were by way of Phyſick, to withſtand
" ſin, notwithſtanding any Excommunication, or other
" Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; forſomuch as they are not en-
" dowed, but only with condition thereunto annexed.

When and how the title of any gift is loſt.

" Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the
" endowing, or enriching of any Church, is, that God
" ſhould be honoured: the which condition if it once fail,
" the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is loſt, and
" conſequently the Lord which gave the Alms ought
" to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not
" to let the fulfilling of Juſtice. Secondly, according to the
" Canon Law, 16. *queſtion* 7. this Sentence is noted, where
" it is thus ſpoken as touching the Children Nephews, and
" the moſt honeſt of the Kindred of him which hath build-
" ed or endowed any Church: That it is lawful for them
" to be thus circumſpect, that if they perceive the Prieſt
" do defraud any part of that which is beſtowed, they ſhould
" either gently admoniſh or warn him, or elſe complain
" of him to the Biſhop, that he may be corrected. But if
" the Biſhop himſelf attempt to do the like, let them com-
" plain of him to his Metropolitan: and if the Metropoli-
" tan do the like, let them not defer the time to report it
" in the ears of the King. For ſo ſaith the Canon, Let them
" not defer to report it in the ears of the King. To what
" end I pray you, but that he ſhould do correction? neither
" is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more apper-
" tain unto the King in this points for their good, whereof
" he is chief Lord by a ſubſtraction proportional, according
" to the fault or offence.

It is lawful for the civil Rulers to correct the Clergy.

" *Item*, it is thus proved; It is lawful for the ſecular
" Lords by their power to do correction upon the
" Clergy by ſome kind of fearful Diſcipline appertain-
" ing to their ſecular power: *Ergo*, by like reaſon it is
" lawful for them by their power to do ſuch correction,
" by all kind of fearful Diſcipline pertaining unto their
" ſecular power. For ſo much then as the taking of
" their Temporalties is a kind of fearful diſcipline pertain-
" ing unto the ſecular power; it followeth that it is law-
" ful for them thereby to do ſuch correction. And conſe-
" quently it followeth that the Truth is thus to be proved.
" The conſequence is evident; and the antecedent is
" proved by *Iſidore* 23. *queſt.* 5. *Principes.* Where it
" is thus written, There ſhould be no ſecular powers
" within the Church, but only for this purpoſe, that
" whatſoever thing the Prieſts or Miniſters cannot bring
" to paſs by Preachings or Teachings, the ſecular powers
" may command the ſame by the terrour and fear of Diſ-
" cipline. For oftentimes the heavenly Kingdom is pro-
" fited and holden by the earthly Kingdom: that they
" which are in the Church, and do any thing contrary
" unto faith and diſcipline, by the rigour of the Princes
" may be trodden down, and that the power of the Rulers
" may lay that diſcipline upon the necks of the proud and
" diſobeyed, which the utility and profit of the Church
" cannot exerciſe or uſe.

" *Item*, all things that by power ought to work or
" bring to any perfect end by the reaſonable meaſuring
" of the mean thereto, may lawfully uſe by power the
" ſubſtraction or taking away of the exceſs, and the ad-
" dition of the want of the means, according as ſhall
" be convenient or meet for the meaſure to be made.
" For ſo much then as the ſecular Lords ought by their
" power to provide for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the
" Chriſtian Clergy by the reaſonable meaſuring of their
" Temporalties, which they are bound to beſtow upon
" the Chriſtian Clergy, it followeth, that they may law-
" fully by their power uſe the taking away or putting
" unto of thoſe Temporalties according as ſhall be conve-
" nient for the performance of that reaſonable matter.

" *Item*, it is lawful for the Clergy, by their power to
" take away the Sacraments of the Church from the Laity
" cuſtomably offending, for ſo much as it doth pertain
" to the Office of the Chriſtian Miniſters by their power to

" miniſter

" minister the same unto the Lay-people. Wherefore, for
" so much as it doth pertain unto the Office of the Laity,
" according unto their power to minister, and give Tem-
" poralties to the Clergy of Christ, as the Apostle saith,
" 1 *Cor.* 9. It followeth, that it is also lawful for them
" by their power to take away the Temporalties from the
" Clergy, when they do customably sin and offend.

20. " *Item*, by like power may he which giveth a stipend
" or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from
" the unworthy Labourers, as he hath power to give the
" same unto the worthy Labourers: forsomuch then as
" Temporalties of the Clergy, are the stipends of the Laity;
" it followeth that the Lay-people may by as good author-
" rity take away again the same from the Clergy, which
" will not worthily labour, as they might by their power
" bestow the same upon those which would worthily la-
" bour, according to the saying of the Gospel, *Matth* 21.
" *The Kingdom shall be taken away from you, and given*
" *unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits there-*
" *of.*

21. " *Item*, it is also lawful for the secular Lords, by their
" power, to chastise and punish the Lay-people when they
" do offend, by taking away of their Temporalties accord-
" ing to the exigent of their offence, forsomuch as the Lay-
" people are subject under the Dominion of the Secular
" Lords, as appears, *Rom.* 13. and many other places, it is
" evident that it is lawful by their power to punish the
" Clergy, by taking away of their Temporalties, if their
" offence do so deserve.

22. " *Item*, the true and easie direction of the Clergy unto
" the life of Christ and the Apostles, and most profit-
" able unto the Laity, that the Clergy should not live
" contrary unto Christs Institution, seemeth to be the taking
" away of their Alms, and those things which they had
" bestowed upon them. And it is thus proved, That
" medicine is most apt to be laid unto the sore, whereby
" the infirmity might sooneſt be holpen, and were most
" agreeable unto the Patients: Such is the taking away
" of the Temporalties: *Ergo*, this Article is true. The
" minor is thus proved, forsomuch as by the abundance of
" Temporalties the Worm or Serpent of Pride is sprung
" up, whereupon unstasiable desire and lust is inflamed,
" and therefrom proceedeth all kind of gluttony and le-
" chery. It is evident in this point, for so much as the
" Temporalties being once taken away, every one of
" those sins is either utterly taken away, or at the least
" diminished, by the contrary vertue induced and brought
" in. It seemeth also most pertinent unto the Laity, for
" so much as they ought not to lay violent hands upon
" their Ministers, or to abject the Priestly Dignity, neither
" to judge any of the Clergy in their open Courts. It seem-
" eth also by the law of conscience to pertain unto the Lay-
" people, for so much as every man, which worketh any
" work of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the
" ability of them that he bestoweth his Alms upon; lest
" that by nourishing or helping Loyterers, he be made par-
" taker of his offence. Whereupon, if Priests do not minister
" of their Spiritualties, as *Hostiensis* teacheth in his third
" Book, Of their Tythes, First-Fruits and Oblations, the
" people ought to take away the Alms of their Tythes from
" them.

23. " *Item*, it is confirmed by the last Chapter of the seven-
" teenth question, out of the decree of Rents appropriate
" unto the Church, *Quicunque*. Whereas the case is put
" thus, That a certain man having no Children, neither
" hoping to have any, gave all his goods unto the Church,
" reserving unto himself the only use and profits thereof:
" it hapned afterward that he had Children and the Bishop
" restored again his goods unto him not hoping for it.
" The Bishop had it in his power, whether to render again,
" or no, those things which were given him; but that
" was by the law of man, and not by the law of consci-
" ence. If then by the decree of the holy Doctor S. *Au-*
" *gustine* in his Sermon of the life of the Clergy, *Aurelius*
" the Bishop of *Carthage* had no power by Gods Law to
" withhold that which is bestowed upon the Church for
" the necessity of Children; by the which Law, the wan-
" ton, proud, and unstable Clergy, being more than sufficiently possessed and inriched, do detain and keep back the
" Temporalties to the detriment and hurt of their own
" state; and of the whole Militant-Church, the secular
" Patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are com- {KING *Ric.* 2.}
" pelled by penury to rob and steal, to oppress their Tenants,
" to spoil and undo others, and oftentimes by very necessity
" are driven to beggery.

24. " *Item*, suppose that a Priest and Minister, how grievously
" soever he do offend, by what kind or sign of offence
" soever it be, as it was in the case of Bishop *Judas Isca-*
" *riot*, of the religious Monk *Sergius*, of Pope *Leo* the
" Heretick, and many other Priests, of whom the Scrip-
" ture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience
" doth teach us the same: it is evident, that, as it is sup-
" posed, the Priests in the Kingdom of *Boheme* grievously
" offending, it is the Kings Part, for so much as he is
" Supream Head next under God, and Lord of the King-
" dom of *Boheme*, to correct and punish those Priests. And
" for so much as the gentlest correction and punishment of
" such as be indurate in their malice, is, the casting
" away of their Temporal goods, it followeth, that it is
" lawful for the King to take away Temporalties. Where-
" fore it should seem very marvelous and strange, if that
" Priests riding about should spoil Virgins, violently cor-
" rupt and defile honest Matrons; if in such case it were
" not lawful for them to take away their Armors, Weapons,
" Horses, Guns and Swords from them. The like reason
" were it also, if they had unlawfully conspired the death
" of the King, or that they would betray the King unto his
" Enemies.

25. " *Item*, whatsoever any of the Clergy doth require or
" desire of the secular Power, according unto the Law
" and Ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to
" perform and grant the same. But the Clergy, being let-
" ted by riches, ought to require help of the secular power
" for the dispensation of the said riches. *Ergo*, the secular
" power ought in such case, by the Law of Christ, to take
" upon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and
" distributing all such manner of riches. The minor is
" hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but
" to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping
" unto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore
" in case that secular possession do hinder the Clergy from
" their duty, the secular power ought to take it away, for
" so did the Apostles, *Acts* the sixth, saying, *It is not law-*
" *ful for us to leave the word of God untaught, and to*
" *minister unto Tables.*

" And thus hitherto hath *John Hus* prosecuted *Wick-*
" *liffs* Articles with long arguments and reasons; and it
" were too long a travel, neither agreeable for this place,
" to alledge all the whole order of his reasons and proofs,
" which he used in that disputation, above the number of
" twenty more, besides the testimonies of all the Writers be-
" fore recited, the which he alledgeth out of the Scriptures,
" Decretals, S. *Ambrose* in his Book of Offices, S. *Augustine*
" in his fifth Book and fifth question, and also unto *Ma-*
" *cedo*, *Isidore*, the Council of *Nice*, *Gregory* his eleventh
" question, *Bernard* unto *Eugenius* in his third Book, and
" out of *Lincolniensis* the sixty first Epistle, besides
" many other more. The sum of all which Testimonies
" tend unto this end, that he might utterly take away all
" earthly Rule and Dominion from the Clergy, and to
" bring them under the subjection and censure of Kings
" and Emperors, as it were within certain bonds, the which
" is not only agreeable unto equity and Gods word, but
" also profitable for the Clergy themselves. He teacheth it
" also to be necessary, that they should rather be subject
" under the secular power, than to be above them; because
" that else it were dangerous, lest that they being entangled
" with such kind of business, they should be an easier prey
" unto Satan, and sooner trapped in his Snares. And
" thereby it should come to pass, that the Governance and
" Principality of all things being at the length brought
" into the hands of the Clergy, the lawful Authority of
" Kings and Princes should not only be given over unto
" them, but in a manner as it were grow out of use; spe-
" cially for so much as already, in certain Kingdoms and
" Commonwealths, the Ecclesiastical Power is grown unto
" such height, that not only in *Boheme*, but also almost
" throughout all the Commonwealths, they do occupy the
" third, or at least the fourth part of the Rents and Re-
" venues. And last of all, he alledgeth the Example of
" *Gregory* and of *Mauritius*, and afterward the Prophecy *Hildegardis.*
" of *Hildegardis*, writing in this manner.

As

{KING *Ric.* 2.} " As the Ecclesiastical Ministers do willingly receive re-
" ward and praise of Kings and Rulers for their good
" deeds; so also ought they, when they do offend, willing-
" ly suffer and receive punishment at their hands for their
" evil doings. The consequence holdeth thus, For so
" much as the punishment meekly and humbly received
Gregorius ad Mauritium. " for his offence doth more profit a man, than his praise
" received for any good work. Whereupon Saint *Gre-*
" *gory* writeth thus unto *Mauritius* the Emperor, when
" he did persecute him, saying, *I believe that you do*
" *please Almighty God so much the better, in so cruelly*
" *afflicting me, which have been so evil a Servant unto*
" *him.* If then this holy Pope did so humbly and meekly,
" without any offence, suffer this affliction of the Emperor;
" why should not any of the Clergy, when they do offend,
" meekly sustain punishment at the Kings or Rulers hands,
" under whom he is bounden to be subject? When as
" the true Vicar of Christ saith, the first of *Peter* and se-
" cond Chapter, *Be ye subject unto every Creature for*
" *Gods cause, whether it be unto the King, as most excel-*
" *lent, or unto the Rulers, as men sent of God for the punish-*
" *ing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good; for so*
" *is the good will of God.*

Pope Leo submitteth himself unto the Emperor Ludovicus. " Whereupon Pope *Leo*, leaning unto this Rule, sub-
" mitted himself unto *Ludovicus* the Emperor, as it is
" written in the second question 7. under these words, If
" we have done any thing incompetently, or if we have
" not observed the upright path and way of equity amongst
" Subjects, we will amend the same, either by your own
" judgment, or else by the advice or judgment of those
" which you shall appoint for that purpose. For if we,
" which ought to correct and punish other mens faults, do
" commit more grievous our selves, we are not then the
" Disciples of the Truth (but with sorrow we speak it) we
" shall be above all other the Masters of Error.

" And in the tenth Distinction he writeth thus, As
" touching the Obedience unto the Emperor, as concern-
" ing the Precepts and Commandments of our Emperors,
" and our Predecessors Bishops (the which the *Gloss* nameth
" *Emperors*, which are anointed after the manner of Bi-
" shops) to be observed and kept unbroken, we do profess
" our selves by all means possible, as much as in us lieth,
" or that we may and can, we will by the help of God
" preserve and keep them both now and ever. And if per-
" adventure any man do inform, or hereafter shall inform
" you otherwise, know you him affuredly to be a lyer and
" flanderer.

" Mark how this devout and holy Pope, calling the
" Emperors Bishops, submitted himself according to the
The tyranny and pride of the Clergy. " rule of Saint *Peter* the Apostle under the Obedience, and
" also punishment of the Emperor. Wherefore then should
" not the Clergy of the Kingdom of *Boheme* submit them-
" selves under the Obedience of their King, for Gods cause,
" to be punished if they do offend; and not only submit
" themselves unto the King, but also unto the Rulers;
" and not only unto the Rulers, but unto every other
" Creature? For by how much they do so humble and
" abase themselves in this world for Gods sake, so much
" the more shall they be exalted with him: but what is
" the let thereof, but only pride, whereby *Antichrist* doth
" exalt himself, above the most humble and meek Lord
The Prophesy of Hildegardis. " Jesus Christ?

" Also it seemeth to appear by that which is aforesaid
" upon the taking away of the Temporalties, out of the
" Prophetie of *Hildegardis* the Virgin, the which he writ-
" eth in his Books under *Eugenius* the Pope in the Council
" of *Treverey*, approved and allowed by many Bishops of
" *France*, *Italy* and *Almaine*, which were there present
" whereas also Saint *Bernard* himself was present; the
" which Virgin prophesying, spake in this manner: The
" Kings and other Rulers of the world, being stirred up
" by the just Judgment of God, shall set themselves against
" them, and run upon them, saying, We will not have
" these men to Reign over us with their rich Houses and
" great Possessions, and other worldly riches, over the
" which we are ordained to be Lords and Rulers; and
" how is it meet or comely that those shavelings with their
" stoles and chisils should have more Souldiers, or more or
" richer Armour or Artillery than we? So is it not conve-
" nient that one of the Clergy should be a man of war,
" neither a Souldier to be one of the Clergy. Wherefore let
" us take away from them that, which they do not justly,
" but wrongfully possess. And immediately after the faith,
" The Omnipotent Father equally divided all things; that
" is to say, the Heavens he gave unto the heavenly Crea-
" tures, and the Earth unto the earthly. And by this
" means was there a just division made between the Chil-
" dren of men, that the Spirituality should have such things
" as belong unto them, and the secular people, such things
" as are meet and necessary for them, so that neither of
" these two sorts should oppress each other by violence;
" for God doth not command, that the one Son or Child
" should have both the Cloke and the Coat, and the other
" should go naked, but he willed that the one should have
" the Cloke, and the other the Coat. Wherefore the se-
" cular sort ought to have the Cloke for the greatness of
" their worldly Cares, and for their Children, which daily
" increase and multiply. The Coat he giveth unto the
" Spirituality, that they should not lack clothing, and that
" they should not possess more than necessity doth require.
" Wherefore we judge and think it good, and all these
" aforesaid be divided by reason and equity. And whereas
" the Cloke and the Coat are both found, there the Cloke
" should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that
" they do not perish for lack or want. These aforesaid
" spake the Virgin *Hildegardis*, plainly forethewing the
" taking away of the Temporalties from the Clergy by the
" secular Lords, and shewing for what cause they shall be
" so taken away. And what manner of division shall be
" made of those things that are taken away, that they be
" not consumed, and spent unprofitably.

Forsomuch as mention is here made of *Hildegardis*, it shall not seem impertinent, moved by the occasion hereof, to give forth unto the Reader such things as we have found in certain old Volumes, touching her Prophecy of the coming of certain false Prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging-Fryers which sprang up shortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

" In those days there shall rise up a people without un- *Hildegardis prophesying of Fryers and Monks.*
" derstanding, proud, covetous, untrusty, and deceitful, the
" which shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain
" Order of foolish devotion, under the the fained Cloke
" of beggery, preferring themselves above all other, by
" their fained devotion, arrogant understanding, and pre-
" tended holiness, walking without shamefastness, or the
" fear of God, inventing many new mischiefs, being strong
" and stout: but this Order shall be accursed of all wise
" men and faithful Christians; they shall cease from labour,
" and give themselves over unto idleness; clooching, rather
" to live through flattery and by begging. Moreover, they
" shall together study, how they may perverstly resist the
" Teachers of the Truth, and stay them together with the
" Noblemen; how to seduce and deceive the Nobility, for
" the necessity of their living and pleasures of this world;
" for the Devil will graft in them four principal Vices: that
" is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrities and slander. Flattery,
" that they may have large gifts given them. Envy, when
" they see gifts given unto other, and not unto them. Hy-
" pocrisie, that by false dissimulation, they may please men.
" Detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves,
" and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing
" of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach without
" devotion or example of the Martyrs, and shall detract the
" secular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church
" from the true Pastors, receiving Alms of the poor, diseased
" and miserable, and also afficiating themselves with the
" common people, having familiarity with women, in-
" structing them how they shall deceive their Husbands
" and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob
" their Husbands to give it unto them: for they will take
" all these stollen and evil gotten goods, and say, *Give it*
" *unto us, and we will pray for you*; so that they being curi-
" ous to hide other mens faults, do utterly forget their owns
" and alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers,
" Spellers, Thieves and Robbers, of sacrilegious Persons,
" Usurers, and Adulterers, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Apostates,
" Whores and Bawds, of Noblemen, Perjurers, Merchants, false
" Judges, Souldiers, tyrants, Princes, of such as live contrary to
the

" the Law,and of many perverſe and wicked men, follow-
" ing the perſwaſion of the Devil, the ſweetneſs of ſin, a
" delicate and tranſitory life, and fulneſs even unto eternal
" damnation. All theſe things ſhall manifeſtly appear in them
" unto all people,and they day by day ſhall wax more wic-
" ked and hard-hearted; and when as their wickedneſs and
" deceits ſhall be found out, then ſhall their gifts ceaſe, and
" then ſhall they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad
" Dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in
" their Necks as Doves, that they might be ſatisfied with
" bread: then ſhall the people cry out upon them,Woe be
" unto you ye miſerable Children of ſorrow, the world
" hath ſeduced you, the Devil hath bridled your mouths,
" your fleſh is frail, and your hearts without ſavour, your
" minds have been unſtedfaſt, and your eyes delighted in
" much vanity and folly, your dainty Bellies deſire delicate
" meats, your feet are ſwift to run unto miſchief. Remem-
" ber when you were apparently bleſſed yet envious, poor
" but rich, ſimple, mighty, devout Flatterers, unfaithful
" Betrayers, perverſe Detracters, holy Hypocrites, Subver-
" ters of the Truth, overmuch Upright, proud, unſhame-
" faſt, unſtedfaſt Teachers, delicate Martyrs, Confeſſors for
" gain, meek ſlanderers, religious, covetous, humble,proud,
" pitiful, hard-hearted, lyers, pleaſant Flatterers, Peace-
" breakers, Perſecutors, Oppreſſors of the Poor, bringing in
" new Sects, newly invented of your ſelves, mercileſs, wic-
" ked, Lovers of the world, Sellers of Pardons, Spoilers of
" Benefices, unprofitable Orators, ſeditious Conſpirators,
" Drunkards, deliverers of Miſchief, Maintainers of Miſchief,
" Robbers of the world, unſtaiable Preachers, Men-pleaſers,
" Seducers of Women, and Sowers of Diſcord: for *Moſes*
" the glorious Prophet ſpake very well of you in his Song:
" A people without counſel or underſtanding; would to
" God they did know, underſtand, and foreſee the end.
" You have builded up on high, and when you could aſ-
" cend no higher, then did you fall; even as *Simon Ma-*
" *gus* whom God overthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruel
" Plague; ſo you likewiſe through your falſe Doctrine,
" naughtineſs, lyes, detractions and wickedneſs, are come
" to ruine: and the people ſhall ſay unto them, go ye
" Teachers of wickedneſs, Subverters of the Truth, Brethren
" of the *Sunamite*, Fathers of Hereſies, falſe Apoſtles, which
" have fained your ſelves to follow the life of the Apoſtles,
" and yet have not fulfilled it in any part, Sons of Iniquity,
" we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for
" pride and preſumption hath deceived you, and inſtaiable
" concupiſcence hath ſubverted your erroneous hearts. And
" when as yet ye would aſcend higher than was meet or
" comely for you, by the juſt Judgment of God you are
" fallen back into perpetual opprobry and ſhame.

" This bleſſed *Hildegardis*, whoſe Prophecy this is,
" flouriſhed about the year of our Lord, 1046. as it is
" written in *Martins Chronicles*.

Hugo de Sacramentis. " Alſo *Hugo* in his ſecond Book *Of Sacraments*, in the
" ſecond part, third Chapter and ſeventh, faith, The Laity
" forſomuch as they intermeddle with earthly matters ne-
" ceſſary unto an earthly life, they are the leaſt part of the
" body of Chriſt. And the Clergy, for ſo much as they
" do diſpoſe thoſe things which pertain unto a ſpiritual
" life, are as it were the right ſide of the body of Chriſt.
" And afterward interpreting both theſe parts himſelf, he
" ſaith, A ſpiritual man ought to have nothing but ſuch as
" pertaineth unto God, unto whom it is appointed to be
" ſuſtained by the Tythes and Oblations which are offered
" unto God: but unto the Chriſtian and faithful Laity
" the poſſeſſion of the Earth is granted; and unto the
" Clergy the whole Charge of ſpiritual matters is commit-
" ted, as it was in the *Old Teſtament*. And in his ſeventh
" Chapter he declareth how that certain things are given
" unto the Church of Chriſt by the devotion of the faith-
" ful, the Power and authority of the Secular Power re-
" ſerved, leſt there might happen any confuſion; Forſo-
" much as God himſelf cannot allow any diſordered thing.
" Whereupon oftentimes the worldly Princes do grant the
" bare uſe of the Church, and oftentimes uſe power
" to exerciſe Juſtice; which the Clergy cannot exerciſe by
" any Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, or any other perſon of the
" Clergy, Notwithſtanding, they may have certain Lay-
" perſons Miniſters unto that Office. But in ſuch ſort, ſaith
" he, that they do acknowledge the power which they
" have to come from the ſecular Prince or Ruler, and that
" they do underſtand their Poſſeſſions can never be alienate
" away from the Kings Power; but (if that neceſſity or
" reaſon do require) the ſame poſſeſſions in all ſuch caſe
" of neceſſity do owe him obeyſance and ſervice. For like
" as the Kings Power ought not to turn away the defence
" or ſafeguard which he oweth unto other: ſo likewiſe the
" poſſeſſions obtained and poſſeſſed by the Clergy, accord-
" ing to the duty and homage which is due unto the Pa-
" tronage of the Kings Power, cannot by right be denied.
" Thus much writes *Hugo*.

{KING Hic. 2.} {KING Hic. 2.}

In the third Act the ſame year, after the Feaſt of S. *Vitis*, as touching Tythes, &c.

Tythes are pure Alms.

UPon this Article it is to be noted, that forſomuch as *Alms is a work of mercy, as* S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, *and others do joyntly affirm, and that mercy (according to* Lincolnienſis *mind) for the preſent is a love or deſire to help the miſerable out of his miſery: and forſomuch as the miſery of Mankind is double; that is to ſay, ſpiritual and bodily, the which is the want or taking away of the goods and the goods of man is either the goods of the Soul or of the Body: And the goods of the Soul is double (that is to ſay, the lightning of the mind, and the uprightneſs of affection) the miſery of the Soul is alſo double, as the darkneſs of ignorance, and a froward and wilful ſwarving from the Truth. And both the goods of the Soul are wont to be comprehended under one Title of name; that is to ſay,* Wiſdom: *and both the miſeries of the Soul under the name of* Folly. *Whereupon all the whole goodneſs of the Soul is Wiſdom, and all the whole miſery thereof is ignorance: The miſeries of the Body are, lack of meat; that is to ſay,* Hunger; *and lack of drink, called* Thirſt: *and briefly, all miſery is the want of ſome thing which is deſired. Alſo theſe are bodily miſeries, nakedneſs, lack of harbour, ſickneſs, and impriſonment. All the miſeries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the Soul, the which is folly and lack of wiſdom, and ſix of the Body: the which the Lord in the twenty fifth Chapter of* S. Matthew *doth plainly rehearſe. There are alſo commonly appointed ſeven bodily Alms; that is to ſay, to feed the hungry, to give drink unto the thirſty, to cloth the naked, to harbour the ſtranger or harbourleſs, to viſit the ſick, and to bury the dead, the which all together are contained in theſe Verſes:*

Alms. Mercy.

Two kinds of miſeries. Two kinds of goodneſs.

Tythes

Wiſdom. Folly.

The miſeries of the Mind and Body.

Viſito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word:

Viſit the Sick, the Hungry feed,
Give drink to the Thirſty, cloth the Naked,
Buy the Dead, the Captive redeem,
The Harbourleſs receive to thy Lodging.

There be alſo ſeven other ſpiritual Alms appointed; which are theſe; To teach the ignorant; To counſel him that is in doubt; To comfort him which is in heavineſs; To correct the Offender; To forgive him which hath offended againſt thee; To bear thoſe which are grievous; And to pray for all man: The which are alſo contained in theſe Verſes following:

What is Alms.

Conſule, caſtiga, ſolare, remitte, fer, ora.

The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word:

Inſtruct the Ignorant, the Weak confirm,
Comfort the heavy Heart, and correct Sin:
Forgive the Offender, bear with the Rude,
Pray for all men both Evil and Good.

So that notwithſtanding under the ſame Counſels and Doctrine be comprehended. Thomas *in the ſecond part of the ſecond* queſt. 23. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be noted that in this preſent Article our intent is only to intreat of bodily Alms, the which is. (As Thomas *writeth in his ſecond Part, ſecond* queſt. 32. and 1.) *according unto ſome mens minds is thus defined;*

What Alms is.

Alms

{KING Hic. 2.} *Alms is a work whereby any thing is given unto the needy, of compaſſion, for Gods ſake. And for ſo much as this definition ſerveth as well for the ſpiritual as for the corporal Alms; therefore to the purpoſe, Alms is a work, whereby any thing is given unto the needy in body for compaſſion, and for Gods ſake. Or that is given of compaſſion or pity unto the bodily needy for Gods ſake.*

Wherefore it is manifeſt that Alms, as Saint Auguſtine *and other holy men ſay, is a work of mercy, as alſo to give Alms. As it appeareth by the name, for in the* Greek *it is derived from this word* Elemonia, *which is* Mercy: *for as in the* Latin, *this word* Miſeratio, *which ſignifieth pity, is derived of* Miſericordia, *which is,* Mercy; *ſo this word* Eleemoſyna, *which ſignifieth Alms, is derived of the* Greek *word* Elemonia, *which is to ſay,* Mercy; *and of the word* Syna, *which is to ſay,* Commandment, *as it were a commandment of mercy, or otherwiſe of this word* Elemonia. *By this Letter* I, *which is to ſay,* God, *and this word* Syna, *which is,* Commandment: *As if it were ſaid,* The Commandment of God, *as* Januenſis *in his Book intituled,* Catholicon *affirmeth.*

For our Saviour doth command, in the 11th *of* Luke *to give Alms, ſaying,* Give Alms, *and behold all things are* clean unto you: *leſt that in this point there may be any equivocation, it is ſuppoſed preſently, that the Alms given of men is a corporal Alms, given ſimply under the name of Alms. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tythes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of Fortune, given by a man ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake.*

Tythes.

Theſe things being thus noted and ſuppoſed, the Article is thus proved. Every gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift ſimply given under the name of Alms, is Alms. But ſome Tythes are the Gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift under the name of Alms. Therefore ſome Tythes are Alms. This conſequence is manifeſt of it ſelf. The major appeareth by the firſt ſuppoſition's. And the minor by the ſecond.

Item, *every Gift given by a man even of love, to relieve and help the miſerable out of his miſery, is an Alms. The tenth part of the goods of Fortune given by a man, ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake, is given by the ſame man even of love, to help the miſerable out of his miſery: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of Fortune, being given by any man ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake, is Alms. The conſequence is manifeſt. The major appeareth by this, that every ſuch gift is either a ſpiritual or bodily Alms. The minor ſeemeth hereby true, forſomuch as many holy men have given, and do give, even for love to relieve the miſerable out of his miſery. Neither is it to be doubted but that ſuch kind of Tythes are Alms. For Saint* Auguſtine *upon theſe words of the Lord in the Goſpel writeth thus,* Woe be unto you Phariſees, which do tythe Mint and Aniſe: *If they cannot be cleanſed without they believe in him, he which doth cleanſe his heart through faith, to what purpoſe is it that he faith,* Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? *Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himſelf. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms; the which any Chriſtian-man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when he ſpake theſe words to them, as unto men which would do no Alms. This the Lord foreknowing, ſaid,* Woe be unto you *Phariſees*, which tythe Mint and Rue, and all kind of herbs, and paſs over the Judgment and Charity of God; *For this it is to do Alms, if thou doſt underſtand it, begin with thy ſelf: For how canſt thou be merciful unto another, which art unmerciful unto thy ſelf? This writeth* S. Auguſtine, *plainly ſaying,* That Tythes are Alms.

S. Auguſtine proveth Tythes to be pure Alms.

Auguſt. in Enchirid.

Alſo in his Enchiridion *in the ſeventy ſixth Chapter upon theſe words of Saint* Luke, *in the eleventh Chapter; Notwithſtanding that which is more than ſufficient, give in Alms, and all things ſhall be clean unto you; he ſaith thus, When he had rebuked them, that they waſhed themſelves outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity and abomination, admoniſhing them, what, and how a man ought firſt to beſtow Alms upon himſelf, and firſt to cleanſe himſelf inwardly, he ſaith,* That which doth remain give in Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you. *Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had given them warning of, and what they had neglected to do, that they ſhould not judge him ignorant of their Alms, he ſaith,* Woe be unto you *Phariſees; as though he ſhould ſay, I wevily gave you warning that you ſhould give ſuch Alms, whereby all things might be clean unto you; but woe be unto you which do tythe Mint, Rue, and all kind of herbs (for I do know theſe your Alms, that you ſhould not think with your ſelves that you had given me warning thereof) and neglect and paſs over the judgment and charity of God, by the which Alms ye might be cleanſed from all your inward filthineſs, and your bodies alſo which you do waſh, ſhould be clean, and all theſe things both inward, and alſo outward; as it is ſaid in another place, cleanſe that which is within, and the outward things ſhall be alſo clean.*

But leſt that he ſhould ſeem to refuſe thoſe Alms which are given of the fruits of the earth, he ſaid, You ought to have done theſe things; *That is to ſay, the judgment and love of God; and not to neglect the other, that is to ſay, the Alms of the fruit of the earth. This writeth* Saint Auguſtine, *expreſly calling the Tythes* Alms.

Alſo Chryſoſtome *upon the ſame words in the eleventh Chapter of* S. Luke, That which remaineth give in Alms; *he ſaith thus, Whereas it was ſpoken of the* Jewiſh *kind of cleanſing, it is wholly paſſed. But for as much as Tythes is a certain Alms, and the time was not yet expreſly come to kill the Sacrifices of the Law; for this cauſe he ſaith,* Ye ought to do thoſe things, and not to omit the other. *And* S. Thomas *alledgeth him in his gloſs upon* S. Luke. *And* Chryſoſtome *himſelf doth teach two points: Firſt, That Tythes are Alms. Secondly, That Tythes are in a manner lawful, for ſo much as the gift thereof unto the Prieſts did not ceaſe in the time of Chriſt.*

Chryſoſtom. in 11. Luke.

Alſo Saint Auguſtine, *in a certain Sermon of giving Alms, ſaith thus, What is to ſay,* Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? *Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himſelf. When he had ſpoken theſe words, without doubt they thought within themſelves, who did give Alms, and how they did give it: They tythed all that they had, and took out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms: the which no Chriſtian lightly doth. Mark what the* Jews *did, they tythed not only their Wheat, but their Wine and Oil; and not that only, but alſo vile things, at the Commandment of the Lord, as* Commin, Rue, *and* Aniſe; *of the which they took the tenth part, and gave it for Alms. I think therefore, for ſo much as they called unto their minds, and thought with themſelves, that our Lord Chriſt ſpake in vain unto them that they did no Alms, when as they knew their own works, that they tythed the ſmalleſt and worſt of all their fruits, and gave Alms thereof: they mocked him amongſt themſelves, becauſe he did ſpeak in ſuch ſort unto them, as unto men that did no Alms. The which the Lord foreſeeing, by and by added notwithſtanding: Woe be unto you* Scribes, Phariſees *and* Hypocrites, *which tythe your Mint, Commin, and Rue, and all kind of herbs, that you may know, I do underſtand your Alms. Truly, theſe are your Tythes, theſe are your Alms; you tythe out the leaſt and worſt of all your fruits, and have left the weighty matters of the Law undone. Here* S. Auguſtine *often expoundeth that Tythes are Alms; Alſo he writeth the like in his Book of* Homilies *in his ſixth* Homily.

Item, *for the proof of this Article, that Tythes are pure Alms, it is thus argued. For this Propoſition, Tythes are pure Alms, is indefinite; taking the truth for many of his Particularities; It is moſt certain that it is not damnable, but moſt Catholick, that God is ſomething; the which being falſe in all particulars, it is only true of that alone which doth ſurmount all kind.* Ergo, *by like reaſon this particular is true, tenths are pure Alms: For it is thus proved. Theſe tenths of a good Lay-man being wholly diſtributed by a faithful Miniſter unto a needy Lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they be but pure Alms, yea, and more pure than any Alms given by any of the Clergy being a Fornicator? The whole antecedent I ſuppoſe as poſſible, and doubtful unto the Condemners, if it be true.*

Item, *It is alſo thus proved; Theſe Tythes, and all other goods of Fortune, are pure Alms in reſpect of God. For ſo much as every man, Emperor and King is a beggar of God. As* S. Auguſtine *doth oftentimes affirm, and conſequently if he do receive fruitfully any ſuch goodneſs at the hand of God, the ſame is pure Alms in reſpect of God: neither is there any faithful man that will deny the ſame, but that it ſimply followeth that the ſame is pure Alms before God,* Ergo *it is pure Alms.*

It

It is alſo thus argued; All Tythes are by themſelves, and every part of them Alms; neither is there any reaſon contrary unto this, that they are Alms. Ergo, *they are pure Alms. For they are by no other means or reaſon than Alms, if they be altogether themſelves Alms: For ſo much as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwiſe than Alms, then they are otherwiſe than ſome Alms, and for ſo much as they themſelves are ſome Alms, it followeth, that they are otherwiſe than they are indeed; the which is falſe.*

Suſtenance and clothing, given to the Apoſtles, was Alms, Ergo alſo Tythes.

But now to paſs beyond the bounds of Logick, it is to be demanded, whether before the Church was endowed, or that ſuſtenance and clothing were given unto the Apoſtles, there was any pure Alms, or that they were given by any other means by bond of debt, amongſt them. And for ſo much as the reaſon is not to be fained, but that they were pure Alms, ſo afterward the cuſtom of the ſame thing according unto like reaſon doth not alter the kind of the reaſon. For ſo might Beggers challenge by cuſtom, beyond the purity of Alms, the Temporalties which they do beg. Neither doth debt utterly exclude the purity of Alms before God: for every man duly giving Alms doth as he ought to do: as every man duly receiving his Alms, ought ſo to receive it as according to Gods will. And ſimply to eſtabliſh any humane Title, upon the continuance of any ſuch Alms, it is altogether contrary unto the reaſon of Alms. Therefore they do continually obſerve, and keep the reaſon of the purity of Alms, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned doth not deſtroy the purity thereof: wherefore there is no cauſe why it ſhould be denied that Tythes are pure Alms, except that the proud ſhould be marvelouſly extolled, contrary to the humility of Chriſt. For they do challenge, by the Title of their lack or want, ſo to be pleaſed for their Tythes. For ſo might the begging-Fryer, by the continuance of his daily begging, challenge according unto the like quantity or circumſtance. But it is no argument, that if the Curate do perform his corporal Miniſtry, that he ought therefore to challenge Tythes by any civil Title; becauſe that as well on the behalf of him which giveth the Tythe, as alſo on the behalf of the Curate, every ſuch miniſtry ought freely to be given, and not by any civil exchange. Forſomuch as it is not required, but that rather the compariſon of ſuch exchanges are repugnant; for ſo much as alſo no man freely giveth any Alms, except he do look for the duty of recompence, by the law of conſcience.

Item, *all temporal goods beſtowed upon the Clergy by the Lay-people under condition, as the goods of the Church, are the Alms of them which give it; it is proved thus, for ſo much as all thoſe goods are the goods of the poor, as it appeareth by many ſayings of holy men and by the Laws.*

But they were not the goods of the poor, after they were meer ſecular goods, but only by the mean of the work of mercy, whereby they were beſtowed upon the poor: Ergo, *they were pure Alms. The conſequence dependeth upon the definition of pure Alms.*

Item, *all things changed to the uſe and power of another, either by Civil exchange or Evangelical is changed. But the Church-goods are ſo changed by one of theſe Miniſteries. But the Evangelical exchange is not to be fained; becauſe it is not done either by buying or ſelling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth not remain but only a pure Gift, for hope of a heavenly Reward, the which is mercy, and ſo pure Alms. And it ſeemeth to follow conſequently, that all the Clergy receiving ſuch Alms are not only in reſpect of God, as all other men, but in reſpect of men, beggers. For they would not ſo inſtantly require thoſe Alms except they had need of them: neither ought we to be aſhamed thereof, or to be proud beggers; forſomuch as Chriſt touching his humanity became a beggar for us, becauſe he declared his need unto his Father, ſaying, &c.*

The Clergy beggers.

Item, *when any King, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or any other man doth give unto the Clergy, or to any Prieſt for his ſtipend, he giveth the ſame unto the Church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual Alms, that he ſhould attend to his vocation, preaching, praying, and ſtudying. But this kind of giving doth not ſuffice to ground any ſecular Dominion amongſt the Clergy; it followeth that the bare uſe remaineth in them, or the ſecular uſe without any ſecular power.*

The major appeareth hereby, forſomuch as otherwiſe Alms ſhould not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may alſo appear, that tenths are pure Alms given to the Church, to the uſe of the poor. [KING Lib. 2.]

And hereupon the holy men do ſay, That tenths are the Tributes of the needy Souls. Whereupon Saint Auguſtine *in a Sermon made upon the reſtoring of Tythes ſaith,* The part of giving of Tythes, moſt dear Brethren, are the Tributes of the poor Souls, therefore pay your Tribute unto the poor. *And by and by after he ſaith,* Therefore who deſireth either to get any Reward, or to have any remiſſion of Sins by giving of his Tenths, let him ſtudy to give Alms even of the ninth part: ſo that whatſoever ſhall remain more than a competent living, and decent clothing, it be not reſerved for Riot, but that it be laid up in the heavenly treaſury, by giving it in Alms to the poor. For whatſoever God doth give unto us more than we have need of, he doth not give it us ſpecially for our ſelves; but doth ſend it us to be beſtowed upon others by our hands: if we do not give it, we invade another mans Poſſeſſions. Tythes are to be given of the ninth goods.

Thus much writeth S. Auguſtine, *and is repeated in the* 16. queſtion. 1. Decimæ.

Alſo S. Jerome *in an Epiſtle, and it is put in the* 16. queſtion, *and* 2. chap. *Quicquid.* Whatſoever the Clergy hath, it is the goods of the poor.

Alſo Saint Auguſtine *in his three and thirtieth Epiſtle unto* Boniface, *and it is alledged in the firſt queſtion and* 12.

Alſo in the twenty third, queſtion 7. If we do poſſeſs any thing privately the which doth ſuffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poor, whoſe Stewards we are, except we do challenge to our ſelves a property by ſome damnable Uſurpation. *The Gloſs upon that part of the* 23. queſtion 7. *ſaith,* The Prelates are but only the Stewards of the Church-goods, and not Lords thereof.

Saint Ambroſe *alſo upon that ſaying of the Goſpel,* Luke 16. Give account of your Bayliffſhip or Stewardſhip: *Hereby then do we learn, that they are not Lords, but rather Stewards and Bayliffs of other mens Subſtance.*

And Saint Jerome, *writing to* Nepotianus, *ſaith,* How can they be of the Clergy? which are commanded to contemn and deſpiſe their own Subſtance, and to take away from a friend, it is Theft; to deceive the Church it is Sacrilledge, and to take away that which ſhould be given unto the poor. The Clergy are Stewards of the Church-goods, and not Lords thereof.

And Saint Bernard *in his Sermon upon theſe words* (Simon Peter *ſaid unto Jeſus*, Chap. 17.) *ſaid,* Truly the goods of the Church, are the patrimony of the poor: and whatſoever thing the Miniſters and Stewards of the ſame, not Lords or Poſſeſſors, do take unto themſelves more than ſufficient for a competent living, the ſame is taken away from the poor by a ſacrilegious cruelty.

And Euſebius *in his Treatiſe upon the Pilgrimage of Saint* Jerome, *writeth thus,* If thou doſt poſſeſs a Garment, or any other thing more than extream neceſſity doth require, and doſt not help the needy, thou art a Thief and a Robber. *Wherefore dearly beloved Children, let Iſidorus de ſummo bono us be Stewards of our Temporalties, and not Poſſeſſors.*

And Iſidore *in his Treatiſe* De ſummo bono, *Chap.* 42. *ſaith,* Let the Biſhop know that he is the Servant of the people, and not Lord over them.

Alſo in the fifth Book of Decretals, extra de donationibus, ſub authoritate *Alexandri* tertii, Epiſcopi Pariſienſis, *he ſaith,* We believe that it is not unknown unto your Brotherhood, that a Biſhop, and every other Prelate is but a Steward of the Church-goods, and not Lord thereof. *By theſe ſayings of theſe holy men it is evidently declared, that not only Tythes, but alſo all other ſubſtance which the Clergy hath by gift or work of mercy, are pure Alms; which after the neceſſity of the Clergy once ſatisfied, ought to be tranſported unto the poor.*

Secondly, It is declared how that the Clergy are not Lords and Poſſeſſors of thoſe goods, but Miniſters and Stewards thereof.

Thirdly, It is ſhewed, that if the Clergy do abuſe the ſame, they are Thieves, Robbers, and ſacrilegious Perſons, and except they do repent, by the juſt judgment of God they are to be condemned.

And

[KING Lib. 2.]

AND thus hitherto I may peradventure ſeem to have made ſufficient long recital out of *John Hus*, but ſo notwithſtanding that the commodity of thoſe things may abundantly recompence the prolixity thereof. Wherefore if I ſhall ſeem unto any man in the rehearſal of this diſputation to have paſſed very far the bounds of the Hiſtory, let him think thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, I could not omit theſe things which were ſo ſtraitly joyned with the cauſe of the Church.

Neither that I did make more account of the Hiſtory which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility whereunto I had chief reſpect. There were beſides theſe certain other Articles; whereupon the ſaid *John Hus* had very wiſely and learnedly diſputed; but theſe ſhall ſuffice us for this preſent. And for the reſidue we will paſs them over, to the intent we may the more ſpeedily return whereas our ſtory left; declaring what cruelty they uſed not only againſt the Books and Articles of *John Wickliff*, but alſo in burning his Body and Bones, commanding them to be taken up forty one years after he was buried, as appeareth by the Decree of the ſaid Synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex, as followeth:



The order and manner of taking up of body of John Wickliff, and Burning his bones 41. years after his death.

The Decree of the Synod of Conſtance, *touching the taking up of the Body and Bones of* John Wickliff, *to be burned forty one years after he was buried in his own Pariſh at* Lutterworth.

The Decree of the Councel for the taking of Wickliffs dead bones.

FOrſomuch as by the authority of the Sentence and Decree of the Councel of *Rome*, and by the Commandment of the Church, and the Apoſtolical See, after due delays being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the ſaid *John Wickliff*, and his memory having firſt made Proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whoſoever would defend the ſaid *Wickliff*, or his memory, if there were any ſuch (but there did none appear, which would either defend him or his memory.) And moreover witneſſes being examined, by Commiſſioners appointed by Pope *John* and his Councel, upon the impenitency and final obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs of the ſaid *John Wickliff* (reſerving that which is to be reſerved, as in ſuch buſineſs the order of the Law requireth) and his impenitency and obſtinacy even unto his end, being ſufficiently proved by evident ſigns and tokens, and alſo by lawful witneſſes, and credit lawfully given thereunto. Wherefore at the inſtance of the Steward of the Treaſury, Proclamation being made to hear and underſtand the ſentence againſt this day, the ſacred Synod declareth, determineth, and giveth ſentence, that the ſaid *John Wickliff* was a notorious obſtinate Heretick, and that he died in his hereſie, curſing and condemning both him and his memory.

In actis Concilii Conſtan.

This Synod alſo decreeth and ordaineth, That the Body and Bones of the ſaid *John Wickliff*, if it might be diſcerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, ſhould be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any Church, according unto the Canon-Laws and Decrees. Which determination and ſentence definitive being read and pronounced, the Lord Preſident, and the foreſaid Preſidents of the four Nations, being demanded and asked whether it did pleaſe them or no? They all anſwered (and firſt *Hoſtienſis* the Preſident, and after him the other Preſidents of the Nations) that it pleaſed them very well, and ſo they allowed and confirmed all the premiſes, &c.

¶ What *Heraclites* would not laugh, or what *Democritus* would not weep, to ſee theſe ſo ſage and reverend *Catoes* to occupy their heads to take up a poor mans body, ſo long dead and buried before, by the ſpace of forty one years? and yet peradventure were not able to find his right bones, but took up ſome other body, and ſo of a Catholick made an Heretick. Albeit herein *Wickliff* had ſome cauſe to give them thanks, that they would at leaſt ſpare him ſo long till he was dead, and alſo to give him ſo long reſpite after his death, forty one years to reſt in his ſepulcher before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to aſhes; which aſhes they alſo took and threw into the river. And ſo was he reſolved into three Elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguiſh and aboliſh both the name and Doctrine of *Wickliff* for ever. Not much unlike to the example the old Phariſees and Sepulcher-Knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him ſure never to riſe again. But theſe and all other muſt know, that as there is no counſel againſt the Lord; ſo there is no keeping down of verity, but it will ſpring and come out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his Body, burnt his Bones, and drowned his aſhes; yet the Word of God, and truth of his Doctrine, with the fruit and ſucceſs thereof, they could not burn; which yet to this day, for the moſt part of his Articles, do remain; notwithſtanding the tranſitory Body and Bones of the man was thus conſumed and diſperſed,

dispersed, as by this picture here above set forth to thine eyes (gentle Reader) may appear.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the story and time of *Wickliff*; let us now (by the supportation of the Lord proceed to intreat and write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same University, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same Perfecution.

Ex Th. Wal. den. lib. de Sacramen. Of whom speaketh *Thomas Walden* in his Book, *De Sacramento & Sacramentalibus, Cap.* 53. where he saith, that after *Wickliff* many suffered most cruel death, and many mo did forsake the Realm.

In the number of whom was *William Swinderby*, *Walter Brute*, *John Purvey*, *Richard White*, *William Thorpe*, *Raynold Pecock* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, and afterward of *Chichester*.

Laurence Redman, David Sautre, John Aschwarby Aschwarby, W. Jones, T. Brightwell, Philip Hanslam, Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norice.

To this Catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) *Laurence Redman* Master of Art, *David Sautre*, Divine, *John Aschwarby* Vicar, as they call him, of St. *Mary* Church at *Oxford*, *Will. James* an excellent young man, well learned, *Thomas Brightwell*, and *William Hanslam* a Civilian, *Rafe Grenhurst*, *John Scut*, and *Philip Norice*; which being Excommunicated by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, in the year of our Lord 1446, appealed unto a General or Oecumenical Council.

Peter Paine. *Peter Paine* also, who flying from *Oxford* unto *Bohemia*, did stoutly contend against the Sophisters, as touching both kinds of the Sacrament of the last Supper; who afterward among the rest of the Orators was one of the fourteen that was sent unto the Council of *Basil:* where by the space of three days he disputed upon the fourth Article, which was touching the Civil Dominion of the Clergy,

Lord Cobham. *Anno* 1438. Also the Lord *Cobham*, &c. with divers others besides, whose names are mentioned in the Kings Writ, sent to the Sheriff of *Northampton*, which Writ of the King followeth in this tenor: *Rex Vicecomiti Northamptoniæ salutem*, &c. Forsomuch as *John Attyate* of *Chepingwarden*, *John Warryner*, *Ro. Brewood*, *&c.* being receivers and fautors of Hereticks, and especially of *John Woodward* Priest, publickly defamed and condemned of Heresie, will not be justified by the censures of the Church, as the reverend Father *John* Bishop of *Lincoln* hath certified us: We therefore willing to withstand all defenders and fautors of such Heresies, do will and command as well the forenamed, as namely the foresaid *John Woodward* to be apprehended, straitly charging the same to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as shall seem good to the Justices, until they and every of them shall submit themselves to the obedience of the foresaid Bishop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not under pain of an hundred pound. Witnes our selves: Yeaven at our Manor of *Langley* the eighth day of *March*, the twelfth year of our reign.

To these above rehearsed, and other favourers of *Wickliff*, within this our Country of *England*, we may add also the *Bohemians*; forsomuch as the propagation of the said Doctrine of *Wickliff* in that Country also took root, coming from *England* to *Boheme* by this occasion, as in story here followeth.

The occasion how the Doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia. There chanced at that time a certain Student of the Country of *Bohemia* to be at *Oxford*, one of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock; who returning home from the University of *Oxford* to the Universitie of *Prague*, carried with him certain Books of *Wickliff*, *De Realibus Universalibus*. *De Civils Jure*, *& Divino*. *De Ecclesia*. *De quæstionibus variis contra Clerum*, *&c.* It chanced the same time a certain Nobleman in the City of *Prague* had founded and builded a great Church of *Mathiæs* and *Matthews*, which Church was called *Bethelem*, giving to it great Lands, and finding in it two Preachers every day, to preach both Holy-day and working-day to the people. Of the which two Preachers this *John Hus* was one, a man of great knowledg, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongst them. Thus *John Hus* having familiarity with this young man, in reading and perusing these Books of *Wickliff*, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this Author openly in the Schools, but also in his Sermons commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man, wishing himself, when he should die, to be there placed, whereas the soul of *Wickliff* should be.

Wickleum vir bonus, sanctus, cale dignus.

The great affection of John Hus to John Wickliff.

And thus for the spreading of *Wickliffs* Doctrine enough. {KING 8. Richd.

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of *John Wickliff* in general. Now particularly and in order let us (by Christs grace) prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties aforenamed, as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant Champions *William Swinderby*, and *Walter Brute*.

The History of William Swinderby.

IN the year 1389, *William Swinderby* Priest, within the Diocess of *Lincoln*, being accused and detected upon certain opinions, was presented before *John* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and examined upon certain Articles in the Church of *Lincoln*, after the form and order of the Popes law, according to their usual rite observed; his denouncers were these, Frier *Frisby* Observant, Frier *Hincely*, Augustine, and of *Thomas Blaxton*, Dominican. The Articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words as they put them up, they might seem something strange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all men may see the spiteful malice of these Spider-Friers, in sticking all things to poyson, and in forging that which is not true, as in proces (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appear by his answers, I thought good to notifie the same.

{Anno 1389. 12 Kalend. Augusti. *W. Swinderby* accused. *Denounced of Wm. Swinderby, Frisby, Hincely, Blaxton.*

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to imprison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if Parishioners do know their Curate to be a lecher, inconvinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their Tythes, or else they be fautors of his sins.

That Tythes purely be alms, and in case that Curates be evil men, the same may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil Curate to curse his Suget for withholding of Tythes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedly, and unduly from them their money.

That no Prelate may curse a man, except he know before that he is cursed of God.

That every Priest may absolve any sinner being contrite; and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the Bishop) to preach the Gospel unto the people.

That a Priest taking any Annual pension upon Covenant, is in so doing a Simoniack, and accursed.

That any Priest being in deadly sin, if he give himself to contemplate the body of the Lord, committeth Idolatry rather than doth consecrate.

That no Priest entreth into any house, but to evil intreat the wife, the daughter, or maid: and therefore he admonished the good man of the house to take heed what Priest he let into his house.

Another Conclusion falsly to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the Priest that baptizeth, or the Godfather or Godmother be in deadly sin.

Item, That no man living against the Law of God is a Priest, however he were ordained Priest of any Bishop.

These Articles or Conclusions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited against him by the Friers in the Bishop of *Lincolns* Court. The which Articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the Proces following: Yet the Friers with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to be convict; bringing also dry wood with them to the Town to burn him, and would not leave him, before they made him promise and swear for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily, nor apertly under pain of relapse; and that he should go to certain Churches to revoke the foresaid Conclusions, which he never affirmed. As first in the Church of *Lincoln*, then in St. *Margarets* Church of *Leicester*; also in St. *Martins* Church in *Leicester*, and in our Ladies Churches at *Newark*, and in other Parish-Churches also of *Melton-Mowbray*, of *Halongton*, *Haverburgh*, and *Lenisburgh*. Which penance being to him enjoyned, he did obediently accomplish, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under these words.

W. Swinderby by compulsion of the Friers is forced to make Articles which he never taught.

The

{KING 8. Rich. 2.}

The Revocation of *William Swinderby*, whereunto he was forced by the Friers.

The forced Abjuration of W. Swinderby.

I William Swinderby *Priest*, *although unworthy*, *of the Diocess of* Lincoln, *acknowledging one true Catholick and Apostolick Faith of the Holy Church of* Rome, *do abjure all hereste and error repugning to the determination of the Holy Mother Church*, *whereof I have been hitherto defamed*, *namely*, *the Conclusions and Articles above prefixed*, *and every one of them to me judicially objected*, *by the Commissary of the reverend Father in Christ and Lord*, *Lord* John *by the Grace of God Bishop of* Lincoln; *and do revoke the same*, *and every one of them*, *some as heretical*, *some as erroneous and false*, *and do affirm and believe them to be so*, *and hereafter will never teach*, *preach*, *or affirm publickly or privily the same. Neither will I make any Sermon within the Diocess of* Lincoln, *but asking first and obtaining the license of the foresaid reverend Father and Lord*, *the Bishop of* Lincoln. *Contrary to the which if I shall presume hereafter to say or do*, *to hold or preach*, *I shall be content to abide the severity of the Canon*, *as I have judicially by the necessity of the Law*, *sworn and do swear*, &c.

Thus have you the Conclusions and Articles of this good man, falsly objected to him by the malicious and lying Friers; and also the retractation whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewise be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the Articles and Conclusions which these cavilling Friers, wrelting all things to the worst, have objected and imputed both to *Wickliff* and all other of that sort, whom they so falsly do defame, so slanderously do belye, and so maliciously do persecute. After these thing thus done and wrought in the Diocess of *Lincoln*, it so befell that the said *W. Swinderby* removed to the Diocess and Country of *Herford*; where he was as much or more molested by the Friers again, and by *John Trefnant* Bishop of *Hereford*, as by the proces and story here ensuing, set out at large out of their own Registers, may appear.

Here followeth the Proces of John Trefnant, *Bishop of* Hereford, *had against the aforsaid* William Swinderby *in the cause of Heretical pravity, as the Popish Hereticks call it.*

The proces of the B. of Hereford against W. Swinderby.

THE Glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counsel (whose counsellor no man is, and whose providence in his disposition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and singular believers of Christ, which shall see or hear this our proces under-written, *John* by the sufferance of God Bishop of *Hereford*, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Forasmuch as God the Creator of all things, the keeper of justice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high Throne of his Providence the sons of men, now through the fall of their first father prone and declining to dishonest and filthy, and detestable mischiefs, and to keep under their malice (which wicked transgression did first gender) hath appointed divers presidents of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whom and their circumspect providence mans audacity should be restrained, innocency should be nourished amongst the good, and terror should be stricken into the wicked not to deceive; also that their power to hurt, and their insolency should be bridled in all places. And whereas amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, chiefly that the Catholick faith may prosper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful; we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithful Christians of our Diocess, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheep diseased with an incurable sickness, going about to infect the whole and found flock, are by the care of the shepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to say, Preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new Sect, vulgarly called *Lollards*; which under a certain cloked shew of holiness, running abroad through divers places of our Diocess, and endeavouring to cut asunder the Lords unsowed coat, that is to say, to rent the unity of the holy Church, and of the Catholick Faith, and also to tear in pieces with their tempestuous blasts the power of Saint *Peter*, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the Ecclesiastical states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy Church, have wickedly presumed and do presume from day to day to speak, to teach, to maintain, (and that which is more horrible to be uttered) to preach openly many things heretical, blasphemies, schisms, and slanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the Sacred Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, so that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteousness and truth, in that they expound to the people the Holy Scripture as the letter soundeth, after a judicial sort, otherwise than the Holy Ghost will have it, whereas the words wander from their proper significations, and appear to bring in by ghessing new meanings, whereas the words must not be judged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made, wherefore the construction is not bound to the *Decretes* rules; whereas faith is far placed from the capacity of the person: But they labour by their pernicious Doctrines and teachings publick and privy, to boyl out the poyson of schisms between the Clergy and the people: We to encounter against such kind of Preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, advancing and rousing up our selves in Gods behalf, and holy Mother Church, with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinably, for their health and welfare; and namely *William Swinderby* Priest (so pretending himself to be) as a teacher of such kind of pernicious Doctrine, and an horrible seducer amongst the people; to whom personally appearing before us on the Wednesday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of *June* in the Parish-Church of *Kington* of our Diocess, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of heresie, schism, and his perverse Doctrines both manifest and privy; we therefore have caused many Cases and Articles concerning the Catholick Faith to be minuted unto him, that he should answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same month of *June* next following; assigned to him, at the Church of *Bodenhame* of the same our Diocess. Of which Cases and Articles exhibited unto us by many of Christs faithful people, * zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, to make information to our office (which Cases and Articles also were given to him minuted, as is before said, to the same *William Swinderby*,) the tenour thereof followeth, and is thus:

Lollards by the Popes interpretation, is a word derived of *Lollium*.

They contein in the Provinces wherein the words in Aces do in Princes the sense.

Who considers the Scripture more of the letters, let the Reader judg by the *ejus corpus* rerum.

If such medicines should be ministred to you, ye would curse your Physician little thank.

{Anno 1391.}

* Such as were in Queen *Maries* days at Stratford Bocard, *Tyrrel*, *Rowles*, *Robins Papist*, and other like murderers.

Lord, Lord; *Lucus* illite of their own imaginings.

The denumeration of the Premises to the Bishop of *Hereford*.

¶ Reverend Father and high Lord, Lord *John*, by God sufferance Bishop of *Hereford*: It is lamentably declared unto your reverend Fatherhood on the behalf of Christs faithful people, your devout children of your Diocess of *Hereford*, that notwithstanding the misbelief of very many *Lollards*, which have too long a time sprung up here in your Dioces, there is newly come a certain child of wickedness, named *William Swinderby*; who by his horrible perswasions, and mischievous endeavours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert as much as in him is the whole Ecclesiastical state, and stirreth up, with all his posible power, schism between the Clergy and the people. And that your reverend Fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the same *William Swinderby* is; there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your Fatherhood, on the behalf of the same faithful people of Christ, against the same *William Swinderby*, Cases and Articles. Which if the same *William* shall deny, then shall the same Cases and Articles most evidently be proved against him by credible witness worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that those being proved, the same Fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your Pastoral office belongeth.

Matters articulated againſt W. Swinderby.

Inprimis, the ſame *William Swinderby*, pretending himſelf Prieſt, was openly and publickly convicted of certain Articles and Concluſions being erroneous, ſchiſmatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful Chriſtian people. And the ſame Articles and Concluſions did he by force of Law revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and ſome as erroneous and falſe, avouching and believing them for ſuch, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily any of the ſame Concluſions: And if by preaching or avouching he ſhould preſume to do the contrary; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially upon the Holy Goſpels.

2. Alſo the Concluſions, which by the ſame *William* were ſtil openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and revoked, as is aforeſaid, are contained before in the proceſs of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, even as they be there written word by word. And for the Caſes and Articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithful Chriſtian people againſt the ſaid *William Swinderby*, together with the Concluſions before ſaid, and hereafter written: of which Caſes and Articles the tenor here enſueth.

3. *Item*, The ſaid *William* contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worſe, and given up to a reprobate ſenſe, came into your Dioceſs, where he running about in ſundry places, hath preſumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his own raſhneſs many heretical, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlanderous things contrary and repugnant to ſacred Canons, and the determination of the Holy Catholick Church. What thoſe things were, at what place and what time, it ſhall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, The ſame *William* notwithſtanding your Commandments and admonitions ſealed with your Seal, and to all the Curates of your Dioceſs directed, containing amongſt other things that no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he were, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach, or elſe expound the Holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places within your Dioceſs, without ſufficient authority, by any manner of pretence that could be fought, as in the ſame your Letters Monitory and of inhibition (the tenour whereof hereafter enſueth) is more largely contained; which Letters the ſame *William* did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the Town of *Adonemouth* of your Dioceſs, in the year of our Lord 1390, ſo that theſe your Letters, and the Contents thereof came to the true and undoubted knowledg of the ſame *William*; yet notwithſtanding hath the ſame *William* preſumed in divers places and times to preach within the ſame your Dioceſs, after and againſt your Commandment aforeſaid. The tenor of the ſame Letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

The Letter Monitory of the B. of *Hereford* inhibiting to preach without his licenſe.

JOHN *by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of* Hereford, *to the Dean and Chapter of our Church of* Hereford, *and to all and ſingular Abbots, Priors, Provoſts, Deans rural, Parſons and Vicars of Monaſteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges, and Pariſhes, and to other loving Cure of Souls within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and to all and every other being within the ſame City and Dioceſs, greeting, Grace and bleſſing. Foraſmuch as the golden lawrel of teaching Doctoral is not from above indifferently every mans gift; neither is the office of preaching granted ſave to ſuch as are called, and eſpecially by the Church admitted thereunto: We do admoniſh and require you all and ſingular Clerks aforeſaid, and do ſtraitly enjoyn you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the Catholick faith, ſaving ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the Authority Apoſtolical, or elſe your Biſhop, be ſpecially committed unto; but that as much as in you ſhall lie, you do by word and deed labour to let thoſe that would attempt the contrary. And you Lords, Ladies, Knights, Barons, Eſquires, and all ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degree, preheminence, or condition ſoever ye be, remaining within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *we do beſeech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leven of the Phariſees.*

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leven.

Item, *According to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, Be not ye carried away with divers and ſtrange Doctrines; and that in the mean while (as ſaith the Apoſtle) you be not removed from the ſenſe of the holy ancient Fathers. Leſt that any man by any means ſhould ſeduce you; but you agreeing together in one mind, ſee that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not ſpecially (as is aforeſaid) committed, ſhall attempt to inſtruct, or in this your life to direct you into the Catholick Faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuſe you to be preſent at their aſſemblies, and ſhun ye their teachings, becauſe they be wicked and perverſe. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the ſacred Canons and Precepts of the holy Fathers, againſt ſuch as do the contrary.*

Dated at London *in the houſe of our habitation, under our Seal, the laſt day ſave one of* December, *in the year of our Lord* 1389, *and of our Conſecration the firſt.*

{KING Rich. 2.}

5. *Item*, The ſame *William* in his preaching to the people, on *Monday* being the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the Pariſh of *Whitney* of your Dioceſs, did hold and affirm, That no Prelate of the world, of what eſtate, preheminence or degree ſoever he were of, having cure and charge of ſouls, he being in deadly ſin, and bearing the confeſſion of any under his hand, in giving him abſolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth looſe him from his ſin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits, doth bind him by his ſentence, except the Prelate ſhall be free himſelf from deadly ſin, as St. *Peter* was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and looſe.

What it was of Whitney blaſphemous.

6. *Item*, The ſame *William* in many places ſaid and affirmed, in the preſence of many faithful Chriſtian people, that after the Sacramental words uttered by the Prieſt having the purpoſe to conſecrate, there is not made the very Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Bread is not with in Sacrament.

7. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without a ſubject; and that there remaineth material bread there to ſuch as be partakers Communicant with the Body of Chriſt, in the ſame Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That a Prieſt being in deadly ſin, cannot be able by the ſtrength of the Sacramental words to make the Body of Chriſt, or bring to perfection any other Sacrament of the Church, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the Church.

9. *Item*, That all Prieſts are of like power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10. *Item*, That only contrition patteth away ſin, if ſo be that a man ſhall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confeſſion is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſity to ſalvation.

11. *Item*, Inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and looſing immediately from the Pope or Biſhop, but immediately from Chriſt: And therefore neither can the Pope nor Biſhop revoke to themſelves ſuch kind of power, when they ſee time and place at their luſt and pleaſure.

12. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant ſuch kind of Annual and yearly pardons; becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many years to the day of judgment, as are in the Popes Bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of ſuch like value as they ſpeak of, and are praiſed to be.

13. *Item*, It is not in the Popes power to grant unto any perſon penitent forgiveneſs of the puniſhment of the fault.

14. *Item*, That perſon that giveth his alms to any, which in his judgment is not in neceſſity, doth ſin in ſo giving it.

1 Oblig.

15. *Item*, That it ſtands not in the power of any Prelate, of what Religion ſoever he be of, privately to give Letters for the benefit of his Order, neither doth ſuch benefit granted, profit them, to the ſalvation of their ſoul, to whom they be granted.

16. *Item*, That the ſame *William*, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certain deſart Wood, called *Dervallwood*, of your Dioceſs, and there in a certain Chappel not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage, hath in contempt of the Keys preſumed of his own raſhneſs to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17. *Item*, The ſame *William* hath alſo preſumed to do ſuch things in a certain prophane Chappel, being ſituate in the Park of *Newton* nigh to the Town of *Leintwardon*, of the ſame your Dioceſs.

Upon

{KING Rich. 2.}

UPON *Friday being the laſt of the Month of* June, *in the year above ſaid, about ſix of the Clock, in the ſaid Pariſh Church of* Bodenhouſe, *hath the ſaid* William Swinderby *perſonally appeared before us. And he willing to ſatisfie the term to him aſſigned, as before ſpecified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful Chriſtian people, many anſwers made and placed by the ſame* William *(in a certain Paper-book of the ſheet folded into four parts) to the ſaid Articles, and the ſame anſwers for ſufficient hath he already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the Law of Chriſt. Which thing being done, the ſame* William *(without any moe with him) did depart from our preſence, becauſe that we at the inſtance of certain noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame* William *free acceſs, that as to us, on that day for the exhibiting of thoſe anſwers, and alſo free departing without preſixing of any term, or without citation, or elſe any other offence or harm in body or in goods.*

As for the tenour of the ſame anſwers, exhibited unto them by the ſame *William*, as is before ſpecified; we have here under annexed it word for word, and in the ſame old language uſed at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in theſe words.

The Proteſtation of William Swinderby, *with his Anſwers to the Articles by the Promoters laid againſt him to the Biſhop of* Hereford, *taken out of the Regiſters in the ſame old* Engliſh *wherein he wrote it.*

The proteſtation of William Swinderby with his anſwers.

IN the name of God, *Amen.* I *William Swinderby* Prieſt unworthy, Covenanting and purpoſing wholly with all my heart to be a true Chriſtian man, with open confeſſion knowledging mine own defaults, and unwiſe deeds, making openly this Proteſtation, cleping God to record here before our worſhipful Biſhop *John*, through the ſufferance of God Biſhop of *Hereford*, with witneſs of all this people; that it is not mine intent any thing to ſay or affirm, to maintain or to defend that is contrary to holy writ, againſt the belief of holy Church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of Chriſts Church, or the true ſentences of holy Doctors. And if I have here before through mine uncunning been unordered, or by evil counſel been deceived, or any thing ſaid, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrary to the Law of God; wholly and fully for that time, for now and ever with full will I revoke it and withdraw it, as everich Chriſten man ſhould; Praying and beſeeching ech Chriſten man, to whom this writing ſhall come to, that gif I ought err (as God forbid that I do) or ever erred in any point contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſaid, And all the troths that I have ſaid according with the Law of God, that may maintain them, and ſtand by them for life or death to Gods worſhip, as a true Chriſten man ſhould, ſubmitting me meekly to the correction of our Biſhop, that here is, or of any other Chriſten man, after Chriſts laws and holy writ; in will ever ready to be amended; and with this proteſtation I ſay and anſwer to theſe Concluſions and Articles that here followen after, the which been put to me to anſwer to.

1 Concluſio.

The firſt is this, That I *William* of *Swinderby*, pretending (he ſaith) my ſelf a Prieſt was judicially convented of certain articles and concluſions of error, falſe, ſchiſmatick, and hereſie, by me in divers places and times preached (he ſaith) before multitudes of true Chriſten men; and the ſame articles and concluſions by need of law revoked and forſworn, ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errors and falſe; and ſuch I affirmed and believed them to be; and that none of them from that time forth I ſhould preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, ne that I ſhould make no Sermon to the people, ne preach, but by lawful leave asked and gotten; and if I would preſume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the ſeverity of the Law I ſhould be buxom, as by need of the Law I ſwore.

To this I ſay, witneſſing that God is in heaven, to my wit and underſtanding, that I never preached, held, ne taught theſe concluſions and articles, the which falſly of Friers and of leacherous Prieſts were put upon me to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. For I was ordained by proceſs * yerſaid of their law, by the Biſhop and his Commiſſaries, ſo as I granted them to bring my Purgation of thirteen Prieſts of good fame. And ſo I did with a Letter and twelve Seals thereby, from the Mayor of *Leiceſter*, and from true Burgeſſes and thirty men to witneſs with me, as the Duke of *Lancaſter* knew and heard, the Earl of *Darby*, and other many great men that were that time in the Town, that I never laid them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I ſhould have made my Purgation, there ſtooden forth five Friers or moe, that ſome of them never ſaw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous Prieſts openly known, ſome living in their lechery twenty year (men ſayden) or more, as by their childer was openly known. Some of theſe they clepin den denunciations, and ſome weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falſly foreſworn, they ſaing buſily and crying with many another Frier, with great inſtance to give the dome upon me, to burn me, and boughten dry wood before as men tolden in that Town: and theſe fleights, and ſwearing, and money giving, as men ſayden, with favour of the Biſhop (by what law I wot not, but ſoothly not by Gods law) they ſayden they held me as convicted, and right not have forth my Purgation. So as I fully forſook them, and never granted that I ſaid them. Over this they made me ſwear, never to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, privily ne apertly; and that I would go to certain Churches to revoke the concluſions that I never ſaid, in ſlander of my ſelf, by great inſtance of the Friers. And ſo for dread of death, and for fleſhly counſel that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they maden me to ſwear, that I ſhould not preach (by inſtance of the Friers) within that Dioceſs, without license asked and granted; and never ſithen I did. And now the ſame concluſions bene rehearſed to me again; whether by Friers counſel I will not deme, God wot, but in ſlander of me it is; and therefore I will anſwer now (with Gods help) to the concluſion. Of the which the firſt is this.

* Yerſaid, that is, beforeſaid. Witneſſe with *William Swinderby*, 13 Prieſts and 30 other with the Letter of the Mayor of *Leiceſter*, and Burgeſſes, with 12 Seals.

Theeaſkability of Votaries to be noted.

1. Concluſio.

That men mowen aſken their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to priſon any man; and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed.

Anſwer: How debt is to be purſued.

So I ſaid not: but thus I have ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that whoſo purſues his brother with malice, priſoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy, that ſain would pay it if he might, he ſinneth againſt Chriſts teaching, *Eſtote miſericordes ſicut pater veſter miſericors eſt.*

2. Concluſio.

The ſecond Concluſion, that falſe Friers and lecherous Prieſts putten upon me was this: *That if the Parochiani know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an evil man, they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and alſe they bene fautors of his ſins.*

Anſwer;

Thus I ſaid not, but on this wiſe, and yet I ſay with proteſtation put before: That if it be known openly to the people, that Parſons or Curates come to her Benefice by limony, and liven in notorie fornication and done not their office and her duties to her Parochians by good enſample of holy life, in true preaching, living and reſidence, wending away from his Cure, occupied in ſecular office; he owes nought to have of the Parochians, tithes, ne offerings, ne hemowes, not to hold him for her Curate, ny hemowes, not to geven him tithes, leſt they bin guilty to God of conſent and maintaining of her open ſin. *Nemo militans Deo implicat ſe negotiis ſecularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. Quiſquis per pecuniam, & diſt. 80. cap. Siquis.*

3. Concluſio.

The third Concluſion was this, *That Friers and Prieſts putten upon me, that tithes purely bene almeſſes: And in caſe that Curates bene evil men, they mowen leefully be given to other men, by temporal Lords, and other temporalities bene done away from men of the Church, actually and openly treſpaſſing.*

Anſwer.

Thus I ſaid not in theſe terms: but thus I ſay with proteſtation made before, That it was medeful and leefthful to ſecular Lords by way of charity, and power given to him of God, in default of Prelates that amend not by Gods law, curſed Curates that openly miſuſen the goods of Holy Church, that beene poor mens goods, and cuſtomably againſt the Law of God; the which poor men Lords ben holden to maintain and defend, to take away and withdraw from ſuch Curates poor mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms-deeds, and give them to ſuch

that duly serve God in the Church, and been needy in upbearing of the charge that Prelates shoulden do, and do it not. *Alter alterius onera portate, & sic adimplebitis legem Christi.* And as anenst taking away of Temporalities, I say, thus with protestation made before; that it is leeful to Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords of the World, to take away fro Popes, Cardinals, fro Bishops and Prelates, possessions in the Church, their Temporalities, and their Alms that they have given them, upon condition they shoulden serve God the better, when they verily seene that their giving and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Christs living and his Apostles; and namely in that, that they taken upon them (that shoulden be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poomesse and meekneſs) to be secular Lords, against the teaching of Christ and S. *Peter, Luke* 22. *Reges gentium, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 5. *Neque dominantes in clero.* And namely, when such Temporalties maken them the more proud, both in heart and in aray, then they shoulden been elle, more in strife and debate against peace and charity, and in evil ensample to the world more to be occupied in worldly businesse; *Omnem solicitudinem projicientes in eum*; and draws them from the service of God, from edifying of Christs Church, in impoverishing and making lesse the state and the power of Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords that God hath set them in; in wrongful oppreision of Commons for unmightfulneſs of Realms. For *Paul* saith to Men of the Church (whose lore Prelates shoulden sovereignly followen) *Habentes victum & vestitum, his contenti simus.*

4th. Conclusion. The fourth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests putten upon me fallly, *That an evil Curate cursing his Soget for withholding of Tithes is naught elſe, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly money from them.*

Answer. Here may you see the falſhood of the Papists, gathering Articles against good men, which they never did nor meant. Thus said I not, but thus I said, and yet do with protestation made before; that an evil Curate curſing his Parishians, unmighty to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pity, for his singular worldly winning against charity, and not for heed of their souls, there he is hold by his power reasonably to help his needy Parochians, and doth nought of the Goods of the Church; wickedly and unduly he withholds from them that which is due to them by the law of God, *Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis; verum mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.*

5th. Conclusion. The fifth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests fallsly putten upon me; *That no man may curse any man, but if he were wete him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any manner.*

Answer. Thus said I not, but thus I said, and say with protestation put before; that no man ought to curse any man but for charity and with charity, *Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant.* And likerly I say, that no wrongful curſing of Pope, or any Prelate in earth binds anenst God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſen men, for that men will not do their lingular will, unreasonable bidding, with highneſs of heart and cruelty (standing patience and charity in them that they curſen wrongfully) he is blesſed of almighty God, and they themselſe bene curſed, *Mat.* 5. *Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c. Et in Psalmo, Maledicent illi & tu benedices. Et Augustinus* 11. *q.* 3. *cap. Illud.*

Against. 6th. Conclusion. The sixth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests putten upon me fallly, *That ech Priest may assoil him that sinneth, contrition had; and, notwithstanding forbiddings of the Bishop,* * *is holden to preach to the people the Gospel.*

* Holden, that is, bound. Thus I said not, but thus I said, and yet say, with protestation made before; That ech true Priest may counsel sinful men, that sneewen to him her sins, after the wit and cunning that God had given him, to turn fro sin to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Gospel, I say, that no Bishop ows to let a true Priest, that God had given grace, wit and cunning to do that office; for both Priests and Deacons, that God had ordained Deacons and Priests, ben holden by power given him of God to preach to the People the Gospel, and namely and somely Popes, Bishops, Prelates and Curates; For this is due to the people and Parochians, for to have and ask of hem, and they duly and freely owen to done it, *Mat.* 5. *Luke* 5. *Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc.* 16. *Euntes in mundum universum. Et Mat.* 5. *Euntes autem prædicate. Et dist.* 21. *cap. In novo testamento. Et Isider. de summo bono.* 44. *Et Chrysost. distinct.* 34. *ca. Nolite. Et Aug. distinct.* 34. *ca. Quisquis. Et Greg. in suo pastorali, ca.* 36. *Et Tolitano. ca. Ignorantia. Et Jerom. distinct.* 95. *ca. Ecce ego.*

7th. Conclusion. The seventh Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests fallsly putten upon me; *That a Priest taking for annuel, through Covenant, in that, he is schismatick and cursed.*

Answer. This said I, never in these terms; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that no Priests owe to sell by bargaining and covenant his ghostly travel, ne his masses, ne his prayers, ne Gods word, ne hallowings, baptism, ne confirming, order giving, for weddings, for strife, for houſel, or for enmointing; any worldly mens reward to ask or take for theie, or for any of theſe, or for any ghostly thing, he ers and doth simony. *Ut patet* 1. *q.* 2. *ca. Nullus. Et ex concilio Triburentis. cap. Dictum est. Et Christus evangelio vendentes & ementes ejecit de templo, Mat.* 22.

8th. Conclusion. The eighth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests putten unto me fallly, saying, that I believe fadly as my fell lays, *That yche Priest being in deadly sin, yet he put him to make Christs body, rather he does idolatry than makes it.*

Answer. Thus said I not; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that what Priest that puts himself presumptuously and unworthily in deadly sin, wittingly to minister and to receive that holy Sacrament, and so records hit curſedly and damnably, he receives his doom. *Qui manducat & bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat & bibit: 1 Cor.* 11.

9th. Conclusion. The ninth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests fallsly putten upon me; *That no Priests enters into any houſe, but evil scr to treat the wife, the daughter or the wench; and therefore they sayden that I prayed the people, that their husbands should beware that they suffer no Priest to enter into her houſe.*

Answer. And if I had said thus, then I had prayed against my self, for I come oft into mens houses; but thus I said, and yet I do, praying Christian men to beware that they nourish nor maintain no lecherous Priest in their sins; for there be where as men well known) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her Women. And iche man there saine they paine therefore a certain to the Bishops alms. *Et ideo ait Isido, 11. q. 4. qui consentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum & homines.*

10th. Conclusion. The tenth Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests putten upon me fallly, *That a child is not verily baptised, if the Priest that baptiseth, the Godfather or the Godmother, been in deadly sin.*

Answer. God wot in Heaven they said full false; but thus I said, and yet I say, that the prayers that an evil Priest prays (living in lechery or other deadly sin) over the child when it shall be hallowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good Priest. And though better and cleaner the Priest is, the Godfather, and the Godmother; the more graciously God will hear him, if all they ben not greateſt nor moſt rich in the World. *Unde gg.* 13. *q.* 7. *cap. in gravibus. Cum est qui displicit ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dubio ad deteriora provocatur.*

11th. Conclusion. The eleventh Conclusion is this, that Friers and Priests putten upon me fallly, *That no man living against the law of God is a Priest, however he were ordained Priest of any Bishop.*

Answer. *Certes* this is false, for I said never thus in these terms; but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before, that what ever Pope, or Cardinal, Bishop or Priest, or any Prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignity by Simony, and in Simony occupies that office, and holy Churches Goods; I say, that he is a thief, and that by the doom of God, and comes but to steal and kill, *Joh.* 10. *Fur non venit nisi ut furetur, & mactet, & perdat.* And furthermore I say, that what Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Prelate or Priest, in manner of living, or teaching, or laws making contrary to Christs living and his laws, or any other ground put in ruling of the Church or Christi, but by

{KING. Ric. 2.} by Christ and his laws, is very Antichrist, adversary to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. *Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus. Et patet* 1. *q.* 3. *c. Si quis. Et* 1. *q.* 6. *c. Ego autem. Quicunque.*

The true detestation unto Antichrists. But this worshipful Father Bishop of *Hereford*, that here is, says thus in his writing; That I *William* of *Swinderby*, notwithstanding the forefaid revocation and abjuration (not setting at heart, but from evil to worse, he says, perverted his Diocese) he says, I come running about by divers places; and by mine own folly he says, that I have presumed to preach many herefies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and other diffames, and to holy Canons and determination of holy Church contrary and repugnant. Which, where, and when within forth more ſpecially it ſhall be ſhewed, that ye be falſe enformed, that I have presumed in divers places of your Dioceſs to preach herefies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſms and other diffames. And ſir, all the Country knows whether this be ſooth or not; for ſir, I presume not, ſithen it is the office of a Priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the Gospel; ne nought I did it for presumption, but for the charge that I have of God by Priesthood (if all I be unworthy) and to the worſhip of God, and help of Christen ſouls, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching, if I erred in this, I will be amended. And ſir, touching your mandement that ye ſenden to me, there was ſent none. And ſir, I made never yet diſobedience unto you, ne to your Miniſters; and yef all I had, me ows more to obeyche to God than to you, in that ye bidden contrary to Christs bidding. And ſir, as ye ſaine, that I had no mind of my hele, it is too lightly demet; for God forbid, but yef there be hele more than in your bidding; for God wot, for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my mind. But ſir, it ſeems me, that ye charge not by evidence of the puniſhing ſo greatly the breaking of Gods heſts, as ye done of your own. And ſir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted you to teach him (and her Curates did not) by the deſire of them the people that were hungry and thirſty after Gods word, ichone to bear upothers charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for diſobedience to you, but ſir, in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me do, in excuſing of my ſelf to you of that ye blame me of, in open ſhewing to holy Church, with the proteſtation that I hirſt made, I anſwer thus to the Articles that ye have put to me.

1st Article. {Anno 1390.} Note here how the Papists ſain fal-ſly to revive good men, ſayings and Articles. The firſt is this, that I *William* of *Swinderby* the *Monday* the firſt of *Auguſt*, the year of our Lord 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of *Whitney* of your Dioceſs, held and affirmed (as ye ſain) *That no Prelate of the world, of what ſtate or degree that he be, having cure of ſouls, being in deadly ſin, and bearing confeſſion of his ſuger, does nought in abſoiling him, ne he abſoiled him not of his ſin; and alſo in amending his ſuget openly ſinning, and him for his deſerts curſing; his ſentence binds not; but if that Prelate be as clean out of deadly ſin as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gave power of binding and unbinding.*

Answer. The Popes binding, how far it extendeth. I never thought this, ne ſpake this, ne heard it, to the time that I ſaw it written in our Book; and that will witneſs, the Lord of the Town that has the ſame Sermon written, and many Gentiles and other that harden me that day. But thus I ſaid, and thus I ſay with proteſtation put before, that there is no man, Pope ne Biſhop, Prelate ne Curate, that binds foothly verily and ghoſtly, but inaſmuch as his binding or unbinding, accords with the Keies of Heaven that God gave to *Peter*. And as S. *Gregory* ſays, that power han they only, that hold together the enſample of the Apoſtles with her teaching. *Illi ſoli in hac carne poſiti ligandi atque ſolvendi poteſtatem habent, ſicut ſancti Apoſtoli, qui eorum exempla ſimul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto ſententiarum.*

Greg. lib. 4. dem.

2d Article. And what if he had ſaid it? The ſecond Article that is put upon me, is this, that I have ſaid, preached and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ, *That after the Sacramental words ſaid of the Prieſt, having intention of conſecration; That in the Sacrament of Gods Body, is not very Gods Body.*

Answer. This ſaid I never God wot, and true men that have heard me.

3d Article. The third Article is this, that our Biſhop puts upon me, that I ſhould have ſaid in many places, and affirmed, *That accidents mow not be in the Sacrament of the Altar, without ſubject, and that material bread leaves not therewith Gods body in the Sacrament.*

Answer. This Concluſion I have not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I have not medled me of that matter. my wit ſufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my belief with proteſtation put before, That the Sacrament of the Altar made by vertue of heavenly words, that Chriſt himſelf ſaid in the Cene, when he made this Sacrament, that it is bread and Chriſts body, ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſays in the Goſpel, and S. *Paul* ſays, and all Doctors in the common law have determined to this ſentence. *Mat.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. *Pa.* 1 *Cor.* 10. *& 11. de con. diſt.* 2. *panis: & de conſecr. diſt.* 2. *Corpus. Io.* 6. *verus panis.*

Bread is Chriſts body, ſo ſays Auſtin. Auſtin. Ep. ad Bonifac.

4th Article. The fourth Article is this, that our Biſhop accuſeth me of, that I ſhould have preached about and ſaid, *That a Prieſt being in deadly ſin may not by the ſtrength of the Sacramental words make Gods body, or vote either Sacrament of the Church, either performs to miniſter them to the members of the ſame.*

Answer. The wickedneſs of the Prieſt impairs no Sacrament. This I never ſaid, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickedneſs of a Prieſt may appaire no very Sacrament; but the wickedneſs of the Prieſts appaires himſelf, and all that boldneſs and example of his ſin cauſen the people to liven the worſe againſt Gods law. *Unde* Greg. *Et ſi ſacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum convertitur.*

5th Article. The fifth Article is this, that our Biſhop puts unto me; *That all Prieſts ben of even power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of this world bene of higher dignity, or more paſſing in bigneſs of degree.*

Answer. Equality of Prieſts. *Certes*, no man would ſay thus as I ſuppoſe, no more did I, ne never heard it that I wot of; but this I ſay, with proteſtation made before; that what Prieſt lives moſt holily, next following the law of God, he is moſt lover of God, and moſt profitable to the Church. If men ſpeaken of worldly power and lordſhips and worſhips, with other vices that reign therein; what Priest that deſires and has moſt hereof (in what degree ſo he be) he is moſt Antichriſt of all the Prieſts that ben in earth. *Unde Auguſtinus ad Valerium ſcribens ait; Nihil eſt in hac vita, & maxime hoc tempore facilius & levius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Epiſcopi, Presbiteri, aut Decani officia: ſed ſi perfunctio-rie aut adulatorie, nihil apud Deum miſerabilius, aut triſtius & damnabilius.* *Aug. ad Valerium.*

6th Article. The ſixth Article is this, *That only contrition does away ſin, if a man be duly contrite; and all outward confeſſion by word is ſuperfluous, and not required of need of health.*

Answer. Confeſſion. This concluſion ſaid I never that I know of. But thus I ſay with proteſtation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is never without charity and grace, does away all ſins before done of that man that is verily contrite. And all true confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe Prieſt, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needful and helping, that men ſhew their life to ſuch, truſting full to Gods mercy, and that he forgives thy ſin. *Unde Auguſt. de conſe. diſt.* 4. *Nemo tollit peccata mundi niſi ſolus Chriſtus, qui eſt agnus tollens peccata mundi.*

God forgives eth ſin. *Aug. de conſecr. diſt.*

7th Article. The ſeventh Article is this, that I ſhould ſay *That lower Curates have not here power of binding and aſſoiling by mean of Pope and Biſhop, but of Chriſt without mony. And therefore neither Pope ne Biſhop may revoke ſuch manner power for time and place at her will.*

Answer. † Not for thy, that is not withſtanding. Thus ſaid I not, but † not for thy it ſeems me thus, that no man ſhould grant any thing after his own will, ghoſtly ne bodily. But everich man ſhould be well adviſed, that he ſo grant nothing, but if it be the will of God that he grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants * by mean perſons, as does Antichriſt to torment Chriſts people. *Unde & Joh.* 19. *ait Pilatus, Neſcis quia poteſtatem habeo dimittere te? Et Chriſtus; Non haberes poteſtatem adverſum me ullam, niſi eſſet tibi datum de ſuper.*

* Something here lacketh in the copy.

8th Article. The eighth Article that our Biſhop puts me to, is this, that I ſhould ſay, *That the Pope may not grant ſuch manner indulgence of years, for there ſhall not be ſo many years unto the day of doom, as bene contained in his Bulls, or in the Popes indulgences, whereof it follows that Indulgences bene not ſo much worth as they ſemen, and bene preached.*

This

Answer. This Article I said not thus; but I say, that the Pope may grant Indulgences written in his Letter of years, all so far forth, that he may grant him in Gods law so far to grant, and further not; years may he grant no mo than God hath set. If indulgence ben forgivenesse of sin, I wot well all only God forgives sin. If it be releasing of pains in purgatory ordainet of God, if God have bidden him releasse so many, or ordained that he should releasse so many, he may then releasse him. If it be in his own disposing to releasse whom him likes, and how much, then he may destroy Purgatory, and let none come there, and releasse his own pain, as charities woos. So it seems he may be liker to be saved, if himself lift. If any go to purgatory, then it seems he full fails charity. If Bulls ben the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they soften there; for lightly they might be loft, drenched or brend, or a Rat might eaten them; his indulgence then were loft. Therefore, sir, have me excuset, I know not these terms; teach me these terms by Gods law, and truly I will learn them.

Against pardons.

9th. Article. The ninth Article is this, that I should have said, *That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any man (desing penance) remission from pain, ne from blame.*

The Pope proved a blasphemer. I wod I am, but this Article said I not thus lewdly; but thus I say, that fithen it is only due to God to give and to grant plenary remission from pains and from blame; that whatever he be, Pope or other, that presumptuously misfakes upon him that power that is only due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himself Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said, *Ascendam, & ero similis Altissimo.* Farther I say, if the Pope hold men of arms, in maintaining his temporalties and lordship to venge him on hem that silten and offenden him, and geves remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden he did by the Bishop of *Norwich*, not putting his Sword into his sheath, as God commanded *Peter, Mitte, &c.* he is *Anticbristus*; for he does contrary to the commandments of Jesus, that bade *Peter* forgive to his brother seventy sithe seven tithe, *Si peccaverit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus: non dico vibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.*

Of this Bp. Spencer Bishop of Norwich, see pag. 488.

10th Article The tenth Article is this, that our Bishop puts to me, that I should have said, *That a man giving his alms to any man after his dome (not having need) sins in so giving.*

Answer. This Article soothly I said not in these terms; but of this matter I have spoken, and will with protestation made before on this wife; that it is needful to give alms to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostly, but not to give it to ich shamelesse begger, strong and mighty of body, to get his lifeloode leveful and will not, and in what degree so he be, men owen not to give it to such a one, that he unreasonably asketh, for if he give it to him wittingly, he sins as fautor of his idleneſs. *Unde Sap.12. Si benefeceris, scito cui benefeceris. & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.*

He meaneth of begging Friers.

Eleventh Article. The eleventh Article is this, that is put to me, that I should have said, *That it is not in the power of any Prelate of what ever private Religion, to grant Letters of the good deeds of her order, ne such Benefices graunted profits not to hele of soules, to hem that they ben graunted to.*

Answer. I said never this in these terms; but thus I say with protestation, That Prelates of private Religion mowen graunt Letters of the good deeds of her order; but the ghostly mede that comes of good deeds they mow not graunt, for that is only propriet to God. And if they blind the people in misbelief for her worldly winning, wittingly belsetting hem of her own graunt ghostly medes in heaven by her Letters and her Seal (uncertain, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to sin by trust of her prayers; bit is none heal to the souls, but harms to that one and to that other. For God shall yeld to ech one after her werks. *Ipse reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

Good deeds of the order profit nothing.

Twelfth Article. The twelfth Article is this, that our Bishop puts to me, *That I many times and oft have come* (he says) *to a desart wood, cleped,* Detwalswode *of his Diocesse, and there in a Chapel not hallowed, but accurset* * *shepherds bulk, by mine own folly,* he says, *have presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the Keys.*

* Or sheep Coat.

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put upon me of hem that told you this. For it is a Chappel where a Priest sings certain days in the year with great solemnity; and certes, I never song therein seth I was born into this world.

Thirteenth Article. The thirteenth Article is this, *That I should also presume to sing in an unhallowed Chappel, that stonds in the Park of* Newton, *besides the Town of* Leyutwardy *of this same Diocesse.*

Truly I wot not where the place stonds.

Another lie. Fourteenth Article. The fourteenth Article is this, *That I should say, that no man owes to swear for any thing, but simply without Oath to affirm or to deny, and if he swear, he sins.*

Answer. This Article said I not that I have mind of, in this manner; but oft have I said, and yet will, that men should not swear by any creature by the law of God; and that no man should swear in idel, as wellnigh all the people useth, and therefore methinks it is no need to comfort the people in swearing. For from the old unto the young, and namely men of holy Church breken his heft, and few Bishops purluen hem therefore.

To swear by no creature. Fifteenth Article. The fifteenth Article is this, that I should have taught to true men of Christ, *That on no manner they should worship the Image of him that was done on the Crosse, or the Image of the blessed Maid his Mother, or of other Saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in the mind of them. And oft sithes the worship of such image he was reprovet, saying and strongly affirming, that Churchmen sinnen and done idolatry.*

Answer. This conclusion have I not said in these terms; but this I say with protestation, that God commands in his law in divers places, *Exod.*20. *Levit.*19. *& 26. Deut.*5. *& 7. Tobiæ* 1. *Baruc.*6. 2. *ad Corin.*10. *Esay* 45. *Jer.*2.6.8. *& 10.22. & ultimo Sapient.*13. *&* 14. *&* 15. *Mac.*2. *& Threnorum* 4. *& postremo*; that men should not worshippen graven images that ben werks of mens hands; and also he bids, that men should not make to hem graven images in likeneſs of the things that ben in Heaven, to that end to worshippen hem; sethen neither God ne Christ by his Manhood, gave never commandement to make these images, ne expreſs counsel, ne his Apostles in all his law, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wot, that by mens own relation, that have misbelevet in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetry, worshipping such dead images: † Not for thy, to tho men ben Images good to whom they have ben but Kalenders, and through the sight of them they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his Saints. And to such men they done harm that setten her hope and trust in hem, or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his heft. *Unde ait Gregorius in regisbro, libro* 10. *in Epistola ad serenum Episcopum; Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe; adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc solicite fraternitas tua admoneat, ut ex visione rei gesta ædificationem compunctionis percipiant, ut in adoratione totius trinitatis proſternantur.*

Images not to be worshipped.

† Not for thy, that is notwithstanding.

Greg. Regist. lib. 10.

These Conclusions, Points and Articles that I have under protestation, in this Book affirmed, I will stand by hem, and maintain hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrary be provet duly by Gods law: And this protestation I make for my faith and my belief as I did at the beginning; that whensoever this worshipful or any other Christian man shews me verily by Gods law the contrary of this, I will wholly forsake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better understanding of wiser men, ready to be amended by the law of Jesus Christ, and be a true Christen man, and faithful Son of holy Church; and of these I beseech you all bear witness where ye commen.

Subsequentur vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus posset in propria persona citari; injunctum Gulielmum virtute & modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi Prætoris in Ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Herfordensi & parochialibus Ecclesiis de Kington Crosse, & Whitney nostræ Diocesis, ubi idem Gulielmus solebat commorari, citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

W. Swinderby by keeping from the Bishop was cited as followeth.

{KING Ric. 2.} {Answer. Excommunicate seen proved with a lie.}

The Citation.

The tenor of the Citation.

'John by Gods permission Bishop of *Hereford*, to his dear Sons our Dean of *Leamster*, to the Parsons of *Croft, Almady* and *Whitney*, and also to the Vicars 'of *Kingston, Ladersley, Wiggemore* and *Monmouth Cliff*'ford, and of Sanit *Johns* Altar in our Cathedral Church 'of *Hereford*, and to the reſt of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, 'Chaplains, Parish Priests, and to other, whosoever in any 'place are appointed through our City and Dioceſs of *He*'*reford*, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

'We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the 'vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be ci'ted peremptorily (and under the pain of Excommunica'tion) *William Swinderby*, pretending himself to be a 'Priest; that he appear before us, or our Commissaries 'the 20th. day of this present Month of *July*, at North 'Lodebury, within our Dioceſs, with the continuance of 'the days following in other places also to be assigned un'to him if it be expedient, till such things as have been, 'and shall be laid against him, be fully discussed, to answer 'more at large to certain positions and articles, touching 'the Catholick Faith, and the holy Mother Churches de'termination, that have been exhibited and minisired unto 'the said *William*. And to see and hear also many things 'that have openly in judgment before us, and a great num'ber of faithful Christians, by him been even in writing 'confeſſed, to be condemned as heretical, falſe, schismati'cal and erroneous. And to see and hear positions and ar'ticles denied by the said *William*, to be proved by faith'ful witneſſes, and other lawful trials against the said *Willi*'*am*. And to receive for his falſe, heretical, erroneous and 'schismatical Doctrine, that Justice shall appoint, or elſe to 'shew causes why the premises should not be done.

'And if the said *William* lieth privily, or elſe cannot be 'so cited in his proper perſon; we will that in your 'Churches, when most people shall then come together to 'Divine Service, you with a loud voice, and that 'may be understood, cause the said *William* peremptorily to 'be cited unto the premises, certifying the same *William*, that 'whether he shall appear the day and place appointed or no, 'we will notwithstanding will proceed unto the premises against 'the said *William*, according to the canonical Decrees by form 'of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said *William* not'withstanding. We will moreover, if the said *William* shall ap'pear at the said day and place, as is aforesaid, before us, friendly 'hear him, and honeſtly, and favourably, as far as we may with 'Gods leave, deal with him; granting free licence to come 'and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in 'body or goods. And see that you fully certifie us of the 'things that you or any of you shall do about the execution 'of this our commandment, and that by your Letters Pa'tents signed with your Seal authentical, giving also faith'fully to the said *William*, or to his lawful Proctor, if he re'quire it, a Copy of this our prefent commandment.

'Given at our houſe of *Whitburne* under our 'Seal the fifth day of the Month of *July*, in 'the year of our Lord 1391.

The firſt ſitting against Wil. Swinderby.

On *Thursday* the 20th of *July*, in the year of the Lord aforesaid, We in the Parish Church of North *Lidebury* aforesaid, about six of the Clock sitting in judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the foresaid *William* was personally taken and lawfully cited; caused the same *W.* then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear and receive such things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that which Justice should perſwade. And the said *William* appeared neither by himſelf, nor by Proctor; but only by a servant (whose name we know not) he sent a certain Schedule of Paper, made like an Indenture unto us, to excuſe him. After which Schedule, seen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and in any wise notwithstanding, we adjudged the said *William* (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing) worthily obstinate; and for his obstinacy, and for his stubbornesse, we assigned unto him the 29th day of *July*, in the Church of *Ponsley*, to appear before us with the foresaid safeguard, to answer more fully to such Articles, and otherwise to hear, receive and do, as before is noted.

The second days Act.

The second sitting against Wil. Swinderby. Upon *Saturday* being the 29th of *July*, and in the year of the Lord aforesaid, We *John* by Gods permiſſion the fore remembred Bishop in the Church of *Pontesbury*, of our Dioceſs, at six of the clock, or thereabout, sitting in judgment; made the said *William* of *Swinderby* to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appear before us, to answer to the foresaid Articles more fully, and to declare the said Articles as the darkneſs of his answers did worthily require. And because the said *William* being called, and for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinateneſs (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the 8th. of *August*, then next following, at *Cleobury Mortemere* of the same our Dioceſs, unto the said *William* for the same thing.

The third days Act.

The third sitting against Wil. Swinderby. Upon *Tuesday* the 8th of *August*, the year aforesaid, I *John* by Gods permiſſion Bishop of *Hereford* aforesaid, in the Church of *Cleobury Mortemer*, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, caused the foresaid *William Swinderby* to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premiſes, according to the appointment of the same day that Justice should adviſe, which *William* did not appear at all. Whereupon, we after that the said *William* was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but appeared not at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obstinate; and for his obstinateneſs, assigned him the sixteenth day of the same Month of *August* next following, in the Parish Church of *Whitborne* of the same our Dioceſs, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to see all witneſſes brought forth, admitted and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the foresaid Articles, or at leaſtwise some of the same.

The fourth days Act.

The fourth sitting against Wil. Swinderby. Upon *Wednesday* the 16th. day of the Month of *August* the year aforesaid, We *John* the Bishop in the Parish Church of *Whitborn* aforesaid of our Dioceſs, sitting in Judgment, caused the said *William Swinderby* oftentimes to be called, who (as is aforesaid) appeared not at all; whom, after that he was so called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appeared, we pronounced to be obstinate. We received also by certain faithful Christians, and zealous Men for the Catholick Faith of this proceſs mentioned is made before. pag. 532. our Dioceſs, a certain proceſs made, and had at another time against the same *William*, before the reverend Father in God and Lord, Lord *John* by the grace of God, Bishop of *Lincoln*, confirmed by the hanging on of the Seal of the same reverend Father, the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And these faithful Christians moreover against the obstinateneſs of the said *William Swinderby* brought forth diſcreet men, Mr. *William Leviet*, Parson of the Parish Church of *Keyserſly*, and also *Edmund Waterdon*, Parish Chaplain of the Chappel of *N.* and *Roger Newton*, and *Hugh Sheppert*, Lay men of the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, asking instantly that they might be received for witneſſes, to prove some of the foresaid Articles, whom against the obstinateneſs of the said *William Swinderby*, we thought good to receive and did receive, and their Oaths on the holy Gospels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand: And did diligently examine them in proper perſon severally in form of law; whose sayings and depoſitions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtance of the same faithful Christians, we assigned the second day of *September* then next following, to the said *William Swinderby*, to say and alledge against the said Proceſs, Witneſſes, and their sayings, in the said Church of *Whitborn*; decreeing that a Copy should be made for him of these things that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the Witneſſes. *Here we fail in our Copy, till the Regiſter come to our hands again.*

by

by the door, but wendeth upon another hall, he is a night thief and a day thief. And there he telleth, how he that flyeth from the flock, is not the Sheepherd, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheep.

2d. Conclusion. * To the second Conclusion that he faien is error or herefie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of lordships of Priests that been evil livers.

Declaration I say,the seemeth that the Conclusion is true, and is this, that it were needful and leeful to secular Lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend nought by Gods Law ; curfed Curates that openly misuse the goods of the holy Church, that ben poor mens goods ; and customably ayens the Law of God, (the which poor men Lords ben holden to maintain and defend) to take away, and to draw from such Curates, poor mens goods in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms deeds of worldly goods, and give them to such as duly serven God in the Church, and ben ready in upbearing of the charge that Prelates shoulden do, and done it not. And as anencles taking away of temporalties, I say thus, that it is leeful to Kings, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lords of the world, to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, from Bishops, Prelates, and possessioners in the Church, their temporalties and their alms that they have given them upon condition, that they shoulden serve God the better ; when they verily seen that their giving and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Christs living, and his Apostles ; and namely, in that they taken upon them that they shoulden be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poorneſs and meekneſs, to be secular Lords against the teaching of Christ and of Saint *Peter*. Truly me seemeth that all christen men, and namely Priests shoulden take keep, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Priests of the old law were forbidden to have lordships among their brethren ; for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the New Testament forsook worldly lordship, and was here in form of a servant, and forbad his Priests such Lordships, and said, *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic* ; that is, *The Kings of the Heathen bear dominion and rule, &c. but you shall not do so.* And as St. *Peter* saith, *Neque dominantes in clero, &c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the Clergy, &c.* So it seemeth me, that it is against both laws of God, that they have such Lordships, and that their title to such Lordships is not full good. And so it seemeth me, that if they have been thereto of evil living, it is no great peril to take away from them such Lordships, but rather needful, if the taking away were in charity, and not for singular covetouſneſs, ne wrath. And I suppose, that if Friers that been bounden to their founders to live in poverty, would break their rule and take worldly Lordships ; might not men lawfully take from them such Lordships, and make them to live in poverty as their rule would ? And forsooth, it seemeth me, that Priests oughten also well to keep Christs rule, as Friers owen to keep the rule of their founder. *Jeremy* witneſseth, how God commended *Rechab*'s children, for that they would not break their faders bidding in drinking of wine ; and yet *Jeremy* proffered them Wine to drink. And so I trow, that God would commend his Priests if they woulden forsake worldly Lordships, and holden them apayed with lifelot, and with clothing, and bene them fait about their heritage of Heaven. And God saith *Numer.* 18. *In terra eorum nihil poſſidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos : Ego pars & hæreditas veſtra in medio filiorum Iſrael, &c. Et Deut.* 18. *Non habebitis Sacerdotes & Levitæ, & omnes qui de eadem tribu eſtis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Iſrael ; quia ſacrificia Domini & oblationes ejus comedunt, & nihil accipiunt de poſſeſſione fratrum ſuorum. Dominus enim ipſe hæreditas ipſorum, ſicut locutus eſt illis. Et Lucæ* 14. *Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciaverit omnibus quæ poſſidet, non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus. Et Jeronymus in Epiſtola* 34. *Et Bernardus libro* 20. *ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte* 2. *libri Secundi, cap.* 7. *Et* 12. *q. pri. cap. Duo ſunt : Et cap. Clerici. Et Bernardus in ſermone de Apoſtolis, ſuper illud ; Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chryſoſt. ſuper Matth. Et vetus Teſtamentum.* That is, *You ſhall have no inheritance in that land, nor have no part amongſt them ; I will be your part and inheritance amongſt the Children of Iſrael, &c. Deut.* 18. *The Prieſts and Levites, and all that be of the ſame Tribe, ſhall have no part nor inheritance with the reſt of Iſrael, becauſe they ſhall eat the Sacrifices of the Lord and his Oblations, and they ſhall take nothing for the poſſeſſion of their brethren. The Lord himſelf is their poſſeſſions, as he ſpake unto them.* And the 14th. Chapter of *Luke*, *Even ſo every one of you, which forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cannot be my Diſciple.* And *Jerome* in his 14th. Epiſtle hath the like words. And *Bernard* in his 20th. Book to *Engenius* the Pope. And alſo *Hugo* in his Book *De Sacramentis*, the ſecond part of his ſecond Book the 7th Chapter. And alſo in the 12th q. firſt Chapter, *Duo ſunt*, and in the Chapter *Clerici*. And again *Bernard* in *Sermone de Apoſtolis*, upon this place, *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia ; Behold we leave all, &c. Chryſoſtome* upon the Goſpel of S. *Matth.* &c.

Every gift given upon condition, is frustrate upon the breach of every ſuch condition.

{KING} Lib. 2.

3d. Conclusion.

* The third Concluſion toucheth the matter of preaching of Prieſts, withouten leave of Biſhops, and is this, *That ſuch Prieſts may counſel ſinful men, that leaven to them their ſins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turn hem from ſin to vertuous life.*

Declaration As touching preaching of the Goſpel, I ſay that no Biſhop oweth to let a true Prieſt, that God hath giften grace, wit and cunning to do that office. For both Prieſts and Deacons that God hath ordained Deacons or Prieſts bene holden, by power given to them of God, to preach to the people the Goſpel, and namely and ſoverenly, Popes, Biſhops, Prelates and Curates ; for this is due to the people and the Pariſhioners, to have it and ask it. And hereto ſeemeth me, that Chriſt ſaid generally to his Diſciples ; *Ite & prædicate Evangelium cmni creaturæ, Go and preach the Goſpel to all creatures*, as well as he ſaid, *Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Go and baptiſe all Nations* ; and alſo as well longeth preaching to Prieſts without leave of a Biſhop, as doth baptiſing ; and then why may he not preach Gods Word withouten a Biſhops leave ? And ſithen Chriſt bod his Prieſts preach, who ſhould forbidden them preach ? The Apoſtles were forbidden of a Biſhop at *Jeruſalem*, to ſpeak more of the name of Jeſus, but *Peter* ſaid, *Si juſtum eſt in conſpectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, judicate* ; that is, Whether it be juſt in the ſight of God to hear and obey you before the Lord, be ycur ſelves Judges. A Biſhop may not lett a Prieſt of giving bodily alms in his Dioceſs ; much more may he not lett the doing of ſpiritual alms in his Dioceſs by Gods law. A Prieſt may ſay his Mattens withouten the Biſhops leave ; for the Pope, that is above the Biſhop, hath charged Prieſts therewith : And me thinketh, that Chriſts bidding ſhould be all ſo much of charge as the Popes, *Mat.* 10. *Euntes autem prædicate. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar.* 16. *Euntes in mundum univerſum, &c. Lucæ* 10. *Et Anacletus Pap. Diſt.* 21. *cap. In Novo Teſtamento. Et Beda ſuper illud ; Meſſis quidem multa. Et Iſidorus de ſummo bono, cap.* 44. *Et Gregorius in Canone diſt.* 43. *Præconis quippe officium ſuſcipis, &c. Et Chryſoſt. Diſtinct.* 43. *Nolite timere. Et Auguſt. diſt.* 34. *cap. Quiſquis. Et Gregorius in ſuo paſtorali, cap.* 38. *Qui enim eſt. Et Chryſoſtom. Hom.* 31. *& in Toletano Concilio : Ignorantia. Et Auguſt. In Prologo ſermonum ſuorum, & Hieronymus, diſt.* 9. *Ecco ego. Et Auguſtin ſuper id. Homo quidam peregrinus* ; That is, *Go you forth and preach.* And again, *Behold I ſend you, &c. Mark* 16. *Go you into all the world, &c.* and *Luke* 10. *cap. in Novo Teſtamento.* And *Beda* upon this place *Meſſis quidem multa ; the Harveſt is great.* Alſo *Iſidorus, De ſummo bono, cap.* 44. And *Gregorius* in the Canon *diſt.* 43. *Præconis quippe officium ſuſcipis, &c.* And *Chryſoſtome* in his 34th diſtinction, *Nolite timere.* And *Auguſtine* in his 34th diſtinction, *cap. Quiſquis.* And *Gregorius* in his paſtoral, *cap.* 39. *Qui enim eſt.* And *Chryſoſtome* in his 31ſt. Homily, *Et in Toletano Concilio, Ignorantia.* And *Auguſtine* in the prologue of his Sermons. And *Hiereme* in the 95th. diſtinct. *Ecce ego.* And *Auguſtine* upon this place, *Homo quidam peregrinus*, a certain Traveller, &c.

A Prieſt ſhall preach, though the Biſhop forbid it, becauſe he is bound to preach the Word.

* The

{KING} Lib. 2. 4th. Conclusion.

* The fourth Concluſion toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, and is this.

Declaration That wholly I believe that the Sacrament of the Altar, made by vertue of heavenly words, is bread and Chriſts body ; ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſaith in the Goſpel, and as S. *Paul* ſaith, and as Doctors in the common law have determined ; to this ſentence *John* 6. *Moſes hath not given you bread from Heaven, but my father will give you bread from Heaven.* He is the true bread that came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. *My father giveth unto you bread indeed* ; the very true bread of God is that, which came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. *I am the bread of life ; The bread which I will give is my fleſh.* And in the Canon of the Maſs, *Panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ*, the holy bread of life. And *Corinthians* the tenth Chapter and firſt Epiſtle, *The bread which we break, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord ? Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of that bread*, &c. And Canon *De conſecratione*. diſtinct. 2. under the authority of *Hilarius* the Pope, *Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari*, &c. And *Auguſtine* in the foreſaid diſt. *That which is ſeen is bread.* &c. *That which faith requireth, is bread and is the body of Chriſt.* And in the foreſaid diſtinction, *cap. Omnia quæcunque*, &c. By theſe two ſentences it is manifeſtly declared, that that bread and this be not two, but one bread and one fleſh. Note the words, for that he faith the bread and fleſh. And the Author, *De divinis officiis*, and alſo *Auguſtine* in his Book *De remeditis pœnitentiæ* ; Why preparelt thou thy teeth, &c? And *Ambroſe, De Sacramentis, de conſecratione, diſt.* 2. *Revera mirabile eſt*, &c. *This meat which you receive, and this bread of one which deſcended from Heaven, doth miniſter the ſubſtance of eternal life, and whoſoever ſhall eat the ſame ſhall not die everlaſtingly, and is the body of Chriſt.* Note how he ſaith, *and is the body of Chriſt.*

5th. Conclusion. * The fifth Article telleth of forgiveneſs of ſins, and is this : That very contrition withouten charity and grace, do away all ſins before done of that man that is verily contrite ; and all true confeſſion made by mouth outwardly to a wiſe Prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is needful and helping, that men ſhew their life to ſuch, trulting fully to Gods mercy, that he forgiveth the ſin.

Declaration

Remiſſion double. And hereto I ſay, that there been two remiſſions of ſin ; one that belongeth only to God, and that remiſſion is the cleanſing of the ſoul from ſin : and the other remiſſion, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his ſins been forgiven of God, if he be ſorry with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leave them for ever ; and this manner of forgiveneſs longeth to Prieſts. Of the firſt manner of forgiveneſs *David* ſaith, *And I ſaid, I will confeſs my unrighteouſneſs unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt me my miſdeed.* And *Zechary* ſaith, *And thou, O child, ſhalt be called the Prophet of the higheſt, &c. To give knowledge of ſalvation unto his people for the remiſſion of their ſins, by the bowels of Gods mercy.* And *John* Baptiſt, *Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world.* And Saint *John* the Evangeliſt ſaith in his Epiſtle, *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and cleanſe us from all our iniquity.* And it followeth, *If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jeſus Chriſt, and he is that is the propitiation for our ſins.* And of the other remiſſion of ſins, Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpel, and ſaith, *Whoſe ſins ye forgive they ſhall be forgiven.* And mans forgiveneſs availeth little, but if God forgive our ſins through his grace.

6th. Conclusion. * The ſixth Concluſion toucheth indulgences and pardons that the Pope granteth in his Bulls ; and men callen it an Abſolution *A pœna & culpa.*

Declaration Either there is no Purgatory, or elſe the Pope is cruel & unchariable.

Of this manner of ſpeech I cannot find in the Goſpel, ne in no place of holy Writ, ne I have not read that Chriſt uſed this manner of remiſſion, ne none of his Apoſtles. But as me ſeemeth, if the Pope had ſuch a power, ſithen the pains after a mans death been much greater than any bodily pains of the world ; me thinketh he ſhould of charity keep men out of ſuch pains, and then men needed not to find ſo many vicious Priests, after their life, to bring their ſouls out of Purgatory. Another thing me thinketh, that ſith the Popes power ne may not keep us in this world from bodily pains, as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from ſorrow and other ſuch pains, how ſhould his power help us from ſpiritual pains, when we been dead ? But for that no man cometh after his death to tell us the ſooth of what pain they been, men mow tell thereof what him luſt. Saint *John* ſaith in his *Apocalyps*, that he ſaw under the Altar the ſouls of them which were ſlain for the Word of God, and for the teſtimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, ſaying, *How long Lord holy and true, doſt not thou revenge our blood of them which dwell on the earth ?* And white ſtoles were given to every of them to reſt a while, till the number of their fellow ſervants and brethren ſhould be fulfilled, which alſo remained to be ſlain as they were, &c. Here ſeemeth it, that theſe ſouls were not aſſoiled a *pœna*, that is, from pain ; for their deſire is not fulfilled. And they were bidden abide awhile, and that is a pain. And if Martyrs were not aſſoiled from pain, it is hard for any man to ſay, that he aſſoileth other men a *pœna*. Alſo good mens ſouls have not but ſpiritual bliſs, and they want bodily bliſs, until their Reſurrection in the day of doom. And after they deſired to have that bliſs, and abiden it, and that is pain to them. And I cannot ſee that the Pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if any man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power granted in the ſooth of holy Writ, I will gladly leeſen it.

If the Martyrs being dead, be not aſſured from their pains of Purgatory, much leſs can they aſſoile others from pains of Purgatory.

The Pope hath no power ground d upon Scripture, to bring from pain of purgatory.

7th Conclusion. * The ſeventh point ſpeaketh of the Pope, and is this ; Sith it is only due to God, as I have ſaid before, to geve and to grant plenar remiſſion from pain, and from blame ; that whatſoever he be, Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtaketh upon him the power that is only due to God, in that, inaſmuch as in him is, he maketh himſelf even with Chriſt, and blaſpheneth God, as *Lucifer* did, when he ſaid, *Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis altiſſimo* ; that is, *I will aſcend, and be like the higheſt*, &c.

The Pope maketh himſelf even with Chriſt.

For that I ſay, if the Pope hold men of arms in maintaining of his temporal Lordſhip, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geveth remiſſion to fight and to ſley them, that contrarieu him, as been ſayden he did by the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not putting his ſword in his ſheath, as God commanded to *Peter*, he is Antichriſt. For he doth the contrary of the commandment of Jeſus Chriſt, that bad *Peter* forgiven to his brother ſeventy ſithe ſeven ſithe. Well I find in the Goſpel, that when Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to *Samaria*, the Samaritans would not receive them. And ſome of them bidden Chriſt, that he ſhould make fire come down from Heaven, to deſtroy the City. And he blamed them and ſaid, *Neſcitis cujus ſpiritus eſtis, Filius hominis non venit animan perdere, ſed ſalvare.* That is, *ye know not of what ſpirit ye are ; The Son of Man is not come down to deſtroy, but to ſave the lives and ſouls of men, &c.* If Chriſt then come to ſave men, and not to ſlay them ; who that doth the reverſe hereof, is againſt Chriſt, and then he is Antichriſt. Chriſt bad *Peter* put his ſword into his ſheath and ſaid, *Omnes qui gladium acceperunt gladio peribunt* : That is, *all which take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.* And I cannot find that *Peter* drew out his ſword after that time, but ſuffered as Chriſt ſaid, *Cum ſenueris, alius cinget te, & ducet te quo tu non vis* : That is, *When thou ſhalt wax old, another ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whether thou wilt not.* And therefore, ſaid *Peter*, *Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us example that we ſhould follow his ſteps.* And *Paul* ſaith, *Not defending your ſelves, but give place to anger, leave revienging to me and I ſhall reward them, &c.* And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much againſt Chriſts lore, that his Vicar ſhould be a fighter ; ſithen that he mote be a Shepherd, that ſhould go before his ſheep, and let them come after him, and not with ſwords to drive them away from him. For as Chriſt ſaith, *A good ſhepherd ſhall put his life for his ſheep.* And ziſ all that Chriſt had two ſwords, when that he was taken of the *Jews*, he ſaid himſelf it was for that the Scriptures moten zif be fulfilled, *Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus eſt* ; that is, *He was reputed among the wicked* ; and not to figure two ſwords that men ſayen the Pope hath to govern with the Church. And when I ſee ſuch doings of the Pope, and many other that accorden not with Chriſts lore, ne his living ; and when I read divers Scriptures of holy Writ, I am ſoul aſtonied whether they ſhoulden be underſtood of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods love tell me the ſooth. Chriſt ſaith, *Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying,*

The Popes power can keep none from bodily pain. Every man muſt live from ſickneſs.

Two Swords given to the Pope.

ing, I am Christ, and shall seduce many, &c. Christ (I wot well) is as much to say, as he that is anointed, and two anointings there were in the law, one of Kings, another of Priests. And Christ was both King and Priest, and so the Pope saith that he is. And if all that have been Emperours of *Rome*, and other Heathen Kings have been Antichrists, they come not in Christs name. But whoso cometh in Christs name, and feigneth himself Christs friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. Saint *Paul* saith, before there cometh a defection first and the son of perdition shall be revealed, which is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worthipped; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as God. And it followeth in the same place; and now ye know what holdeth till he bereveiled in his time, for he worketh already the mystery of iniquity. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, &c. And St. *John* saith in the *Apocalyps, I saw another Beast ascending out of the earth, and two horns like to the Lamb. He spake like the Dragon, and had the power of the first Beast.* Many such authorities attonied me oft sithes; and therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they mean.

Two sorts of anointings in Scripture.

A defection in Antichrists time.

The Sentence.

Mention was made of this Schedule before in the first days Ad, *Pag.* 537.

THe which Schedule aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us perused, we considering that Diseases, which be not easily cured with gentle remedy, must have harder plasters; considering moreover, these his Articles, with his answers to the same, and to other Articles also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the foresaid Masters and Doctors, as well seculär as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalf, have given sentence against the said *William* in form as followeth.

The sentence given against him.

The name of Christ being invocated, We John *by the permission of God, Bishop of* Hereford, *sitting in Tribunal Seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the Articles by the foresaid faithful Christians put up against the said* Swinderby, *pretending himself to be Priest, with his answers upon the same,* Actis & Actitatis *before us in the cause of Heretical perversity, with mature deliberation had before in this behalf, with Masters and Doctors of Divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent; Do pronounce, decree and declare the said* William *to have been and to be an Heretick, Schismatick, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition or preheminence soever, that neither they nor any of them within our Diocese, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said* William, *till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosom again of holy Church.*

The Appeal of William Swinderby, *from this sentence of the Bishop prefixed, unto the King and his Conneil.*

The Appeal of *William* Swinderby from the Bishop to the King and his Council.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. I William Swinderby, Priest, knowledge openly to all Men, that I was before the Bishop of *Hereford* the third day of *October*, and before many other good Clerks, to answer to certain Conclusions of the Faith that I was accused of. And mine Answer was this, that if the Bishop or any man couthe shew me by Gods law, that my Conclusions or my Answers were error or heresie, I would be amended, and openly revoke them before all the people.

4 Something there lacketh in the Copy.

* Knowes in any of my Conclusions, but sayden singly with sword, that there was errors in them, and bidden me subject me to the Bishop, and put me into his grace, and revoke mine error, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proved which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guilty, so as I knew no error in them, of which I should be guilty, therefore the Bishops sate in doom in mine absence, and deemed me an Heretick, a Schismatick, and a teacher of errors, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the Church, and therefore for this unrighteful Judgment, I appeal to the Kings Justices for many other causes.

{KING Ric. 2.}

The Kings Court above the Bishops Court.

One cause is, for the Kings Court in such matter is above the Bishops Court; for after that the Bishop has accursed, he may no fear by his law, but then more be fech succour of the Kings law and by a Writ of *Significavit* put a man in Prison.

The second cause is, for in cause of Heresie there liggeth judgment of death, and that dome may not be given without the Kings Justices. For the Bishop will say, *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam:* That is, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man,* as they saiden to *Pilate* when Christ should be doomed. And for I think that no Justice will give sodainly an untrue doom, as the Bishop did, and therefore openly I appeal to hem, and send my Conclusions to the Knights of the Parliament, to be shewed to the Lords, and to be taken to the Justices, to be well avisèt or that they geven doom.

What is an Heretick.

The third cause is, for it was a false doom; for no man is an Heretick, but he that masterfully defendeth his error or heresie, and stifly maintains it. And mine answer has been alway conditional, as the people openly knows, for even I say, and yet say, and alway will; *That if they cannen shew me by Gods law that I have erret, I will gladly have amended, and revoke mine errors, and so I am no Heretick, ne nevermore in Gods grace will bon en no wise.*

The Bishops law of condemnation filled between and 10 years.

The fourth cause is, for the Bishops saw, that they doom men by, is full of errors and heresies, contrary to the truth of Christs law of the Gospel.

For there, as Christs law bids us love our enemies, the Popes law gives us leave to hate them, and to sley them, and grants men pardon to werren against Heathen Men, and sley hem. And there as Christs law teaches us to be merciful, the Bishops law teaches to be wretchful. For death is the greatest wreth that men mowen done to him that guilty is.

Whereas Christs law teaches us, to blessen him that diseazen us, and to pray for him; the Popes law teacheth us to curse them, and in their great sentence that they usen, they presume to damn hem to Hell that they cursen. And this is a foul heresie of blasphemy; thereas Christs law bids us be patient, the Popes laws justifies two swords, wherewith he smiteth the sheep of the Church. And he has made Lords and Knights to swear to defend him and his Church.

The contrary between the Pope and Christ.

There as Christs law forbiddeth us lechery, the Popes law justifies the abominable whoredom of common women, and the Bishops in some place have a great Tribute or Rent of Whoredom.

There as Christs law bids to minister spiritual things freely to the people; the Pope with his law sells for money, after the quantity of the gift, Pardons, Orders, Blessings and Sacraments, and Prayers, and Benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is known amongst them.

There as Christs law teaches peace; the Pope with his law assoiles men for money to gader the People, Priests, and other to fight for his cause.

There as Christs law forbids swearing; the Popes law justifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christs law teacheth his Priest to be poor; the Pope with his law justifies and maintains Priests to be Lords.

The curse wrongfully given forth from the Pope.

And yet the fifth cause is, for the Popes law, that Bishops demen men by, is the same unrighteful law that Christ was demert by of the Bishops, with the Scribes and with the Phariseos. For right as at that time they gaven more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, than they deden to all the people that witnessfeden to his true preaching and his Miracles; so the Bishops of the Popes law geven more leven by their law to two Hereticks and Apostates, or two comen women that woulden witnessfeden againes a man in the cause of heresie, than two thousands of people that were true and good. And for the Pope is this Antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I reed all Christen men. For thus by another point of this law they mighten conquer much of this world; For what they can, by this law present a man an Heretick, his goods shulen be forfeit from him

{KING Ric. 2.} him and from his Heirs, and so might they lightly have two or three false witnesses to record an heretie again what true man so hem liked. Herefore me thinks, that whatsoever that I am a Christen man, I may lawfully appeal from a false doom of the Law, to be righteously demeet by the trouth of Gods Law. And if this appeal will not serve, I appeal openly to my Lord Jesus Christ that shall deme all the world, for he, I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therefore I pray God Almighty with *David* in the *Sauter* Book, *Deus judicium tuum regi da, & justitiam tuam filio regis; judicare populum tuum in justitia & pauperes tuos in judicio.* That is, O God, give thy judgment to the King, and thy justice to the Kings Sons, to judge thy people in justice, and thy poor ones in judgment, &c.

A faithful Letter to the Lords and Burgesses of the Parliament.

A Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesses of the Parliament, by Master *William Swinderby.*

JEsus that art both God and Man, help thy people that loven thy Law, and make known through thy grace thy teaching to all Christen men. Dear Sirs, so as we seen by many tokens that this world draws to an end, and all that ever have been brought forth of Adams kind into this world shulen come togeder at Domesday, rich and poor, schone to geve accompt and receive after his deeds, joy or paynen for evermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his help about you. Constantes eftote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. *This Land is full of Ghostly Cowards; mighotly battel few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of all that falleth (to that his Heart brast for our love) against the fiend the doughty Duke comforteth us thus;* Eftote fortes in bello, &c. *Be ye strong in battel, he sayes, and Fight ye with the old Adder.* State in fide, viriliter agite, &c. *Wake ye and pray ye, stond ye in believe, do ye manly and be ye comfortet, and let all your things be done with charity.* For Saint Paul *that saw the privities of God in Heaven, bids thus in the Epistle;* Evigilate juste, &c. *Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and unmoveable: Awake ye quickly and sleep nought, and stond now strongly for Gods Law.* For Saint John *in the Apocalyps sayes,* Blessed he he that awakes; *for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the Crown of Life. For the hour is now,* as S. Paul *saith to us, from sleep for to rise, for he that early awakes to me, he shall find me, saith Christ himself. This awaking Ghostly is good living out of sin: This sleep betokens that which Cowardesh a mans heart from Ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same through a deceiveable sleep is this that lets a Man of the bliss of Heaven: The fiend makes men bold in sin, and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a Thiefe that privily steals upon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon he makes him a needy wretche Therefore said God by Saint* John *in the Apocalyps in this wise, Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a Thiefe, and thou shalt not wit what hour. And if the Husbandman (sayes Christ) wist what hour the Thiefe should come, he would wake and suffer him not to undermine his house. Saint* Peter *therefore warneth and saith; Wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he sayes) as a Thiefe, but willingly for Gods love; for it is time.* as Peters *sayes, that doome begin from the House of God. Te been the Body of Christ,* sayes Paul, *that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies been but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curset be he,* sayes Paul, *that loves not Jesus Christ. And who it is that loves him, Christ himself tels in the Gospel; he that has my hests, and keepes them, he it is that loves me. Cursed be he therefore,* sayes Paul, *that doth Christs works deceiveably. Be ye not therefore,* sayes Paul, *ashamed of the true witnes of Jesus Christ; for Christ our God says in the Gospel, He that shames me and my words, him shall mans Son ashame, when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Majesty. And each man, he says, that knows me and my words before men in this sinful Generation, and whorish, Mans son shall knowledge him before my Father, says Christ himself, when he shall come with his Angels in the Glory of his Father. Sith ye therefore been Christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that ye been such as ye daren shew you the Kings men; for his had been, as* Peter *says, better not to have known the way of truth, then after the knowing thereof to be converted backward therefrom. We knowen Christ, that is trought; we sain all through our belief, if we turn from him for dred, truly we deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knows but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when we have time. Be true, says God, to the death, and you shall have the Crown of life. And think on* Judas Maccabaeus, *that was Gods true Knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to be the followers of his Law. And geve ye, he said, your lives for the Testament of your Fathers. And ye shulen win, he said, great joy, and a name for evermore. Was not* Abraham, *he said, in temptation founden true, and* *Reckoned was * areëset unto him evermore to righteousness? Joseph in time of his anguish he kept truly Gods best, he was made by Gods providence Lord of* Egypt, *for his troth.* Phinees *our fadure loving, he saith, the zeal of God, took the Testament of everlasting Priesthood.* Josua, *for he fulfillet the Word of God, was doomes man in* Israel. Caleph, *that witnessed in the Church, he took therefore the Heritage, he saith:* David *in his mercy he gat the Siege of the Kingdom in Worlds:* Hell, *for that he loved the zeal of Gods Law, was taken up into heaven.* Ananny, Azary, *and* Misael, *he says, weren delivered thoore through true belief out of the hoat flame of fire. True* Daniel *in his simplenes was deliverest from the Lions mouth. Betlink ye therefore, he says, by Generation and Generation, and thou shalt never find that he failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he says of the words of a sinful man; his glory is, he says but worms and tords: he is to day, he saith, ymade by, to morrow, he says, he is not founden; for he is turned, he says, into his Earth again, and the mind of him is perisbet. Sons therefore, he says, by ya comfortet, and dy manly in the Law: For when ye han done that that God commands you to do, ye shulen be glorious in him. And* King *David says also on this wise in the* Psalter *Book: Blesset be they (Lord) that keepen thy Law, in Worlds of Worlds they shall praise thee. And in* Levit. *says God thus, Gif that ye wenden in mine bests, and keepen my commandements, and done hem,* Psal. 119. Levit. 26. *shall bring forth their Fruit, and Trees shall be fulfilled with Apples. And ye shall eat your Bread in fulnes, ye shulen dwell in your Land without dred; I shall give peace in your coasts, ye shall sleep and no man shall fear you. Evil beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not pass your terms, ye shulen pursue your Enemies, and they shall fall before you; fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of beren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your Enemies, he saith, shulen fall through sword, and your sute: I shall, he says, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall be multiplier: And I shall strength with you my covenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shall come in thereon. And ye shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend among you, and I shall be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye hear me not, ne done nought all my bests, but despisen my law and my doomes, and that ye done not tho things that of me been ordenet, and breaken my commandments and my convenants; I shall do these things to you. I shall visit you surely in neue and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall waste your lives about nought. Ye shulne sow your seed, for bit shall be devoures of Enemies, I shall put put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your Enemies. And ye shullen be underlings to them that han hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall add thereunto thrinne and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you, I shall geve the Heaven above you as Iron, and the Earth as Brass. About nought shall your labour be, for the Earth shall bring you forth no Fruit, no Tree shall geve none Apples unto you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not hear me, I shall add hereto sevenfold wounds for your sins. I shall send amongst you Beasts of the field that shall devoure you and your Beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and ways shulne be desart. And if that ye will not*

receive lore, but wenden against me, I will also wenden against you, and I shall smite you seven sithes for your sins. I shall lead in upon you sword, venger of my covenant: and upon the fleen into Cities I shall send Pestilence in the midest of you. So that tenne women shall bake their Bread in one furnace, and yield them again by weight, and ye shall eat, and be not fillet. If that ye hear me not by these things, but wenden against me, I shall wend in against you in a contrary woodnesse, and blame you with seven plagues for your sins, so that they soulene eat the flesh of your Sons and of your Daughters. And insomuch my soul shall loth you, that I shall bring your Cities into wildernesse, and your Sanctuaries I shall make desart, no I shall not ever that receive sweet odor of your Mouth. And I shall disperkle your Land, and Enemies shullen marvel thereon, when they shulen inhabit it, I shall sperkle you among heathen, and draw my sword after you. These vengeances and many moe God said should fall on them that break his bidding, and despiseth his laws, and his doomes. Then saith Christ become man, and bought us with his heavt bleod, and has shewed us so great love, and given us an easie law, of the best that ever might be made, and to bring us to the joy of Heaven, and we despise it and loven it nought: what vengeance will be taken hereon, so long as he has suffered us, and so mercifully abidden, when he shall come that righteous judge in the clouds to deme this world? Therefore turn we us to him, and leave sin that he hates, and over all things maintain his law that he confirmed with his death. For other laws, that men had made, should be demed at that day by the just Law of Christ, and the maker that them made: and then we won that long life and that joy that Paul *speaketh of, that eye ne see nas, ne ear heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the bliss and joy that God hath ordained to them that loven him and his laws.*

Dear worshipful Sirs in this World, I beseech you for Christs love, as ye that I trow loven Gods law and truth (that in these days is greatly born aback) that they wollen worchipe these things that I send you written to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the Parliament, as your wits con best conceive, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy Church. My conclusion, and mine appeal, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therein error, falsenesse, or defalt, prover by the Law of Christ clearly to Christen mens knowledge) I shall revoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amended: ever ready to hold with Gods law openly and privily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintain that is contrary to his law.

The faithfull request of William Swinderby.

¶ Of this proces, answers, and condemnation of this worthy Priest, and true servant of Christ, *William Swinderby*, you have heard. What afterward became upon him I have not certainly to say or affirm; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of King *Richard* the Second no great harm was done unto him. Which was to the year 1401. at what time King *Richard* being wrongfully depoled, *Henry* the Fourth invaded the Kingdom of *England*. About the beginning of whose reign we read of a certain Parliament holden at *London*, mentioned also of *Thomas Walden* (as is above specified) in which Parliament it was decreed; That whosoever shewed themselves to be favourers of *Wickliff*, who at that time were called *Lollards*, they should be apprehended, and if so be they did obstinately persevere in that Doctrine, they should be delivered over unto the Bishop of the Diocese, and from him should be committed unto the secular Magistrate. This law (saith the Story) brought a certain Priest unto punishment the same year, who was burned in *Smithfield* in the presence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old Story: and it is moft certain that there such a Priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the Story what the Priests name was. Notwithstanding by divers conjectures it appeareth unto me that his name was *Swinderby*, that was forced to recant before the Bishop of *Lincoln*. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premisses, let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expreslly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge (which have here seen and read his Story) that if he were burned, then the Bishops, Friers, and Priests, which were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, *& seculum per ignem.*

{KING Rich. 2.}

The story and proces against *Walter Brute.*

The Story of Walter Brute a Britain.

After the story of *William Swinderby*, I thought good and convenient next to adjoyn the acts and doings of *Walter Brute* his joynt fellow and companion, being a Lay-man, and learned; brought up as it feemeth in the Univerlity of *Oxford*, being there also graduate. The tractation of wose discourse, as it is something long: So therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and confidered.

First, the mighty operation of Gods Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modeft fimplicity, his valiant conftancy, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts fuftained againft Gods Enemies. On the contrary part in his adverfaries may appear Might againft Right, mans authority againft plain verity; againft which they, having nothing directly to anfwer, proceed in condemnation againft whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefeft occafion, that feemed to ftir up the heart and zeal of this *Walter* againft the Pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of Pope *Urban*, granted to *Henry Spencer* Bifhop of *Norwich*, to fight againft Pope *Clement*, mentioned before *Pag.* 508. Secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the Articles and conclufions of *William Swinderby*; the whole Order whereof, in the proces here following, more plainly may appear.

Ex regiſtro Epiſc. Lincol.

The proces had by John *Bifhop of* Hereford *againft* Walter Brute *a Lay-man and learned, of the Diocefs of* Hereford, *touching the cauſe of Herefie, as they called it, fet forward by the way of the Bifhops Office,* &c. *At the inſtruction of certain faithfull Chriſtians, as he termed them, but indeed cruel and falſe promoters.*

Murdering hearts lurking under loving words.

IN the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful Chriftian people, that fhall fee and hear this our prefent proces, *John* by the fufferance of God Bifhop of *Hereford* fendeth greeting and continual charity, in the Lord. We would that you all fhould know, that of late by many faithful Chriftian people, and fpecially zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, it was lamentably done us to underftand by way of complaint; that a certain Son of ours going out of kind, named *Walter Brute*, a Lay perfon, learned, of our Diocefs, hath under a cloked fhew of holinefs damnably feduced the people; and, fetting behind him the fear of God, doth feduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and privily as well the Nobles as the Commons, in certain conclufions heretical, fchifmatical and erroneous, and alfo heretofore condemned. And they have alfo probably exhibited againft the fame *Walter*, Articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the Bifhop, againft Walter Brute.

Articles denounced againſt Walter Brute by Prieſts and Patrons.

REverend Father and Lord, we the faithful people of Chriſt, and zealous lovers of the Catholick Faith, and alſo your humble and devout Children, do Miniſter and exhibite to your Reverend Fatherhood the Articles under-written, touching the Catholich Faith, contrary and againſt malicious perſons, and detractors of the ſame faith, and the determinations of Holy mother Church, and namely againſt the child of *Belial*, one *Walter Brute*, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt the people: Humbly beſeeching, that you would vouchſafe to have regard to the correction of the Enormities under-written, according unto the Canonical

{KING Rich. 2.}

cal conſtitutions, even as to your office paſtoral doth lie and belong.

The firſt Article.

Imprimis, We do give and exhibit and intend to prove that the ſame *Walter Brute*, being unmindful of his Salvation, hath been by many and divers faithful Chriſtian people fundry times accuſed of the Curſednes of Hereſie; As by the fwift report, ſlander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the moft Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and alſo before the the Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *John* late Biſhop of *Hereford* your Predeceſſor, and now Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, hath been teſtified, and alſo hath been many and divers times cited to anſwer unto Articles by him againſt the Catholick Faith avouched, and openly and publickly taught. But he in this matter of heretical Curſednes (ſo grievouſly and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and fundry years laboured to advance things erroneous, and ſchiſmatical, and alſo Hereſies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

The ſecond Article.

Item, The foreſaid *Walter Brute* hath openly, publickly, and notoriouſly avouched; and commonly ſaid and taught, and ſtubbornly affirmed; that every Chriſtian man (yea and woman) being without ſin, may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as the Prieſt.

The third Article.

Item, The ſame *Walter* hath notoriouſly, openly and publickly avouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very body, but a ſign and a memorial only.

The fourth Article.

Item, The foreſaid *Walter* hath ſaid commonly, and avouched, and alſo hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give Tithes, nor Oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his Tithes, and Oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their Curates.

The fifth Article.

Item, That ſuch as do preach and prefer croſſed matters, and pardons (granted by the high Biſhop to them that helped the purpoſe of the Reverend Father Lord *Henry* by the grace of God Biſhop of *Norwich*, when as he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy Father the Pope) are ſchiſmaticks and hereticks, and that the Pope cannot grant ſuch manner of pardons.

The ſixth Article.

Item, The ſaid *Walter* hath oftentimes ſaid, and commonly avouched, that the Pope is Antichriſt, and a feducer of the people, and utterly againſt the Law and life of Chriſt.

The ſeventh Article.

Item, Whereas of late your Reverence did (at the inſtance of faithful Chriſtian people) proceed in form of law againſt *William Swinderby*; and that the ſaid *William Swinderby* had unto the ſaid Articles objected againſt him given up his anſwers in writing, containing in them errors, ſchiſms and hereſies, even as you with the mature counſel of Maſters and Doctors in Divinity, and other faculties have determined and given ſentence, and have pronounced the ſame *William Swinderby* to be an Heretick and a ſchiſmatick, and an erroneous Teacher of the people: Nevertheleſs the foreſamed *Walter* hath openly, publickly, and notoriouſly ſaid, avouched and ſtubbornly affirmed, that the ſaid *Williams* anſwers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous and not able to be convinced, in that they contain none error, and that your ſentence beforeſaid, given againſt the ſaid *William*, is evil, falſe and unjuſt; and that your affiſtance have wickedly, naughtily, perverſly, and unjuſtly condemned the anſwers aforeſaid.

Otherwiſe bloody perſecutors. Their concluſions and Articles of *William Swinderby* here repeated, and wickedly to *Walter Brute* to be found before, pag. 510. and 511.

Now thereupon immediately thoſe ſame faithful Chriſtian people have inſtantly required, that we would vouchſafe that other Articles given by the ſame faithful Chriſtians againſt the ſaid *William Swinderby*, together with the writings and anſwers of the ſame *William* thereunto, ſhould be admitted againſt *Walter Brute*, mentioned if in this matter of curſed Hereſie: of which Articles and anſwers, the Tenors do follow in theſe words.

Imprimis, That one *William Swinderby*, pretending himſelf Prieſt, was of certain Articles and concluſions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmatical, and heretical by him preached, at divers places and times, before a great multitude of faithful Chriſtians judicially convinced; and the ſame Articles and concluſions did he (inforced by neceſſity of law) revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and other as erroneous and falſe; and for ſuch did he avouch them ever afterward, promiſing ſo to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he ſhould make Sermon or Preach within your Dioceſs without licence demanded and obtained. And in caſe he ſhould to the contrary preſume, by preaching or avouching; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the Canons, even as he judicially ſwear accordingly as the law inforced. Alſo the concluſions abjured by the ſaid *William*, do follow, and are ſuch.

1. *Imprimis*, That men by the rule of charity may mand debts, but by no means impriſon any man for debts: and that the party ſo impriſoning a body, is excommunicated, before pag. 530. {Concluſion.}

2. *Item*, That if the Pariſhioners ſhall know their Curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from their Tithes, &c. *ibid.*

3. *Item*, That Tithes are meer Alms; and in caſe that the Curates ſhall be ill, that they may be lawfully bellowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c. *ibid.*

4. *Item*, That an evil Curate to excommuicate any under his juriſdiction, for withholding of Tithes, is nought elſe, &c. *ibid.*

5. *Item*, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that firſt he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do thoſe that excommunicate with ſuch a one, incur the ſentence of excommunication by any manner of means. *ibid.*

6. *Item*, That every Prieſt may abſolve every ſinner being contrite, and is bound to Preach the Goſpel unto the people, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Biſhops. *ibid.*

7. *Item*, That a Prieſt, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in ſo doing a ſchiſmatick, and excommuicate. *ibid.*

8. *Item*, He doth affiuredly believe (as he avoucheth) that every Prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he diſpoſe himſelf to make the body of Chriſt, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Chriſts body: *ibid.*

9. *Item*, That no Prieſt doth enter into any houſe, but to handle ill the Wife, the Daughter, or the Maid, and therefore, &c. *ibid.*

10. *Item*, That the Child is not rightly Baptized, if the Prieſt, &c. *ibid.*

11. *Item*, That no manner of perſon if he live againſt Gods law, &c. *ibid.*

12. *Item*, The ſame *William* againſt the things premiſed, and his revocation and abjuration (not to his heart converting, but from evil to worſe perverting) did turn aſide into our Dioceſs; where running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own raſh head preſumed to Preach, or rather to pervert, &c. pag. 532.

13. *Item*, After that we had heard divers rumors, and ſlanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be ſent abroad by our commiſſaries to ſundry places of our Dioceſs; that no perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he were, ſhould preſume to Preach or to Teach the facred Scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our Dioceſs, &c. *ibidem.*

14. *Item*, That the ſame ſort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our Seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the ſaid *William*.

15. *Item*, The ſame *William*, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath tithence and againſt thoſe monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be ſpoken) in contempt of the high Biſhops Dignity, and to the ſlander and offence of many people, preſumed in divers places of our ſaid Dioceſs to Preach or rather to pervert and to teach the foremention ed, and other hereticl, erroneous and ſchiſmatical devices: pag. 532. Infandum facinus fuiſſet.

16. *Item*, The ſame *William* in Preaching to the people, on Monday, to wit, the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1390. in the Church of *Whitney* in our Dioceſs, held and affirmed; that no Prelate of the World, of what ſtate, preheminence or degree ſoever he were, having cure of ſouls and being in deadly ſin, &c. *ibid.*

17. *Item*, The ſame *William* in many places ſaid and affirmed in the preſence of many faithful Chriſtian people, after the ſacramental words uttered by the A perilous doore to open.

Priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *ibid.*

18. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without their subject; and that there remaineth material Bread *Concomitanter*, with the body of Christ in the Sacrament. *Vide supra*, pag. 532.

19. *Item*, That a Priest being in deadly sin cannot by the power of the Sacrament words, make the body of Christ. *ibid.*

20. *Item*, That all Priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher Dignity, degree, or preheminence. *ibid.*

21. *Item*, That contrition only putteth away sin, if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation. *ibid.*

22. *Item*, That inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the Pope or Bishop, but immediately of Christ &c. *ibid.*

23. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant such a kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment as are contained in the Popes bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be. *ibid.*

24. *Item*, That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass. *ibid.*

25. *Item*, That one giving his Alms to any body, which as he judgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving, &c. *ibid.*

26. *Item*, That it stands not in the power of any Prelate, of what private Religion soever he be, to give by letters Benefits of their Order; Neither do such kind of Benefits given, profit them to whom they be given for the salvation of souls. *Vide supra*, pag. *ibid.*

A foul fault forsooth.

27. *Item*, That the same *William*, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many times and often reforted to a certain desart Wood called *Derwalswood* of our Diocese, and there in a certain unhallowed Chappel (nay a prophane Cottage) hath presumed of his own proper rashness, to celebrate, &c. *ibid.*

28. *Item*, The same *William* hath also presumed to do the like things in a certain prophane Chappel, situate in the Park of *Newton*, nigh to the Town of *Leyntwardyn*, in the same our Diocese, pag. *ibid.*

Walter Pride promoter, or rather a ground promoter.

¶ Which things being done, the same faithful Christian people, and especially Sir *Walter Pride* the penitentiary of our Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment Seat in the Parish Church of *Whiteborne* of our Diocese, brought forth and exhibited two publick Instruments against the same *Walter Brute*, in the case of cursed Heresie aforesaid, of which Instruments here followeth the Tenors and Articles in this sort.

The first Instrument exhibited by certain Canons of *Hereford* against *Walter Brute*.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all persons by this present publick Instrument, that in the year from the Incarnation, after the course and computation of the Church of *England* 1391. the Indiction xv. of the pontifical Office of our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Boniface* the Ninth, by Gods wisdom Pope, the second year, the xv. day of the Month of *October*, in the dwelling House of the worshipful man, M. *John Godemoston*, Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, in the presence of me the publick Notary under-written, and of witnesses subscribed; *Walter Brute* a Lay-man, learned, of *Hereford* Diocese, personally appearing, said, avouched, and stiffly maintained; that the said Bishop of *Hereford*, and affirmants which were with him the third day of the foresaid Month of *October*, the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the Church of *Hereford*, did naughtily, wickedly, perversly, and unjustly condemn the answers of Sir *William Swinderby* Chaplain, given by the same Sir *William* to the same Lord Bishop in writing, and also the Articles minisired by the same Sir *William*,

Bishop of *Hereford* unjustly condemned the Articles of Sir *Wil. Swinderby.*

And furthermore he said, held, and avouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir *William*, even as they were given, are true and Catholick.

Item, As touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; he said, that after the Sacramental words there doth remain very Bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ, and that there do not remain accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the Doctors hold divers opinions.

KING. 1 *Ric.* 2. Matters objected against *Walter Brute.*

The Pope Antichrist.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he said, held, and avouched; that he is the very Antichrist, because that in life and manners he is contrary to the Laws, Doctrines, and Deeds of Christ our Lord.

All and every of these things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearsed in the year of our Lord, pontifical Office, month, day, and place aforesaid, at Suppertime of the day, aforenamed, then and there being present the worshipful and discreet men, Sir *Walter Ramsbury*, chief Chaunter of the said Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, *Roger Hoore* Canon of the same Church, *Walter Wall*, Chaplain of the said Church of *Hereford*, being a Vicar of the Choral, and certain other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premisses. *Ex Regist. Hereford.*

Witnesses against *Walter Brute.*

And I *Richard Lee* Wheeler, Clerk of *Worcester*, being a publick Notary, by the authority Apostolick, was personally present at all and singular the premisses, whilst that (as is before rehearsed) they were done and doing in the year of our Lord 1391. Pontifical Office, month, day, place, and the hour aforesaid: and I did see, write, and hear all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this publick manner and form; and, being desired truly to testifie the premisses, have sealed the said Instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed Seal and name.

Richard Lee Notary publick and writer hereof.

The form of the second Instrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present publick Instrument, that in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of *England*, 1391. the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the Pontifical Office of the most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, Lord *Boniface* Pope by the providence of God the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the Month of *January*; *Walter Brute* Lay-man, of *Hereford* Diocese, personally appearing before the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *John* by Gods grace Bishop of *Hereford*, in the presence of me being a publick Notary, and one of the witnesses underwritten, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the Conclusions hereafter written, that is to say, that Christian people are not bound to pay Tithes neither by the Law of *Moses*, nor by the Law of Christ.

Matters and Conclusions minisired against *Walter Brute.* With Conclusion referred to be fully collected, as were before the Articles of *William Swinderby.* This conclusion also is not rightly gathered.

Item, That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the Creature.

Item, He confessieth openly and of his own accord, that within the same Month of *January*, he did eat, drink, and communicate with *William Swinderby*, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said Reverend Father, whereby the same *William Swinderby* was pronounced an Heretick, schismatick, and a false seducer of the Common people. Which conclusions the same Reverend Father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same *Walter*. Which when he had seen and read, he said also that he did maintain and justifie them according to the Laws aforesaid. These things were done in the Chamber of the said Bishop of *Hereford*, at his Manner of *Whiteborne* of the said Diocese of *Hereford*: there being then present the same Bishop aboveisaid, Master *Reynold* of *Welston* Canon of *Hereford*, Sir *Philip Diltesk* Parson of the Parish Church of *Blamurin*, *Thomas Guildefeld* Parson of the Church of *Englishknore*, *John Cresset* Parson of the Church of *Whiteborne*, and *Thomas Wallewain* houshold servant, for witnesses especially called and desired to the premisses, of the Diocese of *Hereford* and Saint *Asaph*.

Witnesses against *Walter Brute.*

Benedict *Come* registrer, witness and writer of this Instrument against *Walter Brute.*

And I *Benedict Come* Clerk, of the Diocese of S. *Asaph*, publick Notary by the Apostolick Authority of the Diocese of S. *Asaph*, was personally present together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing, and did see, hear, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this publick form, and with my

KING. 1 *Ric.* 2.

wonted and accustomed seal and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testifie the premisses.

At the last, the foresaid *Walter Brute* did present and cause to be presented to us (at divers places and times assigned by us to the same *Walter* to answer to the former Conclusions and Articles) divers Scrouls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same Articles and Conclusions above written; he partly appearing by his own self, before us sitting in our judgment Seat, and partly by his Messengers, specially appointed to that purpose: of which Scrouls, the Tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this matter.

Certain exhibits of *Walter Brute* in writing presented to the Bishop for his defence. *Walter Brute* a Britain born.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. I *Walter Brute*, Sinner, Lay-man, Husbandman, and a Christian (having my Off-spring of the *Britains*, both by my Fathers and Mothers side) of the *Britains*, have been accused to the Bishop of *Hereford*, that I did erre in many matters concerning the Catholick Christian Faith; by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters. Whose desire I will satisfie to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the World; that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward greater or smaller, yea, be it never so big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous Doctrine for any Commodities sake. And if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, will shew me that I erre in my writings or sayings, by the Authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ only excepted) I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to stablish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: because that, in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the Testimony of the holy Scripture, because that *Paul* himself doth confess that he rebuked *Peter*, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, *Galath.* the 2*d* Chapter. There have been errors found in the holy Doctors, that have been before us, as they themselves confess of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the Teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themselves, and some of them do sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the self same thing to be Heresie and error. Which protestation premised, I will hear place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions stablished upon the same, and upon the Sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when as they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteousnes.

Protestation made.

No writer or Doctor without his error, the Scripture only excepted.

Error in the Doctors, Errors and contradictions among the Popish writers.

Brute readily excuseth his learning.

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, hath sent his Son (that was everlastingly begotten) into this World, that he should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of *Mary* the Virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered passion under *Pontius Pilate* for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our Brethren. He was Crucified, that we should be Crucified to the World, and the World to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptism, and that we being dead to sins should live to righteousnes. He descended into Hell, thereby delivering man from Thraldom, and from the Bondage of the Devil, and restoring him to his inheritance which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newnes of life. He ascended up to the Heavens, to which no body hath ascended, saving he that descended from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his

The Pope Antichrist.

footstool. He being in very deed so much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father hath given all Judgment to the Son. In whose terrible Judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before this judgment Seat, and receive joy as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the Sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst Goats, placed on the left hand, *&c.*

The second cafe or assertion.

Jesus Christ the Son of God, very God and very Man, a King for ever, by establishing an everlasting Kingdom (breaking to powder all the Kingdoms, of the World,) *Daniel* 2. A Priest for ever after the order of *Melchisedech*, whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and always liveth to intreat for us, *Heb.* 7. He offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that be sanctified, *Heb.* 10. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the Will of God his Father, which Will he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and hath given the Law of Charity to be of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other Doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens Doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we must forsake their Doctrines, if clekedly or expressly they be repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ. Mens Doctrines being made for the peoples profit, must be allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christs Doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

The first Conclusion.

If the high Bishop of *Rome* calling himself the Servant of the Servants of God, and the chief Vicar of Christ in this World, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ; then is he of those that have come in Christs name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the Testimony of our Saviour in *Matth.* Chap. 24. And the Idol of desolation sitting in the Temple of God and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which Idol must be revealed to the Christian people by the Testimony of *Daniel*. Whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel; When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by *Daniel* the Prophet, standing in the holy place; let him that readeth understand, he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole Earth, *Jerem.* 51. *Jerem.* Chapter 51. And not the Head of Christs body. For the ancient person in years, and honourable in reverence he is the Head, and the Prophet teaching lies is the Tail, as *Esay* alledgeth, Chapter 9. And he is that wicked and sinful Captain of *Israel*, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away *Cidarim*, and take away the Crown, *Ezechiel* Chapter 21. To whom it was said; Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and didst say, I am a God, and sittest in the Seat of God, in the heart of the Sea, seeing thou art a Man and not God, and hast given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty Strangers of the nations; and they shall draw their Swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slain. And it followeth,

The Pope, His laws be contrary to Christ, is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole Earth.

The Pope the sinful Captain of *Israel*, spoken of *Ezechiel* 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy Merchandize, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the middeft of the whole Earth, and will make thee as ashes upon Earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more, *Ezech.* Chapter 28. Furthermore he is the idle Sheepherd forsaking his flock, having a sword on his Arm, and another sword on his right eye, *Zech.* 11. And sitting in the Temple of God, doth advance himself above all things that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped, by the Testimony of *Paul* to the *Thessl.* 2.

Antichrist described.

Ezech 28. The Pope an idle shepherd. *Zech.* 11.

Epistle, Chap. 2. *And in the defection or falling away shall the man of Sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For every Kingdom divided in it self shall be brought to desolation.* He is also betides, *The Beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a Lamb, but he speaketh like a Dragon, and as the cruel Beast ascending up out of the Sea, whose Power shall continue 42 months.* He worketh the things that he hath given to the Image of the Beast. And he compelled Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free-men and Bond-slaves, to worship the Beast, and to take his mark in their Forehead or their Hands, *Apoc.* Chap. 13. And thus by the testimony of all these places is he the chief *Antichrist* upon the Earth, and must be slain with the Sword of Gods word, and cast with the *Dragon*, the cruel Beast and the false Prophet that hath seduced the Earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

The Beast hath two like the Lamb.

The Pope Typified the Beast ascending out of the earth.

Terrible Scriptures against the Pope. *Apoc.* 13.

If the City of *Rome* do allow his Traditions, and do disallow Christs holy Commandments, and Christs Doctrine, that it may confirm his Traditions; then is the *Babylon the Great*, or the *Daughter of Babylon*, and the *Great Whore sitting upon many waters*, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth are become drunken with the Wine of her Harlotry lying open to Bawdry. With whose spiritual Whoredom, Enchantments, Witchcrafts, and *Simon Magus* Merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, *I sit as Queen, and Widow I am not, neither shall I see Sorrow and Mourning.* Yet is the ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruine by the Testimony of the *Apoc.* Chap. 17. Because that from the time of the continual Sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of Desolation placed, there be passed 1290 days by the Testimony of *Daniel*, and the Chronicles added do agree to the same. And the holy City also hath been trodden under foot of the Heathen, for forty two months, and the Woman was nourished up in the Wilderness (unto which she fled for fear of the face of the Serpent) during 1260 days, or else for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the Testimony of the *Apocalyps*, and the Chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of *Babylon* aforesaid, it is manifest in the *Apocalyps*, where it is said, *In one day shall her Plagues come, Death, Lamentation, and Famine, and she shall be burned with fire. For strong is the Lord, which shall judge her.* And again, *Babylon that great City is fallen, which hath made all Nations to drink of the Wine of her Whoredom.* And thirdly, *One mighty Angel took up a mill-stone, that was a very great one, and did cast it into the Sea, saying, With such a violence as this is, shall that great City* Babylon *be overthrown, and shall no more be found. For her Merchants were the Princes of the Earth, and with her Witchcraft all Nations have gone astray, and in her is there found the blood of the Saints and Prophets.* And of her destruction speaketh *Esay* in the thirteenth Chapter, *And* Babylon *that glorious City, being so noble amongst Kingdoms in the pride of the* Caldeans, *it shall be that like as the Lord did overturn* Sodom and Gomorra *upside down, it shall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from Generation to Generation.* *Jeremy* saith, *Your Mother that hath born you is brought to very great confusion, and made even with the ground.* And again, *The Lord hath devised and done as he hath spoken against the Inhabiters of* Babylon; *which dwell richly in their Treasures upon many waters, thine end is come.* And thirdly, *Drought shall fall upon her waters, and they shall begin to be dry: for it is a Land of graven Images, and boasteth in her prodigious Wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in no age nor Generation. Verily even as God hath subverted* Sodom *and* Gomorra *with her Calves.*

Rome Babylon.

The fall of Babylon. *Apoc.* 14.

1290 days figured, *Dan.* 12.

Apoc. 17.

Esay 13.

Jer. 51.

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I be not plentiful in pleasant words. For if I should run after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not be Christs Servant. And because I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have Notaries hired to testifie of theie my writings; I call upon Christ to be my Witness, which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed if any man will shew me where I have erred; being ready also (miserable Sinner though I be) to suffer for the Confession of the Name of Christ, and of his Doctrine, as much as shall please him by his Grace and Love to assist me a miserable Sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the Seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: which I beseech him to imprint upon my Forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of *Antichrist*. Amen.

KING Ric. 2.

¶ These two Suppositions (as they are termed in the Schools) written by *Walter Brute*, and exhibited unto the Bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfie the Bishop if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his: yet could they work neither of them effect in him. But he receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, neither would reply or answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by Cavillations, said, *That this his writing was too short and obscure, and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly and more at large.* Whereupon the said Master *Walter* satisfying the Bishops request (and ready to give to every one an account of his Faith) in a more ample Tractation reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the Bishop in words and form as followeth:

Another declaration of the same matter before, after a more ample Tractation exhibited to the Bishop.

Reverend Father, forsomuch as it seemeth to you that my motion in my two Suppositions or Cases, and in my two Conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark: I will gladly now satisfie your desire, according to my small Learning, by declaring the same Conclusions. In opening whereof, it shall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accused of to your reverence; desiring you first of all that your diseretion would not believe that I do enterprize of any presumption to handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy and just, and wise Doctors have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferiour to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge is manifolds always allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of sins, they are to my self and others sufficiently known: wherefore I judge not my self worthy to unloose or to carry their shooes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deem of me, than I do of mine own self. But if you shall find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy doth sometimes reveal those things to Idiots and Sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, I will praise and confess thee, O Father, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones: Even so, O Father, because it hath thus pleased thee. *And in another place,* I am come to Judgment into this world, that they which see not, may see; and that they which see, may be made blind. *And* Paul *saith,* That God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty; *that no man shall boast in himself, but that all men should give the honour to God.*

They that be humble judge of themselves and do not curiously examine, are of God

It was commanded to *Esay*, bearing the Type of CHRIST; *Go, and say to this people: Hear ye with your hearing; and do not understand? Behold ye the Vision, and yet know ye not the thing that ye see? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and shut their eyes, lest perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their ears they should hear, and with their hearts they should understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. And I said, How long Lord? And he said, until that the Cities be made desolate without Inhabitants, and the House without any person within.* Also in *Esay* thus it is written, *And the multitude of all Nations, which shall fight against* Ariel, *and all persons that have warred, and besieged and prevailed against it, shall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleep, his Soul is empty. And like as the*

Esay 6.

Esay 29.

Ephraim and Chermell, two hills, the one in Palestine, fruitfull and pleasant: the other in the borders of Syrry, barren and unpleasant, which is Chermell. Dan. 2.

Esay 29.

KING Ric. 2.

the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake he is still weary and thirsty, and his Soul void of nourishment: even so shall it be with the multitude of all Nations that have fought against the Mount Sion. Be you amazed, and have great wonder; reel ye too and fro, and staggerye: be ye drunken, and not with Wine: stagger, but not through drunkemess: for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drowsiness. He shall shut your eyes, he shall cover your Prophets and Princes that see Visions. And a Vision shall be to you, altogether, like the words of a sealed Book, which when he shall give to one that is learned, he shall say, Read here, and he shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the Book shall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be said unto him, Read; And he shall answer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith, For asmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifie me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather feered the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their Doctrines: Behold therefore I will add besides, and bring such a muse and marvel upon this people which shall make men amazed with marveling. For Wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the Understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden. And soon after it followeth in the same place; yet a little while and Libanus *shall be turned into* Charmell, *and* Charmell *counted for a Corn or Grove, and in the same day shall the deaf Folks hear the word of this Book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkness and blindness) shall see.*

Nabuchodonosor enquiring of *Daniel*, said, *Thinkest thou that thou canst truly declare me the dream that I have seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said, As for the mystery whereof the King doth ask, neither the Wise-men, Magicians, Soothsayers, nor Enchanters can declare to the King: But there is a God in Heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O King* Nabuchodonosor) *what things shall come to pass in the last times of all.* To me also is this Sacrament or Mystery disclosed (not for any wisdom that is in me more than in all men living) but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifest to the King, and that thou shouldst know the cogitations of thy mind.

Dan. 12.

It was also said to *Daniel*, *And thou* Daniel, *shut up the words, seal up the Book, until the time appointed. Verily many people shall pass over, and manifold knowledge shall there be.* And Daniel *said to the man that was clothed with linnen Garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood; How long will it be before the end shall come of these marvelous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparel, who stood upon the waters of the floods; when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto Heaven, and had sworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time. And when the scattering abroad of the hand of the people shall be accomplished; then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said, O my Lord, what shall be after these things? And he said, Go thy way* Daniel, *for this talk is shut and sealed up until the time that is before appointed.*

All these things have I written, to shew that he that hath the Key of *David, Who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth*, doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and hide secrets of the Scriptures from the Wise, Prudent, and Righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to Sinners, and Lay-persons, and simple Souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore as I have before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone: If you shall find otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be shewed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why that such manner of matters are moved touching the disclosing of *Antichrist* in this Kingdom, more than in other Kingdoms, and in this time alo more than in time past: the answer as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the last Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in the sign of the Twins, which is the house of *Mercury*, being the signifier of the Christian people: which Conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reform his Church, and to call men again, by the disclosing of *Antichrist*, to the perfection of the Gospel, from their Heathenish Rites, and ways of the Gentiles. By whom the holy City was trampled under foot, for 42 months, even as the Conjunction of the said two Planets being inclosed in the side of the Virgin, which is also the house of *Mercury*, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of *Israel*, whereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the Gospel. As touching this calling of the Heathen, speaketh Christ in the Gospel, *I have also other sheep that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one Sheepfold, and one Shepherd.* For although the *Gentiles* be converted from the infidelity of their Idolatry to the Faith of Christ: yet are they not converted to the perfection of the Law of Christ. And therefore did the Apostles in the Primitive-Church, lay no burthen upon the *Gentiles*, but that they should abstain from haineous things, as from things offered to Idols, and from blood, and strangled, and Fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh *Esay*, On *that day the root of* Jesse *which standeth for a sign or mark to the people, to him shall the Heathen make their homage and supplication, and his Sepulchre shall be glorious: and in that day shall it come to pass, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possess the remnant of his people, &c. And he shall lift up a token toward the Nations, and he shall assemble the runnagate people of* Israel *that were fled, and those that were dispersed of* Juda *shall be gather together from the four quarters of the Earth. And the zealous emulation of* Ephraim *shall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of* Juda *shall come to nought.* Paul to the *Thessalonians* saith, *We beseech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soon removed from your understanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by Letter sent by us, neither by Spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not any body by any means bring you out of the way, or seduce you. For except there shall first come a departing, and that the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance, and is advanced above all things that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilst I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the mystery of Iniquity; only that he which holdeth, may hold still until he be come to light: and then shall that wicked One be disclosed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with brightness of his coming, even him, whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signs and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of Truth, that they might be saved.*

Schisse between the two Popes which lasted 39 years: by the which Conjunction, this meaning is, that God would have *Antichrist* to be disclosed, and his Church to be reformed.

By this perfecution (if I suppose) he meaneth the reformation of the Church being out of the way.

Esay 11.

The revealing of Antichrist.

Christ being demanded of the Apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them, *There shall come many in my Name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many: Also he telleth them of many other signs, of Battels, Famine, Pestilence, and Earthquakes. But the greatest sign of all he teacheth to be this, When you shall see* (saith he) *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, he that readeth let him understand.* But *Luke* 21. in his Gospel speaketh more plainly hereof, *When you therefore shall see* Jerusalem *to be compassed about with an Army, then know ye that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh.* And afterward it followeth, *And they shall fall by the face of the Sword, and shall be led away Captive to all Nations, and* Jerusalem *shall be trodden under foot of the Heathen, until the times of the Nations be fulfilled.* Now in *Daniel* thus it is written of this matter, *And after 72 weeks shall Christ be slain, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the City and Sanctuary, a people shall (with his Captain that will come with them) destroy the said City and Sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it be brought to nought, and*

The abomination of desolation. Luke 21.

Destruction of the Jews Temple.

Esay 7. Mark here (good Reader) by this Astronomical Conjunction of their two Planets in Gemini, he meaneth covertly the

and after the end of the War, shall come the Desolation appointed. In one week shall he confirm the Covenant to many, and within half a week shall the Offering and Sacrifice cease. And in the Temple shall there be the abomination of Desolation, and even unto the end shall the Desolation continue. And elsewhere in *Daniel* thus it is written, *From the time that the continual Sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in Desolation, there shall be one thousand, two hundred, and ninety days.*

1290 days, in Daniel 12. compared.

Now if any man will behold the *Chronicles*, he shall find, that after the destruction of *Jerusalem* was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination: that is to say, the Idol of Desolation of *Jerusalem*, within the Holy place, where the Temple of God was before, there had passed 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the Heathen people are fulfilled, after whose Rites and Customs God suffered the holy City to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the Christian Church, which is the holy City, continued in the Faith from the Ascension of Christ, even till this time: yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the Faith all this whole season. For soon after the departure of the Apostles, the Faith was kept with the Observation of the Rites of the *Gentiles*, and not of the Rites of *Moses* Law, nor of the Law of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Wherefore seeing that this time of the Error of the *Gentiles* is fulfilled: it is likely that Christ shall call the *Gentiles* from the Rites of their gentility to the perfection of the Gospel, as he called the *Jews* from the Law of *Moses* to the same perfection in his holy coming: that there may be one Sheepfold of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* under one Shepherd, being therefore that *Antichrist* is known, which hath seduced the Nations, then shall the Elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their gentility, come through the light of Gods Word to the perfection of the Gospel, and that same Seducer shall be slain with the Sword of Gods word. So that by these things it doth partly appear unto me, why at this time rather than at any other time this matter of *Antichrist* is moved.

For these 42 months look page 458.

Why rather at this time, than any other, the matter of *Antichrist* is moved, and why rather in this Kingdom than in another?

And why that this motion is come to pass in this Kingdom rather than in other Kingdoms, me thinks there is good reason; because that no Nation of the *Gentiles* was so soon converted unto Christ as were the *Britains*, the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. For to other places of the world there were sent Preachers of the Faith, who by the working of Miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places: but in this Kingdom, in the time of *Lucius* the King of the *Britains* and of *Eleutherius* Bishop of the *Romans*, that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Christian Faith, which was preached at *Rome*. Who believed straightways, and sent to *Rome*, to *Eleutherius* for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very Faith it self: at whose coming he was joyful, and was baptized with his whole Kingdom. And after the receiving of the Faith, they never forsook it, neither for any manner of false preaching of other, neither for any manner of Torments, or yet affaults of the *Painims*, as in other Kingdoms it hath come to pass. And thus it seemeth to me the *Britains* amongst all Nations, have been, as it were by the special Election of God, called and converted to the Faith of Christ.

The first receiving the Faith in this Realm by the *Britains*

Britains by the special Election of God called to Faith. The calling of the Gentiles to faith

Of them as me seemeth did *Esay* prophesie, saying, *For they did see to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him.* And again, *Behold, thou shalt call a Nation which thou knewest not; and Nations that have not known thee, shall run unto thee, for the Lord thy God, and the holy One of* Israel, *shall glorifie thee.*

Of this Kingdom, did Saint *John* in the *Apocalyps* Prophesie (as me seemeth) where he said, *The Dragon stood before the Woman, which was about to be delivered of child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the World, he might devour up her Son: And she brought forth her Child, which was a Manchild, who should govern all Nations with an iron Rod. And the same Son was taken up to God, and to his Throne. And the Woman fled into the Wilderness, whereas she had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her 1260 days.* And again in the same Chapter, *After that the Dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the Woman, which brought forth the Manchild. And there were given to the Woman two Wings of a great Eagle, that she might flee into the Wilderness into her place, whereas she is fostered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did cast as it were a flood of Water after the Woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth did help the Woman, and did swallow up the flood which the Dragon did cast out of his mouth.* Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this Kingdom rather than to other Kingdoms. It is well known that this Kingdom is a wilderness or a desert place, because that the Philosophers and wise men did not pass upon it, but did leave it for a Wilderness and Desert, because it is placed without the Climates.

KING Rev. 2.

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the Desert 1260 days.

This place of the Desert in the Scripture seemeth here some thing hardly expounded.

Unto this place fled the Woman; that is to say, the Church (which by Faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world) whereas she was fed with the heavenly Bread, the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand, two hundred and sixty days, seeing that for so many days, taking a day for a year, the *Britains* continued in the Faith of Christ: which thing cannot be found so of any Christian Kingdom, but of this Desert: and well it is said, That she flew to this place. For from the East came the Faith into *Britain*, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing: for then should it have come by *Rome*, *Italy*, *Almaine*, *France*, which cannot be found: and therefore she flew over those places, and rested not in them, even as a Bird, flying over a place resteth not in the same: but rested in this Wilderness for a time, times, and half a time; that is, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, from the first coming of the Faith into *Britain* until this present.

Faith came into Britain from the East, not from Italy, or Rome.

A time, times, and half a time expounded.

In saying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less. The greatest time that we name, is a 1000 years, there is a time: and the next time that is less in the singular number, is 100 years. In the plural number, times signifie that there be more hundreds than one, at least two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must needs be that they be two, but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going down from the greater to the less, when as it is said a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of a 1000 is likely affigned for a time: It must needs follow that times must be taken for hundreds, and half a time for fixty, because it is the greater half of a hundred years, though that fifty be the even half.

Persecution in Diocles. an time shadowed why, look page 85.

And when that the Serpent sent the water of the Persecution after the Woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood: then did the earth, that is to say, the stableness of Faith help the Woman, by supping up the water of Tribulation. For in the moft cruel Persecution of *Diocletian* and *Maximian* against the *Christians*, when as *Christianity* was almoft every where rooted out; yet did they in this Kingdom ftand continually in the Faith unmoveable. And fo, conftidering that the *Britains* were converted to the Faith of Chrift, as you would fay, by an election, and picking out amongft all the Nations of the Heathen, and that after they had received the Faith, they did never ftart back from the Faith for no manner of Tribulation; it is not to be marvelled if in their place the calling of the *Gentiles* be made manifeft, to the profiting of the Gofpel of Jefus Chrift, by the revealing of *Antichrift*.

But befides this, me feemeth that *Ezekiel* doth fpecially fpeak of them, whereas he fpeaketh of the fall of the Prince of *Tyre*, faying, *Forafmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold, I will bring upon thee ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the Heathen, and they ſhall draw their naked Swords upon the beauty of thy Wiſdom, and they ſhall defile thy comelineſs, and they ſhall ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the ſlaughter of the ſlain perſons, in the heart of the Sea.*

This Prince who faith that he himſelf is God, and doth ſit in Gods Chair in the heart of the Sea, doth ſignifie (as

KING Rev. 2.

A friend to the Philoſophers.

(as moſt likely it ſeemeth to me) that *Antichriſt* ſhall be deſtroyed by the moſt mighty perſons of the *Gentiles* Folk, through the Sword of the Word of God. Becauſe that amongſt the other *Gentiles* there have been none more ſtrong than the *Britans*, either in their body or their faith, and in their bodily Wars there have been none more mighty than they. For never in Wars have they been vanquiſhed, but by their own Sedition or Treaſon. But how many Kingdoms have they conquered? Yea, and neither by the moſt mighty City of *Rome* could they be driven out of their Kingdom, until that God ſent upon them Peſtilence and Famine; whereby they being waited were compelled to leave their Country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongſt all the people the ſtrongeſt, as is before ſaid, becauſe that by no Tribulation could they be compelled to forſake the Faith.

The ſtrong faith of the Britains.

Wherefore of them this ſeemeth to me to be underſtood: Then I will bring upon thee ſome of the ſtrongeſt people, and they ſhall draw their naked Swords, &c. By theſe things it may plainly appear, why at this time (rather than in time paſt) this matter is ſtirred up; and why in this Kingdom (rather than in other Kingdoms) the calling of the *Gentiles* is intreated of, to the verifying of the Goſpel, through the diſcloſing of *Antichriſt*.

Tales of Antichriſt.

But foraſmuch as many Tales and Fables are told of *Antichriſt* and his coming, and many things, which do rather ſeduce than inſtruct the Hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets; we will briefly write thoſe things which are ſpoken of him, and we will ſhew that the ſame Fable ſpringeth from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophefying. Now then they do ſay, that *Antichriſt* ſhall be born in *Babylon* of the Tribe of *Dan*, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in ſin, becauſe that Chriſt was born of a Virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghoſt. They ſay, that he ſhall be an ill favoured Perſonage, becauſe that it is written of Chriſt; *Comely and beautiful is he, beyond the Sons of men.* They ſay, that he ſhall preach three years and half where Chriſt preached, and that he ſhall circumciſe himſelf, and ſay that he is Chriſt, and the *Meſſias* ſent for the Salvation of the *Jews*. And they ſay, that he ſhall three manner of ways ſeduce the people, by falſe Miracles, Gifts, and Torments. To whom he ſhall not be able to overcome with Miracles nor with Gifts, thoſe ſhall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of Torments. And thoſe that he ſhall ſeduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, and cauſe himſelf to be worſhipped as God. He ſhall fight (as they ſay) with the two Witneſſes of Chriſt, *Enoch* and *Heli*, and ſhall kill them, and he himſelf ſhall finally be ſlain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the Prophets forethewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wiſe as this is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of *Daniel*. When that continual Sacrifice ſhall be taken away, and abomination ſhall be placed to deſolation: That is (ſay they) when the worſhipping of God ſhall be taken away, and deſolation (to wit, *Antichriſt*) ſhall abominably ſhew forth himſelf to be worſhipped, then ſhall there be 1290 days: that is to ſay, three years and an half. And this time do they ſay is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is ſaid in *Daniel*, *Bleſſed is he that looketh for, and cometh to 1335 days*: This do they ſay is thus to be underſtood, 45 days of Repentance to ſuch as have worſhipped *Antichriſt*: which 45 days added to the 1290 make 1335 days. Which days they that ſhall reach unto ſhall be called *Bleſſed*.

A falſe imagination of *Antichriſt*.

The Scriptures and Prophets not richly underſtood touching *Antichriſt*.

Troubling theſe 42 months, ſee there pag. 482.

They apply alſo to this *Antichriſt*, this ſaying of the *Apocalyps*, *I ſaw a Beaſt riſing up out of the Sea, having ſeven heads and ten horns, unto whom power given him to make 42 months.* Which months (as they ſay) do make three years and an half, in which *Antichriſt* ſhall Reign. And many other things there are told, and applied unfitly to this imagined *Antichriſt*, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures.

The old imagination touching *Antichriſt* confuted.

Now let us ſhew the Errors of this Fable: Firſt of all, if there ſhall come ſuch a one (ſaying expreſly that he is Chriſt) what Chriſtian would be ſeduced by him, though he ſhould do never ſo many Miracles? neither ſhall he come after the manner of a Seducer, which ſhall ſhew himſelf an expreſs Adverſary. Neither is it likely that the *Jews* can be reduced by ſuch a one, ſeeing that Chriſt is not promiſed unto them of the Stock of *Dan* by any of the Prophets, but of the Stock of *Juda*: nor yet is he promiſed to them to be a King Warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Chriſt ſaith *Eſay*, *And in the laſt days, ſhall there be prepared the Mountain of the Houſe of the Lord, in the top of the Mountains, and it ſhall be exalted above the Hills: and to it ſhall all the Nations have great recourſe, and many people ſhall go and ſay; Come, let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, and to the Houſe of the God of* Jacob, *and he ſhall teach us his ways, and we ſhall walk in his paths. For out of* Sion *ſhall there go a Law, and the word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem, *and he ſhall judge the Nations, and reprove much people. And they ſhall turn their Swords into Plow-ſhares, and their Spears into Sythes. There ſhall not a Nation lift up it ſelf againſt another Nation, nor yet ſhall they be any more exerciſed to war.* And again, *A little Babe is born to us, and a Son is given to us, and his Imperial Kingdom upon his ſhoulder, and his Name ſhall be called, The great Counſellor, The mighty God, The Father of the World to come, The Prince of Peace. His Empire ſhall be, multiplied, and there ſhall be no end of his peace. He ſhall ſit upon the Seat of* David, *and upon his Kingdom: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in Judgment, and in Juſtice, from henceforth and for evermore.* Zechary *doth ſay of* CHRIST, *Rejoyce thou greatly, O thou Daughter* Sion, *be thou exceeding merry, O Daughter* Jeruſalem; *Behold thy King ſhall come a righteous Perſon and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an Aſs, even upon a young Colt of the ſhe-Aſs. And I will ſcatter abroad the Chariot of* Ephraim, *and the Horſe of* Jeruſalem: *And the Bow of war ſhall be diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeak peace to the Nations, and his Power ſhall be from the Sea to the Sea, and from the Flood unto the borders of the Earth.*

Antichriſt cometh no ſo godly as the Papiſts imagine.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 9.

Zech. 9.

By which things it is manifeſt, that the wiſe *Jews* knew well enough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the Stock of *Juda*; and not of the Stock of *Dan*; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: Therefore it is not likely that they can be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould have been in time to come ſome falſe Chriſt *Antichriſt*, then would Chriſt (ſeeing he loved his) have ſaid fomewhat unto them of him. Now, of one ſingularly doth he not ſpeak, but of many, ſaying, *Many ſhall come in my Name, and ſay, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many perſons.* But now let us ſee, how the Prophelies in *Daniel*, and in the *Apocalyps* (aforeſaid) be falſly and erroneouſly applied to the ſame imagined *Antichriſt*. For in *Daniel* the ninth Chapter, thus it is written, And after 72 weeks ſhall Chriſt be ſlain, and they which will deny him ſhall not be his people. And the City and Sanctuary ſhall be a people, with their Captain that ſhall come with them, deſtroy, whoſe end ſhall be utter deſolation, and after the end of the war a determined deſtruction. Now he ſhall in one week confirm his Covenant towards many, and in the half week ſhall the Offering and Sacrifice ceaſe, and in the Temple ſhall there be an abomination of deſolation, and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end ſhall the deſolation continue. It is plain and manifeſt that this Prophetie is now fulfilled. For the people of *Rome* with their Captain deſtroyed *Jeruſalem* even to the ground, and the people of the *Jews* was ſlain and ſcattered. And the abomination, that is, the Idol of Deſolation was placed of *Adrian*, in the laſt deſtruction, in *Jeruſalem*, in the holy place; that is to ſay, in a place of the Temple. And from that time hitherto have paſſed near about 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as *Daniel* takes it in his Prophelies, and other Prophets likewiſe. For *Daniel* ſpeaking of 62 weeks, doth not ſpeak of the weeks of days but of years. So therefore when he ſaith, *From the time that the continual Sacrifice was taken away, &c.* 1290 days muſt be taken for to many years, from the time of the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, even unto the revealing of *Antichriſt*: and not for three years and an half; which they ſay, *Antichriſt* ſhall Reign. And again, whereas *Daniel* ſaid, *How long till the end of theſe marvelous matters?* It was anſwered him, *For a time, and times, and half a time.* Behold alſo, how unfitly they did affign this time, by three years and a half,

The abomination or Idol of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place.

Antichriſt to Reign only three years and a half, in Bible.

a half, which they say, *Antichrist* shall Reign. For when as it is said *a time, times, and half a time*; there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If therefore there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole it self) the going downward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time doth signifie 1290 years, as is before said in the Chapter preceeding. Thus therefore is the Prophesie of *Daniel* fatly applied to that imagined *Antichrist*.

Look before in the story of the ten first Persecutions.

Likewise is the procps of the *Apocalyps* applied to the same imagined *Antichrist* too much erroneously. Because that the same cruel Beast which came up out of the Sea, having seven Heads, and ten Horns, to whom there was power given over every Tribe, People, and Tongue, and the power given for the space of 42 months: This Beast doth note the *Roman* Emperors, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well *Christians* as *Jews*. For when as the condemnation of the great Whore, sitting upon the many waters was shewed to *John*: he saw the same Woman sitting upon the purple coloured Beast full of the names of blasphemy, having seven Heads and ten Horns: and he saw a Woman being drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus. And the Angel expounding and telling him the mystery of the Woman, and the Beast that carried her faid, *That seven heads are seven hills, and are seven Kings: Five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must Reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten Kings, who have not yet taken their Kingdom, shall receive their Power as it were in one hour under the Beast.* And finally he saith, *The Woman whom thou sawest is the great City, which hath the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth.* And it is manifest that the City of *Rome* at the time of this Prophetie, had the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth. And this City was born up and upholden by her cruel and beastly Emperors; who by their cruelty and beastliness did subdue unto themselves in a manner all the Kingdoms of the World, of zeal to have Lordship over others, and not vertuously to govern the people that were their Subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all vertue, and drew back others from the faith and from vertue.

Apoc. 13.

The Beast in the 13th of the *Apocalyps* expounded.

The purple Beast in the *Apocalyps* meaneth *Rome*.

Wherefore that cruel Beast coming up out of the Sea, doth rightly note the *Roman* Emperors, who had power over every Language, People, and Country. And the power of the Beast was for 42 months, because that from the first Emperor of *Rome*, that is to say, *Julius Cæsar*, unto the end of *Frederick* the last Emperor of *Rome*, there were 42 months, taking a month for 30 days, as the months of the *Hebrews* and *Grecians* are, and taking a day always for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this Prophetie is applied to that imagined *Antichrist*, and the 42 months taken for three years and a half, which (they say) he shall Reign in, against the saying of the Prophets, because that days are taken for years. As in the second of the *Apocal.* They shall be troubled ten days. Which do note the most cruel Persecution of *Diocletian* against the *Christians* that endured ten years. And in another place of the *Apocalyps* it is writen of *the smoke coming up out of the bottomless Pit*: Out of which Pit there came forth Grashoppers into the Earth, and to them was power given, as *Scorpions* have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the Fryers Minors and Preachers, to the time that *Armachanus* began to disclose and uncover their Hypocrisie, and their false Foundation of valiant begging under the Poverty of Christ, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year. And to *Ezekiel* were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the 42 months, being appointed to the power of the Beast, unto three years and a half, for the Reign of that phantastical and imagined *Antichrist*; specially feeing that they do apply to his Reign the 1290 days in *Daniel*, which make 42 months, and in the *Apocalyps* they assign him 42 months. It is plain that the *Psaltery* and the *Harp* agree not. And therefore seeing that it is sufficiently shewed that the same fabling Tale of that imagined *Antichrist* to come, is a Fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether *Antichrist* be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and shall be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the Salvation of the Faithful.

Apoc. 2.

The beginning and end of the valiant beggerly Fryers, so-called of the *Apocalyps* expounded of *Armachanus*: look before *pag.* 294.

Non errore dei Psalterium cum cithara.

KING 3 Kin. 2.1 Whether *Antichrist* be already come.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it, who is that *Antichrist* lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the Prophets: I will pass on the Declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us fay in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house tops. I therefore, as I have before said, so fay, that if the high Bishop of *Rome*, calling himself the Servant of God, and the chief Vicar of Christ in this world, do make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ: then is he the chief of many, which coming in the name of Christ have said *I am Christ*, who have seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For Christ is called of the *Hebrews* the very time that was call anointed. And amongst them there was a double fort of legal anointing by the Law, the one of Kings, and the other of Priests. And as well were the Kings, as the Priests, called in the Law *Christs*. The *Kings*, as in the *Psalm*, *The Kings of the Earth stood up together, and the Princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or anointed.* And in the Books of the *Kings* very often are the Kings called *Christs*. And our Saviour was Christ, or anointed King, because he was a King for evermore upon the Throne of *David*, as the Scripture doth very oftentimes witness. The Priests also were called *anointed*, as where it is written, *Do not ye touch my Christs*; that is, *mine anointed Ones, and be not ye spitefull against my Prophets.* And so was our Saviour Christ, a *Priest for ever, according to the Order of* Melchisedec.

The Pope proved destroyer.

Anointing double in Scripture.

Kings and Priests anointed.

Seeing then that the Bishops of *Rome* do fay that they are the High Priests; they fay also therein that they are Kings, because they say that they have the Spiritual Sword pertaining to their Priesthood, and the corporal Sword which agreeth for a Kings State. So is it plain that really and in very deed, they say, *That they are Christs*, albeit that expressly they be not called *Christs*. Now that they come in the name of Christ it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal Vicars in this World, ordained of Christ specially for the Government of the Christian Church. Therefore, seeing they say, that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chief friends of Christ: If they make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal *Antichrists*, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the Christian people, because that a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men truft him not: but a privy enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea thole that be wise.

The Pope make themselves Gods and Kings.

The Pope maketh himself Christ.

The Pope cometh in the name of Christ.

Popes pontifical Law.

The Pope an outward friend and a privy enemy to Christ

But that this matter may the more fully be known, let us see what is the Law and Doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed of all faithful people, which being known, and it shall be an easie thing to see, if the Bishop of *Rome* do make or maintain any Laws contrary to the Law of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Whether the Pope doth maintain any Laws against the Laws of Christ.

I say then, that the Law of Christ is Charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plain and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certain Doctor of the Law, *What is the greatest commandment in the Law?* answered: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: That is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thine own self. In these two commandments, doth the Law and whole Prophets depend.* And in another place Christ saith: *All manner of things therefore that you would that men should do to you*

The Law of love contended in the Gospel.

1 Cor. 13.

Joh. 13.

KING 3 Kin. 2.3 *you, the same also do ye unto them; For this is the Law and the Prophets.* And in *John* the thirteenth Chapter, Christ saith, *And now do I say unto you, I give you a new Commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my Disciples, if you shall have love one towards another.* And *John* fifteenth Chapter, *This is my Commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath no body, that a man should give his life for his Friends.* The Apostle *Peter* saith in his first Epistle fourth Chapter. *Above all things having continually Charity one towards another; for Charity covereth the multitude of sins.* Be ye Harborers, and entertain ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received Grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good Stewards of the manifold Graces of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the Word of God. If any man do ought for another, let it be done with singleness and unfained verity, ministred of God to us-ward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord. *James* in his Epistle the second Chapter, If ye perform the Royal Law accordingly to the Scriptures (thou shalt love thy Neighbour) ye do well: But if ye be partial in receiving and preferring mens Personages, ye work wickedness, being blamed of the Law as Transgressors. And again, So speak ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be judged by the Law of Liberty. What shall it avail (my Brethren) if a man say he have Faith, and have no Works? never shall the Faith be able to save him. For if a Brother or Sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, go ye in peace, be ye made warm and satisfied: and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it avail? Even so Faith, if it have not Works, is dead in it self.

Joh. 15.

1 Pet. 4.

James 2.

1 Joh. 3. *John* in his first Epistle the third Chapter, *This is the tydings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another.* And again, *we know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the Brethren: He that loveth not, abideth in death. And again herein we know the love of God, because that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his Brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little Children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth.* And again, Chap. 4. *Most dearly Beloved, let us love together. For love is of God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the World, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his his Son an attonement for our sins. Most dearly Beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us.* And again, *Let us love God, for he hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and do hate his Brother, he is a lyar. For he that loveth not his Brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this Commandment have we of God, that who so loveth God, should love his Brother also.* *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans* the thirteenth Chapter, *Owe ye nothing to no body, saving that you should love together: for he that loveth his Brother hath fulfilled the Law. For thou shalt not commit Adultery, thou shalt not Murther, thou shalt not Steal, thou shalt not bear false Witness, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours goods; and if there be any other Commandment, it is plenifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* Wherefore the fulfilling of the Law is love.

1 Joh. 4.

Rom. 13.

1 Cor. 13. *Paul* to the *Corinths* the thirteenth Chapter saith, *If I should speak with the Tongues of men and Angels, and yet have not Charity, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metal or tinkling Cymbal. And if I have all Prophecy, and know all Mysteries and all Knowledg, and shall have all Faith, so that I might remove Mountains, and yet shall not have Charity, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my Goods to feed the Poor, and shall give up my Body to be burned, and yet have not Charity, it profits me nothing.* To the *Galathians* 5. faith *Paul*, *For you my Brethren are called unto liberty; do ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by Charity of the Spirit serve ye one another. For all the Law is fulfilled in one saying; Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thine own self.* To the *Ephesians* the fourth Chapter, he saith, *I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleness and mildness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace: that you be one body and one Spirit, even as you be called in one Hope of your calling.* And again in the fifth Chapter, *Be ye followers of me as most dear Children, and walk ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himself for us, an Offering and Sacrifice to God of a sweet savour.* To the *Philippians*, thus he speaketh in the first Chapter, *Only let your Conversation be worthy of the Gospel of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may hear of you, that you stand stedfast in one Spirit, labouring together with one accord for the Faith of the Gospel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the Adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battel that both you have seen in me, and also now do hear of me. If therefore there be any Consolation in Christ, if any comfort of Charity, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels of compassion fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the self same Charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention nor of vain glory, but in humbleness accounting other amongst you, every one better than your selves; not every body looking upon the things that be his own, but those that belong unto others.* And to *Col.* 3. thus he writeth, *You therefore as the Elect of God, holy, and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to your selves (if any have a quarrel against any body) even as the Lord forgave you, so do you also. Above all things have ye Charity, which as the bond of Perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankful.* And to the *Thessalonians*, thus *Paul* writeth in the fourth Chapter, *As concerning brotherly Charity we have no need to write unto you; for you your selves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye do towards all the Brethren throughout all* Macedony.

Eph. 4.

Eph. 5.

Col. 3.

1 Thess. 4.

Out of all these any many other places of the holy Scripture it fufficiently appeareth, that the Law of Christ is Charity; neither is there any vertue commanded of Christ, or any of his Apostles, to be observed of the faithful people, but that it cometh out of Charity, or else doth nourish Charity.

The Law is given by *Moses*, and the Truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful and might have been observed in the time of the Law, which in the time of Grace must not be observed. And many things were unlawful to them that were under the Law, which in the time of Grace are lawful enough. After what fort then he did not loose the Law, but did fulfil it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst *Christians* many things are judged to be lawful, because in the former *Testament* in the Law they were lawful: and yet they be expressly contrary to Christs Gospel. But the Authors of such things do argue and reason thus, Christ came not to loose the Law or the Prophets. Now after what fort he did not unloose them it is manifest by the holy Scripture: that the Law given by *Moses*, was written in Tables of stone, to declare the hardnels of the peoples heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his Law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to say, the Law of perfect love of God, and of Christ. Which Law whoseever observeth, he doth observe the Law of *Moses*, and doth much greater works of Perfection, than were the works of the Law. Thus therefore were the morals

Many things observed in the old law, which be not observed now.

Many things unlawful in the old law, which be lawful now.

How Christ did loose, and not loose the Law.

of

of the old Law fulfilled in the Law of Charity of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than of the *Jews:* This I say, if the *Christians* do observe the Commandments of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the Laws moral of the *Old Testament*, because that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to others, neither do they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her own things. For charity seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much less by a stronger reason it ought not to seek for other mens goods. And when as the judicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not by the works of the Law justifie the Believers in him, but by Grace justified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfil that by Grace that the Law could not by Justice.

Free justification, By Faith only. Grace, that is, free favour, mercy and goodness of God.

Paul to the *Romans* declareth in a godly discourse, and to the *Galathians* likewise, *That none shall be justified by the works of the Law, but by Grace in the Faith of Jesus Christ.* As for the morals and ceremonies of the Law, as Circumcision, Sacrifices for Offences, and for sins, Firft-fruits, Tenths, Vows, divers sorts of Washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean Meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sin, no nor yet the prayers of the Priests, neither the preachings of the Prophets could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from *Adam* to *Moses*, and sin from *Moses* to Christ,

Rom. 5. as *Paul* declareth to the *Romans* in the fifth Chapter. But Christ willing to have Mercy and not Sacrifice, being a Priest for ever after the Order of *Melchisedec*, and an High

Heb. 9. Priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of Goats, or Calves, but by his own blood enter in once into the holy places, when as everlasting Redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but unto the very Heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer up himself oftentimes, as the high Bishop entred into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes sithence the beginning of the world) but now in the later end of the world hath he once appeared by his own Sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment: even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time shall he appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him. For the Law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance it self of the things, can never by those Sacrifices which they offer (of one self same sort continually year by year) make them perfect that come unto her. Otherwise men would leave off offering, because that those Worshippers being once cleansed should

Heb. 10. have no more prick of conscience for sin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible, that by the blood of Goats and Bulls sins should be taken away. Wherefore he entring into the world doth say, *As for Sacrifice and Offering thou wouldst not have, but a Body hast thou framed unto me.* And Sacrifices for sin have not pleased thee: then said I, behold, I come; In the head, or principal part of the Book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that Sacrifices, Oblations, and Burnt-Offerings, and that for sin thou wouldst not have: neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the Law: then said I, behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God: He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which Will we are sanctified and made holy by the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ once. And verily every Priest is ready every day ministring, and oftentimes offering the self same Sacrifices, which never can take away sins. But this man, offering one Sacrifice for sins, doth for ever and ever sit at Gods right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his Enemies be placed to be his Footstool. *For with one Offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified.* By which things it plainly appeareth, that Christ by once offering hath cleansed his from their sins; who could not be cleansed from the same by all the Ceremonies of the Law, and so did fulfil that which the Priesthood of the Law could not. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the Law of Charity, and by Grace; and the Ceremonials, by one offering up of his Body on the Altar of the Cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole Law.

{KING Ric. 2.}

Wherefore sithence that the holy things of the Law were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of Grace, it were meet that all those things should utterly cease amongst *Christians*, which should either be against Charity or the Grace of Christ. Although in the time of the Law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of Perfections in Christs Faith: yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the Perfection which they did prefigurate; as Circumcision, the eating of the *Paschal-Lamb*, and other ceremonial points of the Law. Whereupon also *Paul* to the *Hebrews* the seventh Chapter, saith thus, *If therefore the making up of the perfection of all was by the Levitical Priesthood (for the people received the Law under him) why was it necessary besides, that another Priest should rise up after the Order of* Melchisedec, *and not be called after the Order of* Aaron? *For when the Priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the Law also be removed.* For he in whom these things are spoken is of another Tribe, of which none stood present at the Altar: because it is manifest that our Lord had his Off-spring of *Juda*, in which Tribe *Moses* spake nothing of the Priests. And besides this it is manifest; *If according to the Order of* Melchisedec *there do arise up another Priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be losed.* For thus he beareth witness, *That thou art a Priest for ever after the order of* Melchisedec: so that the commandment that went before, is disallowed for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. For the Law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Christ making an end of the Priesthood of *Aaron*, doth also make up a full end of the Law belonging to that Priesthood. Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, That Christian folks are bound to this small Ceremony of the payment of Tythes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small Ceremonies of the Law.

Where the Priesthood is removed, there also the Law is removed. Bound, as a matter of Religion, or by the necessity of Gods Law and not man; but now Tythes are found by mans Law, and not by the old Law.

It is plain, that the Tythes were given to the Sons of *Levi*, for their serving in the Tabernacle and in the Temple of the Lord, as the Firft-fruits were given to the Priests, and also part of the Sacrifices, and so were the Vows of their Ministery, as it appeareth in the Book of *Numbers* the 22th Chapter. But forasmuch as the labour of those Sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing that the Firft-fruits were not demanded of Christians, which Firft-fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the Tythes: why must the Tythes be demanded except it be therefore perad-verture, because that the Tythes be more worth in value than be the Firft-fruits.

The cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth. He meaneth that ceremony of tythes, which standeth by the necessity of the old Law, to cease.

Secondly, why are the Lay-people bound to the payment of Tythes, more than the Levites and the Priests were to the not having of Possessions of Realties and Lordships amongst their Brethren, seeing that the self same Law in the self same place (where he saith, *That the Tythes ought to be given to Levites*) saith also to the Levites, *You shall have none other thing amongst your Brethren.* Wherefore seeing that the Priests be bound, to the not having of Temporal Lordships, how are the Lay-people bound by that Law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of Tythes?

If Tythes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law Priests are bound to have no Temporalities. He proveth not contrary, but that Tythes by Gods law are prefigurate by the law of man. Although not by the ceremonial law of Moses. Circumcision ceaseth, the Ceremonies do cease.

Thirdly, as touching Circumcision, which is one of the greater Ceremonies of the Law, and was given before the Law, and was an universal Ceremony concerning the Covenant between God and his people, and was so much regarded in the Law, that thereof it was said, *The Soul, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from among his people:* Yet did this Ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although that certain of the *Jews* did say in the Primitive-Church, that the

{KING Ric. 2.} Gal. 4.

the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circumcision with the Faith; whom *Paul* reproveth, writing thus to the *Galatians*, the fourth *Chapter*, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which do signifie the two Testaments. *But we (O Brethren) are the children of the promise after* Isaac; *but like as at that time he that was born after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scriptures? Throw out the bondwoman and her son. The son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye stedfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I* Paul *say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testifie again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that he is bound to keep all the whole Law. Ye are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace.*

Bound in one thing (in reason) bound in all: either bound to all, or to none. * Here he expresseth his meaning plainly.

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing, we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say, that Men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same * old law Men are not bound to pay Tithes, it may be shewed by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say, that by the Gospel we are bound to pay Tithes, because Christ said to the *Pharisees*, *Matth.* 23d *Chap. Wo be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which pay your Tithe of Mint, of Anise-seed, and of Cummin, and leave judgment, mercy and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law; both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guids, that strain at a Gnat, and swallow up a Camel.* This word foundeth not as a commandment, or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command Tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrifie of the *Pharisees*, who of covetousness did weigh and esteem Tithes because of their own singular commodity, rather than other great and weighty commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our Men are in the same predicament of the *Pharisees* which do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandment of tithing. It is manifest and plain enough by the premises, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a Priest after the order of *Melchisedek*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, not of the Tribe of *Levi*, who gave no new commandment of tithing of any thing to him and to his Priests, whom he would place after him; but when his Apostles said to him, *Behold we leave all things and have followed thee, what then shall we have?* he did not answer them thus, Tithes shall be paid you; neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in Heaven. For he both for food, and also apparel taught his Disciples not to be careful; Be ye not careful for your life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on: Is not the life of Man more worth than the meat, and the body more worth than apparel? *Behold ye, the Birds of Heaven, which do not sow, nor reap, neither yet lay up in Barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them.* And as for apparel, why should you be careful? *Consider the Lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they spin, &c.* In conclusion he saith, *Be not ye careful, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be covered? For all these things do the Gentiles seek after; for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore seek ye for the Kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you.* And *Paul* right well remembring this Doctrine, instructeth *Timothy*, and saith thus, *But we having food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented.* And as the *Acts of the Apostles* do declare in the first conversion of the Jews at *Jerusalem*, they had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required. Neither did the Priests make the Tithes their own proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people being converted, should have propriety of goods; even so neither that Priests should have propriety of

Tythes not expresly commanded anew by Christ in his Gospel. Mat. 6.

1 Tim. 6.

Tythes not required in the primitive Church.

Tithes. So that if the Priests started back from fervent charity in challenging to themselves the propriety of Tithes; it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the Priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after Tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay Tithes; it is manifest and plain, neither by the law of *Moses*, nor by Christs law, Christian people are bound to pay Tithes; but by the Tradition of men they are bound.

Tithes due to be paid by the positive Law of Men.

By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace did fulfil it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawful, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawful, which now are lawful enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

Let us now hear what manner of commandments Christ hath given us in the Gospel, without the observation of which commandments, charity shall not perfectly be kept. By which commandments Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it. By the observation also of which commandments, he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the righteousnesses of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who most perfectly thought themselves to keep the law. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousnesses of the *Pharisees* and the *Scribes*, he teacheth in *Matthew* 5, 6, and 7 Chapters, which being heard and compared to the Traditions made and commanded by the *Roman* Prelates, it shall plainly appear, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith, *You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. For he that killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say unto you, that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment.* In this he doth teach that we ought not to be angry with our brethren; not that he would undo this old commandment (*Thou shalt not kill*) but that the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again he saith, *You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven: Which maketh his Sun to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? Do not the Publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing do ye? Do not the Heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect.*

The Doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the Pope or not.

Mat. 5.

Again Christ saith, *You you have heard that it is said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil. But if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strive with thee for thy Coat in judgment, let him have thy Cloak also. And whosoever shall constrain thee one Mile, go with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turn not thy self from him.*

The Doctrine of Christ and of the Pope compared.

By these things it may plainly appear how that Christ the King of peace, the Saviour of Mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy; who gave a law of charity to be observed of his faithful people; hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil. For all these things do foster and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed and come forth of charity, and when they be not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken. But the Bishop of *Rome* approveth and alloweth Wars, and slaughters of men in War, as well against our enemies, that is, the Infidels, as also against the Christians for temporal goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christs Doctrine, and to Charity, and to Peace.

In the Decrees 23. q. 1. *cap. Paratus*, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must always be retained in purpose of the heart, so that patience with benevolence must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to do good to those, whom we ought to with well unto. Wherein they give to understand, that a Christian may freely defend him-

The gloss of Gracian upon the c. Paratus 23. q. 1. differeth.

Christ in answering to his striker, did not break his rule of patience outwardly.

The precept or Christ to turn the other cheek, hath a privy exemption as if he would say, rather be you content to suffer two blows than to revenge one.

This Article of Brute must have a relation either to the Doctrine of the Clergy.

self. And for confirmation of this saying they do say, That Christ, when he was stricken on the face of the High Bishops servant, did not fulfil (if we look upon the words) his own commandment; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, if I have spoken evil, beare witnesse of the evil; but if well, why doest thou strike me? I do marvel of this saying; for first, if those commandments of patience must be kept in secret in the mind; and seeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moved and ruled by the same; it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appear also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I marvel that it is said, that Christ did not fulfil his own precept of patience. For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching always as a good Schoolmaster, those things which were fit for the salvation of souls, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the High Bishops servant, smiting him unjustly, did neither by word forbid another stroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himself bodily from striking on the same cheek; but speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth open before him all his face; even so do I believe that Christ did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deed shew any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

The cause how far again of Christ was private, and this Doctrine is to be understood in private cases. War in case allowed of *W. Brute.*

Thirdly, I marvel why wise men leaving the plain and manifest Doctrine of Christ, whereby he teacheth patience, do seek corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to *Peter*, striking the High Bishops servant, saying, *Put up thy Sword into the Sheath, for every one that shall take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword?* But in another case we must make resistance; which case may be so righteous, as it is for a Mans Lord and Master being a most righteous Man, and yet suffering injury of mischievous persons.

He meaneth resistance for private causes, or for worldly goods.

Patience commended in private causes amongst Christian brethren.

Fourthly, I marvel, seeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Christ, to give our lives for our Brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissentions and resisting. For when thy Brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayst be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the Devil. If thou shalt keep patience, he shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayst bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the Devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou resist, and perchance by resistance dost strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled, and he being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy self thou art uncertain if thou go about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou go backward from the perfection of Christs commandment: Neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moved, as that by the heat and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him.

The inconvenience of private resistance among Christian brethren.

Whereas if thou wouldst dispose thy self to patience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldst easily avoid all these mischiefs, as well on the behalf of thy Brother, as also of thine own part. Wherefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

Paul being stricken did not break the rule of christian patience, neither made any bodily resistance.

Fifthly, I do marvel, why that for the allowing of this corporal resistance, he doth say in the same Chapter, that *Paul* did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Christ, when as he being fruitful in the place of Judgment by the commandment of the High Priest, did say, *God strike thee, O how painted Wall: Dost thou sit to judge me according to the Law, and dost thou command me to be stricken against the law?* It is manifest that *Paul* made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the Priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And it *Paul* had overpassed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of *Paul's* impatience for this cause be justified, and the commandment of patience taught by Christ be left undone for *Paul's* deed, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both *Paul* and *Peter* might err. But in the Doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Wherefore we must give more credence and belief to Christs sayings, than to any living mans doings. Wherefore although *Paul* had resisted, which I do not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal resistance must be approved, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvel that always they seek corners and shadows to justifie their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things *Paul* reciteth himself to have suffered for Christ? And where I pray you, have they found that he, after his conversion strook any man that did hurt him? Or where do they find that he in expresse word doth teach such a kind of corporal resistance? But as touching patience, he faith in plain words to the *Romans*, *Be not wise in your own conceits: Render ill for ill to no body: providing good things not only before God, but also before all men, if it be possible: Be at peace with all folkes, as much as in you lieth; not revenging your selves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall be an hungred, give him meat; if he be athirst, give him drink. For thus doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good.*

KING. Rica. 1.

The first chapter of Paul to any other, doth not derogate from the doctrine of our Saviour.

How Paul stood between wars.

Rom. 12

Rules of Christian patience.

To the *Corinthians* the 5th. as touching judgment and contention, which are matters of less weight than are fightings, thus he writeth, *Now verily there is great fault in you, that ye be at law among st your selves. Why rather take ye not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not deceit?* And generally in all his Epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporal resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it sustereth all things. I marvel how they justifie and make good the wars by Christians, saving only the wars against the Devil and sin. For seeing that it is plain, that those things which were in the Old Testament, were figures of things to be done in the New Testament; Therefore we must needs say, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the Christian wars against sin, and the Devil, for the heavenly Country which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus of Christ: *The mighty Lord, and of great power in battel hath girded himself in force and manliness to the War; and he came not to send peace into the earth, but War.* In this war ought Christian people to be soldiers, according to that manner which *Paul* teacheth to the *Ephesians* the last, *Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the Devil. For we have not to wrastle against flesh and blood, but against Princes and Potestates, against the rulers of the darkness of the World, against spiritual wickednesse in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand ye therefore girded about in truth upon your loyns, having put upon you the breast-plate of righteousnesse, and your feet shod in a readinesse to the Gospel of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.*

They that be lesst in the Kingdom of heaven greater than he.

Corporal Wars under the Old Testament be figures of the spiritual wars in the New Testament to fight with the Devil.

Ephes. 6.

By these things it is plain, what are the wars of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this Testament is of greater perfection than the former, we must now fight more perfectly than at that time. For now spiritually, then corporally; now for an heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnesse, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* He saith not, blessed are they that fight for righteousnesse. How can a man say that they may lawfully make war and kill their Brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjustly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? For he that killeth another to get those goods which another body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own Brother. And then he falling from charity, doth kill himself spiritually. If he go forward without * charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor justly in proceeding to the damnation of his own self and his Brother; whom, though he see unjustly to occupy

What be the wars now adays proper to Christians

He meaneth that Wars paid Indulgences granted up and procured by the Pope unto blind superstitious, to fight for the Holy Land, and not taken by Princes to the necessary defence of themselves, and of their Country.

All this to learn not to envy the Lawfulness of wars, in case of publick necessity, but only in private case for temporal goods.

* Neutrals vocab. without charity.

KING 1 Rica. 2 Such kind of Wars that which kind so be the private revenge of corporal goods.

occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of Wars were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Christians; because that their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said unto them, All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if *John* the *Baptist* disallowed corporal fightings, and corporal warfare, at such time as the Soldiers asked him saying, *And what shall we do?* who saith to them, *See that you strike no man, neither pick yo quarrels against any, and be you contented with your wage.* This saying of *John* alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christian. For *John* was of the Priests of the Old Testament, and under the Law, neither to him it appertained not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect observation of the law; for he, being likewise demanded of the *Publicans* what they should do, said unto them, *Do no other thing than is appointed unto you.* But Christ the Author of the New Testament, and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the Gospel. So that Christians ought to receive information of Christ, not of *John*. For of *John* also doth Christ speak, *Verily I say unto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of Men, a greater than* John Baptist, *but he that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.* In which saying, Christ sheweth, that those that be least in the Kingdom of Heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was *John*, which was one of them that were the Elders, and he lived also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when as certain of *John's* Disciples said unto him, *Master, he that was beyond* Jordan, *to whom thou gavest witnesse, behold he baptiseth, and all people come unto him*; John answered and said, *A man cannot take upon him, unless it shall be given him from above. You your selves do bear me record, that I said I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegrooms friend, who standeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he must increase and I must be diminished. He that cometh from on high, is above all. He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: He that cometh from Heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath seen and heard, the same doth he witnesse, and yet his witnessing doth no body receive. But he that receiveth his witnessing, hath put to his Seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the Words of God.*

They that be lesst in the Kingdom of heaven greater than he proved.

Matth. 11

Luke 7

By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to *John*, nor yet to Angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christs Doctrine. For Christ is above the Angels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Now if *Moses* the servant of God, a Minister of the Old Testament, was so much to be believed, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished from the Commandments that were given by him, (for so *Moses* had said, *The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminish*;) How much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the Commandments given by God himself, and also the Son of God? In the primitive Church because the Christians had fervent love and charity, they observed these precepts as they were given; but the fervent charity afterward waxing lukewarm, they invented Glosses by drawing the commandments of God back to their own deeds, which they purposed to justifie and maintain; that is to say, wars against the infidels. But that these by wars should be converted to the faith, as a fact faithless enough: because that by violence or unwillingly, no body can believe in Christ, nor be made a Christian, neither they did he come to destroy them by battel, that believed not in him; for he said to his Disciples, *You know not what spirit you are of. The son of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* Then to grant pardons and forgivenesse of sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidels fact, seducing many people. For what greater seducing can there be, than to promise to a man forgivenesse of sins, and afterward the joy of Heaven, for setting himself against Christs commandments in the killing of infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, *Not every one that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, this person shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Now the will of the Father is, that we should believe in his only Son Jesus Christ, and that we should obey him by observing of those things which he himself hath commanded. Wherefore Christs precepts of patience must be fulfilled, wars, fightings and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charity.

But peradventure some man will thus reason against Christ, The Saints by whom God hath wrought Miracles, do allow wars against the faithful people, as also against the Infidels. And the holy Kings were Warriors, for whole fakes Miracles also have been shewed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were a warfare. Wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawful. For otherwise God would not have done Miracles for them.

Objection.

To this again I say, That we for no Miracles must do no error; to this in Miracles there oftentimes chanceth error, as it is plain as well by the Old as by the New Testament, God forbid then that a Christian should for deceivable Miracles depart from the infallible Doctrine of Christ. In *Exod.* the 7th Chap. it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the *Egyptians*, through the inchantments of *Egypt*, and certain secret workings, threw their Wands upon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, even as *Aaron* before time in the presence of *Pharaoh* threw his Wand upon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a Serpent. In the 3d of the *Kings* the 22d Chap. *Micheus did see the Lord sitting upon his Throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing about him on the right hand and on the left.* And the Lord said, who shall deceive Achab the King of Israel, that he may go up and be slain in Ramoth Gilead? And one said this way, and another otherwise; now, there went forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord and said, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake, by what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And the Lord said, thou shalt deceive him and prevail, go thy ways forth, and do even so. Thus also it is written in *Deut.* If there shall arise a Prophet amongst you, or one that shall say, he hath seen a dream, and shall foretel a sign and a wonder; and if that shall come to pass that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, let us go and follow strange Gods (whom thou knowest not) and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet or Dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether you love him or no, with all your heart, and with all your soul.

Answere: Legibus accedum, non exemplo. True miracles here of only men be not discovered, but speaking unreasonably, the fiable Doctrine, and Word of God, is the sure rule for men to follow.

3 Re. 12.

Achab deceived by false Prophets. [Plebis.]

In *Jeremy* the 23d Chap. *Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I will come against the Prophets which have dreamed a lie (saith the Lord) which have thewed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people (saith the Lord)* In *Matth.* the 24th Chap. saith Christ, *For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders to deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect.* Paul in his second Epistle to the *Corinthians* the 11th Chap. *Such false Apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ.* And no marvel, for even Satan transformeth himself into an Angel of Light; therefore it is no great thing though his Ministers transform themselves, as though they were the Ministers of righteousnesse, whose end shall be according to their works.

Jer. 23.

Prophets must be tried by Doctrine.

Matth. 24

False Prophets.

2 Cor. 11

In the *Apocalyps* the 13th Chap. John *saw a Beast ascending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a Lamb, but he spake like the Dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders. So that he made fire come down from Heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwelt on the earth, by means of the signs which were permitted him to do in the sight of the beast.*

Apoc. 13

By these things it is most manifest and plain, that in Miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the Devil, to deceive the people withal. Wherefore we ought not for the working of Miracles to depart from the Commandments of God. I

Miracles are to be tried.

would to God that they which put confidence in Miracles, would give heed unto the word of Christ, in the *7th Chap. of Mat.* thus speaking, *Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out Devils, and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me all ye which work iniquity.*

Mat. 7.

The servants of Christ disserned by working not of Miracles, but of vertues.

By this saying it is moft manifeft that the servants of Christ are not discerned by working of Miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the Judgment of God, to judge by means of Miracles, that some are Saints, whom Men ought to worship, whom peradventure, God will in the last Judgment condemn, saying, *Depart from me all ye which work iniquity.* If any Man could here on earth judge sinners to be condemned; then if this judgment were certain, Christ should not judge the second time; and whatsoever such Judges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in Heaven. But if such a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth, may instead of Saints, worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the Devils, and in prayer require their aid, who even like as the Devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Christ said, when his Kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying, *Command that these my two sons may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy Kingdom. But Jesus answering, said, Te know not what ye ask, can ye drink of the cup which I shall drink of? they said unto him, we can. He said unto them, of my cup indeed ye shall drink, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* Christ being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in Goodnesś and Wisdom, said, *to sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* If it were none of his to give to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any sinful man to give unto any Man a seat either on the right hand or on the left in the Kingdom of God, which sinful Man knoweth not whether such have any seat prepared for them of the Father in his Kingdom? They much extol themselves which exercise this judicial power in giving judgment, that there are some Saints which ought to be honored of Men, by reason of the evidences of Dreams, or of deceitful Miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the Devils for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the infallible truth saith, that *every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low.*

Men or women are not rashly to be judged Saints.

This proposition of *W. Brute*, concerning the War of Christians not to be lawfull, is not to be taken universally, but in particular cafe as he meaneth, which is this, That such Wars allowed of the Pope, not for the necessary defence of publick peace, liberty and safeguard of our Countries, or agaiuft publick Injuries, offered; but only to go and kill the Infidels, because they believe not, having no other caufe, thofe Wars of the Pope he likeith not.

By these things is gathered that the Wars of Christians are not lawful; for that by the Doctrine and Life of Christ they are prohibited, and by reason of the evidence of the deceitful Miracles of these which have made Wars amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the Infidels. Because Christ could not err in his Doctrine, forasmuch as he was God: And forasmuch as Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but the Words of Christ shall not pass away; He therefore which establisheth his laws, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in wars, as well of Christians as of Infidels, doth he not justifie those things which are contrary unto the Gospel and Law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist; seducing the people, making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expreffly prohibited by Christ.

¶ And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Christ and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and so to prove in conclusion, the Pope to be Antichrist. Where in the mean time thou muft understand (gentle Reader) his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kind of wars among the Christians in any cafe to be lawful, for he himself before hath openly protelled the contrary; but that his purpoſe is, to prove the Pope in all his doings and teachings more to be addicted to war than to peace; yea, in such cafes where is no necessity of war. And therein proveth he the Pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercy.

{KING. Elic. 2.}

In which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth us to be merciful, becauſe mercy (as he saith) proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it. In which Doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the law of righteouſneſs, for he himſelf by mercy hath cleanſed us from our ſins, from which we could not by the righteouſneſs of the law be cleanſed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it behooveth thoſe ſame to be alſo merciful. For in the fifth *Chapter of Matthew* he ſaith, *Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy.* And again in the ſixth of *Matthew* he ſaith, *If ye forgive unto men their ſins, your father will forgive unto you your ſins.* And again in the ſeventh *Chapter of Matthew. Judge not and ye ſhall not be judged, condemn not, and ye ſhall not be condemned, and with what meaſure ye meaſure, with the ſame ſhall it be meaſured unto you again.* In the 18th. Chapter of *Matth. Peter* asked the Lord, ſaying, *Lord, how often ſhall my Brother ſin againſt me, and I ſhall forgive him, ſeven times? Jeſus ſaid unto him, I ſay not unto thee ſeven times, but ſeventy times ſeven. Therefore, is the Kingdom of Heaven likened unto a certain King, which would take account of his ſervants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thouſand Talents; And becauſe he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his maſter commanded him to be ſold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The ſervant therefore fell down, and beſought him, ſaying, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that ſervant, and looſed him, and forgave him the debt. But when that ſervant was departed, he found one of his fellow ſervants, which ought him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, ſaying, pay me that thou oweſt; and his fellow fell down, and beſought him, ſaying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and caſt him into priſon, till he ſhould pay the debt. And when his other fellows ſaw the things that were done, they were very ſorry, and came and declared unto their maſter all that was done: Then his maſter called him, and ſaid unto him, O thou ungracious ſervant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou deſireſt me, oughteſt thou not then alſo to have ſhewed pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the Taylors, till he ſhould pay all that was due unto him. So likewiſe ſhall my Heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one to his brother their treſpaſſes.*

Doctrine of Chriſtian mercy declared.

Mat. 5.

Mat. 6.

Mat. 7.

Mat. 18.

Mercy and pity commended as moſt like unto God.

By this Doctrine it is moſt plain and manifeſt, that every Chriſtian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often ſoever he offendeth againſt him. Becauſe we, ſo often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore forasmuch as our offence againſt God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother againſt us; it is plain that it behoveth us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this Doctrine of Mercy, the *Romiſh* Biſhop maketh and confirmeth many laws, which puniſh offenders, even unto the death; as it is plain by the proceſs of the Decrees, *Diſt. 2. 5. queſt. 5.* It is declared and determined, that to kill men *ex officio*, that is, having authority and power ſo to do, is no ſin. And again, the ſoldier which is obedient unto the higher power, and ſo killeth a man, is not guilty of murder. And again, he is the Miniſter of the Lord, which puniſheth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them. And many other ſuch like things are throughout the whole proceſs of that queſtion determined; That for certain kinds of ſins men ought by the rigour of the law to be puniſhed even unto death. But the foundation of their ſaying they took out of the old law, in which for divers tranſgreſſions were appointed divers puniſhments. It is very much wonderful unto me, why that wiſe men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always for the foundation of their ſayings look upon the ſhadow of the law, and not the light of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the 3d of *John, God ſent not his Son into the World, to judge the World, but to ſave the world by him?* in *John* the 8th. Chap. *The Scribes and Phariſees bring in a Woman taken in adultery, and ſet her in the midſt, and ſaid unto Chriſt, Maſter, even now this woman was taken in adultery. But in the law Moſes hath commanded us to ſtone ſuch, what ſayſt thou therefore? Thus they ſaid to tempt him, that they might accuſe him. But Jeſus ſtooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himſelf up, and ſaid unto them, let him that is among you without ſin, caſt the firſt ſtone at her. And again he ſtooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldeſt; ſo Jeſus was left alone, and the woman ſtanding in the midſt. When Jeſus had lift up himſelf again, he ſaid unto her, where be they which accuſed thee, hath no man condemned thee? She ſaid, no man Lord. And Jeſus ſaid unto her, neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way, and ſin now no more.*

{KING. Elic. 2.}

Mercy and compaſſion neceſſary to all Chriſtians.

It is manifeſt by the Scriptures, that Chriſt was promiſed he ſhould be King of the *Jews*, and unto the Kings pertained the judgments of the law; but becauſe he came not to judge ſinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to ſave that which was loſt, in calling the ſinner to repentance; it is moſt plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteouſneſs to ceaſe; for otherwiſe he had dealt unjuſtly with the foreſaid woman, forasmuch as the witneſſes of her adultery, bare witneſs againſt her. Wherefore ſeeing the ſame King Chriſt was a Judge, if it had been his will that the righteouſneſs of the Law ſhould be obſerved, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded; which thing, forasmuch as he did not, it is moſt evident that the judgements of he righteouſneſs of the law are finiſhed in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the Sacrifices of the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, are finiſhed in the coming of the Prieſt, according to the order of *Melchiſedek*, who hath offered himſelf up for our ſins; becauſe, as it is before ſaid, neither the righteouſneſs of the law, nor Sacrifices for ſin, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was neceſſary that the ſame, by reaſon of their imperfection ſhould ceaſe. And ſeeing among all the laws of the world, the law of *Moſes* was moſt juſt, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the moſt juſt Judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he ſhould receive for his tranſgreſſion, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and moſt juſt puniſhments were ordained according to the quantity of the ſins. But if this law of righteouſneſs be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then ſhall the law of the Gentiles remain among Chriſtians, which was never ſo juſt? Is not this true, that in them which are converted unto the faith, there is no diſtinction between the *Jew* and the *Grecian?* For both are under ſin, and are juſtified by grace in the faith of Chriſt, being called unto faith, and unto the perfection of the Goſpel.

The Pope contrary to Chriſt in ſheving mercy. 23. 5. 5.

The foundation of the foreſaid 5. queſt. conſ. 23. In the Popes Decretalls conſiſteth only out of the old Teſtament, and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the Pope have follow not the perfect rule. John 3.

If therefore the *Gentiles* converted, are not bound to obſerve the *Jews*, to follow the law of the *Jews*; why ſhould the *Jews* converted, follow the laws of the *Gentiles* which are not ſo good? Wherefore, it is to be wondred at, why Thieves are among Chriſtians, for theft put to death, where after the law of *Moſes* they were not put to death. Chriſtians ſuffer Adulterers to live, *Sodomites*, and they which curſe Father and Mother, and many other horrible ſinners; and they which according to the moſt juſt law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteouſneſs given of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Chriſt.

Wherefore the Law-makers and Judges do not give heed unto the foreſaid ſentence of Chriſt unto the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who ſaid, * *He which amongſt you is without ſin, let him caſt the firſt ſtone at her.* What is he that dareth be ſo bold as to ſay, he is without ſin? Yea, and without a grievous ſin, when as the tranſgreſſion of the commandment of God is a grievous ſin? And who can ſay that he never tranſgreſſed this commandment of God, *Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf?* Or the other commandment which is of greater force, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, &c. Wherefore thou, whatſoever thou art, that judgeſt thy brother unto death, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God, which peradventure haſt offended more grievously than he hath whom thou judgeſt? How ſeeſt thou a mote in thy brothers eye, and ſeeſt not a beam in thine own eye? Knoweſt thou not that with what meaſure thou meaſureſt, that ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again? Doth not the Scripture ſay, *Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again ſaith the Lord?* How can any man ſay that theſe men can with charity keep theſe judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and deſireth of God juſt judgment for his offence? He deſireth not judgment but mercy. If he deſire mercy for himſelf, why deſireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himſelf? Or how doth thou ſhew mercy unto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandment of Chriſt) which ſeeketh the greateſt vengeance upon him that thou canſt infer unto him? for death is the moſt terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death, can no man infer.

Wherefore, they which will keep charity ought to obſerve the commandments of Chriſt touching mercy; and * they which live in the law of charity, ought to leave the law of vengeance and judgments. Ought we to believe that Chriſt in his coming, by grace abrogated the moſt juſt law which he himſelf gave unto the children of *Iſrael* by *Moſes* his ſervant, and eſtabliſhed the laws of the *Gentiles*, being not ſo juſt, to be obſerved of his faithful? Doth not *Daniel* expound the Dream of *Nabuchodonozer* the King, concerning the image, whoſe head was of gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, the legs of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. *Nabuchodonoſor* ſaw that a ſtone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and ſtrake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver and gold broken all together, and became like the chaff of the Sumiher flower, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four Kingdoms unto the four parts of the image, namely, the Kingdom of the *Babylonians* unto the head of gold; the Kingdom of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unto the breaſt and arms of ſilver; the Kingdom of the *Grecians* unto the belly and thighs of braſs; but the fourth Kingdom which is of the *Romans*, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And *Daniel* addeth, *in the days of their Kingdoms ſhall God raiſe up a Kingdom which ſhall never be deſtroyed, and his Kingdom ſhall not be delivered unto another; but it ſhall break and deſtroy thoſe Kingdoms; and it ſhall ſtand for ever, according as thou ſaweſt, that the ſtone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and brake in pieces the clay, and iron, braſs, ſilver and gold.* Seeing therefore it is certain, that this ſtone ſignifieth Chriſt, whoſe Kingdom is for ever; it is alſo a thing moſt aſſured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other Kingdoms of the world. Wherefore if terreſtrial Kings, and the terreſtrial Kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments have ceaſed by the Chriſtian King, calling the Jews unto the perfection of his Goſpel, namely, unto Faith and Charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the Kingdom of the Gentiles, which is more unperfect, and their laws, ought to ceaſe among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For there is no diſtinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Chriſt, but all of them abiding in that eternal Kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of vertue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the deſire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make laws mark not the parable of Chriſt, ſaying, *The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man which ſowed good ſeed in his field; but when men were on ſleep, the enemy came and ſowed tares in the midſt of the Wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the ſervants came unto the good man of the houſe,*

There is present, and to be collected, not what Catholick Magiſtrates may do, in caſes of right-ordered, but that ecclesiaſtical perſons are not to the edire of their profeſſion ſhould do, in not revenging by death, as they do by offices. Whether the Judicial law of *Moſes* be fully gone after the coming of Chriſt? ſhadeth in force, or not. The law of *Moſes* of all the moſt juſt.

His marvel is not ſo much, why Thieves are put to death, but why the like juſtice law of *Moſes* is not obſerved in other points in ſtrictly kept. Mark the meaning.

* Take his meaning, gentle Reader, left his mind be not ſo, that no Magiſtrate, being not without ſin, may puniſh a Tranſgreſſor, but he ſpeaketh ſo.

gainſt ſuch Churchmen, who profeſs the rule of mercy, ſhew no mercy at all, but all rigour by their laws, or office.

The Judicial neceſſity laws he meaneth to ceaſe, notwithſtanding Chriſtian Princes may borrow both out of thoſe laws, and out of all other, what they ſhall think good and expedient for their Commonweal.

He meaneth of the Pope, and of the Clergy.

He ſeeketh gainſt the deſire of revenge, not againſt the execution of neceſſary law done by Magiſtrates.

The dream of Nabuchodonozer concerning the image explounded by Daniel.

house, and said unto him, Lord, diddst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them, the enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him, wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said no, lest peradventure gathering up the tares ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; suffer them both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say unto the harvest men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn. Christ himself only expoundeth this Parable in the self same Chapter, saying, *He which soweth the good seed is the son of man, but the field is the world, and the good seed, those are the children of the Kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which soweth them is the Devil. And the Harvest is the end of the World, and the Harvestmen are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the World. The son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all offenders, and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

By which plain Doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy favored unto sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; lest peradventure, when a man thinketh that he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a sinner soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtain mercy of God: neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will by grace judge him whom we abhor as a sinner. And peradventure such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the Church, than he whom we think to be just, as it came to pass in *Paul*. And if God justifieth a man by grace (although at his end) why dareth thou be so bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seem to be obstinate and hardned in his evil, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone;) if he do not receive open correction being done before two or three witnesses; neither passeth upon a manifest correction when his sin is made known unto the Church; Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea, rather he saith, *If he hearken not unto the Church, let him be unto thee as an Ethnick and Publican.* And *Paul* following this Doctrine in the 1 *Corinth.* 5th Chapter, saith, *There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his fathers wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I verily as absent in body, but present in Spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my Spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* *Paul* teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this Text) but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, which is the head of the Church of the faithful, and so is he delivered unto Satan, which is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the Spirit may be saved: and not that his body should be killed, as some say, as it is manifest in the same *Chap.* where he saith, *I wrote unto you an Epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators, and I meant not of all the fornicators of this World, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the World. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner; with him that is such, see that ye eat not.*

His purpose is not that no evil doer should be punished in a Common-wealth, but his relation is to the 23. q. 5. afore-said, noting causes of reformation, which the Pope and his Prelates are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares, that which indeed is pure Wheat.

1 Cor. 5.

By which it is manifest, that *Paul* would have the foresaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful; that his carnal concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed. Wherefore they do ill understand *Paul*, which by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forsomuch as Heresie is one of the most grievous sins (for an Heretick leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved) it doth most great hurt in the Church.

Further, as concerning such a wicked man, *Paul* thus speaketh, *flee from the man that is an Heretick after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forsomuch as he is by his own judgment condemned.* Behold, *Paul* teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful. But some say, that *Peter* in the Primitive Church slew *Ananias* and *Saphira* for their sins, where-fore they say it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare in shewing the whole processe how falsly they speak in alledging of *Peter*, to justifie their error.

By this it appeareth, that all the relation in this matter, touches only the cause of heresy and opinion in Religion.

In the fourth *Chap.* of the *Acts* it is written, *That as many as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them, and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the Apostles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man called Ananias with Saphira his wife, sold a piece of Land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apostles.* But Peter *said unto* Ananias, Ananias, *why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie unto the Holy Ghost, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilst it remained, remain unto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when* Ananias *heard these words, he fell down and gave up the Ghost, and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to pass, about the space of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And* Peter *said unto her, Tell me Woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, yea for so much. But* Peter *said unto her, why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy Husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell down before his feet, and gave up the ghost, and the young men entring in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the Church, and all those which heard these things.* It is marvel that any man that is wife, will fay that by this proceſs *Peter* flew *Ananias* or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his son, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. *The King then sent forth his servants to the outcorners of the High ways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did. And the Marriage was full furnished with guests; Then came in also the King to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting, having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, friend, how camest thou hither? And he being dumb, had not a word to speak. Then said the King to the servitors, take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen, &c.*

The example of Two slaying *Ananias* and *Saphira* falsly vaunted of the Papists.

Peter not the cause of the death of *Ananias* and *Saphira*

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because *Ananias* entred into the Marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and understand, that they which have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the Marriage of Christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of *Ananias* and his Wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of *Peter*. And how should *Peter* then have judged *Ananias* (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? for why? by the law he had not been guilty of death, for that part which they did fraudulently and dissemblingly reserve to themselves; yea, and if they had stolen as much from another man, which was greater; neither yet for

The Wedding garment what it is.

The death of *Ananias* and his Wife, what information it giveth to the Church.

{KING} {Etc. 2.} for his life committed, he had therefore by that law of justice been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of justice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ. And so consequently, it followeth much more apparent, that *Peter* could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that *Peter* put him to death by the meer motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and slanderous to the good fame and name of *Peter*. But if *Peter* did kill him, why then doth the Bishop of *Rome* which pretendeth to be succeſſor of *Peter*, excuse himself and his Priests from the judgment of death against Hereticks and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such Judgments done by lay men? For, that which was done of *Peter* without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow Priests from the spot of crime, *Acts* 5. It is manifest that there was another which did more grievously offend than *Ananias*, and that *Peter* rebuked him with more sharp words; but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. *For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptised, he joyned himself with Philip; and when he saw that the holy Spirit was given by the Apostles (laying their hands upon men) he offered them mony, saying; Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the Holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered, Destroyed be thou and thy mony together; And for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this Doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedness, and pray unto God that thou wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedness, and band of iniquity.* Behold here the grievous offence of *Simon*; *Peter*'s hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appereth that the death of *Ananias* aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of *Peter*. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the expreſs and plain Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law, that they are not to be observed of Christians because they are contrary to charity. *Ergo*, The Bishop of *Rome* approving such Judgments, alloweth those that are contrary to the Law and Doctrine of Christ, as before is said of Wars, where he approveth and justifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of Priesthood, albeit it doth justifie the Judgments to death of the Laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same Judgments. The Priests of the old law being unperfect, when *Pilate* said unto them concerning Christ (whom they had accused worthy death) take him unto you, *and according to your law judge him*, answered, *That it was not lawful for them* John 18. *to put to death any man.*

Peter not the cause of the death of *Ananias* and *Saphira*

Whereby it appeareth, that our Priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death against any offenders; yet notwithstanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders: Because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confeſſion of the offenders, and to judge upon the same being known, and to enjoyn divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they alledge the Scriptures in many places, wresting it to serve their purpose.

First, They say that the Bishop of *Rome* (who is the chief Priest and Judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say, that he is able fully and wholly, to absolve a man *a pœna & culpa*, so that if a man at the time of his death, had this remission, he should straightways fly unto Heaven without any pain of Purgatory. The other Bishops (as they say) have not so great authority. The Priests constituted under every Bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sins of them that are confeſſed, but not all kind of sins: because they are some grievous sins reserved to the Absolutions of the Bishops; and some again, to the Absolution only of the chief and high Bishop. They say also,

Like a pallat him.

that it behoveth the offenders, for the necessity of their souls health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifeſt the same with all the circumstances thereof, unto the Priest in auricular confeſſion, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a Judge; and afterward humbly to fulfil the penance enjoyned unto him by the Priest for his sins, except the said penance so enjoyned, or any part thereof, be released by the superiour power. All these things (say they) are manifestly determined, as well in the Decrees as Decretals. And although these things have not expreſly their foundation in the plain and manifeſt Doctrine of Christ, nor any of the Authors of the Decrees and Decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the proceſs of Christ in the Gospel of Saint *Matthew* the 16th *Chapter*, Whereupon they ground the Popes power judicial to surmount the powers of other Priests, as where Christ said unto his Disciples, *Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, some say that thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremy, or one of the Prophets. To whom he said, but who say you that I am? Simon Peter, making answer, said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon the Son of Jonas; for flesh and blood hath not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and Hell gates shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in Heaven.* Mat. 16. The Popes usurped power falsly founded upon Scripture.

Out of this Text of Christ, divers Expositions have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said, *And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*; Some thereupon affirm, that Christ meant he would build his Church upon *Peter* by authority of that Text, as it is written in the first part of the Decrees, *Dist.* 19. *cap. Ita Dominus noster*. The Expolition hereof is ascribed to Pope *Leo*; the error whereof is manifestly known. For the Church of Christ is not builded upon *Peter*, but upon the Rock of *Peter*'s confeſſion, for that he said, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.* And for that Christ said singularly unto *Peter*, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kindom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c.* By this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto *Peter* specially, as chief of the reſt of the Apoſtles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he did unto the reſt of the Apoſtles and Disciples. And becauſe *Peter* answered for himself and all the Apoſtles, not only confeſſing the faith which he had chiefly above the reſt, but also the faith which the reſt of the Apoſtles had even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father: it appeareth that as the Faith of all the Apoſtles was declared by the answer of one; so by this that Christ said unto *Peter*, *whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c.* is given unto the reſt of the Apoſtles, the same power and equality to bind and to looſe, as unto *Peter*. Which Christ declareth in the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, the 18th *Chapter* in these words, *Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be also loosed in Heaven.* And further he addeth, *And again I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request, whatsoever it be, it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in Heaven, For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them.* And in *John* the 20th *Chap.* he saith generally unto them, *Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, shall be retained.* Dist. 9. c. Ita Dominus noster. The place of Christ giving the keys to Peter, Mat. 16. Mat. 18. John 20; Christ only the head of the Church.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to *Peter*, as chief and head of the reſt; and that by him the reſt had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. *Peter* and the reſt of the Apoſtles are the good members of the body of Christ; receiving power and vertue of Christ, whereby they do confirm and glew together the other members (as well the strong and noble, as the weak and unable) to a perfect compoſition and seemlineſs of the body of Christ: that

that all honour from all parts and members may be given unto Christ as Head and Chief, by whom as Head all the members are governed. And therefore *Paul*, 1 Cor. 3. *When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnal men? For what is Apollo? What is Paul? The Minister of him in whom ye have believed, and he as God giveth unto every man. I have planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath given the increase. Therefore neither he that planted is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.*

1 Cor. 3.

Gal. 2. And *Paul* to the *Gal.* 2. *God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the Uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Circumcision unto Peter; for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the Circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James and John, straightways joyned themselves with me and Barnabas: that we among the Gentiles, and they in Circumcision only might be mindful of the poor, the which to do, I was very careful. Hereby it appeareth that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but of him which said unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the prick. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.*

Act. 9.

The third Error. The third Error which the Authors of the Canons conceive in the said Text of Christ, which was said to *Peter*, *Unto thee will I give the Keys*, &c. is this, They say that in this sentence which was said to *Peter* of the authority to bind and loose, was meant, that as Christ gave unto *Peter* above all the rest of the Apostles a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the Apostles; even so, say they, he gave power unto the Bishops of *Rome* (whom they call *Peters* chief Successors) the same special power and authority, exceeding the power of all other Bishops of the world.

Other Apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appear manifestly by the premisses to be erroneous; wherein is plainly shewed that the other Apostles had equal power with *Peter* to bind and loose. Wherefore consequently it followeth the second part of the similitude, grounded upon the same Text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an error, wherein is said, that the Bishops of *Rome* are *Peters* chief Successors. For although there be but one Catholick Christian Church, of all the faithful sort converted; yet the first part thereof, and first converted, was of the *Jews*, the second of the *Greeks*, and the third part was of the *Romans* or *Latins*. Wherefor the first part was most perfectly converted unto the Faith, for that they faithfully observed the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the *Acts of the Apostles*, by the multitude of the believers. They were of one heart, and one soul, neither called they any thing that they possessed their own, but all was common amongst them.

Act. 2.

Rom. 1. Hereupon *Paul* to the *Romans*: Salutation to every believer, first to the *Jew*, and to the *Greeks* after the *Jews*. The *Greeks* were the second, and after the *Jews* next converted, and after them the *Romans*, taking their information of the *Greeks*, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed some *Romans* were converted unto the faith by *Peter* and *Paul*. And as Christ said thrice unto *Peter*, *Feed my sheep*, so *Peter* ruled these three Churches, as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first he reformed the Church of the *Jews* in *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, as appeareth by the testimony of the *Acts of the Apostles*. For *Act.* 1. it is manifest how *Peter* standing up amongst his Brethren, spake unto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of *Judas* the Traytor, alledging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him his Apostleship. And so by lot was *Matthias* constituted in the twelfth place of *Judas*, *Act.* 2. After that the Holy Ghost was come upon the Apostles, and that they spake with the Tongues of all men, the hearers were astonied at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying, These men are full of new wine: But *Peter* stood up and spake unto them, saying, That it was fulfilled in them that was prophesied by *Joel* the Prophet, And he preached unto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of *Peter*, they were pricked at the heart, saying unto him and the rest of the Apostles, What shall we then do? And *Peter* said unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. And there were joyned unto them the same day about three thousand souls. And *Act.* 3. 4, 5. it appeareth that *Peter* above the rest did those things which belonged to the Ministry of the Apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chronicles say, that *Peter* governed the Church of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, four years before he governed *Antioch*. And by the testimony of *Paul* to the *Galathians*, as before is said, the Gospel of the Uncircumcision is committed to *Paul*, even as the Circumcision to *Peter*. And he that wrought with *Peter* in the Apostleship of Circumcision, wrought with *Paul* amongst the Gentiles. Whereby it appeareth that the Church of the *Jews* was committed to the Government of *Peter*. *And in the process of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the Faith of Christ was not to be preached unto those Gentiles, which always lived in uncleanness of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppe, Cornelius a Gentile sent unto him that he would come and shew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell in a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certain vessel descending even as a great sheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth. In the which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spake unto him, saying, Arise Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.*

Act. 3, 4, 5.

Four governed the Church at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch.

Gal. 3.

As concerning the authority judicial of the Clergy, many things are written thereof in the Canons of Decrees, greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The Authors of the Canons say, That Christ gave unto the Priests power judicial over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the Text of Christ: *I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest*, &c. And these Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, they call the knowledg to discern, and the power to judg, which they say only belongeth to the Priests, except in case of necessity; then they say a lay-man may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinners part: First, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to bewail their offending of God through sin: The second is, Auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew unto the Priest his sins, and the circumstances of them: The third is satisfaction through penance injoyned unto him by the Priest for his sins committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things (say they) to be required: that is to say, knowledg to discern one sin from another, whereby he ought to make a difference of sins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, authority to judg, whereby he ought to injoyn penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed, ought with all humility to submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the Priest, except the said penance be released by a superior power: for all Priests (as they say) have not equal authority to absolve sins. The chief Priest whom they call *Peters* Successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior Priests have power, some more, some less. The more as they are near him in dignity, the less as they are farther from the degree of his dignity. All this is declared by process in the Decrees, but not by the express Doctrine of Christ, or any of his Apostles. For although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a Judg, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith, God sent not his Son into the world to judg sinners, but that the world should be saved by him, *Joh.* 3. *Whereupon he spake unto him whom he healed of the palsie, Behold thou art made whole, go thy ways*

The third Error.

The Keys of Christs Kingdom.

Absolution. Three things required in the Penitent for absolution, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction.

Two things required in his part that giveth absolution.

Auricular confession.

Deans & parsons.

{KING Rich. 2.} {KING Rich. 2.} ways and sin no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Christ said, *Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee?* who said, *No man, Lord.* To whom then Jesus thus said, *No more will I condemn thee, go and now sin no more.*

Joh. 5.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture it appeareth he was not as a Judg at his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall judg all men according to their works, as in *Mat.* 25. where he saith, *When the Son of man shall come in his Majesty, and all his Angels with him; then shall he sit upon the seat of his Majesty, and all Nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them from another, as a shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats*, &c. Neither shall he judg alone, but his Saints also with him. For he saith, *You that have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the seat of his Majesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and judg the twelve Tribes of Israel.* If then Christ came not as a Judg, why do the Priests say that they supply the room of Christ on earth, to judg sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the Bishop of *Rome* dareth to take upon him to be a Judg before the day of Judgment, and to prevent the time, judging some to be Saints in Heaven, and to be honoured of men, and some again to be tormented in Hell eternally with the Divels? Would God there men would weigh the saying of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 4. *Judg ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord, who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts, and then every one shall have his praise.* Let the Bishop of *Rome* take heed, lest that in *Ezekiel* be spoken by him, *Because thy heart is elevate, and thou saidst unto thy self, I am God, I have sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the Sea, when thou art but man, and not God.* It is manifest that the remission of sins principally belongeth to God, who through grace washeth away our sins. For it is said, *The Lamb of God taketh away the sins of the world.* And unto Christians it belongeth as the Ministers of God. For in the 20th of *John*, Christ saith, *Receive unto you the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.* Seeing therefore that all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy Ghost; it appeareth that they have power given to them of Christ, to remit sins Ministerially. Hath not every Christian authority to baptize? and in the Baptism all the sins of the baptized are remitted. *Ergo*, they that do baptize do remit sins. And thus Ministerially all such have power to remit sins. Therefore to say that one man hath more authority to remit sins than all other Christians have, is too much to extoll him, and to place him even in Gods seat. I pray you how are the sins remitted him that is baptized of the Priest (yea although he were of the Pope himself baptized) more than if he were baptized of another Christian? Surely I think no more. For seeing that before Baptism he remaineth a sinner, and of the Kingdom of the Devil by sin, after Baptism he entreth into the Kingdom of Heaven; it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the Gate of the Kingdom of Heaven to him that is baptized; the which he cannot do without the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize hath the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; as well the inferior Priest as the Pope. But these Keys are not the knowledg to discern, and power to judg, because these do nothing avail in Baptism: *Ergo*, There are other Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the Authors of the Canons erred in mistaking the Keys, whereupon they ground the Authority Judicial of the Clergy.

Mat. 25.

The Saints shall judg with Christ.

Joh. 20.

The unlawful power in temporal matters, belonging unto as well to any Priest as to another.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Keys with them in the Popes Canons.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore in my judgment it seemeth that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are Faith and Hope. For by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sins, we enter the Kingdom of Heaven. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Jesus Christ the fountain of wisdom, wherein the soul of the sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faithful Patriarchs baptized before the Law, and the faithful people of the *Hebrews*, and the faithful Christians after the Law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that saying in the Decrees, which is ascribed unto *Augustine*, That little children that are not baptized shall be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful Parents that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized; as though the Sacrament of Baptism in water were simply necessary to Salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this kind of Baptism, as Martyrs. If that kind of Sacrament be not necessary to one of elder years, how then is it necessary to an Infant born of the faithful? Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire? But yet not with material fire: no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spiritual quick baptized for them that are dead? as witnesseth *Paul*, 1 Cor. 15. *If the dead rise not at all, why are the living then baptized for them?* If the living be baptized for the dead, why then is not the Infant saved by the Baptism of his Parents; seeing the Infant it self is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require Baptism? Christ saith, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* He saith not, He that is not baptized, but he that believeth not shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12th Chapter of *John*, Christ saith, *I am the resurrection and life, he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, shall live.* The faith therefore is necessary which the Infant hath in his faithful parents, although he be not washed with corporal water. How then is the Infant damned and tormented with eternal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand years, saved also by his death and passion? All that believed in him, were baptized in his blood, and so were saved and redeemed from sin, and the bondage of the Devil, and made partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven. How then in the time of Grace shall the Infant be damned that is born of faithful parents, that do not despise, but rather desire to have their children baptized? I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the Decrees; but rather believe that he is saved by vertue of the Passion of Christ, in faith of his faithful parents, and the hope which they have in Christ. Which faith and hope are the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom. God were not just and merciful, if he would condemn a man that believeth not in him, except he shewed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ saith, *If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could not have been laid unto their charge, but now they have no excuse of sin.* Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest unto the Infant departing before Baptism, neither hath he denied it; how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the Infant, as he speaketh unto Angels; who then knoweth (save God alone) whether the Infant receiveth or not receiveth the Faith of Christ?

1 Cor. 15

Joh. 12,

Children departing before Baptism not condemned.

What is he therefore that so rashly doth take upon him to judg the Infants begotten of faithful parents, dying without Baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire? Now let us consider the three things which the Canons of Decrees affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those that sin after Baptism: that is to say, contrition of heart, Auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through penance enjoyned by the Priest for the sins committed. I cannot find in any place in the Gospel, where Christ commanded that this kind of confession should be done unto the Priest; nor can I find that Christ affigned any penance unto sinners for their sins, but that he willed them to sin no more. If a sinner confess that he hath offended God through sin, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to sin; then is he truly repentant for his sin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he shall then humbly and with good hope crave mercy at God and remission of his sins: what is he that can let God to absolve that sinner from his sin? And as God absolveth a sinner from his sin, so hath Christ absolved many, although they confessed not their sins unto the Priests, and although they received not due penance for their sins. And if Christ could after that manner once absolve sinners; how is he become now not able to absolve? Except some man will say that he is above Christ, and that his power is minished by the ordinances of his own Laws. How were sinners absolved of God in the time of the Apostles, and always heretofore,

Auricular confession.

Faith and Hope be the Keys of Heaven.

tofore, unto the time that these Canons were made? I speak not these things as though confession to Priests were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite unto Salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good Priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as witnesseth St. *James* the Apostle, *Confess ye your selves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved; for the continual prayer of the just availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it should not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and six months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit.* This kind of confession is good, profitable and expedient; for if God peradventure heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet nevertheless the prayers of the Priests seem too much to be extolled in the Decrees, where it treateth of Penitence, and that saying is ascribed unto Pope *Leo*, *Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei*, &c. And it followeth, So is it ordained by the Providence of Gods Divine Will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the Priests, &c. The prayer of a good Priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet Priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware hereafter to sin, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preferred from sin.

Ex Jurist. Dist. Cap. Multiplex misericordia Dei.

After this manner I esteem confession to Priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins unto the Priest as unto a Judg, and to receive of him corporal penance for a satisfaction unto God for his sins committed; I see not how this can be found upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction unto God for his sins, although he suffered never so much penance for his sins. And therefore it was needful that he that was without sin, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth *Esay*, Chapter fifty three, where he saith, *He took our griefs upon him, and our sorrows he bare.* And again, *He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedness.* And again, *The Lord put upon him our iniquity.* And again, *For the wickedness of my people have I stricken him.* If therefore Christ through his Passion hath made satisfaction for our sins, whereas we our selves were unable to do it; then through him have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance injoyned unto us by mans authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous after Baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore as in Baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins; even so after Baptism, if we confess that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

Jam. 5.

Esay 53.

1 Joh. 1. Hereupon *John* writeth in his first Epistle, *Ch.*1. *If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just, he will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned we make him a lyer, and his word is not in us. My welbeloved children, thus I write unto you that ye sin not; but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.* Therefore we ought to confess our selves chiefly unto God even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sins, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The Authors of the Canons say, that although Auricular confession made unto the Priest, be not expreslly taught by Christ, yet say they it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of Luk. 17. the leprosie, whom he commanded, *Go your ways and shew your selves unto the Priests*: because as they say, the law of cleansing Lepers, which was given by *Moses*, signified the confessions of sins unto the Priest. And whereas Christ commanded the Lepers to shew themselves unto the Priests, they say, that Christ meant that those that were unclean with the leprosie of sin, should shew their sins unto the Priests by Auricular confession. I marvel much at the Authors of the Canons; for even from the beginning of their Decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old Law, which was the Law of sin, and death, and not (as witnesseth *Paul*) upon the words of Christ, which are Spirit and life. Christ saith, *The words which I speak unto you, are the Spirit and Life.* They ground their sayings in the shadow of the Law, and not in the light of Christ; for every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved; but he that doth the truth cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God, *Joh.* 3. *Joh.* 3.

Confession unto God.

Auricular confession not truly grounded upon the Scripture.

The Authors of the Canon-Law reproved.

KING's Bl.

Now let us pass to the words that Christ spake to the Leper, *Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.* And Luk. 5. *Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying, I will be thou clean; and straightways he was cleansed of his lepry. And Jesus said unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and shew thy self to the Priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things.* This Gospel witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the Lepers were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the Priests, neither did Christ command the Leper to shew himself unto the Priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the Priests; but to fulfill the Law of *Moses*, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the Priests, who always of envy accused Christ as a transgresser of the Law. For if Christ after he had cleansed the Leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had shewed himself cleansed unto the Priests, then might the Priests have accused Christ as a transgresser of the Law; because it was a precept of the Law, that the Leper after he was cleansed, should shew himself unto the Priests. And they had signs in the Book of the Law, whereby they might judg whether he were truly cleansed or no. And if he were cleansed, then would the Priests offer a gift for his cleansing: and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimulated unto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleansing of Lepers by the Law, and the confession of sins? By that Law the Priest knew better whether he were leprous than he himself that had the lepry. In confession the Priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that Law the Priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now therefore ought the Priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and that without them they cannot be cleansed? In this Law the Priest had certain signs, by the which he could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his lepry or not. In confession the Priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not also whether he will not sin any more; without the which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt there is he not made clean. And how then is confession figured under that Law? Doubtless so it seemeth to me (under the correction of them that can judg better in the matter) that this Law beareth rather a figure of Excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appeareth by the process of the Gospel, that when as the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his Brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publick correction of the whole Church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnick and a Publican, and as a certain Leper to be avoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

The story of the Lepers expounded, to make nothing for Auricular confession.

But he which pretendeth himself to be the chief Vicar of Christ, and the high Priest, faith that he hath power to absolve *a pœna & culpa*. Which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he injoyneth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet from the pain (which they call *a pœna*) he doth not simply absolve, as in his Indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in Purgatory for sin, forsomuch as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we suffer. What

The Pope and Cleargy, and the cleansing of the Priest is Auricular confession unlawful.

The Pope is to blame in setting so low a price upon the Commandment of God. Absolution to be sought at the hands of God only.

KING's Bl.

What man is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the Pope then to deliver out of pains of Purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poor. And if he fell to the rich his Indulgences, doublewise, yea triplewise he seduceth them. First, in promising them to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and so maketh them fallly to believe that which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his Indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he promising to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the hereſie of simony, which both of them do commit, and therefore are worthy both of great pain to fall upon them; for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his Temple. Also *Peter* said unto *Simon* the first Author of this Hereſie, *Thy money*, said he, *with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money.* Moreover, whereas Christ saith, *Freely you have received, freely give.* And whereas contrary the Pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sins, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

The Pope in his Pardons deceiveth men three manner of ways.

The Pope promising pardons for sin, Indicteth men to sin in sinning.

Deadly sin and debt. The Pope saith he can remit the debt to God: and yet cannot remit the debt to man.

But this marvelleth me, that he in his Indulgences promiseth to absolve men from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt; forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance than is the debt of our Brother. Wherefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our Brother.

The Pope harder to pardon a Priest loving his Mistress unchaſt, than for breaking the Commandment of God.

Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the Pope sheweth himself more strait in absolving a Priest for not saying, or negligently saying his Mattens, than for transgressing the Commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the Commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of mans Commandment.

Absolution to one.

For these and many other errors concurring in this matter of the Popes absolutions; blessed be God, and honour be unto him for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our sins, if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and Will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto good and discreet Priests, who with wholesome discretion and found counsel can instruct us, how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter. And which, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us; whereby we may both obtain more sooner the remission of our sins, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come. *Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.*

Ex Regist. Latino Epist. Hereford.

Nota.

And thus much concerning the judgement and doctrine of this Walter *for Christian patience, charity and mercy; which as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity; so the said* Walter Brute, *making comparison herein between Christ and the Pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest; whereby all men may see what contrariety there is between the rule of Christs teaching, and the proceedings of the Pope, between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether given to peace; so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to wars, murther, and bloodshed, as is easie to be seen; whoso looketh not upon the outward shews and pretended words of these* Romish *Popes, but advisedly and considerately the inward practices and secret works of them, shall easily espie under the vizour of peace, what discord and debate they work; who bearing outwardly the meek horns of the Lamb mentioned in the Apocalyps, within do bear the bowels of a Wolf, full of cruelty, murther, and bloodshed. Which if any do think to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of Histories both old and new. Thus under* in Dei nomine, Amen, *how unmercifully doth the Pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending* in visceribus Jesu Christi, *as though he would be a Mediator to the Magistrate for the party; yet indeed will he be sure to Excommunicate the Magistrate, if he execute not the sentence given. Who be true Hereticks the Lord when he cometh shall judg. But give them to be Hereticks whom he condemneth for Heretics, yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, fagoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, banging, tormenting, threatning, vexiling, curſing, and oppreſſing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their Wars appear, if we conſider how* Pope Urban *the Fifth, besides the racking and murdering of seven or eight Cardinals, set up* Henry Spencer *Bishop of* Norwich, *to fight against the* French *Pope.* Innocentius *the Fourth was in war himself against the* Apulians. *Likewise* Alexander *the Fourth, his Successor stirred up the Son of King* Henry *the Third to fight against the Son of* Frederick *the Second, Emperor, for* Apulia. Boniface *the Eighth moved* Albertus *(which stood to be Emperor) to drive* Philip *the* French *King out of his Realm.* Gregorius *the Nimth excited* Ludovick *the* French *King three ſundry times to mortal war against the Earl* Raimundus *and City of* Tholouſe, *and* Avinion, *where* Lewes *the ſaid* French *King died.* Honorius *the Third, by ſtrength of War many ways reſiſted* Frederick *the Second, and ſet out thirty ſive* Gallies *against the coaſts of the Emperors Dominions. The ſame Pope alſo beſieged* Ferraria. *To paſs over the War at* Ticinum, *with many other battels and conflicts of Popes againſt the* Romans, Venetians, *and divers other Nations.* Innocentius *the Third ſet up* Philip *the* French *King to War againſt King* John. *What ſtir* Pope Gregorius *the Seventh, otherwiſe named* Hildebrand, *kept againſt the Emperor* Henricus *the Fourth, it is not unknown. And who is able to recite all the Wars, Battels, and Fields fought by the ſtirring up of the Pope? Theſe with many other like examples conſidered, did cauſe this* Walter Brute *to write in this matter ſo as he did, making yet thereof no univerſal propoſition, but that Chriſtian Magiſtrates in caſe of neceſſity might make reſiſtance in defence of publick right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.*

Examples declaring what Wars have been ſtirred up by Popes.

Touching the matter (ſaith he) of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the ſame, I firmly believe whatſoever the Lord Jeſus taught implicitely or expreſly to his Diſciples, and faithful people to be believed. For he is (as I believe and know) the true Bread of God which deſcended from Heaven, and giveth life to the world. Of which Bread whoſoever eateth, ſhall live for ever; as it is in the ſixth of *John* declared. Before the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, although men did live in body, yet in ſpirit they did not live; becauſe all men were then under ſin, whoſe ſouls thereby were dead; from the which death no man by the Law, nor with the Law was juſtified: *For by the works of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified*, Gal. 2. And again in the ſame Epiſtle, *Chap.* 3. *That by the law no man is juſtified before God it is manifeſt: for the juſt man ſhall live by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whoſoever hath the works thereof, ſhall live in them.* And again in the ſame Chapter, *If the law had been given, which might have juſtified, then our righteouſneſs had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under ſin, that the promiſe might be ſure by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our Schoolmaſter in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be juſtified by faith.* Alſo the ſaid *Paul*, Rom. 5. ſaith, *That the law entred in the mean time, whereby that ſin might more abound. Where then ſin hath more abounded, there hath alſo grace ſuperabounded; that like as ſin hath reigned unto death, ſo that grace might alſo reign by righteouſneſs unto eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Whereby it is manifeſt that by the faith which we have in Chriſt, believing him to be the true Son of God which came down

Joh. 6.

Gal. 2.

Juſtification by faith, and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

down from Heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin; and so do live by him which is the true bread and meat of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is
Joh. 6. his flesh given for the life of the world, *Joh.* 6. For he being God, came down from Heaven, and being truly carnal man, did suffer in the flesh for our sins, which in
True eating of Christ is true believing in him. his Divinity he could not suffer. Wherefore like as we believe by our Faith that he is true God: so must we also believe that he is a true man. And then do we eat the bread of Heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is. And thus except we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed; and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ, and Christ in him, *Joh.* 6. And as in this world the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually with this Heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in Heaven, refreshed with the Deity of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principal part thereof, that is to wit, *Intellectum*; forasmuch as this bread of Heaven in that it is God, hath in it self all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same (as well exterior as interior) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanity of Jesus Christ; which is as a Queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a Golden robe of divers colours; for this Queen of Heaven alone by the Word of God is exalted above the company of all the Angels; that by her all our corporal power intellective, may fully be refreshed, as is our spiritual intelligence, with the beholding of the Deity of Jesus Christ, and even as the Angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, preſent in this world, and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us (for eternal bleſſedneſs) the Sacrament of his body and blood in the ſubſtance of Bread
Mat. 26. and Wine; as it appeareth in *Mat.* 26. *As the Disciples sat at Supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body: And he took the Cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this, this is my Blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many for the remission of sin.* And *Luke* in his Goſpel, *Chap.* 22.
Luk. 22. of this matter thus writeth, *And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you, do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the Cup after Supper, saying, This is the Cup of the New Testament in my Blood, which shall be shed for you.* That Chriſt ſaid, this is my body, in ſhewing to them the
This is my body, expounded. bread, I ſtrictly believe, and know that it is true; That Chriſt (forſomuch as he is God) is the very truth it ſelf, and by conſequence all that he ſaith is true. And I believe that the very ſame was his body, in ſuch wiſe as he willed it to be, his body: for in that he is Almighty, he hath done whatſoever pleaſed him: And as in *Cana* of *Galilee*
Note well gentle Reader. he changed the water into wine really, ſo that after the Tranſubſtantiation, it was wine and not water: So when he ſaid, This is my Body, if he would have had the bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his very body, ſo that after this changing it ſhould have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it muſt needs have been ſo. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any ſuch real Tranſubſtantiation or Mutation.

And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection Eſſential being the Son of God, doth exceed the moſt pure Creature, and yet when it pleaſed him he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; ſo that after this aſſuming of our ſubſtance, he was really very God, and very man; even ſo, if he would when he ſaid, This is my body, he could make this to be his body really, the bread ſtill really remaining as it was before. For leſs is the difference of the eſſence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and Humanity, becauſe that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood, natural ſeed; and of natural ſeed the natural ſubſtance of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man, this is an action ſupernatural. Where- {KING Lect. 2.} fore he that could make one man to be very God, and very man, could if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expreſly Bread by ſimilitude. in the Scripture, that he would any ſuch Identitie or conjunction to be made. And as Chriſt ſaid, I am very bread, not changing his eſſence or being into the eſſence or ſub- Bread ſub-ſtantially, and the ſtance of bread, but was the ſaid Chriſt which he was be- Sacra-mentally. fore really, and yet bread by a ſimilitude or figurative ſpeech; ſo if he would, it might be, when he ſaid, This is my body, that this ſhould really have been the bread as it was before, and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this ſeemeth unto me moſt nearly to agree to the meaning of Chriſt, forſomuch as he ſaid, Do this in remembrance of me. Then foraſmuch as in the Supper it is manifeſt that Chriſt gave unto his Diſciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths: in which bread he gave himſelf alſo unto them, as one in whom they ſhould believe (as to be the food of the ſoul) and by that faith they ſhould believe him to be their Saviour which took his body, wherein alſo he would it to be manifeſt, that he would redeem them from death; ſo was the bread eaten with the Diſciples mouths, that he, being the true bread of the ſoul, might be in ſpirit received and eaten ſpiritually by their faith which believed in him.

The bread which in the Diſciples mouths was chewed, The bread which the Lord gave from the mouth paſſed to the ſtomach. For as Chriſt ſaith, *Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and* entereth not into the bodies, but the body yeilds to *from thence into the privy*, Mat. 15. But that true and very bread of the ſoul was eaten of the ſpirit of the Diſciples, and by faith entred their minds, and abode in their intrails through love. And ſo the bread broken, ſeemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but Sacramentally to be the body of Chriſt, as *Paul*, 1 Cor. 10. *The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord?* So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifeſt that the Heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is ſubject to ſuch breaking. Therefore *Paul* calleth the material bread which is broken, the body of Chriſt which was faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not his eſſence, but is bread really, and is the body of Chriſt Sacramentally. Even as Chriſt is the very Vine, abiding really and figuratively the Vine: ſo the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was really the material Temple, and figuratively it was the body of Chriſt; becauſe he ſaid, *Deſtroy you this Temple, and in three days I will repair the ſame again.* And this ſpake he of the Temple of his body; whereas others underſtood it to be the material Temple, as appeared by their anſwer. *For*, ſaid they, *forty ſeven years hath this Temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?*

Even ſo may the conſecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratively the body of Chriſt. And if therefore Chriſt would this bread to be only Sacramentally his body, and would not have the ſame bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his body, and ſo ordained his Prieſts to make this Sacrament as a memorial of his paſſions then do the Prieſts grievouſly offend, which beſeech Chriſt in the holy Maſs, that the bread which lyeth upon the Altar may be made really the body of Chriſt, if he would not have the ſame to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceived themſelves, and alſo do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really Tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, or is only the body of Chriſt Sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marvelloufly deceived. For the people believe that The people greatly deceived in the Sacra-ment. they ſee the body of Chriſt, nay rather Chriſt himſelf between the hands of the Prieſts (for ſo is the common Oath they ſwear) By him whom I ſaw this day between the Prieſts hands. And the people believe that they eat not the body of Chriſt but at *Eaſter*, or elſe when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. But the body of Chriſt (admit the bread be Tranſubſtantiated really into the body) as in the Sacrament *indiviſibiliter*, that is, not able to be divided; and ſo *immenſurabiliter*, that is, not able to be meaſured: *Erge*, *inviſibiliter*, that is not able to be ſeen. To believe therefore that he may be ſeen corporally in the Sacrament is erroneous. And foraſmuch as the body of Chriſt

{KING Lect. 2.} Chriſt is the ſouls food, and not the food of the body in this world; for that whoſoever believeth, doth eat ſpiritually and really, at any time when he ſo believeth, it is manifeſt, that they do greatly erre which believe that they eat not the body of Chriſt, but when they eat with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt.

The Prieſts ſeek their own honour in their multiplications. And although it ſhould be to the great honor of Prieſts, that the Bread really were changed into the Body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the ſacramental words pronounced; yet if Chriſt would not have it to be ſo; then they deſiring to do this contrary to the will of Chriſt, and informing the people that is to be done, ſo contrary to the will of Chriſt, are in great peril, moſt dangerouſly ſeducing both themſelves and the people. And then although that thereby they get a little worldly and tranſitory honour for a ſhort time; it is to be feared left perpetual ſhame, finally ſhall follow and enſue upon the ſame. For Chriſt ſaith; every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, leſt they extolling themſelves for this Sacrament above the company of Angels which never ſinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the ſinful Angels under the Earth.

Mark here ye good Prieſts.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himſelf in what ſtate or degree ſoever he be; neither let him preſume to do that which he is not able to do; neither deſire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

The makers of the Canon Law contrary to themſelves. I greatly marvel at thoſe which were the makers of the Canons, how variably and contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. In the laſt part of the Decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but alſo in the proceſs of the matter, divers do diverſly write, and one contrary to another. For in the Chapter that thus beginneth, *Prima inquit hereſis*, it is thus written, You ſhall not eat this Body which you ſee, nor ſhall drink this Blood which they ſhall ſhed which ſhall crucifie me: I will commend unto you a certain Sacrament ſpiritually underſtood that quickneth you; for the fleſh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the ſame Chapter it is thus written, Till the world ſhall have an end, the Lords place is in Heaven: Yet notwithſtanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the Body wherewith he roſe ought to be in one place, but his verity is in every place diffuſed and ſpread abroad. And in the Chapter following, which thus beginneth; *Omnia quæcunque volnit, &c.* It is written; Although the figure of the Bread and Wine ſeem to be nothing; Yet notwithſtanding they muſt after the words of conſecration be believed, to be none other thing than the very fleſh of Chriſt, and his blood. Whereupon the verity himſelf ſaid unto his Diſciples; This is (ſaith he) my fleſh, which is given for the life of the World: and to ſpeak yet more marvelloufly, this is none other fleſh, than that which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs, and roſe out of the Sepulcher.

De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Prima inquit hereſis. *De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Omnia quæcunque volnit, &c.* Contrariety in the Popes Canons.

So how far this Chapter differeth from the firſt. And in the Chapter which beginneth, *Ego Berengarius, &c.* This is the confeſſion which *Berengarius* himſelf confeſſed touching this Sacrament, and his confeſſion is of the Church allowed: I confeſs (ſaith *Berengarius*) that the Bread and Wine which is laid upon the Altar after the conſecration, is not only a Sacrament, but alſo that it is the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: and the ſame not only ſenſually to be a Sacrament, but alſo verily to be handled with the Prieſts hands and to be broken, and chewed with the Teeth of faithful men. This confeſſion doubtleſs is hereticall: For why? If the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is ſo determined, it is there then *Multiplicative*, and ſo *indiviſibiliter* wherefore not *ſenſualiter*. And if it be there *indiviſibiliter*, that is, in ſuch ſort as it cannot be divided or ſeparated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the Teeth of men chewed.

De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius. The recantation of Berengarius is notorious. The Sacrament left by the Prieſts negligence to be eaten of a Mouſe, returneth again into Chriſts body to Bread.

The Writers of this time and age do affirm, that if by the negligence of the Prieſt, the Sacrament be ſo negligently left, that a Mouſe, or any other Beaſt or Vermine eat the ſame; then they ſay, that the Sacrament returneth again into the nature and ſubſtance of Bread. Whereby they muſt needs confeſs, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the Prieſt, as firſt there was made by the conſecration of the Prieſt in making the Sacrament. For either by the eating of the Mouſe the Body of Chriſt is tranſubſtantiated into the nature of Bread, which is a tranſubſtantiation ſupernatural; or elſe of nothing by creation is this Bread produced; and therefore either of theſe operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now conſidering the diſagreeing opinions of the Doctors, and for the abſurdities which follow, I believe with *Paul*, that the Bread which we break, is the participation of the Body of Chriſt: and as Chriſt ſaith, that the Bread is made the Body of Chriſt for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in ſuch ſort as Chriſt willed the ſame to be his Body, in the ſame manner and ſort do I believe it to be his Body.

Whether external ſigns be a Prieſt be the ſigns of Antichriſt or elſe grounded upon Chriſt.

But whether we men may make the Body of Chriſt, and Miniſter it unto the people: or whether that Prieſts be divided form the Lay people for their knowledge, preeminence, and ſanctity of life, or elſe by external ſigns only: Alſo whether the ſign of tonſure and other external ſigns of Holineſs in Prieſts, be ſigns of Antichriſt and his Characters, or elſe introduced and taught by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; conſequently it remaineth next to ſpeak thereof unto the faithful ſort (according to the proceſs of the holy Scripture) and firſt of the three kinds of the Prieſts. I remember that I have read, the firſt of them to be Aaronical, Legal, and Temporal; The ſecond to be Eternal and regal according to the Order of *Melchiſedech*: The third to be Chriſtian. The firſt of theſe ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt; for that as Saint *Paul* to the *Hebrews* ſaith, The Prieſthood of *Aaron* was tranſlated to the Prieſthood of the Order of *Melchiſedech*. The Legal ſort of Prieſts of *Aaron*, were ſeparated from the reſt of the people by Kindred, Office, and Inheritance. By Kindred, for that the children of *Aaron* only were Prieſts. By Office, for that it only pertained to them to offer Sacrifice for the ſins of the people, and to inſtruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By Inheritance, becauſe the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongſt their Brethren, but thoſe things which were offered unto the Lord, as the Firſt-fruits, parts of the Sacrifices, and Vows; except places for their Manſion-Houſes for them and theirs, as appeareth by the proceſs of *Moſes* law. The Prieſthood of Chriſt did much differ from this Prieſthood, as *Paul* doth witneſs to the *Hebrews*, Chapter, 1, 8, 9, 10.

Three Orders or ſorts of Prieſts. 1. Aaronical. 2. Eternal. 3. Chriſtian.

Leviticall Prieſts divided from the people by kindred Office and Inheritance.

First in kindred, becauſe that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, came of the Stock and Tribe of *Juda*: of which Tribe none had to do with the Altar, and in which Tribe nothing at all was ſpoken of the Prieſts of *Moſes*.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt differeth from the Leviticall Prieſthood, how and wherein. 1. In kindred. 2. In Oath taking.

The ſecond, for that other were made Prieſts without their Oath taken: But he by an Oath, by him which ſaid, The Lord ſwore and it ſhall not repent him, Thou art a Prieſt for ever according to the Order of *Melchiſedech*.

3. In durability.

Thirdly, by durability, for that many of them were made Prieſts but during the term of their lives: But he for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal Prieſthood. Wherefore he is able to ſave us for ever, having by himſelf acceſs unto God, which ever liveth to make interceſſion for us.

4. The matter of Sacrifice.

The Law made alſo ſuch men Prieſts as had infirmities; but *Sermo* (that is the word, which according to the law is the eternal Son and perfect) by an Oath.

5. In place of Sacrificing.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt alſo did differ from the Prieſthood of *Aaron* and the Law in the matter of the Sacrifice, and in the place of Sacrificing. In the matter of their Sacrifices, becauſe they did uſe in their Sacrifices ſtrange bodies, of the matter of their Sacrifices, and did ſhed ſtrange blood for the expiation of ſins: But he offering himſelf unto God his Father for us, ſhed his own Blood for the remiſſion of our ſins. In the place of Sacrificing, becauſe that they did offer their Sacrifice in the Tabernacle or Temple: But Chriſt ſuffering death without the Gates of the City, offered himſelf upon the Altar of the Croſs to God his Father, and there ſhed his precious Blood. In his ſapping Chamber alſo he bleſſed the Bread and conſecrated the ſame for his Body, and the Wine which was in the Cup he alſo conſecrated for his Blood; delivering the ſame

to his Apostles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into the Sanctuary made with mans hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entred into Heaven it self, that he might appear before the Majesty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himself oftentimes, as the chief Priest in the Sanctuary did every year with strange blood (for then should he oftentimes have suffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the World to destroy sin by his peace-offering hath he entred. And even as it is decreed, that man once shall die and then cometh the judgment; so Christ hath been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to them that look for him, to their salvation. For the Law having a shadow of good things to come, can never by the Image it self of things (which every year without ceasing they offer by such Sacrifices) make those perfect that come thereunto; for otherwise that Offering should have ceased: Because that such worshippers, being once cleansed from their sins, should have no more conscience of sin. But in these, commemoration is made every year of sin: For it is impossible that by the blood of Goats and Calves, sins should be purged and taken away. Therefore coming into the World he said; Sacrifice and Oblation thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou given me, peace-offerings for sins have not pleased thee: Then said I, behold I come: In the Volume of the Book it is written of me, that I should do thy will O God: Saying as above; because thou wouldest have no Sacrifices nor burnt Offerings for sin, neither dost thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to stablish that which followeth. In which Will we are sanctified by the oblation of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every Priest is ready daily ministring, and oftentimes offering like Sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one Sacrifice for sin, sitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his Enemies be made his foot-stool. For by his own only oblation, hath he consummated for evermore those that are sanctified. All these places have I recited which *Paul* writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things I mean to speak. By all which it appeareth manifestly, how the Priesthood of Christ differeth from the legal Priesthood of *Aaron*: And by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other Priesthood Christian, that imitateth Christ. For the properties of the Priesthood of Christ, above recited, are found in no other Priest, but in Christ alone. Of the third Priesthood, that is, the Christian Priesthood, Christ by his express words speaketh but little, to make any difference between the Priests and the rest of the people, neither yet doth use this name of *Sacerdos* or *Presbyter*, in the Gospel. But some he calleth Disciples, some Apostles, whom he sent to Baptise and to Preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the Salt of the Earth, in which name wisdom is meant: and he calleth them the light of the World, by which good living is signified. For he saith, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven.* And *Paul* speaking of the Priests to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, seemeth not to me to make any diverfity, betwixt the Priests and the other people, but in that he would have them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth Priesthood is the *Roman* Priesthood, brought in by the Church of *Rome*; which Church maketh a distinction between the Clergy and the Lay-people: and after that the Clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the Decretals.

The Law bringeth none to perfection.

The Priesthood of Christ differeth from all other Priesthoods.

The third Priesthood. The name of *Sacerdos* or Priest not used in the New Testament of Christ.

The fourth Priesthood which is the *Romish* Priesthood.

This distinction of the Clergy from the Laity, with the tonsure of Clerks, began in the time of *Anacletus*, as it doth appear in the *Chronicles*. The degrees of the Clergy were afterward invented and distinguished by their Offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the Priesthood, but by inferior Orders and degrees. But in the Primitive Church it was not so: For immediately after the conversion of some of them to Faith and Baptism received; they were made Priests and Bishops; as appeareth by *Ananias*, whom *Marcus* made of a Taylor or Shoomaker to be a Bishop. And of many other it was in like case done, according to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome*. Priests are ordained to offer Sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctifie. The oblation of the Priesthood only to Priests (as they say) is congruent: whose duties are upon the Altar to offer for the sins of the people of the Lords Body, which is consecrated of Bread. Of which saying I have great marvel, considering *S. Paul* his words to the *Hebrews* before recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one Oblation for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one Oblation hath consummated for evermore, those that are sanctified: If Christ evermore sitteth at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us: what need he to leave here any Sacrifice for our sins of the Priests to be dayly offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his Apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a Sacrifice for sin: but only as a Sacrament and Commemoration of the Sacrifice passed, which Christ offered upon the Altar of the Cross for our sins. For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now every day really offered as a Sacrifice upon the Altar by the Priests; for then the Priests should really Crucifie him upon the Altar, which is a thing of no Christian to be believed. But even as in his Supper his Body and his Blood he delivered to his Disciples, in memorial of his Body that should be Crucified on the morrow for our sins: So after this ascension, did his Apostles use the same (when they brake Bread in every House) for a Sacrament, and not for a Sacrifice, of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so entirely loved us, that willingly he suffered the death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And this did they offer themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saving health of his Brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Christ, which said unto them; A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you. But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ; then Priests did use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a Sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves a Sacrifice by death unto God through the confession of his name, and saving health of their Brethren: some other worshipped Idols, fearing death; as did also the chief Bishop of *Rome*, and many other more in divers places of the World. And thus came to pass, that that which was ordained and constituted for a memorial of the one and only Sacrifice, was altered (for want of love) into the reality of the Sacrifice it self.

{KING Hist. 2.} The Office of Priests after the Popes order.

The body of Christ not left to be a Sacrifice for sin, but only for a Sacrament.

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequently upon the same, an other brief tractation of Women and Lay-men; whether in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prayer, and Administration of Sacraments belonging to Priests, where he declareth the use received in the Popes Church for Women to Baptise, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sins; wherefore seeing that Women have power by the Pope to remit sin, and to Baptise, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lords Supper, in like case of necessity? Wherein also he maketh relation of Pope Joan the Eighth, a woman Pope, moving certain Questions of her. All which for brevity I pretermit, proceeding to the Ministration of prayer, and blessing of Sanctification, appropriate to the Office of Priests, as followeth.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto Priests seem to be ordained (to omit here the question whether Women may pray in Churches, in lack of other meet persons) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his Disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the Common-Prayer both to men and women, to the which Prayer in my Estimation no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close Chamber,

The Order and Office of prayer. The Lords Prayer.

Mat. 6.

{KING Hist. 2.} Chamber, and there in secrecy he willeth us to pray unto his Father. And saith moreover, when ye pray, use not much babling, or many words, as do the Heathen. For they think in their long and prolix praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which Doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the Heathen Gentiles; from whom proceed these superstitious manner of Arts (or rather of ignorances) as Necromancy, the Art of Divination, and other spices of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned: For these Necromancers believe one place to be of greater vertue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as *Balaam* being hired to Curse the people of God by his Art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he in the end was deceived of his desire. For he, intending first to Curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his Curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like fort the Necromancers turn their face to the *East*, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the Necromancers believe that the vertue of the words of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, sorcerers; inchanters, soothsayers and such like. Out of the same Art (I fear) proceedeth the practice of exorciling, whereby Divels and Spirits be conjured to do that, whereunto they are inforced by the exorcist. Also whereby other Creatures likewise are exorcised or conjured, so that by the vertue of their exorcism they may have their power and strength exceeding all natural operation.

The Art of Necromancy, Soothsaying and Witchcrafts, how and from whom they came.

Against exorcesting of Priests.

In the Church of *Rome* many such exorcisms and conjurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exorcisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them, which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy Water being, of them exorcised or conjured, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they injoyn and command, that wheresoever that Water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean Spirit should avoid, and not that no pestilence Spirit there should abide, &c. But mark plain it is, that no Water, be it never so Holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an universal remedy to expel all diseases.

Conjuring or hallowing begin the Popish Church.

Holy water conjured.

Exorcisms.

This I would ask of these Exorcists; whether in their commanding, they do conjure or adjure the things conjured to be of an higher vertue and operation, than their own nature doth give: Or else whether they in their prayers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commanding do so believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they which are so Authorised to the Office of exorcising, say to the Devil being conjured, Go, *and he goeth not*; *and to another, come, and he cometh not*; and many things else they command the inferior spirit their subject to do, and he hath not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the Water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean Spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature, and pestilence of the Air (being an unreasonable petition asked, and fore displeasing to God) it is to be feared left their Benediction, their hallowing and blessing is changed into Cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now, O you Priests, I have a message to say unto you; If you will not hear and bear well away in your minds, to give the glory unto my name, saith the Lord God of Hosts, I will send scarcity among you, and I will curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the Church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of S. *James*, they ask and are not heard, because they ask not as they should, that they in their own desires may perish. Let a man behold, the blessing or hallowing of their Fire, Water, Incense, Wax, Bread, Wine,

How the memorial of the Sacrifice came to the reality of the Sacrifice it self.

The shadowly and abominable Idolatries in the Popish exorcisms detected.

Where was the Popes holy Water then in the great pestilence in the time of King Edward the Third.

Jam. 4.

Wine, the Church, the Altar, the Churchyard, Ashes, Bells, Copes, Palmes, Oil, Candles, Salt, the hallowing of the Ring, the Bed, the Staffe, and of many such like things; and I believe that a man shall find out many errors of the heathen Magicians, Witches, Soothsayers and Charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old Magicians in their Books command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live devoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the Spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations) yet the *Roman* conjurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy Words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the conjurers: How cometh it to pass that they say, the things confecrated of a Cursed and vicious Javel should have so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced of a Priest never so holy? But I marvel that they say so, reading this saying in the *Acts of the Apostles*: because the Charmers pronouncing the name of Jesus (that is above all names) would have healed those that were possessed with Devils, and said; *In the name of Jesus, whom* Paul *preacheth, go ye out of the men.* And the possessed with Devils answered, *Jesus we know, and* Paul *we know, but what are ye?* And they all to be beat the Conjurers.

Romish conjurers.

The good life of a Priest, a great mistress to deal in Gods matters.

And now considering this and many such like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious Priests do sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their Masses and Trentals of Masses) than those that be devout Lay-men, and holy Women: which with all their heart desire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. Forasmuch as God in divers places of the Scripture doth promise that he will not hear sinners and wicked persons. Neither should he seem to be just, if he should sooner hear the prayers of his Enemies, than of his faithful Friend. How I pray you shall a sinful Priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself by his prayer from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the Mass of a vicious Priest, that for his Mass, his prayer or Oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but for that that Christ once offered himself for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always shewing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every Priest always maketh mention in his Mass of this Oblation. Neither do we this that we might bring the same Oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he always in his presence seeth the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purifie us from all our sins. What, doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a Priest, which more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a Priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy Vestiments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh? And whereas Christ and his Apostles do command the Preaching of the Word of God; the Priests be now more bound to celebrate the Mass, and more straitly bound to say the Canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the Commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to beflow the Sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spiritual fornication. How therefore are Priests bound at the commandment of man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the Mass, or singing of Matines? Therefore, as it seemeth, Priests ought not at the commandment of any man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, unto the which they are bound both by Divine and Apostolical precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of *Hierome* upon the Decretals, saying in this wise; Let none of the Bishops swell with the envy of divelish tentation; let none be angry, if the Priest do sometimes exhort the people, if they Preach in the Church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, that he is unwilling that Priests should do those things which he commanded of God. What thing is there above Christ? Or what may be preferred before his Body and his Blood, &c.

The Prayers of a vicious Priest little availeth before God.

Remembrance of Christs passion needeth not to God, but to Man.

Priests more bound to say Mass commanded by Man, than to Preaching commanded of God. Spiritual fornication.

Hieronimus.

Do Priests therefore sin or not, which bargain for Money to pray for the Soul of any dead Man? It is well known

Whether Priests may bargain to, sing for Souls departed.

that Jesus did whip those that were Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, saying; *My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves:* Truly he cast not out such Merchants from out of the Church, but because of their sins. Whereupon *Hierome* upon this Text saith; Let the Priests be diligent and take good heed in this Church, that they turn not the House of God into a Den of Thieves. He doubtless is a Thief which seeketh gain by Religion, and by a shew of Holiness studieth to find occasion of Merchandise. Hereupon, the holy Canons do make accursed Simoniacal Heresie, and do command that those should be deprived of the Priesthood, which or the passing or marvelous spiritual grace do seek gain or Money. *Peter* the Apostle said to *Simon Magus*, Let thy Money and thou go both to the Devil, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for Money. Therefore the spiritual gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Hieronimus.

Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the Preaching of the Word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the Administration of other the Sacraments. Christ, sending forth his Disciples to Preach, said unto them; *Heal ye the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead, freely ye have received, freely give ye again.* If the Priests have power by his prayers to deliver souls being in Purgatory form grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How therefore can he sell his Act, unless he resist the Commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the Commandment of God. How plainly spake Christ to the Pharisees and Priests, saying; Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widows by making long prayers, and therefore have you received greater damnation. Wherein I pray you do our Pharisees and Priests differ from them? Do not our Priests devour Widows houses and possessions, that by their long prayers they might deliver the souls of their Husbands from the grievous pains of Purgatory? How many Lordships I pray you have been bestowed upon the Religious Men and Women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliver those dead men from the pain (as they said) that they suffer in Purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking of Holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from pain, unless they have good works; how shall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, which whilest they lived here, gave over themselves to sin? Yea, peradventure those Lordships or Lands, which they gave unto the Priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might from other faithful men, unjustly, and violently: And the Canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: How then shall they be able (which do unjustly possess such Lordships or Lands) to deliver them by their prayers from pain, which have given to them these Lordships or Lands, seeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt Sacrifices? Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: But he which doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven. And again, Not the hearers of the Law, but the doers of the Law shall be justified.

Selling of prayer abominable.

Religious men and women devourers of widows houses. Praying for souls in Purgatory. Evil gotten Lands, as evil bestowed, for praying for souls in Purgatory.

If therefore the words of him that prayeth do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man, than for himself? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be divered from pain; when as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious Prelates, than for the prayers of devout Women and devout Men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiousness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisee and the Publican go up into the Temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisees prayer for his pride and arrogancy is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousness of his prayer doth help the Pharisee: Because the Publican not thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes unto Heaven, for the multitude of his sins (saying, O God, be merciful unto me a sinner) is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Pharisee boasting in his righteousness is despised, because God thrusteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich Glutton also that was clothed with Purple and Silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto *Abraham*, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of Hell fire. But *Lazarus*, who lay begging at his Gate, (being full of Sores) is placed in the Bosom of *Abraham*. Behold that neither the riches of his Apparel, nor the deliciousness of his Banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his Estate, neither the abundance of his Riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich Glutton, nor yet diminish his Torments, because that mighty men in their mightiness shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man by composition demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can by his prayer deliver his Brother from grievous pain, he is bound by Charity to relieve his Brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto: But if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in Charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himself by prayer, that he may come into Charity, and then he shall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he standeth in doubt whether he shall be able to deliver his Brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargain, and taketh his Money, and yet knoweth not whether he shall relieve him ever a whit the more, or not, from his pain? I fear left the Words of the Prophet are fulfilled, saying; From the least to the most all men apply themselves to covetousness, and from the Prophet to the Priest all work deceitfully. For the poor Priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and selling of their prayers, saying; The young Cock learneth to Crow of the old Cock. For, saith he, thou mayst see that the Pope himself, in stalling of Bishops and Abbats, taketh the First-fruits: In the placing or bestowing of Benefices he always taketh somewhat, and specially if the Benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or bulls, and to speak more plain, he taketh Money for them. Bishops in giving Orders, in hallowing Churches and Church-yards, do take Money: In Ecclesiastical correction they take Money for the mitigation of penance: In the grievous offences of convict persons Money is required, and caused to be payed. Abbots, Monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual Suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates and Vicars having sufficient livings by the Tithes of their Parishioners, yet in Dirges and years minds, in hearing confessions, in Weddings and Buryings, do require and have Money. The Friers also of the four Orders of beggers, which think themselves to be the most perfect men of the Church, do take Money for their prayers, confessions, and buryings of the dead: and when they Preach, they believe that they shall have either Money or some other thing worthy Money. Wherefore then be the poor Priests blamed? ought not they to be held excused, although they take Money for their prayers by composition? Truly (me thinketh) that this excuse by other mens sins doth not excuse them, forasmuch as to heap one mischief upon anothers head, is no sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual Suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruine of the great City, and the fall of *Babylon*, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the Prophet say; *And the Merchants of the Earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their Merchandise, that is, their Merchandise of Gold and Silver, and of precious Stone, and of Pearl, and of Silk and purple?* And again, he saith; *And the Merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that City Babylon, that great City, which was wont to wear purple, white silk, crimson, gold, pearl, and precious Stone, because that in one hour all those riches are come to nought.* And again; *And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and saying; Alas! Alas! that great and*

Buying and selling of prayers in the Popes Church. Buying and selling of pardons. Person, place, apparel, curiosity or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

Prayer that doth more for Mony than for charity, disproved.

Selling of pardons. Selling of Orders. Selling of Church hallowings. Selling of diffidations. Selling of fraternity. Selling of dirges, year minds, confessions. weddings, buryings. Selling of sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

{KING Hist. 2.} *and mighty City* Babylon, *by whom all such as had Ships upon the Sea, were made rich by rewards; because that in one hour she is become desolate.*

This *Babylon*, this great City, is the City of *Rome*, as it appeareth by the process of the Apostle. Because the Angel which shewed unto Saint *John* the destruction of the mighty Harlot sitting upon many Waters, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and all they which dwell upon the Earth, are made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom, said unto him; And the Woman which thou sawest, is the great City which hath Dominion above Kings, &c. And indeed in the days of Saint *John* the whole World was subject to the temporal Empire of the City of *Rome*, and afterwards it was subject to the spiritual Empire or Dominion of the same. But touching the temporal Government of the City of *Rome* it is fallen already: and so that other also, for the multitude of her spiritual Fornication, shall fall. The Emperors of this City gave themselves to Idolatry, and would have that men should honour them as Gods, and put all those to death that refused such Idolatry, and by the cruelty of their Torments all Infidels gat the upper hand.

The City of Rome, Babylon. Apo. 18.

The temporal Dominion of the City of Rome.

The Spiritual Dominion of the City of Rome.

Hereupon by the Image of *Nabuchadonozor*, the Empire of the *Romans* is likened to Iron, which beateth together, and hath the Mastery of all Metals. And in the vision of *Daniel*, wherein he saw the four Winds of Heaven to fight in the main Sea; and four very great Beasts coming out of the Sea; the Kingdom of the *Romans* is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous Beast, the which had great iron Teeth; eating and destroying, and treading the rest under his Feet: And this Beast had Ten Horns, and as *Daniel* saith, he shall speak words against the most high, and shall rear with his Teeth the Saints of the most high: and he shall think that he may be able to change times and laws, and they shall be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the *Apocalyps*, Saint *John saw a Beast coming out of the Sea, having seven Heads and ten Horns, and power was given to him to make Months* 42. So long time endured the Empire of the *Romans* that is to say, from the beginning of *Julius Cesar*, which was the first Emperor of the *Romans*, unto the end of *Fredericus*, which was the last Emperor of the *Romans*. Under this Empire Christ suffered, and other Martyrs also suffered for his names sake. And here is fallen *Rome* as *Babylon* (which is all one) according to the manner of speaking in the *Apocalyps*, as touching the Temporal and Corporal power of governing. And thus shall the fall also touching the spiritual power of governing, for the multitude of Iniquities and spiritual Fornication, and Merchandise that are committed by her in the Church.

The fourth Beast in the Prophecy of Daniel signifieth Rome.

The Beast with 7. heads in the Apo. signifieth Rome.

The feet of the Image in the dream of Nabuchadonozor signifieth Rome.

The feet of the Image which *Nabuchadonozor* saw, did betoken the Empire of *Rome*, and part of them were of Iron, and part of Clay and Earth. The part that was of Iron fell, and the power thereof vanquished away, because the power thereof, was at an end after certain Months. That part of Clay and Earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the Testimony of the Prophets: Whereupon Saint *John* in the *Apocalyps*; After that, he saw the part made of Iron rising out of the Sea, to which each people, Tribe, and Tongue submitted themselves. And he saw another Beast coming out of the Earth, which had two Horns like to the Horns of a Lamb, and he spake like a Dragon, and he vanquished the first Beast in his sight.

The Beast with two Horns like the Lamb, signifieth the spiritual Dominion of Rome.

This Beast as seemeth me, doth betoken the Clay and Earthen part of the feet of the Image, because he came out of the Earth. For that by tertene help he is made the High and chief Priest of the *Romans* in the Church of Christ, and so from below he ascended, on high. But Christ from Heaven descended, because he which was God, and Author of every Creature, became man; and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the shape of a Servant. And although that in the Heavens the company of Angels Ministred unto him, he himself Ministred or served in Earth, that he might teach us Humility, by which a man ascendeth into Heaven, even as by pride a man goeth down into the bottomless Pit. This Beast hath two Horns most like a Lamb, because that he challengeth to himself both the Priestly and Kingly power above all other here in Earth. The Lamb, that is, Christ, is a King for ever upon the Kingly Seat of *David*, and he is a Priest for ever after the Order of *Melchisedech*; but his Kingdom is not of this World: but the Kingdom of this Beast is of this World. Because those that be under him fight for him. And as Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, because that *Christus* is as much to say as *Unctus*; he verily was anointed King, and anointed Priest: So this Beast saith, that he is chief King and Priest. Wherefore doth he call himself Christ? Because that Christ, knowing that afore, said; *Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many.* And thus because that he is both King and Priest, he challengeth to himself the double Sword, that is, the corporal Sword and the spiritual Sword. The corporal Sword is in his right Hand, and his spiritual Sword is in his right Eye, by the Testimony of *Zachery*. But he speaketh subtilly like a Dragon, because that by the Testimony of Christ he shall deceive many, as the *Apocalyps* witnesseth. He did great wonders that also he might make more fire to come from Heaven into the Earth in the sight of men, that he might deceive those that dwell upon the Earth, because of the wonders, that are permitted him to do in the sight of the Beast, and he overcame the first Beast which ascended out of the Sea. For that Beast challenged unto himself Authority of Government of the whole World. He hath put to death and Tormented those that resist his Commandments, and would be honoured as a God upon the Earth. The Bishop of *Rome* saith that the whole World ought to be in subjection unto him; those that be disobedient unto his Commandments he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the Devils Dungeon. But he that hath no power over the body, much less hath he power over the soul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any Priest under him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, so that the person of him that is excommunicate be not first excommunicate of God through sin.

Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, as King and Priest.

The double Sword of the Pope.

And thus it seemeth a Troth unto me, that God thus turns their Blessings into Curses, because they give not due Glory unto his name. So when that they unjustly Excommunicate and Curse, he turneth their Cursings into Blessings. Also the Bishop of *Rome* doth make men to worship him as God, because that the special Sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping of his Commandments. But now the Popes Commandments be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very Deed: but the Commandments of Christ are contemned and rejected. Thus sitteth the Bishop of *Rome* in the Temple of God, shewing himself as God, and extolleth himself above all that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shall be revealed, because that every Kingdom divided in it self shall be made desolate. He teaching a truth is the Head of the Church; but the Prophet teaching a lie is the Tail of the Dragon. He seducing the World shall be acknowledged to be the verity of the Doctrine of Christ; but after he is known, he shall be rejected and nought esteemed. He giveth to small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, Marks in their right Hands, and in their Foreheads; that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall have the Marks of the name of the Beast, or that look to have of him some recompence shall, mean, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is 300. The Pope saith, that in the Administration of every Sacrament he doth Imprint a certain Character or Mark into the soul of him that receiveth it. In Baptism he saith that he doth Imprint, into the soul of him that is Baptised, a Mark that cannot be wiped out, and so likewise in other Sacraments. And I know that in a Sacrament are two things, that is, the Sacramental Sign, and spiritual grace represented by the same Sign: the Sacramental Sign is given to Man of Man, but the spiritual grace is given of Christ.

The Bishop of Rome seeketh to be worshipped as God. The Commandments of the Pope more regarded than Christs.

In every Sacrament two things contained.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty Priest doth Baptise any Man, if he that is Baptised or his Parents (if he be a Child) do ask with lawful meaning Baptism, and do mean faithfully hereafter to observe the words of Baptism; he is as well Baptized, as if he were Baptized of never so vertuous a Priest. So also the sinner which with all his heart is sorry for his Sins, and doth ask faithfully mercy of God, is as well absolved of a vicious Priest, as of a vertuous. Because the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World, wipeth away inwardly our sins

by his Grace; because that he is the Bishop and Pastor of our Souls. All other Priests do outwardly work absolution, which know not for a certainty whether they have abtclved or not. So also is it in the other, because that the grace of the Sacrament is given of God, and the Sacramental sign, of man. In giving of Orders the chief Bishop doth imprint the corporal marks; but of the spiritual marks I know none; unless a man will say, that by receiving the Order he hath some belief that he may work some things pertaining to that Order, the which before the receiving of the Order he could not. But this one thing is certain, that none in the Church ought to sell spiritual Merchandize (of which things we have spoken before) unless he have the mark of the Beast. My counsel is, let the buyer beware of those marks; because that after the fall of *Babylon*, *If any man hath worshipped the Beast and her Image, and hath received the mark upon his Forehead, and upon his Hand, he shall drink of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the Cup of his anger, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy Angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall evermore ascend, although he look for a recompence, small, mean, great, of the Beast, or else the number of his Name.* The Beast doubtless doth recompence his Friends with his small reward; that is, with great Gifts and Benefices corporal; with a mean reward, that is, with great spiritual Gifts, in authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exerciling other spiritual Works; and with his greatest reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honoured in Earth among the Saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of some men, is, *Dux Cleri*, the Captain of the Clergy, because by that name he is named, and maketh his name known, and that name is 666.

Covetous Emperors.

The rewards of the Beast.

The number the name of the Beast. *Dux Cleri.*

This is my opinion of the Beast ascending out of the Earth, and shall be, until such time as I shall be of the same Beast better instructed. And although that this Beast doth signifie the *Roman* Bishops; yet the other cruel Beast ascending out of the Sea, doth signifie the *Roman* Emperors. And although that the *Dragon* being a cruel Beast, and the false Prophet giving the mark, must be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for ever; I would have no man to judge, but I leave such things altogether to the final Judgment of Christ to be determined. But *Martin* the Popes Confessor, which maketh the Chronicle of the Emperors and Popes, reciteth many Errors of the Popes, more horrible and abominable than of the Emperors. For he speaketh of the Idolatrous Popes, heretical, simoniacal, and Popes that were Murderers, that used Necromancy and Witchcraft, that were Fornicators, and defiled with all kind of Vice. But I have partly declared how that the Popes Law is contrary to Christs Law, and how that he saith, *That he is the chief Vicar of Christ in Earth*; and in his deeds is contrary to Christ, and doth forsake both his Doctrine and Life. I cannot see who else may be so well *Antichrist*, and a Seducer of the people. For there is not a greater Pestilence than a familiar enemy.

Mention pœnitentiæ. More wicked Popes than Emperors.

Matters of Idolatry.

As concerning Idols, and the worshipping of them, I think of them, as *Moses*, *Solomon*, *Isaias*, *Jeremy*, and the reſt of the Prophets did, which all ſpake againſt the making of Images, as alſo the worſhipping of Images. And faithful *David*, full of the Spirit of God, ſaith, *Let all thoſe be confounded that worſhip Images, and that rejoyce in Idols.* And again he ſaith, *Let them be made like unto them that make them, and all ſuch as put their truſt in them.* Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the Curſe of God pronounced by *David* the Prophet. Nor will I be, by Gods Grace, either a maker, or elſe a worſhipper of Images.

Images. Oaths, how far they are tolerable.

As concerning Oaths, I believe and obey the Doctrine of the Almighty God, and my Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, which teacheth, That Chriſtian-men in affirmation of a truth ſhould paſs the righteouſneſs of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* of the *Old Teſtament*, or elſe he excludeth them from the Kingdom of Heaven. For he ſaith, *Unleſs your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* And as concerning Oaths he ſaith, *It hath been ſaid to them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf, but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thoſe things which thou knoweſt.* {KING Eliz. 2.} *But I ſay unto you, Thou ſhalt not ſwear at all, neither by the Heaven, nor yet by the Earth, &c. But let your Communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatſoever ſhall be more than this, proceedeth of evil.* Therefore as the perfection of the ancient men of the *Old Teſtament* was, not to forſwear themſelves; ſo the perfection of Chriſtian men is, not to ſwear at all, becauſe they are ſo commanded of Chriſt, whoſe Commandment muſt in no caſe be broken, although that the City of *Rome* is contrary to this Doctrine of Chriſt, even as in many things ſhe is found contrary to her ſelf.

Whether Temporal goods may be taken away from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons offending.

As touching the taking away of Temporal goods, from thoſe that are Eccleſiaſtical Perſons offending *habitualiter*, by ſuch as are Temporal Lords, I will not affirm any thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to Charity: And that becauſe it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of Charity; becauſe peradventure he that taketh away is the more moved to ſuch manner of taking away, by reaſon of the deſire he hath to thoſe goods, which he endeavoureth to take away: or elſe, becauſe of ſome diſpleaſure or hatred to the perſon, from whom he goeth about to take away thoſe goods, more than that he, from whom thoſe goods be taken, ſhould be amended. Therefore unleſs he that taketh away be only moved of Charity to the taking away of ſuch goods, I dare not affirm that ſuch taking is lawful. And if ſuch taking away proceed of Charity, I dare not judge it unlawful: becauſe that the Biſhop of *Rome* which received his Temporal Dominion of the Emperor, when the Emperor rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his Temporal Juriſdictions: How much more then may Temporal Lords do the ſame, which have beſtowed upon them many Temporal Dominions and Lordſhips, only to the intent that they might the better intend to ſerve God, and keep his Commandments? Now if they perceive that they be againſt the Laws of God, and that they be over-buſily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot ſee but that they may well enough take from them thoſe Temporal Goods, which is to a good purpoſe they gave them. But if, in time to come after this, thoſe that be Temporal Lords ſhall take from Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſuch Temporalties: let him that deſireth to underſtand this, read the Prophet *Ezekiel*, in the Chapter of the Shepherds of *Iſrael*, which fed themſelves inſtead of their flock; and alſo let him read the *Apocalyps* of the fall of *Babylon*: Let him alſo read the Popes Decretals againſt Hereticks; and in thoſe he ſhall find, that the taking away of the Temporalties from the Clergy, ſhall come to paſs for the multitude of their ſins.

Popes take from Emperors, their Benefices, Temporal Dominion, when they offended: much more may Emperors take from Popes Temporal Dominion when they offend.

A Prophetic of Walter Brute, that Temporal goods ſhall be taken away from the Clergy for the multitude of their ſin

Thus reverend Father have I made mine Anſwer to the matter whereof I am accuſed: beſeeching you that as I have been obedient to your deſire, and that even as a Son, declaring unto you the ſecrets of my heart in plain words (although rudely) ſo I may know your opinion, and crave your fatherly Benevolence, that now your labour may be for my inſtruction and amendment, and not to accuſation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I have promiſed you, if any man of what ſtate, ſect, or condition ſoever he be, can ſhew me any error in any of my writings by the Authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reaſon grounded on the Scriptures; I will receive his Information willingly and humbly.

Walter Brute again commanded to appear.

After that all the foreſaid things were exhibited and given by the foreſaid *Walter Brute*, unto the foreſaid Biſhop of *Hereford*; he further appointed to the ſame *Walter*, the third day of the month of *October*, at *Hereford*, with the continuance of the days following to hear his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being *Friday*, in the year of our Lord God, 1393. the ſaid *Walter Brute* appeared before him, ſitting in Commiſſion in the Cathedral-Church of *Hereford*, at ſix a Clock, or thereabout; having for his Aſſiſtants in the ſame place, divers Prelates and Abbots, and twenty Bachelors of Divinity, whereof twelve were Monks, and two Doctors of the Law. Amongſt theſe was *Nicholas Hereford* accompanied with many other Prelates and worſhipful Men, and wiſe Graduates in ſundry faculties. Now was the foreſaid *Walter* appoſed of his Writings aforeſaid, and the Contents therein. Earneſt were they in picking out of thoſe Writings, his Hereſies,

Biſhops and Abbots, with twenty Bachelors of Divinity, ten Monks, two Doctors of Law ſitting upon *Walter Brute*. *Nicholas Hereford* there alſo preſent.

{KING Eliz. 2.} ſies, and in ſhewing his Schiſms, ſundry Errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day, and the two days following (that is, *Friday*, *Saturday*, and *Sunday*) in their Informations and Examinations againſt the ſame *Walter Brute*; the ſame *Walter Brute* ſubmitted himſelf to the determination of the Church, and to the correction of the ſaid *John Biſhop*, as it appeareth word for word in a Scroul written in the *Engliſh*-Tongue: The tenour of which Scroul, is as followeth:

The writings of Walter Brute examined.

The tenour of the Submiſſion of Walter Brute

I Walter Brute *ſubmit my ſelf principally to the Evangely of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the determination of holy Kirk, and to the general Councils of holy Kirk. And to the Sentence and determination of the four Doctors of holy Writ; that is*, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Jerome, *and* Gregory. *And I meekly ſubmit me to your correction, as of ſubject ought to his Biſhop.*

The ſubmiſſion of Walter Brute openly read at Hereford.

Which Scroul, as before is recited, in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, the foreſaid *Walter Brute*, read with a loud and intelligible Voice, at the Croſs in the Church-yard on *Monday* (that is to ſay, the ſixth of the ſaid month of *October*, before the Sermon made unto the people in preſence of the ſaid Biſhop of *Hereford* and other above written, as alſo other Barons, Knights, and Noblemen, and Clergy, and alſo a great multitude of people. After which reading of the Scroul, the foreſaid *Thomas Crawley*, Bachelor of Divinity, made a Sermon unto the people, and took for his Theme the words of the Apoſtle to the *Romans*, the eleventh Chapter, that is as followeth; *Be not over-wiſe in your own conceits, but ſtand in fear, &c.*

¶ Out of theſe Declarations and Writings of *Walter Brute*, the Biſhop with the Monks and Doctors above rehearſed, did gather and draw certain Articles, to the number of *ſeven*, which they ſent to the University of *Cambridge* to be confuted, unto two learned men, Maſter *Colwill* and Maſter *Newton*, Bachelors of Divinity. Which Maſter *Colwill* and *Newton* did both labour in the matter, to the uttermoſt of their cunning, in replying and anſwering to the ſaid 37 Articles.

Beſides them alſo, *William Woodford* a Frier (who wrote likewiſe againſt the Articles of *Wickliff*) labouring, in the ſame Cauſe made a ſolemn and a long tractation, compiling the Articles of the ſaid *Brute*, to the number of nine and twenty. All which Treatiſes as I with to come to the Readers hand, that the ſlendemeſs of them might be known; ſo it may happen percaſe, that the ſame being in my hand may hereafter be further publiſhed, with other like tractations more, as convenient time for the prolixity thereof may hereafter better ſerve than now.

What after this became to this *Walter Brute*, or what end he had, I find it not regiſtred: but like it is, that he for this time eſcaped. Certain other writings I find moreover, which albeit they bear no name of this *Walter*, nor of any certain Author; yet becauſe they are in the ſame Regiſter adjoyned to the Hiſtory of him, I thought therefore moſt fit here to be inſerted. Of the which one was a Letter ſent to *Nicholas Hereford* a little above ſpecified: who being at the firſt a great Follower of *John Wickliff*, as appeareth before, *page* 500. was now in the number of them which fate upon this *Walter*, as is in the Column above recorded. The Copy of this Letter bearing no name of any ſpecial Author, but only as ſent by a certain *Lollard* (as the Regiſter doth term him) is written in manner and form as followeth.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter ſent to Maſter *Nicholas Hereford*, by a *Lollard*, as in the Regiſter it is ſaid.

A Letter ſent to Nicholas Hereford.

FOraſmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the Plough and looketh back is meet for the Kingdom of GOD, *as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith: What marvel is it, although Maſter* Nicholas Hereford, *which at the firſt (by the Viſitation of the Spirit of God peradventure) put his hand; that is, gave his diligence unto the Plough; that is, to the ſturing of the Word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now ſo blind and unſkilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is underſtood by the Kingdom of Heaven? Truly it is no marvel, O thou that art Maſter of the* Nicholaitans, *which*, like Nicholas *the moſt falſe Deacon, haſt left or forſaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theological verity is ſhut up as well from thee as from all the other* Nicholaitans *following thy conditions, foraſmuch as thou goeſt not in by the door to expound the ſame Evangelical verity. Therefore when thou diddſt receive thus other degy, firſt, the Phariſaical and hypocritical Woe (nothing at all to any purpoſe) thou ſhouldſt have ſaid juſtly in this ſort, both of thy ſelf, and other thy Followers and religious* Antichrits: Woe be unto us *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven; *that is to ſay, the true Knowledge of the holy Scriptures, before men by our falſe Gloſſes and crooked Similitudes: and neither we our ſelves enter into the ſame Kingdom or Knowledge, nor ſuffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it ſeemeth unto the faithful ſort, that wrongfully, falſly, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that Text of* Gregory, 1. q. 1. *that is to ſay,* Quicunque ſtude, &c. *For this is the true underſtanding of the ſame: Knowing firſt that there be ſome Prieſts after the living, and name only; and doth ſhew that this is true, that whoſoever ſtealeth to receive the holy Order by giving of money, he is not a Prieſt*, Secundum nomen, &c nomine. *But to ſay the truth, he deſireth to be called a Prieſt; that is, to be a Prieſt* Secundum nomen tantum. *And ſuch a Prieſt, which is a Prieſt in name only, is no Prieſt. No more than Saint* Mary *painted is Saint* Mary: *Nor a falſe Doctor a Doctor, but no Doctor: And a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus ſuch a Prieſt in name only is not a Prieſt: Becauſe that all faithful men do firmly believe with Saint* GREGORY, *that no man buying the holy Orders, may then be called a Prieſt, as he ſaith,* 1. q. 1. *They that buy or ſell holy Orders can be no Prieſts. Wherepon is written*, Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi; *that is, Simoniacal Hereſie. And it followeth, How therefore, if they be accurſed and not bleſſed, can they make others bleſſed? And when that they be not in the body of Chriſt, how can they either receive or deliver the Body of CHRIST? He that is accurſed, how can he bleſs? as though he would ſay, It is impoſſible. As Pope* Urbanus *ſaith,* 1. q. 1. Siquis a Simoniacis, &c. *Where he ſaith thus,* They that willingly know and ſuffer themſelves to be conſecrated, may rather execrated, of thoſe that are infected with Simony; we judge that their Conſecration is altogether void. *Alſo* Pope Leo *in* 2. q. 1. *ſaith in this wiſe*, Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not Grace. *Spiritual Uſurers do not receive freely: Therefore, they receive not the ſpiritual Grace, which ſpecially worketh in the Eccleſiaſtical Orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by that it is more clear than the light, that they which know ſo much, and receive Orders by ſpiritual Uſury of Simony, are neither Prieſts nor Deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if ſuch character or mark were otherwiſe given in giving Orders, it were requiſite always that there ſhould be a certain Grace imprinted in the man; but there is no ſuch Grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifeſt. Therefore there is no character to be feined. Therefore ſuch character or mark abideth not in him, foraſmuch as he never had nor hath the ſame. And yet furthermore in the ſame place, What then do the ſimoniacal Prelates give? And he maketh anſwer, That even that which they have, as the ſpirit of Lying. How prove we this? Becauſe that if it be the ſpirit of verity, as the ſame verity doth teſtifie from whom it cometh, it is freely received. And it followeth for the whole purpoſe no doubt; it is convicted to be the ſpirit of lying, which is not freely received.*

Nicolaitans.

1. q. 1. cæpiſti.

Ex Leone Papa. 2. q. 1.

Brother in nature: In manners an Brother.

By this it appeareth manifeſtly to the faithful ſort, that thoſe which wittingly and ſimoniacally are made Prieſts, foraſmuch as they receive not the Character of the Lord, but only the Spirit of lying and the mark of Simon Magus, *and of* Judas *the Traytor, they be not Prieſts neither according to the mark nor manner. Nor ſuch do no more make the Sacraments of Church, than other Lay-men may in the time of neceſſity, nor yet ſo truly, during their heretical naughtineſs. And yet indeed (Brother mine,)* univoce natura, *but yet* æquivoce in moribus; *I do not write thus ſharply unto you, through anger, or any unperfect hate, but through*

through the perfect hate of your horrible Hereſie, and denying the Faith of Chriſt, that I may ſay with David *in the* Pſalms, Perfecto odio oderam, &c. *And I am very ſorry for you, that you, which in times have excellently well and fruitfully preached the Goſpel in the Pulpit, do now as well fail in the Congruity of the* Latin-*Tongue, as in the other Sciences naturall. For as it was heard, thrice in one Lecture you ſaid* appetitis; *that is to ſay, pronouncing the middle ſyllable long, which thing not only the Maſters, but alſo the young Scholars underſtood. And many other faults there were in* Grammar, *which for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend unto you theſe five Concluſions.*

Five Concluſions.

The firſt Concluſion, It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief Doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond, He which imporreth any equivocation out of any of the Doctors expounding, for the colouring of his Text, his equivocation is always to be left.

The third, No perverſion of any Reprobate is able to turn the Congregation of the Elect from the Faith, becauſe all things that ſhall come to paſs are eternally in God, deviſed and ordained for the beſt unto the Elect Chriſtians.

The fourth, Like as the myſtical Body of Chriſt is the Congregation of all the Elect; ſo *Antichriſt* myſtically is the Church of the wicked and of all the Reprobates.

The fifth, The Concluſions of *Swinderby* be agreeable to the Faith in every part.

* This Letter was thus ſubſcribed:
By the Spirit of God, ſometime viſiting you.

¶ Beſides this Epiſtle above prefixed, there is alſo found annexed with the ſame a device of another certain Letter counterfeited under the name of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs; writing to the Pope and all Popiſh Prelates, perſecuting the true and right Church (with all might and main) to maintain their Pride and Domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and viſor of the Catholick-Church and ſucceſſion Apoſtolical. Which Letter although it ſeemeth in ſome Authors to be aſcribed to *Ockam*, above mentioned; yet becauſe I find it in the ſame Regiſter of the Church of *Hereford* contained, and inſerted among the Tractations of *Walter Brute*, and deviſed (as the Regiſter ſaid) by the *Lollards*; I thought no meeter place than here to annex the ſame; the tenour whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

The device or counterfeit of a certain Letter fained under the name of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs, writing to the perſecuting Prelates of the Popiſh Clergy.

The Epiſtle of Lucifer to the ground Prelates of the Popes Clergy.

LUcifer *Prince of Darkneſs and profound heavineſs, Emperour of the myſteries of the Kingdom of* Acheront, *Captain of the Dungeon* Erebus, *King of Hell, and Controuler of the Infernal fire, To all our Children of Pride, and Companions of our Kingdom, and eſpecially to our Princes of the Church of this later age and time (of which our Adverſary Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Prophet, faith,* I hate the Church or Congregation of the wicked) *ſend greeting, and wiſh Proſperity to all that obey our Commandments; as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the Laws of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent Obſervers of our Beheſts, and the Precepts of our Decree. Know ye that in times paſt certain Vicars or Vicegerents of Chriſt, following his ſteps in Miracles and Vertues, living and continuing in a beggerly life, converted (in a manner) the whole world from the Yoke of our Tyranny unto their Doctrine and manner of life, to the great deriſion and contempt of our Priſon-houſe and Kingdom, and alſo to the no little prejudice and hurt of our Juriſdiction and Authority, not fearing to hurt our fortified Power, and to offend the majeſty of our Eſtate. For then received we no Tributs of the world, neither did the miſerable ſort of common people ruſh at the Gates of our deep Dungeon as they were wont to do, with continual pealing and rapping, but then the eaſie, pleaſant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noiſe of trampling Travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miſerable men. And when all our Courts were without Suiters, Hell then began to howl. And thus, continuing in great heavineſs and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoiled. Which thing conſidered, the impatient rage of our ſtomach could no longer ſuffer, neither the ugly wretcheſs negligence of our great Captain-General could any longer endure. But we, ſeeking remedy for the time that ſhould come after, have provided us of a very trim ſhift. For in ſtead of theſe Apoſtles and other their Adherents which drew by the ſame line of theirs, as well in Manners as Doctrine, and are odious Enemies unto us. We have cauſed you to be their Succeſſors, and put you in their place, which be Prelates of the Church in theſe later times, by our great might and ſubtilty, as Chriſt hath ſaid of you: They have reigned, but not by me. Once we promiſed unto him all the Kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worſhip us; but he would not, ſaying,* My Kingdom is not of this world, *and went his way when the multitude would have have made him a Temporal King. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of Grace, and that ſerve us in the earth, is that my promiſe fulfilled: and by our means all terrene things which we have beſtowed upon you are under your Government. For he hath ſaid of us as ye know,* The Prince of this world cometh, &c. and hath made us to Reign over all Children of unbelief. *Therefore our Adverſaries before recited did patiently ſubmit themſelves unto the Princes of the world, and did teach that men ſhould do ſo, ſaying,* Be ye ſubject to every Creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be to the King as moſt chief. *And again,* Obey ye them that are made Rulers over you, &c. *For ſo their Maſter commanded them, ſaying,* The Kings of the Heathen have Dominion over them, &c. *But I think it long till we have poured our poiſon upon the earth, and therefore fill your ſelves full. And now be ye not unlike thoſe Fathers, but alſo contrary unto them in your life and conditions, and extol your ſelves above all other men. Neither do ye give to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Ceſar that which is his: but exerciſe you the power of both the Swords, according to our Decrees, making your ſelves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrel, intangled with ſecular labours and buſineſs. And climb ye by little and little from the miſerable ſtate of Poverty unto the higheſt Seats of all Honours, and the moſt Princely places of Dignity by your deviſed practices, and falſe and deceitful wiles and ſubtilty; that is, by Hypocriſie, Flattery, Lying, Perjury, Treaſons, Deceits, Simony, and other greater wickedneſs than which our Infernal Furies may deviſe. For after that ye have by us been advanced thither where ye would be, yet that doth not ſuffice you, but, as greedy ſhavelings more hungry than ye were before, ye ſuppreſs the poor, ſcratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topſieturvy; ſo ſwoln that ready ye are to burſt for pride, living like Lechers in all corporal delicateneſs, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to your ſelves names of Honour in the earth, calling your ſelves Lords, Holy, yea and moſt holy perſons.*

Thus, either by violence ye raven, or elſe by ambition, ſubtilly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wreſt and by falſe Title poſſeſs thoſe Goods, which for the ſuſtentation of the poor Members of Chriſt (whom from our firſt fall we have hated) were beſtowed and given, conſuming them as ye your ſelves liſt, and therewith ye cheriſh and maintain an innumerable ſort of Whores, Strumpets, and Bawds, with whom ye ride pompouſly like mighty Princes, far otherwiſe going, than thoſe poor beggerly Prieſts of the Primitive-Church. For I would ye ſhould build your ſelves rich and gorgeous Palaces: ye fare like Princes, eating and drinking the moſt dainticſt meats, and pleaſanteſt wines that may be gotten; ye hoard and heap together an infinite deal of Treaſure, not like to him that ſaid, Gold and ſilver have I none; *ye ſerve and fight for us according to your wages. O moſt acceptable Society or Fellowſhip, promiſed unto us by the Prophet, and of thoſe Fathers long ago reproved: Whilſt that Chriſt called thee* The Synagogue of Satan, *and likened thee to the mighty Whore which committed Fornication with the Kings of the Earth, the adulterous Spouſe of Chriſt, and of a chaſt perſon made a ſtrumpet.*

KING Ric. 2.

a ſtrumpet. Thou haſt left thy firſt love and haſt cleaved unto us, O our beloved Babylon, *O our Citizens, which from the tranſmigration of* Jeruſalem *come hither: we love you for your deſerts, we rejoyce over you which contemn the Laws of* Simon Peter, *and imbrace the Lawes of* Simon Magus *our Friend, and have them at your fingers ends, and exerciſe the ſame publickly, buying and ſelling ſpiritual things in the Church of God, and againſt the Commandment of God. Ye give Benefices and Honours by petition, or elſe for money; for favour, or elſe for filthy ſervice. And refuſing to admit thoſe that be worthy to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and preferring thoſe that are unworthy, you call unto the Inheritance of Gods Sanctuary, Bawds, Lyars, Flatterers, your Nephews, and your own Children, and to a childiſh Boy ye give many Prebends, the leaſt whereof ye deny to beſtow upon a poor good man: ye eſteem the perſon of a man, and receive gifts, ye regard money and have no regard of Souls. Ye have made the Houſe of God a Den of Thieves. All abuſe, all extortion is more exerciſed a hundred-fold in your Judgment-Seats, than with any ſecular Tyrant. Ye make Laws and keep not the ſame, and ye diſpence with your Diſpenſations as it pleaſeth you; you juſtifie the wicked for Rewards, and you take away the juſt mans deſert from him. And briefly ye perpetrate or commit all kind of miſchief, even as it is our will ye ſhould. And ye take much pain for lucres ſake in our ſervice, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Chriſtian Faith. For now the Lay-people are almoſt in doubt what they may believe, becauſe if ye preach any thing to them as ſome times (although it be but ſeldom ſeen, and that negligently enough, even as we would have it) yet notwithſtanding they believe you not, becauſe they ſee manifeſtly that ye do clean contrary to that ye ſay. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye do which have the Government of them, and ſhould be an example to them of well-doing; now many of them, leaning to your Rules, do run headlong into a whole Sea of Vices; and ſo continually a very great multitude flocketh at the ſtrong and well fenced Gates of our Dungeon. And doubtleſs ye ſend us ſo many day by day of every ſort and kind of people, that we ſhould not be able to entertain them, but that our inſatiable* Chaos *with her thouſand ravening jaws is ſufficient to devour an infinite number of Souls. And thus the Sovereignty of our Empire by you hath been reformed, and our intolerable loſs reſtored. Wherefore, moſt ſpecially we commend you, and give you moſt hearty thanks; exhorting you all that in any wiſe ye perſevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done: neither you ſlack henceforth your enterprize. For why? by your helps we purpoſe to bring the whole world again under our Power and Dominion. Over and beſides this, we commit unto you no ſmall Authority, to ſupply our places in the betraying of your Brethren; and we make and ordain you our Vicars, and the Miniſters of* Antichriſt *our Son, now hard at hand, for whom ye have made a very trim way and paſſage. Furthermore, we conſel you which occupy the higheſt Rooms of all other, that you work ſubtilly, and that ye faindedly procure Peace between the Princes of the world, and that ye cheriſh and preſerve dear Cauſes of diſcord. And like as creftily ye have deſtroyed and ſubverted the* Roman *Empire, ſo ſuffer ye no Kingdom to be overmuch inlarged or inriched by tranquility and peace; leſt perhaps in ſo great tranquility (all deſire of peace ſet aſide) they diſpoſe themſelves to view and conſider your moſt wicked works, ſuppreſſing on every ſide your Eſtate; and from your Treaſures take away ſuch ſubſtance, as we have cauſed to be reſerved and kept in your hands, until the coming of our welbeloved Son* Antichriſt. *We would ye ſhould do our Commendations to our entirely beloved Daughters, Pride, Deceit, Wrath, Avarice, Bellycheer, and Lechery, and to all other my Daughters; and ſpecially to lade. Simony which hath made you men, and inriched you, and hath given you ſuck with her own breaſts, and weaned you, and therefore in no wiſe ſee that you call her ſin. And be ye lofty and proud, becauſe that the moſt high dignity of your Eſtate doth require ſuch Magnificence. And alſo be ye covetous, for whatſoever ye get and gather into your Fardel, it is for Saint* Peter, *for the peace of the Church, and for the defence of your Patrimony and the Crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the higheſt Seat of Dignities without any let in all the world, in ſtopping the mouth of our Adverſary Jeſus Chriſt, and alledging again, that he preferred his Kinſfolks (being but of poor and baſe degree) unto the Apoſtleſhip; but do not you ſo, but rather call, as ye do, thoſe that live in Arrogancy, in haughtineſs of mind, and filthy Lechery, unto the ſtate of wealthy riches and pride; and thoſe Rewards and Promotions, which the Followers of Chriſt forſook, do ye diſtribute unto your Friends. Therefore as ye ſhall have better underſtanding, prepare ye Vices cloked under the ſimilitude of Vertues. Alledge for your ſelves the gloſſes of the holy Scripture, and wreſt them directly to ſerve for your purpoſe. And if any man preach or teach otherwiſe than ye will, oppreſs ye them violently with the Sentence of Excommunication, and by your Cenſures heaped one upon another, by the conſent of your Brethren, let him be condemned as an Heretick, and let him be kept in moſt ſtrait priſon, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all ſuch as confeſs Chriſt. And ſetting all favour apart, caſt him out of your Temple, leſt peradventure the ingrafted word may ſave by your Souls, which word I do abhor as I do the Souls of other faithful men. And do your endeavour, that ye may deſerve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the moſt wicked foundation of our dwelling-place. Fare ye well, with ſuch Felicity as we deſire and intend finally to reward and recompence you with.*

Given at the center of the Earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of Devils were preſent, ſpecially for this purpoſe called unto our moſt dolorous Conſiſtory, under the Character of our terrible Seal, for the confirmation of the premiſſes.

Ex Regiſtro Herefordenſi.

Ex Regiſtro Herefordenſi *ad verbum.*

Who was the true Author of this Poeſie or Epiſtle above written, it is not evidently known; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well conſidered on their part, which here be noted, may miniſter unto them ſufficient occaſion of wholſome Admonition, either to remember themſelves what is amiſs, or to bethink with themſelves what is to be amended. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and ſince, have been deviſed: as one bearing the Title, *Luciferi ad malos Principes Eccleſiaſticos*, imprinted firſt at *Paris* in *Latin*. And under the writing thereof, bearing this date, *Anno a Palatii noſtri fractione, conſortiumque noſtrorum ſubtractione*, 1351. Which if ye count from the Paſſion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of *Wickliff*, 1385; which was above ſix years before the examination of this *Walter Brute*.

There is alſo another Epiſtle of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs, *ad Prælatos*, mentioned in the Epiſtle of the School of *Prague*, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, ſet forth by *Hadericus Hutterus*, about the year of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which ſeemeth to be written before this Epiſtle.

Epiſt. Lucif. ad Prælatos.

Alſo *Vincentius in Speculo Hiſt. lib.* 25. *cap.* 89. inſerteth like mention of a Letter of the Fiends Infernal unto the Clergy-men, as in a Viſion repreſented, before 400 years. In which the Devils gave thanks to the Spiritual-men, for that by their ſilence and not preaching the Goſpel, they ſent infinite Souls to Hell, &c.

Vincent. Hiſt. lib. 29. c. 89.

Divers other Letters alſo of like device have been written, and alſo recorded in Authors. Whereunto may be added, that one, *Jacobus Garthuſenſis*, writing to the Biſhop of *Wormace*, alledged out of the Prophetie of *Hildegardis*, in theſe words, *Ideo & Diabolus in ſemetipſo de nobis Sacerdotibus ait; Eſcas epulantium, convivia & omnes voluptates in iſtis invenio; ſed & oculi, & venter meus, & venæ meæ, de ſtumis illorum plenæ ſunt, & ubera mea plena ſunt divitiis illorum*, &c. i. e. Therefore, ſaith he, the Devil may ſay of you Prieſts in himſelf: The meats of banquetting-Dithes, and Feaſts of all kind of pleaſure, I find in theſe men; yea alſo mine Eyes, mine Ears, my Belly, and all my Veins be full of their frothing, and my Breaſts be full ſtuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, ſaith he, they labour every day to riſe up higher with *Lucifer*, but every day they fall with him more deeply.

Jacobus Garthuſenſis in Hildegardis.

Hereunto alſo pertaineth a ſtory written, and commonly found in many old written Books: In the year of our Lord, 1228. at *Paris* in a Synod of the Clergy, there

The Devil giveth thanks to Clergy-men

there was one appointed to make a Sermon. Who being much careful in his mind, and solicitous what to say, the Devil came to him, and asking him, *Why he was so careful for his matter what he should preach to the Clergy*; say thus, quoth he, *The Princes of Hell salute you, O you Princes of the Church, and gladly give you thanks, because through your default and negligence it cometh to pass, that all Souls go down to Hell.* Adding moreover, *That he was also enforced by the Commandment of God to declare the same, yea and that a certain Token moreover was given to the said Clerk for a sign, whereby the Synod might evidently see that he did not lye.* Ex Catal. Ilyr. fol. 546.

The silence of Priests in not preaching the Gospel, damneth many a Soul.

The Bull of Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, against the *Lollards.*

The Popes Letter to the Bishop of Hereford.

BOnifacius Bishop, *Servant of the Servants of God, To the reverend Brother,* John *Bishop of* Hereford *sendeth greeting and Apostolical Benediction. We mean to write unto our wellbeloved Son in Christ* (Richard *the renowned King of* England) *in form inclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your Brotherhood, that as much as ye may ye study and endeavour your self to exhort and induce the same King to do those things which we have written unto him, as it is said before. And notwithstanding that now many a day you ought to have done it of your self, and not to look that we should persuade you to that effect by us written; you may proceed as well by our Authority, as by your own, forasmuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the Catholick Faith, and to the conserving of the Ecclesiastical Honour, and also to the execution of your Pastoral Office.*

Given at *Rome* at S. *Peters* the 15th *Kalends* of *October*, the sixth year of our Bishop-like Dignity.

The tenour of the Bull, to the renowned Prince, *Richard*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The Popes wilful Bull let loose against the Servants of Christ.

TO *our wellbeloved Son in Christ*, Richard *the noble King of* England, *we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy Mother the Church in all places through Christendom lamenteth. We understand that there be certain Heresies sprung, and do without any condign restraint range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people, and do every day with overmuch liberty enlarge their undiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preservation both of you and your famous Kingdom, and also the sincerity of the Faith, and do with much more ardent desire covet that the prosperous state of the same should be preserved and inlarged; the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest us, for as much as we see (alas the while) in our time, and under the regal presidence of your most Christian Government, a certain crafty and hairbrain Sect of false Christians, in the same your Kingdom to grow and increase; which call themselves,* The poor men of the treasury of Christ and his Disciples, *and whom the common people by a more founder name call* Lollards *(as a man would say, wilberel Darrel) according as their sins require; and perceive that they may wax strong, and as it were prevail against the Dioceſans of some places, and other Governors, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly and not undeservedly I give them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and stomach among the unlearned people. And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, do rise up against the sound Faith, and holy universal Church of* Rome; *and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting upon their Mothers lap the said Church of* Rome, *do rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy Fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness, to the subversion of the whole Ecclesiastical Order and Estate; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publickly to preach very many erroneous, detestable, and heretical Articles, for that they are not put to silence, reproved, driven out, vouted out, or otherwise punished by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same Articles, and so being written to deliver them to your Kingly Parliament, and obstinately to affirm the same. The venemous and disdainful recital of which Articles, upon good advisement, at this present we pass over, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation; and also that it might not get more heart, and wax more strong, We therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where is such negligence and sluggishness of our Prelates being present where this thing is) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend Brethren,* Canterbury *and* York *Archbishops, by other our Letters; that they stand up in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious Sect, and that they lively persecute the same in form of Law; root out and destroy these, that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling-block, restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsel, favour, and aid of your Kingly Estate and Highness are requisite to the execution of the premisses; we require, exhort, and beseech the same your Princely highness by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, by his holy Faith, by your own Salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your Kingly severity may readily shew, and cause to be shewed unto our Archbishops and their Commissaries (in this behalf requiring the foresaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted: but that also you will enjoyn your Magistrates and Justices of Assise and Peace, more straitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority committed unto them, with all severity against such damned men, according as they are bound by the Office which they are put in trust with; against those, I mean, which have determined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and sins, those to expel, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keep them, till condign Sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your Kingly wisdom seeth that such as they be do not only deceive poor simple Souls (or at the least do what they can to deceive them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall unto their Temporal Lords. Go too therefore, my sweet Son, and endeavour your self to work so in this matter, as undoubtedly we trust you will: that as this Firebrand (burning and flaming evermore) began under your Presidence or Government: so under your severe judgment and vertuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one spark remain bid under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.*

{KING} Ric. 2.

Given at our Palace of S. *Peter* at *Rome*, the 15th *Calends* of *October*, in the sixth year of our Pontificality.

The Kings Commission.

RIchard *by the Grace of God,* King of England, *and of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *To all those unto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the instance of the reverend Father,* William *Archbishop* of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, *and Legate of the Apostolical See, We for the redress and amendment of all those which would obstinately preach or maintain, publickly or privily, any Conclusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy Mother the Church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the Catholick Faith, or containing any Heresie or Error, within the Province or Bishoprick of* Canterbury, *have by our special Letters Patents, in the zeal of the Faith, given Authority and Licence unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to all and singular his Suffragans, to arrest all and every of them that will preach or maintain any such Conclusions,*

{KING} Ric. 2.

Conclusions, wheresoever they may be found, and to commit them either to their own Prisons, or any other at their own pleasure, and to keep them in the same, until they repent them of the errors and pravities of those Heresies; or till that, of such manner of arrest, by us or by our Council it should be otherwise determined; that is to say, to every one of them and their Ministers throughout their Cities and Dioceſs. And now the reverend Father in God, John *Bishop of* Hereford, *hath for a certainty informed us; that although the same Bishop hath according to justice convinced a certain Fellow named* William Swinderby, *pretending himself to be a Chaplain, and one* Stephen Bell, *a learned man, and hath pronounced them Hereticks, and Excommunicate, and false Informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitive Sentence of the aforesaid Bishop, for that they have presumed to affirm and preach openly, in divers places within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, *many Conclusions or naughty Opinions notoriously redounding to the subversion of the Catholick found Faith, and tranquility of our Kingdom: The same Bishop notwithstanding, neither by the Ecclesiastical Censures, neither by the force and strength of our Commission, was able to revoke the foresaid* William *and* Stephen, *nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacy of them; for that they, after that they were upon such heretical pravity convicted by the same Bishop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and justice) conveighed themselves by and by unto the borders of* Wales, *with such as were their Fautors and Accomplices, keeping themselves close, unto whom the force of our said Letters doth in no wise extend. Wherupon the said Bishop hath made supplication unto us, that we will vouchsafe to provide a sufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, which always (by the help of Almighty God) are Defenders of the Faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and perverse Enterprizes by the most safe way and means we may, give and commit full power and authority to the foresaid Bishop and to his Ministers, by the tenour of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken, the foresaid* William *and* Stephen, *in any place within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford *and our Dominion of* Wales, *with all the speed that may be; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same Bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, unless they will obey the commandments of the Church, with diligence to bring them before us and our Council, or else cause them to be brought; that we may determine for their further punishment, as we shall think it requisite and convenient to be done by the advice of our Council, for the defence and preservation of the Catholick Faith. And that the foresaid* William *and* Stephen, *being succoured by the aid of their Fautors or Favourers, should not be able to fly or escape to their accustomed haunting holes, and that the sharpness of their pains so aggravated, may give them sufficient cause to return to the lap again of their holy Mother the Church; we straitly charge and command all and singular our Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Barons, and all other our Officers in the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and in any other places being within our Dominion of* Wales, *by the tenour of these presents; that from time to time (where they think it most meet) they cause it openly to be proclaimed in our Name, that none of what state, degree, preheminence, kind, or other condition he shall be, do cherish openly or secretly the foresaid* William *and* Stephen, *until the time that they repent them of their Heresies and Errors, and shall be reconciled unto the holy Church of God: Neither that any person or persons, be Believers, Favourers, or Receivers, Defenders, or in any case wittingly Instructors of the said* William *or* Stephen, *or any other of the residue of the Hereticks that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that also they giving their attendance be obedient and answerable to the foresaid Bishop and his Deputies in this behalf, for the execution of the premisses: and that they certifie us and our Council distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, which shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their Seals. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made.*

Witness our self at *Westminster*, the ninth day of *March*, in the fifteenth year of our Reign.

Farrington.

Another Letter of the said King against *Walter Brute.*

Another Letter of King Richard the 2. against Walter Brute.

RIchard *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *to his beloved and faithful* John Chaundos *Knight*, John Eynsore *Knight*, Renold de la Bere *Knight*, Walter Devereux *Knight*, Thomas de la Bare *Knight*, William Lucy *Knight*, Leonard Hakeluite *Knight, and to the Mayor of the City of* Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nath, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, *and to the Sheriff of* Hereford, *sendeth Salutations.*

Walter Brute.

Forasmuch as it is advertised us, that one Walter Brute, *and other such Children of Iniquity, have damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certain Articles and Conclusions, being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture (of the which some of them are Heresies, and the rest as errors are finally by the Church condemned,) and that in divers places within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and parts near adjoyning, both privily, openly, and obstinately; which thing we perceive not only to redound to the subversion (in a manner) of the Catholick Faith, which as well we as other Catholick Princes ought of duty to maintain, but also to forewarn us of the subversion of our faithful Dioceſans; And that the said Bishop, upon the good deliberation and advisement of a great number of Doctors in Divinity, and other learned and skilful men in the Scriptures, of special devotion, according to his bounden duty, purposed to begin and make divers and sundry Processes by Law to be sent unto the foresaid* Walter *and his Accomplices to appear personally before him and other the Doctors aforesaid in the Cathedral-Church of* Hereford, *the morrow after the translation of S.* Thomas *of* Hereford *next ensuing, and to proceed in the same place against the same* Walter, *in the foresaid Articles and Conclusions, for the amendment of his Soul: and that they now afresh (because that the said* Walter *and others of their Retinue, clearing and confederating with him, might not suffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themselves to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same Bishop, in such correction and execution as should have been done, and with force do resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our Crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as soon as this our Commission shall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open Proclamation in the Dioceſs and parts aforesaid, where ye shall think it most meet and convenient: That no man be so hardy henceforth, of what state or condition soever he shall be, within the Dioceſs and parts aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any Conventicles, Assemblies, or Confederacies, by any colour; or that they presume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same Bishops and Doctors aforesaid may be by any means molested or let in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the Canonical Sanctions; and to arrest all those which ye shall find, or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themselves in any such Conventicles; And that they, being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall have other Commandment from us and from our Council for their deliverance; and that ye diligently and plainly certifie us, and our said Council, of all your doing in this behalf under your Seals, or else the Seals of some of you. And therefore we straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premisses, and that in your deeds ye execute the same with all diligence and careful indeavour in the form and manner aforesaid. And further we give strait charge and commandment to all and singular Sheriffs, Majors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other our faithful Subjects, by the tenour of these presents; that they be attending upon you, counselling and aiding you and every of you, as it meet and convenient in the doing and execution of the premisses. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made.*

Witness my self at *Westminster* the 22th day of *September*, in the seventeenth year of our Reign.

By the same King and Council.

Thus

King Richard fet against the Gospellers by the Archbishop and the Prelates.

Thus King *Richard* by the setting on of *W. Courtney*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Fellows taking part with the Pope and *Romish* Prelates, waxed somewhat strait and hard to the poor *Christians* of the contrary side, of *Wickliff*, as by these Letters above prefixed may appear. Albeit, during all the life of the said King I find of none expreſly by name that ſuffered burning. Notwithſtanding, ſome there were which by the foreſaid Archbiſhop *W. Courtney*, and other Biſhops, had been condemned, and divers alſo abjured, and did Penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the Town of *Leiceſter*, as followeth here to be declared out of the Archbiſhops Regiſter and Records.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney, ſpecia. Cant.

At what time the ſaid Archbiſhop *William Courtney* was in his Viſitation at the Town of *Leiceſter*, certain there were accuſed and detected to him, by the Monks and other Priests in the ſaid Town. The names of which perſons there detected were, one *Roger Dexter*, *Nicholas Taylor*, *Richard Wagſtaff*, *Michael Scrivener*, *William Smith*, *John Henry*, *William Parchmentar*, and *Roger Goldſmith*, Inhabitants of the ſame Town of *Leiceſter*. Theſe with other more were denounced to the Archbiſhop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar, of auricular Confeſſion, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of *Rome* doth preach and obſerve. All which parties above named, and many other more, whoſe names are not known, did hold theſe Hereſies and Errors here under-written, and are of the *Romiſh*-Church condemned.

Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagſtaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenter, Roger Goldſmith accuſed.

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there remaineth the Body of Chriſt with the material Bread.

2. That Images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, and that no man ought to ſet any Candle before them.

3. That no Croſs ought to be worſhipped.

4. The Maſſes and Mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be ſaid in the Church.

5. *Item*, That no Curate or Prieſt, taken in any Crime can Conſecrate, hear Confeſſions, or miniſter any of the Sacraments of the Church.

6. That the Pope and all Prelates of the Church cannot bind any man with the Sentence of Excommunication, unleſs they know him to be firſt Excommunicated of God.

7. That no Prelate of the Church can grant any Pardons.

8. That every Lay-man may in every place preach and teach the Goſpel.

9. That it is ſin to give any Alms or Charity to the Friers, Preachers, *Minorites*, *Auguſtines*, or *Carmelites*.

10. That no Oblation ought to be uſed at the Funerals of the dead.

11. That it is not neceſſary to make confeſſion of our ſins to the Prieſt.

12. That every good man, although he be unlearned is a Prieſt.

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michael, William and Roger accuſed with Book, Bell, and Candle.

Theſe Articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifeſtly in the Town of *Leiceſter*, and other places adjoyning. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop moniſhed the ſaid *Roger* and *Nicholas*, with the reſt, on the next day to make anſwer unto him in the ſaid Monaſtery to the foreſaid Articles. But the foreſaid *Roger* and *Nicholas*, with the reſt, hid themſelves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the Archbiſhop upon *Allhallow-day*, being the firſt day of *November*, celebrating the high Maſs at the high Altar in the ſaid Monaſtery, being attired in his *Pontificalibus*, denounced the ſaid parties with all their Adherents, Fautors, Favourers, and Counſellers, excommunicate and accurſed, which either held, taught or maintained the foreſaid Concluſions hereſical and erroneous, and that in ſolemn wiſe, by ringing the Bells, lighting the Candles, and putting out the ſame again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumſtances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after (being *All-Soulne-day*) he ſent for all the Curates and other Lay-men of the Town of *Leiceſter*, to inquire more diligently of the verity of ſuch matter as they knew, and were able to ſay againſt any perſons whatſoever, concerning the foreſaid Articles; as alſo againſt the parties before named and ſpecified upon their Oaths, denouncing every one of them ſeverally by their names to be excommunicated and accurſed; and cauſed them alſo in divers Pariſh Churches in *Leiceſter* alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſaid Archbiſhop interdicted the whole Town of *Leiceſter*, and all the Churches in the ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſaid excommunicate perſons ſhould remain, or be within the ſame, and till that all the Lollards of the Town ſhould return and amend from ſuch Hereſies and Errors, obtaining at the ſaid Archbiſhop his hands the benefit of abſolution.

{KING} {Ric. 2.}

The whole Town of Leiceſter interdicted.

At length it was declared and ſhewed to the ſaid Archbiſhop, that there was a certain Anchoreſs, whoſe name was *Matilde*, incloſed within the Church-yard of Saint *Peters* Church of the ſaid Town of *Leiceſter*, infected (as they ſaid) with the peſtiferous contagion of the foreſaid Hereticks and Lollards: whereupon, after that the ſaid Archbiſhop had examined the foreſaid *Matilde*, touching the foreſaid Concluſions, Hereſies, and Errors, and found her not to anſwer plainly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtilly; he gave and affigned unto her a day peremptory, perſonally to appear before him in the Monaſtery of Saint *James* at *Northampton*, more fully to anſwer to the ſaid Articles, Hereſies, and Errors, which was the ſixth day of the ſaid month of *November*; commanding the Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Pratis* aforeſaid, that the door of the Recluſe, in which the ſaid *Matilde* was, ſhould be opened, and that till his return he ſhould cauſe her to be put in ſafe Cuſtody. That done, he ſent forth his Mandate againſt the *Lollards*, under this form:

Matilde, an Anchoreſs, cited to appear.

William *by the permiſſion of God, &c. To his well-beloved Sons, the Mayor and Baliffs of the Town of* Leiceſter *Dioceſs, greeting. We have lately received the Kings Letters, graciouſly granted us for the defence of the Catholick Faith, in theſe words following, Richard* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, *&c. We on the behalf of our holy Mother the Church, by the Kings Authority aforeſaid, do require you, that you cauſe the ſame* Richard, William, Roger, *and the reſt, to be arreſted, and ſent unto us; that they with their pernicious Doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c.* Given under our Seal, &c.

The Kings proceſs ſent by the Biſhop to arreſt the eight aforenamed.

By another Inſtrument alſo in the ſame Regiſter is mention made of one *Margarite Caily* Nun, which forſaking her Order was by the ſaid Archbiſhop conſtrained, againſt her will, again to enter the ſame, as by this Inſtrument here-under enſuing may appear.

Margaret Caily, a Nun, conſtrained againſt her will to take again her habit.

William *by the Grace of God, &c. To our reverend Brother of God*, John, *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* Ely, *greeting, &c. In the Viſitation of our Dioceſs of* Lincoln *according to our Office amongſt other Enormities worthy Reformation, we found one Sheep out of our Fold ſtrayed, and amongſt the Bryers tangled; to wit*, Margaret Caily, *Nun profeſſed, in the Monaſtery of S.* Radegond *within your Dioceſs: who caſting off the habit of her Religion, was found in ſecular attire, many years being an* Apoſtata, *and leading a diſſolute life. And leſt her blood ſhould be required at our hands, we have cauſed her to be taken and brought unto you, being her Paſtor; and ſtraightly injoyning you, by theſe preſents we do command, that you admit the ſame* Margaret *again into her foreſaid Monaſtery (although returned againſt her will) or elſe into ſome other place, where for her Souls health you ſhall think moſt convenient; and that from henceforth ſhe be ſafely kept, as in the ſtrait Examination of the ſame you will yield an account.* Given under our Seal, &c.

Matilde recanteth.

By ſundry other Inſtruments alſo in the ſame Regiſter recorded I find, that the foreſaid *Matilde* the *Anchoreſs*, upon the ſtrait examination and handling of the foreſaid Archbiſhop, before whom peremptorily ſhe was injoyned to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the Recluſe, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody, as you heard, retracted and recanted her foreſaid Articles and Opinions. For the which ſhe, being injoyned forty days Penance, was again

{KING} {Ric. 2.} again admitted into her foreſaid recluſe in *Leiceſter*. The Biſhops Letter to the Magiſtrates of the Town thus beginneth: *Willielmus permiſſione divina, &c. Dilectis filiis, &c.*

Will. Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice his Wife abjure.

Alſo by another Letter of the foreſaid Archbiſhop to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leiceſter* being regiſtred, I find that of the number of thoſe eight perſons before recited, whom the Archbiſhop himſelf at high Maſs did in his Pontificalibus ſo ſolemnly curſe with Book, Bell, and Candle: after certain proceſs being ſent out againſt them, or elſe in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, *William Smith*, and *Roger Dexter*. But in the mean time *Alice* the wife of the ſaid *Roger Dexter*, taking hold of the foreſaid Articles with her Huſband alſo, together with the ſaid *William Smith*, abjured the ſame. For theſe be the words of the inſtrument: *Subſequenter vero præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus ſuos reſcientes, ſe noſtro conſpectu præſentarunt, &c.* Notwithſtanding, whether they preſented themſelves willingly, or elſe were brought againſt their wills (as moſt like it was) hard penance was enjoyned them before they were abſolved. Theſe be the words of the Inſtrument.

Sanƈta mater Eccleſia, &c. i.e. Seeing our Holy Mother the Church denieth not her Lap to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but rather proſereth to them the ſame: We therefore do receive again the ſaid *William, Roger* and *Alice* to Grace. And further have cauſed them to abjure all and ſingular the foreſaid Articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of Abſolution, and were looſed from the ſentence of Excommunication, wherein they were ſnarled, injoyning unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to ſay, That the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the ſaid *William, Roger*, and *Alice*, holding every of them an Image of the Crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a Taper of Wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their ſhirts (having none other Apparel upon them) do go before the Croſs three times, during the Proceſſion of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leiceſter*; that is to ſay, in the beginning of the Proceſſion, in the middle of the Proceſſion, and in the later end of the Proceſſion; to the honour of him that was Crucified, in the memorial of his Paſſion, and to the honour of the Virgin his Mother; who alſo devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſs the ſame Crucifix, ſo held in their hands. And ſo with the ſame Proceſſion they entring again into the Church, ſhall ſtand during all the time of the holy Maſs, before the Image of the Croſs, with their Tapers and Croſſes in their hands. And when the Maſs is ended, the ſaid *William, Roger*, and *Alice*, ſhall offer to him that celebrated that day the Maſs. Then upon the Saturday next enſuing, the ſaid *William, Roger*, and *Alice*, ſhall in the full and publick Market, within the Town of *Leiceſter*, ſtand in like manner in their ſhirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foreſaid Croſſes in their right hands; which Croſſes three times they ſhall (during the Market) devoutly kiſs reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the Market, in the middle of the Market, and in the end of the Market. And the ſaid *William* for that he ſomewhat underſtandeth the *Latin* Tongue) ſhall ſay this Antheme with the Collect, *Sanƈta Katharinas* and the foreſaid *Roger* and *Alice*, being unlearned, ſhall ſay devoutly a *Pater Noſter*, and an *Ave Maria*. And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the ſame, the ſaid *William, Roger*, and *Alice*, in their Pariſh-Church of the ſaid Town of *Leiceſter* ſhall ſtand and do, as upon the Sunday before they ſtood and did in the Cathedral Church of our Lady aforeſaid in all things. Which done, the foreſaid *William, Roger*, and *Alice*, after Maſs, ſhall offer to the Prieſt or Chaplain that celebrated the ſame, with all humility and reverence the Wax-tapers, which they ſhall carry in their hands. And becauſe of the cold weather that now is, leſt the foreſaid Penitents might peradventure take ſome bodily hurt ſtanding ſo long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the ſaid our rigour) we give leave, that after their entrance into the Churches aboveſaid, whileſt they ſhall tarie in hearing the foreſaid Maſſes, they may put on neceſſary garments to keep them from cold, ſo that their heads and feet notwithſtanding be bare and uncovered. We therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the ſaid *William. Roger*, and *Alice* to be abſolved and reſtored again to the unity of our holy Mother the Church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforeſaid. Given at *Dorcheſter* the ſeventeenth day of *November*. in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our Tranſlation.

The manner of their penance injoyned.

Three kiſſes of the Croſs.

The Collect of Katherine. The Pater Noſter, and Ave Maria.

Cold Weather graciouſly conſidered.

Peter Pateſhul againſt the Friers.

Unto the Narration of theſe aboveſaid we will adjoyn the Story of one *Peter Pateſhul*, an *Auſtin* Frier, who obtaining by the Popes priviledg (through the means of *Walter Dis* Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*) liberty to change his Coat and Religion, and hearing the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, and other of the ſame ſort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his Order, in ſuch ſort as all men wondred to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his Order, they to the number of twelve (coming out of their houſes to the place where he was Preaching) thought to have withſtood him perforce. Among whom one eſpecially for the zeal of his Religion, ſtood up openly in his Preaching, and contraried that which he ſaid, who then was Preaching in the Church of St. *Chriſtopher* in *London*. This when the faithful *Londoners* did ſee taking great hereat, they were moved with great ire againſt the ſaid Frier, thruſting him with his other brethren out of the Church, whom they not only had beaten and ſore wounded, but alſo followed them home to their houſe, minding to have deſtroyed their Manſion with fire alſo; and ſo would have done, had not one of the Sheriffs of *London*, with two of the Friers of the ſaid Houſe, well known and reported amongſt the *Londoners*, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this *Peter Pateſhul* thus diſtuibed, as is aforeſaid, was deſired by the *Londoners* (forſomuch as he could not well preach amongſt them) to put in writing that which he had ſaid before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: who then at their requeſt writing the ſame, accuſed the Friers of murther committed againſt divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names alſo of their tormentors: and named moreover time and place, where and when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and Traytors both to the King and the Realm; with many other crimes, which mine Author for tediouſneſs leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the ſaid Friers, the *Londoners* cauſed the ſaid Bill to be openly ſet up at St. *Pauls* Church-door in *London*, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of King *Richard* the Second. *Ex Chron. Monachi Albanenſis. Cujus eſt exordium, Anno gratiæ milleſimo*, &c.

Peter Pateſhul.

The Friers accuſed with horrible crimes.

Ann. 1387. Ex Chron. D. Albanen.

Kings many times brought in too much fear of the Po. e.

Thus it may appear by this and other above recited, how the Goſpel of Chriſt, preached by *John Wickliff* and others, began to ſpread and fructifie abroad in *London*, and other places of the Realm: and more would have done no doubt, had not *William Courtney* the Archbiſhop, and other Prelates with the King, ſet them ſo forcibly with might and main to gainſtand the courſe thereof. Albeit, as is ſaid before, I find none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raign of this King *Richard* the Second. Whereby it is to be thought of this King, that although he cannot utterly be excuſed for moleſting the godly and innocent Preachers of that time, (as by his Briefs and Letters afore mentioned may appear) yet neither was he ſo cruel againſt them, as other that came after him: and that which he did, ſeemed to proceed by the inſtigation of the Pope and other Biſhops, rather than either by the conſent of his Parliament, or advice of his Council about him, or elſe by his own nature. For as the Decrees of the Parliament in all his time were conſtant in ſtopping out the Popes proviſions, and in bridling his authority, as we ſhall ſee (Chriſt willing) anon: ſo the nature of the King was not altogether ſo fiercely ſet, if that he following the guiding thereof had not ſtood ſo much in fear of the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Prelates, by whoſe importunate Letters and calling on he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both Right required, and Will perhaps in him deſired. But howſoever the doings of this King are to be excuſed, or not, undoubted it is, that Queen *Anne* his Wife moſt

Commendation of Q. Anne, Wife to K. Rich.

rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time living with the King, had the Gospels of Christ in *English*, with four Doctors upon the same. This *Anne* was a *Bohemian* born, and Sister to *Wenceslaus* King of *Boheme* before: who was married to King *Richard* about the fifth (some say the sixth) year of his reign, and continued with him the space of eleven years. By the occasion whereof it may seem not improbable, that the *Bohemians* coming in with her, or resorting into this Realm after her, perused and received here the Books of *John Wickliff*, which afterward they conveyed into *Bohemia*, whereof partly mention is made before.

{ Anno } 1394. The Marriage of Q. Anne to K. Richard.

The occasion how the Doctrine of *Wickliff* came to *Bohemia*.

The death of Q. *Anne*. *Ex fragmento libri cuiusdam Wigorn. Benedictini.* *Ex accommodato Mat. Arch. Cant.*

The said vertuous Queen *Anne*, after she had lived with King *Richard* about eleven years, in the seventeenth year of his Reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at *Westminster*. At whose Funeral *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the Library of *Worcester* recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien born, she had in *English* all the Four Gospels, with the Doctors upon them: affirming moreover and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examine. And he said they were good and true. And further, with many words of praise he did greatly commend her, in that the being so great a Lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly so vertuous Books. And he blamed in that Sermon sharply the negligence of the Prelates and other men. Insomuch that some said, He would on the morrow leave up the office of Chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfill his Pastoral office, for that he had seen and read in those Books. And then it had been the best Sermon that ever they heard. *Hæc ex libro Wigo.* In the which Sermon of *Thomas Arundel*, three points are to be considered: First, the laudable use of those old times received, to have the Scripture and Doctors in our Vulgar *English* Tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of this godly Lady, who had these Books not for a shew hanging at her Girdle; but also seemed by this Sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the said *Thomas* Archbishop declared alle himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same Books of hers in the *English* Tongue. Notwithstanding, the same *Thomas Arundel*, after this Sermon and promise made, became the most cruel enemy that might be against *English* Books, and the Authors thereof, as followeth after in his Story to be seen.

Thomas Arundel Archbishop, breaketh his own promise.

Th. Arundel and the Bishop of *London* go to *Ireland* to the King to consolate the Favourers of Gods Word

For shortly after the death of Queen *Anne*, the same year (the King being then in *Ireland*) this *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *York*, and *Robert Braybrooke* the Bishop of *London*, (whether sent by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Clergy, or whether going of their own accord) crossed the Seas to *Ireland*, to desire the King in all speedy wise to return and help the Faith and Church of Christ, against such as holding of *Wickliffs* teaching, went about (as they said) to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the Canonical sanctions of their holy Mother-Church. At whose complaint the King hearing the one part speak, and not advising the other, was in such fort incensed; that incontinently leaving all his affairs uncompleat, he sped his return toward *England*. Where he kept his *Christmas* at *Dublin*; in the which mean time, in the beginning of the next year following, which was *Anno 1395*, a Parliament was called at *Westminster* by the Commandment of the King. In which Parliament certain Articles or Conclusions were put up by them of the Gospels side, to the number of twelve. Which Conclusions moreover were fastned up upon the Church-door of St. *Paul* in *London*, and also at *Westminster*: the Copy of which Conclusions, with the words and contents thereof here under ensue.

Ex Hist. D. Athon.

{ Anno } 1395. Conclusions offered up in the Parliament-House.

{ KING } Ric. 2.

The Book of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, *and set up at* Pauls *door, and other places, in the eighteenth year of the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, and in the year of our Lord* 1395.

Conclusion exhibited in the Parliament.

THE first Conclusion: When as the Church of *England* began first to dote in Temporalties after her stepmother the great Church of *Rome*, and the Churches were authorised by Appropriations, Faith, Hope, and Charity began in divers places to vanish and fly away from our Church, forsomuch as pride with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this Conclusion is general, and approved by experience, custom, and manner, as ye shall after hear.

The second Conclusion: That our usual Priesthood, which took his original at *Rome*, and is fained to be a power higher than Angels, is not that Priesthood which Christ ordained unto his Disciples. This Conclusion is thus proved, Forsomuch as the *Romish* Priesthood is done with signs and Pontifical Rites and Ceremonies, and Benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in Scripture, forsomuch as the Bishops Ordinal and the New Testament do nothing at all agree; neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift through any such signs or ceremonies: because that he, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sin. The corolary or effect of this Conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wise men, and see the Bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost in the giving of their Orders; because they give Crowns for their characters and marks, inlead of white hearts, and this character is the mark of Antichrist, brought into the holy Church to cloak and colour their idleness.

Papistical Priesthood.

The third Conclusion: That the Law of Chastity enjoyned unto Priesthood, the which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the Church; but we do excuse us by the Bible, because the suspect Decree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and experience proveth this Conclusion. Reason thus, Forsomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the Clergy will have either a natural purgation, or some worse. Experience thus, forsomuch as the secret trial and proof of such men is, that they do delight in women. And whensoever thou dost prove or see such a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The Corolary of this Conclusion is, that these private Religions with the beginners thereof ought most chiefly to be be disannulled, as the original of that sin and offence. But God of his might doth of privy sins send open vengeance.

The single life of Priests.

He doth reply coolly, hardly pass out the inclosed cheques Clergy.

He Prophesieth spirit of Idolatry.

The fourth Conclusion that most harmeth the innocent people, is this: That the fained miracle of the Sacrament of Bread inclueth all men, except it be a very few, unto Idolatry: forsomuch as they think that the body which shall never be out of Heaven, is by the vertue of the Priests words essentially included in the little bread, the which they do shew unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor teacheth us in his Trialogue, *Quod panis altaris est accidentaliter Corpus Christi*: i.e. That the Bread of the Altar is the Body of Christ accidentally: forsomuch as we suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman in the Law of God may make the Sacrament of that Bread without any such miracle. The Corolary of this Conclusion is, That albeit the Body of Christ be endowed with the eternal joy; the fervice of *Corpus Christi*, made by Frier *Thomas*, is not true, but painted full of false miracles; neither is it any marvel, forsomuch as Frier *Thomas*, at that time taking part with the Pope, would have made a miracle of a Hens Egg; and we know it very well, that every Lie openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and opprobry of him, which is always true without any lack.

The fained miracle of Transubstantiation.

A hundred Houses of Alms sufficient for *England*.

Pilgrimages and Oblations.

He maketh here Wicklif.

The Image of the Trinity an abominable thing.

The Feast of Corpus Christi invented by Thomas Aquinas.

A poor man the perfect Image of God.

Latria, Dulia.

The fifth Conclusion is this: That the Exorcisms and Hallowings, Consecrations, and Blessings over the Wine, Bread, Wax, Water, Oyl, Salt, Incense, the Altar-stone, and about the Church-Walls, over the Vestiment, Chalice, Miter, Cross, and Pilgrim-staves, are the very Practices of Necromancy, rather than of Sacred Divinity. This Conclusion is thus proved: Because that by such Exorcisms the Creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not see any alteration or change in any Creature so Exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principal point of Divelish art. The Corolary of this is, That if the Book of Exorcisation or conjuring of Holy water, which is sprinkled in the Church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that Holy water used in the Church, were the best Medicine for all kind of sickness and sores: *Cujus contrarium experimur: i.e.* the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.

The Exorcisms and Blessings over the Water, Salt, Bread, Wax, Oyl, Incense, Altar-stone, Church-Walls, Vestiment, Chalice, Miter, Cross, Pilgrim-staves, and Palms.

The sixth Conclusion, which maintaineth much pride is, That a King and Bishop both in one person, a Prelate and Justice in Temporal causes, a Curate and Officer in worldly office, doth make every Kingdom out of good order. This Conclusion is manifest, because the Temporalty and the Spiritualty are two parts of the Holy Universal Church; and therefore he which addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, *Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis servire*: wherefore to be called *Amphrodite*, which are men of both kinds, or *Ambodextri*, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The Corolary of this Conclusion is, That thereupon we the Procurators of God in this case do sue unto the Parliament, that it may be Enacted, that all such as be of the Clergy (as well of the highest degree as of the lowest) should be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own Cure and Charge, and not with others.

The difference between the Ecclesiastical and Temporalities.

The seventh Conclusion that we mightily affirm is, That spiritual prayers made in the Church for the souls of the Dead (preferring any one by name more than another) is a false foundation of Alms, whereupon all the Houses of Alms in *England* are falsely founded. This Conclusion is proved by two reasons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from meer charity: and perfect charity excepteth no person, because thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. Whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, bestowed and given unto Priests, and Houses of Alms, is the principal cause of any special prayers, the which is not far different from Simony. The other reason is, that every special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasant before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful Christian people, that the founders of every such House of Alms, for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part passed by the broad-way. The Corolary is, That every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and to live. The merchandize of special prayers now used for the Dead maketh Mendicant possessioners and other hireling Priests, which otherwise were strong enough to work and to serve the whole Realm, and maintaineth the same in idleness, to the great charge of the Realm, because it was proved in a certain Book which the King hath, that a hundred Houses of Alms are sufficient for the whole Realm. And thereby might peradventure greater increase and profit come unto the Temporalty.

The foundation of Alms for the Dead.

The eighth Conclusion, needful to tell to the people beguiled is, That Pilgrimages, Prayers, and Oblations made unto blind Crosses or Roods, or to deaf Images made either of wood or stone, are very near of kin unto Idolatry, and far different from Alms. And albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined are the Book of errors unto the common people; notwithstanding the usual and common Image of the Trinity is most especially abominable. This Conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, commanding Alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God in a more perfect similitude and likeness than any block or stone. For God did not say, let us make a block or stone unto our likeness and image, but let us make man: forsomuch as the supreme and highest honour, which the Clergy calleth *Latria*, pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour which the Clergy call *Dulia*, pertaineth unto men and Angels. and to none other inferior creature. The Corolary is, That the service of the Cross, celebrate twice every year in our Church is full of Idolatry: for if Rood, Tree, Nails, and Spear ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped,

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then were *Juda*'s lips (if any man could get them) a marvellous goodly Relick. But thou Pilgrim, we pray thee tell us when thou dost offer to the bones of the Saints, and holy men which are laid up in any place; whether dost thou relieve thereby the holy man which is already in joy, or that Alms-house which is so well endowed, whereas they are Canonised (the Lord knoweth how) and to speak more plain, every faithful Christian may well judg and suppose of *Cain*, that the strokes of that fame man, whom they call Saint *Thomas*, were no cause of Martyrdom, nor yet be.

Judas lips.

The death of *T. Becket* of *Cant.* is not to be counted for Martyrdom

The ninth Conclusion, that keepeth the people low is, That Auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for salvation, and the fained power of Absolution, exalteth and setteth up the pride of Priests, and giveth them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forsomuch as both Lords and Ladies do witness, that for fear of their Confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministred of wooing, or to play the Bawds, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sin. They affirm and say, that they are Commissaries sent of God to judg and discern of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whatsoever pleaseth them. They say also, that they have also the Keys of Heaven and Hell, and that they can excommunicate, curse and bless, bind and loose at their own will and pleasure: insomuch that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of Heaven by charter and clause of warrantise, sealed by their common seal. This Conclusion is so common in use, that it needeth not any probation. The Corolary hereof is, that the Pope of *Rome* which fained himself to be the profound Treasurer of the whole Church, having that fame worthy jewel which is the treasure of the Passion of Christ in his own keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the Saints in Heaven, whereby he giveth fained Indulgences and Pardons *a pœna & culpa*, is a Treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in Purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful Christian may easily perceive that there is much falshood hid in our Church.

Auricular confession.

Confession the inlarging of lust.

The Impudent boldness of Priests.

The Pope treasurer of the Church, inlead of treasurer, with quails

The Tenth, That Man-slaughter (either by war or by any pretensed law of justice for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation) is expretly contrary unto the New Testament, which is the Law of Grace, full of mercy. This Conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and have compassion upon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reason is this, that for the most part when as men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken; and whosoever dieth without charity goeth the right way to Hell. And besides that, we do well understand and know, that none of the Clergy, by any lawful reason, can deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murther. For in the Gospel it is spoken unto our forefathers, *Thou shalt not kill*. The Corolary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when Lords purchase Indulgences and Pardons *a pœna & culpa*, unto such as do help their Armies to kill and murther the Christian people in foreign Countries for temporal gain; as we do see certain Souldiers which do run among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murther and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forsomuch as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increased; for murtherers and manquellers Christ doth hate and menaceth, *He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword.*

Hove Wat is lawfull, the proof by experience.

The eleventh Conclusion is, which is shame to tell, That the vow of Chastity, made in our Church by women that are frail and unperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man. For albeit the murther of their children born before their time, and before they are Christened, and the destruction of their nature by Medicine, are filthy and foul sins; yet they accompanying among themselves, or with unreasonable beasts, or with any creature not having life, do pass to such an unseemliness, that they ought to be punished by infernal torments. The Corolary is, That Widdows and such as take the Mantle and the

Nuns and Widows which vow single life.

Ring deliciously fed, we would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

The twelfth, that the multitude of Arts not necessary (used in this our Church) causeth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious Apparel: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, forsomuch as nature, with a few Arts, is sufficient for mans use and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our Ambassage, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared in another Book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness sake, that he will wholly reform our Church (now altogether out of frame) unto the perfection of her first beginning and original. *Ex Archivis Regis.*

The Verses following were annexed unto the Conclusions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:
Surgunt ingrati Giezitæ Simone nati,
Nomine prælati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges effis, populæ quicunque præestis,
Qualiter, his gestus, gladios prohibere potestis?

The which Verses are thus *Englished:*

The English *Nation doth lament of Sodomites their sin.*
Which Paul *doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.*
But Giesites *full ingrate, from sinful* Simon *strong,*
This to defend (though Priests in name) make Bulwarks (great and strong.
Ye Princes therefore which to rule the people God hath placed,
With justice sword, why see ye not this evil great defaced?

After these Conclusions were thus proposed in the Parliament, the King not long after returned home from *Dublin* into *England*, toward the later end of the Parliament. Who at his return called certain of his Nobles unto him, *Richard Sturie, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Montacute, &c.* whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, nor favour any more these opinions and Conclusions. And namely of *Richard Story* he took an Oath, that he should never from that day favour or defend any such opinions; which Oath being taken, the King then answered, And I swear (saith he) again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine Oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death, *&c. Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

R. Story, Lewis Clif. ford, T. Latimer, John Montacute, good favourers.

Pope Urban the Ninth dead. { Anno 1389. Pope Boniface the 9th.

All this while *W. Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters. But yet Pope *Urban* the great Master of the Catholick Sect was dead and buried six years before. After whom succeeded in the schismatical See of *Rome* Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, who nothing inferior to his Predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which *Urban* had begun, in suppressing them that were the first-fors forth of the light of the Gospel: and had written sundry times to King *Richard*, as well for the repealing of the Acts of Parliament against his provisions, *Quare impedit, & premunire facies*: as also that he should assist the Prelates of *England* in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsly suggested to be *Lollards* and Traytors to the Church, to the King, and the Realm, *&c.* Thus the courteous Pope, whom he could not reach with his sword at least with cruel slander of his malicious tongue would work his poyson against them; which Letter he wrote to the King in the year of our Lord 1396, which was the year before the death of *William Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. After whom succeeded in that See *Thomas Arundel*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, being first Bishop of *Ely* afterward Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and at last made Archbishop of *Canterbury* about the year of our Lord 1397. The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1398, and the ninth year of the Pope, I find in certain Records of the Bishop of *Duresm* a certain Letter of King *Richard* the Second, written to the said Pope *Boniface*, which because I judged not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth.

The Letters of Pope Boniface the Ninth to K. Richard.

{ Anno 1396. } The death of W. Courtney A. B. of Canterbury. T. Arundel A. B. of Canterbury.

{ KING Ric. 2. } { Anno 1398. }

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and Lord, Lord Boniface *the Ninth, by the Grace of God high Pope of the most holy* Romish *and Universal Church, his humble and devout Son* Richard, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *and* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *Greeting and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted Church, and kissing of those his blessed feet.*

A Letter of K. R. 2. to Pope Boniface the 9th.

WHO will give my head water, and mine eyes a fleeming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our Mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division. For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lords flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity, resembling so the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what Pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that City, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and left the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sat as a Queen, and am not a widow, be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in amazes, that she shall not know where to turn her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shall with weeping speak that saying of the Spouse, *I sought him whom my soul loveth, I sought him and found him not.* For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lords Vineyard, and made his amiable portion a wast wildemess.

Defect to rule in the Church.

The right entrance of a true Bishop.

'This multitude of shepherds is become very burdenous to the Lords flock. For when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ, of a schism and division of the Church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole Church militant, yet contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the Church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was naked, when the two harlots did strive afore *Solomon*; like as the Ten Tribes of *Israel* followed *Jeroboam* the Intruder, and were withdrawn from the Kingdom for *Solomons* sin: even so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the Church. Let your selves remember, we beseech you, how that all *Greece* did fall from the obedience of the *Romish* Church in the time of the faction of the Primarch of *Constantinople*; and how *Mahomet* with his fellows, by occasion of Supremacy in Ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of Christians, and withdrew them from the Empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these days, where the same Supremacy is, hath withdrawn it self from the obedience of it, insomuch that now in very few Realms the Candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for *Davids* sake his servant. And although now remain few Countries professing the obedience of Christs true Vicar: yet peradventure if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alledged on both sides: and this is the subtil craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity to procure schisms, as the Spider of a wholsome flower gathers poyson, and *Judas* learned of peace to make

Strife to be preferred before worldly dignity.

Pope Boniface concerning the Romish Church.

A bold assertion.

The Pope will not forfit his dignity, for any publick tranquility.

Wicked flatterers about the Pope.

{ KING Ric. 2. }

'war. Wherefore it is lively believed of wise men, that except this pestilent schism be withstood by and by, the Keys of the Church will be despised, and they shall bind the conscience but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to Gods law, so by this means at length Temporal Lords will take away the Liberties of the Church, and peradventure the *Romans* will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the Church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will almost be taken away, when the greater part of the Church, left to their own liberty, shall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do see it. For when they see the Prelates study more for covetousness than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppress the subjects, in their punishings to seek for gain, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feastings past shame: what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods Law? but all these things do follow if the Church should be left long in this doubtfulness of a schism, and then should that old saying be verified: In those days there was no King in *Israel*, but every one did that that seemed right and straight to himself. *Michæas* did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountains, as they had been sheep without a shepherd: for when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep of the flock shall be scattered, the great stroke of the shepherd is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn from his obedience. When *Jason* had the office of the highest Priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen. the Priests leaving the service of the holy Altar, and applying themselves to Wrestling, and other Exercises of the *Grecians*, and despising those things that belonged to the Priests, did labour with all their might to learn such things of the *Grecians*; and by that means the place, people, and holy ointing of Priests, which in times past were had in great reverence of Kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the Kings power, and was prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore let the highest Vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

The King setteth here to Preache.

Bishops taught by Christ not to play the Lords.

'If you mark well, most holy Father, you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: he taught them not to play the Lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be so much more humble than other, and more lowly to serve their brethren. To him that asked his coat, to give the cloak, to him that smote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the liberty that are given to his keeping he must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his own blood, yea and if need required, to die. These things I say, be those that adorn the highest Bishop, if they be in him, not his white horse, not his Imperial Crown, because he among all men is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cause, to whom peradventure the fulness of your own power is known yet in pitying our weakness, if thou be he, tell us openly, and shew thy self to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody Bishop, left by your occasion mans blood be shed, lest Hell swallow such a number of souls, and left the name of Christ be evil spoken of by Infidels, through such a worthy personage. But peradventure ye will say, for our righteousness it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other mens disputation. If this bald answer should be admitted, the schism should continue still: seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other, and where the world is as it were equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The Incarnation of Christ and his Resurrection was well enough known to himself and his Disciples; yet he asked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made also the Gospel to be written and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and sent his Apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be known to all men. The foresaid reason is the subtilty of *Mahomet*, the which knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbad disputations. If ye have so full trust of your righteousness, put it to the examinations of worthy persons in a General Council, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the Church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepherd.

Publick request to be preferred before private.

'We find Kings have forsaken their Temporal Kingdoms, only upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of Monks profession. Therefore let Christs Vicar (being a professor of most high holiness) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the *Romish* Church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away Kingdoms from it.

'But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of Gods Church should be called in controversie, and therefore we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gain-sayeth it.

Answer to a Popish objection.

'To the which we answer, If it be the cause of God and the Church, let the General Council judge of it: but if it be a personal cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather chuse a temporal death, than to suffer such a wavering. I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of souls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the Apostolical dignity. Did not *Clements* named, or (that I may more truly speak) ordained of St. *Peter* to the Apostolick dignity, and to be Bishop, resign his right, that his deed might be taken of his Succesors for an example? Also Pope *Siricius* gave over his Popedom to be a comfort of the 11000 Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) give over your Popedom, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed: so is it sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a Devil, and Christs enemy of all men, that would agree to an Election made of him for the Apostolical dignity and Popedom, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, division of the Church, the offence and loss of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known to all the world by Gods revelation, to come to pass by such receiving of the Popedom and Apostolical dignity: then by the like reason why should he not be judged of all men an Apostata, and forsaker of his faith, which chuseth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the Church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, which are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the Church wilneth his subjects bodily to die in battel, and the more part of the world to perish in soul, rather than forsaking to be Pope to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the desire of the heavenly Kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the Church do move your heart, shew indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. *Clement* and *Siricius* most holy Popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are reverenced of all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the Church of holy men shew forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever and ever, if ye would do the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of Gods Church. Give no heed to the unreasonable crying of them that say, that the right chusing of Popes is lost, except ye defend your parts manfully: but be afraid, left such stirers up of mischief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this fort *Achitophel* was joyned with *Absalom* in perfecuting his own Father, and false usurping of his Kingdom.

Tenure of the Church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

Hard comfort for the Pope.

Better that the order of the Popes Election should be ceased, than the Church should suffer any longer this division in Gods Church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessarily required to the state of a Pope, but the successor of the Apostle, as necessary cause

'required, might come in at the door by another fashion
'of chusing, and that Canonical enough. And this we are
'taught manifestly by examples of the Fathers; for *Peter*
Bishops of Rome appointed their successors, to the time of Popetillery. 'the Apostle appointed after him *Clement*, and that not by
'false usurping of power, as we suppose. And it was thought
'that that fashion of appointing Popes was lawful unto the
'time of Pope *Hilary*; which decreed that no Pope should
'appoint his Successor.

Election of the Pope not as was before. 'Afterward the Election of the Pope went by the Clergy and people of *Rome*, and the Emperors Council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the Election of the blessed
'*Gregory*. But *Martinus* Pope, with the consent of the
'holy Synod, granted *Charles* the Power to chuse the Pope.
'But of late *Nicolas* the second was the first whom *Martin*
'makes mention of in his Councils to be chosen by the
'Cardinals. But all the Bishops of *Lumbardy* (for the most
'part) withstood this Election, and chose *Cadulus* to be
'Pope, saying, That the Pope ought not to be chosen but
'of the Precinct of *Italy*. Wherefore we think it not a safe
'way so earnestly to stick to the Traditions of men, in the
'fashion of chusing the Pope, and so oft to change, left
'we be thought to break Gods Traditions concerning the
'unity of the Church. Yea rather it were better yet to or-
'dain a new fashion of his Election, and meeter for him
'as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the same
Good counsel lost. 'Election might be kept safe, if Gods honour were looked
'for afore your own, and the peace of the Church were
'uprightly sought: for such a dishonouring should be most
'honour unto you, and that giving place should be the
'getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of
'your honour should obtain you the entry of everlasting
'honour, and should procure the love of the whole world
'toward you, and you should deserve to be exalted con-
'tinually, as *David* was in humbling himself. O how
'monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster is a mans body
'disfigured with two heads? So if it were possible, the
'Spouse of Christ should be made so monstrous, if the
'were ruled with two such heads: but that is not possible,
'she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found;
'therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and
'thruster in of his second head. We cannot suffer any lon-
'ger so great a wickedness in Gods house, that we should
Christs seamless Coat broken. 'suffer Gods coat that wants a seam, by any means to be
'torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sun-
'der. For if these two should be suffered to reign together,
'they would so betwixt them tear in pieces that little coat
'of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another.
The Popes compared to the Souldiers that crucified Christ. 'They pass the wickedness of the Souldiers that crucified
'Christ: for they willing to have the Coat whole, said,
'Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whole it shall be.
'But these two Popes suffering their right and title to be
'tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in
'deeds) they pronounce this sentence, It shall neither be
'thine nor mine, but let it be divided; for they chose rather
'as it appeareth, to be Lords (though it be but in a little
'part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the Church)
'than in leaving that Lording, to seek for the peace of the
'Church. We do not affirm this, but we shew almost the
'whole judgment of the world of them, being moved so to
'think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of
'this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two in-
'venters of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace,
'and behold trouble: for neither in their lives nor in their
'deaths they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it
'were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their Successors
'matter of contention continual. But now for the space of
'seven years, whereas of their Successors we desired and loo-
'ked for that they should bear good grapes, and they bring
'forth wild grapes: in this matter we fall into a deep despair.
'But inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, which
'promised that miserably he would destroy those wicked
'men, and let his Vineyard to other Husbandmen which
'will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath pro-
'mised faithfully that he will help his Spouse in her need
'to the end of the world: we leaning on the sure hope of
'this promise, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by
'Gods grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this
'misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our
A godly purpose if it had been put in execution. 'Kingly power is able, and although our wit doth not per-
'ceive how these things afore rehearsed may be amended,
'yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods pro-
'mise, will do our endeavour: like as *Abraham* believed,
'his Son being slain by sacrifice, that the multitude of his
'seed should encrease to the number of the Stars, accor-
'ding to Gods promise. Now therefore the times draw
'near to make an end of this schism, lest a third election of
'a Schismatick against the Apostles Successor make a cu-
'stom of the doing, and so the Pope of *Avinion* shall be
'double *Romish* Pope, and he shall say with his partakers,
'as the Patriarch of *Constantinople* said unto Christs Vicar
'when he forsook him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord
'is with us. And is much to be feared of all Christian men:
'For that Pharisee begins now to be called the Pope of
'*Avinion* among the people. But peradventure it would be
'thought of some men, that it belongeth not to secular Prin-
'ces to bridle outrages of the Pope. To whom we answer,
'that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to
'save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole.
'Christ so decked his Spouse, that her sides should cleave to-
'gether, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time
'and occasion of things they should correct one another, and
'cleave together tunably. Did not *Moses* put down *Aaron*,
'because he was unfaithful? *Solomon* put down *Abiathar*,
'who came by lineal descent from *Anatoth*, and removed
'his Priesthood from his kindred to the stock of *Eleazar*
'in the person of *Sadock* which had his beginning from
'*Eli* the Priest? 3 *Reg.* 2. *Otho* Emperor deposed Pope
'*John* the 12. because he was lecherous. *Henry* the Em-
'peror put down *Gratianus*, because he used Simony in
'buying and selling spiritual livings. And *Otho* deposed
'Pope *Bennet* the fifth, because he thrust in himself. There-
'fore by like reason, why may not Kings and Princes bridle
'the *Romish* Pope in default of the Church; if the quality
'of his fault require it, or the necessity of the Church by
'this compell to help the Church oppressed by tyranny?
'In old time schisms, which rose about making the Pope,
'were determined by the power of Secular Princes, as the
'schism betwixt *Symmachus* and *Laurence* was ended in
'a Council before *Theodericus* King of *Italy*. *Henry* the
'Emperor when two did strive to be Pope, deposed them
'both, and received the third being chosen at *Rome* to be
'Pope, that is to say, *Clement* the second, which Crowned
'him with the Imperial Crown. And the *Romans* promi-
'sed him that from thenceforth they would promote none
'to be Pope without his consent. *Alexander* also overcame
'four Popes schismaticks, all which *Frederick* the Emperor
'corrected.

'Thus look on the Register of Popes and their deeds,
'and ye shall find that schisms most commonly have been
'decided by the power of secular Princes, the schismaticks
'cast out, and sometimes new Popes made, and sometimes
'the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their
'old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular Prin-
'ces to bridle the outrages of such a Pope lawfully made,
'and afterward becoming a Tyrant: in such a case he
'might oppress overmuch the Church, he might change
'Christendom into Heathens, and make the labour of Christ
'crucified to be in vain: or else truly God should not have
'provided for his Spouse in earth by all means as much as is
'possible by service of men to withstand dangers. There-
'fore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as be-
'comes children, that ye confider in your heart well, lest in
'working by this means ye prepare a way to Antichrist
'through your desire to bear rule, and so by this means as
'we fear the one of these two shall chance; either ye shall
'cause all the Princes of the world to rise against you to
'bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the
'Apostolical dignity; or that is worse, the whole world, de-
'spising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the *Romish*
'Church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that
'the desire of honour of two men should bring such a de-
'solation into the Church of God: for them that depart-
'ing away, which the Apostle prophesied, should come be-
'fore the coming of Antichrist were at hand: which should
'be the last dispolition of the world, peaceably to receive
'Antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your
'most excellent Holiness, how ye received the power from
'God to the building of the Church, and not to the de-
'struction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and
'oyl to heal the wounded; and hath appointed you
'his Vicar in these things which pertain to gentleness,
'and hath given us these things which serve to rigour.

'For

5 KING. 1 Rec. 2. 'For we bear not the Sword without a cause to the pu-
'nishment of evil doers, the which power ordained of God
'we have received, our selves being witness: beseeching
'you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing thus,
'the waters may return to the places from whence they
'came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with
'salt: left the Ax swim on the water, and the wood sink,
'and left the fruitful Olive degenerate into a wild Olive,
'and the Leprosie of *Naaman* that Nobleman cleave con-
'tinually to the house of *Gebazi*, and left the Pope and the
'*Pharisees* crucifie Christ again. Christ the Spouse of the
The Pope and the Pharisees, new Crucifiers of Christ. 'Church, which was wont to bring the chief Bishop into
'the holiest place, encrease your holiness, or rather restore
'it being lost. Written, &c. *Ex Fragm. lib. cujusd. Dunelm.*

Senates Princes are to bridle the outrages of the Pope.

¶ This Epistle of King *Richard* the second, written to Pope *Boniface* the ninth, in the time of the schism, about the year as appeared 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it wrought with the Pope the sequel afterward declared. For the schism notwithstanding continued long after, in which neither of the Popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to good counsel given them, for any respect of publick wealth. Such a throte beareth Ambition in this Apostolical See, which we are wont so greatly to mag-
nifie. But of this enough, which I leave and refer to the consideration of the Lord, seeing Men will not look upon it.

Popes put down by Princes.

Drawing now toward the later end of King *Richard's* Reign, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of King *Edward* the third, so here also we shew forth a sum-
mary recapitulation of such Parliamental Notes and Pro-
ceedings, as then were practised by publick Parliament in this Kings time, against the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*; to the intent that such, (if any such be) that think,
The Popes slipped Jurisdiction never received in England before the late years. or have thought the receiving of the Popes double authority to be such an ancient thing within this Realm, may dimi-
nish their opinion as evidently may appear by divers argu-
ments heretofore touched, concerning the election and in-
vesting of Bishops by the King. As where King *Osw in* commanded *Ceddo* to be ordained Archbishop of *York*. Al-
so where King *Egfride* caused *Cuthbert* to be brought to
Ex lib. Guil. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex lib. Math. Paris. de eadem. King *Canute*, and at his commandment was instituted Bi-
shop of the same See. *Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum.* And likewise *Mat. Paris.* testifieth, that King *Henry* the Third gave the Archbishoprick of *Canter-
bury* to *Radulphus* then Bishop of *London*, and invested him with Staff and Ring. And the same King gave the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to *William Gifford*; and more-
over, following the steps both of his Father and Brother be-
fore him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said Bishoprick (the contrary Statute of Pope *Urban*, for-
bidding that Clerks should receive any Ecclesiastical Digni-
ty at the hand of Princes, or of any lay person, to the con-
trary notwithstanding, &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seen in ancient Histories of this our Realm. As also out of the Parliament Rolls in the time of King *Edward* the Third, hath sufficiently been touched a little before. Whereunto also may be added the Notes of such Parliaments as have been holden in the Reign of this present King *Richard* the Second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

Lawful that Princes should withstand the tyranny of the Pope

¶ *Notes of certain Parliaments holden in the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, making against the Pope.*

Ex Archivis Parliament. An. 1. Reg. Ricardi 2. IN the first year of King *Richard* the second, in the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, it was requested and granted, That the Popes Collector be willed no longer to gather the first fruits of Benefices within this Realm, being a very novelty, and that no person do any longer pay them.

The King forbids here to provide of the Collation of the Roman Pope.

Tit. 67. Item, *That no man do procure any Benefice by provision from* Rome, *on pain to be out of the King's protection.*

Tit. 68. Item, *That no* Englishman *do take to farm of any Alien any Ecclesiastical Benefice or Prebend, on the like pain.* In which Bill was rehearsed, that the *Frenchmen* had six thousand pounds yearly of such Livings in *England.*

Item, *That remedy might be had against the Popes reser-
vations to dignities elective, the same being done against
the Treaty of the Pope, taken with King* Edward *the* 3d. Tit. 57.

In the second year of the said King *Richard* the second, it was by Petition requested, that some order might be taken touching Aliens, having the greatest part of the Church Dignities in their hands. Whereunto the King answered, That by advice of the Lords he would provide therefore. Ex Anno 1. Tit. 70.

Item, *It was Enacted, That all the Benefices of Car-
dinalls, Archbishops, Bishops, and Rebels, to Pope* Urban *that now is, shall be seized into the Kings hands.* Tit. 71.

An Act that Pope *Urban* was true and lawful Pope, and that the Livings of all Cardinals, and other Rebels to the said Pope, should be seized into the Kings hands, and the King be answered of the profits thereof: And that who-
soever within this Realm shall procure or obtain any provi-
sion or other instrument from any other Pope than the same *Urban*, shall be out of the Kings protection. Tit. 73.

Ex 3. Anno Reg. Ric. 2.

Moreover, in the third year of King *Richard* the Second, the Prelates and Clergy made their protestation in this Parliament, expressly against a certain new Grant, to wit, their Extortions: *That the same never should pass with
their assent and good will to the blemishing of the liberties
of the Church, if by that word extortion they meant any
thing largely to proceed against Ordinaries and others of the
Church. But if they meant none otherwise to deal here-
after therein, than before that time had been done, then
would they consent.* Whereunto it was replied for the King, *That neither for the same their said Protestation,
or other words in that behalf, the King would stay to grant
to his Justices in that case, and all other cases, as was used
to be done in times past, and he was bound to do by vertue
of his Oath taken at his Coronation.* Here note well a strange proceeding. But mark the strange event.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of the said King *Richard* the Second, it was requested, *That provision might be had
against the Popes Collectors, for levying of the first fruits of
Ecclesiastical Dignities within the Realm.* Tit. 44.

Item, *That all Priors Aliens might be removed out of
their Houses, and licensed to depart, and never to revert.
And that* Englishmen *may be placed in their Livings, an-
swering the King as they did.* Tit. 46.

And in the 9th year of the foresaid King, touching mat-
ter of the Staple, the Speaker of the Parliament pro-
nounced, that he thought beft the same were plaited within the Realm, considering that *Calis, Burges*, and o-
ther Towns beyond the Seas grew very rich thereby, and good Towns here very much decayed; and so it was much for the common profit. Touching the King, he affirmed that the Subsidy and Custom of Wooll yielded more to the King when the Staple was kept in *England* by one thou-
sand Marks yearly, than it did now being holden beyond the Seas. An. 9. Anni cujusdam Regis. Tit. 4.

Item, *That inquisition and redress might be had against* Tit. 36. *such religious persons, as under the licence to purchase* 10 l. *yearly, do purchase* 80 l. *or* 100 l.

Item, *That all Clerks, advanced to any Ecclesiasti-
cal Dignity or Living by the King, will grant to the
King the first fruits of their Livings, none otherwise than
they would have done to the Pope, being advanced by him.* Tit. 46.

In the 11th year of King *Richard* the Second, it was put up by the Petitions of the Commons, *That such Im-
positions as are gathered by the Popes Bulls of* volumus *and*
imponimus *of the Translations of B. B. and such like,
might be employed on the King's Wars against the Schisma-
ticks of* Scotland. *And that such as bring into the
Realm the like Bulls and Novelties may be reputed for
Traitors.* Tit. 26.

In the 13th year of his Reign followed another Parliament, in which although the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *York*, for them and the whole Clergy of their Provin-
ces, made their solemn Protestations in open Parliament, *That they in no wise meant, or would assent to any Sta-
tute or Law made in restraint of the Popes authority, but
utterly withstood the same*, willing this Protestation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the said Protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect. An. 13. Ric. 2. Rot. 24.

Item, In the same Parliament it was put up by publick Petition, *That the Popes Collector should be commanded to
avoid the Realm within* 40 *days, or else to be taken as the
King's enemy, and that every such Collector from henceforth* Tit. 34.

may

may be an Englishman, *and sworn to execute the statutes made in this Parliament.*

Ex Tit. 9. Moreover, in the said Parliament, the year abovesaid of the King, the 26th of *January*, Mr. *John Mandoure* Clerk, was charged openly in the Parliament, *That he should not passe, ne send over to* Rome, *ne attempt or do any thing there touching the Archdeaconry* of Durham, *in prejudice of the King, or of his lawes, or of the party presented thereto by the King, on peril that might ensue.*

Ex an. 14. Reg. Ric. 2. tit. 6. The next year following, which was the 14th of this Kings Reign, it was Enacted first touching the Staplers, That, after the Feast of *Epiphany* next ensuing, the Staple should be removed from *Calis* into *England*, in such places as are contained in the Statute made in 27 *Edw.* 3. the which Statute should be fully executed: And further, That every Alien, that bringeth Merchandise into the Realm, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away Commodities of the Realm, to half the value of the said Merchandise.

Tit. 24. Against usurers. *Item*, In the same Parliament Petition was made, That against the horrible vice of Usury, then termed shifts, practised as well by the Clergy as Laity, the Order made by *John Notte*, late Mayor of *London*, might be executed throughout the Realm.

Ex tit. 29. Moreover, in the 15th year of the Reign of the foresaid King, it was accorded, for that Sir *William Brian* Knight, had purchased from *Rome* a Bull directed from the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, to Excommunicate such as had broken up his House, and had taken away divers Letters, Priviledges and Charters; the same Bull, being read in the Parliament House, was adjudged prejudicial to the Kings Crown, and in derogation of the Lawes: for the which he was by the King, and assent of the Lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the Kings will and pleasure.

Vide supra tom. tit. 29. In the said Parliament also, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* maketh his Protestation in the open Parliament, saying, *That the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to intermeddle, for, or touching any presentment to any Ecclesiastical Dignity recorded in any the Kings Courts.* He further protested, *that the Pope ought to make no translation to any Bishoprick within the Realm against the Kings will; for that the same was to the destruction of the Realm and Crown of* England, *which hath always been so free, as the same hath had none earthly Sovereign, but hath been subject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other.* The which Protestation he prayed might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Ric. 2. Trini. 33. In the 17th year of the Reign of the King aforesaid, it was desired that remedy might be had against such religious persons as caused their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the Lands came to those religious mens hands by collusion.

Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to Benefices, who may do well on the same, so as their stock for want thereof do not perish.

Item, That remedy might be had against the Abbots of *Colchester* and *Abingtan*, who in the Towns of *Colchester* and *Colnham* claim to have Sanctuary.

Ex An. 20. Reg. Ric. 2. Tit. 22. To come to the Parliament holden in the 20th year of this Kings Reign; we find moreover in the said Rolls, how that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* for themselves, and the Clergy of their Provinces, declared to the King in open Parliament, *That (forasmuch as they were sworn to the Pope and See of* Rome) *if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same,* the which their Protestation they require to be enrolled.

Here the Archbishop of Canterbury goeth contrary to himself.

Upon the Petition of the begging Friers, there at large it was Enacted, *That none of that Order should passe over the Seas without licence of his Sovereign, nor that he should take upon him any order of Mr. of Divinity, unless he were first apposed in his Chapter provincial, on paine to be put out of the Kings protection.*

Tit. 31.

Tit. 36. *Item*, That the Kings Officers, for making Arrests or Attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated, whereof remedy was required.

Ex 21. An. Reg. Ric. 2. p. 15. In the 21st year of the same Kings Reign the Parliament being holden at *Westminster*, we find how the Commons in full Parliament, accused *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed the same Commission, made traiterously in the tenth year of the King. And also, That he the said Archbishop procured the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to incroach to themselves Royal Power, and to judge to death *Simon de Burley*, and Sir *John Bernes* without the Kings assent. Whereupon the Commons required that the same Archbishop might rest under safe keeping; whereunto, for that the same Impeachments touched so great a person, they would be advised. } KING 2. Ric. 2.

Item, The 25th day of *September*, the Commons prayed the King to give Judgment against the said Archbishop, according to his deserts. The King answered, that privately the said Archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistook himself in the said Commission, and therefore submitted himself to the Kings mercy: Wherefore the Kings, Lords, and Sir *Thomas Percy*, Procter for the Clergy, adjudged the fact of the said Archbishop to be Treason, and himself a Traitor; and therefore it was ordered, that the said Archbishop should be banished, his Temporalties seized, his Lands and Goods forfeited, as well in use, as in possession. Ex Thad.

Tho. Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury protected by Parliament by Parliament.

The King further prescribed, that the said Archbishop should take his passing on *Friday*, within six Weeks of *Michaelmas*, at *Dover*, towards the parts of *France*. Ex tit. 17.

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the Reign of this King, necessary for the Church to know, by course of story; we come now to the 22d year of K. *Richard*'s Reign which is the year of our Lord 1399. In the which year happened the strange and also lamentable deposing of this K. *Richard* the 2d aforesaid from his Kingly Scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often been seen in Seats Royal. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good mans heart, to see him either so to deserve, if he were justly deposed, or if he were unjustly deprived, to see the Kingly Title there not able to hold his right, where by force it is compelled to give place to might. { Ann. 1399 The deposing of K. Richard the second. The story strange and lamentable.

As concerning the order and process of whose deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in *Robert Fabian*, and in the Kings Records in the Chronicle of St. *Albans*, and in other Histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this King, partly before hath been touched. In whom as some good vertues may be noted, so also some vices may seem to be mixed withal. But especially this, that he starting out of the steps of his Progenitors, ceased to take part with them, which took part with the Gospel. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind Wheel of Fortune, but by the secret hand of him which directeth all estates, that as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the Gospel of God, so the Lord began to forsake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fail, there can lack no causes to be charged withal, whom God once giveth over to mans punishment. So that to me, considering the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other causes alledged in stories against him, none seemeth so much to be weighed of us, or more hurtful to him than this forsaking of the Lord and his Word. Although to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withal, many and sundry defects in that King may appear in stories, to the number of thirty three Articles alledged, or forced rather against him. Vices and vertues what is to be noted in K. Richard. What is to forsake the maintenance of the Gospel.

In which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame; so to be displaced therefore from his Regal Seat, and rightfull state of the Crown, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so material in a Prince, which either could or else would have served; had not he given over before to serve the Lord and his Word, chusing rather to serve the humor of the Pope and bloudy Prelates, than to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his Word. And then, as I said, how can enemies lack where God standeth not to friend? or what cause can be so little, which is not able enough to cast down, where the Lords arm is shortned to sustain? Wherefore it is a point of principal wisdom in a Prince, not to forget, that as he standeth always in need of Gods helping hand, so always he have the discipline and fear of him before his eyes, according to the counsel of the godly King *David*, *Psal.* 2. Articles 33. laid against K. Richard. Gods speciall favour necessary for Princes Psalm 2.

And

{ KING 1 Ric. 2. } And thus much touching the time and race of this King *Richard*, with the tragical story of his deposing. The order and manner whereof purposely I pretermit, only contented briefly to lay together a few special things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient, in a brief summ, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitive of such stories, and also to forewarn other Princes to beware of the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain persons about him, and ruled all by their counsel, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the Realm: The Names of whom were *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, whom the King made Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Trisilian* Lord Chief Justice, *Nicholas Brembre*, with other. The King hid with lewd counsel.

These men, being hated and disdained of divers of the Nobles, and of the Commons, the King also by favouring them, was less favoured himself. Insomuch, that the Duke of *Glocester*, named *Thomas Woodstock* the Kings Uncle, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and Earl of *Darby*, stood up in Arms against those counsellers and abusers (as they named them) of the King. Insomuch that the King for fear was constrained against his mind to remove out of his Court, *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *John Ford* Bishop of *Duresme*, Frier *Thomas Rushoke* Bishop of *Chicester*, the Kings Confessor, with the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnel*, and *Bemond*, Lord *Vere*, and divers other.

The Nobles up in arms against certain of the Kings Counsellers. And furthermore, in the Parliament the same year following, *Robert Trisilian* the Justice was hanged and drawn. Also *Nicholas Brembre* Knight, *James Salisbury* also, and *James Barnese* both Knights, *John Bewcamp* the Kings Steward, and *John Blake* Esquire in like manner: All these by the counsel of the Lords being cast in the Parliament against the Kings mind, did suffer, which was in the 11th of his Reign, he being yet under governours; but coming after the same, the King claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that stirred up the Kings stomach against the Nobles. *Ex Chron. Alban.* Ex Chron. D. Alban.

The second occasion of the Kings deposing. 2. Another thing that stirred him up as much against the *Londoners*, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a Thousand pound, and they denied him, to their double and treble disadvantage, as after ensued upon it. *Ibidem.* Another occation, betides this between the King and the *Londoners* happened thus, by reason of one of the Bishop of *Salisburys* servants, named *Roman*, and a Bakers man; who then carrying a Basket of Horsebread in in *Fleetstreet*, the foresaid *Roman* took a Horse-loaf out of the Basket. The Baker asking him why he did so, the Bishops lusty Yeoman turned back again and brake his head; whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arrested this *Roman*, but he escaped away into the Bishops House. Then the Constable would have had him out; but the Bishops men shut fast the Gates, that they should not approach, thus much people gathered together, threatning to burst open the gates, and fire the house, unless they had the foresaid party to them brought out. Whereby much ado there was, till at length the Mayor and Sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the Commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done, but if the Bishop for his part had been quiet, and had not stirred the coals of debate, which were well slacked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomach of the Bishop not yet digested (although his man had done the wrong) having no great cause so to do, whose name was *John Waltam*, being then Treasurer of *England*, went to *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop the same time of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, to complain of the *Londoners*. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy mystery, which although it be not in this story touched of the Writers, yet it touched the hearts of the Bishops not a little. For the *Londoners* at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of *Wickliff*'s side, as partly before this is to be seen, and in the story of S. *Albans* more plainly doth appear: Where the Author of the said History, writing upon the 15th year of Kings *Richard*'s Reign, reporteth in these words of the *Londoners*, that they were *Male credulii in Deum & traditiones* The King banished the Bishop of Salisbury Waltham. Tho. Arundel Archbish. of York. Londoners favourers of Wickliff. Doctrine. Ex Hist. D. Alban. in fine Regis Richardi Willelmi Arg. gentis, &c. *avitae, Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractatores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores, &c.* i. *Not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, sustainers of the* Lollards, *depravers of religious men, withholders of Tithes, and impoverishers of the common people, &c.*

Thus the *Londoners*, being noted and suspected of the Bishops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the said Bishops which were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appear. For the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and Archbishop of *York*, having no greater matter against them, than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the King, complaining of the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. What trespass the Mayor and Sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The King, incensed not a little, with the complaint of the Bishops, conceived offcons against the Mayor and Sheriffs, and against the whole City of *London*, a great stomach: Insomuch, that the Mayor and both the Sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their Office. Sir *Edward Darlington* then was made Warden and Governour of the City; who also, for his gentleness shewed to the Citizens, was also deposed, and another named Sir *Baldwin Radington*, placed in that room. Moreover, so much grew the Kings displeasure against the City, that he also removed from *London* the Courts, and Terms to be kept at *York*, that is to say, the Chancery, the Eschequer, the Kings-Bench, the Hamper, and the Common Pleas; where the same continued from *Midsummer* till *Christmas*, to the great decay of the City of *London*; which was *Anno* 1393. Londoners complained of to the King by the Bishops. Bears pacified. The Court removed from London to York.

3. Another great cause, which purchased the King much evil with amongst his Subjects, was the great murthering of his own Uncle named *Thomas Woodstock*, Duke of *Glocester*, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said Duke, with the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Darby*, with other, were up in Armour against certain wicked Counsellors about the King. Whereupon the King, watching afterward his time, came into *Chelmsford*, and so to the place named, where the Duke lay; where with his own hands he arrested the said Duke his Uncle, and sent him down by water immediately to *Calis*; and there, through the Kings commandment, by secret means he was put to death, being strangled under a Featherbed, the Earl Marshal being then the Keeper of *Calis*, whereby great indignation rose in many mens hearts against the King. The ad preparative to the Kings deposing. The King arresting his own Uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the same Duke of *Glocester* also, about the same time, was arrested and imprisoned the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, who, being condemned by Parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the King. *An.* 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blank Charts sent over all the Land by the King; and how the King was faid to let out his Realm to farm: Over and beside all these above premised, fell another matter, which was the principal occation of this mischief; The banishment, I mean, of *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, made Duke of *Hereford* a little before, being Son of *John* of *Gaunt* the Duke of *Lancaster* (who died shortly after the banishment of his Son, and lieth buried in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*) and the Duke of *Northfolk*; who was before Earl of *Nottingham*, and after by this King made Duke of *Northfolk* the year before. At which time the King made five Dukes, a Marquess, and four Earls, to wit, Duke of *Hereford*, which was before Earl of *Darby*; Duke of *Aumerle*, which was before Earl of *Rutland*; Duke of *Southrey*, who was before Earl of *Kent*; Duke of *Exeter*, which was before Earl of *Huntington*; and this Duke of *Northfolk*, being before Earl of *Nottingham*, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banishing these foresaid Dukes was this. Earl of Nottingham made Duke of Northfolk.

About this prefent time the Duke of *Hereford* did appeach the Duke of *Northfolk* upon certain words to be spoken against the King: whereupon calling their Gloves one against the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrel, a day being for the same appointed at *Coventry*. But the King took up the matter in his own hands, banishing the Duke of *Northfolk* for ever, which after died at *Venice*; The Duke of Northfolk and Duke of Hereford banished.

Venice; and the other Duke, which was the Duke of *Hereford*, for 10 years. Beside these, also was exiled into *France* for ever, for 20 years. Beside these, also was exiled into *France* for ever, for 20 years. Beside these, also was exiled into *France* for ever, for 20

Examination about the Sacrament, lasted from 8 of the Clock of the same day, until 11 of the Clock, or thereabouts; insomuch that during all this time the foresaid *William* would no otherwise answer, neither yet touching the same Sacrament receive Catholick information, according to the institution of the Popes Church, and his Christian Faith. Wherefore the said *Canterbury*, by the counsel and assent of his whole Covent then and there present, did promulgate and give sentence, by the mouth of *Robert Hall*, against the same Sir *William Sautre* (being personally present, and refusing to revoke his Heresies, that is to say, his true Doctrine, but constantly defended the same) under the tenor of words as followeth:

The sentence against Wil. Sautre.

IN the *Name of God, Amen. We* Thomas *by the grace of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of* England, *and Legate of the See Apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed* Sr. Peter *and* Paul, *and of holy Church, and by our own authority, sitting for Tribunal or chief Judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole Clergy our fellow brethren and Suffragans, assistants unto us in this present Council Provincial, by this our sentence definitive do pronounce, decree and declare by these presents, thee* William Sautre, *otherwise called* Chawrey, *Parish Priest pretensed, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of Heresie, judicially and lawfully convict, as an Heretick, and as an Hertick to be punished.*

Which sentence definitive being thus read, the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* continued in the same Provincial Council till *Wednesday* next and immediately ensuing, to wit, the 24th day of the same Month of *February*, which being expired, the Bishop of *Norwich*, according to the commandment of the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presented unto the foresaid *William Sautre* by a certain friend of his, being present at the same Council, a certain Process inclosed and sealed with his Seal, giving the names of credible witnesses sealed with their seals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wise:

A certain process against Wil. Sautre presented by the Bishop of Norwich.

Memorandum, That upon the last day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1399. in the 7. Indiction, and 10 year of the Papacy of Pope *Boniface* the 2. in a certain Chamber within the Manor House of the said Bishop of *Norwich*, at *South Helingham* (where the Register of the said Bishop is kept) before the 9th hour, in a certain Chappel within the said Manor situate, and the first day of *May* then next and immediately insuing, in the foresaid Chamber Sir *W. Chawtrie*, Parish Priest of the Church of S. *Margaret* in the Town of *Lin*, appeared before the Bishop of *Norwich*, in the presence of *John de Derlington*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, Doctor of the Decrees, Frier *Walter Disse*, and *John Rikinghal*, Professors in Divinity, *William Carlton*, Doctor of both Laws, and *William Frisseby*, with *Hugh Brisham*, Publick Notaries, and there publickly affirmed and held the Conclusions, as before is specified.

All and singular the premisses the foresaid *William* affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19th day of *May* in the year, Indiction and Papacy aforesaid, in the Chappel within the Manor house of the said *Henry* Bishop of *Norwich* situate at *South Helingham*, the foresaid Sir *William* revoked and renounced all and singular the foresaid his Conclusions; abjuring and correcting all such Heresies and Errors, taking his Oath upon a Book before the foresaid *Henry* the Bishop of *Norwich*, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm nor hold, privily nor apertly, the foresaid Conclusions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the said Bishop, the foresaid Conclusions to be erroneous and heresies in the Parish Churches of *Lin*, and *Timey*, and in other places at the affignment of the said Bishop; and further sware, that he would stand to the ordinance of the said Bishop touching the premisses, in the presence of the discreet and worshipful men afore-recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the first Conclusion, that he said he would not worship the Cross, *&c.* he confessed himself to have erred, and that the Article was erroneous, and submitted himself. And as touching the second Article, that he said he would rather worship a King, *&c.* he confessed himself to have erred, and the Article to be erroneous, and submitted himself, and so forth of all the rest. {KING 1. Hen. 4.}

Then next after this, upon the 25th day of *May* in the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the Churchyard of the Chappel of St. *James* within the Town of *Lin*, the foresaid *William*, in presence of the foresaid Bishop and Clergy, and the people of the said Town of *Lin* standing round about, publickly declared in the *English* Tongue, the foresaid Conclusions to be erroneous and Heresies, as was contained in a certain Scrole. And after this, the 26th day of *May* in the year abovesaid, in the Church of the Hospital of S. *Johns* in the Town of *Lin*, the said Sir *William*, before the said Bishop sitting as judge, sware and took his Oath upon the holy Evangelists, that he would never after that time preach openly and publickly the foresaid Conclusions, nor would hear the confessions of any of the Subjects of his Diocese of *Norwich*, without the special licence of the said Bishop, *&c.* In the presence of Frier *John Smermen*, Mr. *John Rikinghal* Doctor of Divinity, *William Carlton* Doctor of both Laws, and *Thomas Bulton* Officer of the liberty of *Lin* aforesaid, with divers others.

The tenor of the Scrole and Recantation.

IMprimis, *Touching the first and second, where I said, That I would adore rather a temporal Prince, and the lively bodies of the Saints, than the wooden Cross whereupon the Lord did hang, I do revoke and recant the same, as being therein deceived.* 1. 2.

To this I say, that the Article is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; the which I renounce and ask forgiveness thereof, and say, that it is a precious Relick, and that I shall hold it while I live, and that I swear here. 3.

I know well that I erred wrongfully by false information; for I wot well, that a Deacon or a Priest is more bound to say his Mattens and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right; wherefore I submit me, &c. 4.

Touching that Article, I know right well that I erred by false information. Wherefore I ask forgiveness. 5.

As concerning Vous, I say that opinion is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; for a man is holden to hold his Vow, &c. 6.

To the 7th Article I say, that I did it by authority of Priesthood, wherethrough I knowledge well that I gave guilt and trespassed; wherefore I submit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, swearing that I shall never hold it more. 7.

To the 8th I say, that I held it by false and wrong information. But now I know well that it is Heresie, and that bread, anon as the word of the Sacrament is said, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into very Christs body; and that I swear here. 8.

I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c. 9.

I say as I said, &c. 10.

This being done the 22d of *February* aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 1400. in the Chapter house of S. *Paul* in *London* aforesaid; the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Convocation of his Prelates, and Clergy, and such like men there being present, caused the fore-recited process of the Bishop of *Norwich*, to be read openly and publickly to Sir *William Sautre*, otherwise called *Chautris*. And afterward he asked the said Sir *William*, whether he plainly understood and knew such Process and the contents within the same; and he said, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or object any thing against the Process, and he said, No. And after that incontinent, the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded and objected against the said Sir *William*, as divers others more did; That after he had before the Bishop of *Norwich* revoked and abjured judicially divers errors and heresies, among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, *That in the same Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration made by the Priest, as he taught, there remained material bread*; which heresie amongst others as errors alfo he abjured before the foresaid Bishop of *Norwich*. Hereunto the foresaid *William* answered, smiling, or in mocking wise, saying, and denying that he knew of the premisses. Notwithstanding, he publickly

Process presented W. Sautre.

Ex Regist. Cantuar.

{KING 1. Hen. 4.} lickly affirmed, That he held and taught the foresaid things after the date of the said Process made by the said Bishop of *Norwich*, and that in the same Council also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said Sir *William*, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into Heresie, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the Canonical Sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alledge any cause to the contrary.

Whereupon the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the counsel and assent of the whole Council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the Reverend Fathers and Bishops, as also Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and other worshipful Doctors and Clerks then and there present in the Council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation, and actual deposing of the said *William Sautre*, as resallen into Heresie and as incorrigible, according to the Sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth.

Sentence of degr.

In the Name of God, Amen. *We* Thomas *by the Grace of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Legate of the See Apostolical, and Metropolitan of all* England, *do find and declare, That thou* William Sautre, *otherwise called* Chautris *Priest, by us with the counsel and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole Clergy, by this our Sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for Heresie convict and condemned, and art (being again fallen into Heresie) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.*

And from that day being *Wednesday*, there was in the said Council Provincial nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the *Friday* next ensuing. Which *Friday* approaching, Master *Nicholas Rifhton*, by the commandment of the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then buised, as he said, in the Parliament House, continued this Council and Convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions, growing and annexed thereunto the next day, to wit, *Saturday* next and immediately after ensuing. Upon *Saturday*, being the 26th of the said month of *February*, the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* sate in the Bishops Seat of the foresaid Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, and solemnly apparelled in his Pontifical attire, fitting with him as his assistants there Reverend Fathers and Bishops, of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Exeter*, *Menevensis & Roffensis Episcopi*, above mentioned, commanded and caused the said Sir *William Sautre*, apparelled in Priestly Vestments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in *English* to all the Clergy and people there in great multitude assembled; That all Process was finished and ended against the said Sir *William Sautre*. Which thing finished, before the pronuncing of the said Sentence of Relapse against the said Sir *William*, as is premised, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said *William* in that behalf nothing abashed; he proceeded to his degradation and actual depofition in form as followeth.

Sentence of deprivation.

IN *Nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti.* We *Thomas* by Gods permission Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the Apostolick See, do denounce thee *William Sautre*, otherwise called *Chautris*, Chaplain fained, in the habit and apparel of a Priest, as an Heretick, and one resallen into Heresie, by this our Sentence definitive, by counsel, assent, and authority to be condemned; and by conclusion of all our fellow Brethren, fellow Bishops, Prelates, Council Provincial, and of the whole Clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy Priestly Order. And in sign of degradation and actual depofition from thy Priestly Dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the Patent and Chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the Mass, and also we pull from thy back the Casule, and take from thee the Vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of Priestly honour.

The Patent and Chalice taken from him.

Also, we *Thomas* the aforesaid Archbishop by authority, counsel, and assent, which upon the foresaid *William* we have, being Deacon pretensed, in the habit and apparel of a Deacon, having the New Testament in thy hands, being an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by Sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of a Deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual depofition, we take from thee the Book of the New Testament, and the Stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the Gospel, and of all and all manner of Dignity of a Deacon.

The Book of the New Testament taken from him.

Item, We *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, which over thee the foresaid *William* we have, being a Sub-deacon pretensed, in the habit and Vestiment of a Sub-deacon, an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of a Sub-deacon; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depofition, we take from thee the Albe and Maniple, and do deprive thee of all manner of Sub-diaconical Dignity.

The Albe taken from him.

Also, we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by counsel assent, and authority which we have over thee the foresaid *William*, an Acolyte pretensed, wearing the habit of an Acolyte, and Heretick, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and put from thee all Order of an Acolyte; and in sign and token of this thy degradation, and actual depofition, we take from thee the Candlestick and Taper, and also *Urceolum*, and do deprive thee of all and all manner dignity of an Acolyte.

The Candlestick and Taper taken from him.

Also we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, which upon thee the foresaid *William* we have, an Exorcist pretensed, in the habit of an Exorcist or Holy-water Clerk, being an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose thee from the Order of an Exorcist; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depofition, we take from thee the Book of Conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an Exorcist.

The Holy-water Book taken from him.

Also, we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, as is abovesaid, do degrade and depose thee the foresaid *William*, Reader pretensed, clothed in the habit of a Reader, an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned from the order of a Reader; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depofition, we take from thee the Book of the Divine Lections (that is the Book of the Church Legend) and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of dignity of such a Reader.

He meaneth the Legend Book, as saith the Registers.

Item, We *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* aforesaid, by authority, counsel and assent, the which we have, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee the foresaid *William Sautre*, Sexton pretensed, in the habit of a Sexton, and wearing a Surplice, being an Heretick twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid from the Order of a Sexton; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depofition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the Keys of the Church-door, and thy Surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of commodities of a Door-keeper.

The Surplice taken from him.

The Church door Keys taken from him.

And also, by the authority of Omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our authority, counsel, and assent, of our whole Council Provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personally present before us, from Orders, Benefices, Privileges and Habit in the Church; and for thy pertinency incorrigible we do degrade thee before the secular Court of the High Constable and Marshal of *England*, being personally present; and do depose thee from all and singular Clerkly honours and dignities whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in token of thy degradation and depofition, here actually we have caused thy Crown and Ecclesiastical Tonsure in our presence to be razed away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular Lay-man; and here we do put upon the head of thee the foresaid *William* the Cap of a Lay secular person; beseeching the Court aforesaid, that they will receive favourably the said *William* unto them thus recommitted.

Privileedge of the Clergy taken from him.

The Priests Cap taken from his head, meeth up all in all.

Thus *William Sautre* the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the Popes Kingdom, and metamorphosed from a Clerk to a secular Lay-man, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the secular power. Which so done, the Bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the King, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy Execution. Whereupon the King, ready enough and too much to gratifie the Clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible Decree against the said *William Sautre*, and sent it to the Major and Sheriffs of *London* to be put in execution; the tenour whereof hereunder ensueth.

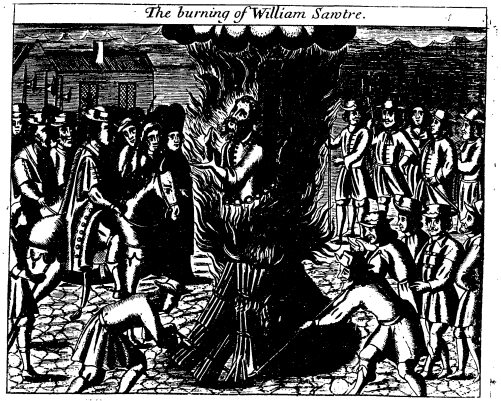
The Decree of the King againſt William Sawtre.

The cruel decree of the King againſt Sawtre.

THE Decree of our Soveraign Lord the King and his Council in the Parliament, againſt a certain new ſprung up Heretick. To the Major and Sheriffs of *London*, *&c.* Whereas the Reverend Father *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, by the aſſent, conſent, and counſel of other Biſhops, and his Brethren Suffragans, and alſo of all the whole Clergy within his Province or Dioceſs, gathered together in his Provincial Council, the due order of the Law being obſerved in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive ſentence, *William Sawtre* ſometime Chaplain fallen again into his moſt damnable Herſie, the which before time the ſaid *William* had abjured, thereupon to be a moſt manifeſt Heretick, and therefore hath decreed that he ſhould be degraded, and hath for the ſame cauſe really degraded him from all prerogative and priviledge of the Clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the ſecular power; and hath really ſo left him, according to the Laws and Canonical Sanctions ſet forth in this behalf, and alſo that our Holy Mother the Church hath no further to do in the premiſſes: we therefore being zealous in Religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholick Faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the Holy Church, and the Laws and the Liberties of the ſame, to root all ſuch Errors and Herefies out of our Kingdom of *England*, and with condigne puniſhment to correct and puniſh all Hereticks or ſuch as be convict; provided always that both according to the Law of God and Man, and the Canonical inſtitutions in this behalf accuſtomed, ſuch Hereticks convict and condemned in form aforeſaid ought to be burned with fire: We command you, as ſtraitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoyning you that you do cauſe the ſaid *William*, being in your cuſtody, in ſome publick oropen place within the liberties of your City aforeſaid (the cauſe aforeſaid being publiſhed unto the people) to beput into the fire, and there in the ſame fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifeſt example of other Chriſtians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon: *Teſte Rege, apud Weſtm. 26. Febr. Ao. Regni ſui.*

{KING. Hen.4.} Precedents ſeldom without knowledge.

The burning of William Sawtre.



Admoniſtion to Princes.

Thus it may appear how Kings and Princes have been blinded and abuſed by the falſe Prelates of the Church, inſomuch that they have been their ſlaves and butchers, to ſlay Chriſts poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for Princes not to have knowledge and underſtanding themſelves, but to be led by other Mens eyes, and ſpecially truſting to ſuch guids, who through hypocriſie both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

King Henry the firſt of *Engliſh* Kings that tormented the Chriſtians with fire.

As King *Henry* the Fourth, who was the depoſer of King *Richard*, was the firſt of all *Engliſh* Kings that began the unmerciful burning of Chriſts Saints for ſtanding againſt the Pope: ſo was this *William Sawtre*, the true and faithful Martyr of Chriſt, the firſt of all them in *Wickliffs* time, which I find to be burned in the Reign of the foreſaid King, which was in the year of our Lord, 1400.

After the Martyrdom of this godly Man, the reſt of the ſame Company began to keep themſelves more cloſely for fear of the King, who was altogether bent to hold with the Popes Prelacy. Such was the Reign of this Prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeaſurable, of few Men heartily beloved; but Princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his Reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood and miſery. Such was their deſire of King *Richard* again in the Reign of this King, that many years after he was rumored to be alive (of them which deſired belike that to be true which they knew to be falſe) for the which divers were executed. For the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years together almoſt no year paſſed without ſome conſpiracy againſt the King. Long it were here to recite the blood of all ſuch Nobles and others, which was ſpilt in the Reign of this King, as the Earl of * *Kent*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Huntington*, named *John Holland*, *&c.* as writeth the ſtory of S. *Albans*. But the *Engliſh* writers differ ſomthing in their names, and make mention of four Earls, of *Surrey*, of *Exceſter*, of *Salisbury*, and Lord *Spencer* Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Brutt.*

Much murder and bleeding in the time of King Henry the Fourth. * It is to be doubted.

And the next year following Sir *John Clarendon* Knight, with two of his ſervants, the Prior of *Launde*, with eight Friers, were hanged and quartered. And after theſe *Henry Percy* the younger, the Earl of *Worceſter*, named *Thomas Percy* his Uncle, Lord of *Kinderton*, and Lord *Richard de Vernova*. The Earl of *Northumberland* ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon, *An.* 1403. In the which year the priſon in *Cornhil* called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now ſtanding.

Ao Colendarii Brutt.

{ANNO 1403.}

To let paſs other moe hanged and quartered the ſame time, as *Blunt* Knight, and *Benet Kely* Knight, and *Thomas Winterſel*

{KING. Hen.4.} *Winterſel* Eſquire; Alſo the ſame year was taken and Executed Sir *Bernard Brookes* Knight, Sir *John Shilley* Knight, Sir *John Mandelin* and *William Frierby*. After all theſe Lord *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, conſpiring the Kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this King *Henry*.

Archbiſhop of York and Lord Mowbray againſt King Henry the Fourth.

This civil Rebellion of ſo many Nobles, and other, againſt the King, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this King *Henry*. Among whom I cannot pretermit here alſo the Archbiſhop of *York* named *Richard Scrope*, who with the Lord *Moubray*, Marſhal of *England*, gathered a great company in the North Country againſt the foreſaid King, to whom alſo was adjoyned the help of Lord *Bardolf*, and *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. *Ex Chron. D. Albani.* And to ſtir up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain Articles againſt the ſaid King, to the number of ten, and faſtned them upon the doors of the Churches and Monaſteries, to be read of all Men in *Engliſh*. Which Articles if any be diſpoſed to underſtand, forſomuch as the ſame alſo contain a great part of the doings between King *Henry* and King *Richard* aforeſaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter hereunder to inſert the ſame, in ſuch form as I found them in the ſtory of *Scala mundi* expreſſed.

Lord Bardolf, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland againſt the King. *Ex Hiſtor. Scala Mundi.* Articles fet upon Church doors againſt King Henry 4.

Articles ſet upon Church Doors againſt King Henry *the Fourth.*

{ANNO 1401.} IN the Name of God, *Amen*. Before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, judge of the quick and dead, *&c.* We *A. B. C. D. &c.* not long ſithence became bound by oath upon the Sacred Evangelical Book, unto our Soveraign Lord *Richard*, late King of *England* and *France*, in the preſence of many Prelates, Potentates and Nobility of the Realm; that we, ſo long as we lived, ſhould bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs ſucceeding him in the Kingdom by juſt title, right, and line, according to the ſtatutes and cuſtom of this Realm of *England*: By vertue whereof we are bound to foreſee that no vices, or hainous offences ariſing in the Common-weal, do take effect or wiſhed end, and we ought to give our ſelves and our goods to withſtand the ſame, without fear of the ſword or death whatſoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is Everlaſting Damnation. Wherefore we ſeeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceaſing to be committed by the Children of the Devil and Satans Souldiers againſt the ſupremacy of the Church of *Rome*, the liberty of the Church of *England*, and the Laws of the Realm, againſt the perſon of King *Richard* and his heirs, againſt the Prelates, Noble-men, Religion, and Commonalty, and finally againſt the whole Weal publick of the Realm *England*, to the great offence of the Majeſty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his juſt wrath and vengeance toward the Realm and people of the ſame. And fearing alſo the deſtruction both of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and the ruine of our Country to be at hand, having before our eyes the juſtice and the Kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jeſus, having an aſſured confidence in his Clemency, Mercy and Power; Have here taken unto us certain Articles, ſubſcribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the juſt Judge, Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole world, to his honor, the delivery of the Church, the Clergy, and Commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the Weal Publick. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked perſons we ſhall be caſt in priſon, or by violent death prevented, ſo as in this world we ſhall not be able to prove the ſaid Articles as we would wiſh, then do we appeal to the high Celeſtial Judge, that he may judge and diſcern the ſame, in the day of his ſupreme judgment.

King Henry perjured.

A Bill of Articles ſet up againſt King Henry the Fourth.

1. *Firſt*, We depoſe, ſay, except, and intend to prove againſt the Lord *Henry Darby*, Son of the Lord *John* of *Gaunt*, late Duke of *Lancaſter*, and commonly called King of *England* (himſelf pretending the ſame, although without all right and title thereunto) and againſt his adherents, fautours, and complices; that ever they have been, are, and will be Traitors, invaders, and deſtroyers of Gods Church in *Rome*, *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and of our Soveraign Lord *Richard* late King of *England*, his heirs, his Kingdom, and Common-wealth, as ſhall hereafter manifeſtly appear.

2. *Secondarily*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, for that he had conceived, deviſed, and conſpired certain hainous crimes and traiterous offences againſt his ſaid Soveraign Lord *Richard* his State and Dignity, as manifeſtly did appear in the contention between the ſaid Lord *Henry*, and the Lord *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolk* begun at *Coventry*, but not finiſhed throughly. Afterwards he was ſent into exile by ſentence of the ſaid King *Richard*, by the agreement of his Father the Lord *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the voice of divers of the Lords Temporal, and Nobility of the Realm, and alſo by his own conſent; there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the ſaid Lords, and withal he was bound by oath not to return into *England* before he had obtained favour and grace of the King. Not long after, when the King was departed into *Ireland* for reformation of that Country appertaining to the Crown of *England*, but as then rebelling againſt the ſame; the ſaid Lord *Henry* in the mean time contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautours and invaders ſecretly entred into the Realm, ſweaning and proteſting before the face of the people, that his coming into the Realm in the abſence of the King was for none other cauſe, but that he might in humble ſort with the love and favour of the King, and all the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance deſcending unto him of right after the death of his Father: which thing as it pleaſed all Men, ſo cryed they, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* But how this bleſſing afterward turned into curſing, ſhall appear in that which followeth: and alſo ye ſhall underſtand his horrible and wicked conſpiracy againſt his Soveraign Lord King *Richard*, and divers other Lords as well ſpiritual as temporal; beſides that his manifeſt perjury ſhall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forſworn and perjured, but alſo Excommunicate, for that he conſpired againſt his Soveraign Lord our King. Wherefore we pronounce him by theſe preſents aſwel perjured, as Excommunicate.

King Henry charged with untruth.

3. *Thirdly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the Lord *Henry*, that he the ſaid Lord *Henry*, immediately after his entry into *England*, by craftly and ſubtil policy cauſed to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realm, that no tenths of the Clergy, fifteens of the people, ſealing up of Cloth, diminution of Wool, impoſt of Wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatſoever, ſhould hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchaſe unto him the voice and favour of the Prelates Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, the Merchants, and Commonalty of the whole Realm. After this he took by force the Kings Caſtles and Fortreſſes, ſpoiled and devoured his goods wherſoever he found it, crying, *Havock*, *Havock*. The Kings Majeſties ſubjects as well Spiritual as Temporal, he ſpoiled and robbed, ſome he took Captive and Imprifoned them, and ſome he ſlew and put to miſerable death, whereof many were Biſhops, Prelates, Prieſts, and Religious Men. Whereby it is manifeſt, That the ſaid Lord *Henry* is not only perjured, in promiting and ſwearing that there ſhould be hereafter no more exactions, paiments, or extortions within the Realm, but alſo Excommunicate for the violence and injury done to Prelates and Prieſts. Wherefore by theſe preſents we pronounce him, as afore, as well perjured, as Excommunicate.

King Henry charged with Treaſon againſt his Soveraign.

4. *Fourthly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, That he, hearing of the Kings return from *Ireland* into *Wales*, roſe up againſt his Soveraign Lord the King with many thouſands of armed Men, marching forward with all his power towards the Caſtle of *Flint* in *Wales*, where he took the King and held him priſoner, and ſo led him Captive as a Traitor unto *Liceſter*; from whence he took his journey towards *London*, miſuſing the King by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and ſcoffs. And in the end committed him to the Tower of *London*, and held a Parliament, the King being abſent and in priſon: wherein for fear of death he compelled the King to yield and reſign unto him all his right and title of the Kingdom and Crown of *England*. After which reſignation being made, the ſaid Lord

Henry standing up in the Parliament House, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, That the Kingdom of *England* and Crown of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to no other; for that the said King *Richard* by his own Deed was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length by right and wrong he exalted himself unto the Throne of the Kingdom: since which time, our Common-weal never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath been void of vertue, for that the spiritualty was so oppressed, exercise and war-like practices have not been maintained, Charity is waxed cold, and covetousness and misery hath taken place, and finally mercy is taken away and vengeance supplieth the room. Whereby it doth appear (as before is said) That the said Lord *Henry* is not only perjured and false by usurping the Kingdom and Dominion belonging to another, but also Excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his Soveraign Lord the King of his Royal Crown and Dignity. Wherefore, as in the Articles before, we pronounce the said Lord *Henry* to be Excommunicate.

5. *Fifthly*, We depose, *&c.* against the said Lord *Henry*, that he the same Lord *Henry* with the rest of his favourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the King, and deposed him by open injury against all humane nature; yet, not content with this, they brought him to *Pomfret* Castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in *England*, but by Gods Providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of him? Wherefore, O *England*, arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury of thy King and Prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the Righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an act. Whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but also his Excommunication most execrable; so that, as before, we pronounce the said *Henry* not only perjured, but also Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with murdering of his Prince.

6. *Sixthly*, We depose, *&c.* against the said Lord *Henry*, That after he had attained to the Crown and Scepter of the Kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers Lords Spiritual, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Religious Men of all Orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular Judges to be examined; not sparing the Bishops whose bodies were annointed with Sacred Oyl, nor Priests nor Religious Men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the Temporal Law and judgment, notwithstanding the priviledge of the Church and Holy Orders, which he ought to have reverenced and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawful King: for the first and chiefest Oath in the Coronation of a lawful King is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliver any Priest or Religious Man into the hands of the Secular Power, except for Heresie only, and that after his degradation, according to the order of the Church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this Article as afore in the rest, that he is both perjured, and Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with orders of the Church.

7. *Seventhly*, We depose, *&c.* against the said Lord *Henry*, That not only he caused to be put to death the Lords Spiritual and other Religious Men, but also divers of the Lords Temporal and Nobility of the Realm, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the Common-weal, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by Gods Providence it be not prevented, and that with speed: Amongst all other of the Nobility, these first he put to death; the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Roger Clavendon* the Kings Brother, with divers other Knights and Esquires; and afterwards, the Lord *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester*, and the Lord *Henry Percy* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Northumberland*; the which Lord *Henry* he not only slew, but to the uttermost of his power again and again he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the Lord of *Furnile* to be buried (who committed his body to Holy Sepulture, with as much honor as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the Suffrages of blessed Mass and other Prayers) the said Lord *Henry*, most like a cruel beast still thirsting his blood, caused his body to be exhumate and brought forth again, and to be reposed between two Mil-stones in the Town of *Shrewsbury*, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers Cities of the Kingdom. Wherefore, for so detestable a fact never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former Articles, Excommunicate.

{KING Hen.4.}

8. *Eighthly*, We depose, *&c.* against the said Lord *Henry*, For that after his attaining to the Crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a most wicked Statute set forth and renewed in the Parliament holden at *Winchester*. The which Statute is directly against the Church of *Rome*, and the power, and principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed S. *Peter* and his successors Bishops of *Rome*; unto whom belongeth by authority the free disposing of all spiritual promotions as well superior as inferior: which wicked Statute is the cause of many mischiefs, *viz.* of Simony, Injury, Adultery, Incest, Misorder, and Disobedience; for that many Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Prelates (we will not say by vertue, but rather by error of this Statute) have bestowed the Benefices vacant upon young Men, rude and unworthy persons, which have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one Prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted for the half yearly, or, at the least, the third part of the said Benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said Statute is the destruction of the right of S. *Peter*, the Church of *Rome* and *England*, the Clergy and Universities, the whole Common-weal, and maintenance of Wars, *&c.*

The King charged with evil government

9. *Nimthly*, We say and depose, *&c.* against the said Lord *Henry*, That after he had Tyrannously taken upon him the Government of the Realm, *England* never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money, and oppressions yearly of the Clergy and Commonalty: neither is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his Souldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges, and wonderful toil and labor, neither yet the poor Country people are satisfied for the victual taken of them: And nevertheless the miserable Clergy, and more miserable Commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharp threatnings. Notwithstanding he sware, when he first usurped the Crown, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the Clergy nor Laity. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce him Perjured, *&c.*

King *Henry* charged with oppression and perjury.

10. In the tenth and last Article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for our selves, and all our assistants in the cause of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and in the cause of King *Richard*, his Heirs, the Clergy and Commonalty of the whole Realm; that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the Prelates Spiritual, Lords Temporal, or Commons of the Realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this Realm to approach, we have been brought before you certain Articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered of the whole Assembly, as well of the Lords Spiritual as Temporal, and the faithful Commons of *England*; beseeching you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ the Righteous Judge, and for the merits of our blessed Lady the Mother of God, and of Saint *George* our Defender, under whose displayed Banner we with to live and die, and under pain of Damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes wich are three in number. Whereof the first is, That we exalt unto the Kingdom the true and Lawful Heir, and him to Crown in Kingly Throne with the Diadem of *England*. And secondly, That we revoke the *Welsh*-men, the *Irish*-men, and all other our Enemies unto perpetual peace and amity. Thirdly, and finally, That we deliver and make free our Native Country from all Exactions,

Three causes declared.

Extortions,

{KING Hen.4.} extortions, and unjust payment; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work; and unto all those that are against us we threaten the Curse of Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his Holy Church, and by these presents we pronounce them Excommunicate.

These Articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the Archbishop. The Earl of *Westmorland* (being then not far off, with *John* the Kings Son) hearing of this, mustred his Souldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the Archbishop: but seeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he useth practice of policy, where strength would not serve. And first coming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboured to seek out the causes of that great stir. To whom the Archbishop again answering no hurt to be intended thereby, but profit rather to the King and Common-wealth, and maintenance of publick peace: but forsomuch as he stood in great fear and danger of the King, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withal he shewed unto him the contents of the Articles aforesaid; which when the Earl had read, setting a fair face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the Bishop: promiting moreover, that he would help also forward in that quarrel to the uttermost of his power. And he required upon the same a day to be set, when they with equal number of Men might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The Archbishop easily perswaded, was content, although much against the counsel of the Earl Marshal, and came. Where the Articles being openly publisht and read, the Earl of *Westmerland* with his Company pretended well to like the same, and to joyn their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbishop, that forsomuch as his Garison had been unlong in Armor and from home, he would therefore discharge the needless multitude of his Souldiers, and dismiss them home to their works and business, and they would together drink and joyn hands in the sight of the whole Company. Thus they shaking hands together, the Archbishop sendeth away his Souldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the aforesaid Earl of *Westmerland*; and shortly after the King coming with his power to *York*, he was there beheaded the *Monday* in *Whitson*-week, and with him also Lord *Thomas Moubray* Marshal, with divers other moreover of the City of *York*, which had taken their parts. After whose slaughter the King proceedeth farther to persecute the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Thomas Bardolph*; who then did flie to *Barwick*. From thence they removed to *Wales*. At length within two years after, fighting against the Kings part, they were slain in the field, *An.* 1408. In the which year divers other also in the North parts, for favouring the foresaid Lords, were likewise condemned by the King, and put to death. Among whom the Abbot of *Hales* for the like Treason was hanged.

Earl of Westmorland against the Archbishop.

Followed in fellowship.

The Archbishop of York, craftily circumvented.

The Archbishop of York, Lord Thomas Mowbray, with many Yorkshire men Executed.

The Earl of Northumberland, Lord Thomas Bardolf slain.

{Ann. 1408.}

Abbot of Hales hanged.

The King after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his Subjects, thought to keep in yet with the Clergy, and with the Bishop of *Rome*, seeking always his chiefest stay at their hands. And therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humor, as did appear as well in condemning *William Sautre* before, as also in other which consequently we have now to intreat of. In the number of whom cometh now by the course of time to write of one *John Badby* a Taylor and a Layman; who by the cruelty of *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop, and other Prelates, was brought to his Condemnation in his Kings Reign, *Anno.* 1409. according as by their own Registers appeareth, and followeth by his Narration to be seen.

{Ann. 1409.}

John Badby Artificer.

John Badby Martyr. Ex Regist. T. Arundel.

IN the year of our Lord, 1409. on *Sunday* being the first day of *March*, in the Afternoon, the examination following of one *John Badby* Taylor, being a Lay-man, was made in a certain House or Hall within the Precinct of the preaching Friers of *London*, in an utter Cloister, upon the crime of Heresie, and other Articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of *Rome*, before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other his assistants, as the Archbishop of *York*, of *Lond'n*, of *Winchester*, of *Oxford*, of *Norwich*, of *Salisbury*, of *Bath*, of *Bangor*, *Et Menevensis Episcopi*, and also *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas Bewford* the Chancellor of *England*, Lord *de Roos* the Clerk of the Rolls, and a great number of other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, being then at the self same time present; Master *Morgan* read the Articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the foresaid Master *Morgan*, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

The Articles read.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all Men by this present publick Instrument, that in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of *England*, otherwise in the year 1409. in the second Indiction, in the third year of the Popedom of the most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Gregory* the 11th. by the Divine permission Pope, the second day of *January*, in the Chappel *Carvariæ*, of Saint *Thomas* Martyr, nigh unto the Cathedral Church of *Worcester*, being situate in the said Diocese, in the presence of me the Publick Notary, and of the witnesses under written, the foresaid *John Badby* a Lay-man, of the said Diocese of *Worcester*, appearing personally before the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Thomas*, by the Grace of God Bishop of *Worcester*, sitting in the said Chappel for chief Judge, was detected of and upon the crime of Heresie being Heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foresaid *John Badby*: That is, That the Sacrament of the body of Christ, Consecrated by the Priest upon the Altar, is not the true body of Christ by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramental words spoken by the Priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the Altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the Sacramental words spoken of the Priests. Which *John Badby* being examined, and diligently demanded by the foresaid Reverend Father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any Priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no Priest could make the body of Christ by such words Sacramentally spoken in such fort. And also he said expressly that he would never while he lived believe that any Priest could make the body of Christ Sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the Priest upon the Altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That *John Baker* of *Bristol* had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any Priest had. Moreover he said, That when Christ sate at Supper with his Disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his Disciples; and he said expresly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching and fortifying the Heresie in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the Catholick Faith.

The Sacrament of Christs body.

Upon which occasion the same Reverend Father admonished and requested the said *John Badby* oftentimes, and very instantly to Charity; forsomuch as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such Heresie and opinion holden, taught and maintained by him, in such fort against the Sacrament, to renounce, and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the Holy Mother the Church doth believe. And he informed the said *John* on that behalf both gently, and yet baudably. Yet the said *John Badby*, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said Reverend Father, said and answered expresly, That he would never believe otherwise than before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the foresaid Reverend Father Bishop of *Worcester* seeing, understanding, and perceiving the foresaid *John Badby* to maintain and fortifie the same Heresie, being stubborn and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said *John* to be before this time convicted of such an Heresie, and that he hath been and is an Heretick, and in the end declared it in these words.

I cannot blame ye that ye are so angry, for it is not for your profit.

The sentence of the Bishop of Worcester against John Badby.

In the name of God, Amen. *We* Thomas *Bishop of* Worcester *do accuse thee* John Badby, *being a lay-man of our Diocese, of, and upon the crime of Heresie, before us sitting for Chief Judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of, and upon that, That thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend; that the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, Consecrated upon the Altar by the Priest, is not the true Body of Christ; But after the Sacramental words, to make the Body of Christ, by vertue of the said Sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of Heresie; and we do pronounce thee both to have been and to be an Heretick, and do declare it finally by those writings.*

These things were done accordingly as is above written, and are recited in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforesaid, being present the same time *John Malme*, Prior of the Cathedral Church of *Worcester*, *John Dudle* Monk, and *Haul* the sub-Prior of the said Church, *Thomas Penings* of the order of the *Carmelites*, *Thomas Fekenham* of the order of the preaching Friers, *William Pomfret* of the order of the *Minorites*, being Professors and Masters of Divinity; *William Hailes*, *Gualter* of *London*, *John Swirpedew*, being publick Notaries, and *William Banchampe* and *Thomas Gerbis* being Knights, *Richard Wyth* of *Tredington*, *Thomas Wilks* of *Hembury*, *John Weston* of *Tewley*, being Parsons of Churches, and *Thomas Baleinges*, the Master of St. *Wolston* in *Worcester*, and also *Henry Haggely*, *John Penerel*, *Thomas Trogmorton* and *William Wastebois* Esquires, of the Dioces of *Worcester* and *Norwich*, and many other worthipful and honest men being Witnesses and called specially to the things aforesaid.

A rabble of Monks and Friers at the condemnation of John Badby.

Scribes with Hypocrites.

And I *John Chew*, Clerk of the Dioces of *Bath* and *Wells*, and by the authority Apostolical, publick Notary of the said Bishop, have in Testimony of the Premisses put my Hand and Seal to the Examination, Interrogation, Monition, and Answer of the same *John Badby*, and to his obstinacy, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the said Bishop were handled and done, in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforesaid, which with the fore-named Witnesses was personally present: and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) I caused to be written and published, and into this publick form have compiled the same. I the foresaid Notary am also privy unto the words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this Instrument; which lines I also the foresaid Notary do approve and make good.

Quere forasmuch as he was not present?

The answer of John Badby to the Articles

And I *Walter London*, Clerk of the Dioces of *Worcester*, and by the Authority Apostolical, publick Notary, to all and singular the foresaid things as afore by the foresaid Notary is recited, and in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforesaid handled and done, being with other the fore-recited Witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same (as I saw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required:) In Testimony of the Premisses have signed and subscribed according to the acustomed manner. *Hæc ex Reg. Cant.*

And when the Articles, in the foresaid Instrument contained, were by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* publickly and vulgarly read and approved; he publickly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the Archbishop to convince the constant purpose of the said *John Badby*, commanded the same Articles again to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the said Archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same *John*, That he would (if he would live according to the Doctrine of Christ) gage his Soul for him at the Judgment day. And after that again he caused those Articles in the said Instrument expressed to be read by the foresaid *Philip Morgan*, and the said Archbishop himself expounded the same in *English* as before; whereunto *John Badby* answered: As touching the first Article concerning the Body of Christ, he expressly said, That after the Consecration at the Altar, there remaineth material Bread, and the same Bread which was before: notwithstanding (said he) it is a Sign or Sacrament of the living God. {KING Hen. 4.}

The substance of Bread not changed in the Sacrament.

Also, when the second Article was expounded unto him, That it is impossible for any Priest, &c. To this Article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the Incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined of the third Article concerning *Jack Raker*, he said, That if *Jack Raker* were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power so to do, as hath the Priest: and said further, That he hath heard it spoken of some Doctors of Divinity, that if he should receive any such Consecrated Bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said, That he would believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, That if every Host being Consecrated at the Altar were the Lords Body, that then there be 20000 gods in *England*. But he believed (he said) in one God Omnipotent, which thing the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, *That Christ sitting with his Disciples at Supper*, &c. To this he answered and said, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a Loaf of Bread, and should break the same and give to every man a mouthful, that the same Loaf should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar Tongue; the foresaid Archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his Opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the Doctrine of Christ and Catholick Faith? He answered, That, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answer unto. Then the Archbishop oftentimes required the said *John*, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those Opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the Christian Faith; which thing to do in the audience of all the Lords and others that were present, he expresly denied and refused.

The conversation of John Badby before the Archbishop.

After all this, when the foresaid Arbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London* had consulted together, to what fase keeping the said *John Badby* (until the Wednesday next) might be committed; it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain Chamber or safe House within the Mansion of the Friers preachers, and so he was: and then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, That he himself would keep the Key thereof in the mean time. And when the foresaid Wednesday was expired, being the 15th day of *March*, and that the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with his fellow Brethren and Suffragans, were assembled in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* taking the Episcopal Seat, called unto him the Archbishop of *York*, *Richard London*, *Henry Winchester*, *Robert Chichester*, *Alexander Norwich*, and the Noble Prince *Edmund* the Duke of *York*, *Ralph* Earl of *Westmerland*, *Thomas Beaufort* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Lord *Beamond*, with other Noble men as well Spiritual, as Temporal, that stood, and sate by, whom to name it would be long. Before whom the said *John Badby* was called personally to answer unto the Articles premised in the foresaid Instrument. Who when he came personally before them, the Articles were read by the Official of the Court of *Canterbury*, and by the Archbishop (in the vulgar Tongue) expounded publickly and expresly: and the same Articles, as he had before spoken and depoled, he full licht and defended, and said, that whilst he lived, he would never retract the same. And furthermore, he said specially and nominated, That the Lord Duke of *York*, personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation, than the Sacrament of the Altar, by the Priest in due form Consecrated. And whilst they were thus in his examination, the Archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing moreover his countenance stout and heart confirmed, so that he began to perswade other as it appeared in the same: these things considered, the Archpreiate, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by Exhortations, Reasons, or Arguments, to bring the said *John Badby* from his constant truth to his Catholick Faith (executing and doing the office of his Great Master) proceeded to

confirm

The Bishops make fire ready.

The Archbishop both judge and jurors.

Astitores reges terræ, & principes convenerunt in unum adversus Christum. Psal. 2.

{KING Hen. 4.} confirm and ratify the former Sentence given before by the Bishop of *Worcester* against the said *John Badby*, pronouncing him for an open and publick Heretick. And thus shifting their hands of him, they delivered him to the Secular Powers; and defired the said Temporal Lords, then and there present very instantly, that they would not put the same *John Badby* to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the Lords above-recited.

Note here murdering Wolves in Sheeps clothing.

These things thus done and concluded by the Bishops in the forenoon: in the afternoon, the Kings Writ was not far behind. By the force whereof *John Badby*, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into *Smithfield*, and there being put in an empty Barrel, was bound with Iron Chains fastened to a Stake having dry Wood put about him.

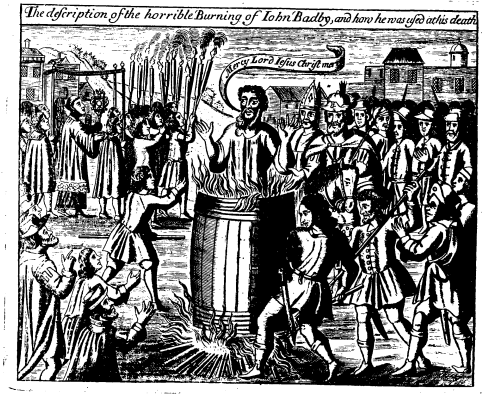
And as he was thus standing in the Pipe or Tun (for as yet *Perillus* Bull was not in use among the Bishops) it happened that the Prince, the Kings eldest Son, was there present: who, shewing some part of the good *Samaritan*, began to endeavour and assay how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical *Levites* and *Pharisees* fought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect unto himself he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous Labirinths of Opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might have daunted any mans stomach. Also *Courtney*, at that time *Chancellor* of *Oxford*, preached unto him, and enformed him of the Faith of holy Church.

The Prince laboureth to turn Badby. The Sacrament Solemnly brought to *Smithfield* at the burning of Badby.

In this mean season the Prior of St. *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield* brought with all Solemnity the Sacrament of Gods Body, with twelve Torches born before, and so

John Badby constant to the end.

But this valiant Champion of Christ, neglecting the Princes fair words, as also contemning all mens devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmovable in his former mind, the Prince commanded him straight to be put again into the Pipe or Tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant Champion of Christ, he persevered invincible to the end. Not without a great and most cruel Battel, but with much more greater triumph of victory: the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole World. For the manifestation of which torment, we have here set forth the Picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.



All the power of man set against the Gospel.

This godly Martyr *John Badby* having thus consummate his Testimony and Martyrdom in fire, the persecuting Bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort, as this Doctrine of the Gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a King for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points (during the time of the same Parliament above-recited yet continuing) the foresaid Bishops and Clergy of the Realm exhibited a Bill unto the Kings Majesty; subtily declaring, what quietness had been maintained within this Realm by his most Noble Progenitors, who always defended the ancient Rites and Customs of the Church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the Realm: and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness was now risen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of Doctrine, contrary to the Catholick Faith and determination of holy Church. Whereupon the King, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtil pretences of the Clergy granted in the said Parliament (by consent of the Nobility assembled) a Statute to be observed, called *Ex Officio*, as followeth:

The Gospel of Christ counted wicked and Heretical.

The

The Statute *Ex Officio.*

The cruel Statute Ex Officio.

That is to say, That no man within this Realm, or other the Kings Majesties Dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without special License first obtained of the Ordinary of the same place (Curates in their own Parish Churches, and persons heretofore priviledged, and others admitted by the Canon Law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter make any Conventicles or Assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of Schools touching this Sect, wicked Doctrine and Opinion. And further, That no man hereafter shall by any means favour any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful Assemblies, or any such Book-maker or writer; and finally any such Teacher, Informer, or Harrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any the said Books, Writings, Schedules containing the said wicked Doctrines and Opinions, shall within forty days after this present Proclamation and Statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered all and singular the said Books and Writings unto the Ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kind, state or condition soever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present Proclamation and Statute, or not to deliver the same Books in form aforesaid: That then the Ordinary of the same place in his own Diocese, by Authority of the said Proclamation and Statute shall cause to be Arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have by order of Law purged him or themselves as touching the Articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the Laws Ecclesiastical) the said wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, and Heretical and Erroneous Opinions. And that the said Ordinary by himself or his Commissaries proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of Law against the said persons so Arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said Arrest (all delaies and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the Canon Law. And if any person, in any cause above-mentioned, shall be Lawfully convicted before the Ordinary of the Diocese or his Commissaries; that then the said Ordinary may Lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own Prisons, and there to be kept so long as his discretion shall be thought expedient.

A bloody Law of King Henry the fourth.

And further, The said Ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the Canon Law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the Secular power) shall charge the said person with such a Fine of money to be paid unto the Kings Majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the said Diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said Fine, into the Kings Majesties Exchequer, by his Letters Patent under his Seal; to the intent that the said Fine may be Levied to the Kings Majesties use of the Goods of the person so convict.

And further, If any person within this Realm and other the Kings Majesties Dominions shall be convicted before the Ordinary of the place, or his Commissaries, of the said wicked Preachings, Doctrines, Opinions, Schools, and Heretical and Erroneous Informations or any of them; and will refuse to abjure and recant the said wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, Opinions, Schools and Informations or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the Diocesan of the place, or his Commissaries (for so by the Canon Law he ought to be left to the Secular Power, upon credit given to the Ordinary or his Commissaries) that then the Sheriff of the same County, the Mayor, Sheriffs, or Sheriff, or the Mayor, or Bayliffs of the same City, Village, or Borough of the same County, and nearest inhabiting to the said Ordinary, or his said Commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to confer with the said Ordinary or his Commissaries in giving Sentence against the said persons offending or any of them: And, after the said Sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked Doctrines and Heretical Opinions, or Authors and favourers thereof be no more maintained within this Realm and Dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian Religion, and Decrees of holy Church. In all which and singular the Premisses, concerning the Statute aforesaid, let the Sheriff, Mayors, and Bailiffs of the said Counties, Cities, Villages and Boroughs be attendant, aiding and favouring the said Ordinaries and their Commissaries.

KING 5 Hen. 4. A bloody Statute.

By this bloody Statute so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou (gentle Reader) a little to stay with thy self, and to consider the nature and condition of this present World, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible to thrive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the World may see by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vain to thrive against him; yet such is the nature of this World (all set in malignity) that it will not cease still to be like it self.

The like Law and Statute in the time of *Diocletian* and *Maximinus* was attempted, as before appeareth, and for the more strength was written also in Tables of Brass, to the intent that the Name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever. And yet the Name of Christ remaineth, where that Brazen Law remained not three years. The which Law written then in Brass, although it differ in manner and form from this our Statute *Ex Officio*, yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the Blood of Saints, there is no difference between the one and the other. Neither is there any diverity touching the first Original doer, and worker of them both. For the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up; the same also, now after his loosing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence, as an open Enemy, he did what he could: Now by a more covert way, under the title of the Church, he impugneth the Church of Christ, using a more subtile way to deceive, under gay pretenced titles; but no less pernicious in the end whereto he shooteth, as well appeareth by this bloody Statute *Ex Officio*, the sequel whereof coft afterward many a Christian mans life. As in proceis of story remaineth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

The Law of *Maximinus*, and the Statute Ex Officio compared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this Statute of the King aforesaid, concerneth also another constitution made much about the same time by the Archbishop of *Canterbury Thomas Arundel*. So that no industry nor policy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the Bishops parts, who left no means unattempted, how to subvert the right ways of the Lord.

First, In most diligent and exquisite execution of the Kings Statute set forth; the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvel it is to consider, all other Laws of Kings (commonly, be they never so good) to be so coldly kept, and this only among all the rest so nearly followed. But herein is to be seen the diligence of the *Romish* Prelates, which never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their Estate.

Secondly, Beside their vigilant care in seeing the Kings Statute to be executed, no less industrious also were they in adding thereunto more constitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other Archbishops hereafter, and by Pope *Marvine*, as also by this constitution here present made by *Thomas Arundel* the Archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the Clergy-men, here cometh in more to be said and noted touching the foresaid Statute *Ex Officio*, to prove the time not only to be cruel and impious, but also to be of it self of no force and validity for the burning of any person for cause of Religion: for the disproof of which Statute we have sufficient Authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be seen in her Majesties Court of Records; which here were to be debated at large, but that upon special occasion we have deferred the ample

KING 5 Hen. 4.

ample discourse thereof to the cruel persecution of the Lord *Cobham* hereafter ensuing, as may appear in the defence of the Lord *Cobham* against *Nicolas Harpesfield*, under the title and name of *Alanus Copus*. And thus referring them for the examination of this Statute to the place aforesaid, let us now return to *Thomas Arundel*, and his bloody constitutions above-mentioned. The style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigor of the same may appear to all men, I thought here-under to adjoyn, in words as followeth:

The constitution of Thomas Arundel *against the followers of Gods Truth.*

A cruel Constitution by the Archbishop against the Lollerians, with thirteen Articles.

Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the See Apostolick; To all and singular our Reverend Brethren fellow Bishops, and our Suffragans; and to Abbots, Priors, Deans of Cathedral Churches, Archdeacons, Provosts and Canons; also to all Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, and Clerks in Parish-Churches, and to all Lay-men, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our Province of *Canterbury*, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church. It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend Counsel, who so revolteth from the things being in the said Counsel once discussed and decided. And whosoever dare presume to dispute of the Supreme or Principal Judgment here in Earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of Sacrilege, according to the Authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human Law. Much more then they, who trusting to their own wits are so bold to violate and with contrary Doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn the Precepts of Laws and Canons, rightly made and proceeding from the Key-bearer and Porter of Eternal Life and Death; bearing the room and person not of pure man, but of True God here in Earth: which also have been observed hitherto of the holy Fathers our predeceffors unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members from the body of the Church Militant. For such ought to consider what is in the *Old Testament* written; *Moses and Aaron among his priests*, that is, were chief Heads amongst them. And in the *New Testament*, among the Apostles there was a certain difference. And though they were all Apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to *Peter*, that he should bear preeminence above the other Apostles; and also the Apostles themselves would the same, that he should be the Chieftain over all the rest. And being called *Cephas*; that is, Head, should be a Prince over the Apostles. Unto whom it was said, That being once converted, confirm thy Brethren: as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of Faith, of just Living, or right Converfation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again. Which thing no doubt the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are sorry to speak, how the old Sophister, the Enemy of mankind, forefeeing and fearing left the found Doctrine of the Church, determined from ancient times by the Holy fore-Fathers should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in Unity of Faith under one Head of the Church, doth therefore endeavour by all means possible to extirpe the said Doctrine, faining vices to be vertues. And so, under false pretences of verity disfimuled, he soweth discord in Catholick people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he in the mean time may gather to himself a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal Mother holy Church. In the which, Satan transforming himself into an Angel of Light, bearing a lying and deceitful ballance in his hand, pretendeth great Righteousness, in contrarying the ancient Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church, and refuling the Traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy Fathers; perswading men (by fained forgeries) the same to be naught, and so inducing other new kinds of Doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow Schisms, whereby divers Opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the Church, Faith thereby may be diminished, and also the Reverend Holy Mysteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with *Pagans, Jews*, and other Infidels, and wicked Miscreants. And so that Figure in *Apoc. 6.* is well verified, speaking of him that take on the black Horse, bearing a pair of Ballance in his hand, by the which Heresticks are underflood. Who at the first appearance, like to Weights or Ballance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black Horse, that is to say, their intention, full of curfed speaking. For they under a divers shew and colour of a just Ballance, with the Tail of a black Horse sprinkling abroad Heresies and Errors, do strike. And being Poisoned themselves, under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and by certain persons fit to do mischief do publish abroad as it were the fugred taste of Hony mixt with Poyson, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing through their flight and subtilties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ: Yea and moreover the forefaid persons thus pricked out do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the Seed, before the Seed discreetly be separate from the Chaff. Who not pondering the Constitutions and Decrees of the Canons, provided for the same purpose against such Pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice Diabolical (so to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy Church Militant.

Highdamy out of pure man, but of true God. He maunde hew of The Pope his predecessors, who had his feete kiss'd out in the time of King Henry the second. Reformee chrisly upgraded. This bear longeth to prelat like Germany lys.

Riper Jews of mosaic-Monk riding pot Gramariens. Monk wedd the Popes Divinity. An argument for fertile trees Doctrine confirmth the wilderth not Head of the Church.

The Figure of the black Horse in the Apoc. Doctrine expounded.

Behold the true Image of Wolves under Sheeps clothing.

Here apply he pattern of the reformings of his own Popish Church.

We therefore considering, and weighing, that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide, which resisteth not the Viper thinking there to thrust out her Venom: And willing moreover to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy Mother-Church, whereby one uniform holy Doctrine may be sown and planted in the Church of God (namely in this our Province of *Canterbury*) so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of Faith and Service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendicles which by the means of perverse Preaching and Doctrine have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purpoling by some convenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of Souls, which we see to rise under pretence of the Premisses; also to remove all such Obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped; by the advice and assent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being present in this our Convocation of the Clergy, as also of the Procurators of them that be absent, and at instant the Petition of the Procurators of the whole Clergy within this our Province of *Canterbury*, for the more fortification of the Common Law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condign as be here under written, we will and Command, Ordain, and Decree:

The first Constitution.

That no manner of person, Secular or Regular, being Authorized to preach by the Laws now prescribed, or Licenced by special priviledge, shall take upon him the Office of preaching the Word of God, or by any means preach unto the Clergy or Laity, either within the Church or without, in *English*, except he first present himself, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place, where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said Ordinary to some one Church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said Ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful fignification in due form of his sending and Authority, that is, that he that is Authorized do come in form appointed him in that behalf; and those, that affirm they come by special priviledge do shew their priviledge unto the Parson or Vicar of the place where they preach. And those, that pretend themselves to be sent by the Ordinary of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries Letters made unto him for that purpose, under his Great Seal. Let us always understand, the Curate (having the perpetuity) of no person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the Ordinary of the place, or any other Superior, to preach by reason of his Errors or Heresies which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thence-

You prieste to preach but by Mandating off the Prelates.

forth

forth he abſtain from preaching within our Province, until he have purged himſelf, and be Lawfully admitted again to preach by the juſt abſtinement of him that ſuſpended and forbade him. And ſhall always after that carry with him, to all places whereſoever he ſhall preach, the Letters Teſtimonial of him that reſtored him.

A jolly mean to bring the World into ſuch darkneſs.

Moreover the Pariſh-Prieſts or Vicars Temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being ſent in form aforeſaid, ſhall ſimply preach in the Churches where they have charge, only thoſe things which are expreſly contained in the Provincial conſtitution fet forth by *John* our predeceſſor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the Prieſts, which beginneth, *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*. Which Book of Conſtitutions we would ſhould be had in every Pariſh-Church in our Province of *Canterbury*, within three months next after the publication of theſe Preſents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the Prieſts themſelves yearly, and at the times appointed. And leſt this wholſom Statute might be thought hurtful to ſome, by reaſon of payment of money, or ſome other difficulty: we therefore Will and Ordain, That the Examinations of the perſons aforeſaid, and the making of their Letters by the Ordinary be done *gratis* and freely, without any exaction of money at all by thoſe to whom it ſhall appertain: And if any man ſhall willingly preſume to violate this our Statute grounded upon the old Laws after the publication of the ſame he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication *ipſo facto*: whoſe Abſolution we ſpecially reſerve by Tenor of theſe Preſents to us and our ſucceſſors. But if any ſuch preacher deſpiſing this wholſom Statute, and not weighing the ſentence of greater Excommunication, do the ſecond time take upon him to preach; ſaying and alledging, and ſtoutly affirming, that the ſentence of greater Excommunication aforeſaid cannot be appointed by the Church in the perſons of the Prelates of the ſame; That then Superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all Faithful Chriſtians.

And that the ſaid perſon hereupon Lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the Church) be pronounced an Heretick by the Ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an Heretick and Schiſmatick, and that he incur (*ipſo facto*) the penalties of Hereſie and Schiſmatie, expreſſed in the Law; And chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiſcate by the Law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders being convicted, in all caſes be likewiſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not off within one month being lawfully warned thereof by their Superiors.

Conſtit. 2. Furthermore, no Clergy-man, or Parochians of any Pariſh or Place within our Province of *Canterbury* ſhall admit any man to preach within their Churches, Church-yards, or other places whatſoever, except firſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of his Authority, Priviledge, or finding thither, according to the order aforeſaid: Otherwiſe the Church, Church-yard, or what place ſoever, in which it was ſo preached, ſhall *ipſo facto* receive the Eccleſiaſtical Interdict, and ſo ſhall remain Interdicted, until they that ſo admitted and ſuffered him to preach, have reformed themſelves, and obtained the place ſo Interdicted to be releaſed in due form of Law, either from the Ordinary of the place, or elſe his Superior.

Conſtit. 3. Moreover, like as a Houſholder caſteth Wheat into the Ground (well ordered for that purpoſe) the cheap to get the more increaſe: even ſo we will and command, That the preacher of Gods Word, coming in form aforeſaid, preaching either unto the Clergy or Laity, according to his matter propoſed, ſhall be of good behavior, ſowing ſuch ſeed as ſhall be convenient for his Auditory. And chiefly preaching to the Clergy, he ſhall touch the vices commonly uſed amongſt them, and to the Laity he ſhall declare the vices commonly uſed among them, and not otherwiſe. But if he preach contrary to this order, then ſhall he be ſharply puniſhed by the Ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

What tyranny is this to bind the preachers mouth what to ſay?

Conſtit. 4. *Item*, Foraſmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we do Decree and Ordain, That no preacher aforeſaid, or any other perſon whatſoever, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, confeſſion of Sins, or any other Sacra-

A bar for the preachers.

ment of the Church, or Article of the Faith, than that already is diſcuſſed by the holy Mother-Church, nor ſhall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church; nor ſhall to his knowledge privily or openly pronounce Blaſphemous words concerning the ſame, nor ſhall teach, preach, or obſerve any Sect, or kind of Hereſie whatſoever, contrary to the wholſom Doctrine of the Church. He that ſhall wittingly and obſtinately attempt the contrary after the publication of theſe Preſents, ſhall incur the ſentence of Excommunication *ipſo facto*. From the which (except in point of death) he ſhall not be Abſolved, until he hath reformed himſelf by abjuration of his Hereſie, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary in whoſe Territory he ſo offended, and hath received wholſom Penitence for his offences. But if the ſecond time he ſhall ſo offend, being Lawfully convicted, he ſhall be pronounced an Heretick, and his Goods confiſcate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain. The Penance beforementioned, ſhall be after this manner: If any man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in the Decrees, Decretals, or our Conſtitutions Provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of Hereſie or Sect: he ſhall in the Pariſh-Church of the ſame place, where he ſo preached, upon one Sunday or other Solemn day, or more, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, and as his offence is more or leſs, expreſly revoke that he ſo preached, taught or affirmed, even at the time of the Solemnity of the Maſs, when the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the Church: and further ſhall be puniſhed after the quality of his offence, as ſhall be thought expedient to the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

Item, Foraſmuch as a new Veſſel, being long uſed, ſa- Conſtit. 5.
voureth after the head, we Decree and Ordain, That no School-maſters and Teachers whatſoever, that inſtruct Children in *Grammar*, or others whoſoever in Primitive Sciences, ſhall in teaching them intermingle any thing concerning the Catholick Faith, the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Nor ſhall ſuffer their Scholars to expound the Holy Scriptures, (except the Text as hath been uſed in ancient time) nor ſhall permit them to diſpute openly or privily concerning the Catholick Faith, or Sacraments of the Church. Contrariwiſe, the offender herein ſhall be grievouſly puniſhed by the Ordinary of the place, as a favourer of Errors and Schiſms.

A Caveat for Schoolmaſters.

Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead Conſtit. 6.
aſtray, than an old way: we Will and Command, That no Book or Treatiſe made by *John Wickliff*, or other whomſoever, about that time or lithence, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in Schools, Halls, Hoſpitals, or other places whatſoever, within our Province of *Canterbury* aforeſaid, except the ſame be firſt examined by the Univerſity of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or at the leaſt by twelve perſons, whom the ſaid Univerſities or one of them ſhall appoint to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſors: and the ſame being examined, as aforeſaid, to be expreſly approved and allowed by us or our ſucceſſors, and in the name and authority of the Univerſity, to be delivered unto the Stationers to be Copied out, and the ſame to be ſold at a reaſonable price, the Original thereof always after to remain in ſome Cheſt of the Univerſity. But if any man ſhall read any ſuch kind of Book in Schools or otherwiſe, as aforeſaid, he ſhall be puniſhed as a fower of Schiſm, and a favourer of Hereſie, as the quality of the fault ſhall require.

Books of John Wickliff forbidden.

Item, It is a dangerous thing (as witneſſeth bleſſed Conſtit. 7.
St. *Hierom*) to Tranſlate the Text of the Holy Scripture out of one Tongue into another: for in the Tranſlation the ſame ſenſe is not always eaſily kept, as the ſame St. *Hierom* confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet oftentimes in his he erred: We therefore Decree and Ordain, That no man hereafter by his own Authority Tranſlate any Text of the Scripture into *Engliſh*, or any other Tongue, by way of a Book, Libel or Treatiſe, and that no man read any ſuch Book, Libel or Treatiſe, now lately ſet forth in the time of *John Wickliff*, or lithence, or hereafter to be ſet forth, in part or in whole, privily, or apertly, upon pain of greater Excommunication, until the ſaid Tranſlation be allowed by the Ordinary of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the Counſel Provincial. He that ſhall do

He confeſſeth that St. Hierom erred in his tranſlation. And yet the ſaid Archbiſhop condemneth Scripture, for being the Scripture in *Engliſh*.

{KING Hen. 4.} do contrary to this, ſhall likewiſe be puniſhed as a favourer of error and hereſie. {KING Hen. 4.}

Conſtit. 8. *Item*, For that Almighty God cannot be expreſſed with any Philoſophical terms, or otherwiſe invented of man: And St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, That he hath oftentimes revoked ſuch concluſions as have been moſt true, becauſe they have been offenſive to the ears of the Religious: We do ordain and ſpecially command, that no manner of perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he be, do alledge or propone any Concluſions or Propoſitions contrary to the Catholick Faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except neceſſary Doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or diſputing in their ſchools or otherwiſe) although they defend the ſame with never ſo curious terms and words. For as ſaith bleſſed St. *Hugh* of the Sacraments, That which oftentimes is well ſpoken is not well underſtood. If any man therefore, after the publication of theſe preſents, ſhall be convict wittingly to have proponed ſuch Concluſions or Propoſitions, except (being monished) he reform himſelf in one month by vertue of this preſent conſtitution, he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication *ipſo facto*, and ſhall be openly pronounced an Excommunicate, until he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the ſaid Concluſion or Propoſition in one Church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient to the Ordinary.

Terms and Petitions in Diſputings to be obſerved.

Conſtit. 9. *Item*, No manner of perſon ſhall preſume to diſpute upon the Articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the Decrees, Decretals, or Conſtitutions Provincial, or in the general Councils: But only to ſeek out the true meaning thereof, and that expreſly, whether it be openly or in fecret: nor ſhall call in doubt the Authority of the ſaid Decretals or Conſtitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: And chiefly concerning the adoration of the Holy Croſs, the worſhipping of Images, of Saints, going on Pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relicks of Saints, or againſt the Oaths, in caſes accuſtomed to be given in both common places, that is to ſay, Spiritual and Temporal. But of all it ſhall be commonly taught and preached, that the Croſs and Image of the Crucifix, and other Images of Saints, in the honour of them whom they repreſent, are to be worſhipped with Proceſſion, bowing of Knees, offering of Frankincenſe, Kiſſing, Obſtrations, lighting of Candles, and Pilgrimages, * and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been uſed in the time of our predeceſſors, and that giving of Oaths in caſes expreſſed in the Law, and uſed of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done upon the Book of the Goſpel of Chriſt. Contrary unto this whoſoever doth preach, teach, or obſtinately affirm (except he recant in manner and form aforeſaid) ſhall forthwith incur the penalty of Hereſie, and ſhall be pronounced an Heretick, in all effect of Law.

Authority of the Popes Decretal not to be doubted under pain of Hereſie.

Adoration of the Croſs.

* With all abominations.

Conſtit. 10. *Item*, We do Decree and Ordain, That no Chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any Dioceſs within our Province of *Canterbury*, where he was not born, or received not Orders; except he bring with him his Letters of Orders, and Letters commendatory from his Ordinary, and alſo from other Biſhops in whoſe Dioceſs of a long time he hath been converſant, whereby his converſation and manners may appear: ſo that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new Opinions touching the Catholick Faith, or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwiſe, as well he that celebrateth, as he that ſuffereth him to Celebrate, ſhall be ſharply puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

No Prieſt to Celebrate without their Letters of order.

Conſtit. 11. *Finally*, Becauſe thoſe things which newly and unaccuſtomably creep up, ſtand in need of new and ſpeedy help: and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumſpection and ſtronger reſiſtance; and not without good cauſe, the leſs noble ought diſcreetly to be cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed. Conſidering therefore, and in lamentable wiſe ſhewing unto you how the ancient Univerſity of *Oxford*, which as a fruitful Vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the Church: now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter Grapes, which being undiſcreetly eaten of ancient Fathers, that thought themſelves skilful in the Law of God, hath ſet on edg the Teeth of their Children: and our Province is infected with divers and unfruitful Doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of *Lollardy*, to the great reproof and offence of the ſaid Univerſity being known in Foreign Countries, and to the great irkſomneſs of the Students there, and to the great damage and loſs of the Church of *England*, which in times paſt by her vertue as with a ſtrong Wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: At the ſupplication therefore of the whole Clergy of our Province of *Canterbury*, and by the conſent and aſſent of all our Brethren and Suffragans, and other the Prelates in this Convocation aſſembled, and the Proctors of them that are abſent, left the River being cleanſed, the Fountain ſhould remain corrupt, and ſo the Water coming from thence ſhould not be pure, intending moſt wholſomly to provide for the honour and utility of the holy Mother the Church and the Univerſity aforeſaid; We do Ordain and Decree, that every Warden, Provoſt, or Maſter of every College, or Principal of every Hall within the Univerſity aforeſaid, ſhall once every month at the leaſt diligently inquire in the ſaid Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath Authority whether any Scholar or inhabitant of ſuch College or Hall, *&c.* have holden, alledged, or defended, or by any means propoued any concluſion, propoſition or opinion concerning the Catholick Faith, founding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the Church otherwiſe than appertaineth to neceſſary Doctrine. And if he ſhall find any ſuſpected or deformed herein, he ſhall according to his office admoniſh him to deſiſt. And if after ſuch monition given, the ſaid party offend again in the ſame or ſuch like, he ſhall incur *ipſo facto* (beſides the penalties aforeſaid) the ſentence of greater Excommunication. And nevertheleſs, if it be a Scholar that ſo offendeth the ſecond time, whatſoever he ſhall afterward do in the ſaid Univerſity, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he be a Doctor, a Maſter, or Bachellor, he ſhall forthwith be ſuſpended from any Scholars Act, and in both caſes ſhall loſe the right that he hath in the ſaid Colledge or Hall, whereof he is, *ipſo facto*; and by the Warden, Provoſt, Maſter, Principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he ſhall be expelled, and a Catholick by Lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the ſaid Wardens, Provoſts, or Maſters of Colledges, or Principals of Halls ſhall be negligent concerning the inquiſition and execution of ſuch perſons ſuſpected and defamed by the ſpace of ten days, from the time of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of the publication of theſe preſents: that then they ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication, and nevertheleſs ſhall be deprived *ipſo facto*, of all the right which they pretend to have in the Colledges, Halls, *&c.* and the ſaid Colledges and Halls, to be effectually vacant. And after Lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhall appertain, new Wardens, Provoſts, Maſters, or Principals, ſhall be placed in their places as hath been accuſtomed in Colledges and Halls, being vacant in the ſaid Univerſity. But if the Wardens themſelves, Provoſts, Maſters, or Principals aforeſaid, be ſuſpected and defamed of and concerning the ſaid Concluſions or Propoſitions, or be favourers and defenders of ſuch as do therein offend, and do not ceaſe, being thereof warned by us, or by our Authority, or by the Ordinary of the place: that then by Law they be deprived as well of all ſuch priviledge Scholaſtical within the Univerſity aforeſaid, as alſo of their Right and Authority in ſuch Colledge, Hall, *&c.* Beſides other penalties aforementioned, and that they incur the ſaid ſentence of greater Excommunication.

Inquiſition to be made through Colledges and Halls of Oxford.

I would the like were uſed now for the baniſhing of Papiſtry.

But if any man in any caſe of this preſent Conſtitution, or any other above-expreſſed, do raſhly and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our Statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expreſly there limited) yet ſhall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the ſpace of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice within our Province of *Canterbury*: and nevertheleſs according to all his demerits and the quality of his excels, at the diſcretion of his Superior, he ſhall be Lawfully puniſhed.

Conſtit. 12.

Amen

Constit. 13. And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with our selves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of Herefie and offending the Prince, as is avouched in divers Laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majefty requireth greater punifhment, than to offend the Princes Majefty; And where it is fufficient (for fear of danger that might enfue by delaies) to convince by judgment the offender of the Princes Majefty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a Citation fent by Meffenger, by Letters, or Edict not admitting proof by Witneffes, and Sentence definitive to be: We do ordain, will, and declare, for the eafier punifhment of the offenders in the premifes, and for the better Reformation of the Church divided and hurt, that all fuch as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently fufpected in any of the cafes aforefaid, or in Article of the Catholick Faith, founding contrary to good manners, by the Authority of the Ordinary of the place or other Superior, be cited perfonally to appear either by Letters, publick Meffenger being Sworn, or by Edict openly fet at that place where the faid offender commonly remaineth, or in his Parifh-Church, if he have any certain dwelling-Houfe: Otherwife, in the Cathedral Church of the place where he was born, and in the Parifh-Church of the fame place where he fo preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being given, that the Citation was formerly executed againft the party cited being abfent and neglecting his appearance, it fhall be proceeded againft him fully and plainly without found or fhew of Judgment, and without admitting proof by Witneffes and other Canonical probations. And alfo after Lawful information had, the faid Ordinary (all delaies fet apart) fhall fignify, declare, and punifh the faid offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforefaid; and further, fhall do according to Juftice, the abfence of the offender notwithftanding.

Eafier to offend againft the Princes Laws than againft the Bifhops.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought by thefe Laws and Conftitutions fo fubftantially founded, fo circumfpectly provided, fo diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this perfecuted fort, fhould utterly have been rooted up, and never could have ftood? And yet fuch be the works of the Lord, paffing all mens admiration, all this notwithftanding fo far was it off, that the number and courage of thefe good men was vanquifhed, that rather they multiplied daily and increafed. For fo I find in Regifters Recorded, that thefe forefaid perfons, whom the King and the Catholick Fathers did fo greatly deteft for Hereticks, were in divers Countries of this Realm difperfed and increafed; efpecially at *London*, in *Lincolnfhire*, in *Norfolk*, in *Herefordfhire*, in *Shrewesbury*, in *Calice*, and divers other quarters mo, with whom the Archbifhop of *Canterbury Thomas Arundel* the fame time had much ado, as by his own Regifters doth appear. Albeit fome there were that did fhrink, many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the Law. Among whom was *John Purvey*, which recanted at *Paul's*-Croft, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be faid in the Year 1421. Alfo *John Edward*, Prieft of the Diocefs of *Lincoln*, who revoked in the *Green-yard* at *Norwich*, *Richard Herbert*, and *Emmot Willy* of *London*, alfo *John Becket*, who recanted at *London*. *Item*, *John Seymons* of *Lincolnfhire*, who was caufed to revoke at *Canterbury*. The Articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were conftrained to abjure, moft efpecially were thefe which follow;

John Purvey, John Edward, John Becket, John Seymour, abjured.

Their Articles.

The Articles. *Firft*, That the Office of the Holy Croft (ordained by the whole Church) celebrated doth contain Idolatry.

Item, They faid and affirmed, That all they which do reverence and worfhip the fign of the Croft, do commit Idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, They faid and affirmed that the true Fleth and Blood of our Lord Jefus Chrift, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words fpoken by the Prieft truly pronounced.

Item, They faid and affirmed the Sacrament of the Altar to be Sacramental Bread, not having Life, but only Inftituted for a memorial of Chrifts Paffion.

Item, They faid and affirmed, That the Body of Chrift, which is taken on the Altar, is a Figure of the Body of Chrift as long as we fee the Bread and Wine. {KING Hen. 4.}

Item, They faid and affirmed, That the Decree of the Prelates and Clergy in the Province of *Canterbury*, in their laft Convocation, with the confent of the King and the Nobles in the laft Parliament againft him that was burnt lately in the City of *London*, was not fufficient to change the purpofe of the faid *John*, when the fubftance of material Bread is even as before in the Sacrament of the Altar it was, no change being made in the nature of Bread.

* Their Article commonly was thus: That vefos fo it-keth upon him the office of a Prieft, though he have no cure of fouls nor licenfe of his Ordinary, is bound to preach the Gofpel.

* *Item*. That any Lay-man may preach the Gofpel in every place, and may teach it by his own Authority, without the Licenfe of his Ordinary.

Item, That it is fin to give any thing to the preaching Friers, to the *Minorites*, to the *Auguftines*, to the *Carmelites*.

Item, That we ought not to offer at the Funerals of the Dead.

Item, That the confeffion of fins to the Prieft is unneedful.

Item, That every good man (though he be unlearned) is a Prieft.

Item, That the Infant (though he die unbaptized) fhall be faved.

Item, That neither the Pope, nor the Prelate, neither any Ordinary can compel any man to Swear by any Creature of God, or by the Bible-Book

Item, That the Bifhop, the fimple man, the Prieft and Lay-man be of like Authority (as long as they live well.)

Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any Prelate.

William Thorpe.

The Examination of the conftant Servant of God, *William Thorpe*.

THus much briefly being fignified by the way, touching thefe which have been forced in time of this King, to open abjuration: Next coming to our hands the worthy Hiftory of Mafter *William Thorpe*, a valiant Warrier, under the Triumphant banner of Chrift, with the proceffe of his examinations before the foresaid *Thomas Arundel* Arch-bifhop of *Canterbury*, written by the faid *Thorpe*, and ftoried by his own Pen, at the requeft of his Friends, as by his own words in the proceffe hereof may appear. In whofe Examination (which feemeth firft to begin, *Anno* 1407) thou fhalt have good Reader, both to learn and to marvel. To learn, in that thou fhalt hear truth difcoured and difcuffed, with the contrary reafons of the adverfary diffolved. To marvel, for thou fhalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and ftrength of the Lords Might, Spirit, and Grace, working and fighting in his Soldiers, and alfo fpeaking in their mouths, according to the Word of his promife, *Luke* 21. To the Text of the Story we have neither added nor diminifhed: but as we have received copied out, and corrected by Mafter *William Tindal* (who had his own hand writing) fo we have here fent it, and fet it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wifhed it in his own natural fpeech, wherein it was firft written. Notwithftanding, to put away all doubt and fcruple herein, this I thought before to pre-monifh and teftify to the Reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive which have feen the felfe-fame Copy in his own old *Engliſh*, refembling the true antiquity both of the fpeech and of the time. The name of whom, as for Record of the fame, to avouch, is *M. Whitehead*: who as he hath feen the true ancient Copy in the hands of *George Conſtantine*, fo hath he given credible relation of the fame, both to the Printer and to me. Furthermore, the faid Mafter *Tindal* (albeit he did fomewhat alter and amend the *Engliſh* thereof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in all words but that fomething doth remain, favouring of the old fpeech of that time. What the caufes were why this good man and fervant of Chrift, *W. Thorpe*, did write it, and pen it out himfelf, it is fufficiently declared in his own Preface, fet before his Book, which here is prefixed in manner as followeth:

This Hiſtory firſt ſet forth and corrected by M. *Will. Tindal*.

The Preface of William Thorpe.

The Preface.

THe Lord God that knoweth all things, wotteth well that I am right forrowful to write to make known this fentence beneath written: whereby of mine even Chriftian, fet in high ftate and dignity, fo great blindnefs and malice

{KING Hen. 4.} malice may be known; that they which do preſume of themſelves to deſtroy Vices, and to plant in Men vertues, neither dread to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe him, as their works do ſhew. For Certes the bidding of God and his Law, which in the praiſing of his moſt Holy name he commandeth to be known and kept of all Men and Women, Young and Old, after the cunning and power that he hath given to them, the Prelates of this Land and their Miniſters, with the covent of Prieſts chiefly conſenting to them, enforce them moſt buſily to withſtand, and deſtroy the Holy Ordinance of God. And there through God is greatly wroth and moved to take hard vengeance, not only upon them that do the evil, but alſo on them that conſent to theſe Antichriſts Limms: which know, or might know their malice and falſhood, and dreſs them not to withſtand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheleſs, four things move me to write this ſentence beneath.

Gods Laws muſt be known and followed.

Four cauſes of ſetting forth his examination.

The firſt thing that moveth me hereto is this, That whereas it was known to certain Friends, that I came from the Priſon of *Shrewsbury*, and as it befel indeed that I ſhould to the Priſon of *Canterbury*, then divers Friends in divers places ſpake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and commanded me then if it ſo were that I ſhould be examined before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that if I might in any wiſe, I ſhould write mine appoſing, and mine anſwering. And I promiſed to my ſpecial Friends, that if I might, I would gladly do their bidding as I might.

The ſecond cauſe.

The ſecond thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: Divers Friends, which have heard that I have been examined before the Archbiſhop, have come to me in Priſon, and counſelled me buſily and coveted greatly that I ſhould do the ſame thing. And other Brethren have ſent to me, and required on Gods behalf, that I ſhould write out and make known both mine appoſing and mine anſwering, for the profit that (as they ſay) upon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I ſhould be buſie in all my wits, to go as near the ſentence and the words as I could, both that were ſpoken to me, and that I ſpake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the Archbiſhop and his Council. And of this Counſelling I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moved to do this thing, and to ask hitherto the ſpecial help of God. And ſo then I conſidering the great deſire of divers Friends of ſundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my mind and my wits to buſily, that through Gods grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profit might come there through. For ſoothfaſtneſs and truth hath theſe conditions: whereſoever it is impugned, it hath a ſweet ſmell, and thereof cometh a ſweet ſavour. And the more violently the Enemies dreſs themſelves to oppreſs and to withſtand the truth, the greater and the ſweeter ſmell cometh thereof. And therefore this Heavenly ſmell of Gods Word, will not as a ſmoke paſs away with the Wind: but it will deſcend and reſt in ſome clean ſoul that thirſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deal by this writing may be perceived through Gods grace, how that the Enemies of the truth (ſtanding boldly in their malice) inforce them to withſtand the Freedom of Chriſts Goſpel, for which Freedom Chriſt became Man and ſhed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pity and ſorrow, that many Men and Women do their own wayward will, and buſie them not to know nor to do the pleaſant will of God.

Truth feeth always a ſweet ſmell behind it.

The Men and Women that hear the truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, and hear or know of this (perceiving what is now in the Church) ought herethrough to be the more moved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to ſet leſſer price by themſelves, that they without tarrying forſake wilfully and bodily all the wretchedneſs of this life, ſince they know not how ſoon, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and aſſay their patience. For no doubt, who ever will live piteouſly, that is charitably in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer now here in this life perſecution, in one wiſe or another: That is, if we ſhall be ſaved, it behooveth us to imagin full buſily the vility and foulneſs of ſin, and how the Lord God is diſpleaſed therefore: and ſo of this vility and hideouſneſs of ſin, it behooveth us to buſie us in all our wits, to abhor and hold in our mind a great ſhame of ſin ever, and ſo then we ought to ſorrow heartily therefore, and ever fleeing all occaſion thereof. And then it behooveth us to take upon us ſharp penance, continuing therein, to obtain of the Lord forgiveneſs of our foredone ſins, and grace to abſtain us hereafter from ſin. And if we inforce us not to do this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly deſtroy and caſt us away) will in divers manners remove Tyrants againſt us, to conſtrain us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And truſt that this doing is a ſpecial grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt who ever will not apply himſelf (as is ſaid before) to puniſh himſelf wilfully, neither will ſuffer patiently, meekly, and gladly the Rod of the Lord, howſoever that he will puniſh him: their wayward wills and their impatiency are unto them earneſt of everlaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfully to grace, to live here ſo ſimply and purely, and without Gall of malice and of Grudging: therefore the lovers of this World hate and purſue them that they know patient, meek, chaſte, and willfully poor, hating and fleeing all Worldly vanities and Fleſhly luſts. For ſurely their vertuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this World.

The cauſe why perſecution is ſuffered to come.

The third cauſe.

The third thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this, I thought I ſhall buſie me in my ſelf to do faithfully, that all Men and Women (occupying all their buſineſs in knowing and in keeping of Gods Commandments) able them ſo to grace, that they might underſtand truly the truth, and have and uſe vertue and prudence, and ſo deſerve to be lightned from above with Heavenly Wiſdom: ſo that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleaſant Sacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for help of their own ſouls, but alſo for edification of Holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this foreſaid buſineſs, ſhall profit full meekly both to Friends and Foes. For ſome Enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, ſhall through Charitable folks be made aſtoniſhed in their conſcience, and peradventure converted from Vices to Vertues: and alſo, they that labour to know and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, and to ſuffer patiently all adverſities, ſhall hereby comfort many friends.

Edification of others neceſſary to be conſidered.

The fourth cauſe.

And the fourth thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: I know by my ſudden and unwarned appoſing and anſwering, that all they that will of good heart without ſaining able themſelves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to follow Chriſt patiently, travelling buſily, privily and apertly in work and in word, to withdraw whomſoever that they may from Vices, planting in them (if they may) Vertues comforting them and furthering them that ſtand in grace; ſo that therewith they be born up in vain-glory through preſumption of their wiſdom, nor inflamed with any worldly proſperity, but ever meek and patient; purpoſing to continue ſtedfaſtly in the will of God, ſuffering wilfully and gladly without any grudging whatſoever Rod the Lord will chaſtiſe them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all ſuch Men and Women in all their Tribulations, and at every point of Temptation that any Enemy purpoſed for to do againſt them. To ſuch faithful Lovers ſpecially, and patient Followers of Chriſt, the Lord ſendeth by his wiſdom from above them which the adverſaries of the truth may not know nor underſtand. But through their old and new unſhamefaſt ſins, thoſe Tyrants and Enemies of ſoothfaſtneſs ſhall be ſo blinded and obſtinate in evil, that they ſhall ween themſelves to do pleaſant Sacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongful purſuing and deſtroying of innocent Mens and Womens bodies; which Men and Women, for their vertuous living, and for their true knowledging of the truth, and their patient, wilful and glad ſuffering of perfecution for righteouſneſs, deſerve through the grace of God, to be Heirs of the endleſs bliſs of Heaven. And for the fervent deſire and great love that theſe men have, as to ſtand in ſoothfaſtneſs and witneſs of it, though they be ſuddenly and unwarnedly brought forth to be appoſed of their Adverſaries; the Holy Ghoſt yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charity, will in that hour of their anſwering ſpeak in them, and ſhew his wiſdom, that all their Enemies ſhall not gainſay, nor againſtand, lawfully.

The caſe of Godly counſel given, if it may be followed.

Perſecution followeth the true Church.

And therefore all they that are stedfast in the Faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his Commandments, and for their patient suffering of whatsoever adversity that cometh to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand continually in perfect charity; For those Men and Women dread not so the advertities of this life, that they will fear (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods Word, when, where, and to whom they think their knowledging may be profit. Yea, and though therefore persecution come to them in one wife or another, Certes they patiently take it, knowing their conversation to be in Heaven. It is an high reward and a special grace of God to have and injoy the everlasting Inheritance of Heaven, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the term of this life. For lo, this Heavenly Heritage and endless reward, is the Lord God himself, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himself, whereas he said to *Abraham*, I am thy meed: And as the Lord said, he was and is the meed of *Abraham*, so he is of all other his Saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to us all for his holy Name, that made us of nought, and sent his only most dear worthy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ to redeem us with his most precious Heart Blood. Amen.

The Examination of William Thorp, *Penned with his own Hand*

Examination of William Thorp before Thomas Arundel Archbishop.

KNown be it to all Men that read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the Feast of S. *Peter*, that we call *Lammas*, in the year of our Lord 1407. I *William Thorp*, being in prison in the Castle of *Saltwood*, was brought before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor then of *England*. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great Chamber and much people about him: and when that he saw me, he went fast into a Closet, bidding all secular Men that followed him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left then in that Closet but the Archbishop himself: and a Phytitian that was called *Masoveren*, Parson of Saint *Dunstans* in *London*, and two other Persons unknown to me, which were Ministers of the Law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me; *William* I know well that thou hast this twenty Winters and more, Travelled about busily in the *North* Country, and in divers other Countries of *England*, sowing about false Doctrine, having great business if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewd Will to infect and poison all this Land. But through the Grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now Sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and let thee to invenom the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, S. *Paul* saith: If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men. Therefore *William*, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feigning kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a Book and kiss it, promiting faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine Ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious unto thee. Then said I to the Archbishop: Sir, *Since ye deem me an Heretick, and out of belief, will you give me here audience to tell my believe?* And he said, *Yea, tell on.* And I said, *I believe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead are three Persons, that is; the Father, the Son, and the holy ghost. And I believe that all these three Persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace of all goodness. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Son doth and can and will; and in all their power, cunning and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son.*

Sorcerers professors cannot endure Preachers.

The grace of God and of my Lord of Canterbury be two things.

Your ordinance, and why not Gods ordinance, if it please your grace?

Over this I believe that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of Man, that is, the kind of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, without mans seed. And I believe that after nine months Christ was Born of this most Blessed Virgin, without any pain or breaking of the Cloister of her Womb and without filth of her Virginity. {KING 1 Hen.4. / KING 1 Hen.4.}

And I believe, that Christ our Saviour was Circumcised in the Eighth day after his Birth, in fulfilling of the Law, and his name was called *Jesus*, which was so called of the the Angel, before that he was conceived in the Womb of *Mary* his Mother.

And I believe that Christ, as he was about xxx. years old, was Baptised in the Flood of *Jordane* of *John Baptist*: and in the likeness of a Dove the Holy Ghost descended there upon him, a voice heard from Heaven, saying: *Thou art my welbeloved Son, in thee I am full pleased.*

And I believe that Christ was moved then by the Holy Ghost to go into the Desart, and their he fasted 40. days and 40. nights without bodily Meat and Drink. And I believe that by and by after this fasting, when the manhood of God hungred, the Fiend came to him, and tempted him in Gluttony, in vain glory, and in covetise: But in all those temptations Christ concluded the Fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Jesus began to Preach, and to say unto the people; Do ye penance, for the Realm of Heaven is now at hand.

I believe that Christ in all his time here lived most holily, and taught the Will of his Father most truly: And I believe that he suffered therefore most wronfully greateft reproofs and despitings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporal Life, I believe that in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morn, in form of Bread and of Wine he ordained the Sacrament of his Fleth and his Blood; that is, his own precious Body, and gave it to his apostles to eat: commanding them, and by them all their after-comers, that they should do it in this form that he shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and commune forth to other Men and Women this most worshipful and holieft Sacrament, in mindfulneſs of his holieft living, and of his most true Preaching, and of his wilful and patient suffering of the most painful passion. This is under the textures of Bread and Wine.

And I believe that this Christ our Saviour, after that he had ordained this most worthy Sacrament of his own precious Body, went forth willfully against his Enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a Thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Over this, I believe that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his Enemies, to ding out with sharp scourges the Blood that was between his skin and his flesh: Yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruel *Jews* to Crown him with most sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked *Jews* to draw him out upon the Cross, and to nail him thereupon Hand and Foot. And so through his pitiful nailing, Christ shed out willfully for mans Blood, the Blood that was in the Veins. And then Christ gave willfully his Spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died willfully for Mans sake upon the Cross. And notwithstanding that Christ was willfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the World, there was left Blood and Water in his heart, as before ordained, that he would shed out this Blood and this Water for Mans salvation. And therefore he suffered the *Jews* to make a blind Knight to thrust him in the heart with a Spear, and this Blood and Water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for Mans love: And after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the Cross and Buryed. And I believe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead. Christ rose again from death to life. And the Fortieth day thereafter, I believe that Christ ascended up into Heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the Fiftieth day after his up-going, he sent to his Apostles the Holy Ghost, that he had promised them before; and I believe that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

And

{KING 1 Hen.4. / KING 1 Hen.4.} And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

What is the Holy Church. And I believe an Holy Church, that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the World shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keep the Commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him: and I believe, that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ, chiefly and his Apostles, all these have their names written in the Book of Life.

The true notes of the true Church. Therefore I believe, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the Holy Church of God, fighting here on Earth against the Fiend, the prosperity of the World, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and every part thereof, neither coveteth; nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his pleasing will meekly, gladly, and willfully, with all mine heart, I submit my self unto this Holy Church of Christ, to be ever buxom and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the help of God. Therefore I knowledge now and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and will all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceive by the having and using of the beforesaid vertues, to be Members of the Holy Church. Wherefore these Articles of belief and all other (both of the Old Law, and of the New, which after the Commandment of God any man ought to believe) and believe verily in my soul, as a sinful deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to believe: praying the Lord God for his holy name to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief.

What Heresie in this belief, I pray you my Lord? And because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to be a faithful Member of Holy Church, I make this protestation before you all four that are now here present, coveting, that all Men and Women that now be absent knew the same: That is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say at any time hereafter, I believe, that all the Old Law and New Law, given and ordained by council of the three Persons of the Trinity, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I believe, that these Laws are sufficient for mans salvation. And I believe every Article of these Laws, to the intent that these Articles ordained and commanded of these three Persons of the most blessed Trinity are to be believed.

The Old Testament and New. And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these Gods Laws, meekly, gladly, and willfully, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authority of Gods Law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any Article of belief (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodness) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxsome and obedient unto those Laws of God, and to every Article of them. For by authority specially of these Laws I will, through the Grace of God be united charitably unto these Laws. Yea Sir, and over: this, I believe and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors according unto the Holy Scripture, and declaring it truly.

Doctors to be followed, as they follow the word. I submit me willfully and meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these Saints and Doctors, as they are obedient in work and in Word to God and to his Law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, Dignity or State, through the help of God. But Sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I shall lay my hand upon the Book, to what intent; to swear thereby? And the Archbishop said to me, yea wherefore elle? And I said to him; Sir, a Book is nothing elle but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to swear by any creature, both Gods Law and Mans Law is against it. To swear by a Book whether it be lawful.

But Sir, this thing I say here to you before these your Clerks, with my foreseid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom men are bound to swear or to obey in any wife after Gods Law, and Saints, and true Doctors, according with Gods Law; I will through Gods grace be ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir for the Charity of God, that ye will before that I swear (as I have here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto that I shall submit me: and shew me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil. How, where, and when to swear.

And the Archbishop said unto me: I will shortly that now thou swear here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the Sect of *Lollards* hold, and is slandred with: So that after this time, neither privily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworn) rehearse to thee here. Nor shalt thou favour any Man or Woman, young or old, that holdeth any these aforesaid opinions: But after thy knowledge and power thou shalt force thee to withstand all such disproubers of Holy Church in every Diocese that thou comest in; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the Bishop of the Diocese that they are in, or to the Bishops Ministers. And over this I will that thou Preach no more unto the time that I know by good witnes and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

Behold the Popish proceedings whereto they tend. And I hearing these words thought in my heart that this was an unlawful asking; and deemed my self Cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how *Susan* said: Anguish is to me on every side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the Archbishop said to me; Answer one way or other: and I said; Sir, if I consented to you thus as ye have herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or every Bishops espie, Somoner of all *England*. For if I should thus put up and publish the names of Men and Women, I should herein deceive full many persons: Yea Sir, as it is likely by the doom of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of Men and Women, yea both Bodily and Ghostly. For many Men and Women that stand now in the way of Salvation, if I should for the learning and reading or their belief publish them therefore up to the Bishops or to their unpiteous Ministers, I know some deal by experience that they should be so distroubled and disseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I think) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandred or punished, as Bishops and their Ministers now use to constrain Men and Women to confent to them.

No marvel why for Christ and Antichrist have can they agree? But I find in no place in Holy Scripture, that this Office, that ye would now infoofe me with, accordeth to any Priest of Christs Sect, nor to any other Christian Man: and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over grievour charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many Men and Women would, yea Sir, might justly to my confution say to me, that I wer a Traytor to God and to them: since (as I think in mine heart) many Men and Women trust so mickle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life do thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many Men and Women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered thamefully the Word of God. For if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchief or mischief that may befal unto me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy heretofore to be Cursed of God and also of all his Saints: from which inconvenience keep me and all Christian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his Holy Name. And then the Archbishop said unto me: Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of *Pharao*, and the Devil hath overcomen thee, and perverted thee, and he hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou haft no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercy that I have profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answer, thou haft no will to leave thine old errors. It is pretty when *Pharaoh* judged *Moyses* hard hearted. What learned you my Lord to call your Brother *Rachel*

But I say to thee lewd loffel, either quickly consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by Saint *Thomas* thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy Fellow into *Smithfield*. And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy He meaneth Gods Martyrs, *Wil. Sautre.*

bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the Archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowful that he had made *William Sautre* wrongfully to be burnt: and as I considered, that the Archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent Blood: And fast therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the Archbishop neither for Prelate nor for Priest of God: And for that mine inward Man was thus altogether departed from the Archbishop, me thought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular Men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and strength me against them that there were against the foothfastnes. And I suppose to speak no more to the Archbishop and his Clerks than me need behooved: and all thus I prayed God for his goodnes to give me then and alway grace to speak with a meek and an easie Spirit: and whatsoever thing that I should speak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the Archbishops Clerks laid unto me; What thing museth thou? Do thou as my Lord hath now commanded to thee here.

The order and manner of his bringing up.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then soon after the Archbishop said to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him; Sir, my Father and my Mother, on whose souls God have mercy (if it be his will) spent mickle Money in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a Priest to God. But when I came to years of Discretion, I had no will to be Priest, and therefore my Friends were right heavy to me, and then me thought their grudging against me was so painful to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full fair and pleasant words to me: But for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to be a Priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, shewing to me full heavy cheer. And thus one while in fair manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, ere I consented to them to be a Priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excortations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever bear their indignation, yea their Curse (as they said) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence to go to them that were named wise Priests, and of vertuous conversation, to have their counsel, and to know of them the office and the charge of Priesthood. And hereto my Father and my Mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and good leave to go, and also Money to spend in this Journey. And so I went to those Priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of Heavenly wisdom; and so I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the Doctrine of them, and specially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectly Gods Laws, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willeth that all Men and Women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then Sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conversation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this Land, as these men were of whom I took my counsel and information, I should now forsake thus suddenly and shortly, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised my self in these thirty winters and more, my conscience should ever be herewith out of measure unquieted: and Sir, I know well, that many Men and Women should be therethrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said, Sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardnes, many a one should be put into full great reproof: Yea Sir, I dread that many one (as they might then justly) would Curse me full bitterly; and Sir I fear not, but the Curse of God, which I should deserve herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to constrain me now to forsake: Yea Sir, all the Bishops of this Land, with full many other Priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse: and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so vertuously, more than I can or may. For if after your counsel I left utterly all my learning, I should hereby first wound and defile mine own soul, and also I should herethrough give occasion to many Men and Women of full sore hurting; Yea Sir, as it is likely to me, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evil example in it, as far as in me were, slea many folk Ghostly, that I should never deserve to have grace of God to the edifying of his Church, neither of my self, nor of any other Mans life, and should be undone both before God and Man.

{KING Rich. 2.}

But Sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of *H.of J.P.* and *B.* and also by the present doing of *Philip Rampington*, that now is become Bishop of *Lincoln*, I am now learned (as many more hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slander that these forefaid men chiefly have defiled principally themselves with. And in it that in them is, they have invenomed all the Church of God, for the flandrous revoking at the Cros of *Paul's*, of *H.P.* and of *B.* and how now *Philip Rampington* pursueth Christs people. And the feigning that these men dissembled by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their Preaching and communing within the bonds and terms (which without blame may be spoken and shewed out of the most Worldly livers) will not be unpunished of God. For to the point of truth, that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lives but by example each one of them as their words and their works shew, busie them through their feigning to slander and to pursue Christ in his Members, rather than they will be pursued.

Philip Repington made Bishop, and a persecutor.

And the Archbishop said to me: These men, the which thou speakest of now, were Fools and Heretics, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such Lofels. But now they are wise men, though thou and other such deem them unwise. Nevertheless, I never wist any that right said, that any while were invenomed with your contagiousnes, that is, contaminated and spotted Doctrine.

Happy be they that continue to the end.

And I said to the Archbishop: Sir, I think well that these men and such other are now wise as to this World: But as their words founded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earnest of the wisdom of God, and that they should have deserved mickle grace of God to have saved their own souls and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilful poverty, and in other simple vertuous living: and specially if they had with these forefaid vertues continued in their busie fruitful sowing of Gods Word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits; full busily to know the pleasant will of God, travelling all their Members full busily to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of Christian people. But woe worth false covetise, and evil Counsel and Tyranny, by which they and many Men and Women are led blindly into an evil end.

Woe worth false covetise.

Then the Archbishop said unto me; Thou, and such other Lofels of thy Sect, would have your heads full near to have a Benefice. For by Jesus I know none more covetous shrews than ye are, when that ye have a Benefice. For loe, I gave to *John Purvy* a Benefice but a Mile out of this Castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousnes for Tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my Diocefs.

It is pity these Prelates cannot swear. Covetousness joyned with Pilfulness.

And I said to the Archbishop; Sir, *Purvy* is neither with you now for the Benefice that you gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he sheweth himself neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his Fellows may fore

{KING Rich. 2.} fore dread, that if they turn not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the Archbishop said: Though *Purvey* be now a false Harlot, I quit me now to him: But come he more for such cause before me (ere we part) I shall know with whom he holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wife, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

A worthy commendation of M. John Wickliff.

And I said: Sir, Master *John Wickliff* was holden of full many Men the greatest Clerk that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing ruly Man and an innocent in his living: and therefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved fo his learning, that they writ it, and busily inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore Sir, this forefaid learning of M. *John Wickliff's* ye holden, of full many Men and Women, the most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the Church of Christ hath been and yet fhould be ruled and governed. Therefore so many Men and Women covet this learning, and purpose through Gods grace, to conform their living like to this learning of *Wickliff*. M. *John Ashton* taught and writ accordingly and full busily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himself right perfectly unto his lives end. And also *Philip* of *Rampington*, while he was a Canon of *Leicester*, *Nicholas Herford*, *Davy Gotray* of *Pakring*, Monk of *Byland*, and a Master of Divinity, and *John Purvey*, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busily this forefaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willingly to be informed of them and by them, and specially of *Wickliff* himself, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specially, and of these men I took the learning that I have taught; and purposed to live thereafter (if God will) to my lives end. For though some of those men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the help of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on *Moses* Chair, and specially while that they sate on the Chair of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with Gods help. For they feign and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their flandrous doing: they grant not that they have taught amiss or erred before time, but that they were constrained by pain to leave to tell out the sooth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, than to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for foothfastnes that Christ fhed out his heart-blood for.

M. John Ashton, M. Philip Rampayne, Nicholas Herford, Davy Gotray, John Purvey.

The Testimony for Wickliff out of the mouth of his own adversary.

And the Archbishop said; That learning, that thou calleft truth and foothfastnes, is open flander to Holy Church, as it is proved of Holy Church. For albeit that *Wickliff* your Author was a great Clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver: yet his Doctrine is not approved of Holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching *Philip* of *Rampington*, that was first Canon, and after Abbot of *Leicester*, which is now Bishop of *Lincoln*, I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he fasted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold the learning that he taught, when he was a Canon of *Leicester*. For no Bishop of this Land purfueth now more sharpely them that hold thy way, than he doth.

Many such vigils have our English Kalenders. Repington became a persecutor, after he was made Bishop.

Ane I said: Sir, full many Men and Women wondreth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a curfed Enemy of the truth.

And the Archbishop said to me: Wherefore tarieft thou me thus here with fuch Fables, wilt thou fhortly (as I have faid to thee) fubmit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God fubmit me to you, after the tenor and fentence that ye have above rehearsed to me.

And thus as if he had been wroth, he faid to one of his Clerks; Fetch hither quickly the certification that came to me from *Shrewsbury* under the Bailifs seal, witnessing the Errors and Heresies, which this Losel hath venemously sown there.

Then hafily the Clerk took out, and laid forth on a Cupboord divers Rolls and Writings, among which there was a little one, which the Clerk delivered to the Archbishop. And by and by the Archbishop read this Roll containing this sentence.

The third Sunday after *Easter*, the year of our Lord 1407. *William Thorp* came unto the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and through leave granted unto him to Preach, he faid openly in S. *Chads* Church in his Sermon, that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, was material Bread. And that Images fhould in no wife be worfhipped. And that men fhould not go on Pilgrimages. And that Priests have no Title to Tithes. And that it is not lawful to Swear in any wife.

The Sacrament after consecration, material bread. Articles objected against *Wil. Thorp.* Wholesome enough for mans soul, though not for your kitchin.

And when the Archbishop had Read thus this Roll, he rolled it up again, and faid to me. Is this wholefome learning to be among the people?

And I faid: Sir, I am both aftamed on their behalf, and right forrowful for them that have certified you thefe things thus untruly: for I never Preached, nor taught thus privily nor apertly.

And the Archbishop faid to me, I will give credence to thefe worthipful men which have written to me, and witnefled under their Seals there among them. Though now thou denieft this, weeneft thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou Lofel haft troubled the worfhipful Communalty of *Shrewsbury*, fo that the Bailifs and Communalty of that Town have written to me, praying me that am Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Chancellor of *England*, that I will vouchfafe to grant them, that if thou fhalt be made (as thou art worthy) to fuffer open joureſs for thine Herefies, that thou may have thy joureſs openly there among them; So that all they whom thou and fuch other Lofels have there perverted, may through fear of thy deed be reconciled again to the unity of Holy Church. And alſo they that ſtand in true Faith of Holy Church, may through thy deed be more eſtablished therein. And as if this asking well pleafed the Archbishop, he faid; By my thrift this hearty prayer and fervent requeſt fhall be thought on.

O *Shrewsbury*, thou haſt a cauſe to repent here in that thou wouldeſt not receive the truth when it was offered thee.

The Romiſh Church muſt be ſtabliſhed by perſecuting of true Preachers.

But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of *Shrewsbury*, nor the menacing of the Archbishop made me any thing afraid. But in rehearing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoyced, and yet doth. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think fhall come to all the Church of God herethrough, by the ſpecial merciful doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of Tyrants, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the help of the Lord, with full purpoſe to knowledge the foothfaſtneſs, and to ſtand thereby after my cunning and power, I ſaid to the Archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to prove by likely evidence, that they that are feigned to be out of the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury*, and in other places alſo, are in the true Faith of Holy Church. For as their words found, and their works ſhew to Mans judgment (dreading and loving faithfully God) their delire, their will, their love, and their buſineſs are moſt ſet to dread to offend God, and to love to pleaſe him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, they that are ſaid to be in the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury* and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foul words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits, truly and effectfoully in the right Faith of Holy Church. Wherefore neither all theſe, nor any that follow their manners, ſhall any time come verily in the Faith of Holy Church, except they inforce them more truly to come in the way which now they deſpiſe. For theſe Men and Women, that are now called faithful and holden juſt, neither know, nor will exerciſe themſelves to know (of faithfulneſs) commandment of God.

A ſure truſt in Gods truth confounderh the malice of Tyrants.

If the truth ſtand might try, truth ſhould be known.

The deſcription of the right chriſtian *Shrewsbury*. The Catholicks of *Shrewsbury*, *Shrewsbury*, except thou turn from thy wicked ways, thou ſhalt not receive the truth.

And thus ſhall many Men and Women now, and ſpecially men that are named to be principal Limbs of Holy Church, ſtir God to great wrath, and deſerve his Curſe for that they call or hold them juſt men, which are full unjuſt, as their vicious words, their great cultomable ſwearing, and their ſlandrous and ſhameful works ſhew openly and

witneſs. And therefore ſuch vicious men and unjuſt in their own confeſſion call them unjuſt men and women, which after their power and cunning baſtle themſelves to live juſtly after the commandment of God. And where, Sir, ye ſay that I have diſtroubled the Communalty of *Shrewſbury*, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus be, it is not to be wondred of wiſe men, ſince all the Communalty of the City of *Jeruſalem* was diſtroubled of Chriſts own perſon, that was very God and Man, and the moſt prudent Preacher that ever was or ſhall be. And alſo all the Synagogue of *Nazareth* was moved againſt Chriſt, and ſo fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Synagogue roſe up and caſt Chriſt out of their City, and led him up to the top of a Mountain to caſt him down there headlong: alſo accordingly hereto the Lord witneſſeth by *Moſes*, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and purſueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that ſhall preach the truth of Gods Word to the unfaithful people, and ſhall let the foothfaſtneſs of the Goſpel, and the Prophetie of God Almighty to be fulfilled?

Jeruſalem troubled by the preaching of Chriſt.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, It followeth of theſe thy words, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt, that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any Biſhop. For you preſume that the Lord hath choſen you only to preach, as faithful Diſciples and ſpecial Followers of Chriſt.

The word of God ought truly to be preached.

And I ſaid, Sir, by authority of Gods Law, and alſo of Saints and Doctors I am learned to deem, that it is every Prieſts office and duty to preach buſily, freely, and truly the Word of God. For no doubt every Prieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in his Soul, and covet to take the Order of Prieſthood, chiefly to make known to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous works: and for this intent we ſuppoſe that Biſhops and other Prelates of holy Church ſhould chiefly take and uſe their Prelacy, and for the ſame cauſe Biſhops ſhould give to Prieſts their Orders.

If this Leſſon had been well followed, the world had not been brought to ſuch darkneſs by blind and dumb Prieſts.

For Biſhops ſhould accept no man to Prieſthood, except that he had good will and full purpoſe, and were well diſpoſed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore Sir, by the bidding of Chriſt, and by the example of his moſt holy living, and alſo by the witneſſing of his holy Apoſtles and Prophets, we are bound under full great pain, to exerciſe us after our cunning and power (as every Prieſt is likewiſe charged of God) to fulfil duly the Office of Prieſthood. We preſume not here of our ſelves to be eſteemed (neither in our own reputation, nor in none other mans) faithfull Diſciples, and ſpecial Followers of Chriſt. But Sir, as I ſaid to you before, we deem this by authority chiefly of Gods Word that it is the chief duty of every Prieſt to bulie him faithfully to make the Law of God known to his people; and ſo to commune the Commandment of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and buſineſs that we owe of due debt to do juſtly our Office through the ſtirring and ſpecial help (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercy, we debire to be the faithful Diſciples of Chriſt, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy Name, that he make us able to pleaſe him with devout prayers, and charitable Prieſtly works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

An effectuous prayer, God grant in all Miniſters.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Lewd Loſſel, whereto makeſt thou ſuch vain reaſons to me? Asketh not S. *Paul*, *How ſhould Prieſts preach except they be ſent?* But I ſent thee never to preach. For thy venomous Doctrine is known throughout *England*, that no Biſhop will admit thee to preach by witneſſing of their Letters. Why then lewd Idiot, will thou preſume to preach, ſince thou art not ſent nor licenſed of thy Soveraign to preach? Saith S. *Paul*, *That Subjects ought to obey their Sovereigns, and not only good and vertuous, but alſo Tyrants that are vicious.*

Why he preached without the Biſhops Licence.

He anſwereth to the queſtion concerning the Letter of Licence.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, as touching your Letter of Licence, or other Biſhops, which, ye ſay, we ſhould have to witneſs that we are able to be ſent to preach: we know well that neither you Sir, nor any other Biſhop of this Land will grant to us any ſuch Letters of Licence, but if we ſhould oblige us to you, and to other Biſhops by unlefull Oaths, not to paſs the bounds and terms which ye, Sir, or other Biſhops will limit to us. And ſince in this matter your terms be ſome too large, and ſome too ſtrait; we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keep the terms, which you will limit to us, as you do to Friers and ſuch other Preachers: and therefore, though we have not your Letter Sir, nor Letters of any other Biſhops written with ink upon Parchment, we dare not therefore leave the Office of preaching (to which preaching all Prieſts after their cunning and power are bound, by divers Teſtimonies of Gods Law, and great Doctors) without any mention making of Biſhops Letters. For as mikle as we have taken upon us the Office of Prieſthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we came and purpoſe to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own Law, and by witneſs of great Doctors and Saints, accordingly hereto truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the Office of Prieſthood, he will be our ſufficient Letters and Witneſs, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, ſpecially occupy us faithfully to do our Office juſtly; yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithful or unfaithful) ſhall be our Letters; that is, our witneſs-bearers: for the truth where it is ſown may not be unwitneſſed. For all that are converted and ſaved by learning of Gods Word, and by working thereafter, are witneſs-bearers, that the truth and foothfaſtneſs, which they heard and did after, is cauſe of their ſalvation. And again, all unfaithful men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: alſo all they that might have heard the truth, and would not hear it, becauſe that they would not do thereafter, all theſe ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, and the truth which they would not hear, or elſe heard it and deſpiſed to do thereafter through their unfaithfulneſs, is and ſhall be cauſe of their damnation. Therefore Sir, ſince this aforeſaid witneſſing of God, and of divers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people good and evil, ſufficeth to all true Preachers; we think that we do not the Office of Prieſthood, if that we leave our preaching, becauſe that we have not, or may not have duly Biſhops Letters, to witneſs that we are ſent of them to preach. This ſentence approveth S. *Paul*, where he ſpeaketh of himſelf and of faithful Apoſtles and Diſciples, ſaying thus, *We need no Letters of Commendations as ſome Preachers do, which preach for covetouſneſs of Temporal goods, and for mens praiſing.* And where ye ſay Sir, that *Paul* biddeth Subjects obey their Soveraigns, that is ſooth, and may not be denied. But there be two manner of Soveraigns, vertuous Sovereigns, and vicious Tyrants. Therefore to theſe laſt Sovereigns neither men nor women, that be ſubject, owe to obey in two manners. To vertuous Sovereigns and charitable Subjects they owe to obey willfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counſel, in conſenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitful works.

{KING Ethe. 4.}

The inconvenience of ceaſing of the Biſhops Letter of Licence.

The witneſs of the Preacherin the good life of the Followers.

Two manner of Soveraigns.

He meaneth Prelates that be unvertuous.

This ſentence *Paul* approveth, where he ſaith to Subjects, *Be ye mindful of your Sovereigns, that ſpeak to you the word of God, and follow you the Faith of them, whoſe Converſation you know to be vertuous.* For as *Paul* ſaith after, theſe Sovereigns to whom Subjects ought to obey in following of their manners, work buſily in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtand and deſtroy vices, firſt in themſelves, and after in all their Subjects, and how they may beſt plant in them vertues. Alſo their Sovereigns make devout and fervent Prayers to purchaſe Grace of God, that they and their Subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and to love to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe Sovereigns to whom *Paul* biddeth us obey, as it is ſaid before, live ſo vertuouſly, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keep the Commandments of God. But in this foreſaid wife, Subjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to Tyrants, while they are vicious Tyrants, ſince their will, their counſel, their biddings and their works are ſo vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though ſuch Tyrants be maiſterful and cruel in boaſting and menacing, in oppreſſions and divers puniſhings: S. *Peter* biddeth the ſervants of ſuch Tyrants, to obey meekly ſuch Tyrants, ſuffering patiently their malicious cruelneſs. But *Peter* counſelleth not any ſervant or ſubject to obey any Lord, or Prince, or Soveraign, in any thing that is not pleaſing to God.

Two manners of Subjects.

1. In following their doings and examples.
2. In affecting their wrong-wicked Rulers are not to be followed in evil.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me, If a Soveraign bid his ſubject do that thing that is vicious, this Sovereign herein is to blame: but the ſubject for this Obedience deſerveth

{KING Ethe. 4.}

Obedience not to be given but to things leſul and lawful.

deſerveth meed of God. For Obedience more pleaſeth God, than any Sacrifice.

And I ſaid, *Samuel* the Prophet ſaid to *Saul* the wicked King, *That God was more pleaſed with the Obedience of his Commandments, than with any Sacrifice of Beaſts.* But *David* ſaith, and S. *Paul*, and S. *Gregory* accordingly together, *That not only they that do evil, are worthy of death and damnation, but alſo they that conſent to evil doers.* And Sir, the Law of the holy Church teacheth in the Decrees, That no Servant to his Lord, nor Child to the Father or Mother, nor Wife to her Husband, nor Monk to his Abbot ought to obey, except in leſul things, and lawful.

All is preſumption that ſtandeth againſt your maiſterful ambition.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, All theſe alledgings that thou bringeſt forth, are not elſe but proud preſumptuouſneſs. For hereby thou inforceſt thee to prove, that thou and ſuch other are ſo juſt, that ye ought not to obey to Prelates. And thus againſt the learning of Saint *Paul*, that teacheth you not to Preach, but if ye were ſent; of your own authority, ye will go forth and Preach, and do what ye liſt.

Prieſts in that they take Prieſthood, they are ſent to preach. Mat. 10. *Mar.* alt. *Luk.* 10.

The Office of Prieſthood is the Office of preaching.

And I ſaid, Sir, preſenteth not every Prieſt the Office of the Apoſtles, or the Office of the Diſciples of Chriſt? And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Yea.* And I ſaid, Sir, as the tenth Chapter of *Matthew* and the laſt Chapter of *Mark* witneſſeth, Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles to preach. And the tenth Chapter of *Luke* witneſſeth, That Chriſt ſent his two and ſeventy Diſciples to preach in every place that Chriſt was to come to: and S. *Gregory* in the Common Law ſaith, *That every man that goeth to Prieſthood, taketh upon him the Office of Preaching:* For as he ſaith, *That Prieſt ſtirreth God to great wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voice of preaching.* And as other more gloſſes upon *Ezekiel*, witneſs. That the Prieſt that preacheth not buſily to the people, ſhall be partaker of their damnation that periſh through his default. And though the people be ſaved by other ſpecial Grace of God, than by the Prieſts preaching, yet the Prieſts, in that they are ordained to preach and preach not, as before God they are Manſlayers. For as far as on them is, ſuch Prieſts as preach not buſily and truly, ſlay all the people ghoſtly: in that they withhold from them the Word of God, that is the life and ſubſtance of mens ſouls. And S. *Iſidore* ſaid, *Prieſts ſhall be damned for wickedneſs of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are ſinners.* For all the work or buſineſs of Prieſts ſtandeth in preaching and teaching, that they edifie all men as well by cunning of Faith, as by diſcipline of Works; that is, Vertuous teaching: And as the Goſpel witneſſeth, Chriſt ſaid in his teaching, *I any born and comen into this World, to bear witneſs to the Truth, and he that is of the Truth heareth my voice.*

Prieſts that preach not, be ſlayers of the people. Iſidor.

Diſcipline of Faith. Diſciplene of Works.

Prieſts not only ſent to preach, but commanded to preach. Propriet. Lincolnien. Whatſoever a man doth, leaving that undone which he is chiefly bound to do, in ſin. Yet this he may plainly ſhew that him not by the bond, a new burnith not of his hand, as Bonaventure ſaid.

Then Sir, ſince by the word of Chriſt ſpecially, that is, his Voice, Prieſts are commanded to preach; whatſoever Prieſt that it be, that hath not good will and full purpoſe to do thus, and ableth not himſelf after his cunning and power to do his Office by the Example of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, whatſoever other thing that he doth, diſpleaſeth God. For lo, S. *Gregory* ſaith, *That thing left that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatſoever other thing that a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghoſt*; and therefore ſaith *Lincoln*, *The Prieſt that preacheth not the Word of God, though he be ſeen to have none other default, he is Antichriſt and Satans, a night-Thief, and a day-Thief, a Slayer of Souls, and an Angel of Light turned into Darkneſs.* Wherefore Sir, theſe Authorities and other well conſidered, I deem my ſelf damnable, if I either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any Creature apply me not diligently to preach the Word of God. And in the ſame damnation I deem all thoſe Prieſts, which of good purpoſe and will enforce them not buſily to do thus, and alſo all them that have purpoſe or will to let any Prieſt of this buſineſs.

Holy Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to thoſe three Clerks that ſtood before him, Lo Sirs, this is the manner and buſineſs of this Loſſel and ſuch other, to pick out ſuch ſharp ſentences of holy Scripture and Doctors, to maintain their Sect, and lore againſt the Ordinance of holy Church. And therefore Loſſel, it is thou that coveteſt to have again the *Pſalter* that I made to be taken from thee at *Canterbury*, to record ſharp Verſes againſt us. But thou ſhall never

have that *Pſalter*, nor any other Book, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed by holy Church.

And I ſaid, Sir, all my will and power is, and ever ſhall be (I truſt to God) to be governed by holy Church.

And the Archbiſhop asked me, What was holy Church?

And I ſaid, Sir, I told you before what was holy Church. But ſince ye aſk me this demand; I call Chriſt and his Saints holy Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me; I wot well that Chriſt and his Saints are holy Church in Heaven, but what is holy Church in Earth?

Two parts of the Church.

And I ſaid, Sir, though holy Church be every one in Charity, yet it hath two parts. The firſt and principal part hath overcomen perfectly all the wretchedneſs of this life, and reigneth joyfully in Heaven with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in Earth, buſily and continually fighting day and night againſt temptations of the Fiend; forſaking and hating the Proſperity of this World, deſpiſing and withſtanding their fleſhly luſts, which only are the Pilgrims of Chriſt, wandering towards Heaven by ſtedfaſt Faith, and grounded Hope, and by perfect Charity. For theſe heavenly Pilgrims may not, nor will not be letted of their good purpoſe, by the reaſon of any Doctors diſcording from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any Tribulation Temporal, nor by the wind of any pride, of boaſt, or of menacing of any Creature: For they are all faſt grounded upon the ſure Stone Chriſt, hearing his Word and loving it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wits to do thereafter.

Materiall Bread.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to his Clerks, See ye not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the Devil, occupying him thus buſily to inedge ſuch Sentences to maintain his Errors and Hereſies. Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would ſuffer him.

Weſt helpt Edward M. Clerk.

One of the Clerks anſwered, Sir, he ſaid right now, that this Certification, that came to you from *Shrewsbury*, is untruly forged againſt him. Therefore Sir, appoſe you him now here in all the points which are certified againſt him, and ſo we ſhall hear of his own mouth his anſwers, and witneſs them.

And the Archbiſhop took the Certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he ſaid to me:

The foreſaid Articles renewed againſt Thorp.

Lo here it is certified againſt thee by worthy men and faithful of *Shrewsbury*, that thou preachedeſt there openly in S. *Chad's* Church, that the Sacrament of the Altar was material Bread after the Conſecration; what ſayeſt thou? Was this truly preached?

The vertue of the Sacrament ſtandeth in the belief, more than in the outward ſigne.

And I ſaid, Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there of the Sacrament of the Altar, but in this wiſe as I will with Gods Grace tell you here. As I flood there in the Pulpit, buſying me to teach the Commandment of God, there knelled a ſacred Bell, and therefore mickle people turned away haſtily, and with noiſe ran fro towards me. And I ſeeing this, ſaid to them thus, *Good men, ye were better to ſtand here ſtill and to hear Gods Word. For certes the vertue and the meed of the moſt holy Sacrament of the Altar ſtandeth mickle more in the belief thereof that you ought to have in your Soul, than it doth in the outward ſight thereof. And therefore ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to hear Gods Word, becauſe that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true belief.* And otherwiſe Sir, I am certain I ſpake not there of the worthy Sacrament of the Altar.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I believe thee not whatſoever thou ſayeſt, ſince ſo worſhipful men have witneſſed thus againſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſaidſt thus there, what ſayeſt thou now? Reſteth there after the Conſecration in the Hoſt, material Bread or no?

And I ſaid, Sir, I know in no place in holy Scripture where this term *material Bread* is written: and therefore Sir, when I ſpeak of this matter, I uſe not to ſpeak of *material Bread*.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, How teacheſt thou men to believe in this Sacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, as I believe my ſelf, ſo I teach other men.

He ſaid, Tell out plainly thy belief thereof.

And

And I said with my protestation, Sir, I believe that the night before that Christ Jesus would suffer (wilfully) passion for us, Mankind on the morn after, he took Bread in his holy and moft worfhipful hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, *bleffed this Bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Difciples, faying to them; Take and eat of this all you, this is my Body.* And that this is and ought to be all mens belief, *Matthew, Mark, Luke* and *Paul* witneffeth. Other belief Sir I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I believe, that this fufficeth in this matter. For in this belief, with Gods Grace, I purpofe to live and die, knowledging as I believe and teach other men to believe, that the worfhipful Sacrament of the Altar is the Sacrament of Chrifts flefh and blood in the form of Bread and Wine.

And the Archbifhop faid to me, It is footh that this Sacrament is very Chrifts Body in form of Bread. But thou and thy Sect teacheft it to be fubftance of Bread. Think you this true teaching?

And I faid, Neither I, nor any other of the Sect that ye damn, teach any otherwife than I have told you, nor believe otherwife to my knowing. Nevertheleſs Sir, I ask of you for Charity, that you will tell me plainly, how ye ſhall underſtand the text of S. *Paul*, where he ſaith thus, *This thing feel you in your ſelf, that is in Chriſt Jeſus, while he was in the form of God.* Sir, calleth not *Paul* here the form of God, the ſubſtance or kind of God? Alſo Sir, ſaith not the Church in the hours of the moſt bleſſed Virgin accordingly hereto, where it is written thus? *Thou Author of Health remember, that ſometime thou took of the undefiled Virgin the form of our body.* Tell me for charity therefore, whether the form of our bodies be called here the kind of our body or no?

The Papiſts have none other defence for them, but only the Church. Every Ordinance of Churchmen biddeth not our faith.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Wouldſt thou make me to declare this Text after thy purpoſe, ſince the Church now hath determined, that there abideth no ſubſtance of Bread, after the Conſecration, in the Sacrament of the Altar? Believeſt thou not this Ordinance of the Church?

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever Prelates have ordained in the Church, our belief ſtandeth ever whole, I have not heard, that the Ordinance of men under belief ſhould be put into belief.

The greateſt Doctors of the Church be Apoſtles. S. Paul calleth it *Bread.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, If thou haſt not learned this before, learn now to know that thou art out of belief, if in this matter and other thou believeſt not as the holy Church believeth. What ſay Doctors treating of this Sacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, Saint *Paul* that was a great Doctor of holy Church, ſpeaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this moſt holy Sacrament, calleth it *Bread* that we break. And alſo in the Canon of the Maſs after the Conſecration, this moſt worthy Sacrament is called *holy Bread*. And every Prieſt in this Land, after that he hath received this Sacrament, ſaith in this wiſe, *That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and clean mind*; That is, as I underſtand, we pray God that we may receive, through very belief, this holy Sacrament worthily. And Sir, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That thing that is ſeen is Bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of is very Chriſt's Body.* And alſo *Fulgence* an ententive Doctor ſaith, *As it were an Error to ſay that Chriſt was but a Subſtance*; that is, very Man, and not very God; or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not very Man: *So is it* (this Doctor ſaith) *an Error to ſay, that the Sacrament of the Altar is but a Subſtance:* And alſo Sir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecret of the mid Maſs on *Chriſtmas-day*, it is written thus, *Idem refulſit Deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod divinum eſt*; which ſentence Sir, with the ſecret of the fourth Ferie, *quatuor temporum Septembris*, I pray you Sir declare here openly in *Engliſh*.

The ſecret of the Maſs on *Chriſtmas-day* nameth it a ſecret ſubſtance.

My Lord can reveile apace, he can declare but a little. Choke him up my Lord.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I perceive well enough whereabout thou art, and how the Devil blindeth thee, that thou may not underſtand the Ordinance of holy Church, nor conſent thereto. But I command thee now, anſwer me ſhortly; Believeſt thou, that, after the Conſecration of this foreſaid Sacrament, there abideth ſubſtiance of Bread, or not?

And I ſaid, Sir, as I underſtand, it is all one to grant or believe that there dwelleth ſubſtance of Bread, and to grant and to believe, that this moſt worthy Sacrament of Chriſts own Body is accident without ſubject. But Sir, for as mikle as your asking paſſeth my underſtanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is a School-matter about which I buſied me never to know: and therefore I commit this term, *accidens ſine ſubjecto*, to thoſe Clerks which delight them ſo in curious and ſubtil ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtrange matters, and wade and wander ſo in them from argument to argument, with *pro & contra*, till that they wot not where they are, and underſtand not themſelves. But the ſhame that theſe proud Sophiſters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fools, and to be concluded ſhamefully before God.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I purpoſe not to oblige thee to the ſubtil arguments of Clerks, ſince thou art unable hereto; but I purpoſe to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

And I ſaid, Sir, by open evidence and great witneſs, a M. year after the Incarnation of Chriſt, the determination which I have here before you rehearſed, was accept of holy Church as ſufficient to the ſalvation of all them that would believe it faithfully, and work thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, ſince the Fiend was looſed, by Frier *Thomas* again, eſpecially calling the moſt worſhipful Sacrament of Chriſts own Body an accident without ſubject: which term, ſince I know not that Gods Law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this Friers ſentence, or any ſuch other, my belief; do with me God what thou wilt.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Well, well, thou ſhalt ſay otherwiſe ere that I leave thee. But what ſayeſt thou to this ſecond point that is recorded againſt thee by worthy men of *Shrewsbury*, ſaying, *That thou preacheſt there, that Images ought not to be worſhipped in any wiſe?*

And I ſaid, Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods Grace will I at any time conſent to think, or to ſay thus, either privily or apertly. For lo, the Lord wiſneſſeth by *Moſes, That the things which he made were right good*; and ſo then they were, and yet they are and ſhall be good and worſhipful in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them ſo, they are all praiſeable and worſhipful, and ſpecially man, that was made after the Image and likeneſs of God, is full worſhipful in his kind, yea, this holy Image, that is man, God worſhipped. And therefore every man ſhould worſhip other, in kind, and alſo for heavenly Vertues that men uſe charitably. And alſo I ſay, Wood, Tin, Gold, Silver, or any other matter that Images are made of, all theſe Creatures are worſhipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, caſting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of higheſt ſtate and dignity, and ordained of them to be a *Calendar* to lewd men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his Word, neither by his Creatures, nor by his wonderful and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worſhipped in form, nor in the likeneſs of mans craft. Nevertheleſs, that every matter the *Painters* paint with, ſince it is Gods Creature, ought to be worſhipped in the kind, and to that end that God made and ordained it to ſerve man.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I grant well that no body ought to do worſhip to any ſuch Images for themſelves. But a Crucifix ought to be worſhipped for the paſſion of Chriſt that is painted therein, and ſo brought there through to mans mind: and thus the Images of the bleſſed Trinity, and of the Virgin *Mary* Chriſts Mother, and other Images of Saints ought to be worſhipped. For lo, earthly Kings and Lords which uſe to ſend their Letters enſealed with their Arms, or with their privy Signet to them that are with them, are worſhipped of theſe men. For when theſe men receive their Lords Letters, in which they ſee and know the wills and biddings of the Lords in worſhip of their Lords, they do off their Caps to theſe Letters. Why not then, ſince in Images made with mans hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his Saints, ſhall we not worſhip their Images?

And

{ KING Hen. 4. } To grant the real being of the Body without God, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the ſubject.

Againſt proud Sophiſters. Pro pium Domino, Templum Domini.

The Church found found till the fiend brake tools.

Tranſubſtantiation brought in by Frier Th. Aquin.

It is happy he did not dy in his hereſie, Anno Dom. 1280.

The ſecond point touching Images. Thop clerk yet with as untruth. Man a worſhipful Image of God.

Though man accept the pleaſing or carving of Images, yet is it not the right way to learn to ſerve God.

The right ſervice of a chriſtian.

Note this well ye worſhippers and unbelievers of images.

{ KING Hen. 4. } No ſimilitude to be made between earthly things and ſpiritual, namely when Gods word doth expreſs to the contrary. So you ſay my Lord, but God's faith contrary in his commandments. Painters devotion and the Popes do well agree. Prepariſon of the painters to make a fair and a devout Image.

And I ſaid, within my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay, That theſe worldly uſages of Temporal Laws that ye ſpeak now of, may be done in caſe without ſin. But this is no ſimilitude to worſhip Images, made by mans hand, ſince that *Moſes, David, Solomon, Baruch*, and other Saints in the Bible forbid ſo plainly the worſhipping of ſuch Images.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Lewd Loſſel, in the Old Law before that Chriſt took Mankind, was no likeneſs of any perſon of the Trinity neither ſhewed to man, nor known of man: But now ſince Chriſt became man, it is leful to have Images to ſhew his Manhood, yea, though many men which are right great Clerks, and other alſo, held it an Error to paint the Trinity; I ſay, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in Images. For it is great mowing of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity and other Images of Saints carved, caſt, and painted. For beyond the Sea are the beſt *Painters* that ever I ſaw. And Sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when that an Image-maker ſhall carve, caſt in mold, or paint any Images, he ſhall go to a Prieſt, and ſhrive him as clean, as if he ſhould then die; and take Penance, and make ſome certain vow of Faſting or of Praying, or Pilgrimages doing, praying the Prieſt ſpecially to pray for him, that he may have Grace to make a fair and a devout Image.

And I ſaid, Sir, I doubt not if theſe *Painters* that ye ſpeak of, or any other *Painters*, underſtood truly the text of *Moſes*, of *David*, of the *Wiſeman*, of *Baruch*, and of other Saints and Doctors; theſe *Painters* ſhould be moved to ſhrive them to God with full inward ſorrow of heart, taking upon them to do right ſharpe Penance for the finful and vain craft of painting, carving, or caſting they had uſed: promiſing God faithfully never to do ſo after, knowledging openly before all men their reproveable learning. And alſo Sir, theſe Prieſts that ſhrive (as you do ſay) *Painters*, and enjoyn them to do Penance, and pray for their ſpeed, promiſing to them help of their prayers to be curious in their finful crafts, ſin herein more grievouſly than the *Painters*. For theſe Prieſts do comfort and give them counſel to do that thing, which of great pain, yea under the pain of Gods curſe, they ſhould utterly forbid them. For certes Sir, if the wonderful working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophets, were made known to the people by holy living, and true, and buſie teaching of Prieſts; theſe things (Sir) were ſufficient Books and Kalenders to know God by, and his Saints, without any Images made with mans hand. But certes, the vicious living of Prieſts and their covetouſneſs, are chief cauſe of this Error; and all other viciouſneſs that reigneth among the people.

The true books and kalenders to know God.

A better light my Lord then to the blind ſtocks there is to be worſhipped.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me, I hold thee a vicious Prieſt and accurſt, and all they that are of thy Sect; for all Prieſts of holy Church, and all Images that move men to devotion, thou and ſuch other go about to deſtroy. Loſſel, were it a fair thing to come into the Church, and ſee therein none Image?

And I ſaid, Sir, they that come to the Church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be cloſe from all outward feeing and hearing, and from all diſturbance and lettings. And ſince Chriſt bleſſed them that ſaw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it ſufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing Gods word, and doing thereafter) to believe in God, though they never ſee Images made with mans hand after any perſon of the Trinity, or of any other Saint.

My Lord, your tea will not ſuffice Gods ear.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me with a fervent Spirit: I ſay to thee Loſſel, that it is right well done to make and to have an Image of the Trinity: Yea, what ſayeſt thou? is it not a ſtiring thing to behold ſuch an Image?

And I ſaid, Sir, ye ſaid right now that in the Old Law, ere Chriſt took Mankind, no likeneſs of any Perſon of the Trinity was ſhewed to men: wherefore Sir, ye ſaid it was not then leful to have Images, but now ye ſay, ſince Chriſt is becomen man, it is leful to have and to make an Image of the Trinity, and alſo of other Saints. But Sir, this thing would I learn of you: ſince the Father of Heaven, yea and every perſon of Trinity was without beginning God Almighty, and many holy Prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the Old Law, and alſo many men and women then died Confeſſors; Why was it not then as leful and neceſſary as now, to have made an Image of the Father of Heaven, and to have made and had other Images of Martyrs, Prophets, and holy Confeſſors, to have been Kalendars to adviſe men and move them to devotion, as ye ſay that Images now do?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, The Synagogue of the *Jews* had not authority to approve thoſe things as the Church of Chriſt hath now.

The Synagogue of Antichriſt will have authority.

And I ſaid, Sir, S. *Gregory* was a great man in the new Law, and of great Dignity, and as the Common Law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a Biſhop, in that he forbad utterly the Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, Ungracious Loſſel, thou ſavoureſt no more truth than an Hound. Since at the Rood at the *Northdoor* at *London*, at our Lady at *Walſingham*, and many other places in *England*, are many great and praiſeable Miracles done: ſhould not the Images of ſuch holy Saints and places at the reverence of God, and of our Lady, and other Saints, be more worſhipped than other places and Images, where no Miracles are done?

Great miracles done before Images, but my Lord doth not tell by whoſe power.

And I ſaid, Sir, there is no ſuch vertue in any Imagery, that any Image ſhould heretofore be worſhipped with: wherefore I am certain that there is no Miracle done of God in any place in Earth, becauſe that any Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped. And therefore Sir, as I preached openly at *Shrewsbury* and other places; I ſay now here before you, That no body ſhould truſt that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand; and therefore no body ſhould vow to them, nor ſeek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiſs them, nor incenſe them. For lo the moſt worthy of ſuch Images, the brazen Serpent (by *Moſes* made, at Gods bidding) the good King *Ezechias* deſtroyed worthily and thankfully, and all becauſe it was incenſed. Therefore Sir, if men take good heed to the writing and the learning of Saint *Auguſtine*, of Saint *Gregory*, and of Saint *John Chryſoſtome*, and of other Saints and Doctors, how they ſpake and wrote of Miracles, that ſhall be done now in the laſt end of the world: It is to be dread, that for the unfaithfulneſs of men and women, the Fiend hath great power to work many of the Miracles that now are done in ſuch places. For both men and women delight now more to hear and know Miracles, than they do to know Gods word, or to hear it effectuouſly. Wherefore, to the great confuſion of all them that thus do, Chriſt ſaith, *The Generation of Adulterers requireth Tokens, Miracles, and Wonders.* Nevertheleſs, as divers Saints ſay, *Now when the Faith of God is publiſhed in Chriſtendom, the Word of God ſufficeth to mans ſalvation, without ſuch Miracles:* And thus alſo the Word of God ſufficeth to all faithful men and women without any ſuch Images. But good Sir, ſince the Father of Heaven, that is, God in his Godhead, is the moſt unknown thing that may be, and the moſt wonderful Spirit, having in it no ſhape nor likeneſs, and members of any deadly Creature; in what likeneſs or what Image may God the Father be ſhewed or painted?

Miracles ſhould not be done to Images may well be ſuſpected not to come of God.

A Chriſtian man ought not to vow, fleek, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer, nor kiſs an Image.

For the unfaithfulneſs of men, the devil may work miracles.

The word of God ſufficeth to ſalvation, without miracles.

That which is of nature unknown, cannot be repreſented by any viſible creature known.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, as holy Church hath ſuffered the Images of the Trinity, and all other Images to be painted and ſhewed; it ſufficeth to them that are Members of holy Church. But ſince thou art a rotten Member, Holy Church of cut away from holy Church; thou favoureſt not the Ordinance thereof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leave we this matter.

your own building.

And then he ſaid to me, What ſayeſt thou to the third point that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly in *Shrewsbury*, that Pilgrimage is not leful? And over this thou ſaidſt that thoſe men and women that go on Pilgrimages to *Canterbury*, to *Beverly*, to *Karlington*, to *Walſingham*, and to any other ſuch places, are accurſed and made fooliſh, ſpending their goods in waſte.

The 13th Article. Pilgrimages

And I ſaid, Sir, by this Certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no Pilgrimage is leful. But I ſaid never thus. For I know that there be true Pilgrimages and leful, and full pleaſant to God: and therefore Sir, howſoever mine Enemies have certified you of me, I told at *Shrewsbury* of two manner of Pilgrimages.

Two manner of pilgrimages.

And

The true pilgrimage is to travel in heavenly things.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Whom calleth thou true Pilgrims?*

And I said, *Sir, with my protestation I call them true Pilgrims travelling toward the bliss of Heaven, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do busie them faithfully to occupy all their wits bodily and ghostly, to know truly, and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seven deadly sins, and every branch of them: Ruling them vertuously (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discreetly, wisfully, and gladly, all the Works of Mercy, bodily and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abiding them to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their Souls, and to hold therein the right blessings of Christ's Soules, and to hold therein the right blessings of Christ's husfsing them to know and to keep the seven principal Vertues, and so then they shall obtain here through Grace, to use thankfully to God all the conditions of Charity. And then they shall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they err in any Article of Belief, having continually (as frailty will suffer) all their business, to dread and to fly the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seek ever to do his pleasant will. Of these Pilgrimages I said, whatsoever good thought that they at any time think, what vertuous work that they speak, and what fruitful work that they work; Every such thought, word, and work is a step numbered of God toward him into Heaven. These foresaid Pilgrims of God, delight sore when they hear of Saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsook wilfully the prosperity of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the Fiend, how they restrained their fleshly lusts, how discreet they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their Adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sins, and to fly them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his Followers by example of him suffered scorns and slanders, and how patiently they abode and took the wrongful menacing of Tyrants: How homely they were, and serviceable to poor men to relieve and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from Spectacles of vain sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and destroy all Vices, and how laborious and joyful they were to sow and to plant Vertues? These heavenly conditions, and such other have Pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.*

Every good work is a good step to Heaven.

The manner and exemples of Saints.

And again, I said, *As their Works shew, the most part of men and women, that go now on Pilgrimages, have not these foresaid conditions, nor love to husie them faithfully to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine whosoever will, 20 of these Pilgrims, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a Commandment of God, nor can say their Pater noster and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readily in any manner of Language. And as I have learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same Pilgrims, telling the cause why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their Souls: more to have riches and prosperity of this World, than to be inriched with vertues in their Souls: more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship, than to have friendship of God and of his Saints in Heaven: for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, or of any other Saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods Commandments. Further with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly Wills, travel far their bodies, and spend mikle-money, to seek and to visit the Bones or Images (as they say they do) of this Saint or of that: such Pilgrimage going is neither praiseable nor thankful to God nor to any Saint of God, since in effect all such Pilgrims despise God and all his Commandments and Saints. For the Commandments of God they will neither know, nor keep, nor conform them to live vertuously by Example of Christ and of his Saints. Wherefore Sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to do with Gods help,* saying, That such fond people waste blamefully Gods goods in their vain Pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vicious Hostelars, which are oft unclean women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods with the which they should do works of Mercy, after Gods bidding, to poor needy men and women.

Pilgrimage displeaseth to God.

Goods evil bestowed in pilgrimage.

{KING Hen. 4.}

These poor mens goods and their livelode, these Runners about offer to rich Priests, which have mikle more livelode than they need. And thus those goods they waft wilfully, and spend them unjustly against Gods bidding upon strangers, with which they should help and relieve after Gods will their poor needy Neighbours at home: yea and over this folly, oftentimes divers men and women, of these Runners thus madly hither and thither into Pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steal mens goods hereto, and they pay them never again. Also Sir, I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one Pilgrimage; they will ordain with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton Songs, and some other Pilgrims, will have with them Bagpipes: so that every Town that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the tangling of their *Canterbury* Bells, and with the barking out of Dogs after them, they make more noise, than if the King came thereaway with all his Clarions, and many other Minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out in their Pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after, great Janglers, Taletellers and Lyars.

The incontinence that comforteth rich pilgrims.

You serve my Lord.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Lewd Lossel, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travel of Pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that Pilgrims have with them both Singers and also Pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his Fellow begin then a Song, or else take out of his bosome a Bagpipe, to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his Fellow. For with such solace the travel and weariness of Pilgrims is lightly and merrily born out.*

The fourth Article concerning rich tythes.

Well spoken my Lord for Lincolnshire bagpipes. And why than blamed Peter Pilchard for feeding his sheep in the flocks.

And I said, *Sir, Saint* Paul *teacheth men to weep with them that weep.*

A Pardon without Gods word.

And the Archbishop said, *What jangleth thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the Pilgrimage that now is used, is to them that do it a praiseable and a good mean to come the rather to Grace. But I hold thee unable to know this Grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the devotion of the people's since by authority of holy Scripture, men may lefully have and use such solace as thou reprovest.* For David *in his last* Psalm *teacheth men to have divers Instruments of Musick to praise God therewith.*

A new found way to grace of the Bishops making.

And I said, *Sir, by the Sentence of divers Doctors expounding the* Psalms *of* David, *that Musick and Minstrelsie that* David *and other Saints of the Old Law spake of, ought now neither to be taken nor used by the Letter, but these Instruments with their Musick ought to interpreted ghostly: For all those Figures are called Vertues and Grace, with which Vertues men should please God, and praise his Name. For* S. Paul *saith,* All such things befel to them in figure. *Therefore, Sir, I understand that the letter of this* Psalm of David, *and of such other* Psalms *and Sentences that slay them that take them now literally: This Sentence as I understand Sir, Christ himself approveth, putting out the Minstrels, that he would quicken the dead Damsel.*

A difference to be put betwixt the Old Law and the new.

Psalm had the tenth part of the Tythes given to the Levites.

Instruments and musick of the old Testament, how they are to be applied and used in the New Testament.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Lewd Lossel, is it not lefful to us to have Organs in the Church to worship therewithall God?* And I said, *Yea Sir, by mans Ordinance: but by the Ordinance of God, a good Sermon, to the peoples understanding, were mikle more pleasant to God.*

Organs in the Church. A fit comparison my Lord, and like your self.

And the Archbishop said, *That Organs and good delectable Songs quickned and sharpned more mens wits, than should any Sermon.*

But I said, *Sir, lustly men and worldly lovers delight and covet, and travel to have all their wits quickned and sharpned with divers sensible solace: But all the faithful Lovers and Followers of Christ, have all their delight to hear Gods Word, and to understand it truly, and*

Tythes by whom and when they were first commanded in the new Law.

{KING Hen. 4.}

and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things quickneth and sharpneth all the wits of Christ's chosen people's and ableth them so to Grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their ears and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For S. Hierome *(as I think)* saith, No body may joy with this world, and Reign with Christ.

The saying of Hierome.

And the Archbishop (as if he had been displeased with my Answer) said to his Clerks, *What ghest ye that this Idiot will speak there, where he hath no dread; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt be ordained for.* And then he spake to me all angerly.

WHat sayst thou to this fourth Point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that Priests have no title to Tythes?

And I said, *Sir, I warned there no word of Tythes in my preaching. But more than a month after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of Tythes: and I said to him, Sir, in this Town are many Clerks and Priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be Seculars: Therefore ask ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our Prelates say, That we also are obliged to pay our Tythes of all things that renew to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their Tythes. And I said (Sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, That I wonder that any Priest dare say men to be accursed, without the ground of God's Word. And the man said, Sir, our Priests say, That they curse men thus by the authority of Gods Law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore, Sir, I pray ye that ye will ask the most cunning Clerk of this Town, that ye may know where this Sentence of cursing them that tythe not, is now written in Gods Law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go from me to ask this question of another body: But required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of Priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of Saint* Peter, *teaching Priests specially to follow the Lord Christ in their hearts*: being evermore ready (as fast as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that ask of them a reason. *And this lesson* Peter *teacheth men to use with a meek spirit, and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the Old Law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from death to life, God commanded Tythes to be given to the Levites, for the great business and daily travel that pertained to their Office. But Priests, because their travel was mikle more ease and light, than was the Office of the Levites: God ordained the Priests should take for their livelode to do their Office, the tenth part of those Tythes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the New Law, neither Christ nor any of his Apostles took Tythes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay Tythes, neither to Priests, nor to Deacons. But Christ taught the people to do Alms's that is, works of mercy, to the poor needy men (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their Temporal goods) which they had more than them needed reasonably to their necessary livelode. And thus (I said) not of Tythes, but of pure Alms of the people, Christ lived and his Apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the Word of God to the people, that they might not travel otherwise to get their livelode. But after Christ's Ascension, and when the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travelled with their hands to get their livelode, when that they might then do so busie preaching. Therefore by example of himself, Saint* Paul *taught all the Priests of Christ to travel with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus all these Priests, whose Priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. year, one Pope Gregory the Tenth ordained new Tythes first to be given to Priests now in the New Law. But Saint* Paul *in his time, whose trace or trample all Priests of God inforce them to follow, seeing the covetousness that was among the people, desiring to defray that foul sin through the Grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himself, wrought and taught all Priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high Poverty: Wherefore* Paul *saith thus,* The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel. But we *(saith* Paul*)* that covet and busie us to be faithful Followers of Christ, use not this power. *For lo (as* Paul *witnesseth afterward) when he was full poor and needy, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous unto them, but with his handy he travelled not only to get his own living, but also the living of other poor and needy Creatures: and since the people was never so covetous, nor so avaritious (as they are now) as they are now; it were good counsel that all Priests took good heed to this heavenly learning of* Paul *following him here in wilful poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelode. But because that many Priests do contrary to* Paul *in this foresaid Doctrine,* Paul *biddeth the people take heed to those Priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if* Paul *would say thus to the people, Accept ye none other Priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you. For certain, in whatsoever Dignity or Order that any Priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful poverty, and in other heavenly vertues, and especially in true preaching of Gods Word's though such a one be named a Priest, yet he is no more but a Priest in name, for the work of every Priest in such an one wanteth. This sentence approveth* Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostome, *and* Lincoln *plainly.*

Paul having power to take, yet used it not.

Paul would not be chargeous. If Priests were covetous then, what be they now?

This rule with the rule of begging Friers cannot stand together.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certain this Doctrine contrarieth plainly the Ordinance of holy Fathers, which have ordained, granted and licensed Priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by Tythes and Offerings of the people, and by other duties.*

Wholesome enough my Lord if your taste were good to savour it. But contrarieth not the Ordinance either of God, or of his Word.

And I said, *Sir, if Priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived vertuously, and taught busily and truly the Word of God, by example of Christ and of his Apostles, without Tythes, Offerings, and other duties that Priests now challenge and take, the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.*

Priests would not sort luck in their duty, they should not luck in having sufficient.

And a Clerk said to me, *How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to Priests their livelode's since that now by the Law every Priest can scarcely constrain the people to give them their livelode?*

Fellow argumentum ferarium now ceaseth to ceasse. The evil demeanour of the Priests is the cause why the people be so slack in their tythes.

And I said, *Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give Priests the livelode that they ask: Mekill people know now, how that Priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his Apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay (as they do) their Temporal goods to Parsons, and to other Vicars and Priests, which should be faithful Dispensators of the Parishes goods: taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of Tythes, nor of Offerings, by the Ordinance of the Common Law. For what soever Priests take of the people (be it tythe or offering, or any other duty or service) the Priests ought to have thereof no more, but a bare living: and to depart the residue to the poor men and women, specially of the Parish of whom they take this Temporal living. But the most deal of Priests now wasteth their Parishes goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the World, in their vain lusts: So that in few places poor men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, neither of Tythes, nor of Offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that Priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needful sustenance of meat and clothing: but the poor needy people are forsaken and left of Priests to be sustained of the Parishioners, as if the Priests took nothing of the Parishioners to help the people with.*

Priests being content with sufficiency, and a bare living ought to exact the residue to the poor.

Priests did so then, but our Priests do not so now.

And thus Sir, into over great Charges of the Parishioners they pay their Temporal goods twice, where once might suffice, if Priests were true Dispensators. Also Sir, the Parishioners that pay their Temporal goods (be they Tythes or Offerings) to Priests that do not their Office as they should, are Partners of every sin of the Priests; because that they sustain those Priests folly in

Whether tythes are to be paid to Priests doing not their duty.

their

their sin, with their Temporal goods. If these things be well considered; what wonder is it then Sir, if the Parishioners grudge against these Distensators?

Ghostly Mother, may an ungodly fire-dame, to all Gods Children.

Then the Archbishop said to me, *Thou that shouldst be judged and ruled by holy Church, presumptuously thou deemest holy Church to have erred in the Ordinance of Tythes and other duties to be paid to Priests. It shall be long ere thou thrivest Lossel, that thou defilest thy ghostly Mother. How darest thou speak this (Lossel) among the people? Are not Tythes given to Priests to live by?*

By the law none could challenge Tythes, but only the seed of Levi: Our Priests be not of the seed of Levi: Ergo by the Law our Priests can not challenge Tythes. As the Priesthood is changed, so is the law changed.

And I said, *Sir*, S. Paul saith, *That Tythes were given in the Old Law to Levites and to Priests, that came of the Lineage of Levi. But our Priests*, he saith, *came not of the Lineage of* Levi, *but of the Lineage of* Juda, *to which* Juda *no Tythes were promised to be given. And therefore* Paul *saith, since the Priesthood is changed from the Generation of* Levi *to the Generation of* Juda; *It is necessary that changing also be made of the Law. So that Priests live now without Tythes and other Duties that they claim. following Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his Preaching) by pure Alms of the people; and by Example of him his Apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travel of their hands, as it is said above: every Priest, whose Priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in work*, That a Dificiple ought not to be above his Master, but it sufficeth to a Disciple to be as his Master, *simple and pure, meek and patient; and by Example especially of his Master Christ every Priest should rule him in all his living; and so after his cunning and power, a Priest should busie him to inform and to rule whomsoever he might charitably.*

Bless, but curse not, saith S. Paul. He goeth near you my Lord, when he toucheth your tythes. The difference of the freedoms between the Old and New Law.

And the Archbishop said to me with a great spirit, *Gods Curse have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldst hereby make the Old Law more free and perfect than the New Law. For thou sayst that it is lesful to Levites and to Priests to take Tythes in the Old Law, and so to enjoy their Priviledges: but to us Priests in the New Law, thou sayst it is not lawful to take Tythes: and thus thou givest to Levites of the Old Law, more freedom than to Priests of the New Law.*

For what cause tythes were given in the old Law.

And I said, Sir, *I marvel that ye understand this plain Text of* Paul *thus; Ye wot well, that the Levites and Priests in the Old Law that took Tythes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his Apostles that took no Tythes. And Sir, there is a Doctor (I think that it is Saint* Hierome) *that saith thus*, The Priests that challenge now in the New Law, Tythes; say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans love. *Wherefore this Doctor saith this Sentence: Since Tythes were the heirs and wages limited to Levites and to Priests of the Old Law for bearing about of the Tabernacle, and for slaying and flaying of Beasts, and for burning of Sacrifice, and for keeping of the Temple, and for trumping of battel before the Host of* Israel, *and other divers Observances that pertained to their Office: those Priests that will challenge or take Tythes, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the Priests Office of the Old Law, for whom Tythes were granted, for else (as this Doctor saith) Priests take now Tythes wrongfully.*

If you take away tithes you undo the Church.

And the Archbishop said to his Clerks, *Heard you ever Lossell speak thus? Certain this is the Learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugn the freedom of holy Church.*

And I said, *Sir, why call ye the taking of Tythes, and of such other duties that Priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of holy Church: since neither Christ nor his Apostles, challenged nor took such duties? Therefore these takings of Priests now are not called justly the freedom of holy Church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous covetousness of men of the holy Church.*

And the Archbishop said to me, *Why Lossell, wilt not thou and other that are confederate with thee, seek out of holy Scripture and of the sense of Doctors, all sharp Authorities against Lords, Knights, and Squires, and against other secular men as thou dost against Priests?*

And I said, *Sir, whatsoever men or women, Lords or Ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching especially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their Office and their Charges: but Sir, since* Chrysostome *saith*, That Priests are the stomach of the people, *it is needful in preaching, and also in communing, to be most busie about this Priesthood: Since by the viciousness of Priests both Lords and Commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the covetousness of Priests and pride, and the boast that they have and make of their Dignity and Power, defyeth not only the vertues of Priesthood in Priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the Lords, and upon the Commons, which suffer these Priests charitably.*

And the Archbishop said to me, *Thou judgest every Priest proud that will not go arrayed as thou dost: by God I deem him to be more meek that goeth every day in a scarlet Gown, than thou in thy thread-bare blue Gown. Wherely knowest thou a proud man?*

And I said, *Sir, a proud Priest may be known, when he demeth to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverty and other Vertues: and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, menacing, or with flattering, or with simony, any worldly goods; and most; if a Priest lusie him not chiefly in himself, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withstand sin.*

A Priest finds proud when he goeth gay.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Though thou knewest a Priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a Priest lovely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly, wouldst thou therefore damn this Priest damnable? I say to thee, that in the turning about of thy hand, such a Sinner may be verily repented.*

God shall judge all Forthermore What say you Lord?

And I said, *Sir, I will not damn any man for any sin that I know done or may be done, so that the Sinner leaveth his sin. But by authority of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as you shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin; and most specially, a Priest that should be example to all other to hate and fly sin. And in how short time soever ye say that such a Sinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great shame and hearty sorrow for sin. For whosoever (and specially a Priest) that useth pride, envy, covetousness, lechery, simony, or any other Vices, sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sin as long as he may; it is likely that sin leaveth him, and he not sin. And as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as S.* John *saith.*

Priests ought rule example of holy living

And a Clerk said then to the Archbishop, *Sir, the longer that ye apposse him, the worse he is; and the more you busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himself a foul nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.*

Clerkly spoken, and like a parable.

And then the Archbishop said to his Clerk, *Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will bear what he saith thereto.*

Forget not to bring I pray you my Lord.

And so then he said to me, *Lo it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly as* Wicliffe, *that it is not lawful to swear in any case.*

Not lawful to swear by any Creature.

And I said, *Sir, I never preached so openly, nor have I taught in this wise in any place. But Sir, as I preached in* Shrewsbury, *with my protestation I say to you now here, That by the authority of the Epistle of Saint* James, *and by witnes of divers Saints and Doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lawful in any case to swear by any Creature. And over this Sir, I have also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities, that no body should swear in any case, if that without Oath in any wise he that is charged to swear might excuse him to them that have power to compel him to swear in lesful thing and lawful. But if a man may not excuse him, without Oath, to them that have power to compel him to swear, then he ought to swear only by God, taking him only; that is, southfastnesse, to witness to southfastnesse*

Either Malvern, or else Sir Rob. de Blemeale. Standeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to swear well.

And so the Archbishop asked me, how I understood here *Chrysostome.*

Christ prohibiteth and alloweth oath and utterance.

And certain, I was somewhat afraid to answer hereto. For I had bulled me to study about the sense thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his Apostles, *When for my name ye shall be brought before Judges, I shall give into your mouth wisdom that your adversaries shall not against say*; and trusting faithfully in the Word of God, I said, Sir, I know well that many men and women have now swearing so in custom, that they neither know or will know, that they do evil to swear as they do; but they think and say, that they do well to swear as they do, though they know well that they swear untruly. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) void

KING. I see, as I will Gods, the Judge, of your own law, your brake your head.

Thus Priests would be thought to be good, as they ne-ver so bad.

And then a Clerk asked me, *If it were not lesful to a Subject, at the bidding of his Prelate, to kneel down and touch the holy Gospel book, and kiss it, saying, So help me God and this holy dome? for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his Prelate commandeth him.*

A Gospel book-kneeled that is to Slavon. The Spire and mitre of proud Priests.

And I said to them, Sirs, ye speak here full generally or largely. What if a Prelate commanded his Subject to do an unlawful thing, should he obey thereto?

And the Archbishop said to me, *A Subject ought not to suppose, that his Prelate will bid him do an unlawful thing. For a Subject ought to think that his Prelate will bid him do nothing, but that he will answer for before God, that it is lesful: And then, though the bidding of the Prelate be unlawful, the subject hath no peril to fulfil it, since that he thinketh and judgeth, that what soever thing his Prelate biddeth him do, that it is lesful to him for to do.*

A comunication betwixt a Lawyer and a Divine.

And I said, Sir, I trust not thereto. But to our purpose; Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a Gentlemans house, and there were then two Clerks there, a Master of Divinity, and a Man of Law, which Man of Law was alfo communing in Divinity. And among other things, these Men spake of Oaths; and the Man of Law said, *at the bidding of his Sovereign which had power to charge him to swear, he would lay his hand upon a Book and bear his charge; and if his charge, to his understanding, were unlesful, he would hastily withdraw his hand upon the Book, taking there only God to witness, that he would fulfil that lesful charge after his power.* And the Master of Divinity said then to him thus; *Certain he that layeth his hand upon a Book in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by Book-oath, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a Book (touching the Book, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this form to do this thing or that) will say and witness that he that toucheth thus a Book, and kisseth it, hath sworn upon that Book. And all other men that see that man thus do, and also all those that hear hereof, in the same wise will say and witness, that this man hath sworn upon a Book.* Wherefore, the Master of Divinity said, *It was not lesful either to give or to take any such charge upon a Book: for every Book is nothing else, but divers creatures of which it is made of. Therefore to swear upon a Book is to swear by creatures, and this swearing is ever unlesful.* This sentence witnesseth *Chrysostome* plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a Book to swear upon, charging Clerks that in no wife they constrain any body to swear, whether they think a man to swear true or false.

To swear by a book, his swear by creatures.

Chrysostome blameth Book-oaths.

Here now lacked fewer to scratch him by the face.

And the Archbishop and his Clerks scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the Archbishop menaced me with great punishment and sharp, except I left this opinion of swearing.

And I said, Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of S. *James*, and of *Chrysostome*, and of other divers Saints and Doctors.

Then the Archbishop had a Clerk read this Homily of *Chrysostome*; which Homily this Clerk held in his hand written in a Roll; which Roll the Archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at *Canterbury*. And so then this Clerk read this Roll, till he came to a clause where *Chrysostome* saith, that it is sin to swear well.

And then a Clerk (*Malverea* as I guess) said to the Archbishop, Sir, *I pray you weete of him, how he understandeth Chrysostome's* Homily.

And so the Archbishop asked me, how I understood here *Chrysostome*.

And certain, I was somewhat afraid to answer hereto. For I had bulled me to study about the sense thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his Apostles, *When for my name ye shall be brought before Judges, I shall give into your mouth wisdom that your adversaries shall not against say*; and trusting faithfully in the Word of God, I said, Sir, I know well that many men and women have now swearing so in custom, that they neither know or will know, that they do evil to swear as they do, but they think and say, that they do well to swear as they do, though they know well that they swear untruly. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) void blame or temporal harm, which they should have if they swear not thus. And Sir, many men and women maintain strongly that they swear well, when that thing is sooth that they swear for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be believed. And also, full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by God, and by our Lady, and by other Saints, to have them in mind. But since all these sayings are but excusations, and in us me thinketh Sir, that this is false of *Chrysostome* may be alledged well against all such swearers; witnessing that all these sin grievously, though they think themselves to swear in this forefaid wise well; for it is evil done, and great sin to swear truth, when in any manner a man may excuse himself without Oath.

The place of *Chrysostome* from expounded, how it is sin to swear well. What it is to swear well.

And the Archbishop said, *That* Chrysostome *might be thus understood.*

And then a Clerk said to me, *Wilt thou tarry my Lord no longer, but submit thee here meekly to the Ordinance of holy Church, and lay thy hand upon a Book, touching the holy Gospel of God, promising not only with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my Lords Ordinance.*

Pope holy Church.

And I said, Sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a Master of Divinity say, That in such a case it is all one to touch a book, and to swear by a book?

To touch a book is to swear by a book.

It is happy he called not for a Candle, and made a Sacrifice of him: a Sinner died of Tenkesbury.

And the Archbishop said, *Yea.*

And I said, if *Chrysostome* proveth him worthy of great blame, that bringeth forth a book to swear upon: it must needs follow, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that book.

It is happy that *Chrysostome* was not here, or else he would have had him by the beard. But that word cannot be touched. They reason not to sweat.

And the Archbishop said, *If* Chrysostome *meant accordingly to the Ordinance of holy Church, we will accept him.*

And then said a Clerk to me, *Is not the Word of God and God himself equipollens, that is, of one authority?*

And I said Yea.

Then he said to me, *Why wilt thou not swear then by the Gospel of God, that is, Gods Word, since it is all one to swear by the Word of God, and by God himself?*

And I said, Sir, since I may not now otherwise be believed, but by swearing, I perceive (as *Augustine* saith) that it is not speedful that ye that should be my brethren, should not believe me; therefore I am ready by the Word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his Word) to swear.

Then the Clerk said to me, *Lay then thine hand upon the book, touching the Holy Gospel of God, and take thy charge.*

And I said, Sir, I understand that the holy Gospel of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the Clerk said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this Clerk, whether it were more to read the Gospel, than to touch the Gospel.

And he said, *it was more to read the Gospel.*

Whether the book be the Gospels. *Hieromes* faith, the Gospel is not the Gospel for reading, but for believing.

Then I said, Sir, by authority of St. *Hierome* the Gospel is not the Gospel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men have in the Word of God. That it is the Gospel that we believe, and not the Letter that we read; because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospel, but the sentence that is verily believed in mans heart is the Gospel. For so *Hierome* saith, *The Gospel, that is the vertue of Gods Word, is not in the leaves of the book, but it is in the root of reason. Neither the Gospel* (he faith) *is in the writing alone of the letters, but the Gospel is in the marking of the sentence of Scripture.* This sentence approveth St. *Paul*, saying thus, *The Kingdom of God is not in word, but in vertue.* And *David* saith, *The voice of the Lord*, that is, *his Word is in vertue.* And after *David* saith, *Through the Word of God the Heavens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them.*

The G-God is not the leavest of book, but the root of reason. St. Paul. David.

And I pray you, Sir, understand ye well how *David* saith then, *In the spirit of the mouth of the Lord is all the vertue of Angels and of Men.*

This Clerk was well seen in the Mass-book.

And the Clerk said to me, *Thou wouldst make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospel is written in the Mass-book?*

And I said, Sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an unperfect speech. For the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For so Mans soul that may not now be seen here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly Man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof, that may not be seen; for do away the root, and the tree is destroyed. And Sir, as ye said to me right now, *God and his Word are of one authority*; And Sir, St. *Hierome* witnesseth that Christ (very God and very Man) is hid in the letter of the Law; thus also, Sir, the Gospel is hid in the letter. For Sir, as it is full likely, many and divers Men and Women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew, ghostly his Godhead: Right thus Sir, many Men now touch and see, and write, and read the Scriptures of Gods Law; which neither see, touch, nor read effectually the Gospel. For as the Godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is known by the vertue of belief, so is the Gospel, that is, Christs Word.

The Gospel is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

Misty matters for your blind eyes.

And a Clerk said to me, *These be full misty matters and unsavoury, that thou shewest here to us.*

And I said, Sir, if ye that are Masters know not plainly this sentence, ye may fore dread that the Kingdom of Heaven be taken from you, as it was from the Princes of Priests, and from the Elders of the *Jews*.

And then a Clerk (as I guess *Malvoren*) said to me, *Thou knowest not thine equivocations: for the Kingdom of Heaven hath divers understandings. What calleth thou the Kingdom of Heaven in this sentence that thou shewest here?*

The Kingdom of God taken for the understanding of Gods word. This fait was somewhat too sharp for their rotten flesh to abide.

And I said, Sir, by good reason and sentence of Doctors, the Realm of Heaven is called here the understanding of Gods Word.

And a Clerk said to me, *From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?*

And I said, Sir, (by authority of Christ himself) the effectual understanding of Christs Word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered Men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire Mastership, and high state and dignity; but they will not conform them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles.

Then the Archbishop said, *Well, well, thou wilt judge thy Sovereigns. By God, the King doth not his duty, unless he suffer thee to be condemned.*

Help down with him Sir John.

And then another Clerk said to me, *Why, (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a Man of my Lords, that he should not shrieve him to no man, but only to God?*

And with this asking I was abashed; and then by and by I knew that I was subtilly betrayed of a man that came to me in Prison on the *Friday* before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certain, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him, if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this Clerk: Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither; and all the words, as near as I can, repeat them, which I spake to him on *Friday* in the Prison, I will rehearse now here before you all, and before him.

Note here the crafty practice of this holy Church.

And (as I guess) the Archbishop said then to me, *They that are now here suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?*

A false brother.

And I said, Sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I understood) that good was. And as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorry of his living in Court, and right heavy for his own vicious living, and also for the viciousness of other men, and specially of Priests evil living; and therefore he said to me with a sorrowful heart (as I guessed) that he purposed fully within short time to leave the Court and to bulie him to know Gods law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words and more other which I would rehearse if he were present, he prayed me to hear his confession. And I said to him, Sir, wherefore come ye to me, to be confessed of me? Ye wot well that the Archbishop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any Sacrament of holy Church.

Auricular Confession.

And he said unto me, *Brother, I wot well, and so I wot many other more, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly.* And I said to him, certain I wot well, that many men of this Court, and specially the Priests of this Houshold would be full evil apaid both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessled of me. And he said, *that he cared not therefore for he had full little affection in them.* And as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of a good will and of a high desire, to have known and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my forefaid protestation I say to you now here: Sir, I counsel you to absent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and bulie them to know and to keep the precepts of God; and then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy bulily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethink you, shaming greatly of them, and sorrowing heartily for them: yea Sir, the Holy Ghoft will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent desire to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ever and to fly (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sin; and so then wisdom shall come to you from above, lightning (with divers beams of grace and of heavenly delire) all your wits, enforming you how ye shall truft stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, bulying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will (for he only may) forgive you all your sins. And this man faid to me, *Though God forgive men their sins, yet it behoveth men to be assoyled of Priests, and to do the penance that they enjoyn them.*

God only forgiveth sin, Men can only consell to have sin.

And I said to him, Sir, it is all one to assoil Men of their sins, and to forgive Men their sins. Wherefore since it pertaineth only to God to forgive sin; it sufficeth in this case, to counsel Men and Women to leave their sin, and to comfort them that bulie them thus to do, to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And again, Priests ought to tell sharply to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sin, but continue in divers sins while that they may sin, all such deserve pain without any end. And therefore Priests should ever bulie them to live well and holily, and to teach the people bulily and truly the Word of God, shewing to all folk in open preaching, and in privy counselling, *That the Lord God only forgiveth sin.* And therefore, those Priests that take upon them to assoil men of their sins, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth only to the Lord to assoil men of all their sins. For no doubt, a thousand year after that Christ was Man, no Priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privily nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be assoiled of them as Priests now do. But by authority of Christs Word Priests bound indurate, customable sinners to everlasting pains, which in no time of their living would bulie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And again, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to fly all occasion of sin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving to please him continually; to these men and women Priests shewed how the Lord assoiled men of all their sins; and thus Christ promised to confirm in Heaven all the binding and losing that Priests by authority of his Word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here upon Earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, *that he might well in Conscience consent to this sentence.* But he said, *Is it not needful to the lay people that cannot thus do, to go shrieve them to the Priests?* And I said, if a man feel himself so distroubled with any sin, that he cannot by his own wit avoid this sin without counsel of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case the counsel of a good Priest is full necessary. And if a good Priest fail, as they do now commonly, in such a case, Saint *Augustine* saith, *That may be a man may lawfully commune and take counsel of a vertuous secular man.* But certain, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their own sins into their mind, bulying them night and day to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after

A good counsellor may be a Priest, or a Lay man.

KING Hen. 4.

after their cunning and power. And Sir, full accordingly to this sentence upon *Midlent Sunday* (two year as I guess now agone) I heard a Monk of *Feversham*, that Men called *Mordem*, preach at *Canterbury* at the Cross within *Christ-Church* Abbey, saying thus of Confession: *That as though the suggestion of the fiend, without counsel of any other body, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find means and ways enough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other divers vices*; in contrariwise this Monk said, *Since the Lord God is more ready to forgive sin than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to sin, then whosoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsel of any other body than of God and of himself (through the grace of God) all such men and women may find sufficient means to come to Gods mercy, and so to be clean assoiled of all their sins.* This sentence I said, Sir, to this Man of yours, and the self words as near as I can guess.

Mordem Monk of Feversham preaching of Confession.

Hearty repentance to God, needeth no confession to a Priest.

A crafty train of a Popish disciple.

No nor any thing else that is good

And the Archbishop said, *Holy Church approveth not this learning.*

And I said, Sir, holy Church, of which Christ is Head in Heaven and in Earth, must needs approve this sentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keep the Commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occasion of sin, and to love and to feek vertues bulily, and to believe in God stably; and to truft in his mercy stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity, and continue therein perseverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, since Jesus Christ died upon the Cross, wilfully to make men free; Men of the Church are too bold and too bulie to make men thrall, binding them under the pain of endless curse (as they say) to do many observances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Christ nor of his Apostles approveth.

Christ giveth freedom the Pope giveth thraldom.

And a Clerk faid then to me, *Thou shewest plainly here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that travelled to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsel thee to go away clean from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.*

And as fast then, another Clerk faid to me, *How wast thou so bold at* Paul's *Cross* in London, *to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his Sermon the worthy Clerk* Alkerton, *drawing away all that thou mightest? yea, and the same day at afternoon; thou meeting the worthy Doctor in* Watlingstreet, *calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.*

And I said, Sir, I think certainly, that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sin, and loved vertues (hearing the Sermon of the Clerk at *Oxford*, and also *Alkerton's* Sermon) but they said, or might justly say, that *Alkerton* reproved that Clerk untruly, and slandred him wrongfully and uncharitably. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Christ chiefly and of his Apostles be true, no body that loveth God and his Law will blame any sentence that the Clerk then preached there; since by authority of Gods Word, and by approved Saints and Doctors, and by open reason, this Clerk approved all things clearly that he preached there.

And a Clerk of the Archbishop faid to me, *his Sermon was false, and that he shewed openly, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.*

And I said, Sir, I think that he purposeth to stand stedfastly thereby, or else he slandereth foully himself, and also many other that have great truft that he will stand by the truth of the Gospel. For I wot well, this Sermon is written both in *Latine* and *English*, and many men have it, and they set great price thereby. And Sir, if ye were present with the Archbishop at *Lambeth* when this Clerk appeared, and was at his answer before the Archbishop, ye wot well that this Clerk denied not there his Sermon, but two days he maintained it before the Archbishop and his Clerks.

And then the Archbishop or one of his Clerks said (I wot not which of them) *That harlot shall be met with for that Sermon. For no Man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, preacheth any such preaching.*

And then the Archbishop said, *Your cursed Sect is bulie, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to destroy the privilege and freedom of holy Church.*

And I said, Sir, I know no man that travel so bulily as this Sect doth (which you reprove) to make reft and peace in holy Church. For pride, covetousness, and simony, which distrouble most holy Church, this Sect hateth and fleeth, and travelleth bulily to move all other men in like manner, unto meekness and wilful poverty, and charity, and free ministring of the Sacrament, this Sect loveth and useth, and is full bulie to move all other folks thus to do. For these vertues ow all members of holy Church to their Head Christ.

The true freedom of holy Church not destroyed but increased by true preachers.

Then a Clerk faid to the Archbishop, *Sir, it is far day, and ye have far to ride to night; therefore make an end with him. For he will none make: but the more Sir, that ye bulie you to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further from you.*

And then *Malvoren* faid to me, *William, kneel down, and pray my Lords grace, and leave all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy Church.*

Take my Lords blessing and rise and stand up.

And I said, Sir, I have prayed the Archbishop of, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will leave his indignation that he hath against me: and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power, to do mine office of Priesthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I covet nought else but to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and have taken me to.

And the Archbishop faid to me, *If of good heart thou will submit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, obeying meekly and wilfully to my Ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee to do thus. Therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to do this that I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly.*

My Lord hath hath for being benighted.

And I said to the Archbishop, Sir, owe we to believe that Jesus Christ was and is very God and very Man?

And the Archbishop said *Yea.*

And I said, Sir, owe we to believe that all Christs living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he said, *Yea.*

And I said, Sir, owe we to believe that the living of the Apostles, and the teaching of Christ and all the Prophets, are true which are written in the Bible for the health and salvation of good people?

And he said *Yea.*

And I said, Sir, owe all Christian Men and Women after ther cunning and power, to conform all their living to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his Apostles and of Prophets, in things that are pleasant to God and edification of his Church?

And he said, *Yea.*

And I said, Sir, ought the Doctrine, the bidding, or the counsel of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this Doctrine, thele biddings, or this counsel may be granted and affirmed by Christs living and his teaching specially, or by the living and teaching of his Apostles and Prophets?

And why compel you the man to the contrary.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Other Doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any mans bidding or counsel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counsel accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets.*

They consent to submit himself to the ordinance of Councils.

And I said, Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy Church, means and healful remedies, to know and to understand the privy suggestions and the apert temptations of the fiend? and also ways and healful remedies to flay pride and all other deadly sins, and the branches of them, and sovereign means to purchase grace, to withstand and overcome all the flethly lusts and movings?

And the Archbishop faid *Yea.*

And I said, Sir, whatsoever thing ye or any other body bid or counsel me to do, accordingly to this forefaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.

And the Archbishop faid to me, *Submit thee then now here meekly and wilfully to the ordinance of holy Church, which I shall shew to thee.*

And I said, Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Christ the Head of the holy Church, and to the learnings and bidding, and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

If Boner had been here, he would not have stricken the Cupboard.

Then the Archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a Cupboard, spake to me with a great spirit, saying, *By Jesus, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine Ordinance (ere that I go out of the place) I shall make thee as sure as any Thief that is in the Prison of* Lanterne; *advise thee now what thou wilt do.* And then, as if he had been angred, he went from the Cupboard where he stood, to a Window.

The multitude is not to be followed in evil.

And then *Malveren* and another Clerk came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly; and another while they menaced me, and counselled full busily to submit me, or else, they said, I should not escape punishing over measure; for they said, I should be degraded, curfed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, *Thou mayst eschew all these mischiefs, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy Prelate, that hath cure of thy soul. And for the pity of Christ* (said they) *bethink thee, how great Clerks the Bishop of* Lincoln, Hereford *and* Purvey *were, and yet are, and also* B. *that is a well understanding man. Which also have forsaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that thou and such other hold. Wherefore since each of them is mickle wiser than thou art, we counsel thee for the best; that by the example of these four Clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.*

See what man by God giving him up to himself.

And one of the Bishops Clerks said then there, that he heard *Nicholas Herford* say, *That since he forsook and revoked all the learning and* Lollards *opinions, he hath had mickle greater favour, and more delight to hold against them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.*

As clean from thrift as from sin.

And therefore *Malveren* said to me, *I understand, and thou wilt take thee to a Priest, and shrieve thee clean, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my Lord here, for the holding and teaching of them; within short time thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.*

And I said to the Clerks, that thus busily counselled me to follow these forefaid men: Sirs, if these men, of whom ye counsel me to take example, had forsaken Benefices of temporal profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occations of covetousness and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilful poverty; they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, since all these four men have slanderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receive, and to have and to hold temporal Benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this World: I forsake them herein, and in all their forefaid slanderous doing. For I purpose, with the help of God (into remission of my sins, and of my foul cursed living,) to hate and to flee privily and openly to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen to go in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and revoking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put to Christs Church. For certain, so open blasphemy and slander as they have spoken and done in their revoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not privily be amended duly. Wherefore Sirs, I pray you that you bathe not to move me to follow these men in revoking and forsaking the truth, soothfastness as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they flit God to great wrath, and not only against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by Oath to slander and pursue Christ in his Members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodness of God) the worldly covetousness, and the lusty living, and the sliding from the truth, of these runagates, shall be to me, and to many other men and women an example and an evidence to stand more stiffly by the truth of Christ.

Other mens examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

For certain, right many men and women do mark and abhor the foulness and cowardness of their forefaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and flopped with Benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods Word, and forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily Persecution. For by this unfaithful doing, and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men) and have knowledged openly the truth, and now either for pleasure or displeasure of Tyrants have taken hire and temporal wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that covet to follow Christ in the way of righteousness; many men and women therefore are now moved. But many more, through the grace of God shall be moved hereby to learn the truth of God to do thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the Archbishop said to his Clerks, *Buste you no longer about him, for he, and other such as he is, are confederate together, that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to Prelates of holy Church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not swear, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not swear to me. And Lo sel, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busted thee to lose this young man, but blessed be God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to be buxome and obedient to the ordinance of holy Church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venomous teaching which thou haddest shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.*

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sorry. For long time thou hast busted thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou hast given evil counsels. And therefore, By Jesus, *thou shalt go thither, where* Nicholas Herford *and* Thomas Purvey *were harboured. And I undertake, ere this day eight days, thou shalt be right glad to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And Lossel, I shall assey, if I can make thee there as sorrowful (as it was told me:) thou wast glad at my last going out of* England. *By S.* Thomas, *I shall turn thy joy into sorrow.*

And I said, Sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I joyed ever of the manner of your going out of this Land.

But Sir, to say the sooth. I was joyful when ye were gone; for the Bishop of *London*, in whose Prison ye left me, found in me no cause to hold me longer in his Prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no manner of submitting.

The gentle nefs of the Bishop of London to Thorp.

Then the Archbishop said to me, *Wherefore that I yede out of* England, *is unknown to thee: But be this thing well known to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me again, and brought me into this Land, to destroy thee and the false Sect that thou art of: as,* By God, *I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land.*

So promised Winchester in Queen Mary time but that cafed his power to perform.

And I said to the Archbishop, Sir, the holy Prophet *Jeremy* said to the false Prophet *Anany, When the word, that is the prophesie of a Prophet, is known or fulfilled; then is shall be known, that the Lord sent the Prophet in truth.*

A notable prayer of Thorp to the Bishop, to destroy all the Gospellers.

And the Archbishop (as if he had not been pleased with my saying) turned him away ward hither and thither, and said, *By God, I shall set upon thy Shins a pair of Pearls, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.*

Such Pearls would better become my Lord, your golden Shoes.

These and many more wonders and convicious words were spoken to me, menacing me and all other of the same Sect to be punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

And the Archbishop called then to him a Clerk, and rowned with him; and that Clerk went forth, and soon he brought in the Constable of *Saltwood* Castle, and the Archbishop rowned a good while with him; and then the Constable went forth, and then came in divers Seculars, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly, and some counselled the Archbishop to burn me by and by, and some other counselled him to drown me in the Sea, for it is near hand there.

As little obedient disposed unto the temporalty, as the spiritualty.

And a Clerk standing beside me, there kneeled down to the Archbishop, praying him, that he would deliver me to him to say Matins with him, and he would undertake, that within three days I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my Prelate.

And

KING Hen. 4. KING Hen. 5.

Promotions commonly, and great livings cheke truth.

Men following the ways of Balaam.

And the Archbishop said, that he would ordain for me himself.

And then after, came again the Constable and spake privily to the Archbishop; and the Archbishop commanded the Constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after again. And when I came in again before the Archbishop; a Clerk bad me kneel down and ask grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serve.

And I said then to the Archbishop, Sir, as I have said to you divers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to be ordained ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his Law, and to every Member of Holy Church, as far forth as I can perceive that these Members accord with their Head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority, specially of Gods law.

And the Archbishop said, *I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.*

And then I was rebuked, scorned and menaced on every side; and yet after this divers persons cried upon me to kneel down and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me, but I said nothing.

In patience and silence puts your foes.

Then a while after the Archbishop said to me, *Wilt thou not submit thee to the Ordinance of Holy Church?*

And I said, Sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have shewed you before.

And then the Archbishop bad the Constable to have me forth thence in hast.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foul unhoneft Prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the Prison door after them; by and by after, I therein by my self, buried me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoyced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my Conscience, I passed away from them. For as a Tree laid upon another Tree, overthwart or cross-wise, so was the Archbishop and his three Clerks always contrary to me, and I to them.

They cast into prison. Their counsellors and favourers of the Lord after his confli with the Bishop.

Wife Sapra. Arundels Clerk going out of England.

Now good God for thine holy Name, and to the praising of thy most blessed Name, make us one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy Word, that is true perfect charity) and else not. And that it may thus be, all that thus writing read or hear, pray heartily to the Lord God, that he for his great goodness, that cannot be with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen.

Besides this Examination here above described, came another Treatise also to our hands of the same *Will. Thorp*, under the Name and Title of his Testament; which rather by the matter and handling thereof might seem to be counted a complaint of vicious Priests; which Treatise or Testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

Christs example of perfect meekness.

'*Matthew* an Apostle of Christ, and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy Gospel, the most holy living, and the most wholesome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that hear his words, and keep them, to a wise Man that buildeth his house upon a stone, that is a stable and a sure ground. This house is Mans Soul, in whom Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, stablished faithfully in his living and in his true teaching, adorned or made fair with divers vertues, which Christ used and taught without any medling of any errour, as are chiefly the conditions of Charity.

Christ dwelleth in a faithful soul.

Christ is the stone whereon we must build.

'This foresaid stone is Christ, upon which every faithful soul must be builded, since upon none other ground, than upon Christs living and his teaching, any body may make any building or houling wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground than is set, that is Christs living and teaching. And because that all men and women should give all their business here in this life, to build them vertuously upon this sure foundation: St. *Paul*, knowledging the fervent desire, and the good will of the people of *Ephesy*, wrote to them comforrably, saying, *Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the Citizens, and of the Household of God, builded above upon the foundament of the Apostles and Prophets. In which foundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaseth or groweth into an holy Temple*; that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Christ, is there-through made the holy Temple of God.

How we are made the Temple of God.

'This is the stable ground and sted fast stone Christ, which is the sure corner-stone, fast joyning and holding mightily together two Walls. For through Christ Jesus, mean or middle Person of the Trinity, the Father of Heaven is pitious or mercifully joyned and made one together to Mankind. And through dread to offend God, and fervent love to please him, men be unseparably made one to God, and defended surely under his protection. Also this forefaid stone Christ was figured by the square stones of which the Temple of God was made. For as a square stone, wherefoever it is cast or laid, it abideth and lieth stably; so Christ and every faithful Member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth flably in true faith, and in all other heavenly vertues in all adversities that they suffer in the valley of tears.

Mark what we have by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

'For lo, when these forefaid square stones were hewen and wrought to be laid in the Walls or Pillars of Gods Temple, no noise or stroke of the Workman was heard. Certain, this silence in working of this stone figureth Christ chiefly and his faithful Members, which by example of him have been, and yet are, and ever to the worlds end shall be so meek and patient in every adverfity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging shall any time be perceived in them.

Christs example of perfect meekness.

'Nevertheless, this chief and most worshipful cornerstone, which only is the ground of all vertues, proud beggers reproved; but this despite and reproof Christ suffered most meekly in his own Person, to give example of all meekness and patience to all his faithful followers. Certain, this world is now so full of proud beggers, which are named Priests; but the very office of working of Priesthood which Christ approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of Priests that now reign in this world.

Priests seek not the glory of this World.

'For from the highest Priest to the lowest, all (as who say) study, that is, they imagine and travel busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence of Gods Word, and many such other dependeth upon them, if it be well considered, either God the Father of Heaven hath deceived all Mankind by the living specially and teaching of Jesus Christ, and by the living and teaching of his Apostles and Prophets: or else all the Popes that have been since I had reigned and yet reign, and increase damnably from sin into sin, have been, and yet be proud obstinate Hereticks, covetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministring of the Sacraments, and specially in the ministring of the Sacrament of the Altar. For as their works shew whereto Christ biddeth us take heed; the highest Priests and Prelates of this Priesthood, challenge and occupy unlefful temporal Lordships. And for temporal favour and mede, they fell and give Benefices to unworthy and unable persons; yea, these simoners sell sin, suffering men and women in every degree and estate to lie and continue from year to year, in divers vices flanderously. And thus, by evil example of high Priests in the Church, lower Priests under them are not only suffered, but they are maintained to sell full dear (to the people for temporal mede) all the Sacraments.

Great odds betwixt the life of the Popes, and Christ and his Apostles.

When Priests forget Gods truth, ye see whither they run headlong.

The great infect the small.

'And thus all this forefaid Priesthood is blown so high, and born up in pride and vain glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly covetousness, that they disdain to follow Christ in very meekness and wil-

Flefhly Priests cannot away with those things.

'ful poverty, living holily, and preaching Gods Word truly, freely and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people of their pure alms, where and when they suffice not for their true and busie preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence, grounded on Christs own living, and teaching of his Apostles, 'these foresaid worldly and fleshly Priests will not consent effectually. But as their works and also their words shew, 'boldly and unshamefastly these forenamed Priests and Prelates covet and enforce them mightily and busily, that all 'holy Scripture were expounded and drawn accordingly to 'their manners, and to their ungrounded usages and findings. For they will not (since they hold it but folly and 'madness) conform their manners to the pure and simple 'living of Christ and his Apostles, nor will they follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the Emperors and Kings, 'and all other Lords and Ladies, and all the common people in every degree and state, which have before time 'known, or might have known, and also all they that now 'yet know, or might know, this foresaid witness of Priesthood and would not, nor yet will inforce them after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably the foresaid enemies and Traitors of Christ, and of his Church: All these 'strive with Antichrist against Jesus, and they shall hear the 'indignation of God Almighty without end, if in convenient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, 'doing therefore due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For through presumptuousness and negligence of Priests and Prelates (not of the Church of Christ, but occupying their Prelacy unduly in the Church) and also flattering, and false covetousness of other divers named 'Priests; Lousengers and Lounderers are wrongfully made 'and named Hermites, and have leave to defraud poor and 'needy creatures of their livelode, and to live by their false 'winning and begging, in sloth and in other divers vices. 'And also of these Prelates, these coker nose's are suffered to 'live in pride and hypocrisie, and to defoul themselves both 'bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsel of 'these foresaid Prelates and other Priests, are made both wan 'brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and envy, which 'are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they 'are cause of mickle distension, and they multiply and sustain 'it uncharitably; for unjustly eating and drinking unmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselves. Also 'this vain confederacy of brotherhood is permitted to be of 'one clothing, and to hold together.

'And in all these ungrounded and unlesful doings, Priests 'are partners, and great medlers and counsellers; and over 'this viciousness, hermites and pardoners, ankerers and strange 'beggers, are licensed and admitted of Prelates and Priests; 'to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings fraudelently against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them 'that accept them, or consent to them.

'And thus the viciousness of these foresaid named Priests 'and Prelates hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be 'cause of wars both within the Realm and without. And in 'the same wise these unable Priests have been, and yet are, 'and shall be chief cause of pestilence of Men, and murren 'of Beasts, and of barenness of the earth, and of all other mischiefs, to the time that Lords and Commons able them 'through grace to know and to keep the commandments 'of God, inforcing them then faithfully and charitably by 'one assent, to redress and make one this foresaid Priesthood, 'to the wilful, poor, meek and innocent living and teaching, 'specially of Christ and his Apostles.

'Therefore all they that know, or might know the vicious'nesses that reigneth now cursedly in these Priests, and in 'their learning, if they suffice not to understand this contegious viciousness: let them pray to the Lord heartily for 'the health of his Church, abstaining them prudently from 'their indurate enemies of Christ and of his people, and 'from all their Sacraments, since to them, all that know 'them, or may know them, they are but fleshly deeds and 'false; as S. *Cyprian* witnesseth in the first question of decrees, 'and in the first cause, *Cap. Siquis inquit.* For as this St. and 'great Doctor witnesseth there, that not only vicious Priests, 'but also all they that favour them, or consent to them in 'their viciousness, shall together perish with them, if they 'amend them not duly, as all they perished that consented to 'Dathan and *Abiram*. For nothing were more confusion to 'these foresaid vicious Priests, than to eschew them prudently 'in all their unlawful Sacraments, while they continue in their 'sinful living slanderously as they have long time done, and 'yet do. And no body needs to be afraid (though death did 'follow by one wise or other) to die out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresaid Christs enemies, since Christ will not fail to minister himself all lesful 'and lawful Sacraments, and necessary at all time (and especially at the end) to all them that are in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity.

'But yet some mad fools say (to eschew slander) they will 'be shriven once in the year, and communed of their proper 'Priests, though they know them defouled with flanderous 'vices. No doubt but all they that thus do or consent, privily or apertly to such doing are culpable of great sin; since S. *Paul* witnesseth, that not only they that do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to 'evil doers. Also (as their slandrous works witness) these 'foresaid vicious Priests, despise and cast from them heavenly 'cunning that is given of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore the 'Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they neither use, nor do any Priesthood to him.

'No doubt then, all they that wittingly or willfully take 'or consent that any other body should take any Sacrament 'of any such named Priest, sinneth openly and damnably against all the Trinity, and are unable to any Sacrament of 'health.

'And that this foresaid sentence is altogether true, into 'remission of all my sinful living, trusting steadfastly in the 'mercy of God, I offer to him my soul.

'And to prove also the foresaid sentence true, with the 'help of God, I purpose fully to suffer meekly and gladly my 'most wretched body to be tormented where God will, of 'whom he will and when he will, and as long as he will, and 'what temporal pain and death he will, to the praising of 'his name, and to the edification of his Church.

'And I that am a most unworthy and wretched Caitiff 'shall now through the special grace of God, make to him 'pleasant Sacrifice with my most sinful and unworthy body. 'Beseeching heartily all folk that read or hear this end of my 'purposed testament, that through the grace of God they 'dispose verily and vertuously all their wits, and able in like 'manner all their members to understand truly, and to keep 'faithfully, charitably and continually all the commandments 'of God, and so then to pray devoutly to all the Blessed 'Trinity, that I may have grace with wisdom and prudence 'from above, to end my life here in this foresaid truth, and 'for this cause, in true faith and stedfast hope, and perfect charity. Amen.

The end of *W. Thorp* is certain.

What was the end of this good man, and blessed servant of God *William Thorp*, I find as yet in no story specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the Archbishop *Thomas Arundel*, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go. Much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the Bishop; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned, wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that he being committed to some strait Prison (according as the Archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as *Thorp* confesseth himself) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there he died by sickness.

The like end also I find to happen to *John Ashton*, another good follower of *Wickliff*, who for the same Doctrine of the Sacrament was condemned by the Bishops, and because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual Prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: *An.* 1382.

They bant after ivils with tooth and nail.

An exhortation to all degrees, to effer sleshhood amended.

Prelates and Priests negligent in their duty.

Cypri. q. 1. cap. *Si quis inquit.*

[KING Hen. 4.]

¶ *John Purvey.*

FUrthermore, in the said Examination of *William Thorp*, mention is made (as ye heard) of *John Purvey*, of whom also something we touched before: promising of the said *John Purvey* more particularly to intreat in order and process of time. Of this *Purvey*, *Thomas Walden* writeth thus in his second Tome: *John Purvey*, saith he, *was the Library of* Lollards, *and Glosser upon* Wicklif. *He*

[KING Hen. 4.] *He said that the worshipping of* Abraham *was but a salutation.* And in his third Tome he saith, *That* John Purvey, *with* Herford *a Doctor of Divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the Prison of* Saltwood, *and at the length recanted at* Pauls *Cross at* London, Thomas Arundel *being then Archbishop of* Canterbury. *Afterward again, he was imprisoned under* Henry Chicheley *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *in the year of our Lord* 1421. Thus much writeth *Walden*. The Works of this man which he wrote were gathered by *Richard Lavingham* his adversary, which I think worthy to be remembred. First, as touching the Sacrament of the last Supper, the Sacrament of Penance, the Sacrament of Orders, the power of the Keys, the preaching of the Gospel, of Marriages, of Vows, of Possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the Clergy, of the Laws and Decrees of the Church, of the state and condition of the Pope and the Clergy; of all these generally, he left divers Monuments gravely and exactly written, part whereof here in the end of his story we thought to exhibit, being translated out of *Latine* into *English*.

John Purvey purished after his recantation.

The Articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at *Pauls-Cross*, were these hereafter following:

Articles of John Purvey inserted.

1. *That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the subject; but there verily remaineth the same substance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same Wine the which before the Consecration were set upon the Altar to be consecrate of the Priest; likewise as when a Pagan or Infidel is baptised, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was in his proper nature and substance.*

2. *Auricular confession, or private Penance, is a certain whispering, destroying the liberty of the Gospel, and newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergy, to intangle the consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into Hell.*

He speaketh of Priests late and out of publick Ministery, represented in the Church.

3. *Every lay man being holy and predestinate unto everlasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Priest before God.*

4. *That divers Prelates and other of the Clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the Doctrine and Example of Christ and his Apostles. Therefore they which so live, have not the Keys either of the Kingdom of Heaven, or yet of Hell; neither ought any Christian to esteem his censure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the Pope should peradventure, interdict the Realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, forsomuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the observation of his laws, and from saying of service according to the custom of the Church.*

Vows.

5. *If any man do make an Oath or Vow, to keep perpetual chastity, or do any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpose; the same Vow or Oath is unreasonable and indiscreet, neither can any Prelate compel him to keep the same, except he will do contrary unto Gods ordinance. But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghost and of his own conscience; forsomuch as every Man, which will not fulfil his Vow or Oath, cannot do it for that cause.*

The charge of Priests.

6. *Whosoever taketh upon him the office of Priesthood, although he have not the charge of souls committed unto him, according to the custom of the Church, not only may, but ought to preach the Gospel freely unto the people; otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.*

Against Transubstantiation.

7. *That* Innocentius *the third Pope, and six hundred Bishops, and a thousand other Prelates, with all the rest of the Clergy, which together with the same Pope agreed and determined, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine do remain there without any proper subject of the same; the which also ordained, that all Christians ought to confess their sins once a year unto a proper Priest, and to receive the reverend Sacrament at* Easter, *and made certain other laws at the same time: All they,* saith he, *in so doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blasphemers, and seducers of Christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their successors, neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugned.*

Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's *Books more at large by* Richard Levingham.

Articles out of Purvey's Books collected by Rich. Lavingham.

AS touching the Sacrament of thanksgiving, he saith, That that Chapter of repentance and remission, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, wherein it is ordained, *That every faithful man ought once every year at the least, that is to say at* Easter, *to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist*, is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

Item, That *Innocentius* the third Pope, was the head of Antichrist, who after the letting loose of Satan, invented a new Article of our Faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the Sacrament of the Altar, that is to say, that the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a substance, or else an heap of accidents without a substance. But Christ and his Apostles do teach manifestly, that the Sacrament of the Altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to understand, as they ought with reason, *that it is very and substantial bread, and no false nor feigned bread.*

The Sacrament of the Popish Altar.

And although *Innocentius*, that Antichrist, doth alledge, that in the Council at *Lions*, where this matter was decided, were six hundred Bishops with him, and one thousand Prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination; All those notwithstanding, he calleth Fools, according to that saying of *Eccles.* 1. *Of fools there are an infinite number.* And so in like manner he calleth them false Christs and false Prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24th of *Matthew*, *Many false Christs and false Prophets shall arise, and deceive many.* And therefore every Christian man ought to believe firmly, that the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake, and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ concerning his humanity was both visible and passible, and by his Divinity was invisible and impassible: so likewise this Sacrament in that it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that Sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that Sacrament be seen with the corporal eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner he spake it; for that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in Heaven. So the Sacrament of the Cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also *Innocentius* the third, with a great multitude of his secular Priests, made a certain new determination. *That the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a substance*, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his Apostles taught this Faith (but openly and manifestly to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctors, for the space of a thousand years and more, taught this Faith openly.

Pope Innocentius head of Antichrist.

The Sacrament is visible, substance bread and in signification the body of Christ.

Transubstantiation not openly taught 1000 years after Christ.

Therefore when Antichrist or any of his shavelings doth ask of thee that art a simple Christian, Whether that this Sacrament be the very body of Christ or not? affirm thou it manifestly so to be. And if he ask of thee whether it be material bread, or what other bread else? say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Ghost meant in S. *Paul*, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee how this bread is the body of Christ? say thou, as Christ understood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth: say thou also as the holy Doctors do say, *That the terrestrial matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the Pagan or Infidel may be baptised, and hereby spiritually be converted, and be a member of Christ, and so after a certain manner become Christ, and yet the same man remain still in his proper nature.* For so doth Saint *Augustine* grant, that a sinner forsaking his sin, and being made one Spirit with

The Sacrament both bread, and the body in divers respects.

with God by faith, grace and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a manner God; as both *David* and Saint *John* do testifie, and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and vertue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true Martyrs of Jesus Christ.

Auricular confession and penance.

As touching the Sacrament of Penance; that Chapter *Omnis utriusque sexus*, by which a certain new-found Auricular Confession was ordained, is full of hypocrisie, heresie, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy, he saith, and reproveth the same Chapter *verbatim*, and that by the sentences of the same processe. Also, that the Penance and pains limited by the Canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigorousness which they contain more than are taxed by Gods law. He also doth exemplifie, of the solemn and publick denial of penitents to be received into Orders, according to the Decree of the General Council, *Dist.* 50. *cap. Ex panitentibus.* Also of the seven-fold penitence of a Priest committing fornication, according to the Chapter, *Presbyter, Dist.*82. And further sheweth another example of the penitence of Priests, according to that Chap. *Qui presbyterium, &c.* Whereas the Decretal of the General Council saith, *That such a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry.* And how *Innocent* the 3d. brought in a new-found confession, whereby the Priests do oppress the simple Lay men. And that many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant Priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also that the Decretal of *Innocentius* the third, touching the foresaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and intangle mens consciences with sin, and to draw them down to Hell. And furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the Evangelical liberty, and doth lett men to enquire after, and to retain the wise counsel and Doctrine of such as be good Priests, which know faithfully how to observe his precepts and commandments, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to Heaven. For which abuse all Christian men, and specially all *Englishmen* ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.

The order of Priesthood.

As touching the Sacrament of Order, he saith, *That all good Christians are predestinate, and be ordained of God, and made true Priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ themselves; as also to teach and preach the Gospel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living.* But the worldly shavelings do more magnifie the naked and bare signs of Priesthood (invented by sinful men) than the true and perfect Priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needful to have such shavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, Priests (without mans working and sinful signs, that is to say, without either Sacraments or Characters) to be known and discerned of the people by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For so made he the first-made Priests and Elders before the law of *Moses*; and so made he *Moses* a Priest before *Aaron*, and before the ceremonies of the Law, without Mans operation at all; and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his Priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as Priests, unless they follow Christ and his Apostles: neither do they believe that they make the Sacrament of the Altar (which they affirm to be Gods body) when it pleaseth them, lest happily God be not with them, foras much as they do this thing for covetousness sake, or else to brag of their own power. And therefore such as be simple men will worship that Sacrament in this doubtfulness, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in Heaven. Also, that such as be Elders, if they be Gods Priests, be Bishops, Prelates and Curates of their Christian brethren, whom they may lead to Heaven by the example of their holy conversation, and by preaching of the Gospel, although they make no Sacrifice to that Antichrist of *Rome* for their confirmation; neither be they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by conforming the livings of the poor, as be those secular Bishops, Prelates and Curates. Also, that although there were no Pope, according as the custom of the Church is, yet Christ, which is the Head of his Church, doth ordain such a Pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true Priest, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no such proud Bishop above all the rest, as the Church doth use, yet all the Priests might well govern the Church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the Bishops, *&c.* And admit that no such Priests were according to the accustomed use now of receiving of order and tonsure, by such a Mitred Bishop and his tonsure; yet Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him both in conversation of life, and sincere preaching of the Gospel, in ministring to his people all necessary Sacraments. And every holy Man which is a Minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true Priest ordained of God, although no Mitred Bishop ever lay his Character upon him. So that the Pope and Prelates do make more estimation of their Characters (as tonsures and crowns by them invented) than of the true and perfect Priesthood ordained of God; whereas all those that are predestinate are true Priests made of him.

The Pope censures like the blast of *Lucifer.*

As touching the authority of the Keys and Censures, no Christian Man ought to esteem Satan (whom Men call the Pope) and his unjust censures, more than the hissing of a Serpent, or the blast of *Lucifer*. Also, that no Man ought to trust or put confidence in the false Indulgences of covetous Priests, which Indulgences do draw away the hope, which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do rob the poor of such alms as is given to them. Such Priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole Church, and be Satans own stewards to beguil Christian souls by their hypocrisie and feigned Pardons. Also, foras much as those Prelates and Clergymen lived so execrable a life, contrary to the Gospel of Christ and examples of his Apostles, and teach not truly the Gospel, but only Lies and the Traditions of sinful wicked men; it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather the keys of Hell. And they may be right well affured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and establish so many Ceremonies and Traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the Gospel, and are blocks in Christian mens ways, that they can neither know nor observe the same his Gospel in liberty of Conscience, and so attain a ready way to Heaven.

Popish Priests have not the Keys of Heaven, but rather of Hell.

Also, That all manner of Religious Men, notwithstanding the Chapter *Religiosi*, touching the privileges in the *Clementines*, may lawfully minister all Sacraments to them that are worthy the same; forasmuch as the same is a work of charity, which only the Will and Ordinance of the Pope in his tautors in this case is to hinder and lett. *Item*, If the Pope shall interdict this our Realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of sustaining of so many thousand shavelings, which with small devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found Song, *Secundum usum Sarum.* So that not whatsoever the Pope in his General Council bindeth on Earth, is bound of God in Heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himself, or else for that he hath forsaken the judgment of God.

The Popes Curse hurteth not, but resteth.

As touching the preaching of the Gospel, *Whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a Priest, or of a Bishop, and discharged th not the same by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the Gospel, is a thief, excommunicate of God and of holy Church.* And further, *If the Curates preach not the Word of God, they shall be damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resign their Benefices.* So that those Prelates which preach not the Gospel of Christ (although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil) are dead in themselves, are Antichrists, and Satans, transfigured into Angels of Light, night Thieves, Manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Christ his people.

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Concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony: Notwithstanding any spiritual kindred or Gossoprie, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the Law of God, without any dispensation Papistical. And in the same place he saith, That if our Realm do admit one not born in Matrimony, or illegitimate, to the Imperial Crown, so that he doth well discharge the office of a King, God maketh him a King, and by consequence doth reject another King or heir of the Kingdom, being born in Matrimony and legitimates so for such spiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also notwithstanding the *Cap. Si inter de sponsalibus:* If any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tense; that then the second contract standeth. Also if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal copulation upon the same, the first contract maketh the Matrimony good, and not the second. Also if a man before witness assure himself to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterward the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the Judg to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the Pope (allowing the second contract) doth compel them to live in adultery against the Commandment of God. Also he condemneth the Decretal of the restitution of things stollen, *Cap. Literas tuas*; which willeth that a man and woman having carnal copulation in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witness hereof; if the woman will depart from the man, the shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Also in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly having no witness, and with the other openly having witness, then were it better to acknowledg the insufficiency of the Law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their own Consciences, than by the Censures to compel them to commit and live in adultery.

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Gossoprie not sufficient cause to obtain Matrimony.

The first Marriage lawfully by two witnesses made standeth.

Keeping and making Vows.

As touching the keeping and making of Vows: that Vow or Oath is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to perform and keep a man hath no power but by grace given him of God; because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetual virginity; and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when making the same he shall not be accepted of God, doth very undiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself, without the gift of God to fulfil his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, *Chap.* 8. *No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him.* For otherwise if God help not such a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no Prelate can compel him, unless he do contrary to Gods ordinance; but he ought to commit himself to the Government of Gods holy Spirit, and his own Conscience.

Possessions of the Church.

For the possessions of the Church, In another Treatise it is declared, how the King, the Lords, and Commons, may without any charge at all keep fifteen Garrisons, and find 15000 Souldiers (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the Temporalties gotten into the hands of the Clergy, and fained Religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of Curates to do, nor yet to secular Lords. And moreover the King may have every year 20000 pound to come freely into his Coffers, and above. Also he may find or sustain fifteen Colledges more, and 15000 Priests and Clerks with sufficient living, and an hundred Hospitals for the sick, and every house to have one hundred Marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foresaid Temporalties, without any charge to the Realm; whereunto the King, the Lords, and the Commons are to be invited. For otherwise there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this Realm, unless the same be put in execution. Also, if the Secular Priests and fained religious, which be Simonicks and Hereticks, which fain themselves to say Mass, and yet say none at all, according to the Canons, which to their purpose they bring and alledg, *1.q.3. Audivimus, & Cap. Pudenda, & Cap. Schisma*; by which Chapter such Priests and religious do not make the Sacrament of the Altar, that then all Christians, especially all the Foundors of such Abbies, and Endowers of Bishopricks, Priories, and Chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their Predecessors, by taking from them such secular Dominions which are the maintenance of all their sins. And also that Christian Lords and Princes are bound to take away from the Clergy such secular Dominion as nourisheth and nourisheth them in Heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his Apostles.

1. q. 3. 25. Pudenda.

Belly-cheer of ill disposed Prelates and of Monasteries, not to be nourished with temporalties and Appropriations.

And further, that all Christian Princes (if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their Temporalties from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat Tythes from Churches appropriate to rich Monks, and other religious, fained by manifest lying, and other unlawful means; likewise ought to debar their gold to the proud Priest of *Rome*, which doth poyson all Christendom with simony and heresie. Further, that it is a great abomination that Bishops, Monks, and other Prelates, be so great Lords in this world, whereas Christ with his Apostles and Disciples never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them Churches, as these men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good testimony of their Priesthood. And therefore all Christians ought to the uttermost of their power and strength to swear that they will reduce such shavelings to the humility and power of Christ and his Apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresie. Also that these two Chapters of the immunity of Churches are to be condemned, that is, *Cap. Non minus*, and *Cap. Adversus*; because they do decree, that Temporal Lords may neither require Tallages nor Tenths of any Ecclesiastical persons.

Correction of the Clergy.

Now to the correction of the Clergy. By the Law of God, and by reason the King and all other Christians may of the Clergy. take revenge of *Italy* and of all the false Priests and Clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble Ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also that the Law of *Silvester* the Pope, which is declared in *2. q. 5. Cap. Presul*, and *Cap. Nullam*, is contrary to the Law of Christ, and either Testament. And that proud and ambitious *Silvester* by his Law *fal. Ibid. Nullam.* so defended two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the Law of Christ, that by no means they might be convinced; although they were both vicious and evil. And although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal Judges; our Mitred Prelates in these days fo magnifie themselves beyond Christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgments. Also that those Decretals of accusations, *Cap. Quando & Qualiter*; which do prohibit that any Clerks should be brought before a secular Judge to receive judgment, do contain both herefie, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to Antichrists coffers.

Further more that all Christian Kings and Lords ought to exclaim against the Pope, and those that be his tautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his Gospel, Kings, and other Ministers of Gods justice. Also that Bishops and their favourers, that say it appertaineth not to Kings and secular Lords (but unto them and their Officials) to punish adultery and fornication, do fall into manifest treason against the King, and herefie against the Scripture. Also that it appertaineth to the King to have the Order both of Priests and Bishops, as these Kings *Solomon* and *Josaphat* had.

Punishing of adultery belongeth to secular Magistrates rather than to Prelates.

Furthermore that Chapter, *Nullus judicium de foro competenti*, by the which secular Judges are forbidden, without the Bishops commandment, to condemn any Clerk to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that Kings have power over Clerks and Priests to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also that the Decree of *Boniface de pœnis in 6. cap. Felicis*, made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of Cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also that by the law of God and reason, a secular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinal and put him in prison for committing

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the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifeſt blaſphemy. Alſo that the Chapter *Si Papa, Diſt.40.* which ſaith that the Pope ought to be judged of none, unleſs he be *Deuius a fide*, is contrary to the Goſpel, which ſaith, If thy brother ſin againſt thee, correct him. Alſo whereas St. *Gregory* and St. *Auguſtine* called themſelves the ſervants of Gods ſervants, this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, which will not be judged by his ſubjects (which be in very deed his Lords, if they be juſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humility, and doth extoll himſelf above God and his Apoſtles. Alſo that Chriſtian Kings ought not only to judge this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, but alſo to depoſe him by the example that *Ceſtrenſis, Lib. 6. Cap.* 8. declareth of *Otho* the Emperor, which depoſed *Iohn* the twelfth, and did inſtitute *Leo* in his place. And further he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to judge the Church of *Rome*, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whom St. *John* writeth in *Revel. 17.*

Good Kings ought to depoſe wicked Popes.

Laſtly, touching the Laws and determinations of the Church; Chriſtians have reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repell the ſtatutes of the Pope and of his ſhavelings, which be not expreſly grounded on the holy Scripture, or elſe upon reaſon inevitable. Alſo he ſaith, that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration, *Diſtinctione 2. cap. Seculares, 2 cap. Sacerdotes.* & *cap. Et ſi non frequentius. & cap. In cœna Domini*: That ſuch ſecular men as do not receive the Sacrament of the Altar at *Chriſtmas, Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, are not to be counted amongſt the number of Chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as Chriſtians; whereby it followeth that all Clerks and Laymen that obſerve not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtraight to Hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtom and uſe in receiving is contrary to the ſame; then may we bleſs ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the Pope, and his law; for otherwiſe we ſhould flee to Hell without any ſtay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all Chriſtians ought well to practiſe this School of diſobedience againſt the Pope and all his laws (not founded upon the Scripture) which do let men to climb to Heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the Goſpel. Alſo that Chriſtian men have great cauſe to refuſe the laws and ſtatutes of theſe worldly Clerks, which the people call the Papal laws, and Biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the covetouſneſs and voluptuouſneſs of them; without the which the Church and congregation of God might fitely run towards Heaven by the ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thouſand years before the ſaid laws were preſcribed and ſent to the Univerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudying of the holy Scripture, for the deſire of Benefices and worldly goods. Alſo that ſimple men do reverently receive the ſentences of the Doctors and other laws, ſo far forth as they be expreſly grounded upon the holy Scripture or good reaſon. Alſo that whereas the Popes laws, and laws of his Miniſters and Clerks be both contrary to themſelves, and have not their foundation either upon the Scripture, or yet upon reaſon, ſimple men ought to bid them farewell. Alſo that when all the Apoſtles faith failed them in the time of the Lords Paſſion, faith then reſted in the Bleſſed Virgin; much more might that proud Prieſt of *Rome* with all his rabble, eaſily err in the faith; and yet is the Chriſtian faith preſerved whole and ſafe in the faithful members of Chriſt, which are his true Church; but the Pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his Church. Alſo that the Pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying ſpirit, as was *Achab* and all his Prophets; and that one true Prophet, as was *Micheas*, may have the verity ſhewed unto him, *contra Concilium*. Alſo that all good Chriſtians ought to caſt from them the Popes laws, ſaying, Let us break their bands in ſunder, and let us caſt from our necks thoſe heavy yokes of theirs. Alſo that where theſe Prelates do burn one good Book for one error perhaps contained in the ſame, they ought to burn all the Books of the Canon-Law, for the manifold Hereſies contained in them.

To conſerue, vid. 28 cap. Sacerdotes.

The Popes Laws contrary to themſelves.

The Pope and his Cardinals no part of the true Church.

The Canon Law full of hereſie.

¶ And thus much out of a certain old written Book in Parchment, borrowed once of *I.B.* which Book containing divers ancient Records of the Univerſity, ſeemeth to belong ſometime to the Library of the Univerſity, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, *1396*. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him, ere that he recanted before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, at *Saltwood*, where he was impriſoned. Whereunto I thought good to annex a certain godly and moſt fruitful Sermon of like antiquity, preached at *Pauls-Croſs* much about the ſame time, which was in the year of our Lord 1388, by a certain learned Clerk, as I find in an old Monument, named *R. Wimbeldon*. Albeit among the ancient Regiſters and Records belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I have an old worn Copy of the ſaid Sermon, written in very old *Engliſh*, and almoſt half conſumed with age, purporting the ſaid Author hereof, bearing alſo the foreſaid name. The true copy of which Sermon, in his own ſpeech wherein it was firſt ſpoken, and preached at the Croſs on the Sunday of *Quinquageſima*, and after exhibited to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (being then as it ſeemeth *William Courtney*) here followeth.

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A Sermon no leſs godly than learned, preached at Pauls-Croſs *on the Sunday of* Quinquageſima, *Anno* 1389, *by* R. Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tuæ. Lucæ xvi.

Matth. 20. The Sermon of R. Wimbelden.

MY dere Frends, ye ſhullen underſtand that Chriſt Autor and Doctor of Truth, in his Book of the Goſpel (likening the Kingdom of Heaven to an Houſholder) ſaith on this manner: *Like as the Kingdom of Heaven to an houſholding man, that went out firſt on the morrow to hire werkmen into his Vine. Alſo about the third, ſixth, ninth, and eleventh hours he went out, and found men ſtanding idle, and ſaid to them, Go ye into mine Vineyard, and that right is, I will give you. When the day was ago, he cleped his ſteward, and bigh to give each man a peny.*

The ſpiritual underſtanding of this houſholder is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that is head of the houſhold of Church. And thus clepeth men in diverſe hours of the day, that is in diverce agees of the world. As in time of law of kind, he cleped by enſpiring *Abel, Enoch, Noe*, and *Abraham*. In time of the old Law, *Moſes, David, Iſay*, and *Jeremy*: and in time of Grace, Apoſtles Martyrs, and Confeſſors, and Virgins. Alſo he cleped men in divers agees, ſome on childhode, as *John Baptiſt*; ſome on ſtate of wexing, as *John* the Evangeliſt; ſome in ſtate of manhode, as *Peter* and *Andrew*; and ſome in old agee, as *Gamaliel*, and *Joſeph* of *Arimathie*; and all theſe he clepeth to travaile in his vine, that is the Church, and that in divers manner. For right as yee ſeeth, that in tilling of the material vine there ben divers labours, for ſome kutten away the voide branches, ſome maken forkis and nailes to beren up the vine, and ſome diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them fail, it ſhall harm greatly, other deſtroy the vine. For but if the vine be kut, ſhe ſhall wax wild; but if the be railed, ſhe ſhall be overgo with netles and wedis; but if the rote be fatted with dong, ſhe for feblenes ſhuld wax barraine.

The calling of God is divers.

Job 10. 2 Cor. 7. 1 Pet. 2. 1 Theſ. 4.

Prov. 8. 2 Tim. 4.

Right ſo in the Church beth nedeful theſe three offices, Prieſthode, Knythode, and Laborers. To Prieſts it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of ſins with the ſwerd of her tong. To Knightode it falleth to letten wrongs and theftis to be done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and alſo to kepe the lond from enemies of other londs. And to Laborers it falleth to travaile bodelich, and with their fore ſwete, geten out of the earth bodilich lifelode for hem, and other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedeful to the Church, that none may well ben without other: for if Prieſthode lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods law, ſhould wax wild in vices, and deyen ghoſtlily; and if the Knithode laked, and men to rulen the pople by law and hardineſs, theeves and enemies ſhulden ſo encres, that no man ſhuld live in peace. And if the labourers were nought, both Knights and Prieſts muſt become acre men and herdis, and elſe they ſhuld for default of bodily ſuſtenance dey. And therefore ſaith Clerk *Aviceme*, that every unreaſonable beaſt, if he have that that kind hath ordained for him, as kind hath ordained, he is ſuffiſance to live by himſelf, without any help of other of the ſame kind.

{KING} Line. 4.

kind. As if there were but one horſe, other one ſhepe in the world, yet if he had graſſe and corne, as kind hath ordained for ſuch beaſts, he ſhuld live well now. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for default he ſhuld dey, or his life ſhould be wors than if he were naught; and the cauſe is this, for that thing that kind ordaineth for a mans ſuſtenance, without other arraieng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man have corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meat accerding to him, untill it be by mans craft changed into bread: and though he have fleſh other fiſh, yet while it is raw, as kind ordained it, till it bee by mans travaile ſodden, roſted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right ſo, wolle that the ſheepe beareth, not by mans divers craftis and travailes be changed or it bee able to cloth any man; and certis O man, by himſelf ſhuld never doe all theſe labours. And therefore, ſaith this Clearke, It is need that ſome bee acre men, ſome bakers, ſome makers of cloth, and ſome merchaunts to fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it is plenty.

And certis this ſhould bee a cauſe why every ſtate ſhould love other. And men of a craft ſhould not deſpiſe ne hate men of none other craft, ſith they bee ſo nedeful everich to other. And oft thelke crafts that been moſt unneſt, might worſt been forebore: and O thing I dare well ſay, that he that is neither travailing in this world, on ſtudying, on prayers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to Prieſts, neither ruling the people, maintaining ne defending fro enemies, as it falleth to knights, neither travelling on the earth, in divers crafts, as it falleth to labourers: When the day of rekening cometh, that is, the end of this life, right as hee lived here withouten travaile, ſo hee ſhall there lacke the reward of the peny, that is, the endleſs joy of Heaven. And as hee was here living after none ſtate ne order, ſo he ſhall bee put then in that place that no order is in, but everlaſting horror and forrow, that is, in Hell. Herefore, everich man ſee to what ſtate God hath cleped him, and dwell hee therein by travaile, according to his degree.

Thou that art a labourer or a crafty man, doe this truly. If thou art a ſervant or a bondman, be ſuget, and low in drede of diſpleating of thy Lord. If thou art a merchaunt deceive not thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a Knight, or a Lord, defend the poor man and needy fro hands that will harme them. If thou art a Juſtice or Judge, goe not on the right hand by favour, neither on the left hand, to puniſh any man for hate. If thou art a Prieſt, undermine, pray, and reprieve, in all manner patience and doctrine. Undermine thilke that been negligent, pray for thilke that been obedient, reprove tho that been unobedient to God. So every man travaile in his degree. For when the even is come, that is, the end of this world, then every man ſhall take reward, good or evil, after that he hath travailed here.

Note.

The words that I have taken to make of my Sermon, be thus much to ſay: Yeld reckoning of thy baily. Chriſt autor of pitie, and lover of the ſalvation of his people, in the proceſs of this Goſpel, enformeth every man what is his baily, by manner of a Parable of a baily that he ſpeaketh of, to array him to anſwer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of ſtrait reckoning ſhall bee come, that is, the day of doom. And ſo I at this time, through the helpe of God, following him that is ſo great a Maſter of authority, becauſe that I know nothing that ſhould more draw away mans unreaſonable love fro the paſſing joy of this world, than the minde of the dredful reckoning; as much as ſuffice, I ſhall ſhew you how yee ſhall diſpoſe you to avoid the vengeance of God, when theſe ſhall bee time of ſo ſtraight doom, that we ſhall geve reckoning of every idle word that we have ſpoken. For then it ſhall be ſaid to us, and we ſhall not flee it: Yeld reckoning of thy baily.

But for further proceſſe of this firſt party of this Sermon, ye ſhall were; that there ſhall bee three bailiffes that ſhall bee cleped to this ſtrait reckoning. Twaine to anſwer for themſelfe and for other, that been Prieſts that have cure of mens ſoules, and temporal men that have governale of people; and the third bailiffe ſhall account onely for himſelfe, and that is every Chriſten man, of that hee hath received of God. And every of theſe ſhall anſwer to three queſtions.

Three Queſtions. The firſt, Second, Third.

To the firſt queſtion, How haſt thou entred? The ſecond, How haſt thou ruled? And to the third, How haſt thou lived? And if thou canſt well aſſoile theſe three queſtions, was there never none earthly Lord that ever ſo well rewarded his ſervant without compariſon, as thy Lord God ſhall reward thee, that is, with bliſſe, and joy, and life that ever ſhall laſt. But on that other ſide, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine own welfare, and take none heed of this reckoning: If that day take thee ſuddenly, ſo that thou paſſe hence in deadly ſinne (as thou wooſt never what ſhall fall thee) all the tongues that ever were, or ever ſhall bee, mow not tell the forrow and woe that thou ſhalt ever bee in, and ſuffer. Therefore the deſire of ſo great joy, and the dread of ſo great paine, though love ne dread of God were not in thine heart, yet ſhould that make thee afeard to ſinne, for to thinke that thou ſhalt give reckoning of thy baily. Therefore as I ſay to thee, the firſt queſtion that ſhall bee propoſed to the firſt baily, that is a Prelat, other a Curate of mens ſoules, is this:

Aſſoile me. The Sermon.

How haſt thou entred: *Matth.* 22. Friend, how entredeſt thou hether? Who brought thee into this office? Truth or Simony? God or the Devil? Grace or mony? The fleſh or the ſpirit? Give thou the reckoning if thou canſt. If thou canſt not, I rede that thou tarry for to learne. For up hap ere night thou ſhalt be cleped. And if thou ſtand dombe for unkunning, or elſe for confuſion of thy conſcience, thou fall into the ſentence that anon followeth: Binde his hands and his feet, and caſt him into the utterward of darkneſs, there ſhall be weeping and grenning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou adviſe thee how thou ſhalt anſwer to this queſtion: How haſt thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine own procuring? for that thou wouldeſt travaile in Gods Goſpell, other for that thou wouldeſt bee richly anaied? Anſwer now to thine owne conſcience as thou ſhalt anſwer to God, thou that haſt take now the order of Prieſt, whether thou bee Curate of none: who ſtirred thee to take upon thee ſo high an eſtate? Whether for thou wouldeſt live as a Prieſt ought to doe, ſtudying of Gods law to preach, and moſt heartily to pray for the people; or for to live a delicious life upon other mens travaile, and thy ſelf travaile nought. Why alſo ſetten men their ſonnes, either their couſins to ſchoole? Whereto but for to get them great advancements, or to make them the better to know how they ſhulden ſerve God? This men may fee openly by the ſciences that they ſet them to. Why I pray you put men their ſonnes to the Law Civill, or to the Kings Court to write Letters and Writs, rather than to Philoſophy or Divinity, but for the hope that theſe occupations ſhould be ever meanes to make them great in the world. I hope that there will no man ſay, that they ne ſhould better learne the rule of good living in the Book of Gods Law, than in any Bookes of mans worldly wiſdome. But certes now it is ſoothe, that *John Chryſoſtom* faith, Mothers bee loving to the bodies of their children, but the foule they deſpiſe; they deſire them to welfare in this world, but they take none heed what they ſhall ſuffer in the tother; ſome ordainen fees for their children, but none ordaine them to Godward; the luſt of their bodies they woll deere buy, but the health of their ſoule they reke nought of. If they fee them poore or ſicke, they ſorrow and ſigheth, but though they ſee them ſinne they ſorrow not. And in this they ſhew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the ſoules.

Queſtion.

Solution.

Queſtion.

Solution. *Chryſoſt. Hom. 27.*

And if wee take heed truely, what abominations bee ſcattered and ſpread abroad in holy Church now adaies among Prieſts, we ſhull well wit, that they come not all to the fold of Chriſt by Chriſts cleping for to profit, but by otherwaies to get them worldly wealth, and this is the cauſe of leſing of ſoules, that Chriſt bought ſo deare, and of many errours among the people; and therefore it is iwrit in the Book of Mourning, where the Prophet ſpeaketh thus to God, *Thren.* 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things deſirable to him; for hee hath let lawles folke enter into the Sanctuary, of the which thou hadſt commanded, that they ſhould not enter into the Church, This enkemy is Satanas, as his name ſowneth, that

Note.

The raſh ordaining of Miniſters.

'that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What 'sinne I pray you, will the fiend have sow on men, that 'nis now yused? In what plenty is now pride, envy, 'wrath, and covetise? when were they so great as they 'be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why trow- 'est thou? But for there be a lawleſſe people entred into 'thy Sanctuary, that neither keepe in themſelfe the law of 'God, ne konne teachen other; and to every ſuch faith 'God by the Prophet, *Oſe* 4. For that thou haſt put away *Oſe* 4. 'cunning, I ſhall put thee away, that thou ſhalt uſe no 'Prieſthood to mee. Lo that God expreſſly here in Holy 'Writ forbiddeth men to take the ſtate of Prieſthood on 'them, but they have cunning that needeth them. Thou 'then that canſt neither rule thy ſelfe, ne other, after the 'Law of God, beware how thou wilt anſwer to God, at 'his dreadfull dome, when he ſhall ſay to thee, that which 'I took to my Theame:

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou haſt entred.

'The ſecond Queſtion that every Curate and Prelate of 'Holy Church ſhall anſwere to, is this: How haſt thou 'ruled? That is to ſay, the ſoules of thy ſuggets, and 'the goods of poor men: Geve now thine accounts. Firſt, 'how thou haſt governed Gods folke that were take thee 'to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, 'that doſt all for love of bodelich hire? As a father, or as 'a wolfe that eaten his ſheepe, and keepeth them nought? 'Say, whom haſt thou turned from his curſed living by 'thy devout preaching? Whom haſt thou taught the law 'of God that was earſt uncunning? There ſhall been 'heard a grievous accuſing of fatherleſs children, and a 'hard alledging, that Prieſts have liveden by their wages, 'and not done anwy their ſinnes. Yeld alſo reckoning 'how thou haſt ruled, and ſpended the goods of poore *Bernardus.* 'men. Harke what Saint *Bernard* ſaith: Dread Clerkes, 'dread the Miniſters of the Church, the which been in 'the place of Saints, that they doe ſo wickedly, nought 'holding them apaid with ſuch wages that were ſufficient 'to them; that overplus that needy men ſhould be ſuſtai- 'ned by, they bee not athamted to waſte in the houſe of 'their pride and lechery, and withholden to themſelfe 'wickedly and curſedly that which ſhould bee the lifelode 'of poore men. With double wickedneſs truely they 'ſinne. Firſt, for they reeven other mens goods, and 'faith, they miſuſe holy things in their vanities and in 'their filths. Every ſuch baily therefore beware, for anon 'to the laſt farthing bee ſhall recken with Chriſt. Troweſt 'thou not then that thou ne ſhalt be diſallowed of God, of 'that thou haſt miſpended in feeding of fat Paſtreys, of 'Hounds, of Hawkes, and if it ſo bee, that is worſt of 'all, on lecherous women? Heare what is ſaid of ſuch. 'They had led their daies in wealths: And in a point they 'ben gone downe into Hell. Think therefore I rede thee, 'that thou ſhalt yeld reckening of thy baily.

'The third Queſtion that this baily ſhall anſwere to, is 'this: How haſt thou lived? What light of holineſſe haſt 'thou ſhewed in thy living to the people, or what mirror 'haſt thou ben of holineſſe to them? Geve now thy 'reckoning how thou haſt lived, as a Prieſt, or as a leude 'man, as a man, or as a beaſt. That is to wonder truely 'how the life of Prieſts is changed. They bee clothen as 'Knights, they ſpeaken as unhoneſtly as carles; other of 'winning as Merchaunts; they riden as Princes, and all 'that is thus ſpended, is of the goods of poore men, and 'of Chriſts heritage. Therefore ſaith an holy Doctor, The 'clay of *Egypt* was tough and ſtinking, and medled with 'blood. The ſtates were hard to be undone, for they 'were baked with fire of covetiſe, and with the light of 'luſt. In this travaileth rich man, in this they wake, 'awaiting poore men. In theſe travaileth Prelates, that 'ben too much blent with too much ſhining of riches, 'that make them houſes like Churches in greatneſſe, that 'with divers paintries coloren their Chambers, that with 'divers clothings of colors make images gay; but the 'poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and with 'an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I ſhall the *Eſa.* 22. 'ſooth ſay, faith this Doctor, oft time poore men bee *Stas in hac aur gnaſi gaid dico.* 'robbed for to clothe the trees and ſtones. Of ſuch ſpeak- 'eth the Prophet, How art thou here, or as who art thou? 'Here thou art occupying the place of *Peter* and of *Paul*, 'or of *Thomas*, or of *Martine*: But how, as *Judas a-* 'mong the Apoſtles, as *Simon Magus* among the Diſ- 'ciples, as a candle new quent that ſtincheth all the 'houſe inſtead of a light lanterne, as a ſmoke that blind- 'eth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary 'thus the forme of living that Chriſt and his Diſciples left 'to Prieſts, Lo what ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*, They have 'entred, and they have had, and nought ben obedient. 'They haven with falſe title, or with their falſe and cor- 'rupt intention had poor mens goods to their miſuſing, 'and they have not bee obedient to the Law of God in 'their owne living. Therefore it is writ that the hardeſt 'dome ſhall fall on ſuch. An hard dome, for they have 'miſentred: An harder dome, for they have miſruled: 'And the hardeſt dome, for they have ſo curſedly lived. 'Think therefore I rede, how thou wilt give reckening of 'thy baily.

'The ſecond bailiffe that accounteth at this dome for 'himſelfe and alſo for other, is ſee that keeping hath of 'any communite, as Kings, Princes, Majors, and Shi- 'reves, and Juſtices. And theſe ſhall alſo anſwer to the 'ſame three Queſtions. The firſt Queſtion, How haſt 'thou entred, that is to ſay, into thine office? Other for 'helpe of the people to deſtroy falſhed and furtheren 'truth? Other for deſire of winning of worldly wor- 'ſhip: If thou take ſuch an office, more for thine owne 'worldly profit than for helpe of the communite, thou 'art a Tyrant as the Philoſopher ſeith. For it is to feare 'leſt there been too many that deſiren ſuch ſtates, that 'may the rather oppreſſe thilke that they hateth, and 'take gifts to ſpare to puniſh thilke that haven treſpaſſed, 'and ſo maketh them partners of their ſinnes. And many 'ſuch, when they been ſo high, they recke nought that 'they beth poore mens brethren, but they wene to paſſe 'them in kinde, as they paſſeth in worldly worſhip, that 'is but winde: Of which God ſaith by the Prophet, *Oſe* 8. 'They have raigned, but nought of mee, they have been 'Princes, but I know nought. So was of *Rebo-* *3 Reg.* 12. 'boam, that was the ſonne of King *Salomon*, what time 'hee was firſt King, the people of *Iſrael* comen to him, 'and ſaid, Thy father in his laſt dayes put on us great 'charge. Wee pray thee ſome deale make it lighter, 'and we willen ſerve thee. And the King tooke 'counſell of the old wiſe men, and they counſailden 'to anſwer them faire, and that ſhould be for the 'beſt. But hee left theſe old wiſe mennis counſaile, 'and did after the counſaile of children that were his 'playferen, and ſaid to the people when they came 'againe: My left finger is greater than my fathers 'riegge: My father grieved you ſomewhat, but I will 'echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and 'rebeleden to him, and took them another King: 'and ſith, the Kingdom came never whole again: 'and therefore it is good, that every ruler of Com- 'monalties, that they bee not led by follies, ne by 'none other cure rowner, that he ne have an eygh of 'love to the comonty that hee hath to rule. For wete 'yee well, bee hee never ſo high, that he ſhall come 'afore higher, to yeld reckoning of his baily.

'The ſecond Queſtion is, How haſt thou ruled the How haſt thou ruled. 'people, and the office that thou haddeſt to governe? 'Thou that haſt been a Judge in cauſes of poore men, *Deut.* 9. 'how haſt thou kept this heſt of God. Thou ſhalt not 'take heed to the perſon of a poore man, to be to him 'the harder for his poverty, ne thou ſhalt not behold 'a rech mans ſemblance, to ſpare or to favour him in 'his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abuſions is 'there among officers of both Lawes now adays: If a 'great man pleadeth with a poore man to have ought 'that he holdeth, every officer ſhall be ready to hie all 'that he may, that the rich man might have ſuch an 'end as he deſired. But if a poore man plead with a 'rich man, then there ſhall bee ſo many delayes, that 'though the poore mans right be open to all the coun- 'trie, for pure fault of ſpending he ſhall bee glad to 'ceaſe. Shrieves and Bailiffes willen returne poore 'mens Writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they ſelen meed 'in their hands. And yet I here ſay, men that have ſeven 'both

KING Liber. 4. 'both Lawes, and like Court that is cleped Chriſts Court, 'is much more Curſed. Therefore it is writ, gifts they 'taken out of Mens boſoms, to overcoum the right way 'of dome. But it is to dread the Word of Chriſt: In 'what dome ye deeme, ye ſhould be deemed when ye comen 'to yield a reckoning of your baily.

How haſt thou lived. 'The third Queſtion is, How haſt thou lived, thou that 'deemeſt and puniſheſt other men for their treſpaſs? A 'great Doctor ſaith; thee behooveth to flee the wickednes 'of other men that thou chaſtieſt them for their treſpaſs. 'For if thy ſelf do unlawfullich in deming other men, 'thou damneſt thy ſelf, ſyth thou doſt that thou damneſt. *Sap.* 6. *Rom.* 2. 'And *Paul* ſaith, why techeſt thou nought thy ſelf, that 'thou teacheſt other? Why ſtealeſt thou, that teacheſt 'nought other men to ſteal? S. *Gregory* ſaith, he ſhall 'not take governail of other, that cannot go before them 'in good living. And when any man ſtand before him 'in dome, he muſt take heed before what judge he ſhall 'ſtand himſelf, to take his dome after his deeds. But it 'is to dred, that many fareth as twe falſe Prieſts that 'woulden have damned to death Holy *Suſan* for the wold *Suſan.* 'not aſſent to their lechery. Of the which it is writ, 'they turned away their eyen, for they would not ſee 'Heaven, ne heve mind of rightful domes. So it hap- 'peth oft they that were more worthy to be hanged, 'damneth them that be leſs worthy, as a Clerk telleth *Socrates.* 'of *Socrates* the Philoſopher, ſaith he, upon a day a man 'asked of him why he laughed: And he ſaid, for I ſee 'great Theeves leading a little Theef to hanging. I pray 'thee, whether is he a greater Theef that benimmeth a 'Man his Houſe and his Land from him and from his *Valerius Maximus, libro. 7.* 'Heirs for evermore, other he that for making of great 'need ſtealeth a Sheep or a Calf? Whether trow we 'nought, that it happeth ſuch Extortioners to be other 'while Judges, and demeth men thus: But I read thee 'that thus deemeſt other, think on that dome thou ſhalt 'come to, to yeld the reckening of thy baily.

The third baily. The third admonition is general to every Chriſtian man. *Auſtyn.* 'The Third Bailiffe that ſhall be cleped to this dread- 'ful account ſhall be to every Chriſtian Man, that ſhall 'geve reckening to his Lord God for goods that he had 'had of his. And here I will ſpeak but of the firſt Que- 'ſtion, that is this: How entreſt thou? And here by the 'way, ye that have got any worldly good, other take 'by extortion, by ravine, by uſury, other by deceit: Woe 'ſhall be to him at this dreadful day, as S. *Auſten* ſaith. 'If he be caſt into the fire that hath not given of his 'own good; where troweſt thou ſhall he be caſtin, that 'hath reved other mens from them? And he ſhulle bren 'with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked *Mesdi. Greg. 8.* 'where troweſt ſhall he bren that hath made him naked that 'was erſt clothed. But as S. *Gregory* ſaith, Two things 'maketh men to live thus by ravaide of other Neighbours, 'that they deſire heynes and dread poverty, and what ven- *Zacha. 6.* 'geance falleth of this ſin of covetiſe, I may ſee by figure 'in holy writ, when the Angel ſaid to Prophet *Zachery*, 'Reare up they eien, and ſee what is that goeth out. 'And the Prophet ſaid, what is it? Then the Angel ſaid, 'This is the Pot going out, This is the eize of hem on all 'the Earth, and there was a weight of leade I bore, and 'there was a Woman ſitting in the middle of this Pot, 'And the Angel ſaid, This is impiety: and he took her 'and caſt her into the middle of this Pot, and he took 'the gobbet of lead and caſt it into the Pots mouth. 'And the Prophet lift up his eye, and he ſaw two Wo- 'men coming out, and Spirits in her Wingis like two 'Kytes other gledes, and they arerid up this Pot between *Ezechiel. 5.* 'the Heaven and the Earth, and then the Prophet ſpake to 'the Angel, wider wol theſe bear this Pot? And he 'ſaid, unto the Lord of *Semnaar*: This Pot is covetiſe. 'For right as a Pot hath a wide open mouth, ſo covetiſe 'gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in 'the Pot profiteth nought to the Pot, but to men that 'draweth and drinketh therof: ſo worldly good oft 'profiteth not to Churles, but to other that cometh after, 'as it is written. He that hath Money ſhall have no 'Fruit of it: and this covetiſe is the eie of covetous men, 'for they ben blind to ſee how they ſhould ſee to go to 'Heaven, but to the winning of worldly things they ſee 'many ways, like to Owles and night Crowes, that 'ſeen better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, 'is the ſin of obſtination. The Woman that ſat in the 'Pot, is unpity, as the Angel ſaid, that followeth un- 'righteouſneſs and avarice. For through avarice a man 'leeſeth the pity that he ſhould have of the miſchief of 'his ſoul. For oft time men leeſe the life of their ſoul 'by deadly ſin, that they do to have the worldly win- 'ning, and alſo they leeſe the pity that they ſhould have 'of their body, putting themſelfes to many great bodi- 'ly travayls and perils both by Sea and Land, and all 'maketh covetiſe. This Pot is ſtopped with the gobbet 'of lead, when unpity is thus by ſin of obſtination cloſed 'in covetiſe, that he may not go out of the chinches *Job.* 21. 'hart by penance. For as *Job* ſaith; when he is ful- 'filled, he ſhall be ſtopped. The two Women that bare 'up this Pot, are pride and luſt of fleſh, that be cleped 'in holy writ the twe daughtren of the wate *Lerbe*, cry- 'ing, bring, bring. And they had wings, the firſt 'wing is grace ſpiritual, as cunning, wiſdom, and coun- 'ſel, with ſuch other many. For which giftes many 'men wexe proud. The ſecond wing is bodily grace, as 'ſtrength, fairehood, gentry; and many other ſuch; 'whereof men wexe proud. The wings of the ſecond 'Woman, that is, fleſhly deſire, beth gluttony and ſloth. 'Of gluttony ſpeaketh S. *Gregory*; when the wamb is 'fulfilled, the prickes of lechery beth meved. And of 'ſloth S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Lot the while he dweled in 'buſineſs among ſhrewes in *Sodome*, he was a good man. 'But when he was in the hill flow, for ſykkernes he in his 'drunkenes lay by his daughtren. And theſe Women *Agaſtt covetiſe. Gregory. Aug. de confeſſio viro- rum & uxo- rum Barthe- lomeus de propietati- bus rerum. Auſtin.* 'had wings like Kytes, that with a crying voice feecheth 'their meate, as *Bartholomeus* ſaith.

'And thus fareth covetiſe of men; witneſſing Saint 'Auguſtine, what is the greedineſs of fleſhly deſire. In- 'aſmuch as the ravenous Fiſhes have ſometime meaſure; 'yet when they hunger, they rapine; and when they 'fulfil they ſpare: But only covetiſe of men may not 'be fulfilled. For ever he taketh, and never hath 'enough. Neither he dreadeth God, neither ſhame of 'men. He ne ſpareth his Father, ne knoweth his Mo- 'ther, ne accordeth with his Brethren, neither keepeth 'truth with his Friend. He overpreſſeth Widowes and 'Fatherleſs Children. Free men he maketh bond, and 'bringeth forth falſe witneſs, and occupieth dom mens 'things, as he ſhoulden never dye. What manhood is 'this, ſayth this Doctor, thus to leeſe life and grace, *Auſtine.* 'and get death of ſoul? Win Gold, and leeſe Heaven? *Pſal.* 54. *Innocentius.* 'And herefore ſaith the Prophet, have travalle in the 'midſt, and leave unrighteouſneſs.

'Alſo *Innocent* ſpeaking of the harmss that come of 'covetiſe, faith thus, O how many men have covetiſe 'decieved and ſpilt? when covetiſe *Balaam* would, for *Nu.* 22. 'gifts that the King profered him, have Curſed Gods *Joſua* 7. 'people, his own Aſs reproved him, and hurt his foot *2 Reg.* 5. 'againſt a wall. *Achor* was ſtoned to death: for cove- *Acts* 5. 'tiſe made him ſteal gold and clothes, againſt the com- 'mandment of God, *Gieſy* was ſmit with Meſelry, for 'he ſold *Naamans* heal, that came of Gods grace. *Judas* 'for covetiſe ſold Chriſt, and afterward hong himſelf. *Anany* and *Zaphira* his Wife were dead ſodenly, for 'they forſoken to give *Peter* their Money that they had. 'And covetiſe maketh alſo that rich men eate the poor, 'as Beaſts done their leſous holding them low. This 'may we ſee all day in deed I dread. For if a rich 'man have a Field and a poor man have in the midſt or 'in the ſide thereof one Acre, and a rich man have all 'a Street faveth O Houſe, that ſome poor Brother of his 'oweth, he ceaſeth never till he get it out of the poor 'Mans hand, either by prayer, or by lying, or by pu- 'ſuing of deceit. Thus fared it by King *Achab*, that *3 Reg.* 21. 'through his falſe Queenes gin ſlew the poor man *Na-* 'both, for that he would not ſell him his Vineyard that 'was nigh to the Kings Palace.

Ambroſe de Nabuthe Jeſu libelle. 'Upon which proceſs, thus ſayth Saint *Ambroſe*; 'How farre will ye Rich men ſtretch your covetiſe? 'Will ye dwell alone upon the Earth, and have no poor 'Man with you? Why put ye out your fellow by kind, 'and challenge to your ſelf the poſſeſſion comen by 'kind? In commune to all rich and poor the Earth 'was made. Why will ye rich challenge proper right 'hetein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth 'all men poor. For we be not got with rich Clothes, 'ne born with Gold ne with Silver. Naked he bringeth 'them

'them to this World, needy of meat and of drink
'and clothing. Naked the Earth taketh us and she naked
'brought us hither. Shee cannot close with us our pos-
'session in the Sepulchre, for kind maketh no difference
'between poor and rich, in coming hither, ne in going
'hence. All in o manner she bringeth forth, all in o
'manner she closeth in grave. Who so will make differ-
'ence of poor and rich, abyde till they have a little
'while leyne in the grave. Then open and look among
'dead bones who was rich, and who was poor; but
'if it be thus that noe clothes rotteth with the rich
'than with the poor, and that harmeth to them that beth
'on live, and profit not to them that been dead; Thus
Job. 24. 'saith the Doctor of such extortion as it is writ. O-
'ther mens Fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him
'that the harme oppressed they pluckе away the Grapes;
'they leveth men naked, and taketh away her Clothes
'that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and
'listen up this Pot bytween Heaven and Earth. For cove-
'tous men nother haveth charity to their Brethren upon
'Earth, neither to God in Heaven; and they bare this pot
'into the Lond of *Sennaar*, that is to say, into the Lond
'of *Stenche*, that is Hell, for there shall be stench, in
'stead of sweet smelling, as *Isay* saith. Beware I read,
'that ye nought have to do with this Pot, ne with the
'Woman therein, and on all manner that ye be nought
'Weddid to her, for then ye must be both one. This is
'thilke foule lecherous Woman: the Kings and Morchaun-
'tis of the Earth have done lechery, and of her vertue they
'have been made rich, whose damnation is written in the
'Book of Privities in these words, In o day shall come all
'these vengeances of her death, weeping and hunger
'and fire shall brenne her, for strong is God that shall
'venge him on her, and then shulleth weepe and howle
'uppe on her, the Kings of the Earth, that haveth done
'lechery with her, and having lived in Delices when they
'shull see the Smoke of her brenning, stonding afeere
'weeping and weyling and saying; Alas! Alas! thilke
'great City that was clothed with bys and purple, and
'brasile, and over gilt with Gold and pretious Stones and
'Pearle. For in one hour all these great riches shall be de-
'stroyed, then shall they say that shall be damned with
'her. We have erred fro the way of trouth and right-
'wisnes, light have not shined to us, and the sunne of
'understonding have not risen to us: we have be made
'weery in everich way of wickednes and of lust, and have
'gone hard ways, but the ways of God we knew not:
'what hath Pride profited to us, or the boast of riches
'what hath it brought to us? All this is as a shadow of
'death, and we mow now shew no token of holines, in
'our wickednes we be wasted away. Think therefore
'I read, that thou shall yeld reckening of thy bayly. Here
'endeth the first part of this Sermon, and begineth the
'second part.

'IN the second part with the help of God I will
'shew first, who shall clepe us to this reckoning,
'Afterward, tofore what Judge we shall reckyn, and
'last what punishing shall be doe to them that been
'found false servants and wicked, and what reward shall
'be give to them that be found good and true. For
'the first, ye shall wetoen that there shall be twey
'domes. The first dome anone after the departing of
Mat. 25. 'body and of soul, and this shall be special. And of
'this reckoning or dome speaketh the Gospel of *Luke*.
'The second reckoning or dome shall be anone after
'the general Resurrection, and shall be universal. And
'of this is to speken in the Gospel. To the first
'every man shall be cleped after other, as the world
'passeth. To the second shall come togedre in the
'stroke of an eye all mankind. To the first, men
'shall be cleped with three Sumners, other Sergeauntes:
'The first is Sickness, the second is Age, and the
'third is Death; the first warneth, the second threat-
3. Sumners. Sickness. Age. Death. 'neth, and the third taketh. This is a kindly order,
'but otherwise it faileth, for summe we seeth dieth
'that never wist what was Sickness ne Age, as Chil-
'dren that been suddenly slain. And summe, yea the
'most part that dyeth now adaies, deyeth before her
'kind agee of deeth. Therefore, I say, that the first
'that clepeth to this special reckoning is Sickness, that
'followeth all mankind, so that every man hath it: and { KING Hist. 4. }
'summe is Sickness that summe men haveth, but nought
'all. Yet the first Sickness is double, for summe is within
'in the mightes of the soul, and summe is without in feeble-
'nes of the body that needis mo be storied, when time
'by hemself is cause of corruption as Philosphy saith, and
'thereby feeblenes and sickness. And so may we see
'hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his
'heart all manner of worldly and fleshly thoughts, yet
'unneth shall a man, for ought that he can do, think
'on God only, the space of o *Pater noster*, but that
'some other thing that is passing entreth into the soul,
'and draweth her from contemplation. But, O Lord
'God, what seekness is this, an heavy burden on the Sons
'of *Adam*, that one foule moocke and senn of the World
'we many think long ynow. But on that the soul
'should most delectation have by kind mow we nought
'think so little a space, but if the colde enter among
'the wheate. Of this seeknes speaketh *Paul*, where
'he saith: I see a Law in my limmes fighting agenes
'the Law of my Spirit, and taking me into the Law
'of Sinne. So that if fares by us, as by a man that would
'look agyens the Sunne, and may nought do it long for
'nothing. And forsooth, that is for no default that is in
'the Sunne, for she is most cleere in her self, and so by
'reason best should be seyn, but it is for feeblenes of mans
'eye. Right so, syth, *Adam* our first fader was put out
'of Paradise, all his Ofl-spring have been thus sicke, as
'the Prophet seyth. Our faders have eate a bytter Grape,
'and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The
'second sickeness, that is commune to all mankind, com-
'mith of feeblenes of the body, as hunger and thorst,
'colde and heate, sorrow and weatines, and many other,
'as *Job* 14. saith. A man that is ybore of a Woman, *Job. 14.*
'lyving a little while, is fulfilled with many miseases.
'Yet there is other sickness that cometh to some men,
'but not to all, as Lepyr, Palsye, Fever, Dropsie, Blind- *Deut.*
'nes, and many other, as it was seyden to the people
'of *Israel*, in holy writ. But thou keep the Commād-
'ments that be writ in this Book, God shall achen the
'sicknes of thee and of thy seed, great sickenes and
'long abiding. Yet ye shall understond, that God send-
'eth otherwhile such sickenes to other men, and o-
'therwhile to shrews. To good men, God doth it
'for two causes, and that is sooth. Of sickenes I wol
'to be understond also, of all manner of Tribulations.
'The first cause, for they should alway ever know,
'that they have none perfections of themself, but of
'God only, and to echen their meeknes. And thus
'saieth *Paul*, lest the greatnes of revelations rere me up *1.Co.12.*
'into pride, is given a pricke of my flesh, the Angel of
'*Sathanas* to smite me on the neck, wherefore I have
'thrice prayed God, that he should go fro me, and he
'answered me: My grace is sufficient to thee, for vertue is
'fulfilled in sickness, whereon thus saith the glose. The
'Fiend, axing *Job* to be tempted, was heard of God,
'and nought the Apostle axing his temptation to be re-
'moved. God heard him that should be damned, and
'he heard nought him that he should save. For oft
'the sick man axit many things of the leche, that he wole
'not geve him, and that is for to make him whole of sick-
'nes. Also GOD sendeth saincts oft sickness and perse-
'cution, to give us sinful wretches example of patience:
'For if he suffer his saincts to have such Tribulation in this
'World, and they thankin him thereof, much more *Tob. 2.*
'wretchis, that God sendeth not the hundred aparty of
'their sorrow, shulden beare it meekly, sith we have de-
'served a thousand so much as they haveth. Whereof,
'*Toby* that one day when he was weary of burying of poor
'men, the which shulden have ley unburied, and have be
'etene of houndis, and foules, as Carynes, of other un-
'reasonable Beasts, when for weatines he had leyde him
'to rest, through Goddis sufferance the Swallowes that
'bredden above on his hous, mayden ordure into his eyen,
'and he waxet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation
'forsooth; Therefore, GOD suffered to come to him,
'that to them that comen after should be given ensample
'of patience, as by the temptation of Holy *Job*. For
'sith from his Childhood evermore he dread God, and
'ever kept his Hestes; was not agreeved ayenst GOD
'that the mischief of blindnes fell to him; but un-
'moveable

{KING Hist. 4.} 'moveable dwelled in the dread of GOD, thanking him
'all the days of his life. Lo that holy Writ saith expreffly,
'That GOD suffered this holy man to have that sick-
'nes, to give them that should come after him ensample
'of patience. Also otherwhile GOD sendeth sickness
'and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes:
'First, for that they should the rather dread God, and
'leave their sin. As it is writ, Their sickness hath been
'multiplied, and after, they have hied to Godward. For
'we see oft men in sickness knew their GOD, that ne-
'ver would have turned to him while they had been
'whole. Also God sendeth them sickness oft to agast
'other men, lest they follow their sin. As the sickness
'of King *Antioche*, whom GOD smote with such a
Antioche. 'sickness, that Worms fell out of his body while he lived,
'in so far forth that he stank so foul, that his friends were
'so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at
'the last, when he himself might not suffer his own
'stinch, then he began to know himself, and said, *It is*
'rightful to be subject to GOD, and a deadly manne
'not to hold himself only even with God; and the story
'saith, He asked mercy of GOD, and made a vow to
'God, that he would make the City of *Jerusalem* free,
'and the *Jews* to make them as free as the men of
'*Athens*; and that he would honour GODS Temple
'with pretious ary, and multiply the holy Vessels, and
'lin of his own rent and spences perteining to the Sacri-
'fice. And he would become a *Jew*, and go over all
'the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gafe him
'not such mercy as he desired. And I trow certain that it
'was for good. Insomch as GOD knew he would
'not afterward hold his Covenant, or else for he asket it
'too late. What meede was it for him to forsake his
'wickednes? when he was unmighty to do good or
'evil. Nevertheles, I trow he was not damned, in as
'much as he had such repentance; for repentance in this life
'come never too late if it be true. But by this Vengeance
'that GOD took on this King, should men see, what
'it is to be unobedient to God. And also it is to take
'heed, that when ever sickness cometh, ever it be weth,
'that he that sustereth this deadly, shall needs die. For
'though he may skape of his sickness, yet he may not
'skape death. And so thou must needs come give reckon-
'ing of thy Baily. The second Somnor that shall clepe
'thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the
The second Sumner. Properties of death. 'condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee,
'he will not leave thee, till he bring thee to the third,
'that is death. But there be many that though they have
'this Somnor with them, they take none heed, though
'they see her hear hore, her back crooked, her breth stinke,
'her teeth fail, her yen derk, her visage rively, her crene
'weixt hevy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age
'sumneth to the dome?

'But what more madhead may be than a man to be
'cleped, and draw to so dreadful a reckening there,
'where but he answere well, he forfeteth both body and
'soule to damnation for ever? If seeing a little worldly
'mirth on the way, he thenketh so ever after them, that he
'forgetteth so drawneth him, or whether he drawneth:
'So doth he that is smitten with Age and liketh so on the
'false worlds wealth, that he forgeteth whether he is
'away: Herefore saith an holy Doctour, that among all
'abusions of the world most is of an old man that is ob-
'stinate: for he thinketh not on his outgoing of this
'world, ne of passing into the life that is to come: he
'beareth Messengers of death, and he leveth hem not, and
'the cause is this, for the threefold cord that such an old
'man is bounden with is hard to breke. This cord is
'custome, that is of three plightes, that is, of ydle thought,
'unhoneft speech, and wicked deed: the which if they
'groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age,
'they maketh a treble cord to bind the old man on custom
'of sinne. Herefore saith *Esay*, breake the bondes of sinne. *Esay.*
'Thinke herefore whosoever that thou be that art thus
'sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt
'yeld the reckening of thy baily.

The third Sumner. Difficulte mortis. 'The third sommer to this reckening, is death. And the
'condition of him is, that when ever he come, first, other
'the second, other the last hour he ne spareth, neyther
'power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no threatning, ne he
'ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he grunt-
'eth no respit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to
'the dome. Herefore seyth Saint *Austin*: Well ought *Augustinus.*
'every man drede the day of his death. For in what state
'a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this
'world, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome.
'Herefore seyth the wise man, Sonne thinke on thy last
'daye, and thou shalt never sinne. Therefore I rede that
'thou thinke, that thou shalt geve reckoning of thy baily.
The day of Judgment. 'I said also, that there shall be another doome, to the
'which all men shall come together, and this shall be uni-
'versal. And right as to the other doome, every man
'shall be cleped with these three sumnours; so to this dome
'all this world shall be cleped with three general clepers.
'And right as the other three Messengers tell a mans end, so
To know the worlds sickness. 'these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the
'worldly sickness, the second cleper is feebleness, and the
Mat. 24. 'third is the end. The sickeness of the world thou shalt
'know by charity accoling. His elde and feeblenes thou
'shalt know by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou shalt
'know by Antichristis pursuing. First I said, thou shalt
'know the worlds sickness by charity accoling. Clerkes
'that treate of kinde sayne; that a body is sicke, when
'his bodily heate is too lite, or when his unkindely heate is
'too much. Sythe then all mankinde is one body, whose
'kindelie heate is charity (that is, love to GOD and to
'our Neighbours) unkindely heate is lustful love to other
'creatures. When therefore thou seest that the love of men
'to Godward and to their neighbour is little and faint, and
'the love of worldly things and lustes of the flesh is great
'and fervent; then wit thou well, that unkindely heate is
'too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be ac-
'knowlich of this sickeneſs, I may prove by authority of
'Christ. For he himselfe gave them as a sign of the draw-
'ing to the end of the World: For that wickednes shall
'be in plenty, charity shall acoole. Therefore when thou
'seest charity thus little in the world, and wickednes en-
'crease, know well that this world passeth and his wealth,
'and that this sumner is come. And thus seyth S. *Paul*,
'Writ ye well, that in the last daies shall come perillous
'times, and there shall be men loving themselfe, that is
'to say, their bodies, covetous by pride, unobedient to
'Father and Mother, unkynde felons, withouten affecti-
'on, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, unmilde,
'withouten benignity, traitors, rebels, swelling, lovers of
'lusts more than of God, having a likeneſs of piety, and
'denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If
'thou seest the people bulied with such conditions, wit
'thou well, that the first sumnour warneth all the world,
'that the day of reckoning draweth toward.

'The second sumnour, that warneth all the world, is
'elde or age of the world and his feebleneſs, and shewes
'tokens fulfilling. But I know well that we be nought
'fulfilsaunt to know the times other the whiles that the Fa-
'ther in Trinity hath put on his own power, to shew cer- *Luke 21.*
'teinely the day, year, other houre of this dome, sith this
'knowlech was hid fro the privy Apostles of Christ, and
'from Christs manhood as to shew it to us. Nathleſs, we
'inough by authority of holy Writ, with reasons, and ex-
'positions of Saints well and openly shew, that this day
'of wrath is nigh: But yet left any man sey in his heart as
'it is written of tolle baylies, that they shall seien, my
'Lord, that is, tarryeth to come to the dome, and upon hope *1 Cor. 15.*
'hereof he taketh to smite servants and hynen of God,
'eate and drinke and make him dronke, I shall shew that
'this day is at the hond; how ny nevertheles can I not
'seie ne wole. For if *Paul* said nowe for a thousand and *Chrisostome.*
'three hundred yeare, and passed moe; we ben thilke in-
'to whom the endis of the world ben come, much rather
'may we seie the fame that been so much neere the end
'than he was. Also S. *Chrysostome* saith: thou seest over
'all darknes, and thou douteſt that the day is goe, first
'on the valeys is darknes than the day draweth down-
'ward: whan therefore thou seest the valeies yderked
'why douteſt thou whether it be nigh even, but if thou see
'the Sun so low that derknes is upon the hils, thou
'wolt seie doubtles that it is night: Right so, if thou see
'first in the Saculars and the lewd Christenmen beginneth
'derkenesses of sinnes, and to have the maistrie, it is
'token that this world endeth. But when thou seest Priests *A proper humiliation.*
'that been put on the high top of spiritual Dignities, that
'shulden be as hils aboven the commune people in perfect

'living, that darkneſs of ſinnes hath taken them, who
'doubteth that the world nis at the end? And alſo Abbot
Ioachim. 'Ioachim in expoſition of *Jeremy* ſeyeth; Fro the yeare
'of our Lord 1200, all times beth ſuſpected to mee, and
'wee ben paſſed on this ſuſpect nigh 200. yeares. Alſo mai-
Mid. Milde-ger. 'den *Hildegare* in the Book of her prophetie the third
'parte, the eleventh vilion, the ſeventh Chapter meveth
'this reaſon. Right as on ſeven daies G O D made the
'world, ſo in 7000. year the world ſhall paſs. And right
'as in the ſixth day man was made and fourned; ſo in
'6000. yeare he was brought again and refourned. And
'as in the ſeventh day the world was full made, and God
'left off his working, right ſo in the 7000. yeare, the
'number of them that ſhullen be ſaved ſhall be fulfilled, and
'reſt ſhall be to Seyntes full in bodie and ſoule. If that it
'be ſo as it ſeemeth to follow of this maydens wordes, that
'7000. in paſſing of the world accordeth to ſeven dayes
'in his making it, ſee what lacketh that theſe 7000. yeares
'ne beth fulfilled. For if we reken the number of yeares
'fro the Nativity of Chriſt, to the yeares fro the beginning
Auguſtine. 'of the world to Chriſt, and thou wolt follow *Auſtine*,
'*Bede* and *Oroſie*, and moſt probable Doctors treating of
'this matter, are paſſed now almoſt ſixe thouſand and ſixe
'hundred, as it is open in the Book that is cleped *Speculum*
'*judiciale*. So it ſiweth that this laſte day is more than a
'thaſte ago, if we ſhullen give credence to this maydens
'reaſun: But if we ſhull lene to the Goſpel, than we ſhall
'finde in the Goſpel of *Matthew*, that the Diſciples axi-
Mat. 24. 'den of Chriſt three Queſtions. Firſt, what time the City
'of *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroyed. The Second, what
'token of his coming to the dome. And the Third, what
'ſigne of the ending of the world.

'And Chriſt gave them no certaine time of theſe things
Matt. 'when they ſhulden fall, but he gave them tokens, by
'which they might know when they drew nigh, and ſo as
'to the firſt Queſtion of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* he
'ſaid; when the *Romanes* come to Beſiege that City, then
'ſoon after ſhe ſhall be deſtroyed.

'And as to the ſecond and third; he gave many tokens,
'that is to ſay; That Realme ſhull riſe againſt Realme,
'and people againſt people, and peſtilences, and earth-
'quakings, the which we have ſeene in our dayes. But
'the laſt token that he gave, was this; When ye ſeene the
'abominatien of elengneſs ſaid of *Danyel* the Prophet,
'ſtanding on the Sanctuary; then who ſo readeth, under-
'ſtond. Upon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a
'Book that he maketh of the end of the world. If the
'words of *Danyel* haven authority (as G O D ſayth that
'they haven) it ſufficeth of the number of the years of the
'ende of the world, that *Daniel* hath written. Now
'*Daniel* in the twelfth Chapter, ſpeaking of this abomina-
'tion, putteth betweene the ceaſing of the buſie Sacrifice of
'the *Jewes*, the which fell, when by *Titus* and *Veſpaſianus*
'*Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, and the people of the *Jewes*
'were diſparkled into all the world. And this abomina-
'tion that Doctours ſayne ſhall be in the great Antichriſtes
'dayes, 1290. Now proveth this Doctour, that a day
Antichriſt is come, An. 1400. 'muſt be taken for a yeare, both by authority of holy Writ
'in the ſame place and in other, and alſo by reaſon: So it
This Sermon er.o was made Anno 1589. 'ſeemeth to this Clerke, that the great Antichriſt ſhould
'come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Chriſt, the
'which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelve
Apoc. 6. 'yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reaſon put not I as
'to ſhew any certaine time of this coming, ſith I have
'not that knowledge; but to ſhew that he is nye, but
'how nygh I wot never. But take we heede to the fourth
'part of the ſecond vilion of Saint *John*, put in the Book
'of *Revelations*, in the which, under the opening of the
'ſeven ſeales, is declared the State of the Church, from the
'time of Chriſt into the end of the world. The opening
'of the foure firſt ſeales ſhew the State of the Church, fro
'the time of Chriſt to the time of Antichriſt and his fore-
'goers, the which is ſhewed in the opening of the other
'three ſeales. The opening of the firſt ſeale telleth the
'State of the Church, in the time of the Preaching of
'Chriſt and of his Apoſtles. For the firſt, that is, the Lyon
'gave his voice, that betokeneth the Preachers of Chriſtes
'Reſurrection and his Aſcenſion. For then yede out a
'white Horſe, and he that ſate upon him had a bow in his
'hand, and he yede out overcoming to overcome. By
'this white-horſe we underſtand the cleane life and con-
{KING Hen. 4.} 'verſation that theſe Preachers haden: and by the bowe,
'their true teaching, pricking ſorrowe in mennes hearts
'for their ſinnes withouted ſtattering. And they wen-
'ten out of *Jewry* that they comen of, evercoming ſome
'of the *Jewes*, and maken them to leave the truſt that
'they hadden in the olde Lawe, and to beleeve in Jeſus
'Chriſt and ſhewen his teaching. And they wenten out
'to overcome the Paynemes, ſhewing to them that their
'Images were no Gods, but mens workes, unmighty
'to fave themſelve or any other, drawing them to the
'Beliefe of Jeſus Chriſt God and Man. In the open-
'ing of the ſecond ſeale, there cryed the ſecond Beaſt,
'that is, a Calfe, that was a Beaſt wonted to be ſlaine,
'and offered to God in the olde Law. This ſheweth the
'State of the Church in the time of Martyrs, that for
'their ſtedfaſt Preaching of Gods true Law ſhed their bloud,
'that is ſignified by the red horſe that went out at this ſeale
'opening; and this eſtate began at *Nero* the curſed Expoſit. Nero.
'Emperour, and dured unto the time of *Conſtantine* the Conſtantinus magnus.
'great, that endowed the Church. For in this time ma-
'ny of Chriſts ſervants, and namely the Leaders of Gods
'flocke were ſlaine. For of two and twenty Biſhops of
'*Rome* that were between *Peter* and *Silveſter* the firſt, Silveſter.
'I reade but of foure but that they weren Martyrs for
'the Law of Chriſt. And alſo in the time of *Diocle-*
'*ſian* the Emperour, the perſecution of the Chriſten
'men was ſo great, that in thirty dayes were ſlaine 22.
'thouſand Men and Women in divers countries for the
'Law of God.

'The opening of the third ſeale telleth the State of the The 3. ſeale.
'Church in time of Hereticks that beth figured by the black
'Horſe, for falſe underſtanding of holy writ: for then
'cryed the third Beaſt that is a man, for at that time
'was it needs to preache the myſterie of Criſts incarnati-
'on, and his paſſion ayenſt theſe Erretikis that feliden Expoſitio.
'mis of theſe pointis; how Chriſt tooke verreyly mans
'kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was byfore, and
'his moder being mayden byfore and after. The opening The 4. ſeale. Expoſitio.
'of the fourth ſeale, telleth the State of the Church in
'the time of yporitis, that beth ſignified by the pale
'Horſe, that beth ſignes of penance with outfoorth to
'blinde the people. And be that fate upon this Horſe
'his name was Death, for they ſhulle flee ghoſtly them
'that thay leden, and teacheth to truſt upon other thing
'than God: and helle followeth him, for helle received
'thilke that theſe diſteineth. At that time ſhall it neede,
'that the fourth Beaſt that is the Egle make his cry, that
'ſfyeth higheſt of foules to reare up Gods Goſpel, and
'to praiſe that Law above other, leſt mens witte and
'their traditions over-gone and treden down the Law of
'God, enforming of theſe ypocrites, and this is the laſt
'ſtate, that is, other ſhall be in the Church, byfore the
'coming of the great Antichriſt. The opening of the The 5. ſeale.
'fifth ſeale telleth the ſtate of the Church that then God
'ſhall follow, and defire that lovers of Goddis law
'ſhulleth have after the end of this world to be delivered
'of this woe. The opening of the ſixt ſeale telleth the
'State of the Church in time of Antichriſts time, the The 6. ſeale.
'which ſtate ye may know to be in the Church whan
'ye ſeth fulfilled, that Saint *John* prophetieth to fall in the
'opening of this, where he ſaith thus: After that I ſawe
'foure Angels ſtonding upon four comers of the Earth,
'holding the foure windes of the Earth that they blowen
'nought upon the Earth, ne upon the Sea, ne upon
'eny Tree. Theſe foure Angels beth the number of all
'the Devils Miniſters, that on that time ſhulleth in the
'pleaſaunce of their Lord Antichriſt ſtoppe the four windis,
'that bete the foure Goſpels to be Preached, and ſo let
'the breth of the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to fall
'upon men mourning for ſinne, and calling them to a-
'mendment, and to other that wolden increaſe in vertues,
'other upon perfit men? What is there after this to fall, The 7. ſeale
'but that the myſtery of the ſeaventh ſeale be ſhewed,
'that he come in his own perſon. That Jeſus Chriſt
'ſhall flee with ſpirit of his mouth, when the Fiend ſhall
'ſhew the utmoſt perfecution, that he and his ſervants
'may doe to Chriſtis limmes, and that ſhall be the third
'warning that the world ſhall have to come to this dread-
'ful dome.

'In

{KING Hen. 4.} 'In all this matter have I nought ſeid of my ſelf, but
'of other Doctors that beth proved, I feyd alſo in my
'ſecond principal part, that it were to wete ſofore what
'Judge we ſhall reken. Wherefore we ſhulleth wite that
'God himſelfe ſhall heare this reckening, he that ſeeth
'all our dedis, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of
'our life to the end, and he ſhall ſhew their the hid things
'of our hert, opening to all the world the rightfulneſs of
'his dome. So that with the might of God, every
'mans dedis to all the world ſhall be ſhewed, and ſo it
'ſeemeth by the words of S. *John*, in the Book of Pri-
'vities, there he ſeith thus: I ſawe dede men, little and
Apoc. 'great, ſtonding in the ſight of the throne, and bookes
'weren opened: and another booke was opened that was
'of life, and dede men weren judged after the things that
'weren written in the bookes after their worchings. Theſe
'bookes beth mens conſciences that now beth cloſed,
'But then they ſhulleth be opened to all the world to re-
'den therein both dedis and thoughts. But the booke of
'life is Chriſts living and doctrine, that is now hid to
'men that ſhulleth be damned through their owne malice,
'that deemeth men to ſerve the world rather than God:
'In the firſt book ſhall be write all that we haveth
'doe, in that other booke ſhall be write that we ſhulden
'have doe, and then ſhulle dede men be demyd of thilke
'things that ben written in the Bookis: For if the dedis
'that we haven doe, be not which beene written in the bookis,
'of our conſcience, be according to the booke of Chriſts
'teaching and his living, the which is the booke of life
'we ſhulle be ſaved, or elſe we ſhulle be damned, for the
'doome ſhall be given after our workis. Looke therefore
'now what thing is written in the booke of thy conſci-
'ence, while thou art here: and if thou findeſt ought
'contrary to Chriſts life, other to his teaching, with the
'knife of penaunce and repentance ſcrape it away and
'write it better, evermore hertly thinking that thou ſhalt
'yelde reckening of thy bayly.

'Alſo I ſaid principally that it were to witen, what re-
'ward ſhall be geve on that doome, to wife ſervants and
'good, and what to falſe ſervants and wicked. For the
'which it is to wite, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall
'come to the doome here into this world, in the ſame body
'that he tooke of our Ladie, having thereon the woundis
'that he ſuffered for our agein bieng. And all that ever
'ſhullen be ſaved, taking againe their bodyes clyving to
'their head Chriſt, ſhull be raviſhed metying him in the
'aire, as *Paul* ſaith: They that ſhall be damned lyen up-
'on the earth, as in a tonne of Wine the dreggis dwellen
'byneth, and the Cliere wine hoveth above. Then ſhall
'Chriſt axe reckening of the deedes of mercy, reproving
'falſe Chriſten men for the levying of them, reherling the
'deedes of the ſame and other truthis by the which his
'true ſeavants then followed him, that ſhulle thilke falſe
'ſervants goe with the Devil, whom they have ſerved
'in the Earth, then ſwallowing into the endleſs fire.
'And righteful men ſhullen goe into everlaſting life, then
'ſhall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of Privities;
'Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the Earth.
'Woe to the paynym that gaſe that worſhip to dead
'Images wrought of mans hands, and to other crea-
'tures that he ſhould have gone to God that him wrought:
'Woe to the *Jew* that truſteth ſo muchil in 'the olde
'Lawe, then ſhall he ſe *Maries* ſonne deeming the world
'whom he deſpiſed and ſet on the Croſs: Woe to the falſe
'Chriſten man that knew the will of his Lord and fulfill-
'led it nought.

'Alſo woe for ſin of thinking to thee, that thou haſt
'ſhyt out the meine of God, that is, minde of his paſſion,
'holy contemplation of his goodneſs, and memory of
'his benefites, fro the chamber of thine hert; and haſt
'made it a houſe of Swyn and a den of Theeves, by un-
'cleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here haſt ſperd
'God out of thine hert, ſo he ſhall ſpere thee out of Heaven:
'Thou haſt herberwid the meine of the Fiend, and with
'them in Hell thou ſhalt ever abide: Woe alſo for ſinne of
'ſpeech, for thou might nought open thy ſoule and ſtink-
'ing mouth with the which thou haſt ſpoken unhoneſtly,
'curſing, fraud, deceite, leaſings, forſwearing, ſcorning,
'and backebiting, to praiſe God in the fellowſhip of Saints.
'For loving is not comynlych in mouthes of ſinners. For
'in the which gift thou haddeſt kept thy mouth cleane, thou
'ſhouldeſt have fonged in fellowſhip of Angels this bleſſed
'ſong; *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipo-*
'*tens*; Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Then yel-
'ing and weeping thou ſhalt cry in company of Devils;
Væ, Væ, Væ, quantæ ſunt tenebræ?
'Woe, Woe, Woe, How great beth theſe darkneſs? Wo
'alſo for ſinne of deede. Thou haſt bene proud, thy pride
'ſhall be drawne to Hell, as *Eſay* ſaith, or thou haſt bene
'brent with envie of the Devil. Envie entred into the
'world, and they ſhoulden followen him that ben on his
'ſide, as *Salomon* ſaith. Or thou haſt beſtirred with wrath,
'and everich man that beareth wrath to his brethren is
'guilty in doome, as Chriſt in the Goſpel ſaith of *Mat-*
'*thew*. Or thou be flow to good deedes, myſſawe ſhall
'come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy poverty as a
'man armed, as the Book of *Proverbes* ſaith. Or thou
'haſt haunted lechery, gluttony, or covetiſe. That for-
'ſooth were ye, that everich avouterer, or uncleane man,
'that is a glutton, other chynch, ſhall never have Heritage
'in the Realm of Chriſt and of God, as *Paul* ſaith. But
'Fire, Brimſtone, and the Spirit of Tempeſtes, that is,
'the Fiend of Hell, ſhulen be a partie of their paine, as it
'is written in the *Pſaulter*, when theſe Damned men ben in
'this woe, they ſhulen ſing this uſeful Song that is ywrit-
'ten in the Book of Mourning: The joy of our heart is a
'go: our quiet is tumed into woe, the Crowne of our Note.
'head is fallen us fro. Alas for ſinne that we have do.
'But joy and joy, and joy to them that be ſaved. Joy in
'God, joy in himſelf, joy in other that ben ſaved. Alſo
'joy for their travel is brought to ſo gracious an end. Joy,
'for they ſcape the pain of Hell; Joy, for their bliſs that Concluſion.
'they han in the ſight of God, *Cui ſit honor & gloria, in*
'*ſecula ſeculorum*, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruitful Sermon, which as by the ancientneſs of the phraſe ſeemeth to be Preached much about the time of *John Wickliff*'s, ſo I thought here, by occaſion of *William Thorpe*'s examination, beſt to place the ſame, for the apt coherence both of the ſpirit, and of the matter. Eſpecially having before our eyes, the publick utility of the Reader, to whom, by the ſtudious reading thereof, might riſe plentiful matter of true Chriſtian information, both of the wholeſome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of every Chriſtian mans life.

Which I thought good to annex further in our ſtory, after the examination of *William Thorp*, and the Martyrdom of *William Sawtrey*, and of *John Badby* thus deſcribed (as ye have heard) which was about the year 1409. By the way here is to be conſidered, at leaſt to be admoniſhed, that all this while the ſchiſm in the Church of *Rome* did yet continue, and ſo indured till the Council of *Conſtance*, which was in whole, the ſpace of twenty and nine years. The origine whereof (as was ſaid before) firſt began at *Urbanus* the Fifth; which *Urbanus* being dead, *An.* 1389. next followed Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, who fate fourteen years. He in ſelling his pardons was ſo impudent and ſo paſt ſhame, that he brought the Keys of *Peter* (as ſaith *Platina*) in contempt. After him ſucceeded *Innocentius* the Seventh, and fate two years: who being dead, the Cardinals conſulting together, and ſeeing the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious ſchiſm in their Church of *Rome* (minding to provide ſome remedy for the ſame, after the beſt device they could) in their conclave where they were aſſembled for a new election for the Pope, took this order, promiſing among themſelves with ſolemn Vow made to God, to *Mary* the Bleſſed Virgin, to *Peter* and *Paul*, and to all the bleſſed company of Saints; That if any of them, within the College or without the College, ſhould be called to the high place of Apoſtolical Preeminence; he ſhould effectuouſly renounce the juriſdiction and title of his Popedom, if or whenſoever the contrary Pope for the time being would in like many renounce his place and title, and his Cardinals in the like manner condeſcend to the other Cardinals of *Rome*. So that both theſe two Colleges of Cardinals agreeing together, one chief Biſhop might be choſe and taken out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Provided moreover, that none ſhould ſeek any releaſment or abſolution from the ſaid promiſe, vow and bond, once paſſed among them; Unto all which

Vide ſupra.
Urbanus 5. Bonifacius 9. Innocentius 7.
Gregorius 12. The Cardinals devyce to ceaſe the ſchiſm.
The vow and oath of the Cardinals made for the ſchiſme

things furthermore every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the Election. In which was chosen *Gregorius* the Twelfth, who the same day of his election, in the presence of all the Cardinals confirmed the Vow, Sacrament, and Promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in form as followeth. *And I* Gregory, *this day being the last of* November, *in the year of our Lord*, 1407. *chosen and elected for Bishop of* Rome, *do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm all the premisses above contained, &c.* This being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80 years. As the time thus passed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the Pope, according to his Oath, would give over, with the other Pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two Popes to be attempted, by Letters from one to another; affigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

The Oath and Vow of Pope Gregory the 12th.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals, to see their holy perjured Father so to neglect his Oath and Vow aforenamed. Insomuch that at length, divers of them did forsake the Pope, as being perjured (as no less he was) sending moreover to Kings and Princes of other Lands, for their counsel and assistance therein, to appease the Schism. Amongst the rest, Cardinal *Bituriensis* was sent to the King of *England*; who published divers Propositions and Conclusions (remaining in the Registers of *Thomas Arundel*) disputeth, that the Pope ought to be subject to Laws and Councils. Then King *Henry* (moved to write to *Gregory* the Pope) directeth his Letter here under-ensuing, which was the year of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the Letter be these.

The Pope fully perjured. Cardinals leave the perjured Pope.

{Anno 1409.}

The Letter of King *Henry* the Fourth to Pope *Gregory* the Twelfth.

King Henry the Fourth to Pope Gregory the Twelfth. Two hundred thousand slain by Schism of Rome. Thirty thousand slain in Camp fighting for the Bishoprick of Leodium.

MOst blessed Father, if the discreet Providence of the Apostolical See, would call to mind with what great perils the universal World hath been dammified hitherto under pretence of this present Schism; and especially would consider, what slaughter of Christian people to the number of two hundred thousand (as they say) hath been through occasion of War raised up in divers quarters of the World; and now of late, to the number of thirty thousand Souldiers, which have been slain through the dissention moved about the Bishoprick of Leodium *between two set up, one by the Authority of one Pope, the other by the Authority of the other Pope, fighting in Camp for the Title of that Bishoprick. Certes ye would lament in spirit and be sore grieved in mind for the same. So that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the See Apostolick, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloke of dissimulation, following herein the example of the true Mother in the Book of* Kings: *who pleading before* Solomon *for the right of her Child, rather would depart from the Child, than the Child should be parted by the Sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new Creation of nine Cardinals, by your last made, contrary to your Oath (as other men do say) that you do but little heed or care for ceasing the Schism; Yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the World, that your circumspect Seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind; whereby the last error may be worse than the first.* Ex Chron. D. Albani, *Part the second.*

King *Henry* the Fourth to the Cardinals.

King Henry the Fourth to the Cardinals.

AND to the Cardinals likewise, the said King directeth another Letter with these Contents here following: We desiring to shew what Zeal we have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the Church; by the consent of the States of the Realm, have directed to the Bishop of Rome *our Letters after the tenour of the Copy herewith in these presents inclosed to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend Colledge, That if it chance the said* Gregory *to be present at the Council of* Pise, *and to render up his Popedom, according to your desire, and his own Oath; you then so Ordain for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said* Gregory *and also we which entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condign thanks for the same.* Ibid.

{KING Hen. 4.}

This being done in the year of our Lord, 1409. afterward in the year next following, *Anno* 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to wit, of *Gregorius* and *Benedictus*, by common advice assembled together at the City of *Pise*, for the reformation of Unity and Peace in the Church. To the which Assembly, a great multitude of Prelates and Bishops being convented, a new Pope was chosen, named *Alexander* the Fifth. But to this Election, neither *Gregorius* nor *Benedictus* did fully agree. Whereby there were three Popes together in the *Roman* Church (that is to understand) not three Crowns upon one Popes head, but three Heads in one Popish Church together. This *Alexander*, being newly made Pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple-Crown, but straight giveth out full remission, not of a few, but all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conserred any thing to the Monastery of S. *Bartholomew* by *Smithfield*, reforting to the said Church any of these days following; to wit, on *Maundy-Thursday, Good-Friday, Easter* even, the Feast of the *Annunciation*, from the first Even-song to the later. But this Pope, which was so liberal in giving remission of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the same year he died. In whose stead stept up Pope *John* 23.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

{ANNO 1410. Concil. Pis.}

Pope Alexander the Fifth. Three Popes together.

The vain remission by the Popes indulgence.

Pope Alexander dead. Pope John 23. &c. Joan.

In the time of this *Alexander* great stir began in the Country of *Bohemia*, by the occasion of the Books of *John Wickliff*, which then coming to the hands of *John Hus*, and of other both men and women, especially of the Lay sort, and Artificers, began there to do much good. Insomuch, that divers of them not only men, but women also, partly by the reading of their Books translated into their Tongue, partly by the setting forward of *John Hus*, a notable learned man, and a singular Preacher at that time in the University of *Prague*, were in short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea and to reason with the Priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

Chron. de Historia Hussitarum, lib. 1.

The Gospel beginning to take root in Bohemia.

The pride and glory of the Clergy of Bohemia in their days.

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the said Pope *Alexander* the Fifth, who caused estsoons the forenamed *John Hus* to be cited up to *Rome*. But when he came not at the Popes citation, then the said Pope *Alexander* addressed his Letters to the Archbishop of *Swinco*. Wherein he straitly charged him to prohibite and forbid, by the Authority Apostolical, all manner of Preachings or Sermons to be made to the people, but only in Cathedral Churches or Colledges, or Parish-Churches, or in Monasteries, or else in their Church-yards. And that the Articles of *Wickliff* should in no case of any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly. Commanding moreover and charging the said Archbishop, that he with four Bachelors of Divinity, and two Doctors of the Canon-Law joyned unto him, would proceed upon the same, and so provide that no person in Churches, Schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid Articles. So that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted an Heretick, and unless he shall revoke solemnly and publickly the said Articles, and shall for ever abjure the Books wherein the foresaid Articles be contained, so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithful; the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular Arm being called thereunto; if need shall require, &c. These were the contents of this mighty and fierce Bull of Pope *Alexander*.

The Letter Pope Alexander the Fifth to the Archbishop Swinco of Bohemia.

The Popes cruel Bull against John Hus.

Against the which Bull on the other side *John Hus*, justly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his Book, intituled, *De Ecclesia, cap.* 18. Where he declareth this Mandate of the Pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his Apostles; considering how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the Sea, in the Desert, in Fields, in Churches, in Synagogues, in Villages; And the Apostles also in all places did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreover, the said Mandate or Bull of the Pope to redound unto the great detriment of the Church

John Hus objecteth against the Popes cruel Bull.

The Popes Bull contrary to Christ.

{KING Hen. 4.}

The notable Judgment of God in striking the Adversaries of the Gospel.

Church, in binding the Word of God, that it might not have his free passage. Also, the same to be prejudicial unto Chappels newly erected for the Word to be preached in them. Wherefore (saith he) from this Commandment or Mandate of Pope *Alexander*, I did appeal unto the said *Alexander* being better informed and advised. And as I was prosecuting my Appeal, the Lord Pope (saith *John Hus*) immediately died.

Then the Archbishop of *Swinco* aforesaid, to whom this present Bull was directed, when he saw the Process, Bulls and Mandates of the Bishop of *Rome* to be thus contemned of *John Hus* and his Fellows, neither having any hope of redress in *Winceslaus* the King, which seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his Country into *Hungary*, to complain unto *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, and Brother to the said *Winceslaus*. But this quarrelling Archbishop, whether before (as the *Bohemians* say) or after (as *Silvius* saith) that he had spoken with *Sigismund*; immediately there (by the just Judgment of God) died in *Hungary*, as the story saith, for sorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his Gospel, newly beginning to take root among the *Bohemians*. Albeit, this tranquility there did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious days and Reign of *Antichrist*. For after this *Alexander* succeeded Pope *John* the 23. Who, likewise playing his part in this Tragedy, bent all his might and main to disturb the *Bohemians*, as more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in further process of our History, coming to the year of our Lord, 1413.

The Gospel seldom rises long quiet.

Pope John 23.

Thus the poor *Christians* (as ye see) like to the silly *Israelites* under the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in *England*, and that so much the more here, because that the King, not like to *Winceslaus*, went full and whole with the Pope and his Prelates against the Gospellers.

By reason whereof the Kingdom of the Pope and his Members here in this Realm began to be so strong, that none durst stir or once mute against them. The Bishops having the King so full on their side, armed moreover with Laws, Statutes, Punishments, Sword, Fire, and Fagot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as Kings and Princes within themselves. So strong were they of Power, that no humane Force was able to stand against them: so exalted in Pride, and puft up in Glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend Majesties. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be received and obeyed.

And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatsoever toy came once in their fantasie; it was straightways determined and stablished for a Law of all men to be observed, were it never so frivolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other, who having now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confessors of the Lord, and having now brought their Enemies (as they thought) under feet; began to set up themselves, and to invent new custom, as the guise is of the Popes Church, ever to intrude into the Church of God some ceremony or custom of their own making, whereby the Church of Christ hath been hitherto exceedingly perfred. So likewise this *Thomas Arundel*, thinking the Church yet not sufficiently stuffed with Ceremonies and vain Traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found Gaud, commonly called *The tolling of Aves*, in honour of our Lady, with certain *Aves* to be said, and days of pardon to be given for the same. For the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the Kings request, he directed his Mandate to the Bishop of *London*, well stuffed with words of Idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

Forty days of pardon given by 7. several Archbishops.

A Mandate of *Thomas Arundel*, directed to the Bishop of *London*, to warn men to say certain Prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of Curphew.

THomas, &c. *To the right reverend Brother, the Lord* Robert, *by the Grace of God Bishop of* London, *greeting, &c. While we left our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose to him an holy and immaculate Virgin of the Kingly Stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by inspiral inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the Posterity of Mankind, that was created, had by sin incurred: Amongst other Labours in the Vine of the Lord of Sabbath, we sung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Christian Religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a Virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of our Redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of Salvation; And although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, which being a happy Virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of Heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all Nations, mimifring light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: We truly as the Servants of her own Inheritance, and such as are written of, to be of her peculiar Dower, as we are by every mans confession acknowledged to be, we I say ought more watchfully than any others to shew the endeawours of our devotion in praising her Who being hitherto merciful to us, yea being even Coward, would that our power, being as it were spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the World, should with a victorious Arm fear all foreign Nations; That our power, being on all sides so defended with the Buckler of her Protection, did subdue unto our victorious Standards, and made subject unto us, Nations both near at hand and far off.*

Ringing of Curphew.

If this be not blasphemous and derogatory to Christ, let the Reader judge.

*Like wise our happy estate (all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives) may be well attributed only to the help of her Mediance; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these our times, under the mighty Government of our most Christian King, our deliverance from the ravening Wolves, and the mouths of cruel Beasts, which had prepared against our Banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompence of the good will that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that he being on high sitting before the Throne of the heavenly Majesty, the Defendress and Patroness of us all, being magnified with all mens praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us the Sons of Adoption the treats of her * Grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; As the request of the special devotion of our Lord the King himself, we command your Brotherhood, straitly enjoyning you, that you commend the Subjects of your City and Diocese, and of all your Suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary the Mother of God, and our † Patroness and Protectress, evermore in all adversity, with such like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christs faithful people is went to worship her at the ringing of Coure le feu. And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be every where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your Suffragans, and their Subjects as well religious as secular, in your and their Monasteries and Collegiate-Churches: That we so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, she right hand of the heavenly Piety, may mercifully come to the help, the protection and defence of the same our Lord the King, who for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous Floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. We therefore coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c. We grant by these presents, to all and every man, &c. that shall say the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the Morning-Peal with*

These men make a Bellows of our Lady.

False help sought and set up of Idolatres.

* The Pope would fain suck our Ladies pap.

† Will ye stand to this Doctrine ye Catholicks? Papists blasphemy fighting against the Prince of Christ. Ringing of Curphew.

Forty days pardon for five Aves.

with a devout mind, toties quoties (*how oft soever*) *forty days pardon by these presents*. Given under our Seal in our Manor of *Lambeth* the tenth day of *Febr. Anno nostræ translat. 9. Ex Regist. Thom. Arundel.*

Heaping up Ceremonies in the Church.

By this frivolous and barbarous Constitution, with many other of like sort heaped into the Church by the *Papists*, appeareth the proper natures and condition of this Catholick Generation. Who being themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spiritual matter (as seemeth) take upon them to govern the Spiritual Church of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very little. And therefore according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the Church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemly perhaps to their own gross affection; but not agreeing (nay rather clean contrary) to the right nature and condition of the Spiritual House and Kingdom of the Lord. And like as in their inventions they swerve utterly from the right handling of all Spiritual Government; so in their manners and form of life likewise they do resemble little or no part almost of such as are and ought to be true Pastors and Ministers of the Mystical Body of Christ.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain, in these *Roman* Prelates to be noted; who so well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to be in Pastoral Leaders of the Church, will compare the same with the usual pomp of these glorious Potestates.

The pomp of the Popes Church noted.

As for example, what can be more convenient for a true Pastor Ecclesiastical, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the Head-Bishop himself? So what greater shew of Arrogancy and Pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*? who, passing by the high street of *London*, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the Bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great snuff, and did suspend all such Churches in *London* (not only with the Steeple and Bells, but also with the Organs) so many as did not receive his coming with the noise of Bells, according as out of his own Registers may appear; the word whereof annexed to his own Somner, I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certain Churches of *London*, becaufe they rung not their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

THomas *by the permission of God, &c. To our well-beloved* Thomas Wilton, *our Somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy Church of* Canterbury, *over which we bear Rule, deserveth and requireth, that while we pass through the Province of the same our Church (having our Cross carried before us) every Parish-Church in their turns ought and are bounden, in token of special reverence that they bear to us, to ring their Bells. Which notwithstanding, yea on* Tuesday *last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the Clock before Dinner, passed openly on foot as it were through the midst of the City of* London, *with our Cross carried before us: divers Churches, whose names are here beneath noted, shewed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our Church of* Canterbury, *ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury, for the honour of our Spouse, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those Churches under our Inditement, suspending Gods holy Organs and Instruments in the same. Which we also suspend by the tenour of these presents, till the Ministers of the aforesaid Churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful Grace.* Given, &c.

Churches of London fuspended for not ringing at the coming of the Archbishop.

* Obſerve this emptineſs to Chriſt his humility.

What great reason was in this, why this Archbishop either should thus look for the ringing of the Bells, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Be-like his mind in the mean time was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of Gods fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude for his Flock, with the earnest meditation of the Passion and Life of our Saviour, who in this World was so despised: or else was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the Bells, which were wont to be so noisome to all Students. And why were not the Trumpeters also there as well, because they did not found before his Person? But though the Bells did not clatter in the Steeples, and therefore his Thunderbolt should have fallen upon the Steeples which had deserved; why should the body of the Church therefore be suspended? At least, the poor Organs (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the Quire, because the Bells range not in the Tower.

Organs ſuſpended in the Church, becauſe the Bells did not ring.

Of the like matter also we read in the said Registers, falling between the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Priory of the same Town, for not ringing at the Bishops coming into the Church. Whereupon much suit and contention was between them, till at length the Archbishop of *Canterbury* took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said *Registers, fol.* 441. appeareth to be seen as followeth:

Ex Regiſtro Tho. Arundell.

Variance between the Biſhop and Prior of Worceſter for not ringing at the Biſhops coming.

UNiversis, &c. Thomas, &c. *Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend Brother the Lord Bishop of* Worcester *on the one party, and the religious and discreet men the Prior and Covent of the same Church on the other party, for not ringing of Bells at the coming of our said Brother to his foresaid Church, at length the parties (considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof) at our instance and request did agree on this manner, that as often as it shall happen our reverend Brother to go to his aforesaid Church, either to celebrate Orders, or to visit his Church in the Head or in the Inferiors, or to make Cream and Oil in the same Church: Also in the Feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin* Mary, *which is the chiefest Feast in the Abbey aforesaid; then the Prior and the Covent, and their Successors for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his coming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same. Which agreement that it may be more firmely kept, we let you all understand by these presents, sealed with our Seal.* Given at our Palace of *Canterbury*, July 12. the tenth year of our Government.

The like stir for Bell-ringing and for Processions, had almost happened between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Succeffor to this *Thomas Arundel*, named *Henry Chichley* on the one party, and the Abbey of S. *Albans* on the other party, had not the Abbot, in time submitting himself to the Archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their Bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their Liberties. Whereunto the Archbishop granted by these his Letters as followeth:

Ringing in of the Archbiſhop at S. Albans.

Ex Regiſt. Hen Chicheley, fol. 365.

HEnry, &c. *to the religious men, the Abbot and Covent of the Monastery of* S. Albans *in the Diocess of* Lincoln, *health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance between us, and you the Abbot and Covent, by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our Province of* Canterbury; *that is, for not ringing the Bells, and meeting us with Processions when we passed by divers places of our Province, as well due of common custom, as of old use, and for the Prerogative of the Church of* Canterbury, *as also being due of every one being within the compass of this our said Province, when and as often as we shall pass by their places; at length your Lord Abbot (coming personally to us) did grant both for you and the Covent aforesaid, to do and to give of your gentleness all reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and our Church of* Canterbury, *as often as we pass by your Monastery, or the places nigh or adjoyning thereto, or shall hereafter go by; so that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priviledge; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keep you from damage, let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or priviledge whatsoever herein; nor*

{KING Hen. 4.}

nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your Dominion. In witness whereof, &c. Dated the 28*th* day of *January*, 1425. at S. *Albans*, the twelfth year of our Government.

To express moreover and describe the glorious pomp of these Prince-like Prelates in these blind days of Popish Religion reigning then in the Church, I thought to adjoyn hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and injoyned strait penance by *William Courtney* Predecessor of the said *Thomas Arundel*, for bringing litter to his Horse, not in Wains as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their Clokes or Coats. For the which so hainous and horrible Trespass, the said Archbishop sitting in his Tribunal-Seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (*pro litera*, i.e. for litter, after his own *Latin*) and after their submission injoyned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foresaid Parties, here followeth out of the said Archbishops Registers, both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same Registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seen.

Will. Courtney Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

A deſcription of poor men doing their Penance with their ſtraw on their back.



The Picture of them drawn in all proportion according to the exemplar ſtanding in the Regiſter.

This bag full of ſtraw I beare on my back, Becauſe my lords horſe his litter did lack. If ye be not good to my lords graces horſe, ye are like to goe barefoot before the proceſſe.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

Mark ye Grammarians, there, for Ittour.

ERroris mater ignorantia *quosdam* Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, *Tenentes Domini de* Wengham *taliter obcæcavit, quod ante adventum dicti Domini Archiepiscopi ad palatium suum* Cantuariæ *in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum*, Anno Dom. 1390. *de cariendo & ducendo ad dictum palatium fœnum, straamen, sive literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura suorum, quas & quæ tenent de Domino & Ecclesia sua* Cantuariæ *affringuntur, per balivum Domini ibidem justè & legitimè præmuniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignantes, straamen hujusmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium Domini, ac subtractionem jurium Ecclesiæ suæ* Cantuar. *Unde super hoc evocati coram Domino, die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de* Statewode *pro Tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius judicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam & misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde Dominus præfatus,* Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, *de mandato suo Ecclesiæ, & fideliter peragendo pœnam ea pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratas absolvit in forma juris, nuncupata ea & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ, pœna salutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente prædicti pœnitentes nudi capita & pedes, processionem apud Ecclesiam collegiatam de* Wengham *faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & straamine) ita quod straamen & fœnum hujusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter & devote.*

In Engliſh.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

IGnorance the mother of Error, so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, *Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Heyward*, and *John White*, Tenants of the Lord of *Wengham*, that against the coming of the foresaid Archbishop to his Palace of *Canterbury* on *Palmer-Sunday* even, the year of our Lord, 1390. where they being warned by the Bayliff, to convey and carry Hay, Straw, and other litter to the aforesaid Palace, as they were bound by the tenour of their Lands, which they hold of the See of *Canterbury*; refuling and disdaining to do their service, as they were accuftomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in Carts and Wains openly and sufficiently, but by piece-meal, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the Right and Title of the See of *Canterbury*. Whereupon they being accited and presented before the Archbishop, sitting in Judgment at his Mannor of *Statewood*, yielded and submitted themselves to his Lordships pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their Trespass. Then the aforesaid Archbishop absolved the above named *Hugh Pennie, &c.* they swearing to obey the Laws and Ordinances of holy Church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts; that is, that they going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw; so that the faid hay and straw should appear hanging out, the mouthes of the Sacks being open.

Penance for ſuyned for bringing ſtraw to my Lords horſe.

Recommendation and abſolution abuſed.

Note

Notes of certain Parliament matters passed in this Kings days.

Notes of this Kings Parliament.

TO proceed now further in the Reign of this King, and to intreat also something of his Parliaments as we have done of other before. First, we will begin with the Parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

Moreover, forsomuch as our Catholick *Papists* will not believe yet the contrary, but that the Jurisdiction of their Father the Pope hath ever extended throughout all the World, as well here in *England*, as in other places; Here therefore speaking of the Parliaments holden in this Kings days concerning this matter, I refer them to the Parliament of the said King *Henry* in his first year holden, and to the 27th Article of the same. Where they may read in the tenth Objection laid against King *Richard* in plain words, how that, forasmuch as the Crown of this Realm of *England*, and the Jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole Realm it self, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and injoyed such Prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other out of the same Kingdom, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forenamed King *Richard* the Second, for procuring the Letters Apostolical from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain Statutes of his, and that his Censures might be profecuted against the Breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the Parliament to tend against the Crown and Regal Dignity, as also against the Statutes and Liberties of this the said our Realm of *England*, *Vide Parl. An.* 1. *Reg. Henr.* 4. *Act.* 27.

The Popes Jurisdiction excluded out of this Realm.

Ex an. 1. Reg. Henrici, Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the second year of the said King, this was in the Parliament required, that all such Persons as shall be arrested by force of the Statute made against the *Lollards*, in the second year of *Henry* the Fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the Sheriffs, or such like Officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The King granted to their advice therein.

An. 8 Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 116.

In the eighth year moreover of this Kings Reign, it was likewise propounded in the Parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the Court of *Rome* any Process touching any Benefice, Collation, or Presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the Statute of Provisors, made in the thirteenth year of *Richard* the Second, whereunto the King granted, that the Statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

An. 8. R. Henr. 4. Act. 114.

Item, in the said Parliament, there it was put up by Petition, that the King might enjoy half the profits of every Parsons Benence who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the King answered, That the Ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide farther remedy to stay their Pluralities.

Ibid. Act. 37.

Item, in the said Parliament it was required; that none do sue to the Court of *Rome* for any Benefice, but only to the Kings Courts.

¶ In the next year following, which was the ninth of this King, another Petition of the Commons was put in Parliament against the Court of *Rome*, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:

The Commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers Provisors of the Benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the Court of Rome, *through their singular covetousness now newly imagined to destroy those that have been long time Incumbents in divers their Benefices of holy Church peaceably, some of them by the Title of the King, some by Title ordinary, and by the Title of other true Patrons thereof, by colour of Provisions, Relations, and other Grants made to the same Provisors by the Apostoil of the said Benefices, do pursue Processes in the said Court by Citations made beyond the Sea, without any Citations made within the Realm in deed against the same Incumbents, whereby many of the said Incumbents, through such privy and crafty Processes and Sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have lost their Benefices, and others put in the places of the said Incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their Benefices through such Processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief; And forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without my especial remedy be had by Parliament: Pleaseth it the King to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his Subjects without their knowledge, through such Citations out of the Realm, and thereupon to ordain by the advice of the Lords of this present Parliament, that none presented be received by any Ordinary unto any Benefice of any such Incumbent for any cause of privation or inhabilitation, wherof the Process is not founded upon Citation made within the Realm, and also that such Incumbents may remain in all their Benefices, until it be proved by due Inquest in the Court of the King, that the Citations, whereupon such privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the Realm: and that if such Ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their Procurators, Fautors, and Counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the Statute made against Provisors in the thirteenth year of the Reign of the late* Richard *King of* England *the Second, by Process to be made, as is declared in the Statute made against such Provisors in the 27th year of the Reign of King* Edward. *Predecessor to our Lord the King that now is, any Royal Licences or Grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other Statutes made against Provisors, and not repealed before this present Parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.*

Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9 Hen. 4.

The wickedness of Popes Provisors inciting and depriving believed men in England, their citation being not known in the Realm.

That the Kings Council have Power by Authority of Parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said Council by the advice of the Justices, do right unto the Parties. This to endure until the next Parliament, reserving always unto the King his Prerogative and Liberty.

Item, *that no Popes Collector thenceforth should levy any money within the Realm for First-fruits of any Ecclesiastical Dignity, under pain of incurring the Statute of Provisions.*

An. 9. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 42.

Besides in the said Parliament holden the eleventh year of this King, is to be noted how the Commons of the land put up a Bill unto the King, to take the Temporal Lands out from Spiritual mens hands or possession. The effect of which Bill was, that the Temporalties disordinately waffed by men of the Church, might suffice to find to the King 15 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Esquires, and a 100 houses of Almose, to the relief of the poor people, more than at those days within *England*. And over all these forefaid charges, the King might put yearly in his Coffers 20000 pound.

Ex Chron. D. Albin. Walsin. & alijs.

Provided, that every Earl should have of yearly rent three thousand mark; and every Knight a hundred mark and four plough-lands; every Esquire forty mark by year, with two plough-lands; and every house of Almose a hundred mark, with overplight of two true Seculars unto every house, and also with provision, that every Township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living; with condition that if more fell in a Town than the Town might maintain, then the said Almose-houses to relieve such Townships.

A computation of Church-goods, to how much they do amount.

And to bear these Charges, they alledged by their said Bill, That the Temporalties, being in possession of Spiritual Churchmen, amounted to 3 C. and 22 M. mark by year. Whereof they affirmed to be in the See of *Canterbury*, with the Abbies of Christs Church, of S. *Augustines*, *Shrewsbury*, *Coggeshale*, and S. *Osms*, 20 M. mark by year. In the See of *York* and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of *Winchester* and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of *London*, with Abbies and other Houses there 20 M. mark. In the See of *Lincoln*, with the Abbies of *Peterborough*, *Ramsey*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Norwich*, with the Abbies of *Bury*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Ely*, *Spalding* and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Bathe*, with the Abbey of *Okinborne* and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Worcester*, with the Abbies of *Evesham*, *Abingdon*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Chester*, with the Precinct of the same, with the Sees of S. *David*, of *Salesbury*, and *Exeter*, with their precincts, 20 M. mark, The Abbies of *Ravens* or *Revans*, of *Fountains*, of *Germons*, and divers other, to the number of five more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of *Leicester*, *Waltham*, *Gosborne*, *Merton*, *Ticeter*, *Osney*, and other, unto the number of six more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of *Dovers*, *Batil*, *Lewis*, *Coventry*, *Daventre*, and *Tourney*, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of *Northampton*, *Thorton*, *Bristow*, *Killingworth*, *Winchcomb*, *Hailes*, *Parchissor*, *Fridesswide*, *Notly*, and *Grimoisby*, 20 M. mark.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The which forefaid Sums amount to the full of 3 C. M. mark. And for the odd of 22 M. mark, they appointed *Hardford*, *Rochester*, *Huntingdon*, *Swinshed*, *Crowland*, *Malmesbury*, *Burton*, *Tewkesbury*, *Dunstable*, *Whirborn*, *Taunton*, and *Biland*.

And over this, they alledged by the said Bill, that over and above the said sum of 3 C. and 22 M. mark, divers Houses of Religion in *England* possessed as many Temporalties as might suffice to find yearly 15 M. Priests and Clerks, every Priest to be allowed for his stipend 7 mark by the year.

To the which Bill no answer was made, but that the King of this matter would take deliberation and advisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made.

{Anno 1413.}

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the life time of this King, followeth next the thirteenth year of his Reign. In the which year the said King *Henry* the Fourth after he had sent a little before a certain company of Captains and Souldiers to aid the Duke of *Burgundy* in *France* (among whom was the Lord *Cobham*) keeping his *Christmas* at *Eltham*, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to *London*, where he began to call a Parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the King more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a Bed in a fair Chamber at *Westminster*. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same Chamber; and they answered and said, *Jerusalem*. And then he said it was his Prophetie, *That he should make his end in* Jerusalem. And so disposing himself toward his end in the forefaid Chamber, he died; upon what sickness, whether of Leprosie, or of some other sharp Disease, I have not to affirm. *Ex vetust. Chron. Anglicanis initium*: That all men called.

The King had a Prophesie, that he should die in Jerusalem. Prophesies dentifable.

The like Prophetie we read of Pope *Silvester* the Second, to whom being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered, *That he should die in* Jerusalem. Who then saying Mass in a Chappel (called likewise *Jerusalem*) perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus King *Henry* the Fourth, Successor to the lawful King *Richard* the Second, finished his life at *Westminster*, and was buried at *Canterbury* by the Tomb of *Thomas Becket*, *&c. Anno* 1413.

Ex vetust. Chron. Anglicanis, qui incipiunt ab Eth. That all men called The Prophesie of Pope Silvester the Second.

King Henry *the Fifth.*

King Henry the Fifth.

AFter this *Henry* the Fourth reigned *Henry* the Fifth his Son, which was born at *Monmouth* in *Wales*, of whose other Vertues, and great Victories gotten in *France*, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy Prowess, being sufficiently described in other Writers in this our time, may both content the Reader, and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these later Troubles and Perturbations of the Church offer me so much, that unneth any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

Great temptation at the Coronation of the new King.

After the Coronation then of this new King; which was the ninth day of *April*, called then *Passion-Sunday*, which was an exceeding stormy-day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a Parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the Feast of *Easter*, at *Westminster*. *Anno* 1413. At which time *Thomas Arundel* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* collected in *Pauls* Church at *London* an universal Synod of all the Bishops and Clergy of *England*. In that Synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined; that the day of Saint *George*, and also of Saint *Dunstan*, should be double Feast, called *Duplex Festum*, in holy Kitchin, in holy Church I would say.

A Synod called at London, 8. Georgii and S. Dunstani, made double Feast.

And because the order and manner of those Pope-holy Feasts either yet is not sufficiently known to some rude and gross capacities, or may peradventure grow out of use, and be strange and unknown to our Posterity hereafter; therefore to give a little *memorandum* thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this mystical Science of the Popes deep and secret Divinity; here is to be noted, that the Feasts of the holy Mother Catholick-Church be divided into sundry members. Like as a plentiful Root in a fruitful Field riseth up and burgeneth into manifold Arms, and the Arms again do multiply into divers and sundry Branches, out of the which moreover, although no Fruit do come, yet both Leaves and Flowers do bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautiful to behold; Even so this *Festum*, containing a large matter of great variety of Days and Feasts, groweth in it self and multiplieth, being thus divided; First, into *Festum duplex*, and into *Festum simplex*; that is, into Feast-double, and to Feast-simple. Again, this *Festum duplex* brancheth four-fold-wise, to wit, into *Festum principale duplex*, into *Majus duplex*, into *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex*; that is, in principal double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferiour or lower double. Unto these several sorts of Feasts what days were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principal double Feast only belongeth eight days in the year; so the *Majus duplex Festum* had given unto him by this Convocation the day of Saint *George* and of Saint *Dunstan*, as is afore remembred; albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custom it was not so used. *Item*, it is to be noted, that these two Feasts, to wit, *Principale duplex*, and *Majus duplex*, did differ and were known from all other by four Notes; by fervice in the Kitchin, and by fervice in the Church, which were both double, by ringing in the Steeple, which was with a double peal; by Copes in the Quire, and by thurifying or censing the Altars: For in these two principal and greater double Feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with silken Copes. Also at the said Feasts, in the time of the Lessons, the Altars in the Church must be thurified; that is, smoked with Incense, &c. And likewise the *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex* had also their peculiar fervice to them belonging.

The Feast of the Popes Church described and divided.

Festum duplex. Principale duplex, Majus duplex, Minus duplex, Inferius duplex. Constitution against Councel. Ex vet. Festiar.

Secondly, The *Simplex Festum*, which is the second Arm springing of this division, is thus divided: Either in having a triple invitory, or a double, or else a single invitory. Of the which moreover, some have three Lessons, some have nine, &c.

Simplex Festum in the Popes Church.

And thus much by occasion for Popish Feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest Idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

The Trouble and Persecution of the Lord Cobham.

The trouble of the Lord Cobham. Ex Chron. Mon. Alban.

BUt to let this by-matter pass, again to return to the forefaid universal Synod assembled by *Thomas Arundel* at S. *Pauls* Church in *London*, as is before remembred: the chief and principal cause of the assembling thereof (as reporteth the Chronicle of Saint *Albans*) was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord *Cobham*, who was then noted to be a principal Favourer, Receiver, and Maintainer of them, whom the Bishop misnamed to be *Lollards*, especially in the Diocesses of *London*, *Rochester* and *Hereford*, setting them up to preach whom the Bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the Constitution Provincial, before remembred, holding also and teaching Opinions of the Sacraments, of Images, of Pilgrimage, of the Keys and Church of *Rome*, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the *Romish* Church, &c.

Walden in Sacramentum Wicklevi.

In the mean time as these were in talk amongst them concerning the good Lord *Cobham*; it reported unto them the twelve Inquisitors of Heresies (whom they had appointed at *Oxford* the year afore, to search out Heretick with all *Wickliffs* Books) who brought 246 Conclusions, which they had collected as Heresies out of the said Books. The Names of the said Inquisitors were these:

1. *John*

1. *John Whitnam*, a Master in the new Colledge.
2. *John Langedon*, Monk of Christs Church in *Canterbury*.
3. *William Offord*, Regent of the *Carmelites*.
4. *Thomas Claxton*, Regent of the *Dominicks*.
5. *Robert Gilbert*.
6. *Richard Earthisdale*.
7. *John Lacke*.
8. *Richard Southam*.
9. *Richard Fleming*.
10. *Thomas Rotorborne*.
11. *Robert Rombery*.
12. *Richard Crasdale*.

These things thus done, and the Articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their Communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs Coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched Popish Synagogue) unless certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chief Maintainers of the said Disciples of *Wickliff*. Among whom this noble Knight Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord *Cobham*, was complained of by the general Proctors to be the chief Principal. Him they accused, first, for a mighty Maintainer of suspected Preachers in the Dioceses of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Hereford*, contrary to the minds of the Ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said Preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of Arms, notwithstanding their synodal Constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, of Image-worshipping, and of the Ecclesiastical Power, than the holy Church of *Rome* had taught many years before.

The Lord *Cobham* accused for maintaining the Godhead of Christ.

The Lord *Cobham* accused for his Christian belief.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, Process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernitious Heretick.

Process against him.

Some of that Fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before, considering the said Lord *Cobham* was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the King, their counsel was to know first the Kings mind to save all things upright. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the Archbishop *Thomas Arundel*, with his other Bishops, and a great part of the Clergy, went straitways unto the King then remaining at *Kening-ton*, and there laid forth most grievous Complaints against the said Lord *Cobham*, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The King gently heard those bloodthirsty Prelates, and far otherwise than became his Princely Dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble Stock and Knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling reduce him again to the Churches unity. He promised them also, that in case they were committed to take some deliberation, his self would seriously commune the matter with him.

A fabrikal practice.

The King speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

Anon after, the King sent for the said Lord *Cobham*, And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his Mother the holy Church, and as an obedient Child to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the Christian Knight made this answer: *You most worthy Prince*, saith he, *I am always prompt and willing to obey, forsomuch as I know you a Christian King, and the appointed Minister of God, bearing the Sword to the punishment of evil Doers, and for safeguard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole Obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of Fortune or Nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the Pope and his Spiritualty, I owe them neither fair nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great* Antichrist, *the Son of Perdition, the open Adversary of God, and the Abomination standing in the holy place.* When the King had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

The Kings admonishment to the Lord *Cobham*.

The answer of the Lord *Cobham* to the King. *Rom.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. Lord *Cobham* obedient to the King.

A most Christian obedience. 2 *Thes.* 2. *Mat.* 24. The Lord *Cobham* forsaken of the King.

And as the Archbishop reported again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish Decree, which they called the Laws of holy Church. Then the said Archbishop, by the counsel of his other Bishops and Clergy, appointed to call before him Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord *Cobham*, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect Articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chief Summoner, with a very sharp citation unto the Castle of *Cowling*, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the Gates of so Noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home again, his Message not done.

KING Hen. 5.

Lord *Cobham* summoned by the Archbishop.

Then called the Archbishop one *John Butler* unto him, which was then the Doorkeeper of the Kings Privy-Chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the Kings Name. Whereupon the said *John Butler* took the Archbishops Summoner with him, and went unto the said Lord *Cobham*, shewing him, that it was the Kings pleasure, that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fradulently. Then said he to them in few words, *That he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the Priests.* As they had informed the Archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publick Process or open Commandment. And in all the haste possible, upon the *Wednesday* before the Nativity of our Lady, in *September*, he commanded Letters citatory to be set upon the great Gates of the Cathedral-Church of *Rochester* (which was but three *English* miles from thence) charging him to appear personally before him at *Ledis* the eleventh day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those Letters were taken down the next morrow after by such as bare favour unto the Lord *Cobham*, and so conveyed aside. After that caused the Archbishop new Letters to be set up on the Nativity-day of our Lady, which also were rent down, and utterly consumed.

John Butler playeth Traitor part.

Citation set up against the Lord *Cobham*.

The citation taken down.

Then forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at *Ledis* (where he sate in Consistory, as cruel as ever was *Caiphas*, with his Court of Hypocrites about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsly informed by his hired Spies, and other glosing Glaverers, that the said Lord *Cobham* had laughed at him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old Opinions, contemned the Churches Power, the Dignity of a Bishop, and the Order of Priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his moody madness without just proof did he openly Excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the *Saturday* before the Feast of S. *Matthew* the Apostle, with these cruel Threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance thereof he compelled the Lay-power, by most terrible menacings of Curses and Interdictions, to assist him against that seditious Apostata, Schismatick, and Heretick, the Troubler of the publick Peace, that Enemy of the Realm, and great Adversary of all holy Church; for all these hateful Names did he give him.

False fictions against Lord *Cobham*.

Lord *Cobham* excommunicated.

Lord *Cobham* cited again before.

This most constant Servant of the Lord, and worthy Knight Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord *Cobham*, beholding the unpeaceable fury of *Antichrist* thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or reckoning of his Faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his own hand. Wherein he also answered to the four chiefest Articles that the Archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the Copy with him, and went therewith to the King, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common belief or sum of the Churches Faith, called *The Apostles Creed*, of all Christian men then used, with a brief Declaration upon the same, as here ensueth.

Lord *Cobham* confesseth his Faith.

The Apostles Faith.

The

The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

The confession of Christian men.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, *suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *Crucified, Dead and Buried, went down to Hell, the third day rose again from Death, Ascended up to Heaven, sitteth in the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal Holy Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of Sins, the uprising the flesh, and Everlasting Life*, Amen.

A Declaration of his belief.

And for a more large Declaration (faith he) of this my Faith in the Catholick Church, I stedfastly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the self same 1 Joh. 5. Gal. 4. John 1. Luke 2. God Almighty. I believe also, That the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin *Mary*, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of Man, which was before lost in *Adams* offence.

Christ is the only head of his Church.

Moreover I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the only head of the whole Christian Church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most Holy Church. And this Holy Church I think to be divided into three sorts of companies.

The Church divided into three parts.

Whereof the first sort be now in Heaven, and they are the Saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy Laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the World, and the flesh with all their concupiscence and evils.

Contrary wrote by a Frenchwoman Re Vallens.

The second sort are in Purgatory (if any such place be in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

The third sort are here upon the Earth, and be called the Church Militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the Devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

The Church militant divided in three.

This later Congregation by the just Ordinance of God is also severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into Priesthood, Knighthood, and the Commons. Among whom the will of God is, That the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The Priests first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit should they be, than any other sorts of people.

What the Priests should do.

Knighthood what it should do.

In the Knighthood are all they which bear sword by Law of Office; These should defend Gods Laws, and see that the Gospel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false Preachers; yea those ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked Decrees as either blemish the Eternal Testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby Heralds and Schisms might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily writ creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preferve Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and thieves, and to see the Clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the Law or Office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

Men here a most Christian heart.

What the common people ought to do.

The latter fellowship of this Church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the forefaid ministers of God, their Kings, Civil Governours and Priests. The right Office of these is justly to occupy every Man his faculty, be it Merchandise, Handicraft, o the Tithe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, following always in their forts the just Commandments of the Lord God.

Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, That the Sacraments of Christs Church are necessary to all Christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministred according to Christs first Institution and Ordinance. And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsly accused of a misbelief in the Sacrament of the Altar, to the hurtful slander of many; I signifie here unto all Men, that this is my faith concerning that. I believe in the Sacrament to be contained Christs very body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea the same body that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin *Mary*, done on the Cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in Heaven. I also believe the universal Law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved. Whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

Belief of the Lord *Cobham* concerning the Sacraments.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Finally, this is my faith also, that God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed Law. If any Prelates of Church require more, or else any other kind of obedience, than this to be used; he contemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open Antichrist. All the premisses I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his Holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you my Liege Lord and most worthy King, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly wise, and learned Men of your Realm. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto.

Gods Law to be preferred before mans Law.

A Christians desire of the Lord *Cobham*.

This request was lawful. Obedience unto his King.

This brief confession of his Faith the Lord *Cobham* wrote (as is mentioned before) and so took it with him to the Court, offering it with all meekness unto the King to read it over. The King would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his Judges. Then defired he in the Kings presence, that an hundred Knights and Esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all Heresies. Moreover he offered himself, after the Law of Arms, to fight for life or death with any Man living, Christian or Heathen, in the quarrel of his Faith, the King and the Lords of his Council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should after the Laws of God be ministred unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this the King suffered him to be summoned personally in his own Privy Chamber. Then said the Lord *Cobham* to the King, that he had appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope of *Rome*, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his Judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he shewed it with all reverence to the King. Wherewith the King was then much more displeased than afore, and said angerly unto him, that he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or not, he the Archbishop should be his Judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the L. *Cobham* had lawfully afore required. But forsomuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the Church, and so take what penance the Archbishop would enjoyn him; He was arrested again at the Kings Commandment, and so led forth to the *Tower* of *London*, to keep his day (so was it then spoken) that the Archbishop had appointed him afore in the Kings Chamber.

The fidelity of the Lord *Cobham*.

No reasonable offer would serve.

The Christian and manhood of the Lord *Cobham*.

L. *Cobham* appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope

Straight handling of the King.

L. *Cobham* would not obey the death.

Then caused he the foresaid Confession of his Faith to be copied again, and the answer also (which he had made to the four Articles propounded against him) to be written in manner of an Indenture in two sheets of Paper: That sheet when he should come to his answer, he might give the one Copy unto the Archbishop, and reserve the other to himself. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23d day of *September* the *Saturday* before the Feast

The confession and answer of the L. *Cobham* newly copied.

Caiaphas sereth in Consistory.

of S. *Matthew*; *Thomas Arundel* the Archbishop, sitting in *Caiaphas* room in the Chapter-House of *Pauls* with *Richard Clifford* Bishop of *London*, and *Henry Bolingbrook* Bishop of *Winchester*; Sir *Robert Morley* Knight and Lieutenant of the *Tower* brought personally before him the said Lord *Cobham*, and there left him for the time; unto whom the Archbishop said these words.

The first Examination of the Lord COBHAM.

Antichrist was here in full power.

SIR *John*, in the last general Convocation of the Clergy of this our Province, ye were detected of certain Heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual Law cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly Excommunicated. Notwithstanding, we neither yet shewed our selves unready to have given you Absolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly asked it. Unto this the Lord *Cobham* shewed, as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so desired no Absolution.

A sign of Gods true servant.

But said he would gladly before him and his Brethren make rehersal of that Faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing intended, concerning the Articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the Archbishop as he had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the Copy.

The Sacrament of the Lords body.

I *John Oldcastle* Knight, Lord of *Cobham*, Will that all Christian Men, weet and understand, that I obey Almighty God into witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be mine intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all the Sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in Holy Church; and moreover do declare me in these four points, I believe that the most worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is Christs body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin our Lady Saint *Mary*, done on the Cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in Heaven.

Penance.

Also as for the Sacrament of Penance I believe, That it is needful to every Man that shall be saved to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true Confession, very Contrition, and due satisfaction as Gods Law limiteth and teacheth, and else may not be saved; which penance I desire all Men to do.

Images.

And as of Images, I understand that they be not of believe, but that they were ordained fith they believe was zewe of Christ, by sufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd Men, to represent and bring to mind the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Martyrdom and good living of other Saints: And that whoso it be, that doth the worthip to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth fuch hope or truft in help of them, as he fhould do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greateft fin of Maumetry.

Pilgrimage.

Alfo I fuppofe this fully, That every Man in this Earth is a Pilgrim toward blifs, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keep the holy Commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on Pilgrimages to all the world, and he die fo) he fhall be damned: he that knoweth the holy Commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he fhall be saved though he never in his life go on Pilgrimage, as Men now use to *Canterbury* or to *Rome*, or to any other place.

The answers examined.

This answer to his Articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the Bishops as is faid afore. Then counfelled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops and with diverse of the Doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to ftand afide. In conclufion by their affent and information he faid thus unto him; Come hither, Sir *John*: In this your writing are many good things contained, and right Catholick alfo, we deny it not: but ye muft confider that this day was appointed you to anfwer to other points concerning thofe Articles, whereof, as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore ye muft yet declare us your mind more plainly.

Quarrel picked where none was given.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm and believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Confecration rightly done by a Prieft, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm and believe, that as concerning the Sacrament of Penance (whereas a competent number of Prieſts are) every Chriſtian Man is neceſſarily bound to be confeſſed of his ſins to a Prieſt ordained by the Church or not.

{KING. Hen. 5.} The Wolf was hungry, he took no heed to his blood.

After certain other communication, this was the anſwer of the good Lord *Cobham*, That none otherwiſe would he declare his mind, nor yet anſwer unto his Articles, than was expreſſly in his writing there contained. Then ſaid he as is afore, and in effect in other Biſhops did aſk him after that, he had them reſort to his Bill; for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other anſwer would he not give that day; wherewith the Biſhops and Prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully diſquieted.

The Biſhops ſit and anſwer of the Lord Cobham unto their quarellings.

Anſwereth not to ſuch reaſons.

At the laſt the Archbiſhop counſelled again with his other Biſhops and Doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the Holy Church of *Rome* (following the ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Hierome*, Saint *Ambroſe*, and of the Holy Doctors) had determined in theſe matters, no manner of mention once made of Chriſt. Which determination (ſaith he) ought all Chriſtian Men both to believe and to follow.

Antichriſt ſereth not above God.

Then ſaid the Lord *Cobham* unto him, That he would gladly both believe and obſerve whatſoever Holy Church of Chriſts inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoever God had willed him either to believe to do. But that the Pope of *Rome* with his Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of that Church had lawful power to determine ſuch matter as ſtood not with his word throughly: that would he not (he ſaid) at that time affirm. With this the Archbiſhop bad him to take good adviſement till the *Monday* next following, (which was the 25*th* day of *September*) and then juſtly to anſwer, ſpecially unto this point; Whether there remained material bread in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration or not? He promiſed him alſo, to ſend unto him in writing thoſe matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his anſwer making. And all this was nought elſe, but to blind the multitude with ſomewhat. The next day following, according to his promiſe, the Archbiſhop ſent unto him into the *Tower*, this foolish and blaſphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned Clergy.

The Lord Cobham anſwereth not to Chriſt.

A deſire of Diverſe to blind the ſimple.

The determination of the Archbiſhop and Clergy.

Whatſoeuer he more rationally ſaid if he had reaſon to reaſon it.

THE Faith and determination of the Holy Church touching the bliſsful Sacrament of the Altar, is this; That after the Sacramental words be once ſpoken by a Prieſt in his Maſs, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſts very body. And the material wine that was before wine is turned into Chriſts very blood. And ſo there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the Sacramental words were ſpoken; How believe ye this Article? Holy Church hath determined that every Chriſtian Man, living here bodily upon the Earth, ought to be ſhriven to a Prieſt ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this Article?

Ex magna præſumptione Thomæ Arundel. The firſt Article.

The ſecond Article.

Chriſt ordained S. *Peter* the Apoſtle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whoſe See is the Holy Church of *Rome*; And he granted, that the ſame power which he gave unto *Peter* ſhould ſucceed to all *Peter*'s ſucceſſors, which we call now Popes of *Rome*; by whoſe power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Parſons Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Chriſtian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of Holy Church. How feel ye this Article?

The third Article.

The feet of the Serpent.

Holy

{KING. Hen. 5.} The fourth Article.

Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Chriſtian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places: and there ſpecially to worſhip Holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all other Saints belide, approved by the Church of *Rome*. How feel ye this Article?

He ſeeth their ignorance and malice.

And as the Lord *Cobham* had read over this moſt wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he conſidered again, That God had given them over, for their unbeliefs ſake, into moſt deep errors and blindneſs of ſoul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermoſt malice was purpoſed againſt him, howſoever he ſhould anſwer. And therefore he put his life into the hands of God, defiring his only ſpirit to aſſiſt him in his next anſwer. When the ſaid 25*th* day of *September* was come (which was alſo the *Monday* before *Michaelmas*) in the ſaid year of our Lord 1413. *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* commanded his judicial ſeat to be removed from the Chapter-Houſe of *Pauls* to the Dominick Friers within *Ludgate* at *London*. And as he was there ſet with *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, *Henry* the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and *Bennet* the Biſhop of *Bangor*; He called in unto him his Counſel and his Officers, with divers other Doctors and Friers, of whom theſe are the names here following; Maſter *Henry Ware*, the Official of *Canterbury*; *Philip Morgan*, Doctor of the Laws; *Howel Kiffin*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Kempe*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *William Carleton*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Whitnam*, of the New College in *Oxford*; *John Whithead*, Doctor in *Oxford* alſo, *Robert Wombewel*, Vicar of Saint *Lawrence* in the *Jewry*; *Thomas Palmer*, the Warden of *Minors*; *Robert Chamberlain*, Prior of the *Dominicks*; *Richard Dodington*, Prior of the *Auguſtines*; *Thomas Walden*, Prior of the *Carmelites*, all Doctors of Divinity. *John Stephens* alſo, and *James Cole*, both Notaries, appointed there purpoſely to write all that ſhould be either ſaid or done. All theſe with a great fort more of Prieſts, Monks, Canons, Friers, Pariſh-Clerks, Bell-ringers, Pardoners, diſdained him with innumerable mocks and ſcorns, reckoning him to be an horrible Heretick, and a Man accurſed afore God.

He putteth his life in Gods hand.

The Counſel of Caiaphas.

Hisanſwer not to theſe reaſons.

Anſwereth not above.

The Phariſees and Scribes.

A table of Antichriſts.

Cedeillum Hujusmodi.

Anon the Archbiſhop called for a Maſs Book, and cauſed all theſe Prelates and Doctors to Swear thereupon, that every Man ſhould faithfully do his Office and duty that day. And that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party nor the other, any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken or done, but according to the truth, as they would anſwer before God and all the world at the day of Doom. Then were the two foreſaid Notaries ſworn alſo to write and to witneſs the Proces that there ſhould be uttered on both parties, and to fay their minds (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould Regiſter it. And all this diſſimulation was but to colour their miſcheifs, before the ignorant multitude.

For a falſe colour ſwear they.

All done to deceive the ignorant.

Conſider herein (gentle Reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the juſt fear of God; for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

Lord Cobham cometh again before them.

After that, came out before them Sir *Robert Morley* Knight, and Lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good Lord *Cobham*, there leaving him among them as a Lamb among Wolves, to his examination and anſwer.

Another Examination of the Lord COBHAM.

Ex magna præſumptione Londinenſium.

THEN ſaid the Archbiſhop unto him, Lord *Cobham* ye be adviſed (I am ſure) of the words and Proceſs which we had unto you upon *Saturday* laſt paſt in the Chapter-houſe of *Pauls*; which Proceſs were now too long to be rehearſed again. I ſaid unto you then, That you were accuſed for your contumacy and diſobedience to the Holy Church, thinking that ye ſhould with meekneſs have defired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Malac. 2.

Then ſpake the Lord *Cobham* with a chearful countenance, and ſaid, God ſaid by his holy Prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris*, which is as much to ſay as, *I ſhall curſe where you bleſs*.

The Archbiſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, ſaying, Sir, At that time I gently profered to have afforded you if you would have asked it. And yet I do the ſame if ye will humbly defire it in due form and manner as holy Church hath ordained.

A Wolviſh offer of gentleneſs.

Then ſaid the Lord *Cobham*, Nay forſooth will I not, for I never yet trefpaſſed againſt you, and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards Heaven, and ſaid; I fhrieve me here unto thee my Eternal Living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee (O Lord) moſt grievouſly in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetouſneſs, and in lechery. Many Men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible ſins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he ſtood up again and ſaid with a mighty voice; Lo, good people, lo; For the breaking of Gods Law and his great commandments, they never yet curſed me: But for their own Laws and Traditions moſt cruelly do they handle both me and other Men. And therefore, both they and their Laws, by the promiſe of God ſhall utterly be deſtroyed.

L. *Cobham* confeſſeth himſelf unto God.

Mans Law before Gods Law preferred. Jer. 51.

At this the Archbiſhop and his company were not a little blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding, he took ſtomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuſe of their tyranny, and examined the Lord *Cobham* of his Chriſtian belief.

Whereunto the Lord *Cobham* made this godly anſwer. I believe (ſaith he) fully and faithfully in the univerſal Laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy facred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I ſhould believe. Then demanded the Archbiſhop an anſwer of that Bill which he and the Clergy had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in manner of a determination of the Church concerning the four Articles whereof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the Sacrament of the Altar, how he believed therein.

The true Chriſtian belief of the Lord *Cobham*.

Whereunto the Lord *Cobham* ſaid, That with that Bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief (he ſaid) concerning the Sacrament. That his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt Supper with his moſt dear Diſciples, the night before he ſhould ſuffer took bread in his hand; And giving thanks to his Eternal Father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gave it unto them, ſaying, *Take it unto you, and eat thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you: Do this hereafter in my remembrance.* This do I throughly believe (ſaith he) for this Faith am I taught in the Goſpel of *Matthew*, in *Mark*, and in *Luke*, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians Chap.* 11.

Matt. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11

Antichriſt allowed not this faith.

Then asked the Archbiſhop, If he believed that it were bread after the Conſecration or Sacramental words ſpoken over it.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid: I believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very body in form of bread, the ſame that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, done on the Croſs, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in Heaven.

Then ſaid one of the Doctors of the Law: after the Sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid then to one Maſter *John Whitehead*: You ſaid once unto me in the Caſtle of *Cowling*, that the faced Hoſt was not Chriſts body. But I held then againſt you, and proved that therein was his body though the Seculars and Friers could not therein agree, but held each one againſt the other in that opinion. Theſe were my words then, if ye remember it.

John Whitehead ſwerved from his opinions. All this would not help.

Then ſhouted a fort of them together and cryed with great noiſe: We ſay all, That it is Gods body.

A blaſphemous brood

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the Conſecration or not?

Quarel picked.

Then looked the Lord *Cobham* earneſtly upon the Archbiſhop, and ſaid; I believe ſurely that it is Chriſts body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, Yes, many do I.

Then asked him the Doctors, whether it were only Chriſts body after the Conſecration of a Prieſt, and no bread, or not?

The Sacrament of Chriſts body is both the body and bread.

And he ſaid unto them, It is both Chriſts body and bread; I ſhall prove it thus: For like as Chriſts dwelling

Neither will Scripture nor reason serve this opinion hath Augustine.

here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him: So in the Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body and bread also, as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not seen but in Faith.

Celsius contra Eutychen.

And moreover to prove, That it is both Christs body and also bread after the Consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own Doctors writing against *Eutyches*, which saith, *Like as the self same Sacraments do passe by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keep the property still of their former nature; so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ, &c.*

The Popes divinity.

Then smiled they each one upon another, that the people should judge him taken in a great Heresie. And with a great brag divers of them said: It is a foul Heresie.

Then asked the Archbishop what bread it was? And the Doctors also inquired of him whether it were material or not?

Material.

The Lord *Cobham* said unto them; The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my Faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christs body and bread. For Christ

John 6.

said in the sixth of *John's* Gospel, *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo descendi: I which came down from Heaven am the living and not the dead bread.* Therefore I say now again as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very Man, so in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body and bread.

An Heresie after the Papists making.

Then said they all with one voice; It is an Heresie.

One of the Bishops stood up by and by, and said, What? it is an Heresie manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken, but Christs body only.

1 Cor. 10

The Lord *Cobham* said, S. *Paul* the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the *Corinthians*, *The bread that we break*, saith he, *is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?* To he called it bread and not Christs body, but a mean whereby we receive Christs body.

The Sacrament is called bread.

Then said they again, *Paul* must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an Heresie to say that it is bread after the Consecration, but only Christs body.

The Lord *Cobham* asked, How they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of Holy Church.

The determination of the Church must stand, whatsoever *Paul* saith. A most Christian answer. The judgement of the Lord *Cobham* concerning the determination of the Church.

Then said the Archbishop unto him: Sir *John*, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed Sacrament, clearly determined by the Church of *Rome* our Mother, and by the holy Doctors.

Then he said again unto him, I know none holier than is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination, I wrote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the Churches, as ye say it is, it hath been hers only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith: If he believed not in the determination of the Church?

The Doctors confounded in their own question.

And he said unto them, No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our Creed, this word (*in*) is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, Three Persons and One God. The Birth, the Death, the Burial, the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, hath none (*in*) for belief, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the Sacraments, the forgivnes of sin, the later Resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other (*in*) than in the Holy Ghost.

Then said one of the Lawyers, Tush, that was but a word of Office: But what is your belief concerning Holy Church?

The L. Cobham believeth not in the Pope.

The Lord *Cobham* answered: My belief is (as I said afore) that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All this is grounded upon them I believe throughly. For I know it is Gods pleasure that I should so do. But in your lordly Laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christs holy Church, as your open deeds do shew: But ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy Law and Will. The Laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousnes.

KING Hen. 5.

An Heresie after the Papists.

This, they said, was an exceeding Heresie (and that in a great fame) not to believe the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy Church

Holy Church defined.

He said unto him, my belief is, That the Holy Church is the number of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this Church one part is in Heaven with Christ, another in Purgatory (you say) and the third is here in Earth. This later part standeth in three degrees, in Knighthood, Priesthood, and the Commonalty, as I said afore plainly in the confession of my belief.

Confessing him to be then in strong handling.

Then said the Archbishop unto him; Can you tell me who is of the Church?

The Lord *Cobham* answered; Yes, truly can I.

Then said Doctor *Walden* the Prior of the Carmelites; It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Christ faith in *Matthew*, *Nolite judicare, presume to judge no man.* If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or Brother, much more the judgment of your superior.

Walden one of Wicliffes disciples. cap. 67. How we may judge or not judge by the Scriptures.

The Lord *Cobham* made him this answer, Christ faith also in the self same Chapter of *Matthew*, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false Prophet by his works, appear they never so glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in *John* he hath this Text: *Operibus credite, Believe ye the outward doings.* And in another place of *John*: *Justum judicium judicate; when we know the thing to be true, we may so judge it and not offend.* For *David* said also; *Recte judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly always ye Children of Men.* And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek Ministers, and no proud Superiors.

Matt. 7. John 1. John 7. Deut. 16. Psal. 56.

Diversity of judgments.

Then said Doctor *Walden* unto him, Ye make here no difference of judgments: Ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So swift Judges always are the learned Scholars of *Wickliff*.

A perfect answer. Esay 5. Esay 55.

Unto whom the Lord *Cobham* thus answered: It is well sophistired of you forsooth. Prepositerous are your judgments evermore. For as the Prophet *Esay* saith, *Ye judge evil good and good evil:* and therefore the same Prophet concludeth, That your ways are not Gods ways, nor Gods ways your ways. And as for the vertuous Man *Wickliff*, whole judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here of my part, both before God and Man, that before I knew that despised Doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust been with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.

The Religion of Bishops.

Note I pray you how those are counted traitors and seditious, that teach or exalt Gods truth to be taught.

Wicklin is a perfect doctrine.

Then said Doctor *Walden* again yet unto him: It were not well with me (so many vertuous Men living, and so many learned Men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of Fathers so plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the Divel preach. S. *Hieromе* saith, *That he which seeketh such suspected masters shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day Divel.*

A great adversary.

Luke 23. John 19. Prophecy.

The Lord *Cobham* said, Your Fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the Divel. And you as their natural Children have still the self same judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be Heretikes, and that must your Doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it. Then said he to them all; to judge you as you be we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all Gods Law, that ye should thus sit in judgment of any Christian Man, or yet give sentence upon any other Man unto death, as ye do here daily? no ground have ye in all the Scripture to lordly to take it upon you, but in *Annas* and *Caiphas*, which fate thus upon Christ, and upon his Apostles after his Ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christs members as ye do, and neither of *Peter* nor *John*.

Hieron. in Breviar. in Matt. 24. Prophecy. Priests. Deacons. Mark this working of Satan. Acts 6. The first Article. Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

Then said some of the Lawyers: Yes, forsooth, Sir, for Christ judged *Judas*.

The Lord *Cobham* said, No, Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang

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hang himself: but indeed Christ said, Wo unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of Gods Law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The Lord *Cobham* said, Your possessions and Lordships, For then cryed an Angel in the Air (as your own Chronicles mention) *Wo, wo, wo, this day is venime shed into the Church of God.* Before that time all the Bishops of *Rome* were Martyrs in a manner. And since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all Men consider well this, That Christ was meek, and merciful; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant; Christ was poor and forgave, the Pope is rich and a malitious Man-slayer, as his daily acts do prove him. *Rome* is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all the Disciples of him. Of whom, Prelates, Priests, and Monks, are the body, these pil'd Friers are the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.

26 Bishops of Rome together Martyrs save only four. A compact set between the Martyrs and the Popes time. A compact set between Christ and the Pope. Rome is Antichrists nest.

Then said the Prior of the Friers *Augustines*, Alack, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.

And the Lord *Cobham* said, Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet *Esaias*, long afore my time. *The Prophet*, saith he, *which preacheth lies, is the tail behind.* For as you Friers and Monks be (like Pharisees) divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you with such other, are the very natural members of Antichrist.

Esay 9. Friers proved faithless, and yet found no traitors.

Matt. 23.

Then said he unto them all, Christ saith in his Gospel, *Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye close up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, neither enter ye in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own Traditions, and therefore are ye the houshold of Antichrist; ye will not permit Gods verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true Ministers, fearing to have your wickednes reproved.* But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then said the Archbishop, By our Lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my Diocese (and God will) nor yet in my jurisdiction (if I may know it) as either make division, or yet distribution among the poor Commons.

The Lord *Cobham* said, both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable Men. But *Daniel* and Christ Prophecyed, that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the worlds beginning. And this Prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings: for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ faith also, *If those days of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh be saved*; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the Sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on Gods Law, yet have these other Sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.

Matt. 24. Prophecy. Priests. Deacons.

Then a Doctor of Law, called Master *John Kemp*, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the Bill which they had afore sent him into the Tower by the Archpishops Council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them which disputed with *Stephen*) that they knew not well how to occupy the time, their wits and sophistry (as God would) so failed them that day.

My Lord *Cobham* (saith this Doctor) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the Bill. The Faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is this. That after the Sacramental words be once spoken of a Priest in his Mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body, and the material wine is turned into Christs blood. And so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the Sacramental words were spoken: Sir, believe you not this?

The Lord *Cobham* said, This is not my belief. But my Faith is (as I said to ye afore) That in the worthiful Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body in form of bread.

The Lord Cobhams belief in the Sacrament.

Then said the Archbishop, Sir *John*, ye must say otherwise.

The Lord *Cobham* said, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is) but that there is Christs body in form of bread, as the common belief is.

Then read the Doctor again.

The second Article.

The second point is this; Holy Church hath determined, that every Christian Man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a Priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?

The Lord *Cobham* answered and said, A diseased or sore wounded Man hath need to have a sure wise Chirurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Much necessary were it therefore to be first shriven unto God, which only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a Priest, if he be a Man of good life and learning; for the Laws of God are to be required of the Priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an Idiot, or a Man of vicious living that is my Curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodnes towards my souls health.

Confession of sins to God only. Mal. 2.

Then read the Doctor again.

The third Article.

The third point is this; Christ ordained S. *Peter* the Apostle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whole See is the Church of *Rome*. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto *Peter* should succeed unto all *Peter's* successors, which we call now Popes of *Rome*. By whose special power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates and Archbishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of holy Church. Sir, believe ye not this?

Who is next unto Peter.

To this he answered and said, He that followeth *Peter* most nigheth in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor *Peter* whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of S. *Silvester*, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of *Peter*.

Succession, not of place but of condition, manneth Peters heir.

With that, one of the other Doctors asked him; Then what do ye say of the Pope?

Antichrists head, body and tail.

The Lord *Cobham* answered, As I said before, so I say again; That he and you together make whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you Bishops, Priests, Prelates, and Monks, are the body, and the begging Friers are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtil Sophistry: neither will I in confidence obey any of you all, till I see you with *Peter* follow Christ in Conversation.

Then read the Doctor again.

The fourth Article. Pilgrimage.

The fourth point is this; Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Christian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approved by the Church of *Rome*. Sir, what say you to this?

What is to done with images

Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousnes. It were best ye swept them fare from Cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of feathe, or els to bury them fare in the ground as ye do other aged people which are Gods images.

Saints are become now covetous beggers.

It is a wonderful thing, that Saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetousnes and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your Shrines and Idols, your fained Absolutions and Pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth and chief pleasures of all Christian Realm.

A whelp of the Scots Heire.

Why Sir (said one of the Clerks) will ye not worship good Images?

Images not to be worshipped.

What worship should I give unto them? said the Lord *Cobham*.

Then said Frier *Palmer* unto him, Sir, will ye worship the Crosse of Christ, that he died upon?

Where is it, faid the Lord *Cobham*?

The Frier faid, I put you the cafe, Sir, that it were here even now before you.

The Crosse whether it is to be worshipped. Galat. 6.

The Lord *Cobham* answered, This is a great wise Man, to put me an easseft queftion of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing it self is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it.

A Clerk faid unto him, Such worship as *Paul* speaketh of, and that is this; *God forbid that I should joy, but only in the Crosse of Jesus Christ.*

Then faid the L. *Cobham*, and spread his arms abroad; This is the very Crosse, yea, and so much better than your Crosse of Wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.

The materiall Crosse is not materiall to our Faith.

Then faid the Bishop of *London*, Sir, Ye wot well that he died on a material Crosse.

What it is to rejoyce in the Crosse of Christ.

The Lord *Cobham* faid, Yea, and I wot alſo, that our ſalvation came not in by that material Croſs, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wot, That Holy Saint *Paul* rejoyced in none other Croſs, but in Chriſts Paſſion and Death only, and in his own ſufferings of like perſecution with him, for the ſelf ſame verity that he hath ſuffered for afore?

Another Clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the Holy Croſs?

He anſwered him, Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honeſtly, and ſee unto him that he ſhould take no more ſcath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.

Slandered with the truth. Theſe men ſeem to ſtand only upon their eſtimation amongſt the people.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop unto him, Sir *John*, Ye have ſpoken here many wonderfull words to the ſlanderous rebuke of the whole Spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common ſort here, to have us in the more diſdain. Much time have we ſpent here about you, and all in vain ſo far as I can ſee. Well we muſt now be at this ſhort point with you, for the day paſſeth away: ye muſt either ſubmit your ſelf to the Ordinance of Holy Church, or elſe throw your ſelf (no remedy) into moſt deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be elſe too late.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould otherwiſe ſubmit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

A Wolviſh offer of gentleneſſe.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop again unto him, We once again require you to remember your ſelf well, and to have none other manner of opinion in theſe maters, than the univerſall Faith and belief of the Holy Church of *Rome* is. And ſo like an obedient Child return again to the unity of your Mother. See to it I ſay in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid expreſſly before them all; I will none otherwiſe believe in theſe points than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what you will.

Bloody murtherers.

Finally, then the Archbiſhop ſaid; Well, then I ſee none other but that we muſt needs do the law; we muſt proceed forth to the ſentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an Heretick.

And with that the Archbiſhop ſtood and read there a Bill of his Condemnation, all the Clergy and Laity vailing their Bonets. And this was the tenor thereof.

¶ *The Definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.*

Suffered of God as a plague.

An heretick for confeſſing of Chriſt.

IN *the name of God; So be it, We* Thomas *by the ſufferance of God, Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of all* England, *and Legate from the Apoſtolick See of* Rome, *will this to be known unto all Men. In a certain cauſe of Hereſie and upon divers Articles, whereupon Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *after a diligent inquiſition made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed and preſented before us in our laſt Convocation of all our Province of* Canterbury, *holden in the Cathedral Church of* Paul's *at* London, *at the lawful denouncement and requeſt of our univerſal Clergy of the ſaid Convocation, we proceeded againſt him according to the Law (God to witneſs) with all the favour poſſible. And following Chriſts example in all that we might,* which willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he might be converted and live; *we took upon us to correct him, and ſought all other ways poſſible to bring him again to the Churches unity, declaring unto him what the Holy and univerſall Church of* Rome *hath ſaid, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we found him in the Catholick Faith far wide, and ſo ſtiff-necked, that he would not confeſs his error, nor purge himſelf, nor yet repent him thereof; We yet pitying him of Fatherly compaſſion, and entirely deſiring the health of his ſoul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to ſee if he would repent and ſeek to be reformed: but ſince that time we have found him worſe and worſe. Conſidering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the Law, and with great heavineſs of heart we now proceed to the publication of the Sentence definitive, againſt him.*

¶ Then brought he forth another Bill, containing the ſaid Sentence, and that he read alſo in his beggerly Latine. *Chriſti nomine invocato, ipſumque ſolum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inaſtitata,* and ſo forth. Which I have alſo tranſlated into Engliſh that Men may underſtand it.

Ex magna præſumptione Thomæ Arundel.

¶ *Chriſt we take unto witneſs, that nothing elſe we ſeek in this our whole enterpriſe, but his only glory. Foraſmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by ſundry evidences, ſigns and tokens, and alſo by many moſt manifeſt proofs, the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *not only to be an evident Heretick in his own perſon, but alſo a myſty maintainer of other Hereticks againſt the Faith and Religion of the holy and univerſal Church of* Rome; *namely about the two Sacraments (of the Altar, and of penance) beſides the Popes power and Pilgrimages; And that he, as the Child of iniquity and darkneſs, hath ſo hardened his heart, that he will in no caſe attend unto the voice of his Paſtor; Neither will he be allured by ſtraight admoniſhments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: The worthineſs of the cauſe firſt weighed on the one ſide, and his unworthineſs again conſidered on the other ſide, his faults alſo aggravated or made double through his damnable obſtinacy (we being loth that he which is naught ſhould be worſe, and ſo with his contagiouſneſs infect the multitude) by the ſage counſel and aſſent of the very diſcreet Fathers, our honourable Brethren and Lords, Biſhops here preſent,* Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, *and of other great learned and wiſe Men here, both Doctors of Divinity, and of the Laws Canon and Civil, Seculars and Religious, with divers other expert Men aſſiſting us: we ſententially and definitively by this preſent writing judge, declare and condemn the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *for a moſt pernicious deteſtable Heretick, convicted upon the ſame, and refuſing utterly to obey the Church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned Heretick, to the ſecular juriſdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore we Excommunicate and denounce Accuſed, not only this Heretick here preſent, but ſo many elſe beſides, as ſhall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counſel him or help him, or any other way maintain him; as very favors, receivers, defenders counſellers, aiders and maintainers of condemned Hereticks.*

A colour of deceit.

As Caiphas did Chriſt.

Chriſt is condemned by his falſhful members.

How ſpirituall thiefs Fathers are!

And that theſe Premiſes may be the better known of all faithful Chriſtian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you ſtraight commandment thereupon by this writting alſo, That ye cauſe this condemnation and definitive ſentence of Excommunication concerning both this Heretick and his Fautors, to be publiſhed throughout all Diocelſes, in Cities, Towns and Villages, by your Curates and Pariſh-Priests, at ſuch times as they ſhall have moſt recourſe of people. And ſee that it be done after this ſort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the Curate every where go into the Pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this ſucceſs in the Matter

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Mother-Tongue, in an audible and intelligible Voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of the Declaration alſo the people may fall from their evil Opinions conceived now of late by Seditious preachers. Moreover we Will, That after we have delivered unto each one of you Biſhops, which are here preſent, a Copy hereof; that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out again into divers Copies, and to be ſent unto the other Biſhops and Prelates, of our whole Province, that they may alſo ſee the Contents thereof ſolemnly publiſhed within their Dioceſſes and Cures. Finally, We will that both you and they ſignify again unto us ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour, in every point performed; the day whereon ye received this Proceſs, the time when it was of us Executed, and after what ſort it was done in every condition, according to the Tenor hereof, that we may know it to be juſtly the ſame.

Keep the Sepulchre newe ſo much as Chriſt will riſe.

Shoot offices left undone pertaining to Antichriſt. What care is here to hold up their Popery.

The Wolf would appear chriſtian-like.

See if they ſhew not themſelves.

Tho. Walden. in faſciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

A Copy of this writing ſent *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* afterward from *Maidſtone* the tenth day of *October*, within the ſame year of our Lord, 1413. unto *Richard Clifford* the Biſhop of *London*, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permiſſione divina*, &c.

Richard Clifford.

The ſaid *Richard Clifford* ſent another Copy thereof incloſed within his own Letters, unto *Robert Maſcal* a *Carmelite* Frier, which was then Biſhop of *Hereford* in *Wales*, written from *Haddam*, the 23. of *October* in the ſame year, the beginning whereof is as followeth: *Reverende in Chriſto Pater*, &c.

Robert Maſcall.

This *Robert Maſcal* directed another Copy thereof from *London*, the ſeven and twentieth day of *November* in the ſame year, incloſed in his own Commiſſion alſo, unto his Archdeacon and Deans in *Hereford* and *Shrewſbury*. And this is thereof the beginning. *Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris*, &c. In like manner did the other Biſhops within their Dioceſs.

That Church is a whore.

A worſhipp beareth the voice of a true paſtor.

Ex magnæ præſumptionis.

After that the Archbiſhop had thus read the Bill of his Condemnation, with moſt extremity before the whole multitude; the Lord *Cobham* ſaid with a moſt cheerful countenance, Though ye judge my Body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and ſure, that ye can do no harm to my Soul, no more than could Satan unto the Soul of *Job*. He that Created that, will of his infinite Mercy and Pitty ſave it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning theſe Articles before-rehearſed I will ſtand to them even to the very death, by the Grace of my Eternal God.

Mat. 10. Job. 1.

And therewith he turned him unto the people, caſting his hands abroad, and ſaying with a very loud voice, Good Chriſtian people, for Gods Love be well ware of theſe men, for they will elſe beguile you, and lead you blinfold into Hell with themſelves. For Chriſt ſaith plainly unto you, *If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.*

Mat. 10.

He prayeth for his Enemies.

After this, he fell down there upon his Knees, and thus before them all prayed for his Enemies, holding both his hands and his eyes towards Heaven, and ſaying, Lord God Eternal, I beſeech thee of thy great mercy take to forgive my purſuers, if it be thy bleſſed will. And then he was delivered to Sir *Robert Morley*, and ſo led forth again into the Tower of *London*; and thus there was an end of that days work.

Ex vetuſta exemplari Londinenſium.

While the Lord *Cobham* was thus in the Tower, he ſent out privily unto his Friends: And they at his requeſt wrote this little Bill here following: cauſing it to be ſet up in divers quarters of *London*, that the people ſhould not believe the ſlanders and lies that his Enemies the Biſhop's ſervants and Priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the Letter:

A teſtimonial made by his friends.

FOraſmuch as Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Knight, and Lord *Cobham*, is untruly Convicted and Impriſoned, falſly reported and ſlandered among the common people by his Adverſaries, that he ſhould both otherwiſe think and ſpeak of the Sacraments of the Church, and ſpecially of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, than was written in the Confeſſion of his belief; which was intended and taken to the Clergy, and ſo ſet up in divers open places of the City of *London*: Known be it here to all the World, that he (never ſince) varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief, That all the Sacraments of the Church be profitable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall be ſaved, taking them after the intent that Chriſt and his true Church hath Ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is verily and truly Chriſts Body in form of Bread.

To ſtop by-ing ups. A rehearſall of his belief.

In form of Bread, but not without Bread be meaneth.

The Clergy in hate of the people.

A cradice of falſe Prieſts.

Theſe are common ſcates.

After this, the Biſhops and Prieſts were in great diſcredit both with the Nobility and Commons; partly for that they had ſo cruelly handled the good Lord *Cobham*; and partly again, becauſe his Opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the Sacrament. The Prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the laſt conſented to uſe another practice ſomewhat contrary to that they had done before. They cauſed it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed ſervants, friends, and babling Sir *John's*, that the ſaid Lord *Cobham* was become a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted himſelf in all things unto holy Church, utterly changing his Opinion concerning the Sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an Abjuration in his name, that the people ſhould take no hold of his Opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and ſo to ſtand the more in awe of them, confidering him ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

This is the Abjuration, ſay they, of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Knight, ſometime the Lord *Cobham*.

An Abjuration counterfeited of the Biſhops.

Wolden. lib. Perſecutor. Clericorum Wiclevi.

IN *Dei nomine, Amen.* I *John Oldcaſtle* denounced, detected and convicted of and upon divers Articles favouring both of Hereſie and Error, before the reverend Father in Chriſt and my good Lord, *Thomas* by the permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and my lawful and rightful Judge in that behalf, expreſſly grant and confeſs, that as concerning the eſtate and power of the moſt holy Father the Pope of *Rome*, of his Archbiſhops, his Biſhops, and his other Prelates, the degrees of the Church, and the holy Sacraments of the ſame, ſpecially of the Sacraments of the Altar, of Penance, and other obſervances beſides of our Mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and Pardons; I affirm (I ſay) before the ſaid reverend Father Archbiſhop and elſewhere that I being evilly ſeduced by diverſ ſeditious preachers, have grievouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly anſwered, and obſtinately rebelled; and therefore I am by the ſaid reverend Father, before the reverened Fathers in Chriſt alſo, the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, and *Bangor*, lawfully condemned for an Heretick.

Mark from hence thiſe grace, cometh.

Fine worde munthed trow.

Neverthelefs, yet I now remembring my ſelf and covening by this mean to avoid that Temporal pain which I am worthy to ſuffer as an Heretick, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent Chriſtian Prince and Liege Lord, King *Henry* the fifth, now by the Grace of God moſt worthy King both of *England* and of *France*; minding alſo to prefer the wholſom Determination Sentence, and Doctrine of the holy univerſal Church of *Rome*, before the unwholſom Opinions of my ſelf, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and throughly confeſs, grant, and affirm, That the moſt holy Fathers in Chriſt, St. *Peter* the Apoſtle, and his Succeſſors Biſhops of *Rome*, ſpecially now at this time, my moſt bleſſed Father Pope *John*, by the permiſſion of God, the three and twentieth Pope of that name, which now holdeth *Peter's* ſeat (and each of them in their ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſts Vicar in Earth, and the Head of the Church Militant. And that by the ſtrength of his office (what though he be a great ſinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, ſave and deſtroy, accuſe and abſoil all other Chriſtian men.

Alas good man thou art dereed.

And agreeably ſtill unto this I confeſs, grant, and affirm all other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates in their Provinces, Dioceſs, and Pariſhes (appointed by the ſaid Pope of *Rome* to aſſiſt him in his doings or buſineſs) by his Decrees, Canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times paſt, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, accuſe and abſoil the ſubjects

How prove ye that by the Scriptures?

or people of their foresaid Provinces, Dioceſs, and Parishes, and that their said ſubjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confeſs, grant, and affirm, that the ſaid Spiritual Fathers, as our moſt holy Father the Pope, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the ſtate, order and governance of their ſubjects or people, to make Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitutions, yea, and to publiſh, command, and compel their ſaid ſubjects and people to the obſervation of them.

No Scripture have they to ſhew.

Moreover, I confeſs, grant, and affirm, that all theſe foreſaid Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitutions, made, publiſhed, and commanded, according to the form or ſpiritual Law, all Chriſtian people, and every man in himſelf is ſtraightly bound to obſerve, and meekly to obey, according to the diverſity of the foreſaid Powers, as the Laws, Statutes, Canons and Conſtitutions of our moſt holy Father the Pope, Incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reſcripts, Sextiles, and Extravagants over all the World; and as the Provincial Statutes of Archbiſhops in their Provinces, the Synodal acts of Biſhops in their Dioceſs, and the commendable Rules and Cuſtoms of Prelates in their Colleges, and Curates in their Parishes, all Chriſtian people are both bound to obſerve, and alſo moſt meekly to obey. Over and beſides all this, I *John Oldcaſtle* utterly forſaking and renouncing all the foreſaid Errors and Hereſies, and all other Errors and Hereſies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this Book or holy Evangely of God, and Swear, that I ſhall never more from henceforth hold theſe aforeſaid Hereſies, nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither ſhall I give counſel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that ſhall hold, teach, affirm and maintain the ſame, as God ſhall help me, and theſe holy Evangeliſts.

Intolerable yokes lay they.

Never made he ſuch an Oath. And this maintain they ſtill. The Popes holy Bible of Papiſts.

Mark this handling.

And that I ſhall from henceforth Faithfully obey and inviolably obſerve all the holy Laws, Statutes, Canons, and Conſtitutions, of all the Popes of *Rome*, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reſcripts, Sextiles, Sums, Papal Extravagants, Statutes Provincial, Acts Synodal, and other ordinary Regulies and Cuſtoms conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe and all ſuch other will I my ſelf with all power poſſible apply. Beſides all this, the Penance which it ſhall pleaſe my faid reverend Father the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hereafter to enjoyn me for my ſins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, and all other beſides, whom I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of Hereſie or Errors, I ſhall effectually preſent, ſend or cauſe to be preſented unto my ſaid reverend Father Lord Archbiſhop, or to them which have his Authority, ſo ſoon as I can conveniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected to my uttermoſt power.

This charge give they commonly.

¶ This Abjuration never came to the hands of the Lord *Cobham*, neither was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After the which like fetch and ſubtil practice was alſo deviſed the recantation of the Archbiſhop *Thomas Cranmer*, to ſtop for a time, the peoples mouths. Which ſubtilty in like manner was alſo practiſed, with the falſe recantation of the Biſhop *Hooper*, and divers other, as in their places hereafter (Chriſt granting) ſhall be ſhewed.

For confirmation of this hiſtory.

And thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham*, with all the circumſtances of the true time, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame, wherein I truſt I have ſufficiently ſatisfied all the parts, requiſite to a faithful Hiſtory, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind alſo of the wrangling caviller may be ſatisfied, and to ſtop the mouth of the Adverſary (which I ſee in all places to be ready to bark) I have therefore of purpoſe annexed with all my ground and foundation, taken out of the Archives and Regiſters of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ex Epiſtola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond.* Whereby may appear the manifeſt error both of *Polydorus*, and of *Edward Hall*, who, being deceived in the right diſtinction of the times, aſſign this Citation and Examination of the Lord *Cobham* to be after the Council of *Conſtance*, when as *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at the Council of *Conſtance* was not alive. The Copy and Teſtimony of his own Letter ſhall declare the ſame, being written and ſent to the Biſhop of *London* in form as followeth:

Ex archivis & regiſt. Thom. Arun. Archi. Cant. Polydor. Edward Hall deceived.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The Copy of the Epiſtle of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, written to the Biſhop of *London*, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this foreſaid Hiſtory of the Lord *Cobham* above premiſed.

To the Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Robert, *by the grace of God Biſhop of* Hereford, Richard *by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *health and continual increaſe of ſincere love: We have of late received the Letters of the reverend Father in Chriſt, and Lord, the Lord* Thomas *by the grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to this effect:* Thomas *by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop of* Cantebury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to our reverend Brother the Lord* Richard *Biſhop of* London, *health and Brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us in the Convocation of Prelates and Clergy of our Province of* Canterbury *laſt Celebrate in our Church of St.* Paul, *intreating amongſt other things with the ſaid Prelates and Clergy upon the Union and Reformation of the Church of* England, *by us and the ſaid Prelates and Clergy; that it was almoſt impoſſible to amend the hole of our Lords Coat which was without ſeam, unleſs firſt of all certain Nobles of the Realm, which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of theſe Hereticks called* Lollards, *were ſharply rebuked, and if need were by the cenſures of the Church and the help of the Secular Power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterward having made diligent inquiſition in the Convocation amongſt the Proctors of the Clergy and others which were there in number out of every Dioceſs of our Province; it was found out amongſt others, that Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Knight, was and is the principal receivers, favourer, protector, and defender of them, and that ſpecially in the Dioceſs of* London, Rochester *and* Hereford, *he had ſent the ſaid* Lollards *to preach, not being licenſed by the Ordinaries and Biſhops of the Dioceſs or places, contrary to the Provincial Conſtitutions in that behalf made, and hath been preſent at their wicked Sermons, grievouſly puniſhing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the Secular Sword, ſuch as did withſtand him: alledging and affirming amongſt others, that we and our fellow Brethren, Suffragans of our Provinces, had not neither have any power to make any ſuch Conſtitutions: Alſo he hath holden and doth hold Opinion, and teach as touching the Sacraments of the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of Saints, and of the Keys, contrary to that which the univerſal Church of* Rome *doth teach and affirm.*

A thing thought right neceſſary that the Lord Cobham ſhould be made out of the way, or elſe not poſſible for Papiſtry to flourish.

Wherefore, on the behalf of the ſaid Prelates and Clergy, we were then required that we would vouchſafe to proceed againſt the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle *upon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding for the reverence of our Lord the King, in whoſe favour the ſaid Sir* John *at that preſent was, and no leſs alſo for honour of his Knighthood: we with our fellow Brethren, and Suffragans then preſent, with a great part of the Clergy of our Province, coming perſonally before the preſence of our Lord the King, being then at his Manour of* Kenington, *put up againſt the ſaid Sir* John *a complaint, partly reciting the faults of the ſaid Sir* John, *but at the requeſt of our Lord the King, we deſiring to reduce the ſaid Sir* John *to Unity of the Church, without any reproach, we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great time. But at the laſt, foraſmuch as our ſaid Lord the King, and his great travels taken about the converſion of him, did nothing at all proffit, as our ſaid Lord the King vouchſafed to certify us by word and writing; we immediately decreed to call forth the ſaid Sir* John *perſonally to anſwer before us at a certain time already paſſed, in and upon the Premiſſes, and ſent our Meſſengers with theſe our Letters of Citation to the ſaid Sir* John, *then being at his Caſtle at* Cowling. *Unto the which Meſſenger we gave commandment, that he ſhould in no caſe*

Sir John Oldcaſtle in favour with the King.

{KING Hen. 5.}

go into the Caſtle, except he were Licenſed. But by the mean of one John Butler, *Porter to the Kings Chamber, he ſhould require the ſaid Sir* John, *that he would either Licenſe the ſaid Meſſenger to come into the Caſtle, or that he would cite him, or at the leaſt, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be cited without his Caſtle. The which Sir* John *openly anſwered unto the ſaid* John Butler, *declaring the Premiſſes unto him on the behalf of our Lord the King; that he would by no means be Cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his Citation. Then we being certified of the Premiſſes, lawfully proceeded further.*

Firſt, Having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by perſonal Citation, we Decreed to Cite him by an Edict, to be openly ſet up in the Porches of the Cathedral Church of Rochester *next unto him, little more than three* Engliſh *Miles diſtant from the ſaid Caſtle of* Cowling. *As we had thus cauſed him to be Cited, and our Edict aforeſaid to be publickly and openly ſet upon the Porches of the ſaid Church, that he ſhould perſonally appear before us the eleventh day of* September *laſt paſt, to anſwer unto the Premiſſes, and certain other things concerning Hereſie: The which day being come, and we ſitting in the Tribunal Seat in our great Chappel within the Caſtle of* Leeds *of our Dioceſs, the which we then inhabited, and whereas we then kept reſidence with our Court, and having taken an Oath, which is requiſite in the Premiſſes, and the Information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts whereas the ſaid Sir* John *dwelleth (fortifying himſelf in his ſaid Caſtle) defending his Opinions manifoldly, contemning the Keys of the Church and the Archbiſhops power; we therfore cauſed the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Cited as is aforeſaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the Crier; and ſo being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him as he was no leſs worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhing of his ſaid obſtinacy we did then and there Excommunicate him. And foraſmuch as by the order of the Premiſſes, and other evident tokens of his doings, we underſtand that the ſaid Sir* John *for the defence of his errors doth fortify himſelf (as is aforeſaid) againſt the Keys of the Church, by pretence whereof a vehement ſuſpition of Hereſie and Schiſm reſteth againſt him; We have Decreed, if he may be apprehended, again perſonally to Cite him, or elſe, as before, by an Edict, that he ſhould appear before us the Saturday next after the Feaſt of St.* Matthew *the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt next coming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe, if he can, why he ſhould not proceed againſt him, to a more grievous puniſhment, as an open Heretick, Schiſmatick, and open Enemy of the univerſal Church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch an one, or that the aid of the Secular Power ſhould not be ſolemnly required againſt him. And further to anſwer, do, and receive as touching the Premiſſes, whatſoever Juſtice ſhall require. The which time being come, that is to ſay, the Saturday next after the Feaſt of St.* Matthew, *being the twenty fourth day of* September, *Sir* Robert Morley *Knight, Lieutenant of the* Tower of London, *appeared perſonally before us, ſitting in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of St.* Paul at London, *with reverend fellow-brethren and Lords,* Richard *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* London, *and* Henry *Biſhop of* Winchester, *and brought with him Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, and ſet him before us (for a little before he was taken by the Kings ſervants, and caſt into the* Tower:) *unto which Sir* John Oldcaſtle *ſo perſonally preſent we rehearſed all the order of the Proceſs, as it is contained in the Acts of the day before paſſed, with good and modeſt words and gentle means; that is to ſay, how he the ſaid Sir* John *was detected and accuſed in the Conſecration of the Prelates and Clergy of our ſaid Province, as is aforeſaid, upon the Articles before-recited, and how he was Cited, and for his contumacy Excommunicate. And when we were come to that point we offered our ſelves ready to Abſolve him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Sir* John *not regarding our offer, ſaid, That he would willingly rehearſe before us, and my ſaid fellow Brethren, the Faith which he held and affirmed. So he having his deſire, and obtaining licenſe, took out of his Boſom a certain Schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the ſame, and delivered the ſame Schedule unto us, and the Schedule of the Articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:*

The Lord Cobham caſt into the Tower.

The tears of the Crocodile.

Popiſh Abſolution neglected.

The Catholick Faith and Confeſſion of the Lord Cobham.

I John Oldcaſtle, Knight, Lord of *Cobham*, deſire to make manifeſt unto all Chriſtians, and God to be taken to witneſs, that I never thought otherwiſe, or would think otherwiſe (by Gods help) than with a ſtedfaſt and undoubted Faith to embrace all thoſe his Sacraments which he had Inſtituted for the uſe of his Church.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in theſe 4 points of my Faith; firſt of all I believe the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Chriſt under the form of Bread, the very ſame Body which was born of his Mother *Mary*, Crucified for us, dead and buried, roſe again the third day, ſitteth on the right hand of his Immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his Eternal Glory. Then as touching the Sacrament of Penance, this is my belief, that I do think the correction of a ſinful life to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaved, and that they ought to take upon them ſuch Repentance of their former life, by true confeſſion, unfeigned contrition, and lawful ſatisfaction as the Word of God doth preſcribe unto us; otherwiſe there will be no hope of Salvation.

Of Penance.

Of Images.

Thirdly, As touching Images, this is my Opinion, That I do judge them no point of Faith, but brought into the World after the Faith of Chriſt by the ſufferance of the Church, and ſo grown in uſe, that they might ſerve for a Kalender for the Lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly Examples and Martyrdom of Chriſt and other holy men: But if any man do otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentation, and give the reverence unto thoſe Images, which is due unto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themſelves owe all their honour, ſetting all their truſt and hope in them which ought to be refered unto God: or if they be ſo affected toward the dumb Images, that they be in any behalf addict unto them, either be more addicted unto one Saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from Idolatry, grievouſly offending againſt God the Author of all honour.

The Keys of the Church fully ſtouted.

Laſt of all I am thus perſwaded, That there be no inhabitants here in Earth, but that we ſhall paſs ſtraight either to life or puniſhment: for whoſoever doth ſo order his life that he ſtumbleth at the Commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for Salvation, although he run over all the corners of the World. Contrariwiſe, he which obſerveth his Commandments cannot periſh, although in all his life time he walked no Pilgrimage, neither to *Rome*, *Canterbury*, nor *Compoſtella*, or to any other place, whither the common people are accuſtomed to walk.

Of Pilgrimages.

This Schedule, with the Articles therein contained, being read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſaid Sir *John*, we with our fellow Brethren aforeſaid; and many other Doctors and learned men had conference upon the ſame, and at the laſt by the counſel and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe words following unto the ſaid Sir *John* there preſent: Behold Sir *John*, there are many good and Catholick things contained in this Schedule; But you have at this time to anſwer unto other matters which favour of Errors and Hereſies: Whereunto (by the conſent of this Schedule) it is not fully anſwered, and therefore you muſt anſwer thereunto, and more plainly expreſs and declare your Faith and Opinions as touching thoſe points in the ſame Bill; that is to ſay, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration right-ly done, there remaineth material Bread or not.

See whether theſe men pick quarrels where they need not.

Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is neceſſary in the Sacrament of Penance for a man to confeſs his ſins unto a Prieſt appointed by the Church.

The which Articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongſt many other things he anſwered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or anſwer thereunto than was contained in the ſaid Schedule. Whereupon we favouring the ſaid Sir *John*, with benign and gentle means we ſpake unto him in this manner: Sir *John* take heed,

for if you do not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawful time now granted you by the Judges, we may declare you to be an Heretick: but the said Sir *John* perfevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow Brethren, and others of our Counsel, took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said Sir *John Oldcastle*, what the said holy Church of *Rome* in this matter, (following the saying of blessed St. *Augustine*, *Hievom*, *Ambrose*, and other holy men) hath determined, the which determinations every Catholick ought to observe. Whereupon the said Sir *John* answered, That he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy Church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm, that our Lord the Pope, the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops or other Prelates of the Church, have any power to determin any such matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, under hope of better advisement promised the said Sir *John*, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in *Latin*, and for his better understanding translated into *English*: whereupon we commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plain and full answer: the which determination we caused to be translated the same day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner:

Here is no mention made of the Word of God.

Wolves cloathed in sheeps skins.

The sum of the Popish belief.

The Faith and Determination of the holy Church upon the holy Sacrament of the Altar is this: That after the Consecration done in the Mass by the Priest, the material Bread shall be changed into the material Body of Christ; and the material Wine into the material Blood of Christ; therefore after the Consecration there remaineth no more any substance of Bread and Wine, which was there before. What do you answer to this Article?

Confession.

And the holy Mother-Church hath determined, that every Christian dwelling upon Earth ought to confess his sins unto a Priest Ordained by the Church if he may come unto him. How think you by this Article?

The Popes Supremacy.

Christ Ordained St. *Peter* his Vicar on Earth, whose Seat is in the Church of *Rome*, giving and granting the same Authority, which he gave unto *Peter*, also to his successors, which are now called Popes of *Rome*, in whose power it is to Ordain and Institute Prelates in particular Churches, as Archbishops, Bishops, Curates, and other Ecclesiastical Orders, unto whom the Christian people owe obedience, according to the Tradition of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of the holy Church: What think you by this Article?

Pilgrimage.

Besides this the holy Church hath determined, That it is necessary for every Christian to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy Reliefs of the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all Saints whomsoever the Church of *Rome* hath allowed: What think you of this Article?

Upon which Monday being the five and twentieth day of the said Month of *September*, before us and our fellow Brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend Brother *Benedict*, by the Grace of God, Bishop of *Bangor*, and by our Commandment our Counsellers and Ministers M. *Hen. Ware* Official of our Court of *Canterbury*, *Philip Morgan* Doctor of both Laws, *Henel Kiffin* Doctor of the Decrees, *John Kempe* and *William Carlton* Doctors of Law, *John Witnam*, *Thomas Palmer*, *Robert Wombwell*, *John Withe*, and *Robert Chamberlain*, *Richard Dittington*, and *Tho. Walden*, professors of Divinity; also *James Cole*, and *John Stevens* our Notaries appointed on this behalf: They all and every one being Sworn upon the Holy Gospel of God, laying their hands upon the Book, that they should give their Faithful Counsel in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole World: By and by appeared Sir *Robert Morley* Knight, Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, and brought with him the foresaid Sir *John Oldcastle*, setting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the Acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was Excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the Church. Unto whom the said Sir *John* then and there plainly answered, That in this behalf he would require no Absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the Articles which were laid against him. And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar. To the which Article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ being here on Earth had in him both Godhead and Manhood; notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very Body and very Bread, Bread which we do see, the Body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the Faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the *Romish* Church and holy Doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said Schedule, was the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures, after the Church was endowed, and after that Poyson was poured into the Church, and not afore. Also, as touching the Sacrament of Penance and Confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any Man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet Priest to take counsel of him: But that he should confess his sin to any proper Priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to Salvation, forasmuch as by only contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged. As concerning the worshipping of the Cross, he said and affirmed, that the only Body of Christ which did hang upon the Cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that Body alone was and is the Cross, which is to be worshipped.

{KING 1 Hen. 5.}

The Sacrament hath Body and Bread in divers re-spects.

How confession is to be allowed.

They call light darkness and darkness light.

What honour is to be done to the Cross.

He likes well to like.

So did the Pharisees deliver Christ unto Pilate.

The Pope is Antichrist, the Bishops are blasphemers, and the Priests his tail.

The bold talk of the Lord Cobham.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the Image of the Cross, He answered by express words, That he would only do it that honour that he would make it clean and lay it up safe. As touching the Power and Authority of the Keys, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, he said, That the Pope is very Antichrist, that is, the head; that the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates be his members, and that the Friers be his tail. The which Pope, Archbishops, and Bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of *Peter*, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of *Peter* which is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said Sir *John*, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These Men, which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto Hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said Sir *John*, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the Church, to believe and hold that which the Church of *Rome* doth believe and hold. Who expressly answered, That he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at the last with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive Sentence in this manner:

Consentiunt in nomen adorandum Dominum & Christum ejus. Psal. 2.

¶ In the Name of God, Amen. *We* Thomas *by the permission of God, Archbishop and humble Minister of the holy Church of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolick See, in a certain cause or matter of Heresie upon certain Articles, whereupon Sir* John Oldcastle *Knight, Lord* Cobham, *before us in the last Convocation of our Clergy of our Province of* Canterbury, *holden in the Church of St.* Paul *in* London, *after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said Province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole Clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said Convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness) lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, we have endeavoured by all ways and means we might or could to reform him,*

They call themselves Catholick which rule over Kings, and exalt the Pope above all the World.

Following Christs footsteps clean contrary.

{KING 1 Hen. 5.}

The universal Church, meaneth by a figure the part for the whole.

him, and rather reduce him to the Unity of the Church, declaring unto him what the holy universal Church of Rome *doth teach, hold, and determin in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandring astray from the Catholick Faith, and so stubborn and stiff-necked, that he would not confess his Error, or clear himself thereof, to detest the same; notwithstanding we favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself; and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forsomuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the Law are required in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the Definitive Sentence in this wise.*

The Name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes. Forasmuch as by act enacted, signs exhibited, evidences and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said Sir John *to be and have been an Heretick, and a follower of Hereticks in the Faith, and observation of the Sacred universel Church of* Rome, *and specially as touching the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Penance, and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of the Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said Sir* John, *his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy; Not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion, by the counsel and consent of the reverend Men of profound wisdom and discretion, our Brethren the Lords* Richard *Bishop of* London, Henry *Bishop of* Winchester, *and* Benedict *Bishop* of Bangor, *and also of many other Doctors of Divinity, the Decretals and Civil Law, and of many other Religious and Learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sentencially, and definitively condemned the said Sir* John Oldcastle *Knight, Lord* Cobham, *being convict in, and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the Church, and in those things which the Sacred universal Church of* Rome *doth hold, teach, determin, and shew forth. And especially as one erring in the Articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as an Heretick unto the Secular judgment.*

Anstice of Alanus Copus.

Moreover, we have Excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and Excommunicate him as an Heretick, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel, or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of Heretieks. And to the intent that these Premises may be known unto all faithful Christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitive you do cause the Curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as most people is present, in their Mother-Tongue, through all your Cities and Dioces to publish and declare the said Sir John Oldcastle, *as is before said, to be by us condemned as an Heretick, Schismatick, and one erring in the Articles above said; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be Excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of Heretieks; as is more effectually contained in the Process. That by such means the erroneous Opinions of the people (which peradventure hath otherwise conceived the matter) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow Brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their Cities and Dioces, the manner and form of this our Process, and also of the Sentence by us given, and all other singular the contents in the same. And likewise cause it to be published by their Curates which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of these Presents, and what you have done in the Premises, how you and they have executed this our Commandment. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certify us the business being done, by your and their Letters Patents, according to this Tenor.* Dated in our Mannor of *Maidstone*, the 10th of *October*, *An.* 1413. and in the 18th year of our translation.

Thus have you here the judicial Process of the Bishops against this most noble Christian Knight, described by their own Letters and style. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the Lord *Cobham* was sent away, Sir *Robert Morley* carrying him again unto the *Tower*, where after he had remained a certain space, in the night season, (it is not known by what means) he escaped out and fled into *Wales*, where he continued by the space of four years.

Sir Robert Morley. The Lord Cobham returned again to the Tower.

A defence of the Lord Cobham, *against* Nicholas Harpsfield, *set out under the name of* Alanus Copus.

AS I was entring into this story of the Lord *Cobham*, after the tractation of all the former Histories hitherto passed, having next to set upon this present matter, luckily, and as God would, in such opportunity of season, as God may seem to work himself for defence of his Saints, cometh to my hands a certain Book of new-found Dialogues, compiled in *Latin* by *Nicholas Harpsfield*, set out by *Alanus Copus*, an *English*-man, a person to me unknown, and obscure hitherto unto the World, but now to purchase himself a name with *Erostratus*, or with the Sons of *Enachim*, cometh out not with his five Eggs, but with his six railing Dialogues. In the which Dialogues the said *Alanus Copus Anglus* (whether he under the armour of other, or other under title of his name, I know not, nor pass not) uncourteously behaving himself, intemperately abusing his Time, Study, and Pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and mild modesty, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor passing for shame, neither favouring the living, nor sparing the dead, who being alive as they never offended him, so now cannot answer for themselves being gone; thus provoking both God and man against him, after an unseemly fort, and with a foul mouth and stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead mens ashes, taking now the spoil of their good name, after their Bodies lie slain in the field; his Gall and Choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon Earth. Informach that for the hatred of them he spurneth alfo against me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my *Acts and Monuments*, describing the History of the Church, I would fay any thing in the favour of them, whom the *Romish* Catholicks have so unmercifully put to death. The answer to whofe Book although it would require a several tractation by it self (as if Christ grant space and leisure hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet because such opportunity of the Book is offered to me at this present coming now to the matter of the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and other, with whom he first beginneth to quarrel, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this *Cope*, whatsoever he be, so much as truth shall give me for their defence to fay something. And here to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and unhoneft rebukes, which I leave to scolds and men of his profession against they list to brawle, let us briefly and quietly consider the matter for discussing of the truth. Wherein first I shall desire the Reader with equality and indifferency to hear both the parties to speak, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and slain could say for themselves, if they were present, as also what this man here doth object against them now being gone. And so according to the same to judge both upon them as they deserve, and of me as they shall please.

They call light darkness and darkness light.

Alanus Copus Anglus with his six Dialogues. Erostratus to get him a fame fet Diana of Ephesus on fire. Alanus Copus Anglus intemperately abuseth his Pen.

Copus a barker against dead men.

Indifferency of the Reader craved.

Now to the scope of Master *Cope*'s matter, which is this: whether this foresaid Sir *John Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham* (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reproved for a Traitor? And whether that I in writing of him, and of Sir *Roger Acton*, with other moe in my former Edition, have dealt fraudulently, and corruptly, in commending them in these *Acts and Monuments*, or no? Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust the gentle M. *Cope*, my friend, neither will nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the story of the Lord *Cobham*, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither Traitor to his Country, nor Rebel to his Prince, as by the course of his History hitherto the Reader may well understand. First, in the time of King *Henry* the fourth, he was sent over to *France* to the Duke of *Orleans*,

Whether the Lord Cobham be to be judged a Traitor or a Martyr.

The Lord Cobhams true and obedient to King Henry the fourth.

The Lord Cobham in the beginning favoured of King Henry the 5.

The Kings displeasure procured against the Lord Cobham by Popish Prelates.

The Lord Cobham obedient to the King.

The Lord Cobham constant in his Faith to the sentence of death.

Orleans; he did obey. Afterward, King *Henry* the fifth coming to the Crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that *Thomas Arundel* with his Clergy, complaining to the King, made bate between them. Then the Lord *Cobham* being Cited by the Archbishop, at his Citation would not appear. But sent for by the King, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he shewed there to the King, the story declareth. After he yielded an obedient confession of his Faith; it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the Bishop of *Rome* for the which the King took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the King to the Archbishop, and committed to the *Tower*; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his Examination once or twice: there like a constant Martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his Confession, and that unto the very Sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let *Alanus Copus* say what he will, or what he can: This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said *Alanus Copus Anglus*, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of Martyrdom for his Religion, as this Christian Knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed, after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said Lord *Cobham* was then returned again unto the *Tower*; which he with patience and meekness did also obey: from the which *Tower* if he afterward by the Lords Providence did escape, whether hath *Alanus Copus* herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the Man for taking that which was offered? What Catholick in all *Lovan*, having his House over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did *Alanus Copus* fly his Country, having so little need, if this man bleeding almost under the Butchers Axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the Lord *Cobham* standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension. Who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God; so submiss to his King; so found in his Doctrine; so constant in his cause; so afflicted for the truth; so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful Chronicles, but out of the true Originals and Instruments remaining in ancient Records: What lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he declaring himself such a Martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, (for the which also at last he suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be adorned with the title of Martyr, which is in *Greek* as much as a witness-bearer?

The Lord *Cobham* worthy the name of a Martyr.

The name of a Martyr what it signifieth.

Calumnia.

But here now steppeth in Dame Διαβολὴ, with her cousin scold *Alecto*, *&c.* who neither learning to hold her Tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find her a knot in a Rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus: But after (saith he) that the Lord *Cobham* was escaped out of the *Tower*, his fellows and confederates, conventid themselves together seditiously against the King, and against their Country. A great crime no doubt, M. *Cope*, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto your self, so to enter this Action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the L. *Cobham* were these you mean of? Sir *Roger Acton* ye say, Master *Brown*, and *John Beverly*, with thirty six other, hanged and burned in the said Field of St. *Giles*'s A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of twenty Thousand, specified in story, should rise against the King, and yet but three persons only known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master *Cope* what was the end of this Conspiracy, to rebel against the King, to destroy their Country, and to subvert the Christian Faith, for so purporteth the story? As like true the one as the other. For even as it is like that they being *Turks* went about to destroy the Faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their Country wherein they were bred; even so like it is that they went about to destroy the King, whom God and their Conscience taught to obey.

Sir Roger Acton Knight, Master *John Brown*, Esq. *Jo. Beverly*, preacher.

Yet further proceeds this furnish promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover, That these forefaid fellows and adherents of the Lord *Cobham* were in the Field assembled, and there incamped in a great number against the King; and how is this proved? By *Robert Fabian*. Which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said *Robert Fabian* followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that *John Cledon* and *Richard Turmin* were burnt in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true Registers they were not burnt before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master *Cope* say, if the Original Copy of the Indictment of these pretensed Conspirators do testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? But they purposed (you will say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to judge, whereas no fact appeareth. But give their intent was to to come, yet might they not come to those Thickets near to the Field of St. *Giles*, having *Beverly* their preacher, with them (as ye say your self) as well to pray and to preach in that worthy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate Woods and secret Thickets, from the sight of Enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the Word of God? In Queen *Mary*'s time was not the same colour of Treason objected against *George Egle*, and other moe, for frequenting and uling into backsides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not *Adam Damlip* die in like case of Treason, for having a *French* Crown given him at his departure out of *Rome* by Cardinal *Pool*? What cannot cankred *Calumnia* invent, when she is disposed to cavil? It was not the Cardinals Crown that made him a Traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

{KING *Hen.*5. *Rob. Fabian* proved with an untruth.

An untruth in *Al. Cop.*

Alan. Copus taken with another untruth.

Praying and preaching in back corners a common thing in time of persecution. Yet will *Alanus* taketh all things to ywoll meaning.

In *France* what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts in great routs, to hear the preaching of Gods Holy Word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safegard, and yet never intended nor minded any Rebellion against their King. Whereupon in cases of Religion it may and doth happen many times that such Congregations may meet without intent of any Treason meant. But howsoever the intent and purpose was of these forefaid Confederates of the Lord *Cobham*, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plain by Records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place) how will M. *Cope* now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the Field of St. *Giles* against the King? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle Reader, how unlikely and untidely the points of this tale are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all subftance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie;) wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of *Simons* art, in conveying their Narration so unartificially. First, say they, The King was come first, with his Garison, unto the Field of St. *Giles*, and then after the King was there incamped, consequently the fellows of the Lord *Cobham*, the Captain being away, came and were assembled in the same Field where the King was, against the King, and yet not knowing of the King, to the number of twenty Thousand, and yet never a stroke in that Field given. And furthermore, of all this 20000 aforesaid, never a mans name known but only three, to wit, Sir *Roger Acton*, Sir *John Brown*, and *John Beverly* a preacher. How this jear is clampered together let the Reader judge, and believe as he seeth cause.

Another untruth in *Al. Copus.*

An unlikely tale.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the Popes dispensation, which in this Earth is almoit Omnipotent, he is granted; that after the King had taken the Field of St. *Giles* before, the Companions of the Lord *Cobham* afterward coming and assembling in the Thickets near the said Field, to fight seditiously against the King, their Country, and against the Faith of Christ, to the number of Twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the Prisons of *London* were full, and yet never a mans name known of all this multitude, but only three; all this I say being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of M. *Cope*, whether the Lord *Cobham* was here present, with his company in the Field, or not? Not in person (saith *Cope*) but with his mind and with his counsel he was present, and addeth this reason, saying, And therefore he being brought again after his escape, was convict both of Treason and Heresie, and therefore sustaining a double

The Lord *Cobham* no Traitor. *Al. Cop.* {KING *Hen.* 5. Hall. 11.

{KING *Hen.*5.

double punishment, was both hanged and burnt for the same, &c. And how is all this proved? By *Robert Fabian* he saith. Whereunto briefly I answer, that *Robert Fabian* in that place maketh no such mention of the Lord *Cobham* assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsel. His words be these, *That certain adherents of Sir* John Oldcastle *assembled in the field near to St.* Giles, *in great number, of whom was Sir* Roger Acton, *Sir* John Brown, *and* John Beverly. *The which with thirty six moe in number were after convict of Heresie and Treason, and for the same were hanged and burnt within the faid field of S.* Gyles, *&c.* Thus much in *Fabian* touching the commotion and condemnation of these men; but that the Lord *Cobham* was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsel, as *Alanus Copus Anglus* pretendeth, that is not found in *Fabian*, but is added of his liberal *cornucopiae*, whereof he is so copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open Shop of such unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good cheap, I think, being such a plentiful Artificer.

But here will be objected against me the words of the Statute made the second year of King *Henry* the 5th. whereupon this adversary triumphing with no little glory, ὥσπερ τι δικμεταὶ ἀνελαμβ& thinketh himself to have double vantage against me; first in proving these forefaid Complices and Adherents of the Lord *Cobham* to have made Insurrection against the King, and so to be Traitors. Secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where in my former Book of *Acts* and *Monuments* I do report, how that after the death of Sir *Roger Acton*, of *Brown* and *Beverley*, a Parliament was holden at *Leicester*, where a Statute was made to this effect; *That all and singular such as were of* Wickliffs *learning, if they would not give over (as in case of felony and other treſpasſes, loſing all their goods to the King) ſhould ſuffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they ſhould firſt be hanged for Treaſon againſt the King, and then be burned for Hereſie againſt God.*

Sir Sat. Reg. Hen. 5. an. 2. cap. 7.

The former edition of *Acts* and Monuments page 175.

Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I purge both them of Treason, and my self of untruth, so far as truth and fidelity in Gods cause shall affist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my History of Ecclesiastical matters, wherein I have nothing to do with debatement of causes judicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed; I never suspected that ever any would be so captious with me, or so nice noted, as to press me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the Statute law so rigorously against me; yet forsomuch as I am thereunto constrained now by this adversary, I will first lay open all the whole Statute made the 2d year of this forefaid *Henry* the Fifth, after the death of the forefaid Sir *Roger Acton* and his fellows, at the Parliament holden at *Leicester*, *Anno* 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appear, what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accusation of this adversary. The tenor and purport of the Statute hereunder ensueth.

The Words and Contents of the Statute made *Anno* 2. *Henrici quinti, cap.* 7.

(A) This Preface or Preamble of the Statute.

(B)

(C)

(D)

(E)

FOrsomuch as great (A) *Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections here in* England, *by divers the King His Majeſties liege People, have been made here of late, aſwell by thoſe which were of the Sect of Hereſie called* Lollardy, *as by other of their confederations, excitations and abatement, to the intent* (B) *to admul and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith and the Law of God within the ſame Realm, as alſo to* (C) *deſtroy our Sovereign Lord the King himſelf, and* (D) *all manner of Eſtates of the ſame his Realm, as well Spiritual as temporal* (E) *and alſo all manner policy and the Laws of the Land; Finally, the ſame our Lord the King, to the honour of God, in conſervation and fortification of the Chriſtian Faith, and alſo in ſalvation of his royal eſtate, and of the eſtate of all his Realm, willing to provide a more open and more due puniſhment againſt the malice of ſuch Hereticks and* Lollards, *than hath been had or uſed in that caſe heretofore, ſo that for the fear of the ſame Laws and puniſhments, ſuch Hereſies and* Lollardies *may the rather ceaſe in time to come.*

By the advice and aſſent aforeſaid, and at the prayer of the ſaid Commons, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed; that eſpecially the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, the Juſtice of the one Bench and of the other, Juſtices of Aſſiſe, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and all other Officers, having the government of people either now preſent, or which for the time ſhall be, do make an Oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain and diligence to put out, to do to put out, ceaſe and deſtroy, all manner of hereſies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, *within the places in which they exerciſe their charges and offices from time to time, with all their power, and that they aſſiſt, favour and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries, ſo often as they or any of them ſhall be thereunto required by the ſaid Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries; So that when the ſaid Officers and Miniſters traveil or ride to arreſt any* Lollard, *or to make any aſſiſtance at the* (F) *inſtance and requeſt of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, by vertue of this Statute, the ſame Ordinaries and Commiſſaries* (G) *do pay for their coſt reaſonably. And that the ſervices of the King (unto whom the Officers be firſt ſworn) be preferred before all other Statutes for the liberty of holy Church and the Miniſters of the ſame, and eſpecially for the puniſhment of Hereticks and* Lollards, *made before theſe days, and not repealed, but being in force; and alſo that all perſons convict of Hereſie, of whatſoever eſtate, condition, or degree they be, by the ſaid Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries left unto the ſecular power, according to the laws of holy Church, ſhall loſe and forfeit all their Lands and Tenements which they have in fee ſimple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to ſay, That the King ſhall have all the Lands and Tenements which the ſaid Convicts have in fee ſimple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other Lords, of whom the Lands and Tenements of ſuch Convicts be holden immediately, after that the King is thereof ſeiſed and anſwered of the* (H) *year, day and waſt, ſhall have livery thereof out of the hands of the King, of the Lands and Tenements aforeſaid, ſo of them holden, as hath been uſed in caſe of Attainder of Felonies, except the Lands and Tenements, which be holden of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, before whom any ſuch impeached of Hereſie be convict,* (I) *which Lands and Tenements ſhall wholly remain to the King as forfeit. And moreover, that all the Goods and Cattels of ſuch convicted be forfeit to our right Sovereign Lord the King, ſo that no perſon convict of Hereſie, and left unto the ſecular power (according to the laws of holy Church) do forfeit his Lands before that he be dead. And if any ſuch perſon ſo convicted be inſeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents or ſervices, in fee or otherwiſe in whatſoever manner, or have any other poſſeſſions or chattels by gift or grant of any perſon or perſons, to the uſe of any other than only to the uſe of ſuch convicts; that the ſame lands, tenements, rents or ſervices, or other ſuch poſſeſſions, or chattels, ſhall not be forfeit unto our Sovereign Lord the King in any manner wiſe.*

(F) Here it appeareth at whoſe inſtance and ſu plication this Statute was ſet forward as alſo the cauſe why.

(G) Aſſurance vegre & ſincere.

(H)

(I)

And moreover, that the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, the Juſtices of Peace, and Juſtices of Aſſiſe, have full power to enquire of all ſuch which hold any errors or hereſies, as Lollards, *and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors and ſuſtainers, common writers of ſuch Books, as well of their Sermons, as Schools, Conventicles, Congregations, and Confederacies, and that this clauſe be put in the Commiſſions of the Juſtices of Peace. And if any perſons be indicted of any points above ſaid, that the ſaid Juſtices have power to award againſt them a* Capias, *and that the Sheriff be bound to arreſt the perſon or perſons ſo indicted, as ſoon as he can find them, either by himſelf or by his officers. And for ſo much as the cognizance of hereſies, errors, or* Lollardies, *appertaineth to the Judges of holy Church, and not unto the Secular Judges; that ſuch perſons indicted* (K) *be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their Commiſſaries, by Indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arreſt, or ſooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convict by the Laws of holy Church, in caſe ſuch perſons be not indicted of any other thing, the cogni-*

(K)

ſance whereof appertaineth to the Judges and ſecular Officers; in which caſe after they ſhall be acquitted, or delivered before the ſecular Judges of ſuch things as appertain to the ſecular Judges, they ſhall be ſafely ſent unto the ſaid Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures, as is aforeſaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the ſame Hereſies, Errors and Lollardies, as is aforeſaid, according to the Laws of holy Church, and that within the term aboveſaid: provided, that the ſaid Indictments be not taken in evidence, (L) *but only for information before the Judges ſpiritual, againſt ſuch perſons indicted; but that the Ordinaries begin their proceſs againſt ſuch perſons indicted, in the ſame manner as though no ſuch judgment were, having no regard to ſuch Indictment. And if any be indicted of Hereſie, Error or* Lollardy, *and taken by the Sheriff, or any other Officer of the King, he may be let to mainpriſe within the ſaid ten days, by good ſurety, for whom the ſaid Sheriffs or other Officers will anſwer, ſo that the perſon ſo indicted be ready to be delivered unto the ſaid Ordinaries, or to their Commiſſaries, before the end of the tenth day above here recited, if he may by any means for ſickneſs. And that every Ordinary have ſufficient Commiſſaries or Commiſſary abiding in every County in place notable, ſo that if any ſuch perſon indicted be taken, the ſaid Commiſſaries or Commiſſary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Sheriff or any of his Officers, to come unto the Kings Gaol within the ſaid County, there to receive the ſame perſon ſo indicted, by indenture, as is aforeſaid; And that in the Inqueſts in this caſe taken, the Sheriffs and other Officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and ſufficient perſons, not ſuſpected, nor procured, that is to ſay, ſuch as have at the leaſt, every one of them that ſhall be ſo impanelled in ſuch inqueſts, within the Realm, an hundred ſhillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leeſe to the Kings uſe twenty pounds. And that thoſe which ſhall be impanelled upon ſuch Inqueſts or Seſſions and Goals, have every one of them to the value of forty ſhillings by the year. And if any ſuch perſon arreſted, whether it be by*
(M) *the Ordinaries, or the Officers of the King,* (M) *either eſcape or break Priſon before he be thereof acquit before the Ordinary; that then all his Goods and Chattels, which he had at the day of ſuch arreſt, ſhall be forfeit to the King; And his Lands and Tenements which he had the ſame day be ſeiſed alſo into the Kings hands, and that the King have the profits thereof from the ſame day until he render himſelf unto the ſaid Priſon from whence he eſcaped. And that the aforeſaid Juſtices have full power to enquire of all ſuch eſcapes and breaking of Priſons, and alſo of the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, of ſuch perſons indicted. Provided, that if any ſuch perſon indicted do not return unto the ſaid Priſon, and dieth (not being convict) that then it ſhall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the Lands and Tenements of his or their anceſtour, without any other ſute made unto the King for their cauſe. And that all thoſe which have Liberties or Franchiſes Royal in* England, *as the County of* Cheſter, *the County and Liberty of* Durham, *and other like; And alſo the Lords which have Juriſdictions and Franchiſes Royal in* Wales, *where the Kings Writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points, theſe Articles by them or by their Officers in like manner, as do the Juſtices and other the Kings Officers above declared.*

¶ *Notes touching the Statute prefixed.*

Notes upon the Statute aforeſaid.

Thus having recited the words of the Statute, now let us conſider the reaſons and objections of this adverſary, who, grounding peradventure upon the Preface or Preamble of this foreſaid Statute, will prove thereby the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton*, with the reſt of their abettors, to have been Traitors to their King and their Country. Whereunto I anſwer, firſt in general, that although the face or Preface prefixed before the Statute, may ſhew and declare the cauſe and occaſion original why the Statute

Preface before Statutes not to be regarded in trial of truth.

was made, yet the making of the Statute importeth no neceſſary probation of the Preface always to be true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any neceſſary part of the body of the ſaid Statute; but only adhereth as a Declaration of the circumſtance thereof, and ſometime is clean omitted, and differeth much from the ſubſtance of the ſame. For as Statutes in Civil Policy moſt commonly do tend to a publick end, and are general; ſo Prefaces before Statutes, which moſt commonly declare the cauſe or beginning thereof, are private; and do ſtand only but upon particular facts; which either of ill will or diſpleaſure may be ſuggeſted, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed, at leaſt ſuſpected, as many ſuſpicions do oft times riſe in Princes heads through falſe ſurmiſes, and malicious complaints of certain evil diſpoſed about them, whereby many cruel Laws, riſing upon a falſe ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent bloud. Example whereof we have not only in this preſent Statute, *Anno* St. *ann* 2. H. 5. *cap.* 15. *ſecundo Regis Henrici* 5. but alſo in the like Statute, commonly called the Statute *Ex officio vel de comburendo*, made by this Kings Father and Predeceſſor, *Anno ſecundo Henrici quarti, cap.* 5. In the Preface of which bloudy Statute is contained another like complaint of the Prelates and Clergy, not only as heinous, but alſo as ſtatutefully falſe and untrue, againſt the poor *Lollards*, as by the words of the complaint may appear, beginning, *Excellentiſſimo & Gratioſiſſimo Principi, &c.* Wherein moſt falſly they ſlander and miſreport the true ſervants of Chriſt to be *Lollards*, Hereticks, Subverters of the Commonwealth, deſtroyers of the Chriſtian Faith, enemies to all good Laws, and to the Church of Chriſt. The words of which Statute, proceeding much after the like courſe as doth this preſent Statute, may eaſily bewray the untruth and falſe ſurmiſe thereof, if thou pleaſe (gentle Reader to mark and conſer the words according as they are there to be read and ſeen, as followeth; *Conventicula & confœderationes faciunt, ſcholas tenent & exercent, libros confciunt atque ſcribunt, populum nequiter inſtruunt & informant, & ad ſeditionem ſua inſurrectionem excitant, quantum poſſunt, & magnas diſſenſiones in populo faciunt, & alia diverſa enormia auditui horrenda indies perpetrant, in Fidei Catholicæ, & Eccleſiæ ſubverſionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam deſtructionem ſtatus, jurium, & libertatum dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ.* And after a few words, *Adomnem juris & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus deſtruendum, &c.* He that is or ſhall be acquainted with old Hiſtories, and with the uſual practices of Satan the old enemy of Chriſt, from the firſt beginning of the Primitive Church, unto this preſent time, ſhall ſee this to be no news, but a common, and as one would ſay, a Quotidian Fever among Chriſts children, to be vexed with falſe accuſations and cruel ſlanders.

Nemeſion the *Egyptian*, and true Martyr of Chriſt, was he not firſt accuſed to be a Felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the ſame judgment for a Chriſtian; and therefore being caſt into bands, was ſcourged, by the commandment of the Preſident, double to the other Felons, and at length was burned with the Thieves, although he never was found Thief nor Felon.

Againſt *Cyprian* in like ſort it was ſlanderously objected by *Galerius Maximus* Proconſul, *Quod diu ſacrilegia mente vexerit, & nefaria ſibi conſpirationis homines adjunxerit*, That he had long continued with a mind full of Sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conſpiracy.

So *Juſtinus Martyr*, what falſe and criminous acculſations ſuffered he by *Creſcens* ? *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr, was accuſed of *Decius*, *Quod ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp. i.e.* That he wrote Letters unto *Cyprian* againſt the Commonwealth.

To conſider the Laws and Statutes made by Tyrants and Emperors in the firſt Perſecution of the Primitive Church, againſt the innocent ſervants of Chriſt, and to compare the ſame with the Laws and Statutes in this later Perſecution under Antichriſt; a man ſhall find, that as they agree all in like cruelty, ſo was there no great difference in falſe forging of pretenſed cauſes and crimes deviſed. For as then the Chriſtians were wrongfully accuſed of the Gentiles for Inſurrections and Rebellions againſt the Emperors and Empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of Infants, for worſhipping the Sun (becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt) for worſhipping alſo the Head of an Aſs, *&c.* upon the rumors whereof divers and ſundry Laws and Statutes were enacted, ſome ingraven

{KING Hen. 5.}

Fear and hatred cauſeth offenſion.

St. *ann* 2. H. 5. *cap.* 15.

The Preface before the Statute *de comburendo.*

The matter debated by Records, whether the Lord Cobham and Sir *Roger Acton* were Traitors or not.

Ex viciſſa inſtrumenta.

(A) Rumors, Congregations, Inſurrections.

Falſe accuſation no news in Chriſts Church.

Example of *Nemeſion*, Martyr.

Example of *Cyprian.*

Example of *Juſtine* the Martyr.

Example of cruelne Biſhop of *Rome.*

Laws and Statutes grounded upon falſe cauſes againſt the Chriſtians.

The perſecuting Statutes in the Primitive Church and of the latter Church compared.

{KING Hen. 5.}

in braſs, ſome otherwiſe wrote againſt them; ſo in this foreſaid Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 7. Alſo *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. and in ſuch other Statues or Indictments made and conceived againſt the *Lollards*, the caſe is not ſo ſtrange, but it may credibly be ſuppoſed, that the making thereof did riſe rather upon malice and hatred againſt their Religion conceived, than upon any juſt cauſe miniſtred of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuſe. Like as in the time of *Domitianus*, for fear of *David*'s flock, all the Nephews of *Jude* the Lords Brother in the fleſh were accuſed to the Emperor. And alſo the like fear and hatred ſtirred up other Emperors, and the Senate of *Rome*, to proceed with perſecuting Laws againſt the Chriſtian flock of Chriſt; *Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21. whereupon roſe up thoſe malicious ſlanders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lies, and wrongful accuſations againſt the Chriſtians; ſo that what crimes ſoever malice could invent, or ruth ſuſpicion could miniſter, that was imputed againſt them.

Not unlike alſo it may ſeem, that the Pope with his Prelates, fearing and miſdoubting leſt the proceeding of the Goſpel preached by theſe perſons, ſhould overthrow the ſtate of their Majeſty, did therefore by ſiniſter accuſations inflame the hearts of Princes againſt them, and under ſome coloured covert, to ſhadow their cloaked hatred, deviſed theſe and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly ſerve their purpoſe.

This hitherto have I ſaid as in a general ſum, anſwering to the Preamble of the foreſaid Statute, for the defence of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and Sir *Roger Acton*, and other, as not defining preciſely what was, or was not (for here I may ſay with *Hall*, that as I was not preſent at the deed doing, ſo with him. I may alſo leave the ſame at large:) But as one by tracing the footſteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter what is moſt like, would but only ſay my mind *ſine ſtrepitu* (as Lawyers ſay) *& ſine figura judicii.*

Now conſequently it followeth that we deſcend to the ſpecial points and particulars of the foreſaid Preamble; to conſider what thereof may be collected, or neceſſarily is to be judged, either for proof or diſproof of this foreſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and his fellows.

(A) And firſt, where the proem of this Statute beginneth with *Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections*, &c. As it is not like, that if theſe men had intended any forcible Entries or Rebellion againſt the King, they would have made any rumors thereof before the deed done; ſo is it more credibly to be ſuppoſed, all theſe flouriſhes of words to be but words of courſe, or of office, and to favour rather of the rankneſs of the inditers Pen, who diſpoſed either *per amplificationem rhetoricam*, to ſhew his Copy, or elſe *per maliciam papiſticam*, to aggravate the crime, and to make mountains of molehills, firſt of Rumors maketh Congregations, and from Congregations riſeth up to Inſurrections; whereas in all theſe Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections, yet never a blow was given, never a ſtroke was ſtricken, no bloud ſpilt, no furniture nor inſtruments of war, no ſign of Battel, yea no expreſs ſignification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact deſcribed, neither in Records, nor yet in any Chronicle. Again, if theſe Rumors were words ſpoken againſt the King, as calling him a Tyrant, an Uſurper of the Crown, the Prince of Priests, *&c.* why then be none of theſe words expreſſed in their Indictments, or left in Records? doth Mr. *Cope* think for a man to be called a Traitor, to be enough to make him a Traitor, unleſs ſome plain and evident proof be brought for him to be ſo indeed, as he is called? *Rumors (ſaith he) Congregations and Inſurrections were made.* Rumors are uncertain; Congregations have been, and may be among Chriſtian men in dangerous times for good purpoſes, and no Treaſon againſt their Princes meant. The term of Inſurrections may be added *in re ad ebtum*, by practice, or ſurmiſe of the Prelates and Pen-men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the King, might add this rather of their own gentleneſs, than of the others deſerving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the Prelates in thoſe days, being ſo mightily inflamed againſt theſe *Lollards*, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practiſed againſt them what they could, firſt to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kind of practice among the *Papiſts* Clergy have not lacked neither before nor ſince. Moreover, if theſe men had made ſuch a rebellious Inſurrection againſt the King, as is pretended in the Preamble before this Statute, which were a matter of High Treaſon; how chanceth then, that the whole body of the Statute, following after the ſaid Preface or Preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arreſt, of indictment, information, requeſt, allowance of Officers, cogniſance of Ordinaries, of the foreſaid, *&c.* upon caſes of Hereſie and not of Treaſon, as by particular tractation ſhall be (Chriſt willing) declared.

Inſurrection of the *Lollards* againſt the King not likely.

And forſomuch as theſe men be ſo grievouſly accuſed of *Alanus Copus*, for congregating and riſing againſt their King, and the whole Realm, if I had ſo much leiſure to defend, as he hath pleaſure to diffame; here might be demanded of him, to keep him ſome further play (touching this mighty Inſurrection, whereas they came in number twenty thouſand againſt the King) in what order of Battel-ray they marched, what Captains, under-Captains, and petty Captains they had to guide the Wings, and to lead the Army? whether they were Horſemen or Footmen? If they were Horſemen (as is pretended) what meant they then to reſort to the Thickets near to St. *Giles*'s Field, which was no meet place for Horſes to fight? If they were Footmen, how ſtandeth that with the Author, which reporteth them to be Horſemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what Enſigns or Flags, what Shot, what Powder, what Armour, Weapons, and other furniture of War, alſo what Treaſure of Mony to wage ſo many, to the number of 20000, what Trumpets, Drums, and other noiſe neceſſary for the purpoſe they had? All theſe preparations for ſuch an enterpriſe ſequiſite and neceſſary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well ſought, it would be found at length, that inſtead of Arms and Weapons, they were coming only with their Books, and with *Beverly* their Preacher into thoſe Thickets. But as I was not there preſent at the fact (as is before ſaid) ſo have I neither certainty to define upon their caſe, nor yet Maſter *Cope*, to exclaim againſt them, unleſs peradventure, that he, taking an occaſion of the time, will thus argue againſt them; that becauſe it was the hot Month of *January*, the ſecond day after the *Epiphany*, therefore it is like, that Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, with twenty thouſand *Lollards*, camped together in the Fields in all the heat of the Weather, to deſtroy the King and all the Nobles, and to make himſelf Regent of *England*; and why not as well the King, as Regent of *England*, ſeeing all the Nobles ſhould have been deſtroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himſelf?

(B) A Slander of the Lord *Cobham*, that he intended to deſtroy Chriſtian Faith.

It followeth more in the Preamble of the foreſaid Statute, (B) *to admul, deſtroy and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith, and the Law of God, and Holy Church*, &c. He that was the forger and inventer of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the Prelates, ſeemeth no cunning *Dædalus*, nor half his Craftſmaſter in lying for the Whetſtone. Better he might have learned of *Simon* in *Virgil*, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration. Which although in no caſe could ſound like any truth; yet ſome colour of probability ſhould have been ſet upon it, to give it ſome countenance of a like tale. As if he had firſt declared the Lord *Cobham* to have been before in ſecret confederacy with the great *Turk*; or if he had made him ſome *Termagant* or *Mahound* out of *Babylonia*, or ſome *Herod* of *Judea*, or ſome Antichriſt out of *Rome*, or ſome Grand-pancht Epicure of this World, and had ſhewed, that he had received Letters from the great *Soldan*, to fight againſt the Faith of Chriſt, and Law of God; then had it appeared ſomewhat more credible, that the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, with his Sect of Hereſie, went about to *admul, deſtroy and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith and Law of God, within the Realm of* England, *&c.*

But now, where will either he or Mr. *Cope*, find men ſo mad to believe, or ſo ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the Lord *Cobham*, being a Chriſtian, and ſo faithful a Chriſtian, would or did ever cogitate in his mind to deſtroy and admul the Faith of Chriſt in the Realm of *England*? Whatſoever the report of this purſuant or Preface ſaith, I report me unto the indifferent Reader, how ſtandeth this with any face of truth? That he which before, through the reading of *Wickliff*'s Works, had

been ſo earneſtly converted to the law of God, who had alſo approved himſelf ſuch a faithful ſervant of Chriſt, that for the faith of Chriſt he being examined and tried before the Prelates, not only ventured his life, but ſtood conſtant unto the ſentence of death deſtined againſt him; being a condemned and a dead man by law, *Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet & timorem, paſſus ſit quicquid pati potuit*, who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, ſuffered already what he might or could ſuffer, as *Cyprian* ſaid by *Cornelius*; That he, I ſay, which a little before, in the Month of *September*, ſtood ſo conſtant in defence of Chriſts faith, would now in the Month of *January* rife to deſtroy, adnull, and ſubvert Chriſts faith, and the Law of God, and holy Church within the Realm of *England*?

Cypr. Ad. Epiſt. 2.

How can it be, not likely only, but poſſible to be true, that he which never in all the time of his life denied the faith; which ever confeſſed the faith ſo conſtantly; which was for the ſame faith condemned; yea, and at laſt alſo, burned for the faith, would ever fight againſt the faith and law of God, to adnull and ſubvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and ſee when he ſhould have ſo deſtroyed and adnulled the chriſtian faith and law of God in *England*, what faith or law then could he, or did he intend to bring into the Realm of *England*? the *Turkes* faith? or the *Jewes* faith? or the Popes faith? or what faith elſe I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Chriſt, and will ſhew himſelf a friend to no other faith beſides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) And therefore, even as it is true, that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* with his Confederates and Abettors were up in Arms to ſubvert and extinguiſh the faith of Chriſt and law of God in the Realm of *England*, ſo by the like truth it may be eſteemed, that the ſame perſons roſe alſo to deſtroy their ſovereign Lord the King and his brethren. Firſt, thanks be to God, that neither the King nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, ſaith the Preface, was to deſtroy their ſovereign Lord the King. Wherevnto I anſwer with this interrogatory, whether was his intent privily to have deſtroyed him, or by open force of Arms? If privily, what needed then ſuch a great Army of 20000 Men, to atchieve that ſecret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of ſuch as were near about the King; as ſome of the Kings privy Chamber, or ſome of his ſecret Council; whereof neither Chronicle nor Record doth infinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the King; you muſt underſtand, Mr. *Cope*, that to withſtand a King in his own Realm, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great aſſiſtance, and aid of Kindred, Mony, Horſe, Men, Armour, and all other things appertaining for the ſame.

(C) The Lord *Cobham* falſly ſlandered for intending to deſtroy the King.

How unlike it is that the Lord *Cobham* did riſe againſt the King.

Earl *Goodwin* of *Weſtſax*, who had married *Canutus* daughter, being a Man both ambitious, and as falſe a Traitor, for all his ſix Sons, and great Affiance, yet durſt not ſet upon King *Edward* to invade him in his Realm, although he fought many occaſions ſo to do, yet never durſt he enterpriſe openly that which his ambition ſo greatly preſumed unto.

Examples what an hard matter it is to riſe againſt the King.

In the time of King *Henry* the 3d. *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Humfrey Rone* Earl of *Ferrence*, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themſelves to have great right on their ſides: yet durſt they not, for all their power, openly aſſail the King in his Realm, before great debatement and talk firſt had between.

The Nobles againſt King *Henry* 3d.

Likewiſe what murmuring and grudging was in the Realm againſt King *Edward*, the ſecond, among the Peers and Nobles, and alſo Prelates (only *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry* except) firſt for *Gaveſtone*, then for the *Spencers*, at what time *Tho.* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Guido* Earl of *Warwick*, with the moſt part of all other Earls and Barons, concordly conſenting together to the diſplacing firſt of *Gaveſtone*, then of the *Spencers*, yet neither raſhly, nor without great fear, durſt ſtir up War in the Land, or diſquiet or vex the King, but firſt by all means of moderate counſel, and humble Petition, thought rather to perſwade, than to invade the King.

The Nobles againſt King *Edward* 2d.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, *Thos Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Uncle, with the Earls of *Arundel*, of *Warwick*, and *Darby*, with the power almoſt of the whole Commons, ſtood up in Arms againſt the King; and yet notwithſtanding, all their power joyned together being ſo great, and their cauſe ſeeming to them ſo reaſonable, yet were they not ſo hardy, ſtraightways to fly upon the King, but by way of Parliament thought to accompliſh that which their purpoſe had conceived, and ſo did, without any War ſtriking againſt the King.

The Nobles againſt King *Richard* 2d.

After King *Richard* the Second was depoſed, and was in Priſon yet living, divers Noblemen were greatly inflamed againſt King *Henry* the fourth, as Sir *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Spencer* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Earls likewiſe of *Kent* and of *Salisbury*, with Sir *John Cheiney*, and other more, whereof divers had been Dukes before, and now depoſed by King *Henry* the 4th. although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice againſt the ſaid King *Henry*, yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to aſſail the King, but ſecretly were compelled to atchieve their conceived intent, which notwithſtanding they could not accompliſh. *Ex hiſt. D. Alban.*

The Nobles againſt King *Henry* 4th.

Thus you may ſee, Maſter *Cope*, or elſe Maſter *Hanyfield*, or whatſoever ye be, to gainſtand a King, and with open force to encounter with him in his own Land, and in his own Chamber of *London*, where he is ſo ſure and ſtrong, what a matter, and of how great chievance it is, wherein ſo many and ſo great difficulties do ly, the attempt ſo dangerous, the chances ſo uncertain, the furniture of ſo many things required, that ſcarce in any Kings days heretofore any Peers or Nobles of the Realm, were they never ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted with power, wit or counſel, yet either were able, or elſe well durſt ever to enterpriſe upon a caſe ſo dangerous, notwithſtanding they were of themſelves, never ſo far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And ſhall we then think, or can we imagine (Mr. *Cope*) that Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, a Man ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods Word, being but a poor Knight by his degree, having none of all the Peers and Nobles in all the World to join with him, being Priſoner in the Tower of *London* a little before in the Month of *December*, could now in the Month of *January*, ſo ſuddenly, in ſuch an hot ſeaſon of the year, ſtart up an Army of 20 thouſand fighting Men to invade the King, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnul Chriſtian Faith, to deſtroy Gods Law, and to ſubvert holy Church? And why doth not he add moreover, to ſet alſo all *London* on fire, and to turn all *England* into a Fiſh-pool? Belike theſe Men, which give out theſe figments of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, did think him to be one of *Deucalion's* ſtock, who by caſting of ſtones over his ſhoulder, could by and by make Men at his pleaſure, or elſe thar he had *Cadmus* Teeth to ſow, to make ſo many Harveſt men to ſtart up at once.

The Infurrection of the Lord *Cobham* againſt the King. Judged by the Continuance.

But let us conſider yet further of theſe 20 thouſand Soldiers, ſo ſuddenly without wages, without victual, or other proviſion congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what Quarter, Country or Countrys they came. In other Kings days, whenſoever any Rebellion was againſt the King, moved by the Commons; as when *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tiler* of *Kent*, and *Eſſex* roſe in the time of King *Richard* the 2d. When *William Mandevil* of *Abington*, *Jack Cade* of *Kent*, in the time of King *Henry* the *6th*. In the time of King *Henry* the eighth, when the commotion was of Rebels in *Lincolnſhire*, then in *Yorkſhire*. When in King *Edward* the *6th* time, *Humphrey Arundel* in *Devonſhire*, Captain *Kette* in *Northfolk* made aſſaults againſt the King, the Country and parts from whence theſe Rebels did ſpring, were both noted and alſo deſamed. In this ſo traiterous commotion therefore, let us now learn what theſe men were, and from what Country or Countrys in all *England* they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what Countrys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of *Eutopia*, where, belike, this figment war firſt forged and invented. Wherefore feeing neither the Countrys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all theſe 20000 do appear what they were, either in Chronicle or in Record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it (gentle Reader) to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wiſdom ſhall lead thee.

A rebellion to be of 20000, and yet no Country to be known from whence they came, it is not like.

Never was any Rebellion of Conſequence in *England*, but the ſpecial Country from whence they came was named and known.

(D) It

{KING Hen. 5.}

(D) Another falſe report of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, that he intended to kill all manner of Eſtates in the Realm.

(D) It followeth more in the foreſaid Preface; *And to deſtroy all other manner of eſtates of the ſame Realm* of England, *as well Spiritual as temporal*, &c. By the courſe of this Preamble it appeareth, that the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a wonderful cruel Tyrant and Murderer, who being not yet ſatisfied with the bloud of the King, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would alſo make havock and ſweep-ſtake of all manner of Eſtates in the Realm of *England*. What and leave no manner of Eſtate alive? No, neither Lord Spiritual nor Temporal, but all together ſhall be deſtroyed. And what had all theſe Eſtates done, thus ſo miſerably to be deſtroyed? Although perceaſe, the mood of this man might have been incenſed and kindled againſt the King, and the Lords Spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforeſaid; yet why ſhould all other manner of other Eſtates both ſpiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the Eſtates in *England*, neither Duke, Earl, Baron, Lord, Knight, or other Gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he having all the Eſtates, Peers, Nobles and Gentlemen of the Realm againſt him, and none to ſtand with him, either could or durſt attempt any commotion againſt the whole power of the Land, he being but only Gentleman only, with Sir *Roger Acton*, and Mr. *Brown* left alone? At leaſt, good reaſon yet would, that thoſe hundred Knights ſhould have been ſpared out of this bloody ſlaughter, whom he offered to reduce unto the King, before, for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpoſe, that all theſe Eſtates both ſpiritual and temporal ſhould have been cut down, what needed then that he ſhould have made himſelf a Regent, when as he might as well have made himſelf a King, or what elſe he would, being left then Prince alone?

(E) An hard matter to deſtroy all policy and laws of a Land.

(E) The Preamble as it began with untruth, and continued in the ſame figure, heaping one untruth upon another; ſo now endeth with another miſreport as untrue as the reſt, ſhewing and declaring that the intent of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was alſo, *To deſtroy all manner of policy*, and finally, *the Laws of the Land*, &c. We read of *William* the Conqueror, otherwiſe named *William* Baſtard, who being a puiſſant Duke in his Country, when that the Crown of *England* was alotted to him, and he coming over with all his Peers, Nobles and Barons of his whole Land, into this Realm, and had with great difficulty obtained Victory againſt King *Harold*; yet to alter and deſtroy the policy and the Laws of the Land, it paſſeth his power. Inſomuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded ſo far as he did, unleſs he had firſt ſworn to the Nobles of this Land, to retain ſtill the laws of King *Edward*, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forſware himſelf, breaking his Oath in altering and changing many of the foreſaid Laws, yet wild he, he could not ſo deſtroy them all (for the which much war and great commotions endured long after in the Realm) but that he was conſtrained, and alſo contented to allow and admit a great part of the ſaid Laws of King *Edward*. And if he, being King and Conqueror, with all his ſtrength of *Normans* and *Engliſhmen* about him, was too weak and inſufficient to deſtroy all manner of policy and Laws of this Land which he had conquered; how much leſs then is it to be ſuppoſed that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* being but a private ſubject, and a poor Knight, and a condemned Priſoner, deſtitute and forſaken of all Lords, Earls and Barons, who to ſave his own life had more to do than he could well compaſs, would either take in hand, or conceive in his head any ſuch exploit, after the ſubverſion of Chriſtian Faith, and Law of God, after the ſlaughter of the King and all manner of Eſtates, as well ſpiritual as temporal, in the Realm of *England*, after the deſolation of holy Church, to deſtroy alſo all manner of policy, and finally, the Laws of the Land? Which monſtrous and incredible figment, how true it may ſeem to Mr. *Cope*, or to ſome other late Chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell; certainly to me, and as I think, to all indifferent Readers, it appeareth as true as is the Verſe of the Satyr, wherewith it may well be compared;

Nil intra eſt oleam, nil extra eſt in nuce duri.

But here will it be ſaid again perhaps, that the matter of ſuch Preambles and Prefaces being but purſuants of Statutes, and containing but words of courſe, to aggravate and to give a ſhew of a thing which they would have to ſeem more odious to the people, is not ſo precifely to be canned, or exquiſitely to be ſtood upon, as for the ground of a neceſſary caſe of truth.

Objection.

This is it (Mr. *Cope*) that I ſaid before, and now do well grant and admit the ſame, that ſuch preambles or forefaces lined with a *non ſequitur*, containing in them matter but of ſurmiſe, and words of courſe, and rather monſters out of courſe, and many times riſing upon falſe information, are not always in themſelves material, or neceſſary probations in all points to be followed, as appeareth both by this Statute, and alſo by the Statute of this Kings Father, *Anno* 2. *Henr.* 4. *cap.* 15. beginning *Exceſſus iſſimo*, &c. And yet notwithſtanding, out of theſe ſame preambles, and forefronts of Statutes, and other Indictments, which, commonly riſing upon matter of information, run only upon words of courſe, of office, and not upon ſimple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they inſert into their ſtories, having no reſpect or examination of circumſtances to be compared, but only following bare rumors, or elſe ſuch words as they ſee in ſuch fabling Prefaces or Indictments expreſſed. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you alſo, Mr. *Cope*, following the ſteps of the ſame, do ſeem likewiſe to err together with them for good fellowſhip. And thus concerning the face of this Statute hitherto ſufficiently.

Anſwer.

Ex origi. Statu. Henr. 4. c. 15.

The reaſon and cauſe how Chroniclers oft times be deceived.

Alan. Cope deceived by his Chroniclers.

Now let us conſider and diſcuſs in like manner firſt the coherence, then the particular contents of the ſaid Statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man ſhall find almoſt a Chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the Statute well agree with themſelves. Wherein he that was the drawer, or firſt informer thereof, ſeemeth to have forgot his Verſe and Art poetical.

Hor. art. poet.

Atque ita mentitur, ſic veris falſa remiſcet.
Primum ne medio, medium ne diſcrepet imo.

For whereas the Preface of the Statute ſtandeth only upon matter of Treaſon, conceived by falſe ſuggeſtion and wrong information; the body of the ſaid Statute, which ſhould follow upon the ſame, runneth only upon matter of Hereſie pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

(F) The body of the Statutes, an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5. ca. 7. examined.

(F) For firſt, Where he ſaith, *At the inſtance and requeſt of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries*, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cauſe of Treaſon nor Felony. For that every man of duty is bound, and by the Laws of the Realm may arreſt and apprehend a Traitor, or a Felon, if he can; where otherwiſe by this Statute, an Officer is not bound to arreſt him which offendeth in caſe of this Statute, without requeſt made by the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries; and therefore this offence ſeemeth neither to be Treaſon nor Felony.

(G) Secondly, Where it followeth, that *the ſame Ordinaries and Commiſſaries do pay for their coſts*, &c. This allowance of the Officers charges in this ſort proveth this offence neither Treaſon nor Felony.

(G)

(H) Thirdly, Where the Statute willeth the King to be *anſwered of the year, day and waſt*, &c. By this alſo is proved the offence not to be Treaſon; for elſe in caſes of Treaſon, the whole inheritance, I trow, Mr. *Cope* (ſpeaking as no great skilfull Lawyer) is forfeit to the Prince.

(H)

(I) The Fourth Argument I take out of theſe words of the Statute, *Wherean ſuch Lands and Tenements which are holden of the Ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the King, as forfeit*, &c. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Prelates (for their matter of *Lollardy* only) were the occaſioners and procurers of this Statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit riſing thereby, as good reaſon was they ſhould. And thus it is notorious, that the Preface running ſpecially and principally upon Treaſon, and the Statute running altogether upon points of Hereſie, do not well cohere nor joyn together.

(I)

(K) Fifthly, In that such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, &c. it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of Treason, forsomuch as Ordinaries cannot be Judges in cases of Treason or Felony, by the laws of our Realm, *Bract. in fine 1. lib.*

(L) Sixthly, By the Indictments provided not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the Judges Spiritual, &c. It is likewise to be noted, to what end these Indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the Ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of Treason.

(M) Lastly, Where it followeth toward the end of the Statute, touching escape or breaking of Prison, &c. By this it my lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this Statute driveth, that is, to the special escape of the Lord *Cobham* out of the Tower, to this end, to have his Lands and Possessions forfeit unto the King. And yet the same escape of the Lord *Cobham*, in this Statute considered, is taken by Mr. Justice *Stanford*, *in libro primo*, of the Pleas of the Crown, *cap.* 33. to be an escape of one arrested for Heresie, where he speaketh of the case of the Lord *Cobham*.

John Stanf. of the Pleas of the Crown. lib. 1. cap. 33.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this forefaid Statute, how will you joyn these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, *That the Lands of such persons convict shall be forfeit to the King, not before they be dead*; and afterward it followeth, *That their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the King?* But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed; This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly may appear, by all the arguments and whole purport of the Statute; That as well the Preamble and Preface thereof, as the whole body of the said Statute, was made, framed and procured only by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates and the *Popish* Clergy, not so much for any Treason committed against the King; but only for fear and hatred of *Lollardy*, tending against their Law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any Treason against the Prince. And then to set the King and all the States against them, whereby the more readily to work their dispatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policy, as prettily to joyn Treason together with their *Lollardy*; wherein the poor men once intangled, could no ways escape destruction. *Papæ consilium callidum.*

The first procurers of this Statute.

Practice of Prelates to couple treason with heresie.

This, Master *Cope*, have I said, and say again, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not present my self, so with your own *Hall* I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the Readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumstance, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these Prelates. Protesting moreover (Master *Cope*) in this matter to you, that those Chronicles which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent. Who as they were not themselves present at the deed done no more than I, but only following uncertain rumors, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and other which depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this Statute enough. Out of which Statute you see (Mr. *Cope*) that neither your Chronicles, nor you can take any great advantage, to prove any Treason in the Lord *Cobham*, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premisses.

Alan Copus pag. 833. 1.4.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth Dialogue, with your Author *Edward Hall*, do alledge the Records, *Et publica judicii Acta*, to defame these men for Traitors (although what Records they be you bring forth never a word) I therefore in their defence do answer for them, which cannot now answer for themselves. And becaule you, to accuse them, do mention a certain Record, and yet do not shew us what Record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would: I have taken the pains therefore, for the love of them whom you so hate, to search out such Records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first I will declare the Commission granted, then the Indictment commenced against them. {KING Hen. 5.}

The which Commission and Indictment, albeit in countenance of words will seem to minister much suspition against them, to the simple Reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtil dealings and practices of Prelates; yet trulling upon the goodness of the cause, which I see here so falsly and slightly to be handled, I nothing fear nor doubt to produce the same out of the Records in *Latine* as they stand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adversaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, may the more better appear. The words first of the Commission here follow under written; which when thou shalt hear, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle Reader, I beseech thee, before thou understand further, what packing and subtle conveyance lieth covered and hid under the same

In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

The words of the Commission against the L. Cobham. (A)

R. *Dilectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlack, Henrico le Scrop, Willielmo Croiomere Majori Civitatis suæ London. Hugoni Huls, Joanni Preston, & Joanni Martin salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius* (A) *informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dignoscatur, quod quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii mortem nostram contra ligeanciæ suæ debitum proditorie imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quam status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem propoluerunt, ac diversas congregationes, & alia conventicula illicita pro nefando proposito suo in hac parte perimplend. fecerunt in nostri exhercdationem ac Regni nostri destructionem manifestam: Nos hujusmods Lollardos ac alios prædictos juxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigare & punire volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumspectione vestræ plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres vestrum, quorum vos præfati Major & Hugo, duos esse volumus Justic. nostros ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de civitate prædicta & suburbiis ejusdem, ac de Comitatu Middlesexiæ, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus per hujusmods Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis, & comitat. prædictis, factis & perpetrat. necnon de commodo proditionibus & insurrectionibus, rebellionibus & felonniis in civitate, suburbiis, & com. prædictis, per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis seu perpetratis, & ad easd. inquisitiones, & præmissa omnia & singula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta faciuri, &c. Salvis, &c. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ejus scire fac. venire facientes coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot. &c. de Ballivæ sua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, &c. & inquiri. In cujus, &c. T.R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Jan. Per ipsum Regem.* (B)

By these high and tragical words in this Commission sent down against the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and their fellows; it may peradventure seem to the ignorant and simple Reader, some heinous crime of Treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the Church, the King and their Country. But what cannot the fetching practice of the *Romish* Prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvel not (good Reader) at this, nor judge thou according to the words which thou hearest, but suspend thy judgment a while till the matter be more opened unto thee. Examples of like handling be not so rare, but thou mayst soon judge by other times the like also of these. *George Egle*, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of Queen *Mary*, and yet Commission was directed against him, as in case of railing up a commotion ared against him, as in case of railing up a commotion against the Queen. *Adam Damlip* in *Calis* did but preach, against the Queen. *Adam Damlip* in *Calis* did but preach, and the receiving of one poor Crown two years before at *Rome*, was enough to make him a Traitor. In time of King

Examples of divers falsly accused for Treason.

{KING Hen. 5.} King *Henry* the Eighth, one *Cmgleton*, Chaplain to Queen *Anne*, the Queens Majesties Mother that now is, did but preach the Gospel, moved by zeal (as I have credible witness of his own Scholar that heard him speak it, being with him) and yet by vertue of a Commission it was objected to him, for railing up commotion against the King, yea, and also for killing of *Pakington*, and suffered for the same as a Traitor. So here, what matter or marvel is it, if the King incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the Prelates, whom he believed, gave out his Commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Wherefore I exhort thee, Christian Reader, as I said before, judge not by and by the truth by the words of the Commission, but judge rather the words of the Commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least, yet defer thy sentence till both the Commission and the Indictment being laid together, thou mayst afterward see and perceive more what is to be judged in the case.

In the mean season mark well these words of the King in this Commission, (A) *Cum nos plenius informemur*, &c. By the which words it is easie to be understood, that the King himself had no certain knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of Bishops no doubt and Prelates) and thereupon gave forth his Commission aforesaid. And then how will this stand with our Chronicklers, and other Epitomes and Summaries, whom Master *Cope* doth alledge? for if it be certain that *Robert Fabian* saith, That the King himself being in the Field took certain of them, as Sir *Roger Acton*, Master *Brown*, and *John Beverley*; and your own *Edward Hall* also, and your Epitome agreeth to the same; and saith moreover, that they were brought before the Kings presence: *Thomas Cooper* also, whom you alledge, addeth further, and saith, that the King there by strength did take them.

(A)

the English Chronicklers examined by the words of the Commission.

I pray you (Master *Cope*) what needed the King to write this by information, when as he himself was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witness of the deed? The which if it be true that the King heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your *Chronicos* and your *Epitomas*? But herein I will neither greatly stick with you, nor contend with them; desiring the Reader only to bear in mind the date of this present Commission when it was given, (B) which foundeth to be the 10th day of *January*, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the Indictment hereunder following, which I will (the Lord willing) also hereunto annex, leaving nothing out; yea rather, minishing to the adversary all manner of helps, whatsoever they can seek or require for their most advantage in this matter, to be defired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing whatsoever blind malice can cavil against them.

(B)

The Indictment of the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and others, with Notes following upon the same.

*PARLIAMENTA coram*æ *coram* Domino Rege *apud Westm. de termino Sancti Hilarii, anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti, post conqûe. primo, Rot. 7. inter Parliamenta Regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrope, Gulielmo Crowmere Majore Civitatis London. Hugone Huls & sociis Justic. Domini Regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de Civitate Domini Regis London. & Suburbiis ejusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos Domini Regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in Civitate, Suburbiis, & Com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, necnon de omnibus proditionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonisis in Civitate, Suburbiis & Com. prad. per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad eosdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni Domini Regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius Domini Regis patentes, assign. apud Westm. die Mercurii* (A) *proximo post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo,* (B) *per sacram. xii. Jur. extitit. presentatum; quod Jo. Oldcastle de Couling. in Com. Kanc. chr. & alii Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hæreticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores prædictos manutenere, ac in facto minime perimplere voluerunt, quamdiu regia potestas & tam status regal. Domini nostri Regis, quam status & officium Prelatiæ dignitatis infra Regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso & proditorie machinando, tam statum Regni, quam statum & officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum Regnum Angl. penitus admillare; Ac Dominum nostrum Regem, fratres suos, prælatos, & alios magnates ejusdem Regni interficere, nec non vivos religiosos, relict. cult. divinis & religiosis observantiis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, & tam Ecclesiæ Cathedrales, quam alias Ecclesias & domos Religiosas develiquis & aliis bonis Ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, & dictum Dominum Regem* (C) *Regentem ejusdem Regni constituere, & quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra Regnum prædictum* (D) *quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei Catholicæ & cleri, quam status & majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem Regnum ordinare, falso & proditorie ordinaverunt & proposuerunt, quod ipso infimul cum quampluribus rebellibus Domini Regis* (E) *ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus Regn. Angl. modo guerrino arrivat.* (F) *privatim insurgent. & die Mercurii proximo* (G) *post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini Anno Regni Regis prædicti prædicto apud Villam & Parochiam Sancti Egidii* (H) *extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimit. convenirent & insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud Villam & Parochiam prædictæ prædicti Johannes Oldcastle & alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio perseverantes, prad. dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz.* (H) *Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Joan. de Lanc. & Humfred. de Lancast. necnon Prelatos & magnates prad. interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, & heredes suos de regno suo prædicto exheredare, & præmissa omnia & singula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falso & proditorie proposuerunt & imaginaverunt.* (I) *& ibidem versus eorum prad. modos & proditorio modo insurrectionem contra ligeanciæ suæ equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impeditis fuissent. Quod quidem indistamentum Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet præfatum Joannem Oldcastle, si, &c. & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; fecitque die Mercurii proximo post octavas Sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum Domino Regi de præmissis, &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram Domino Rege Vic. return. quod prædictus Joan. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in ballivæ sua, &c. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod exigi faceres eum de Com. in Com. quod que ultagetur si non, &c. Et si, &c. tunc eum caperet, & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberent corpus ejus coram Domino Rege in octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ ex tunc proximum sequen. ubicunque, &c. ad respondendum Domino Regi de proditionibus & felonijs superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo, Joannes Sutton, & Joannes Michel, Vic. Midd. coram Domino Rege returnaverunt quod ad Com. Midd. centum apud Brayntford die Jovis proximo ante Festum Sancti. Barnabæ Apostoli, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor Com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes prædictus Joannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorumdem Com. prædict. ullagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis sui.*

(A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H) (I)

Notes

Notes and Conſiderations upon the Indictment and Commiſſion above prefixed.

(A) *Die Mercurii proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ,* &c.

(A) The firſt Note concerning the date and day both of the Commiſſion, and of the verdict of Jurors concurring on one day.

First, here is to be noted and conſidered (good Reader) the day and date of giving out the Commiſſion, and then of the verdict preſented by the Jurors which was both in one day, that is, on the Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany*, in the firſt year of the reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of *January* (as the date of the Commiſſion ſaith) *Anno* 1413, after the uſe of *England*, or after the *Romiſh* uſe, *Anno* 1414, ſo that after the uſe ever we count whether it be *Anno* 1413, or elſe *Anno* 1414, the Dominical Letter beginning at the firſt day of *January* to change, muſt needs be *G.* for the year, and ſo neceſſarily make Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany* to be the tenth day of the ſaid month of *January*. Thus then this preſent Wedneſday, which was the tenth day of the month, being well noted and borne in mind, on the which day both the Commiſſion was directed, and alſo the verdict preſented, let us now proceed further in the foreſaid Indictment. It followeth.

(B) The ſecond Note of the names of the Jurors left out.

(B) *Per Sacramentum xii. Juratorum extitit præſentatum,* &c.

¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Jurors ſhould have been named. But it is not like that there was ever any ſuch Indictment found by any Jurors, and therefore they did beſt not to name the Jurors, leſt they would have denied this Indictment to be their act. It followeth more in proceſs of the Indictment.

(C) The third argument, by making a Regent, the King being not yet gone over.

(C) *Et dictum Joan. Oldcaſtle, Regentem ejuſdem regni conſtituere,* &c.

¶ If there were no other argument this were ſufficient to prove the manifeſt untruth of this furmiſed Indictment, when as the King was not yet gone to *France*, nor determined to go, how could they conſpire then to make a Regent? For the King went in *July* following, *viz.* the ſecond year of his reign, leaving behind him the Queen his Mother-in-law for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entred and ſtollen into the records with an antedate, or elſe at the leaſt there appeareth manifeſt untruth, that they ſhould conſpire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought upon, unleſs it were already run into the heads of the Clergy, who ſhortly after fearing their Temporalties, as *Coxton* faith, perſwaded the King to make Wars in *France*. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the ſecret ſpirit of the Clergy, and maketh the whole matter very ſuſpitious to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the Clergy, and their untrue ſurmiſes. It followeth moreover.

(D) The fifth argument by contrariety.

(D) *Quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem,* &c.

¶ How doth this ſtand with that which goeth before, that they conſpired to make a Regent, except you will ſay, that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It followeth.

(E) The ſixth argument by the perſons unknown.

(E) *Cum quamplurimis rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti milium hominum,* &c. ¶ A ſtrange matter, that they ſhould know of the conſpiracy of twenty thouſand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the Lord *Cobham* only, or one or two mo, and all the reſt were *ignoti*.

(F) The ſeventh argument by the unſkilful penning.

(F) *Privatim inſurgentes,* &c. ¶ This ſmelleth of the Clergies own penning, without any great advice of learned Counſel; for otherwiſe ſuch as had been herein ſkilful would never have put in *privatim inſurgentes*.

(G) The eighth argument by the date and time.

(G) *Die Mercurii proximo poſt feſtum Epiph. D. An. R. R. prædict.* &c. ¶ This Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany* was the tenth day of the month of *January*, and the ſame day when both the conſpiracy was put in execution, and the ſame day when the Commiſſion was given out to enquire, alſo when the fact was by inquiry preſented. Whereby it may ſeem a ſtrange thing that ſo great a conſpiracy known before hand, was not ſuppreſſed nor inquired of by any Commiſſion, but only by a Commiſſion bearing date of the ſame day, upon which day, by the purport of the Indictment, the conſpiracy ſhould have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforeſaid.

(H) *Prædicti. D. noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos, viz. Tho. Ducem Clarentiæ, Jo. de Lancaſtre, & Humfr. de Lancaſtre,* &c. ¶ If the Kings learned Counſel had dealt in this Indictment, as in caſe of Treaſon they ſhould have done, if it had been a matter of truth they would never have handled it ſo fleuderly, and wrongly, as to name the Dukes of *Bedford* and of *Gloceſter*, *Fols.* of *Lancaſter*, and *Humfry* of *Lancaſter*, who were made Dukes in the thirteenth year of the reign of King *Henry* the Fourth their Father, as appeareth by *Caxtons* Chronicle.

{KING Hen. 5.}

(H) The ninth argument, by error and wrong naming the Dukes.

(I) *Et ibidem verſus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie, modo inſurrectiones, contra ligeantias ſuas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum D. noſtrum regem,* &c.

(I) The tenth note or argument by the ſilence of the party.

¶ This is falſified by plain evidence of Hiſtories, and *Cope* himſelf confeſſeth no leſs. For ſo he faith and confeſſeth, *pag.* 833. lin. 12. That Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was not there in perſon, but only that his conſent and good will was there.

The 11th note or argument.

Again, ſeeing this equitation or riding toward St. *Giles* field was upon the Wedneſday next after the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, as in this Indictment and proceſs of Outlawry is above teſtified, which was the tenth day of *January*, and Commiſſion alſo the ſame day was charged, and the Jury alſo impannelled the ſame day, and yet no Juror named; *Item*, the verdict the ſame day preſented; how all theſe can concur together, and all in one day, let the Reader after he have well conſidered the matter, uſe his judgment therein, not only whether it be like, but alſo whether it be poſſible.

The twelfth note or argument.

Over and beſide all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the Treaſon, then had it not been needful to have brought Sir *Jo. Oldcaſtle* into the Parliament-Houſe before the Lords to be judged; for by his Outlawry (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado ſhould have had judgment in the *King's-Bench* as a Traytor. But the chief Juſtice knowing the handling of the matter, durſt not belike enterpriſe ſo far. Wherefore it was deviſed that he ſhould certifie the record into the Parliament, which he did, together with the Biſhops ſentence filed to the record, which was very ſtrange.

The L. Cobham, Sir R. Abbey, &c. proved no Traytors.

And thereupon the Lords gave ſuch a judgment as was not due for a Traytor. For that they gave no judgment, that he ſhould be drawn, hanged, and let down alive, and then Bowelled and Quartered, which is the judgment of a Traytor. And albeit the Parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the ſame Act of Attainder have ordained a ſpecial judgment, as they ſhould think good; yet when he was before attainted by the Outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common judgment of Treaſon. At leaſt how could or ſhould the judgment of Sir *Roger Acton*, Maſter *Brown*, and *John Beverly*, who were judged in the Guildhall before, and without the Parliament, vary from the ſaid common judgment of Traytors, if they had truly committed and been convicted of ſuch High Treaſon?

The 13th note or argument.

Add this moreover to the foreſaid notes; that if Sir *John Oldcaſtle* after his eſcape out of priſon, had been culpable, and ſo attainted of that High Treaſon, whereby his lands had been immediately forfeit unto the King by the proceſs of his Outlawry; what needed the King then in the ſecond year of his reign, in the Parliament after holden at *Leiceſter*, have made that *proviſo* to have his land forfeit to him by vertue of Parliament, upon his eſcape on the day of his arreſt, when as the land, and chattel of his had been forfeit before, by the proceſs of the Outlawry, as is before ſpecified?

Thus you ſee, *M. Cope*, how little vantage you can wreſt out of this Commiſſion and Indictment againſt the L. *Cobham* and his fellows, to prove them Traytors. And admit the ſaid L. *Cobham* was attainted of Treaſon by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons aſſented to the Act; yet it bindeth not in ſuch ſort, as if indeed he were no Traytor, that any may not by ſearch of the truth utter and ſet forth ſincerely and juſtly the very true cauſe of his death.

Anſwer to the Allegations of *Fab. Pa. Fol. and Hall*, &c.

Thus then having ſufficiently cleared the L. *Cobham* and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and ſtatutes, let us now come to your *Engliſh* Chronicles wherewith you ſeem to preſs me, and to oppreſs them, whom

{KING Hen. 5.} whom ye name to be *Rob. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Pol. Virgil, Tho. Cooper, Rich. Grafton*, with other brief Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which Authors, as I have nothing to ſay, but to their commendations, in this place: ſo if that you had avouched the ſame to the commendation rather than to the reproof of other, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cauſe. But now like a ſpider-catcher ſucking out of every one what is the worſt, to make up your leyſtall, you heap up a dunghill of dutty Dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent ſlanders, manifeſt untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and ſtinking blaſphemy, able almoſt to corrupt, and infect the air. Such is the malady and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write. Which of yours nevertheleſs I do not here reproach or contemn, as neither do I greatly fear the fame. God of his mercy keep the ſword out of the Papiſts hand, it is not the pen of the Papiſts I greatly paſs upon, though twenty Copes and ſo many Sanderſſes were ſet againſt the Book of Monuments, were I ſo diſpoſed (*M. Cope*) to dally, or as the *Greeks* do ſay, ἀντικνᾶν, and to repay again in this ſatyrical ſort of barking I give you over, and ſuffer you therein to paſs not only your ſelf, but alſo *Cerberus* himſelf, if ye will, the great bandog of *Pluto*. Mildneſs and humanity rather beſeems and is the grace of the *Latin* phraſe. If ye could hit upon the vain thereof, it would win you much more honeſty with all honeſt men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beſeech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

Modeſty commended in Writers.

Two things to be obſerved in ſtory Writers.

In the mean time ſeeing this your prattling pen muſt needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of theſe your own Authors whom you alledge, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming againſt them whoſe cauſe is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to anſwer to theſe your foreſaid writers, as witneſſes produced againſt theſe men: there be two things (as I take it) in theſe Chronicle-writers to be conſidered; firſt the grounds whereof they follow: ſecondly, in what place they ſtand.

The ground of Hiſtories to be conſidered.

As touching the order and ground of writing among theſe Chroniclers, ye muſt conſider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all theſe by you forenamed was preſent at the deed, nor witneſs of the fact, ſo have they nothing of themſelves herein certainly to affirm, but either muſt follow publick rumor and hear-ſay for their Author, or elſe one of them muſt borrow of another. Whereof neither ſeemeth to me ſufficient. For as publick rumor is never certain; ſo one Author may ſoon deceive another.

All things not true that be found in ſtories.

By reaſon whereof it cometh oft to paſs, that as theſe ſtory-writers hit many times the truth, ſo again all is not in the Goſpel that they do write: wherefore great reſpect is here to be had, either not to credit raſhly every one that writeth Stories, or elſe to ſee what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Now to demand (*M. Cope*) of you, what authority or foundation hath your *R. Fabian*, hath *Polyd. Virgil*, *Ed. Hall*, and other of your Authors, to prove theſe men to be Traytors? What authority do they avouch? what Acts, what Regiſters, what Records, or out of what Court do they ſhew, or what demonſtration do they make? And do you think it ſufficient, becauſe theſe men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your *sore ton*, therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not ſo *M. Cope*, that I do here diminiſh any thing, or derogate from the credit of thoſe writers you allege, whoſe labours have deſerved well, and ſerve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controverſie between us, we are now forced to ſeek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to ſay, ſo it is, but the cauſe is to be ſhewed why it is ſo affirmed. And what though *Robert Fabian*, *Polydore Virgil*, and *Edward Hall* ſhould altogether (as they do not) agree in the Treaſon of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and of the reſt? yet neither is this any ſufficient ſurety to prove them Traytors; conſidering that Writers of Stories for the moſt part following either blind report, or elſe one taking of another, uſe commonly all to found together after one tune, *tanquam Dodonei lebetes*, ſo that as one ſaith, all ſay, and if one err, all do err. Wherefore you ſee Maſter *Cope*, how it is not ſufficient nor ſure to ſtick only to the names and authorities of Chronographers, unleſs the ground be found ſubſtantial whereupon they ſtand themſelves. Which

Words without probation, are not ſufficient in Hiſtory matters.

Chronicles how far, and to what effect they ſerve.

yet in none of theſe whom you have produced doth appear.

Secondly, In alledging and writing of Chronicles, it is to be conſidered to what place and effect they ſerve. If ye would ſhew out of them the order and courſe of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, when Kings kept their Chriſtmaſs, what Conduits were made, what Mayors and Sheriffs were in *London*, what Battels were fought, what Triumphs and great Feaſts were holden, when Kings began their reign, and when they ended, &c. In ſuch vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the Chronicler ſerveth to good purpoſe, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or falſe, or whether any liſteth to believe them. But whereas a thing is denied, and in caſes of judgment, and in controverſies doubtful, which are to be decided and boulted out by evidence of juſt demonſtration: I take them neither for Judges of the Bench, nor for arbiters of the cauſe, nor as witneſſes of themſelves ſufficient neceſſarily to be ſticked unto: albeit I deny not but Hiſtories are taken many times, and ſo termed for witneſſes of times, and glaſſes of antiquity, &c. yet not ſuch witneſſes as whoſe teſtimony beareth always a neceſſary truth, and bindeth belief.

Hiſtories not raſhly to be believed.

The Two witneſſes which came againſt *Suſanna* being Senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a moſt evident teſtimony, whereby they almoſt both deceived the people, and oppreſſed the innocent, had not young *Daniel* by the holy ſpirit of God, taken them aſide, and ſeverally examining them one from the other, found them to be falſe lyers both; leaving to us thereby a leſſon of wholſome circumſpection, not raſhly to believe all that cometh, and alſo teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore (*M. Cope*) following here the like example of *Daniel* in trying theſe your records which ye infer againſt theſe men, we will in like manner examine them ſeverally one from another, and ſee how their teſtimony agreeth: firſt beginning with your *R. Fabian*. Which *R. Fab.* being neither in the ſame age, nor at the deed doing, can of himſelf give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

The teſtimony of *Fabian* againſt the Lord Cobham examined.

How then doth *R. Fabian* prove this matter of Treaſon to be true? what probation doth he bring? what authority doth he alledge? And doth *R. Fabian* think if he were not diſpoſed to conceive of the L. *Cobham*, and thoſe men, a better opinion but to be Traytors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cauſe declared, why they ſhould ſo do, but only becauſe he ſo ſaith, and it pleaſed him ſo to write? And if ye think (*Mr. Cope*) the word only of this witneſs ſufficient to make authority, ſpeaking againſt the L. *Cobham*, and proving nothing which followed ſo many years after him; why may not I as well and much rather take the word and teſtimony of *Richard Belward* a *Norfolk* man of the Town of *Criſam*, who living both in his time, and poſſibly knowing the party, and puniſhed alſo for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded alſo in the Regiſters of the Church of *Norwich*, to give this teſtimony among other his articles, for the foreſaid L. *Cobham*, *viz.* that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a true Catholick man, and falſly condemned, and put to death without a reaſonable cauſe, &c. *Ex regiſt. Norwic.*

The teſtimony of *Richard Belward* for the Lord *Cobham*.

Ex Regiſtr. Epiſc. Norw.

Againſt this man if you take exception, and ſay, that one Heretick will hold with another; why may not I with the like exception reply to you again, and ſay as well, one *Papiſt* will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and ſay the worſt againſt a true *Proteſtant*?

Further, yet to examine this foreſaid *Fabian*, witneſs againſt Sir *J. Oldcaſtle*, as *Daniel* examined the witneſſes againſt *Suſanna*: I will not here ask under what Tree theſe Adherents of Sir *J. Oldcaſtle* confpired againſt the King, and ſubverſion of the Land, but in what year, and in what month this Conſpiracy was wrought? *Fabian* witneſſeth, that it was in the Month of *January*. Contrariwiſe, *Ed. Hall*, and other our abridgmenters following him, do affirm that they were condemned in the *Guild-Hall* the 12th of *December*, and that their execution upon the ſame was in *January* following, ſo that by their ſentence the fact was done either in the Month of *December*, or elſe before, and ſo *Fabianus mentitus eſt in caput ſuum, ut cum Daniele dicam*, or if it were in the Month of *January*, as *Fabian* ſaith, then is *Hall* and his followers deceived, teſtifying the fact to be done in the Month of *December*.

Witneſſes againſt the Lord Cobham agree not together.

And

Fabian convicted of a manifeſt untruth in his ſtory of the L. *Cobham*. *pub. pars. 7. in vita Hen. pag. 590.*

And yet to object moreover againſt the ſaid *Fabian*, forſomuch as he is ſuch a raſh witneſs againſt theſe burned perſons, whom he called Traytors: it would be demanded further of him, or in his abſence of Mr. *Cope*, in what year this Treaſon was conſpired? If it were in the ſame year (as he confeſſeth himſelf) in which year *John Cleidon* the Skinner, and *Rich. Turmine* Baker were burned, then was it neither in the month of *January*, nor in the firſt year of King *Henry* the Fifth, for in the Regiſter of *Canterbury* it appeareth plain, that *John Cleidon* was condemned neither in the time of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, nor yet in the firſt nor ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fifth, but was condemned in the ſecond year of the Tranſlation of *Henry Chicheſly*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the 17 day of *Auguſt*, which was the year of our Lord 1415. So that if this conſpiracy was in the ſame year (after the witneſs of *Fabian*) in which year *John Cleidon* was burned, then doth the teſtimony of *Fabian* neither accord with other witneſſes, nor with himſelf, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witneſs of *R. Fabian*.

Ex Regiſt. Archiep. Cant.

The teſtimony of *Polydore* examined.

Let us next proceed to *Polydore Virgil*, whoſe partial and untrue handling of our Hiſtory, in other places of his Books, doth offer to us ſufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: And yet becauſe we will rather examine him, than exclude him, let us hear a little what he ſaith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbring the ſame upon my five fingers.

Five untruths of *Polydore* noted in our ſtory. Firſt untruth.

Firſt, ending with the life of King *Henry* the Fourth, he ſaith that he reigned fourteen years and ſix months, and two days, *Angliæ Hiſtoriæ, Lib.* 21. which is an untruth worthy to be puniſhed with a whole years baniſhment (to ſpeak after the manner of *Apuleius*) when as truth is, he reigned by the teſtimony of the ſtory of St. *Albanes*, of *Fabian*, of *Hall*, of our old *Engliſh* Chronicle, and of *Scala Mundi*, but thirteen and ſix months, lacking, as ſome ſay, five days; *Hall* ſaith he raigned but twelve years.

2. Untruth.

The ſecond untruth of *Polydore* is this, whereas he, ſpeaking of this ſedition of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* and his adherents, affirmeth the ſame to be done after the burning of *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, which was (ſaith he) *Anno* 1415, in which year (ſaith he) *Thomas Arundel* died. His words be theſe, *In eodem concilio damnata eſt Johan. Wicliff. Hæreſis, ac Johan. Hus. & Hieronimus Pragenſis in ea urbe combuſti ſunt. Quod ubi reliquis conſocijs, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furias agitati primum conjurationes in omnes ſacerdotes, deinde in regem, &c.* In which words he not only erreth, falſly affigning the cauſe and occaſion of this ſedition to the death of *John Hus*, and of *Hierome*, but alſo miſſeth as much in the order and computation of the years. For neither was Sir *Roger Acton* with his foreſaid fellows alive at the time of the Council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our *Engliſh* writers, except only with *Hall*, who alſo erreth therein as wide as he.

3rd Untruth

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and ſaith, that after this rebellion raiſed againſt the King, the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, being there preſent himſelf, was taken and priſoned in the Tower, and afterward eſcaped out of the ſaid Tower by night; wherein is contained a double untruth. For neither was Sir *John Oldcaſtle* there preſent himſelf, if we believe *Fabian* and *Cope*, *Dial.* 6. *pag.* 833. *lin.* 11. neither yet did he ever eſcape out of the Tower after that conſpiracy, if ever any ſuch conſpiracy was.

Cope pag. 833. lin. 11.

5. Untruth.

His fifth, but not the laſt untruth in *Polydore*, is this, that he ſaith, *Tho. Arundel* to have died in the ſame year, noting the year to be *Anno* 1415, whereas by the true Regiſters he died *Anno* 1414.

Another untruth in *Polydore* noted

To this untruth another may be joyned, where he erring in the computation of the years of the ſaid *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, reporteth him to ſit twenty two years. Who was there Archbiſhop but only eighteen years, as is to be ſeen in the Records of *Canterbury*. The words of *Polydore* be theſe, *Thomas Arundelius Cantuarienſis antiſtes annum jam tunc ſedens tertium & vigeſimum e vita exceſſit, lib.* 22. *Aug. Hiſt.* Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with *Polydore*, and peradventure the adverſary will find ſome eaſie ſhift for this matter.

But let us now paſs from *Polydore*, not (as they ſay) out of the Hall into the Kitchin, but out of the Kitchin into the Hall, examining and perpending what ſaith *Edward Hall* another witneſs in this matter; upon whom Mr. *Cope* bindeth ſo faſt, that he ſuppoſeth his knot is never able to be looſed. And moreover he ſo treadeth me down under his feet in the dirt (as a man would think him ſome dirt-daubers ſon) ſo that the ſpots thereof, he ſaith, will never be gotten out while the world ſtandeth, and a day longer. Nothwithſtanding I truſt, Maſter *Cope*, that your dirty pen with your cockiſh brags hath not ſo debauched and beſpotted me, nor yet convicted me to be ſuch a depraver of Hiſtories. But I hope to ſpunge it out. At leaſt way, with a little *aſperges* of the Popes holy water, I truſt to come to a *Deallbaber* well enough.

{KING} 1 *Hen.* 5.

The teſtimony of *Hall* againſt the L. *Cob.* examined.

But certes Mr. *Cope*, your Maſterſhip muſt firſt underſtand, that if ye think ſo to depreſs and diſprove me of untruth in my Hiſtory, you muſt go more groundly to work, and bring againſt me other Authors than *Edward Hall*. You muſt conſider Mr. *Cope*, if you be a controller of ſtory-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing ſpirit, or a mind diſpoſed to carp and cavil where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great ſearching out of Books and Authors, not only of our time, but of all ages. And eſpecially where matters of Religion are touched pertaining to the Church, it is not ſufficient to ſee what *Fabian* or what *Hall* ſaith; but the Records muſt be ſought, the Regiſters muſt be turned over, Letters alſo and ancient Inſtruments ought to be peruſed, and Authors with the ſame compared; finally, the Writers amongſt themſelves one to be conferred with another. And ſo with judgment matters are to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with ſimplicity pure from all addition and partiality to be uttered.

Thus did *Aventinus*, thus did *Sleidanus*, write. Theſe helps alſo the eldeſt and beſt Hiſtoricians ſeemed to have, both *Titus Livius*, *Saluſtius*, *Quintus Curtius*, and ſuch like, as by their Letters and Records inferred may well appear. The ſame helps likewiſe both in your *Fabian* and in your *Edward Hall* were to be required, but eſpecially in you (Mr. *Cope*) your ſelf, which take upon you to cockiſhly (rather than wiſely) to be a controller and maſter Moderator of other mens matters. In which matters (to ſay the truth) you have no great skill, and leſs experience, neither have you ſuch plenty of Authors meet for that purpoſe, nor yet ever travelled to ſearch out the origines and grounds of that whereof ye write. But only contented with ſuch as cometh next to hand, or peradventure, receiving ſuch Alms as ſome of your poor friends beſtow upon you, you think it ſufficient if you can alledge *Fabian* and *Hall* for your purpoſe.

Hall in the ſtory of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other ſtories. Untruth in *Hall* noted.

Cope a carrier of Authors whereof he hath no skill.

Now what purpoſe and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you to the carping and barking againſt the Hiſtory of theſe good men, that be hence gone and had their puniſhment, all men may ſee it to be no ſimple ſincerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your Sect of *Popery*, or rather of fury, which ſetteth your railing ſpirit on fire. But now out of the fiery Kitchin to come to the *Hall* again, let us ſee what matter lieth in the teſtimony of *Edward Hall*, to prove theſe men to be Traitors. And here forſomuch (M. *Cope*) as you ſeem neither ſufficiently acquainted with this your own Maſter and Author Maſter *Hall*, nor yet well experienced in the ſearching out of Hiſtories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to certifie you, concerning the ſtory of this Author, whereof perchaſe you your ſelf are ignorant.

Hall doubtfulls in the ſtory of Sir *R. Acton*, &c.

Anſwer to Ed. Hall.

The truth whereof is this, that as the ſaid *Edward Hall*, your great Maſter and *Taſter*, was about the compiling of his ſtory, certain there were which reſorted to him, of whom ſome were drawers of his Pedigree and Vineat, ſome were Gravers, the names of whom were *John Betts*, and *Tyral*, which be now both dead. And other there were of the ſame ſodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the houſe of *Richard Grafton* both the Printer of the ſaid Book, and alſo (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of the ſame. It ſo befel, that as *Hall* was entring into the ſtory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, of Sir *Roger Acton* and their fellows, the Book of *John Bale*, touching the ſtory of the Lord *Cobham*, was the ſame time newly come over. Which Book was privily conveyed by one of his ſervants into the Study of *Hall*, ſo that in turning over his Books it muſt needs come to his hands. At the ſight where-

{KING} 1 *Hen.* 5.

Hall raceth out his own ſtory originall againſt the Lord *Cobham*.

The teſtimony of *Hall* againſt the L. *Cob.* examined.

whereof, when he ſaw the ground and reaſons in that Book contained, he turned to the Authors in the foreſaid Book alledged, whereupon within two nights after, moved by what cauſe, I know not, but ſo it was, that he taking his pen, raced and cancelled all that he had written before againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and his fellows; and was now ready to go to the print, containing near to the quantity of three Pages. And left (*M. Cope*) you, or any other ſhould think me to ſpeak belide my Books, be it therefore known both to you, and to all other, by theſe preſents, that the very ſelf ſame firſt Copy of *Hall*, raced and croſſed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be ſhewed and ſeen, as need ſhall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he following the Narration of *Polydore*, began with like words to declare how the Sacramentaries here in *England*, after the death of *Jo. Huſſe*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, being pricked, as he ſaith, with a Demoniacal ſting, firſt conſpired againſt the Prieſts, and after againſt the King, having to their Captains Sir *John Oldcaſtle* the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, with many moe words to the like purpoſe and effect, as *Polydore*, and other ſuch like Chronicles do write againſt him. All which matter notwithſtanding the ſaid *Hall* with his pen at the ſight of *John Bales* Book, did utterly extinguiſh and aboliſh; adding in the place thereof the words of Maſter *Bales* Book, touching the accuſation and condemnation of the ſaid Lord *Cobham* before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, taken out of the Letter of the ſaid Archbiſhop, as is in his own Story to be ſeen: *In vita Hen.* 5. *Pag.* 2. *lin.* 30.

Hall in vita *Hen.* 5. *pag.* 2. *lin.* 30.

And thus *Ed. Hall* your Author, revoking and calling back all that he had deviſed before againſt the L. *Cobham* (whereof I have his own hand to ſhew, and witneſs ſubſtantial upon the ſame) in his printed Book recordeth of him no more, but only hereuth the proceſs between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and him for matters of Religion. And ſo ending with Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, he proceedeth further to the aſſembly of Sir *Roger Acton* (whom he falſly calleth *Robert Acton*) *Jo. Browne*, and *Beverly*, the Narration whereof he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth it ſelf. For where he excludeth the L. *Cobham* out of that aſſembly, he diſcordeth therein from *Polydore* and other; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conſpiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of *December*; that is manifeſtly falſe, if the records before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this aſſembly to be after the burning of *John Huſſe*, and of *Jerome* of *Prague*, therein he accordeth with *Polydore*, but not with the truth. Moreover ſo doubtful he is and ambiguous, in declaration of his ſtory, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

Hall no witneſs in Sir *Roger Acton* caſe.

Firſt, as touching the confeſſion of them, he confeſſeth himſelf that he ſaw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large. And as concerning the cauſes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth *M. Cope*) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only recite the ſurmiſes and minds of divers men diverſly, ſome thinking it was of conveying the L. *Cobham* out of the Tower, ſome that it was for Treaſon and Hereſie; and here cometh in the mention only of a record, but what record it is he neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwiſe againſt affirming (as he ſaith) that it was for ſained cauſes furniſhed by the Spiritualty, more of diſpleaſure than truth. And thus your Author *Hall*, having recited the variety of mens opinions, determineth himſelf no certain thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the witneſſes of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the Reader. And ſo concluding his Narration, forſomuch as he was neither a witneſs of the fact, nor preſent at the deed, he overpaſſeth the ſtory thereof.

And what witneſs then will you, or can you (Maſter *Cope*) take of *Edw. Hall*, which denieth himſelf to be a witneſs? Will you compell him to ſay that he ſaw not? and to witneſs that he cannot? Wherefore like as *Suſanna* in the ſtory of *Daniel*, was quit by right judgment in the caſe of adultery, becauſe her accuſers and Teſtes being examined aſunder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; ſo why may not in like caſe of Treaſon, Sir *Roger Acton*, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, *Brown* with the reſt, claim the ſame priviledg? ſeeing among the Teſtes and witneſſes produced againſt them ſuch diſcord is found, and ſuch halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, perſon, year, day, nor month.

Remembrance noted in the witneſs againſt the L. *Cobham*, and Sir *R. Acton*.

1. For firſt, where *Fabian* and his fellows ſay, that they were aſſembled together in a great company in the field near to Saint *Giles*, the forged Indictment above alledged, ſaith, they were but riding toward the field.

1 Repugnance in the place.

2. Secondly, where the foreſaid Indictment and *Polydore* give the L. *Cobham* to be preſent perſonally in that aſſembly, *Hall*, and *Alanus Copus Anglus*, do exclude his perſonal preſence from thence; and ſo doth *Fabian* alſo ſeem to agree, ſpeaking only of the adherents of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

2 Repugnance in the perſon. *Alanus Copus, pag.* 833. *lin.* 121

3. Where *Hall* and *Polydore* report this aſſembly to be after the burning of *John Hus*, and of *Jerome* at the Council of *Conſtance*, which was *Ann.* 1415, that cannot be, but if there were any ſuch conſpiracy in the firſt year of *Hen.* V. it muſt needs be in *Ann.* 1413. And here by the way, why do certain of your Epitom-writers, ſpeaking of the L. *Cobham*, committed firſt to the Tower for Hereſie, refer the ſaid impriſonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it muſt needs be *Ann.* 1413. being done in harveſt time.

3 Repugnance in the year.

4. Fourthly, where *Hall* with his followers affirm that Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown* and *Beverly* were condemned the twelfth day of *December*, the record is evident againſt it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of *January*.

4 Repugnance in the month.

5. Fifthly, whereas the foreſaid Record of the Indictment giveth the Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany*, which was the tenth day of *January* that preſent year, both the fact to be committed the ſame day, the Commiſſion alſo to be granted and delivered to the Commiſſioners the ſame day, the ſaid Commiſſioners to ſit in Commiſſion the ſame day, the Sheriffs of *Middleſex* to return a Jury out of the body of *Middleſex* the ſame day, and the Jurors to find the Indictment of the ſame day, and yet no Juror in the Indictment named the ſame day.

5 Repugnance in the days.

Item, the Lord *Cobham* the ſame day to be found conſpiring to make himſelf Regent, when as the King, that day and year was not yet paſſed into *France*; how ſtands it then can concur and hang together, and all in one day; I ſuppoſe it will coſt you two days before you with all your learned Council will ſtudy it out. And when you in your unlawful aſſemblies have conſpired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I think) three days, before you honeſtly diſpatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impreſſed in me ſuch a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world ſtandeth, yet ſhall the poſterity to come judg between you and me, whether ſhall appear more honeſt and true, my defence for that worthy Lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling againſt him, moved with no other cauſe but only with the peeviſh ſpirit of Popery, which can abide nothing but that favoureth of your own Sect. For elſe how many loud lying Legends, yea what Legions of lyes are daily uſed and received in the Popiſh Church? What doltiſh dreams? what fained miracles? what blaſphemous tales? and finally fables, and lye inventions, ſpringing againſt the ſincere Religion, Doctrine and Croſs of Chriſt? And could you hold your pen from all theſe and find nothing elſe to ſet your idleneſs on work, but only to write againſt the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, *Onley*, *Cowbridge*, with a few other, whom with much ado at length you have fought out, not ſo much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily ſeeking matter by theſe to deface and blemiſh the Book of Acts and Monuments? Which ſeemeth belike to make you ſcratch there where it itcheth not. And if I ſhould after the like dealing take in hand your Popiſh portues, and with the like diligence excuſe every Popiſh Martyr and Saint there canonized; think you Maſter *Cope*, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank Traytors and Rebels to their Kings and Princes, as ever were any of theſe of your picking out? Make pope almoſt hath there been theſe laſt five hundred years, which hath not been a Traytor to his Emperour and Prince, and to his Country? Either openly rebelling againſt them, or privily conſpiring their deſtruction, or proudly

Papiſts cannot ſee great beams in their own eyes, which ſpie ſmall moted in other.

Popes Traytors to their Emperors and Princes.

proudly setting their feet upon their necks, or spurning their Crowns off from their heads, or making the Son to fight against the Father? how many have they deposed, and set up other in their seats? how many Emperors and Kings have they wrongfully cursed? What Consuls of *Rome* have they resisted, deposed and put to death? What Wars have they raised up against their own Country of *Rome*? Yea, the continual holding of the City of *Rome* from his lawful Emperor, what is it but a continual point of Treason?

What will you answer me (Mr. *Cope*) to the Pope, which conspired to let fall down a stone upon the Emperors head, kneeling at his prayers?

The Popes Saints and Confessors many were Traytors.

And though this Treachery, being as big as a Millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied; yet what will ye say by the Monk of *Swinstead*, that poisoned King *John*, who was both absolved by his Abbot before his Treason committed, and after his Treason, had a perpetual Mass sung for him, to help him out of Purgatory? And what think ye in your Conscience is to be said of *Thomas Becket*, who did enough, and more than became him, to set the *French* King, and the King of *England* together by the ears? Of *Anselm* likewise, and of *Stephen Langton*, who departed both out of the Realm to complain of their Princes and Sovereigns? The like may be said also of *Jo. Peckham*, *John Stratford* Archbishop of the same See, notoriously resisted the Kings commandment, being sent for by King *Edward* the Third, to come to the Parliament at *York*; through the default of whose coming, the present opportunity of getting of *Scotland* was the same time lost.

Rich. Scrope Archbishop of York, a Traytor, and yet counted a holy man.

Richard Scrope Archbishop of *York* was openly in Arms to rebel and fight against King *Henry* the Fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death: and yet notwithstanding, Commission was sent down from the Pope shortly after, to excommunicate them which put him to death, his Treason notwithstanding. Read the story sincerely of Pope *Benedict* the 12*th*. and of Pope *Clement* the 6*th*. And see how the traiterous Rebellion of these two Popes against *Ludovicus* their rightful Emperor can be defended: which Emperor at last was also impoisoned, and not without the practice of Pope *Clement*, as doth *Hieronimus Marius* credibly witness.

Popes commonly Traytors.

Tho. Lancaster a Traytor, and yet made a Saint by the Pope.

In the Reign of King *Edward* the Second, mention was made before of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*. Who, with a great number of other Nobles and Barons of the Realm, rose in armour against their Prince, and therefore at length were put to death as Traitors. And yet notwithstanding this Treason committed (Master *Cope*) if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your fetters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certain Noblemen went up to *Rome*, for the Canonizing of the said *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, to be made a Saint, and obtained the same. Informich that in a certain old Kalendar, the name of the said St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, is yet extant to be seen.

Edw. and Archbishop of Canterbury reconciled against his Prince, and yet made a Saint by the Pope.

In the former Book of the *Acts and Monuments* above about the page 353. or 354. mention was made of *Edmond Abbenden* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom although I do not disprove, but rather commend in my History, for his bold and sage counsel given unto King *Henry* the 3*d*. and also for offering the censure of Excommunication against the King in so necessary a cause; yet notwithstanding the same *Edmund* afterward, about his later end, went up with a rebelling mind to complain of his King unto the Pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who afterward for the same was Canonized by the Pope, and now thineth among the Saints in the Popes Kalendar.

Tho. Arundel a rank Traytor against his King, and yet a great pillar counted in the Popes Church.

Let us come more near to these days and times, and consider the doings of *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the King, and afterward coming in with *Henry Bolinbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, in open Arms, and with main force, rose against his natural and lawful King. Think you, Mr. *Cope*, this is not as great a point of Treason, as that which was done in *Thickets* Fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous Saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly stick to say, *Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis*.

All these things well considered, tell me (Mr. *Cope*) I pray you, is Treason such a strange and uncouth thing in your Pope-Catholick Church, that your burning zeal of obedience to Kings and Princes cannot read the story of the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton*, but your Pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many Traitors in your own Kalendars neither seen, nor once spoken of? And if the Traiterous Conspiracy and Rebellion of so many your Kalendar Saints, committed against Emperors, Kings and Princes, cannot stir your zeal, nor move your Pen; nor if the Treason of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, raising War against his own City of *Rome*, and causing thirty thousand Citizens in one Battel to be slain, deserveth not to be espied, and accused as much as this Treason of the Lord *Cobham*; yet what will you, or can you answer to me (Master *Cope*) as touching the horrible Treason of Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, committed not against Emperor nor King, nor any mortal man, but against the Lord himself, even against your God of your own making, being therein as you say, no substance of bread, but the very personal body, flesh, bloud, and bone of Christ himself; which body notwithstanding the foresaid Pope *Gregory* the 7*th*. took and cast with his own hands into the burning fire, because he would not answer him to a certain doubt or demand? *Ben Card.*

Pope Greg. 7. a Traytor against the Lords own body.

Southly, if Sir *John Oldcastle* had taken the body of King *Henry* the Fifth, and thrown him into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certain as this is, I would never have bestowed any word in his defence. And could this and so many other heinous Treasons pass through your fingers, Mr. *Cope*, and no other to stick in your Pen but the Lord *Cobham*?

Vide supra.

Finally and simply to conclude with you (Master *Cope*) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions and practices of your Religion, or hath been almost these five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of Treason, to thrust down your Princes and Magistrates, to derogate from their Right and Jurisdiction, and to advance your own Majesties and Dominations, as hath been sufficiently above proved, and laid before your faces in a Parliament holden in *France* by the Lord *Peter de Cugneriis*? Wherefore if the assembly of these forenamed persons, either within or without Saint *Giles's* Field, be such a great Mote of Treason in your eyes, first look upon the great Blocks and Millstones of your own Traitors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then after pour out your Wallet of your trifling Dialogues, or Trialogues, if ye list against us, and spare us not. Not that I so think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the Treason of these Men, if your *Popish* Kalendars and Legends be found full of Traitors. *Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium*: but this, I think, That the same cause which made them to suffer as Traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for Traitors, that is, meer hatred only against their Religion, rather than any true affection you have to your Princes and Governors. Who, if they had been as fervent in your *Popery*, and had suffered so much for the holy Father of *Rome*, or for the liberties of the holy Mother Church of *Rome*, I doubt not but they, as holy Children of *Rome*, had been rung into your *Romish* Kalendar with a *Festum duplex*, or at least with *Festum simplex*, of nine Lessons, also with a Vigil peradventure before them.

Religion commonly maketh Treason among the Papists.

Now because they were of the contrary profession, and enemies to you *Magna Diana Ephesiorum*, you play with them as the *Ephesian* Carvers did with Saint *Paul*, and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious Rebels, not only out of life and body, but also cannot abide them to have any poor harborer in their own friends houses, among our *Acts and Monuments* to be remembred. In the which *Acts and Monuments*, if gentle Master *Irenæus*, with his fellow *Critobulus* in your Clerkly Dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbred for Martyrs; yet speak a good word for them (Master *Cope*) they may stand for *Testes* or Witnes-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Now

{KING} 1 Hen. 5.5

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this *Alanus Copus Anglus* in his ἐξανλὰ or fix fold Dialogues contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to prove me in my History to be a lier, forger, impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depraver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not? Whose virulent words and contumelious terms, how well they become his Popish person, I know not. Certes for my part I never deserved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. M. *Cope* is a man whom yet I never saw, and less offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his Book intituled himself to be an *Englishman*, by his writing I would have judged him rather some wild *Irish* man, lately crept out of Saint *Patricks* purgatory, so wildly he writeth, so furnishly he fareth.

Answer to the second part of Copus accusation concerning his untrue charging of the Book of Acts and Monuments.

But I cease here, and temper my self, considering not what M. *Cope* deserveth to be said unto, nor how far the pen here could run if it had his scope, but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth. And therefore seriously to say unto you (M. *Cope*) in this matter, where you charge my History of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and fained fables; briefly and in one word to answer you, not as the *Lacones* answered to the Letters of their adversary, with *Si*, but with *o si*; would God (M. *Cope*) that in all the whole Book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the later end of the same, were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God the cruelty of your Catholicks had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye say now that I do lie. Although I deny not but in that Book of Acts and Monuments, containing such diversity of matter, something might overscape; yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The Book of Acts and Monuments not true if it had pleased God otherwise.

If you M. *Cope*, or any other can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I shall rejoyce with you and the Common-wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fineness, or other indurnents required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that is a laboured Story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: But such time, as I had, that I did bestow, if not so laboriously as others could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will say; I should have taken more leasure and done it better. I grant and confess my fault, such is my vice, I cannot fit all the day (M. *Cope*) fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing my self all the day at Glass of *Cicero*, yet not withstanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at Master *Copes* hand. Who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other mens labours (which is an easie thing to do) it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himself upon the matter, and so should have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuse my self, yea rather am ready to accuse my self, but yet notwithstanding think my self ungently dealt withal at Masters *Copes* hand. Who being mine own Country-man, an *Englishman* as he saith, also of the same University, yea, College and School that I was of; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of *Germany*, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had; and the same edition afterward translated out of Latin into English by others, whilest I in the mean time was occupied about other Registers; and now the said *Cope* hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new Edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed; if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently by letters have admonished me thereof; gentleness would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but he might sooner have written a Letter to me, than a Book against me. Neither was I so ingrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly where any fault had been committed.

Ungentleness noted in Cope.

But herein your nature (Master *Cope*) doth right well appear. First in the said Book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable peradventure for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that you dissemble and pass over, only excepting those matters which make for cavillation. Thus the black Spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh his poison. And what Book is so pleasant and fruitful, though it were the Popes own Portues, yea, his own Decretals, yea, his own very Mass Books, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cavil, as you bring to the reading of my History, but I could find out twice as many *mendacia*, *maculæ*, *impudentiæ*, *dolos malos*, *fabulæ*, *fucos*, as you have done in these Acts and Monuments? And yet you have done prettily well.

The nature of the Spider.

Besides all this, yet better to mark the goodness of your gentle nature: Be it so that I had been in some piece of my Story deceived, as I do not justifie my self in all points therein, yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my Book again, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or else have gently taken the pains to have advertised me of such Notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my Book, to see first what would in the later Edition be altered. But belike your Gall was full, your haste could not tarry, your venim must needs burst out.

Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so far from all humanity, dealing with me so extreamly, if I thus provoked with your extremity again, should now after this your cursish nature shape you a name accordingly, and in stead of *Copes*, God father you to be a perpetual sycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophantical Book well deserve it? Or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dress your drowsie or rather lousie Dialogues in their right colors, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you; God make you a good man. Peradventure he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, than to fling you. Leaving therefore the consideration of your ingrateful doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your Book, answering briefly unto the same. Briefly, I say, because the greatness of this Volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, giveth me little leasure at this present to stand about brawling words.

Copus Sycophanta.

First he seemeth to be highly grieved with me for my Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments. Wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himself. As touching which Calendar I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much, as might quickly satisfie this scruple of M. *Cope*, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had leasure to read the words contained in the Latin Preface before the Book prefixed, which are thus, *Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad privatum lectoris servaret usum, &c.* In which words preventing before the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the Reader aforehand touching the Calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpose, but to serve the use only of the Reader, instead of a Table, shewing the year and month of every Martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments, more than in the Table of M. *Copes* Book, set after his Dialogues? But M. *Cope* had no leasure to perfuse this place; it made not for his humor.

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments defended.

Ex præmiss ad lectorem.

Objection for Martyrs in the Calendar.

But this grieveth him in the Calendar, and that very fore: for that I place in this Calendar, Sir *John Oldcastle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, *Beverly*, and other for Martyrs, and displace for them other Holy, ancient Martyrs and Saints, as *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, *Clarus*, *Lucianus*, *Severinus*, &c. Answer. If M. *Cope* cannot abide the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, and *Beverly*, which were hanged (as he saith for Treason) to have the name of Martyrs, then let them bear the name of witnesses bearers, or Tellers of the truth, becaule they were also burned for the Testimony of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me, by which they are called.

Answer.

Untruth noted in *Alanus Cope.*

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldring out the old and ancient holy Saints aforenamed out of this Calendar, and placing other newcome Saints in their rooms: this is not the first untruth that M. *Cope* hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the leaft. Unto whom I might therefore fitly answer again with his own familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of *Cicero*, which he doth so much affectate: *Quod nimirum hic ipse Alan. Copus Angelus ludens me mendacii coargui, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac indelebilem ineptissimi mendacii ac singularis impudentiæ notam inurat.* For why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as he to me? Forsomuch as in the first beginning and Preface of the said Book of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expretly do warn all men before, first that I make here no Calendar purposely of any Saints, but a Table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and evident, which are these: *Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inferuntur in Calendarium, &c.* And declaring afterward how the said Calendar doth stand but instead of a Table, my words do follow thus: *Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, Lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat*, &c.

Cope p. 130 lin. 28.

In Præfat. ad difficilem. & Acts and Monumentis.

Again, neither did I receive these men into that Calendar, that holy *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, with other ancient Holy Saints should be removed out, as you do fally and untruly affirm, but because the course of that story, reaching but 500. years, did but comprehend those former times of such ancient Martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these later days, therefore requisite it was that in the Table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole Book did then principally and only intreat, to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their Martyrdom. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new Calendar, which were never inserted in the same before, but only becaule both together could not there have standing, necessity so there required these in no case to be omitted, and yet no injury meant to the other to be excluded out of their own Calendars; whereto properly they did pertain. As for this Calendar or this Table, because they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessary they should be included. And yet neither did I (M. *Cope*) without due and solemn protestation omit the same in my foresaid Catalogue to prevent and stop all cavilling mouths: As by special words in the said proem of my Book unto the Reader doth appear, following in this wise; *Interim miliùs ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui vere sanctus sit) causam Lecto, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, minimeret, non in templis a me collocari, sed domesticè tantum lectioni præparari, &c.* And where is now (Master *Cope*) this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out of *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, and other holy Saints out of Catalogues, Fasts, and Calendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, *Qui veros Christi Martyres e cælo ad tartara deturbat?* That is, Which turnbleth down true Martyrs from Heaven into Hell? Which if ye mean by me, In one word I answer, ye fally belye me, Master *Copus*, I had almoft called you Master *Copus*, so like a Capon you speak. Neither have you not any other ever heard me so say. Neither have I ever heard of any so mad to play fo the Giants with their Mountains to to climb the Heavens, to tumble down Gods true and Holy Martyrs out of Heaven into Hell, unleſs it were your ſelf (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and ſuch other of your gilden and Popiſh fraternity, which make of Gods true Saints ſtinking dunghils, (for ſo ye term them in your Books) and not only thruſt into Heaven your *Pſeudo-ſanctos*, Saints of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow; but alſo depoſſe down from Heaven, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloved ſervants, his faithful people, and bleſſed Martyrs, which have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blaſphemous Books ye caſt down from Heaven to Hell the poor Saints of Chriſt, when in effect you deject alſo the Blood and Croſs of the Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, ſetting up in his office and place, *tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit.* Say, Maſter *Cope* your conſcience indifferently; ſet all Popiſh partiality apart, whereas the Scripture teacheth us ſimply, *Quod citra ſanguinem nulla ſit remiſſio.* i. Without blood there is no remiſſion: whether ye think, by this blood of the *New Teſtament* is meant the Blood of Chriſt alone, or the Blood of other moe beſides? If the Blood of one muſt ſtand alone, why do ye then with the Giants build up your Mountains, and make a ladder of *Beckets* Popiſh Blood, for men to ſcale the Heavens? Or in ſo doing, how can you, but either with the Proteſtants wipe out of your Calendar *Thomæ Sanguinem*, or elſe demoliſh from Heaven *Sanguinem Chriſti*, with the Papiſts?

KING 1 Eliz. 5. The Papists would thrust down Gods true Saints out of Heaven to Hell.

Cope p. 81. lin. 7.

Becket's blood set up, to the injury of Christs blood.

And here by the way, I cannot but muſe, why you are ſo devout in ſetting up the Croſs of Chriſt in your Church, which are ſuch enemies to the true Croſs of Chriſt to ſtand in Heaven. Look upon this (M. *Cope*) and tell me, *utra pars veriùs veros Chriſti martyres e Cælo in tartara detrudat?* And therefore as you fally belie me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of Heaven, *Anatholius*, *Sulpitianus*, *Clarus*, *Lucianus*, *Agatha*, *Dorothea*, and other ſaints, gainſt whom I never yet ſpake any reproaching word, but rather in this my Volume have ſet forth their commendation: ſo it is untrue likewiſe, where you affirm, that in this my Calendar I make an ἀποθεωσιν, or Canonization of falſe Martyrs. I told you before when ye were in *England*, I tell you again, being now in your tranſmigration, in words as plain as I could: *Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus.* Were not theſe words of my proteſtation manifeſt enough? Were they not ſufficient to ſatisfie a reaſonable Momus? And to make the matter more plain, did I not adde moreover as followeth? *Porrò neque eo ſpectat hoc calendarium, ut novum aliquam feſtorum diem legem præſcribam Eccleſiæ, &c.* And not contented with this, foreſeeing before ſuch wrangling Spirits to come, as now I ſee in you; I ſhewed alſo the cauſe why I needed not ſo to do. My words were theſe: *Feſtorum dierum jam plus ſatis erat in mundo, &c.* And yet further becauſe no cavillar ſhould take hold here of any injury done to the holy Saints, either old or new in the Church: therefore in expreſs words I removed away all ſuſpition of any injury, preventing the objection of the adverſary in theſe words: *Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim sidem ne adorentur, modo quam ſint vetuſti, tam etiam vere ſancti ſint, &c.*

Papists do not so far up Christs Cross in Earth: but enemies to Christs Cross in Heaven, by doubting untruth in *Copus.*

The great Idol-maker of *Rome* and who he his saints.

The great God maker of *Rome.*

Copus mendax. Cope p. 810.

These places of my Book, if ye did ſee; why do you diſſemble them? If ye had not ſo much leaſure to read them; how had you ſo much leaſure to write againſt any mans Book, not knowing what is in the Book contained? And how ſtands it then with truth, that ſo like a Mome ye cry out ſo in your Book againſt theſe new made Martyrs, *qui non poſſunt niſi per aliorum injuriam creſcere, &c.* And again, where you exclaim againſt me, and ſay that I thruſt out the ancient Martyrs from their ſeat and poſſeſſion, and place new in their rooms, &c.

Untruth in *Copus.*

Cope p. 810 lin. 29.

No cauſe why the Popes new Saints ſhould be put in the Calendar.

Alſo where you continuing yet ſtill in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digreſs) do charge me further, that I do appoint out holy days and working days by colours of red and black, in my foreſaid Calendar to be obſerved; theſe lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of my Calendar by you, without mine own ſpecial declaration before made to the contrary, they might ſeem to have ſome blaſh of credit. Now what will the Reader ſay, or what may he judge, conſidering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether ſet to play the perpetual Syc. I had almoſt called you by your right

KING 1 Eliz. 5.

right name Maſter *Cope*. But God make you (as I ſaid) a good man. Reading further in your Book, I could not but ſmile and laugh at this your ridiculous and moſt loud lying *Hyperboliſm*; where you comparing my making of Saints with the Popes making, can find (as ye ſay) in the Pope no ſuch impudent arrogancy in preſuming as ye find in me, &c. If the Pope had not abuſed his arrogant juriſdiction in canoniſing and deifying his Saints, more than I have done; the year ſhould not be cumbred with ſo many idle holy days, nor the Calendars with ſo many Raskal Saints, ſome of them as good, as ever were they that put Chriſt to death.

But where will you find (Maſter *Cope*) any man to believe this your Hyperbolical compariſon to be true, which ſeeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeaſurable exceſs of the Popes arrogancy, not only in ſhrining ſuch a rabble of blind Saints of his own creating; but alſo in preſcribing the ſame to be received univerſally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but alſo to be invocated for gifts and graces; alſo to be worſhipped for advocates and mediators? Wherein riſeth a double abomination of the Pope, the one for his Idolatrous making and worſhipping of Saints; the other for his Blaſphemous injury and derogation to Chriſt in repulſing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other Mediators of his own making. And now to conſider what Saints theſe were, or what were the cauſes of their Sanctings: what Saint almoſt among all the Popes Saints ſhall you find (Maſter *Cope*) made within theſe five hundred years, but commonly he was either ſome Pope, or ſome rich Biſhop and Prelate, or ſome fat Abbot, or ſome blind Frier, ſome Monk, or Nun, ſome ſuperſtitious regular, or ſome builder of Monaſteries, or ſome Giver and Benefactor to the Popiſh Clergy, or maintainer againſting for the Dignities and Liberties of the Popiſh Church? What poor Lay-man or Lay-woman, were their lives never ſo Chriſtian, their Faith and Confeſſion never ſo pure, their death never ſo agoniſing for the witneſs of Chriſt, and truth of his word, ſhall find any place of favour in all the Popes κανονίσμος, that is, in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or elſe in black?

Double abomination in the Popes Calendar.

The great Idol-maker of *Rome* and who he his saints.

But here (Maſter *Cope*) if ye had the wit, ſo much to defend as ye have to overthwart, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great Saint-maker, or rather God-maker of *Rome*; that he maketh mo Martyrs and Saints of theſe foreſaid poor Lay-men, and Lay-women, than ever he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, impriſoneth and famitheth them, and ſo maketh truer Martyrs of Chriſt, than any other of his new ſhrined Saints, whom he hath ſo dignified in his Calendar. For the one he doth Rubricate only with his red Letters; the other doth he Rubricate with their own Blood. And therefore to anſwer you (M. *Cope*) to your compariſon made between the Pope and me, for making of holy Martyrs and Saints: Briefly I ſay and report me to all the world, that therein is no compariſon. For if ye ſpeak of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? If ye ſpeak of falſe Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? And furthermore to compare together the cauſes of theſe Martyred Saints in my Calendar with them which ſhine ſhrined in the Popes Calendar (taking the ſame proportion of time as I do, within theſe laſt 500. years) why may not I have as good cauſe to celebrate theſe in my Calendar, which loſt their lives and were ſlain, principally for the cauſe of Chriſt and of his word, as the Pope hath to celebrate his double and ſimple feaſted Saints in his Calendar; who in their doings, doctrine and life, as they ſeemed rather to ſerve the Pope, than Chriſt the Lord; ſo in their death appeared no ſuch cauſe, why they ſhould be ſanctified in the Church beyond all other? Let not the Church of Chriſt (M. *Cope*) be deluded with Hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived your ſelf, but let us refort ſincerely to the Word of God. What was in S. *Francis* (look upon his ſuperſtitious life, and preſumptuous Teſtament, wrought no doubt by *Satan* to diminiſh and obſcure the *Teſtament* of Jeſus Chriſt) why he ſhould be made a Saint, and not an Enemy rather of Chriſt.

What was likewiſe in *Frier Dominick*, who before *Francis* ten years together perſecuted the poor *Waldenſes* to death and deſtruction? Why ſhould he ſtand a Saint and a Pillar of the Church? I pray you what ſee you in *Thomas Becket*, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the Popiſh Church? What in *Aldelmus*, and in *Anſelmus*, but only that they chaſed away married Prieſts from the Churches, and planted in idle Monks in their ſtead? The like alſo did *Dunſtanus*, who was rubricated with a *duplex feſtum. Elizabeth* who was the Wife of the *Marqueſs* of *Thuring*, when ſhe had with much perſwaſions got out her Husband to fight againſt the *Turks*, and was there ſlain, the afterward enclyoſtered her ſelf, and was made a Nun. And do ye think theſe cauſes to be ſufficient why they ſhould be made Saints, worſhipped in Churches, and ſet in Calendars? Long it were to make rehearſal of all this rabble, and almoſt infinite. One example may ſuffice for many. S. *Gilbert* of *Sempringham* was the Son of *Jocelin* a Knight, who for his deformity of his body was fet to learning, and afterward made Canon, and was Author of the *Gilbertines* in the time of King *John*.

Tho. Becket. *Aldelmus*, *Anſelmus*.

Dunſtanus. S. *Elizabeth.*

The canonization of S. *Gilbert* of *Sempringham.*

This *Gilbert* after he had erected thirteen Monaſteries of his Order of *Sempringham*, was afterward laboured for unto the Pope to be made made a Saint. Who hearing of his Miracles, wrote his Letters to *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the behalf of the foreſaid *Gilbert*, willing and commanding *per Apoſtolica ſcripta*, that the Feaſt of the ſaid *Gilbert* ſhould be ſolemnized through all the province of *Canterb. Ut meritis nimirum ejus & precibus apud miſericordiſſimum judicem miſericordiam conſequamur, &c.*

Ex libello ejus. le Gilberti confeſſoris.

Whereupon *Hubert* the Archbiſhop directeth down his writings to all the Biſhops within his Proviſe, the Contents of which his writings do follow, *Hubertus Dei gratia Canterb. Archiepiſcop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Chriſto frat. Epiſcop. per provinciam Canterb. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, ſicut ex literis ipſius manifeſte perpenditur, de converſatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magiſtri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per teſtes & teſtimonia ſufficienter inquiſitis, de concilio fratrum Cardin. ipſum mag. Catalogo ſanctorum decrevit aſcribi, ſolennitatem ejus conſtituit & mandavit per Canterb. provinciam ſolemniter celebrari, Inſuper & corpus ejus cum requieſt ſuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam clevari. Veſtra igitur Univerſitas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, & ſecundum formam in ipſo mandato præſcriptam, prædicti confeſſoris dominí depoſitionem annuatim ſolennizari cum reverentia & ſolenniter obſervari; ut apud dominum & ab illo veſtra debeat & poſſit devotio commendari, necnon & ipſius ſanctí ſupplex intercoſſio vobis proficiat ad ſalutem. Valete.*

The Popes letter and the Archbishops for the canonizing of S. *Gilbert.*

The ſumm of the which writing of the Archbiſhop tendeth to this effect: That forſomuch as the Pope hearing of the life and miracles of *Gilbert*, Maſter of the Order of *Sempringham*, by ſufficient witneſs and teſtimonies, hath in his Letters commanded him by the advice of his Cardinals, that the ſaid *Gilbert*, ſhould be Canonized and aſcribed in the Catalogue of Saints, and that his ſolemnity ſhould be celebrated ſolemnly throughout all the Province of *Canterbury*: And alſo his body to be taken up and ſhrined to the Honour and Glory of God: He therefore, at the Popes commandment writing unto them, willeth all the Suffragans within his Province of *Canterbury*, yearly to ſolemnize and cauſe to be ſolemnized reverently the depoſition of the ſaid S. *Gilbert* Confeſſor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And alſo that the humble interceſſion of the ſaid Saint, may profit them to their ſalvation.

Is this good doctrine in *Cope* in the Popes canonization?

Furthermore, for the more full Canoniſing (canviſing I had almoſt ſaid) of this new made Saint, the Saint Pope *Innocent* writing to *Hubert* aforeſaid, adjoyneth withal a Collect of his own making, which is this, *Plenam in nobis æterne ſalvator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, ut qui preclara beati Gilberti confeſſoris tui merita veneramur, ipſius adjuti ſuffragiis a cunctis animarum noſtrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui vivis & regnas, &c.* That is, Work in us O eternal Saviour full redemy of thy vertue, that we which worſhip the worthy merits of bleſſed *Gilbert* thy Confeſſor, being ſuccoured by his Suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and diſeaſes of our ſoules; who liveſt and reigneſt, &c.

The blaſphemous collect of the Pope making for S. *Gilbert.*

The conſecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was not the worſt) I thought here to commemorate to the in-

Copus p. 118 lin. 7.

tent that the Reader, measuring by this one the Canonisation of all the rest, may judge the better upon this comparison of Master *Cope*, whether of us, doth vindicate more impudent authority, the Pope in his Calendar, or I in mine: or to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent, the Pope in his Calendar, or else Master *Cope* in his Dialogues more doltish.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you; to Canonise or to Authorise any Saints, for Man it is presumptuous; to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is Idolatrous; to set up any Mediators but Christ only, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the Pope doth or hath done in his Calendar, my purpose in my Calendar, was neither to deface any old Saint, or to Solemnize any new. In my Book of Acts and Mounments entreating of matters passed in the Church, these later five hundred years, I did regulate out a Calendar, not for any Canon to constitute Saints, but only for a Table of them which within the same time did suffer for the Testimony of the word, whom I did, and do take to be good and godly Men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the Pope doth to his. The day will come which shall Judge both them and you. In the mean season it shall be best for you (Master *Cope*) in my judgment to keep a good Tongue in your Head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Mans judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always sure. Best it is therefore either to be sure by the word and judgment of God before, what you do say, or else to say the best. Of such slandrous and intemperate railing can come no good, neither to them whom ye rail upon; nor to your self which raileth; nor to the Church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your self though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring to be counted a railer; and if it be uncertain, your state is dangerous, and if it be false most miserable: And as to the Church what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I do not greatly see. And if the zeal of the Bishops of *Romes* Church have so much swallowed you up, that you cannot but stamp and stare at Traitors when ye see them put in Calendars: first (Master *Cope*) be ye sure that they be Traitors (wisdom would) whom you call Traitors. And if ye can so prove them (as ye have not yet) then let your *Irenæus*, or *Crysobulus*, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours as hot as Purgatory burn out, and flame as well against your own Traitors, having so many in your own Calendar and Church at home?

And if there be such a Catholick zeal in you, that hath set your gentle breft on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your Catholick zeal equally indifferent? Why take ye on so fell on the one side against Sir *John Oldcastle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, M. *Brown*, &c. A man would think you played *Hercules furens in Orchestra*. On the one side again, ye are *Oleo tranquillior*. What difference (Master *Cope*) call you this? Or what zeal make you this to be? Albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment shall not become me, which go about to correct the same in you. But this I exhort you to beware (Master *Cope*) that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be *Non secundum scientiam*, nor such a zeal as fighteth *Pro domo Dei, sed pro domo Pontificis*. As I said, I judge you not. You have your judge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsel is that you do not so zeal the Bishop of *Rome*, that for his sake ye lose your own soul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good *Ludere cum sanctis*: worse it is *Illudere*: worst of all it is *Debacchari in immerentes*: Because that *Deus ipse ultionum Dominus* many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written. *Opprobria opprobriantium tibi cecidertunt in me, i.e.* The rebukes of thy rebukers fell upon me. And seldom have I seen any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of Gods Saints and Servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this (as granted unto you Master *Cope*) that these men had been Traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well, they had their punishment therefore, the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who if they repented, why may they not have as good part in Christs Kingdom as your self? {KING Hen. 5.} Now forsomuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertain to the profit of the Church, why might I not insert it with other Church stories in my Book? Let the Church take that which belongeth to the Church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplifie these whom ye call Traitors in the Book of Martyrs; First, ye must understand, that I wrote no such Book bearing the Title of the Book of Martyrs; I wrote a Book called the Acts and Monuments of things passed in the Church, &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beside the Martyrs of Christ. But this peradventure moveth your choler, that in the Calendar I name them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendar call them by the name of Martyrs, which were faithful witnesses of Christs truth and Testament, for the which they were also chiefly brought unto that end? Or why may I not call them Holy Saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed Blood? And what if I should, also call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a Holy Saint and Confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord, what can Master *Cope* say against it?

And as for colouring the names of certain Martyrs in the said Calendar in red or scarlet Letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great Saint-maker of *Rome*, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? For he did red and die them with their own Blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red Letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

* Proceeding now out of the Calendar unto the Book wherein he chargeth me with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewise I clear my self, answering first to those lies and untruths, which to the Story of Sir *Roger Acton*, and Sir *John Oldcastle* do appertain. And after to other particulars, as in order of my Book do follow. And first, where he layeth against me whole heaps, and Cartloads, I cannot tell how many lies and falsities; I here briefly answer Master *Cope* again (or what English *Harpesfield* else soever layeth covered under this English *Cope*) that if a lie be (after the definition of S. *Austine*) whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another: then I protest to you Master *Cope*, and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my Book. What the intent and custom is of the Papists to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will say, although many other vices I have, yet from this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any Man or Child, so near as I could, much less the Church of God, whom I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore among divers causes, that have withdrawn my mind from the Papists faction, almost there is none greater than this, because I see them so little given to truth, so far from all serious feeling and care of sincere Religion, so full of false pretensed hypocrisie and dissimulation, so little regarding the Church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much have in their mouths, so as under the title thereof they may hold up their own estate. Otherwise so little reverence they yield to the true and honourable Church of Jesus the Son of God, that what unworthy and rascal Ministers they take into it they pass not, what fictions, what lies and Fables, what false Miracles and absurd forgeries they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak not of all.

Some there be of that Sect unfained in conscience, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceived. But such commonly have been and be the chief guides and leaders of the Papists Church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them toward the Church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their Commodity

{KING Hen. 6. Ties and fictions innumerable in the Popes Church.} Commodity might not decrease. Thus out of this Fountain have gathred out so many Prodigious lies in Church Legends, in Saints lives, in Monkish fictions, in fabulous Miracles, in false and forged Reliques, as in pieces of the Holy Cross, in the Blood of Hales, in our Ladies milk, in the Nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind Errors, corrupt Doctrines, abfurd Inventions, repugnant to the truth of the word. *Item*, In their Bastard Books, forged Epistles, their *Apocrypha*, and *Pseudopigrapha*. Here come in their forged Canons, their fostring and cogging in ancient Councils and Decrees, as in ὁὺς ἀπὸ ἑμὸς πάτρας, in Canons of the Apostles (if those Canons were the Apostles) *Excepta Romana sede*, foisted into the decrees by *Gratianus*, also the cogging in a false Canon to the Council of *Nice* for the maintenance of the See of *Rome*, as appeareth in the sixth Synod of *Carthage*.

Untruth in the Popish Epistles Decretal. Here come in also the Epistles of *Clement*, and other sundry Epistles Decretal, which as they are no doubt falsly inserted by other, so are they the well-head of many superstitious Traditions, oppressing this day the Church of Christ. To speak moreover of the Liturgies of Saint *James*, of *Chrysostome* and other, of the first Mass said by Saint *Peter* at *Rome*, and that Saint *Peter* fate 25. years Bishop of *Rome*. To speak also of the works of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, and *Gregory*, what Doctor of famous writer hath there been in the Church, under whose name some counterfeited Books have not falsly been fathered, and yet stand still authorised under their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What should I speak of *Abdias*, *Amphilochius*, *Dionysius Areopagita*: The Dialogues of *Gregory*, which fallly to this day have been ascribed to *Gregory* the First, where indeed they were first written in Greek by *Gregory* the Third, and afterward Translated out of Greek into Latin by Pope *Zacharie*, *vide supra*. Likewise that worthy and Imperial Sermon intituled, *Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conventum Sanctorum*, hath to this day wrongfully born the name of *Eusebius*. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperor *Constantinus* himself, in his own Language fall style in Latin, and afterward Translated out of Latin into Greek by *Eusebius*, as he himself confesseth in his work. *De vita Constant. lib.* 4. But as touching this Sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitful it is that it mattereth not much under whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none so much as of the Emperor *Constantine* himself, who was the true Author and owner thereof.

Untruth in the Popes doctrine. Briefly, except it be the Books only of the *New Testament*, and of the Old; what is almost in the Popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glosis adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? So that in their Doctrines standeth little truth; In their Legends, Portues, and Mass Book, less truth; In their Miracles and Reliques least truth of all. Neither yet do their Sacraments remain clear and void of manifest lies and corruption. And specially here cometh in the matter Bee, which bringeth in much sweet Honey into Popes Hives, the Master lie I mean of all lies, where the Pope leaveth not one crum of Bread, nor drop of Wine in the reverend Communion; untruly and idolatrously taketh away all substance of Bread from it, turning the whole substance of Bread, into the substance of Christs own Body; which substance of Bread if the Pope take from the Sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking and the Body of Christ can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proved by the Word of God to be a manifest lie; so think not much (good Reader I intreat) as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch lie, or master lie of all lies. Because upon this one an infinite number of other lies and errors in the Popes Church, as Handmaids do waite and depend.

Untruth in the Popes Legend and Mass Books. Untruth in the Popes miracles and reliques. Untruth in the Popes Sacraments. The Master lie.

But forsomuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend my self, cealing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these willful and intended lies and untruths, which in the Popes Religion and in Papists Books be innumerable, I will now return to those untruths and impudent lies which Master *Cope* hath hunted out in my History of Acts and Mounments, first beginning with those untruths which he carpeth in the Story of the foresaid Sir *John Oldcastle*, and Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown* and the rest.

And first where he layeth to my charge, that I call them Martyrs, which were Traitors and seditious Rebels against the King, and their Country; to this I have answered sufficiently before.

Now here then must the Reader needs stay a little, at M. *Copes* request, to see my vanity and impudence yet more fully and amply repreffed in refuting a certain place in my Latin Story, concerning the Kings Statute made at *Leicester*, which place and words by him alledged, be these, Pag. 107. *Quocirca Rex indicto Leicestriæ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur, usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul & incendio, afficiendos statuerit, &c. Et mox; Adeo ille vivet, rationeque intendebat omnes adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent, &c.*

Upon these words out of my foresaid Latin Book alledged, Master *Cope* perswadeth himself to have great advantage against me, to prove me a notorious lier, in three sundry points. First, in that whereas I say, that the King did hold his Parliament at *Leicester*, adding this by the way of parenthelis (*quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum, &c.*) Here he concludeth thereby, *simpliciter* and precisely, that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton* with his Fellows, were Traitors, &c. Whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of Master *Cope*. For whereas my *Dialysis* out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncestainly, by this word (*fortassis*) meaning indeed the King to be in fear of the Gospellers, that he durst not hold his Parliament at *London*, but went to *Leicester*; he argueth precisely therefore, that the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Richard Acton*, and his fellows went about to kill the King. Secondly, Where I affirm that the King in that Parliament made a grievous Law against all such as did hold the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, that they should be taken hereafter, not for Hereticks, but also for Felons, or Rebels, or Traitors, and therefore should sustain a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c. Here cometh in Master *Momus*, with his *Cope* on his back, and proving me to be a lier, denieth plainly that the King made any such Statute; *vide* Pag. 853. line 6. where his words be these: *Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus, & deinceps geminatas pœnas subpendii & incendii luerant, ut ingatur Foxus, nullo modo illis tradiatur, &c.*

First, Here would be asked of Master *Cope*, what he calleth *Patriæ Hostes, & proditores?* If he call these Traytors, then let us see whether they that followed the Sect of *Wickliff* were made Traytors and Hereticks by the Kings Law, or not. And first let us hear what faith *Polydore Virgil*, his own witnes in this behalf, whose words in his twenty fecond Book, *pag.* 441. be these, *Quare publice edixit, ut si ulpiam deinceps reperientur qui eam sequerentur Sectam, patriæ hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac ocius de illis supplicium sumeretur, &c.* That is, wherefore it was by publick Statute decreed, That whosoever were found hereafter to follow the Sect of *Wickliff*, fhould be accounted for Traytors, whereby, without all lenity they fhould be punifhed more feverely and quickly, &c.

Thus have you (Master *Cope*) the plain testimony of *Polydore* with me. And becauſe ye fhall further see your self more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of Histories, you fhall understand moreover and hear, what *Thomas Walden* one of your own Catholick brotherhood, and who was also himself alive, and a doer in the same Parliament, being the Provincial of the *Carmelites*, saith in this matter, writing to Pope *Martin*, which writeth in *Latin* here follow, written in his Prologue to the said *Martin*, in this wise, *Nec mora longa processit, quin Statutum publicum per omne Regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes* Wicleviſtæ, *ſicut Dei pro-*

proditores eſſent, ſic proditores Regis, proſcriptis bonis, conſerentur & Regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter Deum, ſuſtendio propter Regem, &c. That is, And it was not long after, but a publick Law and Statute came out, by the common aſſent of the general Parliament of the whole Realm; That all *Wickleviſts*, as they are Traytors to God, ſo alſo ſhould be counted Traytors to the King and to the Realm, having their Goods loſt and confiſcate to the King. And therefore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the King, &c. And thus have you (*M. Cope*) not only my Sentence, but alſo the very words of my ſtory confirmed by this Author; becauſe ye ſhall not think me to ſpeak ſo lightly or impudently without my Book. And moreover to confirm the Sentence of *Thomas Walden*, it followeth alſo in another place of the foreſaid Author, *Tom. 1. lib. 2. De Doctrinali fidei Eccleſiæ Cathol. cap. 6.* where he writeth in theſe words, *Et tamen jam cum regnare cœpiſſet illuſtris Rex* Henricus *5. qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, & de eorum perfidia per Catholicos bene doctos legem Statui fecit, ut ubique per Regnum* Wickleviſta *probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine læſæ Majeſtatis, &c.* That is, and yet when the Noble King *Henry* the Fifth, who as yet doth live and reign, began firſt to reign, he began to ſet forth a Law, by his learned Catholicks which were about him, againſt the falſeneſs of theſe men, ſo that whoſoever was proved to be a *Wickleviſt*, through the whole Realm, ſhould be puniſhed for a Traytor, &c. What words can you have Maſter *Cope*, more plain than theſe? or what Authority can you require of more credit, which lived in the ſame time, and both did ſee and hear of the ſame things done? Who alſo writing to Pope *Martin*, was by the ſaid Pope *Martin* allowed, approved and ſolemnly commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epiſtle to him, wherein the Pope declareth, how he cauſed his Books, *Per ſolennes viros videri, & examinari*; That is, by ſolemn perſons to be ſeen and examined, &c. So that you muſt needs grant either this to be true that *Walden* writeth, or elſe that the Pope (*tanquam Papa*) in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Chooſe ye (Maſter *Cope*) of theſe two Opinions whether you will take.

Walden. tom. 1. De Doctrinali Eccleſiæ, c.46. lib.8.

Either *Walden* writeth true, or elſe the Pope erreth.

And if ye think this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently refuted with theſe Authorities aforeſaid, I will alſo hereunto adjoyn the teſtimony of another Writer named *Roger Wall*, who writing *De Geſtis Henric. 5.* and ſpeaking of the ſaid Statute of this Parliament ſomething more plainly than the reſt, hath theſe words, *In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas Regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere univerſis, quod ipſe abſque cujuſcunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verum & perfectum Chriſtianæ fidei amulator exiſteret; ſtatuit & decrevit, ut quotquot ipſius Sectæ, quæ dicitur* Lollardorum, *inventirentur amuli & Fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in Majeſtatem Regiam haberentur, &c.* In *Engliſh*, Alſo in this Parliament the noble King reputing Chriſt Enemies to be Traytors to himſelf, to the intent that all men ſhould know without all doubt that ſo long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect Follower of Chriſtian Faith; did enact and decree, that whoſoever ſhould be found Followers and Maintainers of this Sect, which is called *The Lollards Sect*, *Ipſo facto*, ſhould be counted and reputed guilty of Treaſon againſt the Kings Majeſty, &c.

Roger Wallus lib. de geſtis Hen. 5 f. 12.

By theſe hitherto alledged, if M. *Cope* will not be ſatisfied, yet let the Reader indifferently judge; *Utrum in hac re magis mugatur* Foxus, *an* Copus *calumnietur*. And yet moreover to make the matter more certain, mark the clamation of the ſaid *Roger Wall* added to the end of thoſe words above recited, whereby we have to underſtand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the King in the ſaid Parliament, and alſo what was the blind affection of Monks and Prieſts at that time toward their King and Prince (which was then called *Princeps Sacerdotum*) in condemning and deſtroying the poor *Lollards*. The words of the Monk be theſe, *O verus amicus, qui amico illatam injuriam ſibi inferri cenſimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat eſſe ſuum, & ad ejus onera conferenda, auxilationis humeros ſuppouere non veretur, &c.* That is, O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that injury no leſs done to himſelf, which is done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended againſt him, reputeth to be as his own; and to bear together the burthens of his friend, ſticketh not to lay to his own ſhoulders, for the eaſing and helping of him, &c.

King Henry the Fifth called Princeps Sacerdotum.

Rog. Wallus, ibid.

How can it now be denied (Maſter *Cope*) in reading theſe Authors, and ſeeing their Teſtimonies, but that *Lollardy* in the Parliament was made both Treaſon and Hereſie, and had therefore a double judgment of puniſhment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other, according as in my former *Latin* ſtory I recorded, and yet I truſted not?

2. But you will ſay again (as ye do) that there is no mention made for Hereſie to be made Treaſon, nor of any double puniſhment to be inflicted for the ſame. In the body of the Statute (I grant) there is no expreſs mention in words of Hereſie to be made Treaſon, expreſly ſignified in rigour of words; but inclufively it is ſo inferred, that it cannot be denied. For firſt, where Lands, Goods and Cattel of the ſaid *Lollards* were loſt and forfeit to the King, what doth this import elſe, but Treaſon or Felony?

Copus, pag. 835. lin. 8. Objection.

Anſwer.

Stat. An. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7.

And where the Lord *Cobham* (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this Statute ſeemed to be made) did ſuſtain afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the ſame Statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the Statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after upon the ſame follow-eth the ſervices of the King, whereunto the Officers be firſt ſworn ſhould be firſt preferred for Liberty of Holy Church, and puniſhment of Hereticks, made before theſe days and now repealed, *ut ſupra*. What meaneth this; but to make theſe Congrations of the *Lollards* to be forceable entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful aſſemblies, affraiers of the people, armor, riots, and inſurrections, and ſo ſendeth them to the former Statutes not repealed, that is, to the Statute, *Anno* 13. *Hen.* 4. Chap. 7. where the puniſhment is left to the diſcretion of the King. Or elſe to the Statute, *Anno* 15. *Rich.* 2 Chap. 2. where the penalty is made fine and ranſome. Or elſe to the Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. Chap. 6. where ſuch aſſemblies be made plain Treaſon, *in fine ſtatuti*:

Vid. Stat. An. 13 Hen. cap. 7. Vid. Stat. An. 15 Ric. cap. 2. Vid. Stat. plain 5 R. 2. cap. 6.

And as here is matter of Treaſon ſufficiently contained, ſo for Hereſie likewiſe the ſame Statute referreth them to the Ordinaries, and to the Laws properly to Hereſie appertaining, and to the Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. where the penalty is burning. Alſo to the Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5.

Vid. Stat. An. 2 Hen. 4 cap. 15. Vid. Stat. An. 5 Ric. 2. cap. 5.

So that in this preſent Statute here mention is contained, as ye ſee, although not in expreſs words, yet inclufively (by referring to other Statutes not repealed) both *Lollardy* which is puniſhed with burning, and forcible Entries which are puniſhed at the Kings pleaſure. And thus much concerning the ſecond untruth, which Maſter *Cope* untruly noted in me.

Third Objection.

3. The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I ſay, there was no other cauſe of deviling this ſharp Law and puniſhment againſt theſe men, but only for having the Scripture-Books. And therefore here is to be noted in the margent *Foxi dilus malus*, but let Maſter *Cope* take heed he deceive not himſelf and other. For my part I remember no ſuch place in this my *Latin* ſtory where I ſo ſay. Only my words be theſe, added in the later end of the place above recited, *Wieleviani vero dicebantur quicunque id temporis Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent, &c.* That is, They were called *Wickleviſts*, whoſoever at that time read the Scripture in *Engliſh*, or vulgar Tongue, &c. I ſay not, that for the Scriptures being read in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, therefore the Law was enacted, but ſo is Maſter *Cope* diſpoſed to confrue it. What Law and Statutes were made againſt writing or reading of any Book in *Engliſh*, or any other Tongue contrary to the Catholick (that is, the *Romiſh*-Faith) or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of *Rome*) read I beſeech thee the bloody Statute made *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. above ſpecified. Alſo read the Conſtitution Provincial of *Thomas Arundel* above mentioned: Where it was decreed, That the Text of holy Scripture ſhould not be had, or read in the vulgar-Tongue, from the time of Maſter *John Wicklick* for ever after, unleſs

Anſwer.

Reading of Scripture-Books contrary to the Romiſh faith made Hereſie. *Stat. An. 2. Hen. 4. c. 15.*

Statute of the ſix Articles in the time of King Hen. 8. *Stat. An. 6. Ric. 2. cap. 5. Statute concerning Ar. 2. Hen. 4. c. 15. Vide ſupr. Hen. 6. de combuendis, prayed not ſufficient to burn any man.*

The Text of the Scripture not to be tranſlated into the Vulgar Tongue under pain of Hereſie. *Conſt. provinc. Tho. Arund. Vide ſupra.*

{KING 5. Hen. 5.}

the ſaid tranſlation be approved firſt by the Ordinary, or by Provincial Council, under pain and puniſhment of Hereſie. Now let the Reader judge whether the reading of Scripture-Books in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, by the making or tranſlating of *Wickliff*, or from the time of *Wickliff* downward, be counted Hereſie, or not. As for the approving of the Ordinary, or of the Provincial Council added in the end of the ſaid Conſtitution, it maketh more for a ſhew, or pretence, than for any juſt exception, or any true intention. For what man, having thoſe Scriptures tranſlated in *Engliſh*, would either preſent them to their Ordinaries being ſo fet againſt the reading of ſuch Books? Or what Ordinary would or did ever yet ſince *Arundels* time approve any ſuch tranſlation, preſented unto them? Or elſe why did the good Martyrs of *Amerſam* ſuffer death, in the beginning of King *Henry* the Eighth, for having and reading certain Books of Scripture, which were (as is ſaid) only four Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, with certain other Prayers? And the other which heard them but only read, did bear Faggots; and the ſame time, the Children were compelled to ſet Faggots unto their Fathers; at which time *Longland* being then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and preaching to them at the ſtake, ſaid, *That whatſoever they were that did but move their lips in reading thoſe Chapters were damned for ever; as when we come to that time, by the Grace of Chriſt, ſhall hereafter more amply and notoriouſly appear. And where then is this* Dolus malus Foxi, *margined againſt me, for crafty dealing in my ſtory?*

Children of *Amerſham* cauſed to ſet Faggots to their Fathers.

Copus 383. line 10.

Copus 836 line 13.

Moreover, where Maſter *Cope* proceeding farther in this matter, aſketh me, *How was the Lord* Cobham *obedient to the King, when at for the fear of him the King durſt not then keep his Parliament at* London? To whoin I anſwer again, aſking likewiſe of Maſter *Cope*, *How was the King then afraid to hold his Parliament at* London *for the Lord* Cobham, *when the Lord* Cobham *at that time was in* Wales? And here Maſter *Cope* thinking to have me at a narrow ſtrait, and to hold me faſt, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwiſe, but the Lord *Cobham* muſt needs have Fautors? And who ſhould theſe Fautors be (ſaith he) but Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, and their Fellows? The which mighty queſtion of Maſter *Cope* I anſwer again; *How could Sir* Roger Acton, Brown, *and their Fellows be then Fautors of the Lord* Cobham, *for whom the King durſt not hold the Parliament at* London, *when as the ſaid* Roger Acton, Brown, *and the reſt were put to death, a whole year almoſt before the Parliament at* Leiceſter *began?*

And now as I have hitherto briefly, and truly anſwered your askings (Maſter *Cope*) let me be ſo bold with you again, to propound to you likewiſe another queſtion, forſomuch as you have put me to the ſearching of the Statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now out of the ſame Statutes riſeth a double ſcruple, or queſtion, worthy to be ſolved. The caſe is this, That foraſmuch as ſo many good Martyrs and Saints of God hitherto, in this Realm of *England*, haven been burned from the time of King *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, *Henry* the Sixth, *Henry* the Eighth, to the time, and in the time of Queen *Mary*; my queſtion is: That you with all your learned Council about you will tell me, by what Law or Statute of the Realm were theſe men brent? I know the ancient cuſtom hath been, that Hereticks convicted by a Provincial Council were wont to be left to the ſecular power. But how will ye prove me, theſe Hereticks were either convict by ſuch Provincial Council, or that theſe ſecular men ought to be your Butchers in burning them, whom ye have committed to them? If ye alledge the ſix Articles made in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, thoſe Articles neither did ſerve before the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, neither yet were they revived after his time. If ye alledge the Statute made *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. In that Statute (I anſwer) is contained no matter of burning, but only of arreſt to be done at the Certifications of the Prelates, without any further puniſhment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye alledge the Statute made *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. and revived in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, mentioned before. To that Statute I anſwer, that although the pretenſed Statute appeareth in form of words in the printed Book to give unto the Temporal Officers authority to bring them to the Stake, and to burn them whom the Biſhop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that Statute to be Law, or warrant ſufficient to burn any perſon or perſons committed to the ſecular power by the Clergy. And that I prove thus; for although the ſame Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth in the Books printed appear to have Law and Authority ſufficient, by the full aſſent both of the King, of the Lords, and of the Commons; yet being occaſioned by Maſter *Cope* to ſearch further in the Statutes, I have found that in the Rolls and firſt Originals of that Parliament, there is no ſuch mention either of any Petition, or elſe of any aſſent of the Commons annexed, or contained in that Statute, according as in the printed Books uſual in the Lawyers hands too craftily and falſly is foiſted in, as by the plain words thereof may well appear.

Statute of the ſix Articles in the time of King Hen. 8.

Stat. An. 6. Ric. 2. cap. 5. Statute concerning Ar. 2. Hen. 4. c. 15. Vide ſupr. Hen. 6. de combuendis, prayed not ſufficient to burn any man.

For where the ſaid Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. being thus intituled in the Rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos*, and aſſented unto in this form, hath theſe words.

Stat. Anno 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. Intituled in the Roll thus, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos*; and aſſented unto in this form.

The printed Statute, *An. 2. H. 4. c. 15.* falſly corrupted.

QUas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri ſuperius expreſſat as do. noſter Rex, de conſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerum Regni ſui, in præſenti Parliamento exiſtentium conceſſit, & in omnibus & ſingulis juxta formam & effectum eorundem Ordinavit & Statuit de cetero firmiter obſervari, and ſo forth, according to the Petition: and more words are there not in the Statute-Roll. Wherefore, whereas the Statute-Book printed hath thus: *Super quibus quidem mvvitatibus & exceſſibus ſuperius recitatis (videlicet, in the Petition of the Prelates and Clergy) Prælati & Clerus ſupradicti ac etiam Communitates dicti Regni in eodem Parliamento exiſten. dict. Domino Regi ſupplicarunt, &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex aſſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerum ejuſdem Regni, &c. conceſſit, ordinavit, &c.* Theſe words, &c. *Etiam Communitates dicti Regni, &c.* are put in further than the Roll doth warrant, and ſeemeth to be the practice of the Clergy, to make that as an Act of Parliament, and to ſeem to have the force of a Law, which was never aſſented unto by Commons.

Ex Rot. Parl.

And thus you ſee how this foreſaid Statute, printed both in *Engliſh* and in *Latin* among the Provincial Councils of *Oxford* (by the vertue whereof ſo many good men have been burned ſo long in *England*) doth utterly overthrow it ſelf, for that it ſwarveth from the Record both in form and in matter, and lacketh the aſſent of the Commons. Which doubt I thought at this preſent to propound unto you (Maſter *Cope*) for that you have ſo urged me to the ſearching out of the Statutes, by your declaiming againſt the Lord *Cobham*.

In conſtitutionibus provincialibus Oxonie conditis. Johan. Antiſſio.

Moreover unto this Statute aforeſaid, joyn alſo withall another *Memorandum* of like practice done *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. In the which year, whereas a Statute was concluded in the Parliament, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. againſt certain Preachers ſpecified in the ſame Statute, which going about in certain habits from place to place, did draw the people to Sermons; and Commiſſions were made and directed in the ſaid Parliament to the Sheriffs, to arreſt all ſuch Preachers, and to impriſon the ſame, at the Certifications of the Prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the ſame Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. was revoked by the King in the Parliament, *Anno* 6. *Rich.* 2. upon the words of the Commons being theſe, *videl.* Foraſmuch as the ſame Statute was never aſſented, ne granted by the Commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their aſſent, and now ought to be undone, for that it was never their meaning to be juſtified, and to bind themſelves and their Succeſſors to the Prelates no more, than their Anceſtors had done before them. *Ex Rotul.* And yet this foreſaid revocation notwithſtanding, in Queen *Maries* time, they inquired upon that Statute.

Vide Stat. An. 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5.

Ex Rot. Parl.

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In ſearching of theſe Statutes, as you have occaſioned me to find out theſe ſcruples; ſo being found out, I thought here not to diſſemble them, forſomuch as I ſee and hear many now adays ſo boldly to bear themſelves upon this Statute, and thinking ſo to excuſe themſelves, do ſay, that they have done nothing but the Law, the Law; to the intent that theſe men ſeeing now how inexcuſable they be both before God and man, having no Law to bear them out, may the ſooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exerciſed ſo long againſt Gods true Servants, yet in time before that the juſt Law of God ſhall find out their unjuſt dealings, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will do hereafter,

The Perſecutors in burning Gods people have done againſt the Law.

In the mean time, this my Petition I put up to the Commons, and to all other which ſhall hereafter put up any Petition to the Parliament: that they, being admoniſhed by this abuſe, will ſhew themſelves hereafter more wiſe and circumſpect, both what they agree unto in Parliaments, and alſo what cometh out in their name. And as theſe good Commons in this time of King *Henry* the Fourth, would not conſent nor agree to this bloody Statute, nor to any other like; For ſo we read that the Commons in that bloody-time of King *Henry* the Fourth, when another like cruel Bill was put up by the Prelates in *Anno* 8. *Henry* the Fourth againſt the *Lollards*, they neither conſented to this, and alſo overthrew the other: ſo in like manner it is to be wiſhed, that the Commons in this our time, or ſuch other that ſhall have to do in Parliaments hereafter, following the ſteps of theſe former times, will take vigilant heed to ſuch cruel Bills of the Popes Prelacy, being put up, that neither their conſent do paſs raſhly, nor that their names in any condition be ſo abuſed; Conſidering with themſelves that a thing once being paſſed in the Parliament cannot afterward be called back; And a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterward to miſchiefs that cannot be ſtopped. And ſometime it may ſo happen, that through raſh conſent of Voices, the end of things being not well adviſed, ſuch a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many days may cauſe the whole Realm to rue. But I truſt men are bitten enough with ſuch black Parliaments, to beware of After-claps. The Lord Jeſus only Protector of his Church, ſtop all crafty devices of ſubtil Enemies, and with his Wiſdom direct our Parliaments, as may be moſt to the advantage of his Word, and comfort of his people. *Amen, Amen.*

A neceſſary Admonition to the Commons of *England*.

And thus much having ſaid for the defence of the Lord *Cobham*, of Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *John Brown* Eſquire, *John Beverly* Preacher, and of other their Fellows againſt *Alanus Copus Anglus*, here I make an end with this preſent *Interim*, till further leiſure ſerve me hereafter (Chriſt willing) to pay him the whole intereſt which I owe unto him. Adding this in the mean time, and by the way; that if Maſter *Cope* had been a *Momus* any thing reaſonable, he had no great cauſe ſo to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord *Cobham*, and that worthily, for his valiant ſtanding by the truth of his Doctrine before *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop; ſo touching the matter of this Conſpiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former Hiſtory ſo preciſely, that he could well take any vantage thereof againſt me, who in writing of this Conſpiracy laid againſt Sir *Roger Acton*, and Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, do but disjunctively or doubtfully ſpeak thereof, not concluding certainly this Conſpiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the ſame not to be true at that time, as *Polydore Virgil*, and *Eduard Hall* in their Hiſtories do affirm; which ſay, that this Conſpiracy began after the burning of *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague*, which could not be. And thereto tendeth my Aſſertion. My words are plain, and are theſe; *Wherefore it is evident that there was either no Conſpiracy at all againſt the King, or elſe that it was at ſome other time, or done by ſome other Captains, &c.*

{KING 5 Hen. 5.}

Propoſition diſjunctive.

Lib. Act. & Mon. 174.

Theſe be my words with other more: In the which Propoſition diſjunctive, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refel both; which he hath not done. But only ſtanding faſt upon the one part diſſimuleth the other. And this is *Alanus Copus Anglus*, who by that time he ſhall come from *Rome* (whither he is now gone as I hear ſay) I truſt he will return a better *Logician* home again *in ſuam Angliam.*

But to the truth of the matter; as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, whatſoever this worthy, noble, vertuous Knight, Sir *Roger Acton* was otherwiſe; this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to that kind of people, for the which cauſe he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly diſſent from them, which do ſuſpect or judge that the Lord *Cobham*, by his friendly help eſcaped out of the *Tower*, and that per adventure was the cauſe why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other cauſes alſo there might be, that theſe good men perceaſe did frequent among themſelves ſome Conventicles, (which Conventicles were made Treaſon by the Statute aforeſaid) either in thoſe Thickets, or in ſome place elſe, for the hearing of Gods Word, and for publick Prayer; and therefore had they this *Beverley* their Preacher with them.

Sir *Roger Acton* contrary to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

Cauſe conjectured why Sir *Roger Acton* with the reſt, were put to death for Treaſons and Lollardy.

But to conclude, whatſoever this Sir *Roger Acton* was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or Martyrdom three years and more before the Lord *Cobham* died. Likewiſe Maſter *John Brown*, and *John Beverley* the Preacher, ſuffered with him the ſame kind of death (as ſome ſay) in the Field of Saint *Giles*, with other more, to the number of 36, if the ſtory be true. Which was in the month of *January*, *Anno* 1413. after the computation of our *Engliſh* ſtories, counting the year from the *Annunciation*, but after the *Latin* Writers, counting from Chriſts Nativity, *Anno* 1414. according as in this Picture is ſpecified.

Divers

{KING 5 Hen. 5.}

Divers Perſons counted for Lollards hanged and burned in the firſt year of the Reign of King Henry the V.



Theſe men, as is ſaid, ſuffered before the Lord *Cobham* about three years, of whoſe death divers do write diverſly. Some ſay they were hanged and burnt in S. *Giles* Field; of whom is *Fabian*, with ſuch as follow him. Other there be which ſay, that ſome of them were hanged and burnt. *Polydorus* ſpeaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain *Engliſh* Chronicle I have in my hands borrowed of one M. *Bowyer*, who ſomewhat differing from the reſt, recordeth thus of Sir *Roger Acton*, that his Judgment before the Juſtice was thus, to be drawn through *London* to *Tyburne*, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked, ſave certain parts of him covered with a Cloth, &c. And when certain days were paſt (ſaith the Author) a Trumpeter of the Kings called *Thomas Cliff*, got Grant of the King to take him down, and to bury him, and ſo he did, &c. And thus have you the ſtory of Sir *Roger Acton*, and his fellow Brethren. As touching their cauſe, whether it were true, or elſe by error miſtaken of the King, or by the fetch of the Biſhops ſurmiſed, I refer it to the judgment of him which ſhall Judge both the quick and the dead, *& ſeculum per ignem.* To whom alſo I commit you M. *Cope*; God ſpeed your Journey well to *Rome*, whither I hear ſay you are going, and make you a good man.

{Anno 1414.}

Diverſity in Authors.

An *Engliſh* ſtory beginning thus. A Table of all the Kings.

M. *Cope* gone to *Rome.*

After the deceaſe or martyrdom of theſe above mentioned, who were executed in the month of *January*, *Anno* 1414. in the next month following, and in the ſame year, the twentieth day of *February*, God took away the great Enemy of his Word, and Rebel to his King, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Whoſe death following after the execution of theſe good men above recited, by the marvelous ſtroke of God ſo ſuddenly, may ſeem ſomewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was alſo ſome great procurer of their death, in that God would not ſuffer him longer to live, ſtriking him with death incontinently upon the ſame. But as I did the other before, ſo this alſo I do refer to the ſecret Judgment of the Lord, who once ſhall Judge all ſecrets openly.

The death of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Ex Hiſt. S. Alban. Gods works and gamiſhments to be noted.

Thomas Arundel giveth ſentence againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and God giveth ſentence againſt *Tho. Arundel.* The condemned man overlooketh his condemner.

In the mean time this may ſeem ſtrange, that the ſame *Thomas Arundel*, who a little before late in Judgment againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and pronounced Sentence of death upon him, did himſelf feel the ſtroke of death, and the Sentence of God executed upon him before the other. Who would have thought but that the Lord *Cobham*, being ſo caſt and condemned definitively by the Archbiſhops Sentence, ſhould have died long before the Archbiſhop? But ſuch be the works of Gods Almighty Hand, who ſo turned the wheel, that this condemned Lord ſurvived his Condemner three or four years.

In the death of this Archbiſhop, firſt *Polydore Virgil* is deceived, who in his twenty ſecond Book, *page* 441. affirmed his death to be *Anno* 1415. in the ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fifth, alſo after the beginning of the Council of *Conſtance*, who indeed never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever ſaw the ſecond year of that King (unleſs ye count the firſt day for a year) but died before, *Anno* 1414. *February* 20. *Ex Hiſt. S. Albani & multis.* Furthermore, concerning the death of this *Arundel*, and the manner thereof, who had been ſo heavy a Troubler of Chriſts Saints in his time, becauſe the thing ſeemeth worthy of noting, to behold the punithment of God upon his Enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alledged out of *Thomas Gaſcoin in Dictionario Theologico*, Whoſe plain words be theſe, *Anno* 1414. *Tho. Arundel. Cant. Archiepiſcop. ſic lingua percuſſus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem ſuam potuerit, divitiis epulonis exemplo, & ſic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligaſſet, ne ſuo tempore prædicaretur.* That is, *Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *was ſo ſtricken in his Tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for a certain ſpace before his death, much like after the example of the rich Glutton, and ſo died upon the ſame. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he ſo bound the Word of the Lord, that it ſhould not be preached in his days, &c.* Which if it be true, as it doth well here appear, theſe and ſuch other horrible Examples of Gods wrath may be terrible Spectacles for ſuch as occupy their Tongues and Brains ſo baſily to ſtop the courſe of Gods Word, ſtriving but againſt the ſtream, againſt the force whereof, neither are they able to reſiſt, and many times in reſiſting are overturned themſelves, and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of *Thomas Arundel*, who continued Archbiſhop in the See of *Canterbury* the ſpace of 18 years.

Polydore Virgil aſſeureth.

Thom. Gaſcoine in Dict. Etimario theol. loco. An example of Gods working hand againſt the enemies of his words.

The marvelous hand of God upon *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

It is in vain to gainſtand Gods words.

After this *Arundel*, ſucceeded next in the ſaid See of *Canterbury Henry Chicheſly*, made Archbiſhop *Anno* 1414. and ſate five and twenty year. This *Henry* following likewiſe the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, ſhewed himſelf no ſmall Adverſary againſt the Favourers of the Truth. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction in the Church. For as the preaching and teaching of the Word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more; ſo on the contrary ſide, more vigilant care and ſtrait

Henry Chicheſly Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

strait Inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for fear fled the Countrey: many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure. Of whom hereafter Christ willing particularly in order of their times we will intreat.

As true Piety and sincere preaching of Christs Word began at this time to decay; So idle Monkry and vain Superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same year the King began the foundation of two Monasteries, one of the one side of *Thames*, of Friers Observants, the other on the other side of *Thames* called *Shene* and *Zion*, dedicated to Charter-house-Monks, with certain *Bridget*-Nuns or Recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same Precincts: so that the whole number of these with Priests, Monks, Deacons, and Nuns, should equal the number of twelve Apostles, and seventy two Disciples. The Order of these was according to the description of S. *Paul* the Apostle, *Col.* 1. *Eat not, taste not, touch not, &c.* to eat no Fleth, to wear no Linnen, to touch no Money, &c.

Zion and Bethlem builded.

About *Michaelmas*, the same year the King began his Parliament at *Leicester*, above mentioned. In the which Parliament the Commons put up their Bill again, which they had put up before, *Anno* 11. *Hen.* 4. that Temporalties, disorderly wasted by men of the Church, might be converted and imployed to the use of the King, of his Earls and Knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited. In four of which Bill, left the King would give thereunto any convertable audience (as testifieth *Robert Fabian* and other Writers) certain of the Prelates and other head-men of the Church put the King in mind to claim his Right in *France*. Whereupon *Henry Chichesly* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a long and solemn Oration before the King to perswade him to the same, offering to the King in the behalf of the Clergy great and noble sums. By reason whereof (saith *Fabian*) the Bill was again put off, and the King set his mind for the recovery of the same; to that soon after he sent his Letters and Messengers to the *French* King concerning that matter, and received from him again answer of derision, with a Pipe of *Tennis-Balls* (as some record) sent from the *Dolphin*, for him to play with at home. Whereby the Kings mind was incensed the more toward that Voyage. Who when furnishing himself with Strength and Armor, with Powder and Shot, and Gun-stones to play with in *France*, and with other Artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into *France*, where he got *Harefleu* with divers other Towns and Castles in *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and at *Agincourt* had a great Victory over the *French* Army, they being counted but seven thousand, by pricking sharp stakes before them, &c. After that he won *Caen*, *Towke*, *Rowan*, with other Towns more, as *Meldune*, or *Melune*, and married with *Katharine* the *French* Kings Daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time he made his Voyage again into *France*, where at length at *Bloyes* he fell sick and died: concerning all which Voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in *Fabian*, *Hall*, and other Chronographers, referring therefore the Reader unto them, I will return my story to other matters of the Church more effectual.

Vide supra.

Fabian with other.

A stirring preacher of the Prelates. The King stirred up to wars by the Bishops.

The entry of the Story of the Bohemians.

Vide supra.

I Declared a little before how by the occasion of Queen *Anne*, which was a *Bohemian*, and married to King *Richard* the Second, the *Bohemians* coming thereby to the knowledge of *Wickliff*: Books here in *England*, began first to taste and savour Christs Gospel, till at length by the preaching of *John Hus* they increased more and more in knowledge. Insomuch that Pope *Alexander* the Fifth hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth his Bull to the Archbishop of *Swinco*, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in Churches, Schools, or other places, should maintain that Doctrine, citing also *John Hus* to appear before him. To whom the said *John* answering again, declared that Mandate or Bull of the Pope utterly to repugne against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his Apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the Gospel, in binding the Word of God not to have free recourse. And therefore from this Mandate of the Pope he appealed to the same Pope better advised. But while he was prosecuting his Appeal, Pope *Alexander* died, as is aforesaid. *Ex Cochleo in hist. Hussit.*

The Bohemians receiving the Gospel. The Pope against the Bohemians. John Hus cited of the Pope.

After whom succeeded Pope *John* the Three and twentieth, who also, playing his part here in this matter like a Pope, fought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the *Bohemians*, first beginning to work his malice upon the foresaid *Hus* their Preacher, who at the same time preaching at *Prague* in the Temple of *Bethlehem*, because he seemed rather willing to teach the Gospel of Christ, than the Traditions of Bishops, was therefore accused of certain to the forenamed Pope *John* the Three and twentieth for an Heretick. The Bishop committed the whole matter unto Cardinal *de Columna*; who when he had heard the Accusation, he appointed a day to *John Hus*, that he should appear in the Court of *Rome*: which thing once done, *Wenceslaus* King of the *Romans*, and of *Boheme*, at the request specially of his wife *Sophia*, and of the whole Nobility of *Boheme*, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the Town and University of *Prague*, sent his Ambassadors to *Rome*, to desire the Bishop to quit and clearly deliver *John Hus* from that Sentence and Judgment: and that if the Bishop did suspect the Kingdom of *Boheme* to be infected with any heretical or false Doctrine, he should send his Embassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the only cost and charges of the King of *Boheme*; and to promise in his name that he would aid and affist the Bishops Legates with all his Power and Authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous Doctrine. In the mean season also *John Hus*, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meek Procurators unto the Court of *Rome*, and with most firm and strong Reasons did prove his Innocency: whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should have easily obtained that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger to appear the day appointed. But when as the Cardinal *de Columna*, (unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuse, *John Hus* his Procurators appealed unto the high Bishop: yet notwithstanding this last refuge did not so much prevail with Cardinal *de Columna*, but that he would openly excommunicate *John Hus* as an obstinate Heretick, because he came not at his day appointed unto *Rome*.

John Hus appealeth from the Pope to the Pope. Pope John 23.

John Hus accused to Pope John.

John Hus excommunicate by Cardinal de Columna.

Notwithstanding, forsomuch as his Procurators had appealed unto the high Bishop, they had other Judges appointed unto them, as Cardinal *Aquileianus* and Cardinal *Venetus*, with certain others. The which Judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space of one year and a half, at last they return'd to the Sentence and Judgment of Cardinal *de Columna*, and confirming the same, commanded *John Hus* his Procurators that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Whereupon when his Procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished, the other leaving their business undone, returned into *Boheme*.

The Bohemians notwithstanding The Bohemians & against the Pope and his doings. *Ex Cochleo in Hist. Hussit. fol. 10. b.*

The *Bohemians* notwithstanding little cared for all this, but continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the Pope, complaining daily against him and the Archbishop for stopping the Word of God, and the Gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, *That by their Indulgences and other practices of the Court of* Rome, *and of the Bishops Consistory, they sought their own profit, and not the Glory of Jesus Christ: that they pluckt from the Sheep of Christ the Wool and Milk, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples. Teaching moreover and affirming, that the Commandments of the Pope and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the Doctrine and life of Christ and of his Apostles: and that Lay-men ought to judge the works of Prelates, as* Paul *judged the works of* Peter *in correcting him,* Gal. 2. *Furthermore, they had amongst them certain Notes and Observations, whereby they might discern how far and wherein they might obey their Prelates: they derided also and scorned the Popes Jurisdiction, because of the Schism that was then in the Church, when there were three Popes together, one striving against another for the Papacy.*

Over

KING Hen. 5.

Three doubts of John Hus propounded.

Over and besides this, at the same time *John Hus* did propound publickly, and by the Notaries caused to be written three doubtful questions, the tenour whereof followeth here word for word, and is this: *Forasmuch*, saith he, *as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the Truth; three doubts arise here to be resolved: The first doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the Pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal Priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the Doctors do hold or say, that some of* Pharaohs *Host being drowned in the Red-Sea, and of the* Sodomites *being subverted, be saved?*

Credere in Deum. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Ps. Lauds. Ille qui fit. 17. cap. 11. Against auricular confession.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively, alledging the saying of *Bede* upon this place of the Apostle (*To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness*, Rom. 4.) Upon this place saith *Bede*, *Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c.* The second doubt saith he, the Master of the Sentences doth answer, *lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11.* in these words, *What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, then without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart, &c.* For the third doubt he brought in the words of S. *Hier.* upon the Prophet *Nahum*, speaking of the *Egyptians* destroyed in the Sea, and of the *Sodomites* destroyed with fire, and of the *Israelites* destroyed in the Desert. *Know you* (saith *Hierome*) *that God therefore punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lye, which is not to be granted.* These three questions he-like *John Hus* did bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of *Rome*, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

Counsel of the Prelates of Prague against the Gospellers.

It followeth moreover after the death of the Archbishop *Swinco* above mentioned, that one named *Conradus* was placed by the Pope there to be chief General, which *Conradus* conferring with the Divines and Doctors of the University of *Prague*, required their advices and counsels, what way they might better take to affiwage the diffention and discords between the Clergy and the people. Whereupon a certain Council was devised to be holden after this fort and manner as followeth:

1. First, That all Doctors and Masters of the University of *Prague* should be assembled in the Court of the Archbishop, and in his presence, that every Doctor and Master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wicklif* before condemned.

2. *Item*, Concerning the seven Sacraments of the Church, the Keys and Censures of the Church, the Manners, Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, and Liberties of the Church, concerning also the worshipping of Reliques and Indulgences, the Orders and Religions of the Church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise, of the which Church of *Rome* the Pope is the Head, and the College of Cardinals is the Body: who are the true and manifest Succesors of blessed Saint *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, and of the College of the other Apostles of Christ.

Forum humanum. Forum meritorium. Medium.

3. *Item*, That every one shall swear, that in every Catholick matter, belonging to the Church, he will stand to the determination of the Apostolical See, and that he will obey the Prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden; or that which is meer ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both. Which mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

4. *Item*, That every one shall swear and confess by his Oath, that the Opinions of *Wicklif* and others, touching the seven Sacraments of the Church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of *Rome*, be false.

5. *Item*, That an Oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wicklif* aforesaid, or in any other matter Catholick, and especially of the seven Sacraments and other Articles above specified, but only as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise.

6. *Item*, That every Ordinary in his Diocess shall cause the said Premisses, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth Articles aforesaid, to be published in his Synods, and by his Preachers to be declared to the people in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

7. *Item*, If any Clerk, Student, or Lay-man shall withstand any of the premisses, that the Ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old Laws and Canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means: for none but the Ordinary hath Power to correct such a man, because the Archbishop is Chancellor both of the Kingdom and Univerity of *Prague*.

8. *Item*, That the Songs lately forbidden, being odious, flanderous, and offensive to others fame, be not sung either in Streets, Taverns, or any other place.

9. *Item*, That Master *John Hus* shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the Court, neither shall hinder the preaching in *Prague* by his presence: that by this, his Obedience to the Apostolical See may be known.

10. *Item*, That this Council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of all report and dissension that is in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

11. *Item*, If Master *John Hus* with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former Articles, then we will be ready to say as they would with us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of Faith: otherwise if they will not so do, we in giving this testimony, should lye greatly unto our Lord the King and the whole World. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the Court of *Rome*, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved. This counsel and devise being confidered amongst the Heads of the University of *Prague*, the foresaid Administrator named *Conradus*, presented unto the King and to the Barons of the Realm, and also to the Senate of *Prague*. Whereof as soon as word came to *John Hus* and his Adherents, they likewise drew out other Articles in manner and form of a Council as followeth:

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his Gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and of the Marquisship of *Moravia*, and of the City and Univerity of *Prague*, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the Clergy and the Scholars of the Universty.

1. First, Let the right and just decreement of the Princes, and of the Kings Council, be holden and stand in force, which between the Lord Archbishop *Swinco* on the one party, and between the Rector and Master *John Hus* on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed in the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King.

2. *Item*, That the Kingdom of *Boheme* remain in his former Rites, Liberties, and common Customs, so as other Kingdoms and Lands do enjoy: that is, in all approvations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy Mother universal Church.

3. *Item*, That Master *John Hus* (against whom the foresaid Lord *Swinco* could object no Crime before the Council) may be present in the Congregation of the Clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either Heresie or Error, let him object, binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

4. *Item*, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the Commandment be made by our Sovereign Lord the King through all his Cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all Villages and Towns, That Master *John Hus* is ready to render account of his Faith, and therefore if any will object unto him any Heresie or Error, let him write his name in the Chancery of the Lord Archbishop, and bring forth his Probations openly before both the Parties.

5. *Item*, If none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be notified and rumored in the Popes Court, that in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in the City of *Prague*, and in the

the Marquisdom of *Moravia*, many there be whose hearts be infected with Heretie and Error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

6. *Item*, That commandment be directed to Doctors of Divinity and of the Canon-Law, and to the Chapter of Cathedral-Churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an Heretick or Erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the publick Notary, confirming the same with their Seals.

7. *Item*, These things thus done and premised, then that our Soveraign Lord the King, and also that the Archbishop will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another Heretick or Erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that Heresie or Error, as it becometh him.

8. *Item*, After these things obtained, that our Soveraign Lord the King, with the consent of his Barons, will then levy a Subsidy, or collect of the Clergy, and direct an honest Ambassy to the Popes Court, with the which Ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expences for their purgation, which have caused this Kingdom sadly and grievously to be infamed in the Apostolick Court.

9. *Item*, In the mean season for the presence of Master *John Hus*, no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy Mother-Church, &c.

The Pope maketh war.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parts, the one objecting, the other answering in Articles as aforesaid: In the mean time it happened by the occasion of *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, who had besieged the Popes Towns and Territories, that Pope *John* raising up War against the said *Ladislaus*, gave full remission of sins to all them which would War of his side to defend the Church. When this Bull of the Popes Indulgence was come to *Prague*, and there published, the King *Wenceslaus*, who then favoured that Pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said Popes Indulgences. But *Hus* with his Followers, not able to abide the impiety of those Pardons, began manifestly to speak against them; of the which company were three certain Artificers; who hearing the Priest preaching of these Indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the Pope *Antichrist*, which would set up the Cross to fight against his evenchristened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to Ward. But the people joyning themselves together in Arms, came to the Magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The Magistrates with gentle words and fair promises satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was aswaged. But the Captains being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were *John, Martine*, and *Stascon*. The death and Martyrdom of these three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the Church of *Bethlem*. At whose Funeral divers Priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; *Those be the Saints which for the Testament of God gave their Bodies, &c.* And so their Bodies were sumptuously interred in the Church of *Bethlem*, *John Hus* preaching at the same Funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this World, and had revealed it to the simple Lay-people and inferior Priests, which chose rather to please God than men.

John, Martine, Stascon, Martyrs.

Thus the City of *Prague* was divided. The Prelates with the greatest part of the Clergy, and most of the Barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the Pope, especially *Steven Paletz*, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part the Commons with part of the Clergy and Students of the Univerlity, went with *John Hus*. *Wenceslaus* the King, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the Doctors and Prelates and Council of his Barons, thought best to remove *John Hus* out of the City, who had been excommunicated before by the Pope. And further to cease this diffention risen in the Church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the Doctors and the Clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a Decree, ratified and confirmed by the Sentence of the King, containing the sum of 18 Articles for the maintenance of the Pope and of the See of *Rome*, against the Doctrine of *Wickliff* and *John Hus*. The names of the Doctors of Divinity were these, *Steven Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Joannes Heliæ, Andreas Broda, Johannes Hildesen, Matthæus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Hus*, thus departing out of *Prague*, went to his Country, where he, being protected by the Lord of the soil, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people, neither yet was he so expelled out of *Prague*, but that sometimes he resorted to his Church at *Bethlem*, and there also preached unto the people.

{KING Hus. 5.}

Steven Paletz a great Enemy to *John Hus.*

Hus lished of *Rome.*

Moreover, against the said Decree of the Doctors, *John Hus* with his company replied again, and answered to their Articles, with contrary Articles again as followeth.

The Objections of John Hus *and of his part against the Decree of the Doctors.*

First, The foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Boheme* is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsly of the Sacraments.

2. The Doctors hereby do defame the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and do raise up new Discords.

3. Let them shew therefore those persons of the Clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verifie their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

4. False it is that they say the Pope and his Cardinals to be the true and manifest Succesors of *Peter* and of the Apostles, and that no other Succesors of *Peter* and of the Apostles, can be found upon the Earth besides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour. And all Bishops and Priests be Succesors of *Peter* and of the Apostles.

5. Not the Pope, but Christ only is the Head; and not the Cardinals, but all Christs faithful people be the Body of the Catholick Church, as all holy Scripture and Decrees of the holy Fathers do testifie and affirm.

6. And as touching the Pope, if he be a Reprobate, it is plain that he is no Head, no nor Member also of the holy Church of God, but of the Devil, and of his Synagogue.

7. The Clergy of the Gospellers agreeing with the saying of Saint *Austin* which they alledge, and according to the Sanctions of the Fathers, and determinations of the holy Mother-Church, do say and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45 Articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done: and that not only because the Doctors, but also all Bishops and Archbishops, in such great Causes, namely touching Faith (as these Articles do) have no authority at all, as appeareth. *De baptismo & ejus effectu cap. Majores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc fedi, &c.*

8. The second cause of the discord which they alledge also is most false; seeing the Faith of whole *Christendom*, concerning the Church of *Rome*, is divided in three parts by reason of three Popes, which now together do Reign: and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the Pope, and of the Cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the *Old* and *New Testament*, from whence the Sanctions of the Fathers did first spring, as is evident. *De accusationibus cap. Qualiter, &c.*

9. In the fourth Article they brast out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves. By reason that they dolefully have reprehended the Gospellers, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture (which is the Law of God, the way of truth and life) for their judge and measure: and afterward they themselves do alledge the Scripture, *Deut. 17.* where all Judges both Popes and Cardinals are taught to judge and discern between Leper and Leper, and in every Ecclesiastical Cause, only after the

{KING Hus. 5.} the rule of Gods Law. And so are they contrary unto their second Article, wherein they say, That in every Catholick matter we must run to the Pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the Articles aforesaid.

24. q. 1. *Hæc est fides Papa, &c.*

10. Consequently, like Idiots they do most falsely alledge for their purpose the Canon, under the name and authority of *Hierome*, written 24. *q.* 1. *Hæc est fides Papæ, &c.* where they do apply the words of *Hierome* most impertinently to the Pope of *Rome*, which he writeth to S. *Austin*, calling him a most blessed Pope.

11. By the which place of *Hierome* it is manifest that the first Article of those Doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the Bishop of *Rome* and his Cardinals are called blessed Popes, holding the Faith and seat of *Peter*, and are succesors of the Apostles, as was *Austin* and other Holy Bishops moe.

12. Whereof it followeth moreover, That the Church of *Rome* is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal See of his whole Church. For Christ, which was the head Priest of all, did first fit in *Jerusalem*, and *Peter* did fit first in *Antioch*, and afterward in *Rome*. Also other Popes did sit some in *Bonony*, some at *Perusium*, some at *Avimion*.

13. *Item*, the foresaid Prelates are falsifiers of the Holy Scriptures and Canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished: Which affirm and say, That we must obey the Pope in all things. For why, it is known that many Popes have erred, and one Pope was also a Woman. To whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to Communicate with them. As all Rubricks, and infinite Canons do declare.

Austin called Pope.

14. *Item*, Their, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false perswasions. And therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before: Seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to dissention and fallity.

15. It is manifest also to the Laity, that this dissention among the Clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the Gospel, which reprehendeth such *Simoniacks*, and such Heresies in the Church of God, as namely haunt the Court of *Rome* spreading out their branches abroad into all the World. Who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the Clergy Gospellers, but also of the Secular Power. And so these three vices, to wit, Symony, Luxury, and Avarice (which is Idol-worship) be the causes of all this Dissention among the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not the other, which they falsly ascribe to the Gospellers of *Prague*. These three vices being removed, Peace and Unity would soon be restored in the Clergy.

Pope Joan a Woman. Symony, Luxury, Avarice, three causes of dissention in the Clergy.

16. Moreover, their last Article is too gross, and not only is without all Law, but also without all colour of Law: whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus, That the Processes made against Mr. *John Hus* ought to be obeyed, because forsooth the common fort of the Clergy of *Prague*, hath received them. By the same reason they may argue also, That we must obey the Divel, for our first Parents *Adam* and *Eve* obeyed him. Also our fore-ancestors before us were *Pagans*, wherefore we must obey them, and play also the *Pagans*.

17. But let this frivolous Opinion go, this is certain truth, That the said Processes, made against Mr. *John Hus*, by Law are none. Forasmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the Commission of the Pope, against the determination of the holy Mother-Church, as appeareth *Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom.* and a Thousand other Laws besides.

18. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately do defend and execute (the said Process made) or consenteth unto them, are all to be counted as Blasphemers, Excommunicate, and Hereticks, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the Lord General Bishop *Olomucense*. And more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the Doctors. *Ex Æneæ Sylvi. & Cochlæo.*

¶ Unto these Objections of *John Hus* and his part, the Catholick Doctors again did answer in a long tedious Process; The scope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the Pope, and to maintain his obedience above all other Potentates in the World; affirming and contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in Purgatory, and which are labouring in the Church Militant, and which are reigning in Heaven, yet this letteth not, but the Pope is Head of the Church here Militant, that is, of all the faithful, which here in this World live under his office. Like as Christ is King of all kings, and yet *Charles* may be King of *France*: so say they, Christ may be the Universal Head, and yet the Pope may be Head under Him of the whole Church; And thus concluded they that the Pope is the Head, and that the College of Cardinals is the Body of the *Romish* Church, which Church of *Rome* is placed in the Ecclesiastical Office here over the Earth, to know and define upon every Ecclesiastical and Catholick matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all such Universal matters, and care upon all Universal Churches, and upon the Universal flock of faithful Christians. Forasmuch as in the Regiment of the Church through the Universal World, there must needs remain in such Office always some such manifest and true succesors of *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles and of the College of the other Apostles of Christ; neither can there be found or given upon Earth any other succesors, but only the Pope which is the Head, and the College of Cardinals, which is the body of the foresaid Church of *Rome*. And although the whole Universal multitude of the faithful do make the Body of Christ, yet the same Body of Christ is not placed here in Office to exercise such Authority upon Earth. Because that Universal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be congregate together.

Ex Cochlæo in Hist. Hussit. Catholicks, that is, Universal.

And therefore necessary it is, That some such true and manifest Succesors and Judges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had in all such Catholick and Ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in Earthly Regiments every cause of discord is brought before his Judge, and hath his place assigned where to be decided: so like reason who would require, that in principal matters and controversies of Faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to have such doubts resolved. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here must needs conclude (say they) that there cannot be given in all the World any other place, but only the Church of *Rome*, the Head whereof is the Pope, and the Body is the College of Cardinals. For like as Christ, departing out of this World in his Corporal presence, left his Body here with us under the Sacrament in an other form, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his Promise, *Matt. ult.*) unto the consummation of the World: even so Christ walkt here on Earth in his Bodily presence, he was Pope himself and Chief Bishop, and so Head of the Church here Militant in Earth, corporally conjoyned with the same, as the Head is to his Body. But after that he departed out of the World, because his Body which is the Church Militant upon the Earth, should not be headless, therefore he left *Peter* and his Succesors to his Church, for an Head in his place, unto the consummation of the World, saying to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, &c. *Matth. 16.* And again he saith, *Feed my sheep*, Joan. ult. That is to say, Be thou *Peter* the Head over thy Brethren.

If ye go to Rome, ye shall find Catholicks, that is, Universal.

If ye go to Rome, to any Policy, when ever any private case of England, brought to the Emperors Court to be decided? If ye go to any Policy, then shew Gods Word for it.

The possibility of Christ Doctorly applied.

O deep Humility of these Doctors.

Tedious it were, to recite all the bibble babble of these Doctors in this their long responsal. Who so listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the History of *Silvius*, or else to Master *Cochleus*, in his first Book, *De Hist. Hussit.*

Vide Æneas Silv. & Cochleum. Hussit. lib. 1.

Thus then Master *John Hus* being driven out of *Prague* (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctors, and moreover being so Excommunicate, that no Mass nor other must be said there where he was present: the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the Prelates and other Popish Priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be Symoniacks, Covetous, Whoremasters, Adulterers, Proud, sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignomy and shame: And much craving Reformation to be had of the Clergy.

The King seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the Clergy, under pretence to reform the Church, began to require greater exactions upon such Priests and Men of the Clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Where-

upon they on the other part that favoured *John Hus*, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and feared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the Catholick Faction, or enemies to *John Hus*. By reason whereof the Priests of the Popish Clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress and such as were not faulty, into great fear. Insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means M. *Hus* began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his Church at *Bethlehem*, and none did control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the King much gain and Money by that reason.

The Priests of Boheme displayed and taxed for their ill life.

And thus the Popish Clergy, while they went about to persecute *John Hus*, were inwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of Laymen, as of learned Men of the Clergy. Insomuch that Women also and Children were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to intangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the Doctors which before condemned this Doctrine in *John Hus* for intolerable Heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that Temporal Lords might take away Temporal Livings from the Clergy sinning *habitualiter*, that is, Lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now when the King and the Lords Temporal began to measure them and bereave them of their Temporalties for their transgressions, the said Doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word.

The Popish Doctors and Priests overthrown by their own reason.

Again, where the foresaid Doctors before could not abide in *John Hus*, that Tithes were to be counted for pure Alms, now coming to the *Guid-Hall*, they were fain to intreat for their Temporal Goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same Temporalites to be meer Alms and Devotion of good Men, given unto the Church. *Ex Cochlæo.*

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more that the Popes Clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to *John Hus*, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for the which cause

Stephen Paletz, *Andrew de Brida*, writ against *John Hus*.

Stephen Paletz, and *Andreas de Brida*, being the chief Champions of that Faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel Letters to Master *Hus*. And to help the matter forward, the People also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his Letters to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, which was Brother to *Sigismund* Emperor, for the suppressing of *John Hus* and of his Doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last year of his Popedom, *Anno.* 1414. The tenor of whose Letters to King *Wenceslaus* in this wise proceedeth.

The Letter of Pope John *to King* Wenceslaus.

The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

JOHN *Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his well-beloved Son in Christ*, Wenceslaus, *King of* Romans *and of* Bohemia, *greeting and Apostolical Benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the room of Christ here in Earth: this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and concord (by which concord Kingdoms do increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our wel-beloved Son in the Lord*, Sigismund *your Brother Germain and Cousin, for the noble King of the* Romans, &c. *And furthermore it followeth in those words; And as we have cause to joy at the promisses, so likewise again the heavy rumors which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in diverse places under our dominion, there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that Arch-Heretick* Wickliff, *whose Books have been long since condemned in the general* Roman *Council, to be Erroneous, Heretical, and subverting from the Catholick Faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleaving to the opinions of the Hereticks (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excess) to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the Apostolical Seat) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the Keys and Ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the Apostolical Dignity, setting at naught the Decrees of the Holy Fathers and Canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will (so effectually) to shew forth your Regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the Catholick Faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conservation of your Kingly Name, state and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your Kingdom and Dominions, as it becometh a Catholick Prince, whereby this blot of Heresie (which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal Men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the Congregation of the pure and Catholick Faith and Truth) may be rooted out,* &c.

{KING Hus.5.}

Given at *Bononia* in the Ides of *June*, in the fifth year of our Popedom, *&c.*

In this Epistle of Pope *John* above prefixed, forsomuch as mention is made of a certain Council before holden at *Rome* (which was four years before) against the Articles and Books of *John Wickliff*, it shall not be impertinent nor out of purpose to repeat a certain merry History and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by *Nicholas Clemangis* of a certain Spirit, which ruled the Popish Councils; his words are these.

The story of an Owl appearing at the Council of Pope John. Ex Nic. Clemangis.

The same Pope called a Council at *Rome* about four years before, at the earnest suite of diverse men. And a Mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said Council, (according to the accustomed manner) the Council being set, and the said *John* sitting highest in a Chair prepared for him for that purpose: Behold, an ugly and dreadful Owl, or as the common Proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the Church, cast her staring eyes upon the Pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel, to see the Night-Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he should in the mid-day come in the face of such a multitude, and judged (not without cause) that it was an illfavored token. For behold, said they (whispering one in anothers ear) The Spirit appeareth in the shape of an Owl. And as they stood beholding one another, and adviling the Pope, scarcely could they keep their contenance from laughter. *John* himself, upon whom the Owl stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat and to fret and fume with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the Council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another Session: In the which Owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking stedfastly upon the Bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before (and justly) saying, he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with battes and thoutings: But she being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, until that with the strokes of the sticks, which were thrown down at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful Friend, who at the same time came to *Rome*: the which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his Oath, that it was most certain and true: adding moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that Council called for such a purpose, and by little and little the Council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith. Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual Doves have been present with Popes and their Councils, and governed them; yet their evil Doctrine declareth no less. Read gentle Reader, the Book of *Clemangis*, and thou shalt not think thy labor evil bestowed. For he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthiness of Antichrist, and his Ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the Church, &c. And thus much for Pope *John*.

The

{KING Hus.5.}



The Council of Constance.

The Council of Constance.

HERE by the way is to be noted and understood, that during all this time of Pope *John*, there were three Popes Reigning together, neither was yet the Schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space (as I said) of 29 years. By reason whereof a general Council was ordained and holden at *Constance* in the same year, *Anno.* 1414. being called by *Sigismund* the Emperor, and Pope *John* the three and twentieth, for the pacifying of the foresaid Schism, which was then between three Popes, striving for the Popedom. The first whereof was *John*, whom the *Italians* set up. The second was *Gregory*, whom the *French*-men set up. The third was *Benedict*, whom the *Spaniards* placed. In this Schismatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his Pope, to the great disturbance of Christian Nations. This Council endureth four years long, wherein all their matters were decided most by four Nations, to say, the *English*, *Germain*, *French*, and *Italian* Nation. Out of which four Nations were appointed and chosen four Presidents to judge and determine the matters of the Council. The names of which Presidents were these; *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* for *France*, *Anthony* Archbishop of *Rigen* for *Italy*, *Nicholas* Archbishop of *Genesuensis* for *Germany*, and *Nicholas* Bishop of *Bath* for *England*; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publick profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten fleth of Churchmen could have biden the salt of the Gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But as *Gregorius Nazianzenus* writeth, there lightly come few general Councils, but they end more with disturbance, than tranquility: so it happened in this Council. For whereas *John* the 23*th.* in the first Session exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth of *Zachary*, *Veritatem diligite*, that is to say, *Love the truth*, further monishing them, and specially the Divines, every Man to do his endeavour for the unity of the Church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the Prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this story. First this *John* did resign his Papacy; the Emperor giving him thanks kissed his feet.

Three Popes together striving for the Popedom.

The Presidents allotted to this Council were nominated together with their deputies, 1500. *Philip* and *Clarey*, &c. *Gregorius in Epistola quadam.*

Afterward the said *John* repenting him that he had so done; fought means to flee, whereunto *Frederick* Duke of *Austrich* did assist him; for he changing his Garments fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto *Schaff*-House to go into *Italy*, the Emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed *Frederick* Traitor, and for that cause took away certain Cities from him. At the last the matter was appealed under this condition, that *Frederick* should require grace of the Emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him. Whereupon the Emperor received him again into favor, and restored him to his Dukedom: This Pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the County *Palatine*, and by him carried to the Castle of *Manheim*, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three years. Afterward he was again by Pope *Martin* admitted to the number of Cardinals.

Duke Frederick of Austrich proclaimed a Traitor.

Pope John taken and cast into prison.

This Pope *John* was deposed by the decree of the Council, more than three and forty most grievous and hainous crimes being objected and proved against him; as that he had hired *Marcilus Permesita* a Phylitian to poison *Alexander* his predecessor. Further, that he was an Heretick, a Simoniak, a Liar, an Hypocrite, a Murtherer, an Inchanter, a Dice-player, an Adulterer, and a Sodomite, and finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

Mark the good qualities of Pope John.

And now to return unto the Council, first we will declare the order of their Sessions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will (Christ willing) adjoyn the special tractation of such matters, as pertain to the story of the *Bohemians*, and *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, who in the same ungodly Council were condemned and burned.

This Council thereof of *Constance*, which was summoned by the Emperor *Sigismund*, and Pope *John* the 23*d.* about the Nativity of our Lord Jesus, *An.* 1414. began the same year to be assembled about the later end of the year. Which first beginning, as the manner is, with a Mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custom their Hymn, *Veni sancte spiritus*, there was at the same time a certain Bill set up in the Church by some well disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following; *Alias rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis non possumus*, that is to say, *We are otherwise occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you.* Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the Emperor *Sigismund*, when talk was ministred as touching the reformation of spirituality, and some said, *quod oporteat incipere a Minoritis*, that is, the reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites; the Emperor answering again,

A writing set up how the Holy Ghost had no leasure to come to the Council of Constance. The worthy saying of the Emperor touching the order of reformation

Non a Minoritis, sed a Majoritis; that is, *Not with the Minorites*, saith he, *but with the Majorites*: Meaning the Reformation ought first to begin with the Pope, Cardinals and Bishops, and other superior States of the Church; and so to descend after to the inferiours. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as we promised. The which Council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of four years, and had in it five and forty Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the deposition of three several Popes, which were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain Legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the Sessions orderly ensuing.

1. In the first Session chiefly was concluded, First, That this Council was lawfully Congregate.

2. 2*d. Item*, That the going away of the Pope should be no let or stay, but the Council might proceed.

Note by this example, the authority of Councils preferred before the Pope. ☞ Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the General Council is above the Pope, contrary to their own Doctrine.

3. 3*d. Item*, This Council should not be dissolved before the Church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiors.

4. In the 4*th.* Session amongst other things, this was first concluded; That a Synod Congregate in the Holy Ghost, making a General Council, representing the whole Catholick Church here Militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the Pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the Church, as well in the heads, as in the subjects. {Anno} {1415.}

Item, The said Pope should not translate the Court of *Rome*, and the Officers of the same Court, from the City of *Constance*. And that all his censures, doings and workings after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprise to do to the prejudice of this Council, should be no effect.

5. In the 5*th.* Session the same Articles were repeated and concluded again.

6. In the 6*th.* Session procuration and citation was sent out against the Pope.

Commissioners appointed to hear *John Hus*. *Item*, Commissioners were appointed out of the four Nations for the hearing of *John Hus*, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following.

Item, The memory of *John Wickliff* was condemned, and the sentence, given in the Council holden at *Rome* upon the condemnation and burning of *Wickliff's* Books, was there confirmed.

Citation granted against the Bishop of Prague. *Item*, In the same Session, Citation was sent out against *Hierome of Prague*, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said *Hierome*.

Item, In this Session was Decreed against Libels of infamy.

7. In the 7*th.* Session, nothing was handled, but that tenor of the Citation against Pope *John* was recited.

8. In the 8*th.* Session, the Sentence and Condemnation of *John Wickliff*, and his 45. Articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the History of *John Wickliff* before passed. Sentence given for the burning of Wickliff's bones.

9. In the 9*th.* Session, the matter and cause of Pope *John* was again intreated, and Commissioners appointed to enquire upon his cause, and Judges for the same.

10. In the 10*th.* Session, suspension was given out and read against the said Pope.

11, 12. In the 11*th.* and 12*th.* Sessions, Notaries were assigned and definitive sentence given against the said Pope: where also it was decreed that none of them, that intended before for the Papacy, should be chosen Pope.

13. In the 13*th.* Session was Decreed, *Quod nullus Presbyter sub pœna Excommunicationis Communicet populo sub utraque specie panis & vini*; That is, *That no Priest under pain of Excommunication shall Communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.* The people of Christ Excommunicated from the Communion of the Holy Cup.

14. In the 14*th.* Session came in the resignation of Pope *Gregory* the 12*th.* which was one of the three before mentioned, striving for the Papacy, with certain other Articles concerning the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the ratification of their resigning, which gave other the Papacy. {KING} {*Hen.*5.}

Then ensueth the 15*th.* Session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts under pain of Excommunication and the great curse, that no person or persons high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, Emperor, King, Cardinal or other, should disturb the said Session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against *John Hus* was read and published, which after in the story of *John Hus* followeth to be seen more at large. 15. The solemn publishing of the sentence of condemnation against *John Hus*.

In the 16*th.* Session, Ambassadors were assigned by the Council to go into *Arragon* to *Benedictus* the 13*th.* to treat with him for the relignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before. 16.

Item, Power was given to Judges to cite under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the Council; in the which Session also the sentence against *John Hus* was confirmed and ratified.

In the 17*th.* Session, the Emperor took upon him a journey to the King of *Arragon*, to treat with Pope *Benedictus*. An Excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the Emperors journey, about that matter, *&c.* 17. The Emperors journey into *Arragon*.

Item, Prayers and Processions were determined to be made by the Council every *Sunday* for the same cause, with an hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat; and that all Prelates should be present at every of these said Masses and Processions in their Pontificalibus. Granting besides to every Priest that said one Mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: And to all other that once a day should say one *Pater noster*, and one *Ave*, for the safety of the Emperor, forty days of pardon. Pardons were here dog cheap.

In the 18*th.* Session certain Judges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the Council had no leasure to hear. 18.

It was there also decreed, That such Letters and Bulls, as were written in the name of that Council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the Bulls proceeding from the See Apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty, than the falsifiers of the other. Legates also and Ambassadors were sent into *Italy*.

In the 19*th.* Session, which was the same year in the month of *September*, *Hierome of Prague*, who was cited as is beforesaid, was accused of Heresie, and cast into prison by the said Council, and constrained to abjure. The which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be seen in his History. 19.

Item, It was decreed, *Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum, &c. posse per judicem competentem de hæresi pravitate inquiri, &c.* That is, Notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the Emperor and Kings, *&c.* Inquiry may be made against any Man for Heresie by a sufficient Judge, and Process to be made according to the Law. *Concilium sufficiens*

The causes of Heresies were committed to certain Judges and Deputies.

Item, The Chart called *Carolina*, and divers other Charts and constitutions concerning the Liberties of the Church of *Rome*, being brought forth were approved and confirmed. And how chanceth it that the Chart of *Constantine* his donation is not here mentioned?

In the 20*th.* Session, Letters and Instruments were made and set upon Church doors, to require and admonish Duke *Frederick* to restore again unto *George* Bishop of *Austrick*, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of Interditement, Suspending and Excommunicating. 20. Provide that the Churchmen lose nothing in no case.

During the time of this Session, the Ambassadors returned out of *Arragon* from Pope *Benedict*, and were heard with great audience; whereas certain Articles and conditions between the Pope and the Council were brought forth and agreed upon to the number of twelve.

In the year of our Lord 1416. was the 21*th.* Session, beginning after their manner with a Mass of the Holy Ghost, with Procession and such other Rites, in the time of which Mass, *James* Bishop of *Lordy* made a Sermon, taking for his Theam these words; *Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam*: That is, *The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness*, &c. This Sermon being ended, 21. {Ann.} {1416}

{KING} {*Hen.*5.} *Jerome of Prague* repelled against the Sermon of the Bishop of *Lordy*. ended, *Jerom* of *Prague* which had Abjured as is said the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the foresaid *James* and his Sermon, alledging and preaching divers and sundry things, whereupon the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, one of the Commissioners proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing against the said *Jerom*; which sentence being read and approved by the Council (the tenor whereof ensueth in his History) the said *Jerom* was delivered unto the Secular Power, and burned.

22, 23. The 22d and 23d Sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the Ambassadors of *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*, and granting them voices in the Council.

24. In the 24th Session, Citation was given out against *Benedict*, keeping with *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*.

25. The 25th Session containeth nothing but a certain *Commendam* given to the Church of *Olemuccensis*.

26. In the 26th Session there was nothing else handled, but the Uniting and Incorporating of the Ambassadors of the King of *Navar* into the Council, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

27, 28. After this followed the 27th and 28th Sessions, which were in the year 1417. Wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt Duke *Frederick* and the Bishop of *Trident*, and Process given out against the said Duke, accusing him of Sacrilege; and also Excommunicating him for not obeying the Admonition of the Council; concerning the usurpation and detaining of the City of *Trident*, and other Possessions from Bishop *George*, as is before specified. {Ann.} {1417.}

29, 30. In the 29th and 30th Sessions, Protestors and Notaries were given out in the cause against Pope *Benedict*, and Order Decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the King of *Arragon* from the same Pope was recited, and approved by the Council.

31. In the 31st Session, certain Instruments and special Letters Monitory were directed from the Council to a certain Earl of *Italy*, named *Comes Virtutum*, for laying violent hands upon *Albert* Bishop of *Asce*, and for bringing him to Prison; requiring the said Earl, under pain of Interdiction and Excommunication, to set the said Bishop at liberty. Also another Decree was set forth for restoring again the liberties of the Church of *Baron*.

32, 33. In the 32d and 33d Sessions, the accusation of Pope *Benedict* was renewed, and his obstinacy accused, and witnesses brought in; at which thing doing the Emperor *Sigismund* was present. Pope *Benedict* accused.

34. In the 34th Session, the cause of the foresaid Pope was heard, and Process given out against him.

35. In the 35th Session, the Ambassadors of the King of *Castile* were brought in, and united to the Council, and Instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the Oaths made to the foresaid Pope, Men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

36. In the 36th Session, a certain Citation was made and read against the Pope, containing his deprivation, and the sentence against him, and Instruments made upon the same. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his Curses, Deprivations and Excommunications against them; the said Synod did adnihilate all his doings. The Pope curseth the Council.

37. The 37th Session did renew again the accusation of the foresaid Pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

38. In the 38th Session certain Decrees were made touching the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambassadors of King *Henry*, Son of *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*. Also, another Decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon*.

39. Thus Pope *Benedict* being Deposed and Excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next Sessions following they addressed themselves to the Election of a new Pope, beginning first in the 39th Session, to give out Decrees concerning General Councils, and provision for the avoiding of such like Schisms hereafter. Decreeing every tenth year to have a General Council, after the two Councils that should follow immediately after this; of the which, the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that. Decrees for General Councils.

Item, In the same Session was drawn out a form touching such things as the Pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his Election, of the which Form the Order and Tenor is this:

J. N. Elected for Pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whose Church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy Catholick Faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of General Councils, and of other holy Fathers, and namely of the eight General Councils: *Nicene* the first, the second of *Constantinople*, *Ephesine* the third, *Chalcedon* the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in *Constantinople*, the seventh of *Nice*, the eighth of *Constantinople*. And also of the General Councils of *Lateran*, *Lions*, and *Vienna*, willing to observe the same Faith unviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also by all means possible to prosecute and observe the Rite of the Sacraments Canonically delivered to the Catholick Church. And this my Profession and Confession, by my commandment being written out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy Church of *Rome*, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and devout confidence I offer it unto the Almighty God upon such an Altar, *&c.* In the presence of such witness, *&c. Item*, *&c.* The Profession which the Pope is bound to.

It was also Decided in this Session, That no Prelates should be translated against their will.

The third of the same month and the same year, followed the 40th Session, wherein certain Decrees were constitute and read, as touching Reformations to be made through the whole Church by the Pope that next should be, with the Council, before this Synod should break up. 40.

Item, That they should so proceed to the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*, notwithstanding the absence of those Cardinals which were with Pope *Benedict* in *Spain*. This done, the order and manner was Decreed for the Election of the Pope.

After these things thus Decreed; in the next Session, which was 41, the Constitution of *Clement* the sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being then in the Conclave about the chusing of the Pope; and upon the same, Oaths were Minitred unto the Cardinals and other Electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the Election. 41.

First, That they should enter into the Conclave within ten days after the fortieth Session, which was this present day after sun-set. The order and manner of the Conclave in chusing the Pope.

Secondly, That every Cardinal should have but two servitors attending upon him at the most, either of the Laity or Clergy, as they would themselves.

Thirdly, That they should remain together in the said Conclave, without any Wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare Curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

Fourthly, That the Conclave should so be shut up, and the entry to the Privy-Chamber be kept so straightly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any Man to come to them, except by the consent of them all certain should be called about matters concerning the Election.

Fifthly, That no Man should send to them either Messenger or Writings.

Sixthly, That a competent Window should be delivered unto them to receive in their Victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seventhly, That no day after their first ingress into the Conclave, beside Bread, Wine, and Water, they should have any more Dishes but one of one only kind, either of Flesh or Fish, Eggs, Pottage, made of Fish or Flesh, not after the daintiest sort, beside Sallets, Cheese, Fruit, and Confserves, whereof there shall be no principal Mess made but for sauce and taste.

Eightbly, That not one should be compelled to go into the Conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

Nimthly, That such as would go out, might; but if they would all go out before the Pope were Elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, That such as went out by reason of infirmity, to be absent, and return before the Election be determined, may be admitted again into the Conclave in the same state wherein they shall find the Election to stand.

Further and besides, the Keepers of the Conclave should also be Sworn to see all these Premises observed and kept without fraud or guile; and that they should not straitten the Cardinals and other Electors above the order here taken.

And if the King be there himself, sitting in his Throne of Estate, he should receive the same Oath of the Cardinals.

Upon this, such as should be Electors, beside the Cardinals were chosen.

These were wise Cardinals, they would not go into the Conclave, but they would be sure to have their Goods safe and unspoiled.

Furthermore, forasmuch as the Goods and substance of such as were Elect, were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them: whereupon under the pretence of the same, many did invade the Goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclave, fally fayning them to be Elected which were not to be Elected. To stop the greedy ravening of such, a Decree also was published in the same Session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the Cardinals and other Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, with other Electors, entring into the Conclave upon Monday, on Thursday after they had hatched out a Pope, being St. *Martins* even, whereupon they named him *Martin*. This *Martin* thus being Elected, was straightway brought in by the Emperor and the Council into the Church of *Constance*, and there inthronized for Pope, not without great Solemnity and Triumph. The twenty first day of the said Month, this foresaid *Martin*, according to their accustomed Pomp, was honourably brought in to be Crowned with sumptuous Procession from the high Church of *Constance*, unto the Monastry of St. *Austin*: the Emperour on Foot leading his Horse by the Bridle on the right hand, and the Marquiss of *Brandenburgh* Prince Elector likewise leading his Horse on the left hand, the Pope himself riding in the midst upon his Palfrey.

Pope *Martin* hatched.

The Emperor leadeth the Pope's Horse by the Bridle on the right hand. The Prince Elector leadeth the Popes Horse on the left hand.

And thus being brought into the Monastry aforesaid, and so reduced round about again from thence to the high Church of *Constance*, he was there Crowned with all Magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this Council, more great than wise, did not end thus: for in the next Session, which was the forty second,
42. came out a Decree in the name of the Pope and the Council, discharging the bond of the Emperor and the County Palatine, touching the safe custody of Pope *John*, who was by Bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

In the 43d Session, certain other Decrees and Statutes
43. Apparel of the Clergy. were made by Pope *Martin* in the said Synod, annullating and reproving all the Acts and proceedings of the other Popes before, during the time of the Schism from the time of *Gregory* the eleventh. As in matters concerning Exemptions, Unions, Fruits and Profits of the Church, Benefices, Symony, Dispensations, Tithes, and other burthens of the Church. Also concerning the Apparel of the Clergy, and such other things.

In the 44th Session, the sage Fathers of this Council
44. were occupied about the determining what place the next Council should be kept in. The forty fifth Session brake up and dissolved this Synod.

Now to finish our tedious rehearsal of this Synod, The Cardinal *Umbald*, by the commandment of the Pope and
45. the Council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words: *Domini ite in pace*; which is, Lords depart in peace; whereunto the standers by answered, *Amen*.

Thus the Council being dissolved, Frier *John* Bishop of *Catthan*, by the consent and commandment of the Pope and the Council, went up into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, taking for his Theme, *Vos autem tristitiam habetis; iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum*, You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts shall rejoyce. The which Collation being ended, another Cardinal named *Anthony*, was sent up by the Pope and the Council, with his Proclamation; First, to dismiss the Synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the Popes Indulgence unto them, who by the Authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that Council, full Absolution once in their life: so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this Indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing. Also, another Indulgence was granted in like manner of Plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the Houshold, as of the Masters themselves. But under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the Absolution in their life time: And for the Absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to do it, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives end, or else do some other good work. The which being in this manner proclaimed, the Synod brake up, and every man departed home.

{KING} Hen. 5.

Smell here Reader, this made well for the Popes part.

Ex Parali. Pomero Abbatis Usp.

The number of the Foreigners resorting to this Council, both Spiritual and Temporal, was 60500, whereof the number of Archbishops and Bishops, was 346.

The number of Prelates in the Council of *Constance*.

Abbots and Doctors, 564.

Secular Men { Princes, Dukes, Earls, Knights, Esquires, } 16000.

Besides common Women belonging to the same Council, 450.

Barbars, 600. Minstrels, Cooks, and Jesters 320.

Common Women in the Council of *Constance*.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the Town of *Constance*, between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, were numbered to be 60500 strangers and foreigners at the Council.

60500 strangers at the Council of *Constance*.

Here is to be noted that in this Council of *Constance* nothing was Decreed or Enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the Popes Authority is under the Council, and that the Council ought to judge the Pope.

The general Council about the Pope.

And as touching the Communion in both kinds, although the Council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding by the same Council it was Decreed to the contrary.

Communion in both kinds denied by this Council.

Hitherto we have comprehended the Order and Discourse of this Council, with the Acts and Sessions concerning the same; which Council, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the Schism between the three Popes, yet notwithstanding a great part thereof was for the cause of the *Bohemians*, and especially for *John Hus*, as appeared by their preparation before the Council. For before the Council began, the Emperor *Sigismund* aforesaid sent certain Gentlemen *Bohemians* which were of his own Houshold, giving them in charge to bring *John Hus* Bachelor of Divinity, unto the said Council, and that under his safe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, That *John Hus* should purge and clear himself of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the Emperor did not only promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely unto *Constance*, but also that he should return again into *Bohemia*, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole Empire. For the same only cause the Emperor sent him afterwards the said safe conducts double written, both in *Latin* and *Almain*; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

¶ Sigismund *by the Grace of God King of the* Romans, *of* Hungary *and* Denmark, Croatia, *&c. To all Princes as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, Barons, Captains, Borough-masters, Judges, and Governors, Officers of Towns, Burgesses and Villages, and unto all Rulers of the Commonalty, and generally to all the Subjects of our Empire, to whom these Letters shall come, grace and all goodness.*

We

{KING} Hen. 5. The safe conduct given to Master John Hus.

We charge and command you all, That you have respect unto John Hus, *the which is departed out of* Bohemia, *to come unto the General Council; the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the Town of* Constance. *The which* John Hus *we have received under our protection and safeguard of the whole Empire, desiring you that you will charitably receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, shewing him favour and good will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by Land as by Water.*

Moreover, we Will, That he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall pass throughout all Places, Passages, Ports, Bridges, Lands, Governances, Lordships, Liberties, Cities, Towns, Bourgages, Castles and Villages, and all other your Dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Dant-*money, Peage, Tribute, or any other manner of Toll whatsoever it be. We Will also, That you suffer to pass, rest, tarry, and to sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our Imperial Majesty.* Yeven at *Spire* the 18th of *October*, in the yeare of our Lord God 1414.

¶ By this it may appear, That this safe conduct was granted not in the time of the Council by the Bishop, but before the Council by the Emperor: who was or ought to be the Principal Ordainer and Director of the Council under God. Now whether the Bishops did well in breaking and adnulling this promise of the Emperor, against the Emperors mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth *Ad materiam juris, non facti*, being a matter rather of Law than of Story, I will defer to reason this case with Mr. *Cope*, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Ut Cope. p. 319.

Notwithstanding briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said *Cope*, how frivolous and false they be, and easie to be refelled. What (saith he) if he preached by the way coming up? First, That it is false, *vide infra*. What (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his Heresie? What if he sought to escape away after his coming up? To this the Lords of *Bohemia* do answer, That this safe conduct was broken, and he Imprisoned not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for an Heretick, but also before he was heard of the Council what he was. *Vide infra*.

Answer to *Ut Cope.*

Further, where *Cope* saith, that the General Council was above the Emperor, and hath power in case of Heresie to break publick Leagues and Grants; To that I say, That this safe conduct stood not only upon the Emperor, but also upon the consent of the Pope himself. *Vide infra*.

And admit that to be true, That the Council had power to make this Decree, to break promise with Hereticks; yet this cannot be denied, but that *John Hus* was condemned and judged before that Decree in the nineteenth Session was made. Finally when *Cope* hath proved by what Scripture the Councils have power to defeat the Authority of their Emperors in such Secular Causes touching safe conducts, and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Hus taketh the Emperors safe conduct.

John Hus seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the Emperor had given unto him, sent answer unto the Emperor, that he would come unto the Council. But before he departed out of the Realm of *Bohemia*, and specially out of the Town of *Prague*; he did write certain Bills long enough afore, as well in *Latin* as in the *Bohemian* Language, and *Almain*, and caused them to be set and fastned upon the Gates of the Cathedral Churches and Parish Churches, Cloisters and Abbies, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the General Council at *Constance*, wherefore if any man have any suspition of his Doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord *Comrade*, or Bishop of *Prague*, or if he had rather, at the General Council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his Faith. The example of his Letters and Intimations set up, were these; the Copy whereof here followeth:

¶ The Letters of *John Hus* set up in common places of the City of *Prague*.

Letters of John Hus set up.

After John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, will appear before the most reverend Father the Lord Conrade, Archbishop of* Prague, *and Legate of the Apostolick Seat, in their next Convocation of all their Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *being ready always to satisfy all Men which shall require him to give a reason of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to bear and see all such as will lay unto his charge, either any stubbornness of Error or Heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods Law and Mans. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of Error or Heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishment that he should have had; unto whom all together he will answer the next General Council at* Constance, *before the Archbishop and the Prelates, and according to the Decrees and Canons of the Holy Fathers, shew forth his innocency in the Name of Christ.* Dated the Sunday next after the Feast of St. *Bartholomew*.

The intimations following, were drawn out of the Bohemian *Tongue.*

Another to John Hus, before his going to *Constance*.

I Master *John Husnetz* do signify unto all Men, That I am ready to come and stand before the face of my Lord the Archbishop, and to answer to all things whereof I am fally accused in the next Convocation of Bachelors; and chiefly to this point, That in many places they do report me to be an Heretick, not having respect unto Justice or Law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since that you, which do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the Lord Archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and shew forth what false Doctrine or other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the Catholick Faith; and if mine that I shall be found faulty in never so small a matter, contrary or against the Faith of Christ, or in any false Doctrine, and that I do chuse that or other things contrary to the Faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as an Heretick. And if there be no Man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, That I am ready to appear at *Constance* in the famous Congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Divines, even before the face of the Pope. Therefore whosoever knoweth any false Doctrine contrary to the Faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and shew it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me, and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good Men therefore which love the truth, say now whether by these my words I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the Law of God or Man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it hapneth not through my fault the same day.

The effect of John Hus his Intimation.

¶ This Epistle which followeth was set upon the Gates of the Kings Palace, Translated into *Latin*, out of the *Bohemian* Tongue.

A writing of John Hus at the Kings Gates.

UNto the *Kings Majesty, the Queen, and to all such as are of his Council, and to all other Rulers and Magistrates, which now are in the Kings Court,* I John Hus *do signifie and publish, That I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be Letters brought from the Pope to the Kings Majesty; the Contents whereof is this: That the Kings Majesty should bring to pass, that the Hereticks which were now lately sprung up in his Kingdom and Dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forsomuch as without any desert, as I trust by Gods Grace the fame or noise is sprung and blown abroad; it shall be*

out

our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the Kings Majesty, neither the noble Kingdom of Bohemia, *should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my Letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up to this intent, that I might thereby cause the Archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matters, signifying openly, that if there were any Man in all* Bohemia, *which did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt Doctrine, he should profess his name in the Archbishops Court, and there shew forth and declare what he thought. And forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuse me, the Archbishop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the Kings Majesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queen and their Counsellors, and all other Rulers and Magistrates, that they would give me a faithful Testimonial of this matter; forsomuch as I have oftentime willed and attempted this, and no Man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it moreover to be known unto all* Bohemia, *and to all Nations, That I will be present even at the first time before the Council of* Constance, *in the most famous place, in the presence of the Pope, the Pope being President; and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspition of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the Faith of Christ, let him come hither also, let him declare there before or in the presence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Divinity, what erroneous and false Doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. More, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Christian Faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for an Heretick. But I hope and trust even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving Men, the which do willingly kick and spurn against the truth.*

The same time *John Hus* sent his procurers to the Lord Bishop of *Nazareth*, Ordained by the Apostolick See, Inquisitor of Heretic of the City and Diocese of *Prague*, requiring him, That if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said Bishop before the said procurer, and the publick Notary, with many other credible Witnesses, answered, That he had often talked with *John Hus*, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a goodly and faithful Man; and this his Testimony of *John Hus*, he approved by his Letters, the Copy whereof is here under written.

The Testimony of the good Bishop of Nazareth.

❡ The Bishop of *Nazareth* his Testimonial.

The Bishop of Nazareth witnesseth with John Hus.

WE Nicholas *by the Grace of God Bishop of* Nazareth, *and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolical Seat, for Heresies both of the City and Diocese of* Prague, *by these Presents do it to be known unto all Men, that we in times past have often commanded and talked with that honourable Man Master* John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, of the famous University of* Prague, *and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters, and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a Faithful and a Catholick Man, finding no manner of evil, sinister, or by any means erroneous doings in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said* John Hus, *of late, in the Cathedral Church of* Prague, *and in other both Collegiate and Parish-Churches, and in the Colleges of the University of* Prague, *and in the Gates and Porches of the most Noble Prince and Lord, the Lord* Wenceslaus *King of* Romans *and of* Bohemia; *also in the Gates of the reverend Father the Lord* Conrade *Archbishop of* Prague, *Legate of the Apostolick See, and Chancellor of the University of* Prague, *and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the City of* Prague, *hath set up his Letters written both in* Latin, *and in the* Bohemian *Tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresaid Master* John Hus *would appear before the reverend Father the Lord* Conrade, *the foresaid Archbishop of* Prague, *and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *that shall be congregated and called together by the said Archbishop, at the day appointed in the said City of* Prague, *ready always to satisfy every Man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to see and hear all and every one which could prove any obstinacy of Error or Heresie lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by Gods help, answer in the Council of* Constance, *which was now at hand, before the said Lord Archbishop and us, with all other Prelates, and there in Christs Name, according to the Decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, to declare and shew forth his Innocency. After the which Letters, as is aforesaid by the said Master* John Hus *openly set up, there did no Man appear before us, the which would accuse the said Master* John Hus *of any Error, either of any Heresie. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present Letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our Seal.* Dated in *Prague* the thirtieth of *August*, *Anno* 1414.

[KING] Hus.5.

Upon which matter also, a publick Instrument was drawn, testified with the Hand and Seal of the publick Notary, named *Michael Pruthatierz*. The Copy of which Instrument here under followeth:

❡ An Instrument of Recognition, or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of Heresies.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *In the year of his Nativity, one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of* August, *in the fifth year of the Bishoprick of the most holy Father in Christ,* John *by the Grace of God Pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost Parlor of the House of the most famous Man the Lord* Peter of Zwogtia, *called* Zuirglits, *Master of the Mint of the most famous Prince and Lord, the Lord* Wenceslaus, *King of the* Romans *and of* Bohemia, *in the greater City of* Prague, *about the Abbey of St.* James *the Apostle, in the presence of me the publick Notary here under written, and certain witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose.*

There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, *Master of Art, procurer in the name of the Honourable Man, Master* John Hus, *Bachelor, formed in Divinity of the University of* Prague. *He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend Father in Christ and Lord,* Nicholas *Bishop of* Nazareth, *Inquisitor of Heresies for the City and Diocese of* Prague, *specially appointed by the Apostolick See, being there also present, saying, Reverend Father, do you know any Heresie or Error in Master* John Hufnutt, *otherwise called* Hus? *The which said Lord* Nicholas, *not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord freely and openly did there Recognise, saying these or the like words, in the* Bohemian *Tongue.*

I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Hus, *and have eaten and drunk with him: also I have been often present at his Sermons, and diver of his Collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any Error or Heresie, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a Catholick Man, neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any Error or Heresie.*

Again, the said Master John *his procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the said Lord* Nicholas, *Bishop and Inquisitor, whether any Man have accused the said Master* John Hus *of any Heresie before him, being Inquisitor for Heresie, and hath convicted him of Heresie. He answered, That since the time he knew* John Hus, *and that he was made Inquisitor for Heresie in the City and Diocese of* Prague *(as is aforesaid) never any Man accused, either convinced the said Master* John Hus *of any Heresie before him unto this present time. Adding moreover, That he the said Master* John Hus *did openly set up his Letters Patents this present year aforesaid, in the said Month of* August, *upon the Porches of the Cathedral*

[KING] Hus.5.

Church of Prague, *and other Collegiate and Parish-Churches of the City of* Prague, *and upon the Gates of our said Lord, our Lord the King, and the Archbishop of* Prague, *containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before* Conrade *Archbishop of* Prague, *and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *which should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfie all Men as touching the Faith and Hope which he held, and to see and hear all or singular that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresie unto him, that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of Gods Law and Mans Law, unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said Archbishop of* Prague, *and the said Lord* Nicholas, *Bishop and Inquisitor aforesaid, and the Prelates even in the next General Council of* Constance, *and there according unto the Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shew forth his uprightness and innocency, upon all and singular: of which proceedings, Master* John de Jessenitz *procurer, and in the procurers name or behalf as afore, required and desired that he might have one or many publick Instruments made unto him by me the publick Notary here under-written. These things were done the Year, Indiction, Day, Month, Hour, Place, and Bishoprick, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous Men, the Lord* William de Zwingiditz, *Baron of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, Peter *his Son, the Lord* Illaworicion, de Renow *likewise Baron* Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vaffone de Mielkonitz, Burgrave *of the Castle of* Lichtenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz *Esquire, and* William de Dupoer, *Knight of the said Diocese of* Prague, *with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required unto the Premises. And* I Michael, *sometimes of the Son* of Nicholas de Prachatitz *of the Diocese of* Prague, *and by the Imperial Authority, publick Notary, was present with the witnesses fore-named, at the affairs aforesaid, at the request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the foresaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully drawn and written, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my Seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the Premises.*

Conrade the Archbishop cleareth John Hus.

After this, as all the Barons of *Bohemia* were assembled in the Abbey of St. *James*, about the affairs of the Realm, whereas the Archbishop of *Prague* was also present: There the said *John Hus* presented Supplications, by the which he most humbly desired the Barons, that they would shew him that favour towards the said Archbishop, that if the said Archbishop did suspect him of any Error or Heresie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto *Constance*. The said Archbishop confessed openly before all the Assembly of Barons, That he knew not that the said *John Hus* was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel; that the said *John Hus* should purge himself of the Excommunication he had incurred. This report, which the Archbishop had given of *John Hus*, doth appear by the Letters which the Barons of *Bohemia* sent unto the Emperor *Sigismund* by the said *Hus*, in the Town of *Constance*.

John Hus requireth to give testimony of his Faith, and could not be admitted.

Finally, all the Prelates and Clergy assembled together in the Town of *Prague*, in the Archbishop his Court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master *John Jessenitz*, Doctor of Decretals and Procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable Man Master *John Hus*, requiring that either the said Master *John Hus*, or that he in the name and behalf of him might be suffered to come into the Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbishop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master *John Hus* is ready to satisfie all Men which shall require him to shew any reason of his Faith or Hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all and singular which were there gathered together, that is to say, the Lord Archbishop and Prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresie unto him, that they should there write in their names, and according both unto Gods Law and Mans, and the Canon Law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresie against him: unto whom altogether he would, by Gods help, answer before the said Archbishop and the Prelates in the next General Council holden at *Constance*, and stand unto the Law, and according to the Canons and Decretals of the holy Fathers, shew forth and declare his innocency in the Name of Christ. Unto the which, Master *John* of *Jesenitz* Doctor, one called *Ulricus Swabe* of *Swabenitz*, Marshal of the said Archbishop, coming forth of the said Court, did utterly deny unto the said Master Doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the Court, and to the presence of the Archbishop aforesaid, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the Archbishop, with the Prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the Kings Affairs, requiring the said Master Doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said Court, that when the Archbishop, and the Prelates had finished the Kings Affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the Court there. The said Master *John Hus*, and the Doctor of Law tarried a while, intreating to be admitted into the Archbishops Court: but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he, and also Master *John Hus* and his part, could not be suffered to come into the Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbishop and the Prelates. Requiring of the foresaid Notary publick Instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done before *John Hus* took his journy to the General Council of *Constance*, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journy thitherwards.

John Hus taketh his journey to Constance.

About the Ides of *October*, 1414. *John Hus* being accompanied with two Noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, *Wancelaus* of *Duba*, and *John* of *Clum*, he parted from *Prague*, and took his journey towards *Constance*. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his Letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good Town or City of Name, the Tenor whereof ensueth:

❡ The Copy of the Letters which *John Hus* set up in the common places of the Cities which he passed through, going to the Council.

The Letters which John Hus did set up in Cities as he passed to Constance.

MAster John Hus *goeth now unto* Constance, *there to declare his Faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by Gods help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore even as he hath manifested throughout all the Kingdom of* Bohemia *by his Letters and Intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his Faith unto every Man, which should object or lay any thing against him in the General Convocation holden in the Archbishop of* Prague's *Court: So likewise he doth manifest and signifie, that if there be any Man in this Noble and Imperial City, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the Council, forasmuch as the said Master* John Hus *is ready to satisfie every man at the said Council, which shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his Faith.*

How John Hus was received by the way going up to the Council.

In all Cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of *Bohemia*, and entred into *Almain*, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his Hosts through all the Towns of *Germany*, and especially of the Citizens and Burgesses, and oftentimes of the Curates. Informuch that the said *Hus* did confess in a certain Epistle, that he found in no place so great Enemies as in *Bohemia*. And if it hapned that there were any brute or noise before

of his coming, the ſtreets were always full of people which were deſirous to ſee *John Hus* and gratifie him; and amongſt all other, eſpecially at *Noremberg*, whereas certain Merchants, which went before, certified the Citizens of his coming. In the ſame City there were many Curates which came unto him, deſiring him that they might talk with him ſecretly apart: unto whom he anſwered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and ſhew forth his Mind and Opinion openly before all Men, than in hugger mugger, for he would keep nothing cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner, until it was night he ſpake before the Prieſts and Senators, and divers other Citizens, inſomuch that they all had him in great eſtimation and reverence, one only Doctor except, which was a *Charter-houſe* Monk, and the Curate of St. *Sebauld*, which did improve all that he had ſaid.

A Charter-houſe Monk againſt John Hus.

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the Town of *Prague*, which was the third day of *November*, he came unto *Conſtance*, and lodges at an honeſt Matrons Houſe; being a Widow named *Faith*, in St. *Galler-ſtreet*.

John Huſſes hoſteſs named Faith.

The morrow after, the Gentleman Maſter *John de Clum*, and Maſter *Henry Latzembogc*, went to ſpeak with the Pope, and certified him that *John Hus* was come, whom they had brought to *Conſtance* to the General Counſil, under the Emperor his ſafe conduct; deſiring him alſo that he on his part would grant the ſaid *John Hus* liberty to remain in *Conſtance*, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the Pope anſwered, That albeit that *John Hus* had killed his Brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done unto him during his abode in the Town of *Conſtance*.

The Pope conſenteth to the ſafe-conduct of John Hus.

In this mean time, the greateſt adverſary that *John Hus* had, named Maſter *Steven Paletz*, the which was alſo a *Bohemian* born, was come unto *Conſtance*. But his companion Maſter *Stanislaus Znoma* was not yet paſſed the Borders of *Bohemia* when he was ſtricken with an Impoſtume, whereof he died. As ſoon as the ſaid *Paletz* was come to *Conſtance*, he did aſſociate unto him one *Michael de Cauſis*, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſame *John Hus*. And this may not be forgotten, that the ſaid *Paletz* had been familiarly converſant and acquainted with the ſaid *John Hus* from his youth upward; but after that there was a Bull brought unto *Prague*, from Pope *John* the 23d, againſt the King of *Apulia*, named *Ladiſlaus*, the ſaid *John Hus* withſtood it openly, forſomuch as he ſaw that it was wicked and naught.

Stanislaus Znoma, Huſſes enemy, going to Conſtance, died by the way.

Steven Paletz and Michael de Cauſis, chief enemies to Hus.

A Bull againſt Ladiſlaus King of Apulia.

And as touching the ſaid *Paletz*, albeit that he had confeſſed at a certain Banquet in the preſence of the ſaid *John Hus*, that the ſaid Bull was contrary to all equity and right; yet notwithſtanding forſomuch as he was obliged and bound unto the Pope, by means of certain Benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the ſaid Bull againſt *John Hus*. And this was the cauſe of the diſcord and falling out between them. As for *Michael de Cauſis*, the companion of Maſter *Paletz*, he was ſometime the Curate of *New Prague*; but he not being content therewith, but ſeeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a ſemblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the Mines of Gold in *Gilory*, which were periſhed and loſt, might be renewed and ſet on work again. By this means he did ſo much with the King *Wincelaus*, that he did put a great ſum of mony into his hands, to do that withal which he had promiſed.

Michael de Cauſis.

This honeſt man, after he had laboured and travelled certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to paſs, and that by that means he was utterly in deſpair of his purpoſe, he employed himſelf privily out of the Realm of *Bohemia* with the reſt of the money, and withdrew himſelf, as a worthy Bird for ſuch a Neſt, into the Court of *Rome*. Such a Man of ſuch conditions was eaſily corrupt with mony, and that by the adverſaries of the ſaid *Hus*, and promiſed them to do what he could for them, the which he did ſhortly after. Theſe two jolly roiſters, *Steven Paletz* and *Michael de Cauſis*, drew out certain Articles againſt the ſaid *Hus*, ſaying, That they had gathered them out of his own writings, and ſpecially out of his Treatiſe which he had written of the Church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to ſhew the ſaid Articles unto the ſaid Cardinals, Biſhops, and Monks, and ſuch other of that ſort, doing them alſo to underſtand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the ſaid *John Hus* had committed and done againſt the holy Conſtitutions, and other Ordinances of the Pope and the Church; which if need were, they ſaid they would propound before the Council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did ſo inceuſe the Cardinals, and all the Prieſts, that all they with one mind and conſent thought to cauſe the good Man to be taken and laid hands on.

The wicked life of Michael de Cauſis, Huſſes enemy deſtributed.

The enemies of Hus practice againſt him.

{KING} Hist. 5.

The 26th day after the ſaid *Hus* was come to *Conſtance*, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his Friends; the Cardinals, through the inſtigation and motion of *Paletz* and *Michael de Cauſis*, ſent two Biſhops; to wit, the Biſhop of *Auguſta*, and of *Trident*, and with them the Burrough-maſter of the Town of *Conſtance*, and a certain Knight, to the place where *John Hus* lodged, about dinner-time, which ſhould make report unto him that they were ſent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to advertiſe him that he ſhould come to render ſome knowledge or witneſs of his Doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes deſired, and that they were ready to hear him.

Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, I am not come for any ſuch intent, as to defend my cauſe particularly before the Pope and his Cardinals, proteſting that I never deſir'd any ſuch thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole Aſſembly of the Council, and there anſwer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all ſuch things as ſhall be demanded or required of me. Notwithſtanding, ſaid he, foraſmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they evil intreat or handle me; yet nevertheleſs I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he will ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to die for his Glory ſake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his Holy Scriptures. Wherefore it came to paſs, that the Biſhops being inſtant upon him, and not ſhewing any outward ſemblance that they bare any malice or hatred againſt him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid Gariſons both in the Houſe where they were Aſſembled, and alſo in other Houſes; *John Hus* took his Horſe which he had at his lodging, and went unto the Court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

John Hus deſired to plead his cauſe before the whole Council.

When he was come thither, and had ſaluted the Cardinals, they began to ſpeak to him in this ſort: We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffered: For Men ſay, That you have taught great and manifeſt Errors, and contrary and againſt the Doctrine of the True Church; and that you have ſowed your Errors abroad through all the Realm of *Bohemia*, by a long ſpace of time; wherefore we have cauſed you to be called hither before us, that we might underſtand and know how the matter ſtandeth.

John Hus is come before the Pope and the Cardinals.

The words of the Pope and the Cardinals to John Hus.

Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered in few words, Reverend Fathers, you ſhall underſtand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I ſhould rather chuſe to die, than I ſhould be found culpable of one only error, much leſs of many and great errors. For this cauſe I am the more willingly come unto the General Council, which is here appointed to ſhew my ſelf ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me. The Cardinals anſwered him again, That his ſayings pleaſed them very well, and upon that they went away, leaving the ſaid *John Hus*, with Maſter *John de Clum*, under the guard and keeping of the Armed Men.

The anſwer of John Hus to the Pope and Cardinals.

In the mean ſeaſon, they did ſuborn and furniſh out a certain Divine, a Frier Franciſcan, a ſubtil and crafty Man, and a malicious hypocrite, to queſtion with the ſaid *John Hus*, which was compaſſed round about with Armed Men. This Man drawing near in his Monkiſh geſture, ſaid, Reverend Maſter, I a ſimple and rude Idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many ſtrange and contrary things againſt the Catholick Faith to be aſcribed unto you, the which do diverily move my mind being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do deſire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly Men, that you would teach me moſt ſimple and miſerable Man, ſome certainty and truth. And firſt, Men ſay, That you hold opinion that after the Conſecration and Pro-

Detus malus Cardinalis.

A Frier Minor putteth two queſtions to John Hus.

{KING} Hist. 5.

Pronunciation of the words in the Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth only material Bread. *John Hus* anſwered, That it was falſly attributed and imputed unto him. Then ſaid he, I pray you, Is not this your Opinion? No verily, ſaid *John Hus*, I do not ſo think of it. When the Monk asked this queſtion the third time, Maſter *J. de Clum* being moved ſomewhat with him, ſaid, Why art thou ſo importunate upon him? Verily, if any Man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou albeit he hath ſhewed thee his mind ſo often, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſaid the Monk, Gentle Maſter, I pray you pardon me a poor Idiot and ſimple Frier; ſurely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and deſirous to learn. This Frier put forth another queſtion unto him, proteſting his ſimplicity and ignorance, What manner of Unity of the Godhead and Manhood was in the Perſon of Chriſt? When *John Hus* had heard this queſtion, he turning himſelf unto Maſter *John de Clum*, in the *Bohemian* Language ſaid, Truly this Frier is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning himſelf to the Frier, he ſaid unto him, Brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not ſimple. It is not ſo verily, ſaid the Frier. Well ſaid *John Hus*, I will cauſe you well to underſtand that it is ſo. For as touching the ſimplicity of a Man it is required in things that concern civility and manners; that the ſpirit, the underſtanding, the heart, the words and the mouth ſhould agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain ſemblance of ſimplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an Idiot and ſimple, but your deeds ſhew plainly and evidently a great ſubtility and craft in you, with a great quickneſs and liveline ſs of wit, in that you have propound unto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion.

A Feigned Judas.

Maſter John de Clum ſpeaketh for John Hus.

A Wolf in a Lambs ſkin.

Notwithſtanding, I will not fear to ſhew you my mind in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the Monk gave him great thanks for his gentleneſs, and ſo departed. After that, the Popes Gariſon which were about the ſaid *John Hus*, told him, That this Frier was called Maſter *Didace*, who was eſteemed and counted the greateſt and moſt ſubtil Divine in all *Lumbardy*. Oh, ſaid *John Hus*, that I had known that afore, I would have handled him after another ſort and faſhion; but I would to God they were all ſafe, then through the help and aid of the Holy Scriptures I would fear none of them. In this manner the ſaid *Hus*, and Maſter *John de Clum*, were left under the keeping of theſe Men of Arms, until four of the Clock at Afternoon. After which time the Cardinals aſſembled again in the Popes Court, to deviſe and take counſel what they ſhould do with *John Hus*. Then *Stephen Paletz*, and *Michael de Cauſis*, with divers other of their adherents, made earneſt ſuit that he ſhould not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the Judges on their part, they brag'd up and down in a manner, as they had been mad Men, and mocked the ſaid *John Hus*, ſaying, Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art under our power and juriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart until ſuch time as thou haſt paid the uttermoſt farthing.

Diders a crafty Friar.

Many a man beguiled under a cloke of ſimplicity.

John Huſſes accuſers triumph over him when he was taken.

A little afore night, they ſent the Provoſt of the *Roman* Court unto Maſter *John de Clum*, to ſhew him that he might return to his Lodging; but as for *John Hus*, they had otherwiſe provided for him. When Maſter *John de Clum* heard theſe news, he was wonderfully diſpleaſed, forſomuch as through their crafts, ſubtilties, and gloſſing words, they had ſo trained this good man into their ſnares, whereupon he went unto the Pope, declaring unto him all that was done; moſt humbly beſeeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promiſe which he had made unto him and Maſter *Henry Latzembog*, and that he would not ſo lightly falſify and break his Faith and Promiſe. The Pope anſwered, That all theſe things were done without his conſent or commandment, and ſaid further to Maſter *Clum* apart, What reaſon is it that you ſhould impute this deed unto me, ſeeing that you know well enough that I my ſelf am in the hands of theſe Cardinals and Biſhops?

The Pope breaketh promiſe.

In mine Opinion, foraſmuch as Pope *John* feared that which indeed did after follow, that he ſhould be deprived of his Dignity, he thought to win the favour of theſe *Herodian* Cardinals and Biſhops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the ſaid Maſter *Clum* returned very penſiveful ſorry; he complained very ſore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all proffited nothing. After this, the ſaid *John Hus* was led by the Officers to the Chapter-houſe of the great Church of *Conſtance*, where he was kept Priſoner by the ſpace of Eight days; from thence he was carried unto the *Jacobines*, hard by the River of *Rhine*, and was ſhut up in the Priſon of the Abby, the which was hard by the *Bogardi*.

The Pope to pleaſe the Council was againſt John Hus.

After he had been incloſed there a certain time he fell ſore ſick of an *Ague*, by means of the ſtench of the place, and became ſo weak, that they deſpaired of his life. And for fear leſt this good man ſhould die in Priſon, as others are wont to do, the Pope ſent unto him certain of his Phyſitians to cure and help him. In the midſt of his ſickneſs his accuſers made importunate ſuit to the principals of the Council, that the ſaid *John Hus* might be condemned, and preſented unto the Pope theſe Articles here under-written:

The impriſonment and ſickneſs of John Hus.

¶ *Articles preſented againſt* John Hus.

Articles againſt John Hus.

Firſt, He doth err about the Sacraments of the Church, and ſpecially about the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, forſomuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be Miniſtered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to ſay, the Body and Blood. This Article is evident, forſomuch as his Diſciples at this inſtant in *Prague* do Miniſter the ſame in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the Schools and in the Church, or at the leaſt that he doth hold this Opinion, that after the words of Conſecration pronounced upon the Altar, there remaineth ſtill material Bread in the Sacrament. This Article ſhall be known by his Examination.

The Supper of the Lord.

Secondly, He doth err as touching the Miniſters of the Church, forſomuch as he faith, That they cannot Conſecrate or Miniſter the Sacraments when they are in mortal ſin. This Article ſhall likewiſe be known by his Examination. Notwithſtanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings *De Eccleſia*; the which if he deny, let there then be ſome Divines and others appointed, to peruſe and look over his ſaid writings of the Church. Moreover he ſaith, That other men beſide Prieſts may Miniſter the Sacrament. This Article is evident forſomuch as his Diſciples do the ſame at *Prague*, the which of themſelves do violently take the Sacrament out of the Treaſury, and Communicate among themſelves, when the Holy Communion is denied unto them. By this and other things alſo it is ſufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal ſin, hath the power of Orders or Prieſthood, forſomuch as ſuch only as have taken Orders ought to Miniſter the Sacrament unto themſelves. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters unto great and weighttier, it doth conſequently appear and follow, that thoſe which be in the ſtate of Grace can bind and looſe.

Of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Thirdly, He doth err as touching the Church, and ſpecially for that he doth not allow and admit that the Church ſignifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and the Clergy underneath them; but faith, that this ſignification was drawn out from the School-men, and is in no caſe to be holden or allowed. This Article is manifeſt by his ſaid Treatiſe upon the Church.

Of the Church.

Moreover, he doth err concerning the Church, in that he faith, That the Church ought not to have any Temporal Poſſeſſions. And that the Temporal Lords may take them away from the Church and the Clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forſomuch as through his Doctrine and Inticements many Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and in the City of *Prague*, are already ſpoiled and robbed of a great part of their Temporalties and goods. He ſaith alſo, that *Conſtantinus* and other Secular Princes erred by inriching and indowing Churches and Monaſteries. This Article is manifeſt by that which goeth next before.

Eccleſiaſtical Revenues.

Fourthly.

The Bishops power.

Fourthly, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he faith, That all Priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reservations of the Popes casualties, the ordering of Bishops, and the Consecration of the Priests, were invented only for covetousnes. This Article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his Examination thall be more evident.

The power of the Keys of the Church.

Fifthly, He erreth concerning the Church, in that he faith, That the Church being in sin, hath no power of the Keys, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the Priests and Clergy are in deadly sin; the which he faith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his Treatise upon the Church in his first error as touching the Ministers of the Church.

Excommunication.

Sixthly, He erreth touching the Church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear Excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, that he did contemn and despise the Apostolick and Ordinary censure, and in all the Apostolick Excommunications and Injunctions he hath born himself upon the Divine Commandments, and in contempt of the Keys, to the setting out of his Hypocrisie, he hath said Mass all the ways between this and the City of *Prague*, and thereby hath prophaned the Process and Authority of the Church.

Invesstitures

Seventhly, He erreth again as touching the Church, because he keepeth not the Institutions and Invetitures thereof, but holdeth Opinion that every man hath Authority to invest and appoint any man to the cure of Souls. This is evident by his own doings, forsomuch as many in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into Parish-Churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the City of *Prague*.

The Office of preaching.

Eighthly, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he holdeth Opinion, That a man, being once Ordained a Priest or Deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the Office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching; neither by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Archbishop of *Prague*.

Lugubre nomen accepit quod barbaris fonem.

And to the intent that the said *John Hus*, who is clothed in Sheeps clothing, and inwardly a ravening Woolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you most reverend Fathers; I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such Errors and Heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, he understanding and perceiving himself to be withstanded and gainsayed by the *Germans*, which were in the University of *Prague*, forsomuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three Voices, and he on his part had but one only Voice: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the Secular Power, that the *Germans* should have but one Voice, and he and his parts three Voices: the which thing when the *Germans* once perceived, rather than they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in Voices, or be in danger in their persons, the which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly with one consent agreed together to depart out of *Prague*; and by this means this

A heaping together of many grievous crimes.

The departure of the Germans from the University of *Prague*.

solemn and famous University of *Prague* was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers Sciences. Behold this his first fruits which divided that so famous University, forsomuch as Grapes are not gathered of Thorns, neither figs of Brambles.

The 45 Articles of *Wickliff*.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the Divines of the University of *Prague* upon the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff*, and that they had called a Convocation, and all the Divines of *Bohemia*, (for the *Germans* were already departed) they concluded that every one of those Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous. He alone held the contrary Opinion, that none of those Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common Schools of *Prague*, whereby it is evidently enough fore-seen, that he doth affirm those Articles of *Wickliff*, the which are not only condemned in *England*, but also by the whole Church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

Moreover, he being complained of to the Archbishop of *Prague*, that he preached and set forth certain Articles which were Heretical, False, and Seditious, he was forbidden by the said Archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the Canonical Sanctions, the which process is confirmed by the Apostolick See, and published as well in the Court of *Rome*, as without; the which *John Hus* and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and prophanated. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their Benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the said Churches, and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of the Souls committed unto them, neither by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the place.

{KING Lib. 1. Hus. 5.}

The Office of preaching forbidden by the Archbishop.

Also as many, as well Priests as Lay-men in the City of *Prague* and Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which have spoken against the Doctrine of *Hus*, and the prophanation of the Process aforesaid, or at the least not allowed the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer. But that at this present it is diffimuled until the end of the Process against *John Hus*. Wherefore if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in Body and Goods and throughout all the Realm of *Bohemia*, House shall be against House, and this mischief will creep, yea suddenly spring up throughout all *Germany*, and innumerable Souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the Clergy and Faithful, as hath not been since the time of the Emperor *Constantine* to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the Laity against the Clergy and faithful Christians. And when any of the Clergy would draw him away, or call him from his Heresie, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he doth not teach any Heresies: then faith he, and teacheth, that the Clergy doth that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their Symony, and Pride, and Covetousnes.

Intersti-tion fraud in *Bohemia* against the Clergy.

Moreover, he stirreth up the Secular Princes against the Prelates of Churches, Monasteries, and Universities, and generally against the whole Clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that Prelates and other Men of the Church ought not to have any Temporal Goods or Possessions, but only to live upon Alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoied divers and many Prelates, Clerks, and Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and City of *Prague*, forsomuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their Possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is Lawful for the Lay people without sin to withhold and keep back the Tithes and Oblations, or to give the Church Goods to any other Minister; all the Secular Princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but specially the Laity, who follow every Man his own will.

He hath generally so lay for himself all those Heretics which do but very finally regard the Ecclesiastical censures, and hate the Authority of the *Roman* Church, yea do utterly detest and abhor the same; the which thing will more and more encrease, except it be effectually and manfully withstood; and if he do by any means escape from the Council, he and his favourers will say that his Doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the Authority of the universal Sacred Council, and that all his adverfaries are wicked and naughty men, so that he would do more mischief, than ever any Heretick did since the time of *Constantinus Magnus*.

Exiples prophesied.

Wherefore moft holy Fathers, provide and take heed to your selves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghoft hath placed you, to rule the Church of Christ, the which he hath purchased with his own Blood; and whilft the Disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the Church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, and might do the same, because the Prelates do abuse the Ecclesiastical censures, and as well the Prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the Order of the Church which is appointed them by God, whereby it cometh to pass, that whilft they themselves do walk the broken and unknown Paths, their flock falleth headlong into the Ditch.

Wherefore

{KING Lib. 5.}

Wherefore let our Sovereign Lord the Pope, and this moft sacred Council ordain and depute Commissioners, the which may examine the said *John Hus* upon all aforewritten, and other things in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certain Doctors and Masters appointed to read over and perufe his Books which he hath written, whereof some are here present, that the Church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three Commissioners or Judges, that is to say, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Bishop of *Castile*, and the Bishop of *Lybus*. The which Prelates being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babling Priests of *Prague*, confirmed by their Oaths, and afterward recited the said accusation unto the said *Hus* in the Prison, at such time as his Ague was fervent and extreamly upon him.

John Hus sick of an Ague in Prison.

J. Hus declared of his advocate.

Upon this, *John Hus* required to have an Advocate to answer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reasons that the Masters and Commissioners brought against it was this, that the plain Canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspect of any kind of Heresie. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise Reader could not have read without great tediousnes. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Afterward, when *John Hus* had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three Commissioners, there were presented unto him certain Articles, many in number, which they said, they had gathered out of his Book which he made of the Church; of which Articles some were forged and invented by Master *Palece*, and otherly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said *Hus*.

The Books which John Hus wrote in Prison.

Thus *John Hus* remained in the Prison of the Covent of the *Francifcans*, until the *Wednesday* before *Palm Sunday*, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season to imploy and spend his time withal, he wrote certain Books, that is to say, of the Ten Commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penance, of the three enemies of Mankind, of the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

Pope John fled out of *Constance*.

The same day Pope *John* the 23d, changed his Apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of *Constance*, fearing the judgment by the which afterward he was deprived of his Papal Dignity, by means of moft execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that *John Hus* was transported and carried unto another Prison: for the Popes servants, which had the charge and keeping of *John Hus*, understanding that their Master was fled and gone, delivered up the Keyes of the Prison unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Master the Pope. Then by the whole consent of the Council, the said *John Hus* was put into the hands of the Bishop of *Constance*, who sent him to a Caftle on the other side of the River of *Rhine*, not very far from *Constance*, where he was shut up in a Tower with Fetters on his Legs, that he could scarce walk in the day time, and at night he was fastned up to a Rack against the Wall hard by his Bed.

Noblemen of Bohome labour for J. Hus.

In the mean season, certain Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Pole* and *Boheme* did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the Realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and flandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the Town of *Constance*, that seemed to bear any favour unto *John Hus*, were made as mocking flocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the flaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the whole Council, or at the least unto the four Nations of *Allmain*, *Italy*, *France* and *England*; this request was presented the 14th day of *May*, *Anno* 1415 the tenor here ensueth.

Masters Fabritius, Ghoft for the Holy Ghoft had no leisure to come to that Council.

¶ *The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of* Boheme *delivered up to the Council for the deliverance of* John Hus, *the fourteenth day of* May, Anno 1415.

MOST Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* and *Pole* here present, by this their present writing do shew and declare unto your Fatherly Reverences, how that the moft noble King and Lord, the Lord *Sigismund*, King of the *Romans*, always *Augustus*, King of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, &c. hearing of the great diffention that was in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, as Heir, King and Lord Succeffor, willing to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these Noblemen, Master *Wenceslate de Duba*, and *John de Clum* here present, that they would bring and affure Master *John Hus* under the King his name and safe conduct. So that he would come to the sacred general Council of *Constance*, under the safe conduct of the said King, and the protection of the sacred Empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master *John Hus*, that he might purge himself and the Kingdom of *Boheme*, from the flander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his Faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the said Nobles, with the forenamed Master *John Hus*, have performed and done, according to the Kings Commandment.

The safe conduct of the Emperor challenged.

When as the said Master *John Hus* was freely of his own accord come unto *Constance*, under the said safe conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with Fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past at the Council holden at *Paysan*, 1410. In the year of our Lord, the Hereticks which were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master *John Hus*, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, where as neither King nor any Prince Elector, neither any Embassador of any Univerfity was yet come or present. And albeit the Lord the King, together with the Nobles and Lords here present, moft instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master *John Hus* might be openly heard, forsomuch as he would render and shew a reason of his Faith; and if he were found and convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the Council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master *John Hus*, notwithstanding all this, is moft grievously oppressed with Fetters and Irons, and so weakned with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, left that, his power and strength being hereby confumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

The extremities John Hus suffers in prison.

And although the Lords of *Boheme* here present are greatly flandered, because they seeing the said Master *John Hus* so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the Kings safe conduct, have not by their Letters put the King in mind of his said safe conduct, that the said Lord and King should not any more suffer any such matters, forsomuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the Catholick Faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of *Rome*; yet notwithstanding, they have suffered and born all their things patiently hitherto, left by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred Council might arise or spring thereof.

Wherefore moft Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords before named, do wholly and moft earnestly desire and require your Reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe conduct of our said Lord the King, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown, both of the foresaid Kingdome of *Boheme*, and your own also, you will make a short

end about the affairs of Master *John Hus*; forsomuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your Fatherly Reverences. But forasmuch as, most Reverend Fathers and Lords, it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous Kingdom of *Boheme* aforesaid, have declared and told unto your Reverences, how that the Sacrament of the most precious bloud of our Lord is carried up and down through *Boheme* in Vessels not consecrate or hallowed, and that Coblers do now hear Confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord unto others. The Nobles therefore of *Boheme* here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that Kingdom aforesaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring also your Reverences, that such slanderous persons of the Kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the Lord the King, together with your Reverences, shall well perceive and see that the Lords of *Boheme* will go about in such manner to refel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the Lord the King and your Reverences.

The confutation of certain slanders.

The Bishop of Luthonis.

As soon as this their supplication was read, the Bishop of *Luthonis* rising up, said, *Most Reverend Fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the Kingdoms of* Boheme *were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge my self from this crime that is laid against me.* The Principal of the Council appointed him the 17th day of *May*, at the which day the Lords of *Boheme* should be present again, to hear both the answer of the Council, and also the excuse of the Bishop of *Luthonis*; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the seventeenth day of *May*, which was the fourth day before *Whitsontide*, they met there again; where first of all a certain Bishop, in the name of the whole Council, answered by word to the Nobles of *Boheme*; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication, which the *Bohemians* put up to the Council. But first I shall here in these few words following, shew how the Bishop of *Luthonis* defended himself against that which is before written.

¶ *The Answer of the Bishop of* Luthonis, *to the last part of the supplication, which the Nobles of* Boheme *presented unto the Council.*

The answer and accusation of the Bishop of *Luthonis* against *John Hus.*

MOst Reverend Fathers and Noble Lords, as *Peter de Mladoneywitz*, Bachelor of Art, in the name of certain of the Nobles of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said Kingdom, have brought to the ears of your Reverences, that the most precious bloud of Christ is carried up and down in *Boheme* in Bottles, and that Coblers do hear Confessions, and minister the Body of Christ unto others; whereupon most Reverend Fathers and Lords, albeit that I together with the other Prelates, Doctors, Masters, and other innumerable Catholicks of the said Kingdom, the which do desire as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable Sect of *Wickliff's*, which now (alas for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said Kingdom, as it is well known: Notwithstanding, here in this my Oration, not for any shame or reproof, but for the honour of the Kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new Sect, which is now lately sprung up in the said Kingdom, the followers whereof do minister and communicate the Sacraments in many Cities, Towns and Places of the said Kingdom, under both kinds both of Bread and Wine, and do constantly teach the common people, both Men and Women, that it is to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the Clergy which do repugn or say nay unto it, are to be counted Church robbers, as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither shall openly appear. {KING Hus. 5.}

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the Writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the Bloud of Christ is carried about in Vessels not consecrated, approving the foresaid erroneous assertion of the *Wickleviſts*, that affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of Bread and Wine; and that it is necessary, as the Body of Christ is carried in the Pix or Box, so the Bloud of Christ should be carried in Bottles, or other necessary Vessels from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of my self, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain Woman a follower of that Sect, the which taking by violence the Body of Christ out of a Priests hands, did communicate unto her self, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the Priests should deny them the Communion. And the same Woman amongst many other errors, of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good Lay-woman might better consecrate and give Absolution, than an evil Priest; affirming that an evil Priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that Coblers in the said Kingdom do hear Confession, or minister the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, as is alledged by the said *Peter*, in the behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore most Reverend Fathers, left that the Kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous Sects, and that the Christian Faith might happen to be indangered; with all Reverence and Charity I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred Council would provide some speedy remedy for this Kingdom, as touching the premisses.

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, the which do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the *Wickleviſts* in the said Kingdom, and also elsewhere, which also both do labour and have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of those errors out of the Kingdom aforesaid, and as Catholick Men, for the zeal of their Faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors; this answer I have here presented before your Reverences, always wholly submitting my self and affistance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred Council of *Constance*.

¶ *The Answer of the Nobles of* Boheme.

The day before *Whitsomtide*, the Nobles of *Boheme* did confute this their answer made two days before in the Council to their former writing, as here followeth: Most Reverend Fathers and Lords, forsomuch as upon *Thursday* it was answered in the behalf of your Reverences, to the requests of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme*, that the said Lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said Bill: therefore the foresaid Lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your Reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your Fatherly wisdoms and circumspections, but that your Reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf sufrilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter. The Bishop of Luthonis answer confuted.

And first of all, whereas the Lords alledged and said, how that Master *John Hus* was come hither unto *Constance*, freely of his own good will, under the safe conduct of the Lord the King, and the procession of the sacred Empire; it is answered on the behalf of your Reverences, how that the said Lords are misinformed as touching the safe conduct, and that you have understood by such as are worthy credit, The Bishop do quarrel about the safe conduct of *J. Hus.*

{KING Hus. 5.} credit, that the friends and favourers of the said Master *John Hus*, did first procure and get his safe conduct, fifteen days after his imprisonment.

The safe conduct of *J. Hus* obtained and decreed, before the imprisonment of *J. Hus.*

The Lords of *Boheme*, and especially the Lord *John de Clum* here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that *John Hus* was apprehended and taken, when as our reverend Father the Pope, in the presence of all his Cardinals, demanded of Master *John de Clums*, whether Master *John Hus* had any safe conduct from the King his Son: he answered, *Most holy father and Cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe conduct*; and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to have the safe conduct shewed unto them: and again, the third day following, the Lord *John de Clum* complained unto our Lord the Pope; how notwithstanding the safe conduct of our Sovereign Lord the King, he detained and kept Mr. *John Hus* as Prisoner, shewing the safe conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers Earls, Bishops, Knights, Gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the City of *Constance*, the which all together at this present did see the said safe conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said *John de Clum* is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

Moreover, the Lords of *Boheme* refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain Princes Electors, and other Princes, Bishops, and many other Noblemen, which were present before the Kings Majesty, where and when as the said safe-conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said Lord the King.

The Bishop of the Council falsly informed touching the safe conduct of *John Hus.*

Hereby your Fatherly Reverences may understand and perceive that the said Lords of *Boheme* are not evil informed as touching the said safe conduct; but rather they which by such reports have falsly and untruly informed your Reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the Lord our King and his Chancellors. Secondarily, against the Lords and Nobles of *Boheme*, as though we had privily and by stealth, purchased the said safe conduct. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humbly require and desire your Reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss that the truth may the more evidently appear.

John Hus imprisoned before he was either condemned or heard.

Secondly, Whereas the Lords aforesaid, alledging how Master *John Hus* coming unto *Constance* of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your Reverences have made answers thereunto, that he the said Mr. *John Hus* in the time of *Alexander* the 5th, was inamed and flandered upon certain Heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the Court of *Rome*, and there was heard by his procurers.

And forsomuch as he refused obstinately to appear, he was excommunicated, in the which Excommunication he continued (as you affirm) by the space of five years, for the which he was judged, and counted not only a simple and plain Heretick, but an Hereſiarch, that is to say, an inventer and sower of new and strange Heresies, and that he, coming toward *Constance*, did preach by the way openly. To this the Lords aforesaid do answer, that as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing, but by report. But as touching that he did not personally appear, that say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea even the most famous Prince *Wenceslaus* King of *Boheme*, and almost all the whole Nobility is witness, that he would willingly have appeared at *Rome*, or elsewhere, if he might safely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted; and moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the Court of *Rome*, alledging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into Prison, and others were evil intreated.

Alexander the fifth. The answer touching the citation of *John Hus* to the Court of Rome.

J. Hus his procurers evil intreated at Rome.

As for the Excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy, or stubbornness, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the Court of *Rome*, wherein all this is more largely contained, the which your Reverences may evidently perceive and see in this our present publick transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master *John Hus* did preach openly in the City of *Constance*; the Lords aforesaid, and especially the Lord *John de Clum* here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master *John Constance*, *Hus* here in *Constance*; and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold to say and affirm that Master *John Hus* had preached (as is premised) or that which is less, since the time of his coming unto this City, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said Lord *John de Clum* will and is content to bind himself, with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of mony or otherwise, that that which he hath falsly reported unto your Reverences, he shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove. *J. Hus* falsly reported to preach openly at *Constance.*

J. Hus falsly charged to preach coming to the Council.

Thirdly, Whereas your Reverences do say, that you do not understand or know, what the Lords do mean, by the Hereticks condemned at the Council holden at *Pisa*, whether the mocking or deriding of the Pope, whose Embassadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were suffered, and gently treated, as their Lords were most inclined unto unity and peace; or else that they did understand or mean the particular Hereticks, which were there condemned; adjoyning thereunto, that the Hereticks also coming unto the Council under the pretence of that unity, should be gently handled and entreated, *&c.* Reverend Fathers and Lords, whether they be counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the Lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master *John Hus* may use such liberty as they used, forsomuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred Council, not for any other purpose, but only publickly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the Word of God, and the union of the holy Mother the Church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto, and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the Kingdom of *Boheme*. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble Kingdom of *Boheme* from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it. *J. Hus* had many well-willers in Bohemia.

Last of all most reverend Fathers and Lords, forsomuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal requeſt made by the Lords aforesaid, that the Proceſs of Master *John Hus*, through Gods help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleneſs; the Lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your Reverences, and whensoever their desire by Gods help shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*, and in all other places whereſoever they come, render most immortal thanks unto your Reverences for ever.

¶ This Declaration of the Nobles of *Boheme* above prefixed, may serve not only to the confutation of the Bishop *Luthonis* this *Bohemian*, but also against the cavillations of *Alanus Copus Anglus*, *Dial. 6. page 929.* touching the safe conduct of *John Hus*, whereof sufficiently before hath been said.

When as the Noblemen of *Boheme* by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined the last day of *May* following, by another supplication being put up unto the principals of the Council, to intreat that *John Hus* might be delivered out of Prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the Bishop of *Nazareth*, as touching *John Hus*. The Copy whereof is expreſſed in the beginning of this History, word by word. *Vide supra.*

Another Supplication of the Nobles of *Boheme*.

Another supplication of the Bohemians.

MOst Reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, of late *there was a supplication put up unto your Reverences on the behalf of the Lords and Nobles of* Boheme, *and the Nation of* Pole, *wherein they most humbly desired* for *J. Hus*:

your Reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your Reverences, by the enemies of Master John Hus, *were insufficient; and with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue, as in the safe conduct granted by the Kings Majesty, and also in other Articles, as more plainly appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which said Schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humbly require your Fatherly Reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the Lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master* John Hus, *the which may be understood and known by the Schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefs and evils, so far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.*

The Lords could have no answer of their supplication.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your Fatherly Reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the Barons, Nobles and Citizens, Clergy and Laity of the Kingdom of Boheme, *that Master* John Hus *in all his acts and doings, as well Scholastical as Ecclesiastical, and especially in all his publick and open Sermons, hath made and hath accustomed to make these manner of protestations, and which without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them strong and firm, as by this his protestation here following, which he made about the determination of a certain question, it may most evidently and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the same; the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is such.*

¶ The Protestation of *John Hus*.

The Protestation of *J. Hus*.

FOrsomuch as above all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy Church, and that I my self may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Head and Husband of the holy Church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore sometimes I have done, even so now again, I make this Protestation, That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire to hold the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather chose by the hope and help of the Lord to suffer extream punishment, even unto death: yea, and throught the help of God, I am ready to offer this my miserable life unto death for the Law of Christ, the which I do believe every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgate for the salvation of Mankind, by the counsel and determination of the most holy Trinity and the Saints of God, &c.

Vid. in prim. edit. p. 207.

By the which his Protestation, and also other Protestations by the said Master John Hus, *being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his Books, Treatises, Doctrines or publick Sermons; or else to have affirmed any Articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that these and such like things are falsly imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every Point, Conclusion or Article contained in his Books or Articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Gospel, the holy Doctors and Writers upon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his Protestation; and if in any point he should be found to vary or go astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no means sustain or defend any manner of Article against the holy Church of* Rome, *or the Catholick Faith.*

Wherefore, most Reverend Fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extream hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by peicemeal, certain Articles out of the Books of Master John Hus,

[KING] Hist. 5.

rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain false and feigned Articles against him to this end, that all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned, and given unto the said Master John Hus, *by the most noble Prince the Lord* Sigismund, *King of the* Romans *and of* Hungary, *for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master* John Hus, *but also of the famous Kingdom of* Boheme, *and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumors rising and springing in the said Kingdom of* Boheme, *or elsewhere; the avoiding of which most perilous uprores, the said King of* Romans, *both greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor of the said Kingdom.*

Articles folded out of Hus's Books by his enemies.

Whereupon the Barons and Nobles aforesaid, most humbly desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premisses unto the said Kingdom and Inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and mean, that Master John Hus *may be directly heard by some famous men, Divines already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, upon all and singular such Articles as shall be laid unto him, to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the Doctors alledged for this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations; in the which the drawers out of the most part of his Articles have also made equivocations, that so according unto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserably detained Prisoner, that he should not be condemned unheard. Forsomuch as by the said declarations, your Fatherly Reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred Council. For your Reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master* John Hus *hath been incurably obstinate by a long time, in most perilous Articles, the which your Reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be given, there is presented unto your Reverences an instrument of publick recognition of the most Reverend Father in Christ the Lord* Nicholas Bishop of Nazareth, *an Inquisitor of Heresies, especially appointed by the Apostolick See in the Diocess of* Prague, *the which by your Reverences is more diligently to be hearkned unto.*

The Council is informed against John Hus.

Wherefore it may please your Fatherly Reverences to command the said Master John Hus, *neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some Reverend Lord Bishops, or Commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present Council; that the said Master* John Hus *may somewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and to be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the Commissioners. And for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesaid of the Kingdom of* Boheme, *will provide most sure and good sureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the World. Which also shall promise in this behalf, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, until such time as the matter be fully determined by the said Commissioners. In the execution of the which premisses, we have determined to provide and foresee unto the fame and honour of the said Kingdom of* Boheme, *and also to the safe conduct of the most worthy Prince, the King of* Romans, *left that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the Kingdom aforesaid, might not a lite slander and reprove the said Lords, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests; for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your Fatherly Reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your Notary, and reduced into a publick form and order.*

The Nobles required that *J. Hus* being not convicted nor condemned, should be delivered out of Prison.

A petition for Mr. John Hus's deliverance out of Prison.

After

[KING] Hist. 5. The answer of the Council to the supplication.

After this supplication was read before the Deputies of the four Nations, the Patriarch of *Antioch* answered in the name of them all unto every Article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

J. Hus In no case must be hailed.

First, as touching the protestation of *John Hus*, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of *John Hus* have perversly drawn certain things out of his Books, that also the matter it self shall declare in the end. Whereas if it shall be found and decreed that *John Hus* is unjustly and untruly accused, that then it shall come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the Deputies of the Council with a safe conscience may receive, or take them in this mans cause, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of *June* next. *John Hus* shall be brought again unto *Constance*, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the Council, and he promised that they would lovingly and gently hear him; but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.

No credit to be kept with an Heretick.

The same day the said Barons and Lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the Emperor:

Supplication to the Emperor Sigismund.

Unto the most high and mighty Prince, the Lord Sigismund *King of the* Romans, *always* Augustus, *King of* Hungary, Croatia *and* Dalmatia, *our most gracious Lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most noble Prince, and gracious Lord, we signifie unto your worthiness, that we all together with one mind, consent and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend Fathers and Lords, the Deputies of the four Nations, and to the whole sacred Council of* Constance, *this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration, the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.*

¶ The Copy of the supplication, which was presented unto the Deputies of the Council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

The Barons supplication to the King for John Hus.

WHerefore we most humbly require and desire your Princely Majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous Kingdom of Boheme, *whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly, the true Lord, Heir and Successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe conduct, that you will with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications, which we have put up to the Lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend Fathers and Lords, that they will effectually bear us, in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous King dom of* Boheme, *and such be our slanderers also, hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawful requests unto the said reverend Fathers and Lords: and therefore we required and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their publick Hand and Seal, to authorise our said publication. Likewise, we do most heartily require your Highness, that you would vouchsafe in like manner, to give us your testimony of the premisses.*

But what answer the Emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good Emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the Cardinals and Bishops, to break and falsifie his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe conduct, or by any other mean unto him, which was suspected or judged to be an Heretick. But by the Epistles and Letters of *John Hus*, a man may easily judge what the Kings mind was. Now we will proceed in the History.

The King forced by the importunity of the Cardinals to break promise.

The fifth day of June, the Cardinals, Bishops, and the reft of the Priests all that were almoft in *Conftance*, aſſembled at a great number, at the Covent of the *Franciſcans* in *Conſtance*, and there it was commanded, that before *J. Hus* ſhould be brought forth, in his abſence they ſhould rehearſe the Witneſſes and Articles which they had ſlanderouſly gathered out of his Books: the which Articles, with *John Huſs*'s anſwer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then preſent a certain Notary, named *Mladoniewitz*, the which bare great love and amity unto the ſaid *Hus*, who as ſoon as he perceived that the Biſhops and Cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the ſaid Articles in the abſence of *John Hus*, he went with all ſpeed unto Maſter *Wenceslate de Duba*, and *John* of *Clum*, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the Emperor. Who underſtanding their intent, ſent *Lewis* the County *Palatine* of *Heydelburgh*, and the Lord *Frederick*, *Burgrave* of *Nuremberg*, to ſignifie unto them which ruled the Council, that nothing ſhould be reſolved or done in the caſe of *John Hus*, before that it were firſt heard with equity, and that they ſhould ſend him all ſuch Articles as were laid againſt the ſaid *Hus*, which were either falſe or heretical, and he would do ſo much, that the ſaid Articles ſhould be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperors will, the judgment of the principals of the Council was ſuſpended, until ſuch time as *John Hus* were preſent.

The crafty counſel of the *Papiſts* thwarted by the Emperor.

In the mean ſeaſon, theſe Gentlemen, Maſter of *Dube* and of *Clum*, did give unto the two Princes, which the Emperor had ſent, certain ſmall Treatiſes which the ſaid *John Hus* had made, out of the which they had drawn certain Articles to preſent unto them which rule the Council, under this condition, that they would render them again, when they ſhould demand them. The intent and meaning of theſe Barons was, that by this means the adverſaries of *John Hus* might the more eaſily be reproved, the which of a naughty and corrupt conſcience had picked out corrupt ſentences out of the ſaid Books of *John Hus*. The Books were delivered unto the Cardinals and Biſhops; and that done *John Hus* was brought forth, and the Princes which were ſent by the Emperor, departed back again. After they ſhewed the Books unto *John Hus*, and he confeſſed openly before the whole Aſſembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the ſame.

J. Hus forced to keep ſilence by outrage of the Biſhops and Prieſts.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of theſe reverend Fathers, for here happened a ſtrange and ſhameful matter. With much ado they had ſcarcely read one Article, and brought forth a few Witneſſes upon the ſame againſt him, but as he was about to open his mouth to anſwer, all this mad Herd or Flock began ſo to cry out upon him, that he had not leiſure to ſpeak one only word. The noiſe and trouble was ſo great and ſo vehement, that a man might well have called it a brute or noiſe of wild Beaſts, and not of Men; much leſs was it to be judged a congregation of Men gathered together, to judge and determine ſo grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noiſe and cry did never ſo little ceaſe, that he might anſwer any thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Eccleſiaſtical Doctors, by and by he ſhould hear theſe goodly replies upon him, that maketh nothing to the purpoſe.

The like practice in theſe latter days was uſed at *Oxford* againſt the godly Fathers.

Beſides all this, ſome did outrage in words againſt him, and otherſome ſpitefully mocked him; ſo that he feeling himſelf overwhelmed with theſe rude and barbarous noiſes and crys, and that it profited nothing to ſpeak, he determined finally with himſelf to hold his peace and keep ſilence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adverſaries thought that they had won the Battel of him, and cried out all together, *Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: This is a certain ſign and token, that he doth conſent and agree unto theſe his errors.* Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the moſt moderate and honeſt among them, ſeeing this diſorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all ſhould be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the Prelates and others departed from the Council for that preſent, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after to proceed in judgment.

An outrageous Councel.

The miſcheivous counſel of the Papiſh band.

The next day, which was the ſeventh of June, on which day the Sun was almoſt wholly eclipſed, ſomewhat after about ſeven of the Clock, this fame Flock aſſembled again in the Cloyſter of the Friers Minors, and by their appointment *John Hus* was brought before them, accompanied

A great eclipſe of the Sun.

They went forth with swords and staves as it had been to take a thief.

companied with a great number of armed men. Thither went alſo the Emperour, whom the Gentlemen, Maſter of *Duba*, and *Clum*, and the Notary named *Peter*, which were great friends of the ſaid *Hus*, did follow to ſee what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accuſation of *Michael de Cauſis*, they read theſe words following: *John Hus* hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the Chappel of *Bethleem*, and alſo in many other places of the City of *Prague*, of the which errors ſome of them he hath drawn out of *Wickliffs* Books, and the reſt he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the ſame very obſtinately and ſtiffly.

Peter and John follow Chriſt into the Biſhops houſe.

Matter made againſt John Hus.

False witneſs againſt John Hus.

The anſwer of J. Hus.

Firſt, that after the conſecration and pronounciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material Bread; and this is proved by the witneſs of *John Protiwaſe*, Pariſh-Prieſt of Saint *Clements* in *Prague*, *John Pecklow* Preacher at St. *Giles* in *Prague*, *Beniſe* Preacher in the Caſtle of *Prague*, *Andrew Brode*, Canon of *Prague*, and divers other Prieſts. Unto this *John Hus* taking a ſolemn Oath, anſwered that he never ſpake any ſuch word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the Archbiſhop of *Prague* forbad him to uſe any more that term or word Bread, he could not allow the Biſhops commandment; foraſmuch as Chriſt in the ſixth Chapter of *John* doth oftentimes name himſelf the bread of Angels, which came down from Heaven, to give life unto the whole world. But as touching material bread, he never ſpake any thing at all. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* taking a certain bill in his hand, which he ſaid he received the day before, ſaid unto *John Hus*, Will you put any Univerſalities *a parte rei*, *i.e.* as touching the thing? When *John Hus* anſwered, that he would, becauſe St. *Anſelm* and divers others had ſo done, the Cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

Naming of bread forbidden by the Archbiſhops.

The Cardinal ſophiſticateth with J. Hus.

If followeth then, ſaid he, that after the conſecration is made, there remaineth the ſubſtance of material bread; and that I do this prove: That the conſecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, as you ſay, either there doth remain the common ſubſtance of material bread, or contrariwiſe. If the ſubſtance do remain, then is our purpoſe at an end. If contrariwiſe, then it doth follow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularity, the univerſal ceaſeth any more to be: *John Hus* anſwered, Truly it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular material Bread, by means of this Tranſubſtantiation, when as it is changed and Tranſubſtantiated into the Body of Chriſt; but notwithſtanding in other ſingularities it is made ſubject.

The diſcretion of the Engliſhmen.

Then a certain *Engliſhman* by that argument would prove out of the firſt Poſition, that there remained material Bread. Then ſaid *John Hus*, that is a childiſh argument, which every Boy in Schools knoweth, and thereupon gave a ſolution. Then another *Engliſhman* would prove, that there remained material Bread in the Sacrament, becauſe the Bread after the conſecration was not annihilate. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, Although ſaid he, that the Bread be not annihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by means of the alteration of his ſubſtance into the Body of Chriſt. Here another *Engliſhman* ſtepping forth, ſaid, *John Hus* ſeemeth unto me to uſe the ſame kind of crafty ſpeech which *Wickliff* uſed, for he granted all theſe things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perſwaded that material Bread remained in the Sacrament after the conſecration. The which when *John Hus* had denied, ſaying, that he ſpake nothing but only ſincerely and uprightly, according to his conſcience; the *Engliſhman* proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Chriſt be totally and really in the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, Verily, I do think that the body of Chriſt is really and totally in the Sacrament of the Altar, even that body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, ſuffered, died, and roſe again, and ſitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty. When they had diſputed a good while to and fro, as touching univerſalities, the *Engliſhman* which before would prove that material bread remained in the Sacrament, becauſe that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, ſaid, to what purpoſe is this Diſputation upon univerſalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpoſe, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

An Engliſhman.

J. Hus agreeth with that blind time in the Sacrament.

Then another *Engliſhman*, named *Stokes*, ſaid I have ſeen at *Prague* (ſaith he) a certain Treatiſe, the which was alſcribed unto this man *John Hus*, wherein it was plainly ſet forth, that after the Conſecration there remained material bread in the Sacrament. Verily, ſaid *John Hus*, ſaving your reverence, that is not true.

Stokes an Engliſhman.

Then they returned again unto the witneſſes of them which were ſpoken of a little before, who every man for himſelf affirmed with an Oath that which he had ſaid. Amongſt whom *John Protywav*, Pariſh Prieſt of S. *Clements* in *Prague*, when he ſhould come to confirm his teſtimony added more, that *John Hus* ſhould ſay, that St. *Gregory* was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authority againſt him. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, that in this point they did him great injury, forſomuch as he always eſteemed and reputed S. *Gregory* for a moſt holy Doctor of the Church.

Falſe witneſſes.

John Hus falſly accuſed for calling S. Gregory a rimer.

Whether tenths be pure alms.

The Cardinal of Florence.

These contentions and Diſputations being ſomewhat appeaſed, the Cardinal of *Florence* turned himſelf toward *John Hus*, and ſaid, Maſter, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all witneſs is firm and ſtable; and here you ſee now almoſt twenty witneſſes againſt you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongſt the which ſome have heard you teach theſe things themſelves, the other by report and common brute or voice do teſtifie of your Doctrine, and all together generally bring firm reaſons and proofs of their witneſs, unto the which we are forced and conſtrained to give credit; and for my part, I ſee not how you can maintain and defend your cauſe againſt ſo many notable and well learned men. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered in this manner, I take God and my Conſcience to witneſs, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fancy to teach in ſuch ſort or manner, as theſe men here have not feared to witneſs againſt me that which they never heard. And albeit, they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more eſteem, yea and without compariſon, regard the witneſs of my Lord God, before the witneſs and judgment of all mine adverſaries upon whom I do in no point ſtay my ſelf. Then ſaid the Cardinal again unto him, it is not lawful for us to judge according to your conſcience; for we cannot chooſe, but that we muſt needs ſtay our ſelves upon the firm and evident witneſs of theſe men here. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred, that theſe men do witneſs this againſt you (as you do alledge:) for they alledge and bring forth ſuch reaſons of their witneſs, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe be in doubt thereof. And as touching Maſter *Stephen Paletz*, whereas you ſay, you do ſuſpect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain Points or Articles, out of your Books to bring them afterward; it ſeemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath uſed and ſhewed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your Articles much more than they are in your own Books. I underſtand alſo that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and ſpecially you have ſaid, that you do ſuſpect M. Chancellor of *Paris*, than whom there is no more excellent and Chriſtian man in all the whole world.

Twenty witneſſes prevailed againſt J. Hus, but the teſtimony of all Rome could not ſerve on his part.

Falſe witneſs.

Another accuſation for defending of Wickliff's Articles.

Then was there read a certain Article of accuſation, in the which it was alledged, That *John Hus* had taught, and obſtinately defended certain erroneous Articles of *Wickliff's* in *Bohemе*. Whereunto *Hus* anſwered, that he never taught any errors of *John Wickliff's*, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be ſo that *Wickliff* hath ſowed any errors in *England*, let the *Engliſhmen* look to that themſelves. But to confirm their Article, there was alledged, that *John Hus* did withſtand the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Articles, the which were firſt condemned at *Rome*; and afterward alſo, when the Archbiſhop of *Swinco*, with other learned men, held a Convocation at *Prague* for the ſame matter, when as they would have there been condemned for this cauſe, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholick Faith or Doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous or offenſive: he anſwered, that he durſt not agree thereunto, for offending his conſcience, and

{KING Lib. 15. 5.}

Certain Articles of Wickliff that J. Hus ſtood in.

and eſpecially for theſe Articles, that *Silveſter* the Pope and *Conſtantine* did err in beſtowing thoſe great gifts and rewards upon the Church. Alſo, that the Pope or Prieſt, being in mortal ſin, cannot conſecrate nor baptiſe. This Article, ſaid he, I have thus determined, as if I ſhould ſay, that he doth unworthily conſecrate or baptiſe, when as he is in deadly ſin, and that he is an unworthy Miniſter of the Sacraments of God. Here his accuſers with their witneſſes, were earneſt and inſtant that the Article of *Wickliff* was written by the very ſame words of the Treatiſe which *John Hus* made againſt *Stephen Paletz*. Verily ſaid *John Hus*, I fear not to ſubmit my ſelf, even under the danger of death, if you ſhall not find it ſo as I have ſaid. When the Book was brought forth, they found it written as *John Hus* had ſaid. He added alſo moreover, that he durſt not agree unto them which had condemned *Wickliff's* Articles, for this Article, *The tenths were pure alms*.

A Treatiſe againſt Stephen Paletz.

Whether tenths be pure alms.

Here the Cardinal of *Florence* objected unto him this Argument, as touching the Alms: *It is required that it ſhould be given freely without bond or duty. But Tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore they are no alms.* *John Hus* denying the *Major* of this Syllogiſme brought this reaſon againſt him. Forſomuch as rich men are bounden under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the ſix works or mercy, which Chriſt repeateth in the 25*th* Chapter of *Matthew*, and theſe works are pure alms: *Ergo*, alms is alſo given by bond and duty. Then an Archbiſhop of *England*, ſtepping up, ſaid, if we all be bound unto thoſe ſix works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, ſhould be damned. I anſwer, ſaid *Hus*, unto your antecedent, that I ſpake diſtinctly of rich men, and of thoſe which had wherewithal to do thoſe works: They, I ſay, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation.

Alms ſtand of duty.

He anſwered moreover, unto the *Minor* of the firſt Argument, *That Tenths were at firſt given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty*; and when as he would have declared it more at large, he could not be ſuffered. He declared alſo divers other cauſes why he could not with ſafe Conſcience conſent unto the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Articles. But howſoever the matter went, he did affirm and ſay, that he did never obſtinately confirm any Articles of *Wickliff's*, but only that he did not allow and conſent that *Wickliff's* Articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation; and of the ſame mind, ſaith *John Hus*, are a great many other Doctors and Maſters of the Univerſity of *Prague*. For when as *Swinco* the Archbiſhop commanded all *Wickliff's* Books to be gathered together in the whole City of *Prague*, and to be brought unto him, I my ſelf brought alſo certain Books of *Wickliff's*, which I gave unto the Archbiſhop, deſiring him, that if he found any error or Hereſie in them, he would note and mark them, and I my ſelf would publiſh them openly. But the Archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no error nor Hereſie in them, burned my Books, together with thoſe that were brought unto him, notwithſtanding that he had no ſuch commandment from Pope *Alexander* the fifth of that name. But notwithſtanding by a certain policy, he obtained a Bull from the ſaid Pope by means of *Farollaus* Biſhop of *Savepre*, of the Order of *Franciſcans*, that all *Wickliff's* Books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of all mens hands.

J. Hus his diligent touching the condemnation of Wickliff's Articles.

The Cardinal of Cambray.

Wickliff's Books burned in Prague by the Archbiſhop Swinco.

He meaneth Conſtan.

A narration touching Wickliff's Books.

The Archbiſhop, uſing the authority of this Bull, thought he ſhould bring to paſs, that the King of *Boheme* and the Nobles ſhould conſent to the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheleſs, he calling together certain Divines, gave them in Commiſſion to lit upon *Wickliff's* Books, and to proceed againſt them by a definitive ſentence in the Canon Law. Theſe Men, by a general ſentence, judged all thoſe Books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſity heard report of, they all together, with one conſent and accord (none excepted but only they, which before were choſen by the Archbiſhop to ſit in judgment) determined to make ſupplication unto the King, to ſtay the matter. The King granting their requeſt, ſent by and by certain unto the Archbiſhop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching *Wickliff's* Books, contrary unto the Kings will and pleaſure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the King, the matter was paſſed over.

The Univerſity of Prague maketh ſupplication to the King for ſtaying of Wickliff's Books.

In the mean time Pope *Alexander* the 5*th* being dead, the Archbiſhop, fearing leſt the Bull which he had received of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and ſhutting the Gates of his Court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed ſoldiers, conſumed and burned all *Wickliff's* Books. Beſides this great injury, the Archbiſhop by means of his Bull aforeſaid, committed another no leſs tolerable. For he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of Excommunication, ſhould teach any more in Chappels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the Pope; who being dead, and the cauſe of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewiſe unto his ſucceſſor *John* 23*d*. Before whom when as, by the ſpace of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocate to defend my cauſe, I appealed unto the high Judge Chriſt. When *John Hus* had ſpoken theſe words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received Abſolution of the Pope or no? He anſwered, No. Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Chriſt or no? Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more juſt or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Chriſt, foraſmuch as the Law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cauſe of grief or wrong done by an inferiour Judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge than Chriſt? Who, I ſay, can know or judge the matter more juſtly, or with more equity? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miſerable and oppreſſed than he? While *John Hus* with a devout and ſober countenance, was ſpeaking and pronouncing thoſe words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole Council.

Wickliff's Books burned in *Prague* againſt the Kings will.

A decree that no man ſhould teach any more in Chappels.

J. Hus appealed to the Pope, and from the Pope to Chriſt.

A queſtion of the counſel, whether it be lawful to appeal to Chriſt or no.

The Poliſh Church derideth Chriſt.

Then was there rehearſed another Article of his accuſation in this manner; That *John Hus* to confirm the Hereſie which he had taught the common and ſimple people out of *Wickliff's* Books, ſaid openly theſe words, That at what time a great number of Monks and Friers, and other learned men were gathered together in *England*, in a certain Church, to diſpute againſt *John Wickliff*, and could by no meaus vanquiſh him, or give him the foyl, ſuddenly the Church-door was broken open with lightning, ſo that with much ado *Wickliff's* enemies hardly eſcaped without hurt. He added moreover, that he wiſhed his ſoul to be in the ſame place where *John Wickliff's* ſoul was. Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, that a dozen years before that any Books of Divinity of *John Wickliff's* were in *Boheme*, he did ſee certain Works of Philoſophy of his, the which, he ſaid, did marvelouſly delight and pleaſe him. And when he underſtood the good and godly life of the ſaid *Wickliff*, he ſpake theſe words, *I truſt*, ſaid he, *that* Wickliff *is ſaved*; *and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſh, that my ſoul were in the ſame place where* John Wickliff's *is*. Then again did all the company jeſt and laugh at him.

Hus accuſed for trulling that Wickliff's ſoul is ſaved.

Sedition laid to his charge.

It is alſo in his accuſation, that *John Hus* did counſel the people, according to the example of *Moſes*, to reſiſt with the ſword againſt all ſuch as did gainſay his Doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the ſame, there were found openly in divers places certain Inſtinations, that every man, being armed with his ſword about him, ſhould ſtourly proceed, and that Brother ſhould not ſpare Brother, neither one neighbour another. *John Hus* anſwered, that all theſe things were falſly laid unto his charge by his adverſaries; for he at all times when he preached, did diligently admoniſh and warn the people, that they ſhould all arm themſelves to defend the truth of the Goſpel, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, *with the helmet and ſword of Salvation*; and that he never ſpake of any material ſword, but of that which is the Word of God. And as touching Inſtinations, or *Moſes* ſword, he never had any thing to do with that.

Hus accuſed for moving certain tumults againſt the Clergy, and diviſion in the Univerſity of *Prague*.

It is moreover affirmed in his accuſation and witneſs, that many offences are ſprung up by the Doctrine of *Hus*. For firſt of all, he ſowed diſcord between the Eccleſiaſtical and the Politick ſtate: whereupon followed the perſecution

secution, spoiling and robbery of the Clergy and Bishops. And moreover, that he though his dissention diffolved the University of *Prague*. Hereunto *John Hus* briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his means or default. For the first diffention that was between the Ecclesiastical and Politick ftate, sprang and grew upon this cause, that Pope *Gregory* the Twelfth of that name, promised at his Election, that at all times at the will and pleasure of the Cardinals he would depart from, and give over his seat again; for under that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against *Wincestaus* King of *Bohemе*, who was then also King of the *Romans*, made *Lewes* Duke of *Bavaria* Emperor.

A Story of Popes.

A few years after it happened when as Pope *Gregory* would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the requeft of the Cardinals, that the whole College of Cardinals sent Letters to the King of *Bohemе*, requiring him, that together with them he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto Pope *Gregory*, and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new Bishop he should recover again his Imperial Dignity. For this cause the King consented to the will of the Cardinals as touching a Neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with Pope *Gregory*, neither yet with *Benedict* the Twelfth, Bishop of *Avinion*, which was then named Pope, as it doth appear by Chronicles. In this cause then, forsomuch as the Archbishop *Swinco* with the Clergy were against the King, and abstaining from the Divine service, many of them departed out of the City, and the Archbishop himself breaking down the Tomb of the Lord *Wincelaе*, contrary and against the Kings will, did also take *Wickliffs* Books and burned them: Thereupon the King without any gain-saying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled, because they should not consent or accord with the Bishop. Whereupon it is easie to be understood and known that *John Hus* was falsly accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one *Naso*, riling up, said, The Clergy (said he) did not abstain from the Divine service, because they would not swear to consent unto the King, but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, who was one of the Judges said, Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind.

The cause why *Swinco* and other of the Clergy did fly out of *Prague*.

This Doctor *Naso* was Counsellor to King *Wincyslaw*.

When as I came from *Rome*, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain Prelates of *Bohemе*. Whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of *Bohemе*, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact: for all the Clergy were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then *John Hus* alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying also that it hapned through his fault, that the *Germans* departed from the University of *Prague*. But when as the King of *Bohemе*, according to the foundation of *Charles* the Fourth his Father, granted three voices unto the *Bohemes*, and the fourth unto the *Germans*; whereat the *Germans* grudging that they should be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great Oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should return again unto *Prague*. Notwithstanding, I am not athamed to confess, that I did approve and allow the doings of the King, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my Country. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth. Here is present *Albert Warren Trapiue*, which was Deacon of the Faculties, who had sworn to depart with the reft of the *Germans*; he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspition.

A declaration how the *Germans* departed from the University of *Prague*.

The penalty of money was a 100 filver ftock.

But when as *Albert* would have spoken, he could not be heard. But the foresaid *Naso*, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said, This matter do I understand well enough, for I was in the Kings Court when these things were done in *Bohemе*, when as I saw the Masters of the three Nations, of the *Germans*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Silesians*, amongst whom the *Polonians* were also numbred, most humbly come unto the King, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the King promised them that he would foresee and provide for their requests. But *John Hus* and *Jerome of Prague*, with divers others, perswaded the King that he should not so do. Whereat the King at the first being not a little moved, gave him a fore check, that he and *Jerome* of *Prague* did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controverfies, insomuch that he threatned them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to pass that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore most reverend Fathers, you shall understand that the King of *Bohemе* did never favour with his heart these men, whose unthamefulness is such, that they feared not even of late to intreat me evil, being so much in the Kings favour and credit. After him ftepped forth *Palerz*, saying, Verily most reverend Fathers, not only the learned men of other Nations, but also of *Bohemе* it self, are through the counsel of *John Hus* and his adherents banished out of *Bohemе*; of the which number some remain yet in exile in *Moravia*. Hereunto *John Hus* answered: How can this be true, said he, sithence I was not at *Prague* at that time, when as these men you speak of departed and went away from thence? These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching *John Hus*.

{KING} *Itin.* 5.

Palerz speaketh against *John Hus*.

This done, the said *John Hus* was committed to the custody of the Bishop of *Reigen*, under whom *Jerome* of *Prague* was also prisoner. But before that he was led away the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling him back again in the presence of the Emperor, said, *John Hus*, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto *Constance*, neither the Emperor himself, neither the King of *Bohemе* could have compelled you to do it. Unto whom *John Hus* answered, Under your license most reverend Father, I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, That there was in *Bohemе* a great number of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which also might eatily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come into this Town of *Constance*, neither at the will of the Emperor, neither of the King of *Bohemе*. With that the Cardinal of *Cambray*, even for very anger began to change his colour, and despitefully said, Do you not see the unthamefulness of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the Lord *John de Clum*, ratifying and confirming that which *John Hus* had spoken, said, That *John Hus* had spoken very well; for on my part, said he, which in comparison of a great many others am but of small force in the Realm of *Bohemе*, yet always if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him eafily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty Kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puissance than I am? And have stronger Castles and places than I have? After that the Lord *de Clum* had spoken, the Cardinal of *Cambray* said, Let us leave this talk. And I tell you, *John Hus*, and counsel you, that you submit your self unto the sentence and mind of the Council, as you did promise in the Prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour.

Hus committed to custody. *Jerome* of *Prague*.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*.

John de Clum.

And the Emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying, Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our Letters of safe-conduct: Notwithstanding, I can well prove by the witness of many Princes and Noblemen, that the said safe conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my Lord *de Dube* and *de Clum*, before you were parted out of *Prague*, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the Council, and to answer as touching your Faith and Doctrine: and as you see, my Lords the Cardinals and Bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you, for the which we have great cause to thank them. And forsomuch as divers have told us, that we may not or ought not of right to defend any man which is an Heretick, or suspect of Heresie; therefore now we give you even the same counsel which the Cardinal of *Cambray* hath given you already, that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit your self under such obedience

The Emperor Oration to *John Hus*.

{KING} *Itin.* 5.

ence as you owe unto the authority of the holy Council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our Brother, and the whole Realm of *Bohemе*, the Council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tolerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you contrariwise refuse to do, the Presidents of the Council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And for our part be ye well affured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit your self wholly unto the judgment of the Council. Unto whom *John Hus* answered in this sort, O most noble Emperor, I render unto your Highness most immortal thanks for your Letters of safe conduct. Upon this Lord *John de Clum* did break him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himself of the blame of obstinacy.

The answer of *John Hus* unto the Emperor.

Then said *John Hus*, O most gentle Lord, I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately, and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy Doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with Serjeants.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of *June*, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the Covent of the *Franciscans*. And in this assembly were also *John Hus* his Friends, Lord *de Dube*, and Lord *de Clum*, and *Peter* the Notary. Thither was *John Hus* also brought: and in his presence there were read about Thirty nine Articles, the which they said, were drawn out of his Books. *Hus* acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The refidue were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, and specially by *Stephen Palerz*, the principal Author of this mischief: for they could find no such thing in the Books, out of the which they said they had drawn and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by flanders, as a man may eatily perceive by the number of Articles.

39 Articles laid to *John Hus*.

These be the same Articles in a manner which were shewed before in the prison to *John Hus*, and are rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there were more Articles added unto them, and otherfome corrected and enlarged. But now we will shew them one with another, and declare what the said *Hus* did answer both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly written with his own hand in these words.

The answer of *John Hus* concerning his Book of the Church.

I *John Hus*, unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, Master of Art, and Bachelor of Divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small Treatise, Intituled, *Of the Church*; the copy whereof was shewed me by the Notaries of the three Predecessors of the Council, that is to say, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Bishop of *Castile*, and the Bishop of *Libusse*; the which Deputies or Presidents, in reproof of the said Treatise, delivered unto me certain Articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said Treatise, and were written in the same.

The first Article: There is but one holy universal or Catholick Church, which is the universal company of all the Predestinate. I do confess that this Proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of S. *Augustin* upon S. *John*.

St. Paul was never any member of the Devil.

The second Article: St. *Paul* was never any member of the Devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant Church. And likewise St. *Peter* which fell into an horrible sin of perjury and denial of his Master, it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and fedfastly rise again and be confirmed. I answer according to St. *Augustine*, that it is expedient that the Elect and Predestinate should sin and offend.

Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of separations from the holy Church. The first is, not to perdition, as all the Elect are divided from the Church. The second is to perdition, by the which certain Heretics are through their deadly sin divided from the Church. Yet notwithstanding by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himself, saying, *I have other sheep which are not of this fold*, Joh. 20.

Two manner of separations from the Church.

The third Article: No part or member of the Church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forsomuch as the charity of Predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away. This Proposition is thus placed in my Book: As the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same; forsomuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away, because that the charity of Predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away. This is proved by the thirteenth Chapter of the first to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Romans*, the eighth Chapter: *All things turn to good to them which love God. Also I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the Book.*

The members of the Church cannot fall finally away.

The fourth Article: The predestinate, although he be not in the ftate of Grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal Church. This is an error, if it be underflood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the Book, about the beginning of the fifth Chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and sorts of being in the Church; for there are some in the Church, according to the misshapen faith, and other some according to predestination, as Christians predestinate now in sin, but shall return again unto grace.

The predestinate is always a member of the universal Church, although not in present justice.

The fifth Article: There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any humane election, or any sensible sign, that can make any man a member of the universal Church. I answer, this article is after this manner in my Book. And such fubtilties are underflood and known by considering what it is to be in the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church, and that predestination doth make a man a member of the universal Church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present and glory to come: and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any sensible sign. For the Traytor *Judas Iscariot* notwithstanding Christs election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of Apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true Disciple, but a wolf covered in a sheeps skin, as St. *Augustine* saith.

To be in the Church, and a member of the Church.

Predestination.

The sixth Article: A reprobate man is never a member of the holy Church. I answer, it is in my Book with sufficient long probation out of the 26th *Psalm*, and out of the fifth Chapter to the *Ephesians*, and also by St. *Bernards* saying. The Church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have also written in the fifth Chapter of my Book, that the holy Church is the Barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff: and thereunto is added the Expolition of Saint *Augustine*.

Both good and bad in the Church.

The seventh Article: *Judas* was never a true Disciple of Jesus Christ. I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed before, and by St. *Augustine* in his Book of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of St. *John*, in the first Epistle and second Chapter, where he said, *They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us.* He knew from the beginning all them which should believe, and him also which should betray him, and said, *And therefore I say unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my father.* From that time many of the Disciples parted from him; and were not those also called Disciples, according to the words of the Gospel? And yet notwithstanding they were true Disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the Word of the Son of God, according as it is said, *If you remain in my word, you be my disciples.* Forsomuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true Disciples, so likewise are they not the true Sons of God: although they seem so, unto him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil. Thus much writeth

St.

St. *Augustine*: It is also evident that *Judas* could not be the true Disciple of Christ, by means of his covetousness: for Christ himself said in the presence of *Judas*, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple. Forsomuch then as *Judas* did not forsake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a Thief, as it is said *John* the twelfth, and a Divel, *John* the sixth, whereby it is evident by the Word of the Lord, that *Judas* was not his true but fained Disciple. Whereupon St. *Augustine* writing upon *John*, declaring how the sheep hear the voice of Christ, saith, What manner of hearers, think we, his sheep were? Truly *Judas* heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the shepherd: but clothed in a sheeps skin, he lay in wait for the shepherd.

8. The eighth Article of the Congregation of the Predestinate, whether they be in the state of Grace or no, according unto prefent justice, is the holy universal Church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same Church which hath neither wrinkle, neither spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The answer, The words of the Book out of the which this article was drawn are these: Thirdly, The Church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. *Paul* maketh mention in the fifth Chapter to the *Ephesians*: *Christ so loved his Church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same, &c.* I pray you then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the Church doth not fignifie all the Elect and Predestinate, the which we ought to believe to be the universal Church, the glorious Spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our Creed, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*: and of this Church doth St. *Augustine*, St. *Gregory*, St. *Jerome*, and divers others make mention.

The Church is taken sometime for the congregation of the elect and faithful, and so is the article taken in the Creed.

9. The ninth Article. *Peter* never was, neither is the Head of the holy universal Church. The answer: This article was drawn out of these words of my Book. All men do agree in this point, that *Peter* had received of the Rock of the Church (which is Christ) humility, poverty, stedfastnes of faith, and consequently blessednes. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this Rock I will build my Church, that he would build every militant Ghurch upon the person of *Peter*, for Christ should build his Church upon the Rock which is Christ himself, from whence *Peter* received his stedfastnes of faith, forsomuch as Jesus Christ is the only Head and foundation of every Church, and not *Peter*.

Peter never was head of the whole universal Church.

The Church builded upon Peter, how.

10. The tenth Article: If he that is called the Vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true Vicar. But if so be, he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. *Peter*, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the Vicar of *Judas Iscarioth*. I answer, The words of my Book are these: If he which is called the Vicar of St. *Peter*, walk in the ways of Christian vertues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true Vicar, and true Bishop of the Church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, contrary both to St. *Peter*, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore Saint *Bernard* in his fourth Book did write in this sort unto Pope *Eugenie*: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy; being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed, what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of Divels than of sheep, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* did not so; wherefore thou feemest by these thy doings to succeed *Constantine*, and not St. *Peter*. These be the very words of St. *Bernard*. It followeth after in my Book, that if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. *Peter* used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the Vicar of *Judas Iscariot*, which loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ. As soon as they had read the same, those which ruled and governed the Council, beheld one another, making mocks and mowes, they nodded their heads at him.

The Church militant is taken for the congregation of the elect.

The Vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

Bern. ad Eugen. lib. 4.

The eleventh Article: All such as do use simony, and Priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven Sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the Keys or Censures, Rites and Ceremonies, neither of the Divine service of the Church, or of veneration or worshipping of Relicks, neither of the Orders constituted and ordained in the Church, neither yet of Indulgences or Pardons. I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my Book. This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandize of holy Orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making Fairs and Markets of the holy Sacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villainous kind of living: They do pollute and defile the holy Ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God: But as unbelieving bastards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven Sacraments of the Church. And this appeareth moft evidently, forsomuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of *Malachi*, the first Chapter, *Unto you, O Priests, be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.*

[KING] Hen. 5.

11. Prelates making merchandize of holy Orders

The twelfth Article: The Papal dignity hath his original from the Emperors of *Rome*. I answer, and mark well what my words are: The preheminence and institution of the Pope is sprung, and come of the Emperors power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety fixth *Distinction*: for *Constantine* granted this priviledge unto the Bishop of *Rome*, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as *Augustus* for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the Church, is counted always the moft high King above all others; so the Bishop of *Rome* should be called the principal Father above all other Bishops. This notwithstanding the Papal dignity hath his original immediately from Christ, as touching his spiritual administration and office to rule the Church. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* said, In the time of *Constantine*, there was a General Council holden at *Nice*, in the which, albeit the highest room and place in the Church was given to the Bishop of *Rome*, for honours cause, it is ascribed unto the Emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and say, that the Papal dignity took his original rather from that Council, than by the Emperors authority and power?

12. The Pope taketh his original from the Emperors. 96. Dist.

The thirteenth Article: No man would reasonably affirm (without relation) either of himself or of any other, that he is the head of any particular Church. I answer, I confess it to be written in my Book, and it followeth straight after, Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universal Church, the Spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher, *No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred.* And *Luk.* 17. *When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.*

13. The Pope is not the head of any particular Church.

The fourteenth Article: It ought not to believed that the Pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular Church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God. I answer, that I do acknowledg this Proposition to be mine, and this is easie to prove forsomuch as it is necessary that the Christian Faith should be depraved, forsomuch as the Church was deceived by *N.* as it appeareth by St. *Augustine*.

14.

The fifteenth Article: The Popes power as Vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and addres his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. *Peter*. I answer, that it is thus in my Book, That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained Vicar, should addres and frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And *John Hus* said moreover before the whole Council: I understand that the power and authority in such a Pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is fruitless and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office. Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, Where is that gloss in your Book? *John Hus* answered, You shall find it in my

15. The Popes power vain

Distinction of merit and of office.

[KING] Hen. 5.

16. Bishops cometh not by sitting, but by following.

my Treatise against Mr. *Paletz*, whereat all the assistants (looking one upon another) began for to smile and laugh.

The sixteenth Article: The Pope is moft holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of Saint *Peter*, but because he hath great revenues. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written, He is not moft holy, because he is called the Vicar of St. *Peter*, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour and travel, and in perfect love and charity.

17. The Cardinals do count it heresie, that they should be compelled to be followers of the Apostles

The seventeenth Article: The Cardinals are not the mainest and true successors of the other Apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus, I answer, that it is thus written in my Book, and it proveth it self sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way than by the door which is the Lord Jesus, they be murtherers and thieves.

Then said the Cardinal of *Cambray*, Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his Book than are presented in his Articles. Truly *John Hus* thou hast kept no order in thy Sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your Sermons according to your audience? For to what purpose was it, or what did it pront you before the people to preach against the Cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the Laity. Then answered *John Hus*, Reverend Father, forsomuch as I did fee many Priests and other learned men, present at my Sermons, for their sakes I spake thole words. Then said the Cardinal, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the Church.

18. John Hus condemneth the cruelty of the Prelates in seeking the death of heretick.

The eighteenth Article: An Heretick ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the Ecclesiastical censure. These are my words, That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, specially forsomuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judg such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death. As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in the twelfth Chapter of St. *Luke*. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth Chapter of St. *John*. And it is said in the eighteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. If thy brother have offended thee, *&c.* Mark therefore what I do say, That an heretick whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same, as St. *Augustine* and others have done, disputing against the Hereticks. But if there were any which after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off their stiffnes of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment.

As soon as *John Hus* had spoken those things, the Judges read in his Book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them which delivered an Heretick unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of hereste, and compared them unto the High Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, which said unto *Pilate*, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*, and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christs own witnes, they were greater murtherers than *Pilate*. *For he*, said Christ, *which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence.* Then the Cardinals and Bishops made a great noise, and demanded of *John Hus*, saying, Who are they that thou doll compare or affirmule unto the Pharisees? Then he said, all those which delivered up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto *Pilate*. No, no, said they again; for all that, you spake here of Doctors. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, according to his accustomed manner, said, Truly they which have made and gathered these Articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable & horrible.

The betraying and condemning of innocents. And how could this Bishop of Cambrayun-derstand the Books of Jo. Hus written in Bohemish, or French, which he understood not?

19. The nineteenth Article: The Nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the Ministers of the Church to observe and keep the Law of Jesus Christ. I answer, that it

The Church militant standeth in three parts. 1. Ministers. 2. Nobles. 3 Commons

standeth thus word for word in my Book. Those which be on our part do preach and affirm that the Church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and constiteth in these parts: That is to say, three parts. Ministers of the Church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the Nobles of the world that should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.

20. The twentieth Article: The Ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the Priests and Monks have invented without any expresse authority of the Holy Scriptures. I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my Book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, Spiritual, Secular, and Ecclesiastical. The Spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the Law and Ordinance of God, under the which the Apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The Secular obedience is that which is due according to the Civil Laws and Ordinances. The Ecclesiastical obedience is such as the Priests have invented, without any expresse authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in *Deut.* 24. *Thou shalt do all that which the Priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.*

Three kinds of obedience. 1. Spiritual. 2. Secular. 3. Ecclesiastical.

20½

21. The twenty first Article: He that is Excommunicated by the Pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the Pope, and the General Council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the Excommunications and Curses of the Pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledg this Proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my Book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refuse to hear me in the Popes Court. For after the death of one Pope, I did appeal to his Successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the Pope to the Council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And therefore last of all I have appealed to the Head of the Church my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any Pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forsomuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the Cardinal of *Cambray* unto him, and said, Will thou presume above St. *Paul*, who appealed unto the Emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ? *John Hus* answered, Forsomuch then as I am the first that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an Heretick? And yet notwithstanding St. *Paul* did not appeal unto the Emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation, and said, *Be firm and constant for thou must go unto Rome.* And as he was about to rehearse his Appeal again, they mocked him.

21½

Appealing unto Christ.

Appealing unto Christ forbidden by the Councel of *Cambray*.

¶ Forsomuch as mention here is made of the Appeal of the said *Hus*, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and form thereof.

The Copy and tenor of the Appeal of J. *Hus*.

The Appeal of John Hus from Pope Iohn 23. unto Christ.

FOr *asmuch as the moft mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last, and uttermoft refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and fear him: defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stif-necked and unpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Jesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, wicked Judges and witnesses, willing by the moft bitter and ignominious death to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit*

The fervent complaint and prayer of Christ assaulted wicked Judges.

mit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord, thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee, thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hosts, which judgest justly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, forsomuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not separate thy self far from me, for smuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succour me. My God, my God, look down upon me, wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about, for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have inforced me without cause. Instead of love towards me they have slandered me, and have recompenced me with evil for good, and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

After the example of Christ he maketh his prayer to God.

A godly prayer of *John Hus.*

Wherefore behold, I staying my self upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the Excommunication determined by the Bishops, Scribes, Pharisees, and Judges, which sit in Moses *seat, and reign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy Patriarch of Constantinople,* John Chrysostom, *appealed twice from the Council of the Bishops and Clergy; and* Andrew *Bishop of* Prague, *and* Robert *Bishop of* Lincoln, *appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the Princes, Barons, Knights, Esquires, and all other which inhabit our Country of* Boheme, *should understand and know those things, and have compassion upon me, which am so grievously oppressed by the Excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of* Michael de Causis *my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the Canons of the Cathedral Church of* Prague, *and given and granted out by* Peter *of* Saint Angels, *Dean of the Church of* Rome, *and Cardinal, and also ordained Judge by Pope* John XXIII, *who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my Advocates and Procurators, which they ought not to deny, (no not to a Jew or Pagan, or to any heretick whatsoever he were) neither yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for that I did not appear personally, neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole University of* Prague *with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn Notaries, and such as were called unto witness. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, forsomuch as that I did not appear in the Court of* Rome, *was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.*

John Hus complaineth of *Michael de Causis* his great enemy.

And moreover, forsomuch as they had laid ambushments for me on every side by ways where I should pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumspect and advised: And forsomuch as my procurators were willing and contented to bind themselves even to abide the punishment of the fire to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the Court of Rome; *as also because they did imprison my lawful procurator in the said Court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forsomuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient Laws as well Divine of the Old and New Testament, as also of the Canon Laws, is this, that the Judges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to enquire of all such crimes as shall be objected and laid against him which is accused or slandered, and that of such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the evil willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered; but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the Law of God:) and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or peril, resort or come, and that the judg and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also forsomuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I* John Hus *do present and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jesus Christ, my just Judg, who rewardeth and defendeth, and justly judgeth every mans just and true cause.*

The Proctorator of *John Hus* laid in prison at Rome

The twenty second Article. A vicious and naughty man liveth vicciously and naughtily; but a vertuous and godly man liveth vertuously and godly. I answer, My words are these, That the division of all humane works is in two parties, that is, that they be either vertuous or vicious; forsomuch as it doth appear, that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuously and godly. And contrariwise if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby understand deadly sin, doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise vertue and godliness doth quicken all the acts and doings of the vertuous and godly man; insomuch that he being in the state of grace is faid to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. *Augustine*, St. *Gregory*, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in the sixth Chapter of *Luke*, *If thine eye*, that is to say, the mind or intention be simple, not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings shall be clear and shining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the second to the *Corinthians*, tenth Chapter, *All things that you do, do them to the glory of God.* And likewise in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 10. and last Chapter, it is said, *Let all your doings be done with charity.* Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is vertuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This faying may well be proved out of the 23 Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his Commaments is blessed in the house and in the field, out-going and in-coming, sleeping and waking, but he that doth not keep his commandments is accursed in the house, and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. *Augustine* upon the Psalm where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And *Gregory* saith, That the sleep of Saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwise it is understood of him which is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the Law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean.

22. A knot found in a rush.

The tree that is good bringeth forth good fruits.

Deut. 23.

To this end doth that also appertain which is before repeated out of the first of *Malachi*. And *Gregory* in the first Book and first Question saith, We do defile the Bread, which is the Body of Christ, when as we come unworthily to the Table, and when we being defiled, do drink his Blood. And St. *Augustine* upon the 146th Psalm saith, If thou doft exceed the due measure of nature, and doft not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thy self up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the fame. When he had made an end of this article, the Cardinal of *Cambray* faid, The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And again, if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and so we should always live in deadly sin. *John Hus* answered, The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, the which do not utterly expell or put away the habit of vertue from a man, but do associate themselves together.

{KING Hin. 5.} together. And a certain Englishman whose name was *W.* said, But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good. *John Hus* alledged again S. *Augustines* place upon 146 *Psal.* the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, What makes this to the purpole?

The Pope proved to do again his own Canon-laws.

23. Forbidding to Preach, whether it ought to be obeyed.

The twenty third Article. The Minister of Christ living according to his Law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended Excommunication of the Pope. And moreover, if the Pope, or any other Ruler, do forbid any Priest or Minister so disposed to Preach, that he ought not to obey him. I Answer, that these are my words; That albeit the Excommunication were either threatned or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the Commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of Saint *Peter*, and the other Apostles, *That we ought rather to obey God then man.* Whereupon it followeth, that the Minister of Christ living according unto his Law, &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended Excommunication. For it is evident, That it is commanded unto the Ministers of the Church to Preach the Word of God, *Acts* 5. God hath commanded us to preach and testifie unto the people, as by divers other places of the Scripture, and the holy Fathers rehearsed in my Treatise, it doth appear more at large. The second part of this Article followeth in my Treatise in this manner.

Acts. 5.

Preaching and Almsgiving be not works indifferent, but duties and commandments.

By this it appareth, that for a Minister to Preach, and a rich Man to give Alms, are not indifferent Works, but Duties and Commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the Pope, or any other Ruler of the Church, do command any Minister disposed to Preach, not to Preach, or a rich Man disposed to give Alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreover, to the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended Excommunication, the which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the Law and Gods Commandments. For the which, the meet Minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from Preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.

To forbid a Minister to Preach, and to forbid a rich man to give Alms, is both one.

How the Popes Curses are Blessings.

Then they objected unto him, that he had faid, that such kind of Excommunications were rather Blessings. Verily, said *John Hus*, even so I do now say again, that every Excommunication, by the which a man is unjustly Excommunicate, is unto him a Blessing before God; according to that saying of the Prophet, *I will curse where as you bless*: and contrariwise, they shall curse, but thou, O Lord, shall bless. Then the Cardinal of *Florence*, which had always a Notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said, The Law is, that every Excommunication, be it never so unjust, ought to be feared. It is true, said *John Hus*; for I do remember eight Causes, for the which Excommunication ought to be feared. Then said the Cardinal: Are there no more but eight? It may be, said *John Hus*, that there be more.

The Cardinal of Florence with his Notary. Eight causes why Excommunication ought to be feared.

24. Combray obiecteth.

The twenty fourth Article. Every man which is admitted unto the Ministery of the Church, receiveth also by special commandment the Office of a Preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that Commandment, notwithstanding any Excommunication pretended to the contrary. The Answer: My words are these. Forsomuch as it doth appear by that which is aforesaid, That whosoever cometh, or is admitted unto the Ministery, receiveth also by especial Commandment the Office of Preaching, he ought to fulfil that Commandment, any Excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding.

A Minister exconimunicated, is more bound to Preach, than to do any other work of mercy, the Popes prohibition notwithstanding.

Cardinal of Cambray obiecteth.

John Hus answereth.

No Christian ought to doubt, but that a man sufficiently instructed in Learning, is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him Injury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forsomuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound under the pain of damnation, to minister and give corporal and bodily Alms, as appeareth in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*, How much more is he bound to do Spiritual Alms?

The twenty fifth Article. The Ecclesiastical Censures are Antichristian, such as the Clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people. Whereby if the Laity be not obedient unto the Clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for Antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such Censures proceed from Antichrist; the which Censures in their Processes they do call Fulminations or Lightnings, whereby the Clergy doth chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of Antichrist, which thrust themselves into the Office of the Clergy. These things are contained in the last Chapter of his Treatise of the Church. I Answer, and I deny that it was in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23d Chapter. And in the Examination of the Audience, they have gathered certain Clauses most contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the Cardinal of *Cambray* renewed his old Song, saying; Truly these are much more grievous and offensive, than the Articles which are gathered.

25. Censures of the Popes Church multiply contention. The Popes fruits.

The twenty sixth Article. There ought no interdictment to be appointed unto the People, forsomuch as Christ the high Bishop, neither for *John Baptist*, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdictment. My words are these: When as I complained, that for one Ministers sake, an Interdictment was given out, and thereby all good men cease'd from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high Bishop, notwithstanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in Prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the Children of Men, did not give out any Curse or Interdictment, no not when as *Herod* beheaded him; neither when as he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blaspheined of the Souldiers, Scribes and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his Disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in the fifth Chapter of S. *Matthew*. And Christs first Vicar following the same Doctrine and Learning, saith in his first Epistle of Saint *Peter*, and the second Chapter, *Hereunto are ye called: for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again.* And Saint *Paul* following the same order and way in the twelfth Chapter of the *Romans*, saith, *Bless them that persecute you.* There were besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that Book; but they being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the Judges minds.

26. Christ interdicted none, but prayed for all. 1 Pet. 2. Rom. 12.

And these are the Articles which are alledged out of *John Hus* his Book, entituled, *Of the Church.*

Other Articles moreover out of his other Books were collected, and forced against him: First, out of his Treatise written against *Steven Paletz*, to the number of seven Articles. Also six other Articles strained out of his Treatise against *Stanislaus Znoyma.* Whereunto his Answers likewise be adjoyned, not unfruitful to be read.

Here followeth seven Articles, which are said to be drawn out of his Treatise which he wrote against Stephen Paletz.

1. Articles drawn out of the Treatise written against Stephen Paletz.

The first Article. If the Pope, Bishop, or Prelate, be in deadly sin, he is then no Pope, Bishop, nor Prelate. The Answer: I grant therento, and I send you unto Saint *Augustine*, *Jerome*, *Chrysostome*, *Gregory*, *Cyprian*, and *Bernard*; the which do say moreover, That whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian, how much less then is he Pope, or Bishop? Of whom it is spoken by the Prophet *Amos*, in his eighth Chapter, *They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became Princes, and I knew them not*, &c. But afterward I do grant, that a wicked Pope, Bishop, or Priest, is an unworthy Minister of the Sacrament, by whom God doth Baptize, Consecrate, or otherwise work to the profit of his Church; and this is largely handled in the Text of the Book by the Authority of the holy Doctors, for even he which is in deadly sin, is not worthily a King before God,

as appeareth in the firſt Book of Kings, the fifteenth Chapter; Whereas God ſaith unto *Saul* by the Prophet *Samuel*, ſaying, *Forſomuch as thou haſt refuſed and caſt off my word, I will alſo refuſe and caſt thee off, that thou ſhalt be no more King.* Whilſt theſe things were thus intreating, the Emperor looking out of a certain Window of the Cloyſter, accompanied with the County *Palatine*, and the Burgrave of *Norenberg*, conferring and talking much of *John Hus*, at length he ſaid, That there was never a worſe or more pernicious Heretick than he. In the mean while, when *John Hus* had ſpoken theſe Words as touching the unworthy King, by and by the Emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat thoſe words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being conſidered, the Emperor anſwered: No man, ſaith he, doth live without fault. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* being in a great fury, ſaid, Is it not enough for thee that thou doſt contemn and deſpiſe the Eccleſiaſtical State, and goeſt about by thy Writings and Doctrine to perturb and trouble the ſame, but that now alſo thou wilt attempt to throw Kings out of their State and Dignity? Then *Paletz* began to alledge the Laws, whereby he would prove that *Saul* was King, even when thoſe words were ſpoken by *Samuel*, and therefore that *David* did forbid that *Saul* ſhould not be ſlain, not for the holineſs of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holineſs of his Anointing. And when as *John Hus* repeated out of S. *Cyprian*, that he did take upon him the name of Chriſtianity in vain, which did not follow Chriſt in his living: *Paletz* anſwered, Behold and ſee what a folly is in this Man, which alledgeth thoſe things which make nothing for the purpoſe; for albeit any man be not a true Chriſtian, is he not therefore true Pope, Biſhop, or King? When as theſe are names of Office, and to be a Chriſtian, is a name of merit and deſert; and ſo may any man be a true Pope, Biſhop, or King, although he be no true Chriſtian. Then ſaid *John Hus*, If Pope *John* the three and twentieth were a true Pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his Office? The Emperor anſwered, The Lords of the Council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true Pope; but for his notorious and manifeſt evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and did ſpoil and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is rejected and caſt out of his Office.

The Emperors judgment of *John Hus*.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*.

2. The ſecond Article. The grace of Predeſtination is the Bond whereby the body of the Church, and every part and member thereof is firmly knit and joyned unto the Head. The anſwer: I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proved in the Text out of the eighth Chapter of the *Romans*, *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the charity and love of Chriſt*, &c? and in the tenth Chapter of *John*, *My ſheep hear my voice; and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither ſhall they periſh eternally, neither is there any man which ſhall take them out of my hands.* This is the knot of the Body of the Church, and of our Spiritual Head Chriſt, underſtanding the Church to be the congregation of the Predeſtinate.

3. The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and ſpecially a Reprobate, then even as *Judas* the Apoſtle, he is a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition, and not the Head of the holy Militant Church, forſomuch as he is no part or member thereof. The Anſwer: My words are thus, If the Pope be an evil or wicked man, and ſpecially if he be a Reprobate; then even as *Judas*, ſo is he a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy Militant Church? Whereas he is not truly any Member, or part thereof; for if he were a Member of the holy Church, then ſhould he be alſo a Member of Chriſt, and if he were a Member of Chriſt, then ſhould he cleave and ſtick unto Chriſt by the grace of predeſtination and preſent juſtice, and ſhould be one Spirit with God, as the Apoſtle ſaith in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, the ſixth Chapter, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Chriſt?*

4. The fourth Article. An evil Pope or Prelate, or Reprobate is no true Paſtor, but a Thief and a Robber. The Anſwer. The Text of my Book is thus: If he be evil or wicked, then is he a Hireling, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, He is no Shepherd, neither are the Sheep his own. Therefore when he ſeeth the Wolf coming, he runneth away and forſaketh the ſheep: and ſo finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every ſuch Reprobate, or wicked Pope or Prelate, is no true Paſtor; but a very Thief and a Robber, as is more at large proved in my Book. Then ſaid *John Hus*, I do ſo limit all things, that ſuch as touching their defert, are not truly and worthily Popes and Shepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are Popes, Paſtors, and Prieſts.

{KING 1. Hen. 5.}

Then a certain Man riſing up behind *John Hus*, clothed all in Silk, ſaid, My Lords, take heed leſt that *John Hus* deceive both you and himſelf with theſe his Gloſſes, and look whether theſe thirtgs be in his Book or not; for of late, I had diſputation with him upon theſe Articles, in the which I ſaid, that a wicked Pope, &c. was no Pope, as touching merit and defert, but as touching his Office he was truly Pope. Whereupon he uſed theſe Gloſſes which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his Book. Then *John Hus* turning himſelf unto him, ſaid, Did you not hear that it was ſo read out of my Book? and this did eaſily appear in *John* the twenty third, whether he were true Pope, or a very Thief and Robber. Then the Biſhops and Cardinals looking one upon another, ſaid, That he was a true Pope, and laughed *John Hus* to ſcorn.

5. The fifth Article. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his Office, *Moſt Holy*; for then the King ought alſo to be called *Moſt Holy*, according to his Office. Alſo the Tormentors, Lictors, and Devils ought alſo to be called Holy. The Anſwer. My words are otherwiſe placed, in this manner; So ought a feigner ſay, that if any man be a moſt holy Father, then he doth moſt holily obſerve and keep his Fatherlineſs: and if he be a naughty and wicked Father, then doth he moſt wickedly keep the ſame. Likewiſe, if the Biſhop be moſt holy, then is he alſo moſt good; and when as he faith, that he is Pope, it is the name of his Office.

Whereupon it followeth, That the man which is Pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a moſt holy man; and conſequently by that his Office he is moſt good. And forſmuch as no man can be good by his Office, except he do exerciſe and uſe the ſame his Office very well; it followeth, that if the Pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exerciſe or uſe his Office his well. Forſomuch as he cannot uſe the Office well, except he be morally good, *Matthew* 12. *How can you ſpeak good things, when you your ſelves are evil?* And immediately after it followeth, If the Pope by reaſon of his Office be called, *Moſt Holy*, wherefore ſhould not the King of *Romans* be called *Moſt Holy*, by reaſon of his Office and Dignity? When as the King, according to S. *Auguſtines* mind, repreſenteth the Deity and Godhead of Chriſt, and the Prieſt repreſenteth only his Humanity. Wherefore alſo ſhould not Judges, yea, even Tormenters be called Holy, forſomuch as they have their Office by miniſtring unto the Church of Chriſt? Theſe things are more at large diſcourſed in my Book; but I cannot find or know, ſaith *John Hus*, any Foundation whereby I ſhould call the Pope moſt Holy, when as this is only ſpoken of Chriſt: Thou only art moſt holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the Pope moſt Holy?

6. The ſixth Article. If the Pope live contrary unto Chriſt, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and choſen, according to humane election, yet doth he aſcend and come another way than by Chriſt. The Anſwer. The Text is thus: If the Pope live contrary unto Chriſt in pride and avarice, how then doth he not aſcend and come in another way into the Sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? But admit, as you ſay, that he did aſcend by lawful Election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar conſtitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he ſhould aſcend and come in another way; for *Judas Iſcariot* was truly and lawfully choſen of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto his Biſhoprick, as Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of *John*, *And yet he came in another way into the ſheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the ſon of perdition.* Did he not come in another way? when as our Saviour ſpake thus of him, *He that eateth bread with me, ſhall lift up his heel againſt me.*

The

{KING 1. Hen. 5.}

The ſame alſo is proved by S. *Bernard* unto Pope *Eugenius*. Then ſaid *Paletz*, Behold the fury and madneſs of this Man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to ſay, *Judas* is choſen by Chriſt, and notwithſtanding he did aſcend another way, and not by Chriſt? *John Hus* anſwered, verily both parts are true, that he was elect and choſen by Chriſt, and alſo that he did aſcend, and came in another way, for he was a Thief, a Devil, and the ſon of Perdition. Then ſaid *Paletz*, Cannot a man be truly and lawfully choſen Pope, or Biſhop, and afterward live contrary unto Chriſt? And that notwithſtanding, he doth not aſcend any other ways. But I, ſaid *John Hus*, do ſay, that whoſoever doth enter into any Biſhoprick, or like Office by Simony, not to the intent to labor and travel in the Church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuouſly and unrighteouſly, and to the intent to advance himſelf with all kind of Pride, every ſuch man aſcendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the Goſpel, *he is a thief and a robber.*

The ſeventh Article. The condemnation of the forty five Articles of *John Wickliff* made by the Doctors, is unreaſonable and wicked, and the cauſe by them alledged is feigned and untrue; that is to ſay, That none of thoſe Articles are Catholick, but that every of them be either Heretical, Erroneous or Offenſive. The Anſwer: I have written it thus in my Treatiſe; The forty and five Articles are condemned for this cauſe, that none of thoſe forty and five is a Catholick Article, but each of them is either Heretical, Erroneous or Offenſive.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*.

O Mr. Doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cauſe which you do not prove, &c. as it appeareth more at large in my Treatiſe. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*, *John Hus*, thou didſt ſay that thou wouldſt not defend any Error of *John Wickliffe*. And now it appeareth in your Books, that you have openly defended his Articles. *John Hus* anſwered, Reverend Father, even as I ſaid before, ſo do I now ſay again, that I will not defend any Errors of *John Wickliffe*, neither of any other mans: but forſomuch as it ſeemed unto me to be againſt Conſcience, ſimply to conſent unto the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alledged or brought contrary and againſt them, thereupon I would not conſent or agree unto the condemnation of them: And foraſmuch as the reaſon which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof.

Articles drawn out of his Treatiſe written againſt Stanſlaus de Znoyma.

Now there remain ſix Articles of thirty nine. Theſe are ſaid to be drawn out of another Treatiſe which he wrote againſt *Stanſlaus de Znoyma*.

1. The firſt Article. No man is lawfully elect or choſen, in that the Electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented with a lively voice, according to the cuſtom of men to elect and chuſe any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt and true ſucceſſor of Chriſt, or Vicar of *Peter* in the Eccleſiaſtical Office, but in that that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritoriouſly to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. The Anſwer: Theſe things which follow are alſo written in my Book. It ſtandeth in the power and hands of wicked Electors, to chuſe a Woman into the Eccleſiaſtical office, as it appeareth by the election of *Agnes*, which was called *John*, who held and occupied the Popes place and dignity, by the ſpace of two years and more.

It may alſo be, that they do chuſe a Thief, a Murderer or a Devil, and conſequently they may alſo elect and chuſe Antichriſt.

It may alſo be that for love, covetouſneſs, or hatred, they do chuſe ſome perſon whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that perſon is not lawfully elect and choſen; Inſomuch as the Electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented and agreed together according to the cuſtom of men, upon any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt Succeſſor or Vicar of *Peter* the Apoſtle, or any other in the Eccleſiaſtical Office.

Therefore, they which moſt accordingly unto the Scripture do elect and chuſe, revelation being ſet apart, do only pronounce and determine by ſome probable reaſon upon him they do elect and chuſe; whereupon, whether the Electors do ſo chuſe good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is choſen; for in that point that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritorioufly to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon ſaith Chriſt, in *John* 10. *Give credit unto works.*

2. The ſecond Article. The Pope being a Reprobate, is not the Head of the holy Church of God. The Anſwer, I wrote it thus in my Treatiſe, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reaſon of the Doctor, how this queſtion is contrary to the Faith, to ſay, That if the Pope be a Reprobate, how is he the Head of the Holy Church? Behold, the Truth cannot decay or fail in Diſputation, for did Chriſt diſpute againſt the Faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Phariſees, *Matthew* 12. *Te ſtock and off-ſpring of vipers, how can ye ſpeak good things, when you your ſelves are wicked and evil?* And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the Pope be a Reprobate, and the ſtock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Phariſees, (which were in the Council-houſe of *Pragues*, may make anſwer hereunto? For it is more poſſible that a reprobate man ſhould ſpeak good things, forſomuch as he may be in ſtate of Grace according unto preſent Juſtice, than to be the Head of the holy Church of God.

3. Alſo in the fifth of *John*, our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, ſaying, How can you believe which do ſeek for glory amongſt your ſelves, and do not ſeek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewiſe do complain, how that if the Pope be a Reprobate; can he be the Head of the Church of God, which receiveth his glory of the World, and ſeeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more poſſible, that the Pope being a Reprobate ſhould believe, than that he ſhould be the Head of the Church of God; forſomuch as he taketh his glory of the World.

4. The third Article. There is no ſpark of apparance, that there ought to be one Head in the Spiritualty, to rule the Church, the which ſhould be always converſant with the Militant Church. The Anſwer, I do grant it. For what a conſequence is this. The King of *Boheme* is head of the Kingdom of *Boheme*: *Ergo*, The Pope is Head of the whole Militant Church? Chriſt is the Head of the Spiritualty, ruling and governing the Militant Church by much more and greater neceſſity than *Ceſar* ought to rule the Temporalty. Forſomuch as Chriſt, which ſitteth on the right Hand of God the Father, doth neceſſarily rule the Militant Church as Head. And there is no ſpark of appearance that there ſhould be one Head in the Spiritualty ruling the Church, that ſhould always be converſant with the Militant Church, except ſome Infidel would heretically affirm, that the Militant Church ſhould have here a permanent and continual City or dwelling place, and not enquire and ſeek after that which is to come. It is alſo farther evident in my Book, how unconſequent the proportion of the ſimilitude is, for a reprobate Pope to be Head of the Militant Church, and a reprobate King to be Head of the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

5. The fourth Article. Chriſt would better rule his Church by his true Apoſtles, diſperſed throughout the whole World, without ſuch monſtrous Heads. I Anſwer, That it is in my Book as here followeth, that albeit that the Doctor doth ſay, that the body of the Militant Church is oftentimes without a Head; yet notwithſtanding, we do verily believe that Chriſt Jeſus is the Head over every Church, ruling the ſame without lack or default, pouring upon the ſame a continual motion and ſenſe, even unto the later day: Neither can the Doctor give a reaſon why the Church, in the time of *Agnes*, by the ſpace of two years and five months, lived according to many Members of Chriſt in grace and favor, but that by the ſame reaſon the Church might be without a Head, by the ſpace of many years. Forſomuch as Chriſt ſhould better rule his Church by his true Diſciples diſperſed throughout the whole World, without ſuch monſtrous Heads. Then ſaid they all together, Behold, now he prophecieth. And *John Hus* again farther proſecuting his former talk, ſaid, But I ſay that the Church in the time of the Apoſtles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder, that Chriſt ſhould not now alſo rule the ſame better by his true Diſciples, without ſuch monſtrous Heads as have been now a late? For behold, even at this preſent we have no ſuch

head, and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his Church. When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

5. The fifth Article. *Peter* was no Universal Pastor or Shepherd of the Sheep of Christ, much less is the Bishop of *Rome*. The Answer, Those words are not in my Book, but these which do follow. Secondly, It appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit unto *Peter* for his Jurisdiction the whole World, no not one only Province. So likewise, neither unto any other of the Apostles. Notwithstanding, certain of them walked through many Regions; and othersome fewer, preaching and teaching the Kingdom of God, as *Paul*, which labored and travelled more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most Provinces, whereby it is lawful for any Apostle or his Vicar to convert and confirm as much people, or as many Provinces in the Faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their Liberty or Jurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.

6. The sixth Article. The Apostles, and other faithful Priests of the Lord, have thoroughly ruled the Church in all things necessary unto salvation, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church, and so would they very possibly do still, if there were no Pope even unto the later day. Then they all cried out again and said, *Behold the Prophet*. But *John Hus* said, Verily it is true that the Apostles did rule the Church stoutly, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church. And certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithful Men which do follow their steps do the same; for as now we have no Pope, and so peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more. Besides this, were brought against him other nineteen Articles, objected unto him being in Prison, which with his Answers to the same here likewise follow. Of the which Articles the first is this.

The first Article. *Paul*, according unto present Justice, was a Blasphemer and none of the Church, and therewithal was in Grace, according unto Predestination of life everlasting. The Answer: This propositon is not in the Book, but this which followeth: Whereby it doth seem probable, that as *Paul* was both a Blasphemer, according to present Justice, and therewithal also was a faithful Child of our holy Mother the Church, and in Grace according to Predestination of Life everlasting: So *Iscariot* was both in Grace, according unto present Justice, and was never of our holy Mother the Church, according to the Predestination of Life everlasting, forsomuch as he lacked that Predestination. And so *Iscariot*, albeit he was an Apostle, and a Bishop of Christ, which is the name of his Office, yet was he never any part of the Universal Church.

The first Article. *Paul* how he was both a blasphemer, and also a member of Christ.

The second Article. Predestination. The second Article. Predestinate Man being sinful, than any Reprobate in what grace possible soever he be. The Answer: My words are in the fourth Chapter of my Book intituled of the Church; and it is evident, that God doth more love any predestinate being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace soever he be for the time: forasmuch as he will, that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his Creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto present Justice. And the third Article of those Articles before, foundeth much near unto this, That the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.

The third Article. Who so commiteth deadly sin, feverseth from the Faith. The third Article. All the sinful, according unto present Justice, are not faithful, but do swarve from the true Catholick Faith, forsomuch as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point, that he doth swarve from the Faith. The Answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the Divine Knowledge and Understanding, &c. then undoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Thy rulers are unfaithful, mis-believers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards.* Behold, the Prophet calleth the Rulers of the Church Infidels for their offences; for all such as do not keep their Faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God their Father. {KING} Isa. 1.

Item, This proposition is verified by the saying of the Apostle, the first Chapter to *Titus*. *They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him.* And forasmuch as they which are sinful, do swarve away from the meritorious work of Blessedness, therefore they do swarve from the true Faith grounded upon Charity, forsomuch as Faith without Works is dead. To this end doth also appertain that which the Lord speaketh, *Matth.* 23. of the faithful and unfaithful servant. Titus 1.

The fourth Article. These words of *John* in his two and twentieth Chapter, *Receive the holy Ghost*, and *Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth*, &c. and *Matthew* of the sixteenth and eighteenth Chapter, for lack of understanding shall terrifie many Christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their Power and Authority. The Answer: This Sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed, that the Saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the vertue of the Word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a Priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in Heaven. But for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves, that whether they be just or unjust, the Priests may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant Priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant Priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an Hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found and it is evident, forsomuch as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken. The fourth Article. The words of Christ for binding and loosing, unless they be well understood, minister too much fear or presumption.

The fifth Article. The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chief and principal. The Answer: This is evident, forsomuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirm, That a man may remit and forgive an evil Fact or Offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himself not approving or allowing the same. For by the Universal Power of the Lord, it is necessary that he do first absolve and forgive, before that his Vicar do the same; neither is there one Article of our Faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant Church to absolve or bind, except in such case as it be conformable to the head of the Church, Jesus Christ. Wherefore every faithful Christian ought to take heed of that saying, If the Pope, or any other, pretend by any manner of sign to bind or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed; for he that doth grant or confess that, must also consequently grant and confess that the Pope is without sin, and so that he is a God, for otherwise he must needs err and do contrary unto the Keys of Christ. This saying proveth the fact of the Pope, who always in his Absolution presupposeth Contrition and Confession. Yea moreover, if any letter of Absolution be given unto any Offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the Offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of Absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many Priests do not absolve those which are confessed, because that either through blamefulness they do cloak or hide greater Offences, or else that they have not due Contrition or Repentance; for unto true Absolution there is first required Contrition. Secondly, A purpose and intent to sin no more. Thirdly, True Confession. And fourthly, stedfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by *Ezechiel*, If the wicked The fifth Article. Binding and loosing chiefly and principally belong to Christ. The Popes power doing unpossible is not to be feared.

{KING} Ezek. 33. wicked do repent him, &c. The second, in the fifth and eighth of *John*, *Do thou not sin any more.* The third part by this place of *Luke*, *Shew your selves unto the Priests.* And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ, *My son, believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee.* I also added many other probations in my Treatise out of the Holy Fathers, *Augustine*, *Jerome*, and the matter of the Sentences.

The fifth Article. The Priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly, but such as appertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reject, and refuse as impertinent unto salvation. The Answer: This St. *Gregory* doth sufficiently prove in his seventeenth Homily, alledging the saying of Christ, *The harvest is great, the workmen are few*; speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them; for behold, the World is full of Priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of Workmen in the Harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly Priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of Priesthood. And immediatly after he saith, We are fallen unto outward affairs and businesses, for we take upon us one Office for honor sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease our selves of labor. We leave Preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called Bishops to our pain, which do retain the name of Honor, but not the Verity. The fifth Article. St. Gregorio.

Priests more given to their own lucre and belly, than unto the office of Christ.

And immediately after he saith, We take no care for our Flock, we daily call upon for our stipend and wages, we covet and desire Earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after Worldly glory, we leave the Cause of God undone, and make haste about our Worldly affairs and businesses: we take upon us the place of Sanctity and Holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles, &c. This writeth Saint *Gregory*, with many other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also Saint *Bernard*, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33. Sermon upon the *Canticles*, he saith, All friends, and all enemies, all kinsfolks and adversaries, all of one houshold, and no peace-makers; they are the Ministers of Christ, and serve Antichrist; they go honorably honored with the Goods of the Lord, and yet they do honor, &c. The Seventh Article.

The seventh Article. The power of the Pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared. The Answer: It is not in my Treatise, but contrariwise, that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good Rulers, and also those which are wicked and evil. But notwithstanding, if the Pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the Lords the Cardinals, as I suppose, did not fear the power of *Gregory* the twelfth before his deposition, when as they resisted him, saying, That he did abuse his Power contrary unto his own Oath.

The eighth Article. The eighth Article. An evil and a wicked Pope is not the successor of *Peter*, but of *Judas*. The Answer; I wrote this in my Treatise, If the Pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honors and lucre of the World; if he be a Shepheard, taking his name by the feeding of the Flock of God; of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, *Feed my Sheep*; if he feed the Sheep with the Word, and with virtuous Example, and that he become even like his Flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labor and travel for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Vicar of Christ. But if we walk contrary unto these Vertues, for so much as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, *He that is not with me, is against me*: how is he then the true Vicar of Christ or *Peter*, and not rather the Vicar of Antichrist? Christ called *Peter* himself, *Satanas*, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his Vicar, and specially appointed over his Church. Why should not any other then, being more contrary unto Christ, be truly called *Satanas*, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chief and principal Minister or Vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in Saint *Augustine*, S. *Jerome*, *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Bernard*, *Gregory*, *Remigius*, and *Ambrose*, &c. The Pope doing contrary to Christ, is not the Vicar of Christ, but Antichrist.

The ninth Article. The Pope is the same Beast of whom it is spoken in the *Apocalips*, *Power is given unto him to make war upon the Saints.* The Answer: I deny this Article to be in my Book. The ninth Article. John Hus need not prove this Article, that Pope will prove it himself.

The tenth Article. It is lawful to preach notwithstanding the Popes Inhibition. The Answer: The Article is evident, for so much as the Apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the Bishops of *Jerusalem*. And Saint *Hilary* did the like, contrary to the commandment of the Pope which was an *Arrian*. It is also manifest by the example of Cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, sent throughout all Realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under Appeal, contrary unto the Popes Commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey. The tenth Article. To preach against the Popes commandment.

The eleventh Article. If the Popes commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the Doctrine of the Gospel or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The Answer: I have thus written in my Book. The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider, whether the Popes commandment be expreffly and plainly the commandment of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their Doctrine or no; and that being once known or understood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the Popes commandment is contrary and against the holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the Church; then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto. This I have handled at large in my Treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of Saint *Augustine*, *Hierome*, *Gregory*, *Chrysostome*, *Bernard*, and *Bede*, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for brevities cause I do here pass over. I will only rehearse the saying of Saint *Isidore*, who writeth thus, He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and besides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honored as a false witness of God, and a Church-robber. Wherefore upon we are bounden to obey no Prelate, but in such cafe as he do command or take counsel of the counsels and commandments of Christ. The eleventh Article. How the Prelates are to be obeyed. *Isidor. Concilia præcepta.*

Likewise Saint *Augustine* upon this saying, upon the chair of *Moses*, &c. saith, Secondly. *They teach in the chair of Moses the law of God: Ergo*, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own Inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, *He that heareth you, heareth me*, all lawful and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christs saying, *It is not you which do speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you.* Let therefore my adversaries and flanderers learn, that there be not only twelve Councils in the Gospel, in the which subjects ought to obey Christ and his appointed Ministers, but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawful & honest things joyned with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto under the pain of deadly sins for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their Minister.

The twelfth Article. It is lawful for the Clergy and Laity, by their Power and Jurisdiction to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto Salvation, and also of the works of the Prelates. The Answer: I have thus written in my Book, That it is lawful for the Clergy and Laity to judge and determine of the works of their Heads and Rulers. It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the secret Counsels of God, in the Court of Conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the Authority and Power in the Church is another. Wherefore Subjects first ought principally to judge and examine themselves, 1 *Corinthians* the eleventh Chapter. Secondly, They ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a Spiritual Man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alledged as touching the first Judgment, and not the second, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say, that the Lay-man ought to judge and examine the works of The twelfth Article. The Clergy and Laity may judge of the works of their Prelates. Judgment double.

To true Absolution four things are requisite.

his Prelate, like as *Paul* doth judge the doings of *Peter* in blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them according to this saying, *Beware of false Prophets*, &c. Thirdly, to rule over the Ministry: For the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the Prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoyce: But if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying, *If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.*

Secret in the Court of Conscience. Open in the Court of Audacity.

The thirteenth Article. To Godward all wicked Ministers be suspended.

The thirteenth Article. God doth suspend of himself every wicked Prelate from his Ministery, while he is actually in Sin, for by that means that he is in deadly sin, he doth offend and sin whatsoever he do, and consequently is forbidden so to do; therefore also is he suspended from his Ministry. The answer, This is proved as touching suspension from Dignity, by *Hoseæ* the fourth Chapter, and *Isaiah*, and *Malachy* the first. And *Paul* in the first to the *Corinthians*, the eleventh Chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinful, or in any grievous Crime or Offence, from the eating of the Body of the Lord, and the drinking of his Blood, and consequently suspendeth all sinful Prelates from the ministration of the reverend Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinful from the declaration of his righteousness, *Psalm* 49. Forasmuch then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibit the Ministry, or any other good thing for the offence sake; or as the new Laws do determine or call it, to interdict, forbid: It is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinful, being in sin, to exercise or use their Ministry or Office, which by Gods commandment ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by *Isaiah* the Prophet, *Ye that carry the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleansed and made clean.* And to the *Corinthians* it is said, *Let all things be done with love and charity*, &c. The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry Canons, the which I have alledged in my Treatise.

The fourteenth Article. The lay-people supplanted by the Clergy.

The fourteenth Article. The answer which he made to the five and twentieth Article in Prison, sufficeth for this, that is to say, That the Clergy for their own preferment and exaltation, do supplant and undermine the lay-people, do increase and multiply their covetousness, cloke and defend their malice and wickedness, and prepare a way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth Article. The dishonesty of such as withered false accusations against Jo. Hus.

The fift part he proveth by experience, by the example of *Peter de Luna*, which named himself *Benedict*, by the example of *Angelus Coriarius*, which named himself *Gregory* the Twelfth; and also by the Example of *John* the Three and twentieth; likewise by the thirteenth and twenty fourth of *Ezekiel*, and out of *Gregory*, which saith, *What shall become of the Flock, when the Shepheards themselves are become Wolves*, &c. Also out of *Hoseæ*, *Michah*, and other of the Prophets, and many places of S. *Bernard*.

The second part is proved by the eighth Chapter of *Jeremiah*, *Gregory* in his seventeenth Homily, and S. *Bernard* upon the *Canticles*.

The third part of this Article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any Schism but only the Clergy, alledging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore? Who excuseth Symony, but only the Clergy? likewise Covetousness, in heaping together many Benefices, Luxuriousness and Fornication? For how many of the Clergy are there now a days which do say, it is no deadly sin, alledging (albeit disorderly) the saying of *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply?*

Hereby also is the fourth part of the Article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickedness and sin, of the which the Apostle speaketh to the *Thessalonians*: *Gregory* in his Register, Pastoral and Morals; also S. *Bernard* upon the *Canticles* plainly saith, Wicked and evil Priests prepare the way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth Article. *John Hus* doth openly teach and affirm, that these Conclusions aforesaid are true. The answer is manifest by that which I have afore written. For some of these Propositions I did write and publish, otherwhiles some mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsly ascribing and imputing the whole Proposition unto me, the which thing the Commissioners themselves did confess before me. Whom I desired, for the false invention and feigning of those Articles, that they would punish those whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine Enemies.

The sixteenth Article. Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the Article following; that is to say, That all the aforesaid Conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the Church, invented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

The seventeenth Article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the Treatises which I wrote against *Paletz* and *Stanislaus de Znoyma*. The which I desired for Gods sake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole Council, and said, that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my self to the judgment of the whole Council.

The eighteenth Article. There was also another Article objected against me in this form. *Item, John Hus* said and preached, that he should go to *Constance*, and if so be that for any manner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithstanding he never purposed to do it with his mind; forasmuch as whatsoever he had before taught, was pure and true, and the found Doctrine of Christ. The Answer; This Article is full of lies, to the Inventer whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus, All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickedness, and with thy tongue, as with a sharp razor, thou hast wrought deceit: thou hast delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedness and mischief, than of equity and justice. Verily I do grant, that I left behind me a certain Epistle to be read unto the people, the which did contain, that all such as did weigh and consider my careful Labors and Travels, should pray for me, and stedfastly preserve and continue in the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing for a certainty, that I never taught them any such Errors as mine enemies do impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false Witnesses, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the Truth.

The seventh Article. The eighteenth Article.

The nineteenth Article. Last it was objected against me, That after I was come into *Constance*, I did write unto the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, that the Pope and the Emperor received me honorably, and sent unto me two Bishops to make agreement between me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirm and establish me and my hearers in the Errors which I had Preached and Taught in *Bohemia*. This Article is falsly alledged, even from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I have written, that the Pope and the Emperor did honor me, when as otherwise I had written before, that as yet we knew not where the Emperor was? And before the Emperor himself came unto *Constance*, I was by the space of three Weeks in Prison. And to write that I was honored by my Imprisonment, the People of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* would repute the honor as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in derision say unto me, That according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this Article is wholly throughout false and untrue.

The eighteenth Article.

The nineteenth Article.

Unto these Articles above prehixed, were other Articles also to be annexed, which the *Parisians* had drawn out against Mr. *John Hus*, to the number of nineteen. The chief Author whereof, was *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, a great setter on of the Pope against good men. Of these Articles *John Hus* doth often complain in his Epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answer unto them. Which Articles being falsly collected and wrongfully depraved, although *J. Hus* had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the Reader to see and judge.

Nineteen Articles drawn out by the Parisians & exhibit false Item. John Gerson Chancellor of Paris.

¶ *Articles formerly contained or picked out of the Treatise of* John Hus *of* Prague, *which he instituted of the Church, following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of* John Wickliffe.

1. THe first Article. No reprobate is true Pope, Lord, or Prelate. The Error is in the faith, and behavior, and manners

{KING} {Hen. 5.} manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the poor men of *Lions*, as also against the *Waldenses* and *Pikards*. The affirmation of which Error is temerarious, seditious, offensive and pernitious, and tending to the subversion of all humane Policy and Governance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unstable, if it should be founded upon Predestination and Charity: neither should the commandment of *Peter* have been good, which willeth all servants to be obedient unto their Masters and Lords, although they be wicked.

2. The second Article. That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the Devil, is true Pope, Prelate, Lord. The Error of this is like unto the first.

3. The third Article. No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the Apostolick Seat of *Peter*, neither hath any Apostolical power over the Christian people. This Error is also like unto the first.

4. The fourth Article. No reprobates are of the Church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ. This Error is against the common understanding of the Doctors, concerning the Church.

5. The fifth Article. They only are of the Church, and sit in *Peters* Seat, and have Apostolick power which follow Christ and his Apostles in their life and living. The Error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first Article, but containing more arrogancy and rathness.

6. The sixth Article. That every man which liveth uprightly, according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea, although he forbidden or excommunicated by any Prelate or Bishop, even as he might and ought to give Alms; for his good life in living together with his Learning, doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious Error, offensive, and tending to the confusion of the whole Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

7. The seventh Article. That the Pope of *Rome* being contrary unto Christ, is not the universal Bishop, neither hath the Church of *Rome* any Supremacy over other Churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of *Cæsar*, and not of Christ. An Error lately and plainly reproved.

8. The eighth Article. That the Pope ought not to be called most Holy, neither that his Feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This Error is temerarious, unreverently and offensively published.

9. The ninth Article. That according unto the Doctrine of Christ, Heretics, be they never so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the Error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence affirmed against the Laws of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, as St. *Augustine* doth prove.

10. The tenth Article. That subjects and the common people, may and ought publickly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their Superiors and Rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and example of S. *Paul* so to do. This Error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all Rebellion, Disobedience and Sedition, and the curse and malediction of *Cham*.

11. The eleventh Article. That Christ only is head of the Church, and not the Pope. It is an Error according unto the common understanding of the Doctors, if all the reason of the Supremacy, and of being head, be secluded and taken away from the Pope.

12. The twelfth Article. That the only Church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good Livers, is the Universal Church, whereunto Subjects do owe obedience. And this is consequent unto the former Article. The Error is contained as in the former Articles.

13. The thirteenth Article. That Tithes and Oblations given to the Church, are publick and common Alms. This Error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 9.*

14. The fourteenth Article. That the Clergy living wickedly, ought to be reproved and corrected by the Laypeople, by the taking away of their Tithes and other Temporal Profits. A most pernicious Error and offensive, inducing the Secular people to perpetrate Sacriledge, subverting the Ecclesiastical Liberty.

The fifteenth Article. That the Blessings of such as are reprobate or evil livers of the Clergy, are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, *I will curse your blessings.* This Error was lately reproved of S. *Augustine*, against S. *Cyprian* and his followers. neither is the Matter of the Sentences allowed of the Masters in that point that he seemeth to favor this Article. 15.

The sixteenth Article. That in these days, and in long time before, there hath been no true Pope, no true Church or Faith, which is called the *Romish* Church, whereunto a Man ought to obey, but that it both was, and is the Synagogue of Antichrist and Satan. The Error in this Article is in this Point, That it is derived, and taketh his foundation upon the former Articles. 16.

The seventeenth Article. That all gift of money given unto the Ministers of the Church, for the ministration of any Spiritual matter, doth make such Ministers in that case uters of Simony. This Error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the Clergy, under the Title of sustentation or maintaining the Minister, without the selling or buying of any Spiritual thing. 17.

The eighteenth Article. That whosoever is Excommunicate of the Pope, if he appeal to Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the Excommunication, but may utterly contemn and despise the same. This Error is temerarious and full of arrogancy. 18.

The nineteenth Article. That every deed done without Charity, is sin. This Error was reproved and revoked before this time at *Paris*. Specially if it be understood of deadly Sin; for it is not necessary that he which lacketh Grace, should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin. 19.

This following, the Masters of Paris, *by their whole voice and consent, did add and adjoyn unto these nineteen Articles, for their reason and determination.*

WE affirm. That these Articles aforesaid are notoriously Heretical, and that they are Judicially condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious Doctrines. left they do infect other. For albeit they seem to have a Zeal against the Vices of the Prelates and the Clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto Learning; for a sober and discreet Zeal, suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the House of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for Vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other Vices and Errors, forasmuch as Devils are not cast out through *Beelzebub*, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth, that in Correction the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, Mark who, what, where and why, by what means and when, Prelates and Bishops are bound, under grievous and expresse penalties of the Law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the foresaid Errors, and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be understood and noted, that the Error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

These things are intermedled by the way under correction, as by way of Doctrine.

John Gerson Chancellor of *Paris*, unworthily.

THese things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that *John Hus* was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our Faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the Kingdom of Antichrist for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the Church.

The words of the Cardinal of *Cambray* unto *John Hus* after his accusation.

Now to return unto the Story: when as the first thirty nine Articles, which I have before rehearsed, were all read over together with their Testimonies, the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling unto *John Hus*, said, Thou hast heard

heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid againſt thee, and what number of them they are; and now it is thy part to deviſe with thy ſelf what thou wilt do. Two ways are propouned and ſet before thee of the Council, whereof the one of them thou muſt of force and neceſſity enter into.

A double Inconvenience for *John Hus* to fall into.

Firſt, That thou do humbly and meekly ſubmit thy ſelf unto the judgment and ſentence of the Council, that whatſoever ſhall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear, and ſuffer the ſame. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the honor of the moſt gentle Emperor here preſent, and alſo for the honor of his Brother the King of *Bohemes*, and for thy own ſafeguard and preſervation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanity, love and gentleneſs, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of thoſe Articles which we have propounded unto thee, and doſt delire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto: But this thou ſhalt well underſtand, that here are ſuch manner of men, ſo clear in underſtanding and knowledge, and having ſo firm and ſtrong reaſons and arguments againſt thy Articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or delire to defend the ſame.

This I do ſpeak and ſay unto thee, to counſel and admonith thee, and not as in manner of a Judge.

This Oration of the Cardinals many others proſecuting, every man for himſelf did exhort and perſwade *John Hus* to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance he anſwered, Moſt reverend Fathers, I have often ſaid, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obſtinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I ſhould ſeem to have conceived a perverſe or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I delire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof, except I ſhall alledge moſt firm and ſtrong reaſons, I will willingly ſubmit my ſelf (as you require) unto your information.

John Hus anſwereth.

Then there ſtart up one which with a loud voice ſaid, Behold, how craftily this man ſpeaketh: He tearmeth it information, and not correction or determination. Verily ſaid *John Hus*, even as you will tearm it, information, correction or determination: for I take God to my witneſs, that I ſpeak nothing but with my heart and mind.

The Cardinal of *Cambray* ſpeaketh *John Hus* certain conditions whereby he may be delivered.

Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*; foraſmuch then as thou doſt ſubmit thy ſelf unto the information and grace of this Council, this is decreed by almoſt threeſcore Doctors, whereof ſome of them are now departed hence, in whoſe room and place the *Parifians* are ſucceeded; and alſo it is approved by the whole Council, not one man ſpeaking the contrary thereunto.

Firſt of all, That thou ſhalt humbly and meekly confeſs thy ſelf to have erred in theſe Articles which are alledged and brought againſt thee.

Moreover, That thou ſhalt promiſe by an Oath, that from henceforth thou ſhalt not teach, hold or maintain any of theſe Articles. And laſt of all, that thou ſhalt openly recant all theſe Articles.

The anſwer of *John Hus*.

Upon the which Sentence, when as many others had ſpoken their minds, at the length *John Hus* ſaid, I once again do ſay, that I am ready to ſubmit my ſelf to the Information of the Council; but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, even for his ſake, which is the God of us all, That I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my Conſcience doth repugn or ſtrive againſt, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal Damnation, that is, that I ſhould make revocation by Oath to all the Articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remember, that I have read in the Book of Univerſalities, That to abjure, is to renounce an Error which a man hath before holden. And foraſmuch as many of theſe Articles are ſaid to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how ſhould I then renounce them by an Oath? But as touching thoſe Articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwiſe unto them, I will willingly perform that which you deſire.

The Emperor exhorteth *John Hus* to recant.

Then ſaid the Emperor, Why mayeſt not thou without danger alſo renounce all thoſe Articles which thou ſayeſt are falſly alledged againſt thee by the Witneſſes? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all Errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have profeſſed any Error. To whom *John Hus* anſwered: Moſt noble Emperor, this word to abjure, doth ſignifie much otherwiſe than your Majeſty doth here uſe it. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Florence*, *John Hus*, you ſhall have a form of Abjuration, which ſhall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will eaſily and ſoon determine with your ſelf, whether you will do it or no: Then the Emperor, repeating again the words of the Cardinal of *Cambray*, ſaid, Thou haſt heard that there are two ways laid before thee: Firſt, That thou ſhouldeſt openly renounce thoſe thy Errors, which are now condemned, and ſubſcribe unto the judgment of the Council, whereby thou ſhouldeſt try and find their grace and favor. But if thou proceed to defend thy Opinions, the Council ſhall have ſufficient, whereby according to their Laws and Ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee. To whom *John Hus* anſwered, I refuſe nothing (moſt noble Emperor) whatſoever the Council ſhall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conſcience, or ſay that I have profeſſed thoſe Errors which was never in my mind or thought to profeſs. But I deſire you all, if it may be poſſible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may anſwer as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touching thoſe things which are objected againſt me, and ſpecially concerning Eccleſiaſtical Offices, and the ſtate of the Miniſtery.

The Emperor exhorteth *John Hus* to recant.

But when as other men began to ſpeak, the Emperor himſelf began to ſing the ſame Song which he had ſung before. Thou art of lawful age, ſaid the Emperor, thou mighteſt eaſily have underſtood what I ſaid unto thee yeſterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto theſe Witneſſes which are worthy of credit, foraſmuch as the Scripture ſaith, *Thus in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth is tryed*: how much more then, by ſo many witneſſes of ſuch worthy men?

The force of falſe witneſs.

The Emperor to *John Hus*.

Wherefore if thou be wiſe, receive penance at the hands of the Council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifeſt Errors, and promiſe by an Oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refuſeſt to do, there are Laws and Ordinances whereby thou ſhalt be judged of the Council.

An old Biſhop of *Pole*.

Here a certain very old Biſhop of *Pole* put to his verdict. He ſaid, the Laws are evident as touching Hereticks, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But *John Hus* conſtantly anſwered as before, inſomuch that they ſaid he was obſtinate and ſtubborn. Then a certain well fed Prieſt, and gaily apparelled, cryed out unto the Preſidents of the Council, ſaying, he ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his Friends, That although he do ſwear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unſworn without Oath; wherefore he is not to be truſted. Unto this ſlander *John Hus* anſwered, as is ſaid in the laſt Article, affirming that he was not guilty of any Error.

Objection of a Prieſt better fed than taught.

Then ſaid *Paletz*, to what end is this Proteſtation, foraſmuch as thou ſayeſt that thou wilt defend no Error, neither yet *Wickliffs*, and yet doſt defend him? When he had ſpoken theſe words, he brought forth for witneſs nine Articles of *John Wickliff's*, and read them openly, and afterward he ſaid, When as I and Mr. *Stanſlaus*, in the preſence of *Erneſtus* of *Auſtrich*, Duke of *Prague*, preached againſt them, he obſtinately defended the ſame, not only by his Sermons, but alſo by his Books which he ſet forth. The which, except you do here exhibit, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſaid the Emperor alſo. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, I am very well contented that not only thoſe, but alſo all other my Books, be brought forth and ſhewed.

Paletz againſt *John Hus*.

A new heap of ſlanders.

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the Council a certain Article, wherein *John Hus* was accuſed, that he had ſlanderouſly interpreted a certain Sentence of the Popes: the which he denyed that he did, ſaying, That he never ſaw it but in Priſon, when as the Article was ſhewed him by the Commiſſioners. And when he was demanded who was the Author thereof; he anſwered, that he knew not, but that he heard ſay that Mr. *Jeſſenius* was the Author thereof.

What

{KING} {*Hiſt.* 5.}

{KING} {*Hiſt.* 5.} *John Hus* ſweateth faint and weary.

What (ſaid they) then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof? Then anſwered *John Hus*, what ſhould I ſay thereunto, when as I ſaid I never ſaw it, but as I have heard of it of you. Thus they were all ſo grievous and troubleſome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had paſſed all the night before without ſleep, through the pain of his Teeth.

Another quarrel againſt *John Hus*, touching three men beheaded at *Prague*. *Vide ſupra.*

Then was there another Article read, in the which was contained, That three men were beheaded at *Prague*, becauſe that through *Wickliffs* Doctrine and Teaching they were contumelious and ſlanderous againſt the Popes Lectors: and that they were by the ſame *Hus*, with the whole pomp of the Scholars, and with a publick Convocation or Congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publick Sermon placed among the number of Saints. And the ſame Dr. *Naſo*, of whom you have heard certain teſtimonies already recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and that he himſelf was preſent, when as the King of *Bohemia* commanded thoſe Blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

The Emperor recanſeth the Cardinal of *Cambray* words.

John Hus lied.

Then ſaid *John Hus*, both thoſe parts are falſe, that the King did command any ſuch puniſhment to be done, and that the Coarſes were by me conveyed with any ſuch pomp unto their Sepulture or Burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the King. Then *Paletz* confirmed the aſſertion of Dr. *Naſo* his Fellow, with this argument (for they both labored to one end and purpoſe) That it was provided by the Kings commandment, that no man ſhould once ſpeak againſt the Popes Bulls: And theſe three ſpake againſt the Popes Bulls: *Ergo*, by vertue of the Kings commandment they were beheaded. And what *John Hus* his opinion and mind was as touching theſe men, it is evident enough by his Book entituled, *Of the Church*, wherein he writeth thus: I believe they have read *Daniel* the Prophet, where, as is ſaid, *And they ſhall periſh with ſword and fire, and with captivity*, and many ſhall fraudulently and craftily aſſociate themſelves unto them. And afterward he ſaith, how this is fulfilled in theſe two Law-men, who not conſenting, but ſpeaking againſt the feigned lies of Antichriſt, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate unto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichriſt, are fled, and have turned their backs, *&c.*

Ex parte affirmatives non conſtitit argum. to a ſpare.

When theſe things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous ſtrange ſtudy, they held their peace for a certain ſpace. For this *Paletz*, and the foreſaid Doctor *Naſo* had alſo added, that *John Hus* in an open Sermon had inflamed and ſtirred up the people againſt the Magiſtrates, inſomuch that a great number of the Citizens did openly ſet themſelves againſt the Magiſtrates; and by that means was it, that he ſaid, Thoſe three were ready to ſuffer death for the Truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefit or help that the King could do. Then the Engliſh-men exhibited the Copy of a certain Epiſtle, which they ſaid was falſly conveyed unto *Prague*, under the title of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and that *John Hus* did read the ſame out of the Pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praiſe *John Wickliff* unto the Citizens of *Prague*. When they had read the ſame before the Council, the Engliſh-men demanded of *John Hus*, whether he had read the ſame openly or no. Which when he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thither by two Scholars under the Seal of the Univerſity; they alſo inquired of him, what Scholars they were. He anſwered, this my Friend (meaning *Stephen Paletz*) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Another quarrel picked by Engliſhmen againſt *John Hus*.

The teſtimonial of *Oxford* for *Wickliff* brought to *Prague*.

A piece of the bone of *Wickliff* ſo ſolemnly brought for a Relick to *Prague*.

Then they firſt enquired of him, as touching the laſt man, where he was. *John Hus* anſwered, I heard ſay (ſaid he) that in his return into *England* he died by the way. As touching the firſt, *Paletz* ſaid, That he was a *Bohemian* and no Engliſh-man, and that he brought out of *England* a certain ſmall piece of the Stone of *Wickliffs* Sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his Doctrine at this preſent, do reverence and worſhip as a thing moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe things were done, and that *John Hus* was the Author of them all.

Then the Engliſh-men exhibited another Epiſtle, contrary to the firſt, under the Seal of the Univerſity, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the

The Emperors Oratſ on to the Preſidents of the Council.

University, not without great ſorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, That the Errors of *Wickliff* are ſcattered and ſpread out of that Univerſity throughout all *England*. And to the intent that through their help and labor means may be found to remedy this miſchief, they have appointed for that purpoſe twelve Doctors, Men of ſingular Learning, and other Maſters, which ſhould ſit in judgment upon the Books of *Wickliff*.

The Oath of Paletz.

Theſe Men have noted out above the number of two hundred Articles, the which the whole Univerſity have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the ſaid Sacred Councell, the ſaid Univerſity hath ſent them unto *Conſtance*, referring and remitting the whole Authority of the Judgement unto this Councell.

Here was great ſilence kept for a while. Then *Paletz* riſing up, as though he had finiſhed now his Accuſation, ſaid, I take God to my witneſs before the Emperors Majeſty here preſent, and the moſt reverend Fathers, Cardinals and Biſhops, that in this accuſation of *John Hus*, I have not uſed any hatred or evil will; but that I might ſatisfie the Oath which I took when I was made Doctor, that I would be a moſt cruel and ſharp Enemy of all manner of Errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy Catholick Church. *Michael de Canſis* did alſo the like. And I, ſaid *John Hus*, do commit all theſe things unto the Heavenly Judge, which ſhall juſtly judge the cauſe or quarrels of both Parties. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*, I cannot a little commend and praiſe the humanity and gentleneſs of Mr. *Paletz*, which he hath uſed in drawing out the Articles againſt Mr *John Hus*. For as we have heard, there are many things contained in his Book much worſe and more deteſtable.

The Oath of *Michael de Canſis*. *John Hus* witneſſeth the Lord.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Biſhop of *Rygen*, unto whom *John Hus* was committed, commanded, that the ſaid *John Hus* ſhould be carried again ſafely unto Priſon. Then *John de Clum* following him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. No tongue can expreſs what courage and ſtomach he received by the ſhort talk which he had with him; when as in ſo great a broil and grievous hatred, he ſaw himſelf in a manner forſaken of all men. After that *John Hus* was carried away, the Emperor began to exhort the Preſidents of the Council in this manner, ſaying,

John de Clum doth comfort *John Hus*.

YOu have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid againſt John Hus, *which are not only proved by manifeſt and ſtrong witneſſes, but alſo confeſſed by him; of the which, every one of them by my judgment and advice, have deſerved and are worthy of death. Therefore except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be puniſhed with Fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithſtanding I do counſel you, that he be forbid the office of Preaching and Teaching, and alſo that he return no more into the Kingdom of* Boheme: *For if he be admitted again to Teach and Preach, and ſpecially in the Kingdom of* Boheme, *he will not obſerve and keep that which he is commanded, but, hoping upon the favour and good will of ſuch as be his adherents and fautors there, he will return again unto his former purpoſe and intent, and then, beſides theſe Errors, he will alſo ſow new Errors amongſt the People: ſo the laſt Error ſhall be worſe than the firſt.*

That which God plants, that never root ups.

Moreover, I judge and think it good, that his Articles which are condemned, ſhould be ſent unto my Brother the King of Boheme, *and afterward into* Pole *and other Provinces; whereas mens minds are replenished with his Doctrine, with this commandment, That whoſoever do proceed to hold or keep the ſame, they ſhould by the common aid both of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power, be puniſhed. So at the length ſhall remedy be found for this miſchief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the Biſhops and other Prelates, which here in this place have labored and travelled for the extirpating of this Hereſie, be commended by the whole voices of the Council unto the King and Princes, under whoſe Dominion they are. Laſt of all, if there be any found here at* Conſtance, *which are Familiars unto* John Hus, *they alſo ought to be puniſhed with ſuch ſeverity and puniſhment as is due unto them, and ſpecially his Scholar* Jerome *of* Prague. *Then ſaid the firſt, when the Maſter is once puniſhed, we hope we ſhall find the Scholar much more tractable and gentle.*

Hieronie of Prague mentioned and commended by the Emperor.

After

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the Cloyster, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his Condemnation, which was the sixth of *July*, the Emperor *Sigismund* sent unto him four Bishops, accompanied with Mr. *Wencelaie de Dudas*, and *John de Clum*, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When as he was brought out of Prison unto them, *John de Clum* began first to speak unto him, saying,

Four Bishops sent to John Hus.

The pitiful and loving Oration of *John de Clum* unto *John Hus*.

MAfter J. Hus, *I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know your self guilty of any of those Errors, which are objected and laid against you before the Council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the Council; if contrariwise, I will be no Author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your Conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be the Truth. Unto whom* John Hus *turning himself, with lamentable Tears said; Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most High God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the Council can instruct or teach me any better by the Holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the Bishops which sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own Mind or Opinion before the judgment of the whole Council. To whom* John Hus *answered, neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if so which is the meanest or least in all this Council can convict me of Error, I will with an humble heart and mind perform, and do whatsoever the Council shall require of me. Mark, said the Bishops, how obstinately he doth persevere in his Errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the Keepers to carry him again to Prison, and so they returned again unto the Emperor with their Commission.*

The marvellous constancy of *John Hus*.

That is no right modesty that more regardeth to obey man, than manifest verity. *John Hus* answereth.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of *July*, there was a General Session holden of the Princes and Lords, both of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Estates, in the head Church of the City of *Constance*, the Emperor *Sigismond* being President in his Imperial Robes and Habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high Place, being square about like a Table, and hard by it there was a Desk of wood, upon the which the Garments and Vestments pertaining unto Priesthood were laid for this cause, that before *John Hus* should be delivered over unto the Civil Power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his Priestly Ornaments. When *John Hus* was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before the same high Place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the Bishop of *Londy* went up into the Pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

The Sermon of the Bishop of Londy, *before the Sentence was given upon* John Hus.

The Sermon before the Sentence.

'IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting by humble Invocation upon the
'Divine help and aid, most noble Prince, and most Chri-
'stian Emperor, and you most excellent Fathers, and re-
'verend Lords, Bishops and Prelates, also most excellent
'Doctors and Masters, famous and noble Dukes, and high
'Counts, honorable Nobles and Barons, and all other
'men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and pur-
'pose of my mind may the more plainly and evidently
'appear unto this most Sacred Congregation: I am first
'of all determined to intreat or speak of that which is
'read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth
The Theme 'Chapter to the *Romans*; That is to say, *Let the body of*
'*sin be destroyed*, &c.

His Theme confirmed by *Aristotle*.

'It appeareth by the Authority of *Aristotle*, in his
'Book entituled, *De cœlo & mundo*, how wicked, dange-
'rous and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to with-
'stand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he saith,
'That a small Error in the beginning, is very great in the
'end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have er-
'red, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Where-
'upon that worthy Doctor S. *Jerome*, in his Book upon
'the Exposition of the Catholick Faith, teacheth how ne-
'cessary a thing it is that Hereticks and Heresies should be
'suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, saying
'thus; The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the
'body, lest that the whole body do perish and putrifie. For
'a scabbed Sheep is to be put out of the Fold, lest that the
'whole Flock be infected. And a little Fire is to be quench-
'ed, lest the whole House be consumed and burned. *Ar-*
'*rius* was first a spark in *Alexandria*, who because he was
'not at the first quenched, he presumed, and went about
'with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and phanta-
'stical inventions, to spot and defile the Catholick Faith,
'which is founded and established by Christ, defended with
'the victorious triumphs of so many Martyrs, & illuminate
'and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of
'so many men. Such therefore must be resisted; such He-
'reticks of necessity must be suppressed and condemned.

'Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching
'the punishment of every such obstinate Heretick, that the
'body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be con-
'sidered according to the holy Traditions of the Fathers,
'that some sins are adverse and contrary unto another.
'Othersome are annexed or conjoyned together; other-
'some are, as it were, branches and members of others;
'and some are, as it were, the roots and heads of others.
'Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detes-
'table, out of which the most and worst have their ori-
'ginal and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sins
'and offences are to be abhorred of us; yet those are
'specially to be eschewed, which are the head and root
'of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them
'is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the
'more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted
'out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and re-
'medies. Forsomuch then as amongst all sins, none doth
'more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this
'most execrable Schism, therefore have I right well
'propounded, *That the body of sin should be destroy-*
'*ed*. For by the long continuance of this Schism, great
'and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the
'Faithful, and hath long continued; abominable Divi-
'sions of Heresies are grown; Threatnings are increased
'and multiplyed; the confusion of the whole Clergy is
'grown thereupon, and the Opprobries and Slanders of
'the Christian people, are abundantly sprung up and in-
'creased: And truly it is no marvel, forsomuch as that
'most detestable and execrable Schism, is, as it were, a
'body and heap of dissolution of the true Faith of God:
'for what can be good or holy in that place, whereas
'such a pestiferous Schism hath raigned so long a time?
'For as Saint *Bernard* saith, Like as in the unity and
'concord of the Faithful, there is the Habitation and
'Dwelling of the Lord; so likewise in the Schism and
'dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habita-
'tion and dwelling of the Devil. Is not Schism and di-
'vision the original of all subversion, the den of Here-
'sies, and the nourisher of all Offences? For the knot
'of Unity and Peace being once troubled and broken,
'there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Co-
'vetousness is uttered in others for lucres sake; Lust and
'Will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaugh-
'ter. All Right and Equity is banished, the Ecclesiasti-
'cal power is injured, and the calamity of this Schism
'bringeth in all kind of Bondage, sword and violence
'doth Rule, the Laity have the dominion, Concord and
'Unity are banished, and all prescript Rules of Religion
'utterly contemned and set at naught.

They encourage the Laity to rule in any case.

All the Popish Religion lieth in Lands, Lordships, and Livelihoods.

'Consider, most gentle Lords, during this most pesti-
'ferous Schism, how many Heresies have appeared and
'shewed themselves, how many Hereticks have escaped
'unpunished, how many Churches have been spoiled and
'pulled down, how many Cities have been oppressed,
'and Regions brought to ruine, what confusion hath
'there happened in the Clergy? What and how great de-
'struction hath been amongst the Christian people?
'I pray you mark how the Church of GOD, the
'the Spouse of Christ, and the Mother of all Faithful,
'is contemned and despised. For who doth reverence the
'Keys of the Church, who feareth the Censures or Laws,
'or who is it that doth defend the Liberties thereof?

But

{KING. Mat. 5.}

{KING. Mat. 5.}

Note here the Popes liberality, how the blood of Christians run together, that their patrimony.

'But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or
'who doth not invade it, or else what is he that dare not
'violently lay hands upon the Patrimony or Heritage of
'Jesus Christ? The Goods of the Clergy, and of the
'poor, and the relief of Pilgrims and Strangers, gotten
'together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many
'Martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold, the abo-
'mination of desolation brought upon the Church of
'GOD, the destruction of the Faith, and the confusion
'of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lords Flock
'or Fold, and all the whole company of our most holy
'Saviour and Redeemer. This lofs is more great or
'grievous than any which could happen unto the Mar-
'tyrs of Christ, and this Persecution much more cruel,
'than the Persecution of any Tyrant; for they did but
'only punish the Bodies, but in the Schism and Division
'the Souls are tormented. There the blood of Men was
'only shed, but in this case the true Faith is subverted
'and overthrown. That Persecution was salvation unto
'many; but this Schism is destruction unto all men.
'When the Tyrants raged, then the Faith did increase;
'but by this Division it is utterly decayed. During their
'cruelty and madness, the Primitive Church increased;
'but through this Schism it is confounded and over-
'thrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend, but in this
'Schism many do wittingly and willingly even of obsti-
'nacy offend. There came in Hereticks, users of Simony,
'and Hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the
'Church; under those Tyrants, the merits of the Just were
'increased.

'But during this Schism, mischief and wickedness
'are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable
'Division, Truth is made an enemy to all Christians,
'Faith is not regarded, Love and Charity hated, Hope is
'lost, Justice overthrown, no kind of courage or vali-
'antness, but only unto mischief: Modesty and Tempe-
'rance cloked, Wisdom turned into deceit, Humility feign-
'ed, Equity and Truth falsified, Patience utterly fled,
'Conscience small, all Wickedness intended, Devotion
'counted folly, Gentleness abject and cast away, Religion
'despised, Obedience not regarded, and all manner of
'Life reproachful and abominable. With how great and
'grievous sorrows is the Church of God replenished and
'filled, whilst that Tyrants do oppress it, Hereticks in-
'vade it, users of Simony do spoil and rob it, and Schis-
This Schism continued 40 years. 'maticks go about utterly to subvert it? O most misera-
'ble and wretched Christian people, whom now by the
'space of forty years, with such indurate and continual
'Schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to
'ruine! O the little Bark and Ship of Christ, which
'hath so long time wandred and strayed now in the midst
'of the Whirl-pools, and by and by ticketh fast in the
'Rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tem-
'pestuous Storms! O miserable and wretched Boat of
'*Peter*, if the most Holy Father would suffer thee to
'sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have
'the Wicked Pirats brought thee? Amongst what Rocks
'have they placed thee? O most Godly and loving
'Christians, what faithful devout Man is there, which
'beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the
'Church, would not be provoked unto Tears? What
'good Conscience is there that can refrain Weeping?
He diverteth up the Emperor *Sigismund*. 'because that Contention and Strife is poured upon
'the Ecclesiastical Rulers, which have made us to err
'in the way, because they have not found, or rather
'would not find the way of Unity and Concord: Where-
'upon so many Heresies, and so great Confusion is sprung
'up, and grown in the Flock of *Peter*, and the Fold of the
'Lord.

'Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, have greatly la-
'bored and travelled for the rooting out hereof; but yet
'could they never bring to pass, or finish that most whol-
'some and necessary Work. Wherefore most Christian
'King, this most glorious and triumphant Victory hath
'tarried only for thee, the Crown and Glory thereof
'shall be thine for ever, and this most happy Victory shall
'be continually celebrate to thy great Honor and Praise,
'that thou hast restored again the Church which was so
'spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate
'and overgrown Schisms and Divisions, thou hast trod-
'den down users of Simony, and rooted out all Here-
'ticks. Dost thou not behold and see how great, per-
'petual and famous Renown and Glory it will be unto
'thee? For what can be more Just, what more Holy,
'what Better, what more to be Desired; or final-
'ly, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this
'wicked and abominable Schism, to restore the Church
'again unto her Ancient Liberty, to extinguith and put
'away all Simony, and to condemn and destroy all Er-
'rors and Heresies from amongst the Flock of the Faith-
'ful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy,
'nothing more profitable for the whole World; and fi-
'nally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the
'performance of which most Holy and Godly Work,
'thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first de-
'puted and chosen in Heaven, before thou wast elect and
'chosen upon Earth. Thou wast first appointed by the
'Celestial and Heavenly Prince, before the Electors of
'the Empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that
'by the Imperial Force and Power, thou shouldest con-
'demn and destroy those Errors and Heresies, which we
'have presently in hand to be condemned and subvert-
'ed. To the performance of this most holy Work, God
'hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding
'of his Divine Truth and Verity, power of Princely Ma-
'jesty, and the just judgment of Equity and Righteouf-
'ness, as the Highest himself doth say: I have gi-
'ven thee Understanding and Wisdom, to speak and ut-
'ter my words, and have set thee to rule over Nations
'and Kingdoms, that thou shouldest help the People,
'pluck down and destroy Iniquity, and by exercising of
'Justice thou shouldst, I say, destroy all Errors and He-
'resies, and specially this obstinate Heretick here present,
'through whose Wickedness and Mischief, many places
'of the World are infected with most pestilent and here-
'tical Poyson, and by this means and occasion almost ut-
'terly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and god-
'ly labor, O most noble Prince, was reserved only for thee,
'upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and
'ministration of Justice is given. Wherefore thou hast ela-
'blished thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of
'Infants and sucking Babes, for thy praises shall be cele-
'brate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and over-
'thrown such and so great enemies of the Faith. The
'which that thou mayest prosperously and happily perform
'and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafe to grant thee
'his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

Leviticus vehementer detestabitur eos alienos.

Note the vile flattery of these Papists, whom they would have any thing of the Emperor for their purpose.

* When this Sermon was thus ended, the Proctor of the Council rising up, named *Henricus de Piro*, required, that the Proceſs of the Cauſe againſt *John Hus* might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive Sentence. Then a certain Bishop, which was appointed one of the Judges, declared the Proceſs of the Cauſe, which was pleaded long ſince in the Court of *Rome*, and elſewhere, between *John Hus* and the Prelates of *Prague*.

The Proctor of the Council calleth for the Sentence.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe Articles which we have before remembred; amongſt the which he rehearſed alſo one Article, That *John Hus* ſhould Teach the two Natures of the Godhead and Manhood to be one Chriſt. *John Hus* went about briefly with a word or two to anſwer every of them; but as often as he was about to ſpeak, the Cardinal of *Cambray* commanded him to hold his peace, ſaying, Hereafter you ſhall anſwer all together, if you will. Then ſaid *John Hus*, How can I at once anſwer all theſe things which are alledged againſt me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Florence*, We have heard thee ſufficiently. But when as *John Hus* for all that would not hold his peace, they ſent the Officers which ſhould force him thereunto. Then began he to intreat, pray, and beſeech them, that they would hear him, that ſuch as were preſent might not credit or believe thoſe things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for at their hands he believed eaſily to obtain that which he deſired.

The Cardinal of *Cambray* commanded *John Hus* to keep ſilence.

John Hus could not be heard by the Council.

John Hus committeth his cauſe to the Lord Chriſt.

When the Articles abovelaid were ended, laſt of all there was added a notable Blaſphemy, which they alſo impured

Mark the unhandsomeness of them to feign what they lift. *John Hus* again slandered.

imputed to *John Hus*, that is, That he said there should be a fourth Person in Divinity, and that a certain Doctor did bear him speak of the same. When *John Hus* delivered that the Doctor might be named, the Bishop that alleadged the Article, said, That it was not needful to name him. Then said *John Hus*, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander.

23. The Council doth call it Heretical to appeal to Christ.

Afterward the Article was repeated, how he appealed unto Christ, and that by name was called Heretical. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this Council, unto thee again I do appeal; which when thou wast evil intreated of thine enemies, diddest appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge, that by thy Example, we also being oppressed with manifest Wrongs and Injuries, should flee unto thee. Last of all the Article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the Excommunication by *John Hus*. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his Advocates in the Court of *Rome*, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the Acts, that the Excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto *Constance*, under the Emperors safe Conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them which was appointed Judge, read the definitive Sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

Contempt of the Popes excommunication laid to *John Hus*.

The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance *against* John Hus.

The sentence against *John Hus*.

THe most Holy and Sacred General Council of *Constance*, being congregate and gathered together, representing the Catholick Church, for a perpetual Memory of the thing, as the Verity and Truth did witness, An evil Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, through his pestiferous Doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the Gospel; as the Holy Fathers in times past have begotten faithful Children, but contrary unto the wholsome Faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked Children, whom he hath left behind him, Succesfors and Followers of his perverse and wicked Doctrine, against whom this Sacred Synod of *Constance* is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the Ecclesiastical Authority, to cut up their Errors out of the Lords field, as most hurtful Brambles and Bryers, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forsomuch then as in the holy General Council, lately celebrated and holden at *Rome*, it was Decreed, That the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his Books which contained the same Doctrine, should be burned as Heretical, and this Decree was approved and confirmed by the Sacred Authority of the whole Council; nevertheless, one *John Hus* here personally present in this Sacred Council, not the Disciple of Christ, but of *John Wickliff*, an Arch-heretick, after, and contrary or against the Condemnation and Decree hath Taught, Preached and affirmed the Articles of *Wickliff*, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certain most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Lords, Archbishops, and Bishops, of divers Kingdoms and Realms, Masters of Divinity of divers Universities; especially resisting in his open Sermons, and also with his Adherents and Complices in the Schools, the condemnation of the said Articles of *Wickliffs*, oftentimes published in the said University of *Prague*, and hath declared him the said *Wickliff*, for the favor and commendation of his Doctrine, before the whole multitude of the Clergy and People, to be a Catholick Man, and a true Evangelical Doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certain and many of his Articles, worthily condemned to be Catholick, the which are notoriously contained in the Books of the said *John Hus*.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the Reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ of the holy Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most Sacred and holy Council of *Constance*, declareth and determineth the Articles abovesaid (the which after due conference had, are found in his Books written with his own hand, the which also the said *John Hus* in open audience, before this holy Council, hath confessed to be in his Books) not to be Catholick, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are Erroneous, some of them wicked, othersome offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously Heretical, and even now of late by the holy Fathers and general Councils reproved and condemned. And forsomuch as the said Articles are expressly contained in the Books of the said *John Hus*, therefore this said * Sacred Council doth condemn and reprove all those Books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others, and doth determine and decree, That they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the Clergy and People of the City of *Constance*, and elsewhere; adding moreover for the premises, That all his Doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And to the intent this moft pernicious and wicked Doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the Church, this sacred Synod doth straitly command, that diligent Inquisition be made by the Ordinaries of the places by the Ecclesiastical censure, for such Treatises and Works, and that such as are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemn or despise this Sentence or Decree, this sacred Synod Ordaineth and decreeth, That the Ordinaries of the places, and the Inquisitors of Heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspect of Heresie.

They condemn the Books written in the Bohemian-Tongue which they never read.

* The said previous sentence.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said *John Hus*, and full information had by the Commissaries and Doctors of both Laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said *John Hus*, and before the Fathers and Prelates of this sacred Council (by the which Allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth, that the said *John Hus* hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious and perilloss Heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this moft sacred and holy Synod, lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghoft, the name of Christ being invocate and called upon, by this their Sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that *J. Hus* was and is a true and manifest Heretick, and that he hath preached openly Errors and Heresies lately condemned by the Church of God, and many seditious, temerarious and offensive things to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the Universal Church, and detriment of the Catholick Faith and Church, neglecting and despiting the Keys of the Church, and Ecclesiastical Censures. In the which his Error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornefs, when as he made his Appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the moft High Judge, omitting and leaving all Ecclesiastical means. In the which his Appeal he alledgeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the Apostolick See, and the Ecclesiastical Censures and Keys.

Many shall come in my name, and shall deceive many. Mark 13.

The Appeal to Christ is derogatory to the Popes Holiness.

Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said Synod pronounceth *John Hus* to be an Heretick, and judgeth him by these Presents to be condemned and judged as an Heretick; and reproveth the said Appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and judgeth the said *Hus* not only to have seduced the Christian people by his Writings and Preachings, and specially in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, neither to have been a true Preacher of the Gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy Doctors; but also to have been a Seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such an one as doth not desire to return

Verily condemned for Heretick.

KING Hen. 5.

return again to the lap of our Holy Mother the Church, neither to abjure the Errors and Heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this moft sacred Council Decreeth and declareth, that the said *John Hus* shall be famously depofed and degraded from his priestly Orders and Dignity, &c.

John Hus clareth himself of obstinacy.

¶. Whileft these things were thus read, *John Hus*, albeit he were forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reproved of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice: I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even so now again I desire to be taught by the Holy Scriptures, and I do profess my self to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the Errors of all Hereticks, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were. When his Books were condemned, he said, *Wherefore have you condemned those Books, when as you have not proved by any one Article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or Articles of Faith? And moreover what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these Books written in the* Bohemian-*Tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read?* And oftentimes looking up unto Heaven he prayed.

His prayers for his enemies.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said, *Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine Enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsly accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me; forgive them I say, for thy great mercies sake.* This his Prayer and Oration the greater part, and specially the chief of the Priests, did deride and mock.

John Hus commanded to put on the Priests garments.

At the laft, the feven Bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his Priesthood commanded him to put on the Garments pertaining unto Priesthood, which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white Vesture which *Herod* put on Jesus Christ to mock him withal. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his Priestly Vestures, the Bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and safegard, Then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the Scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this fort.

John Hus his oration unto the people.

These Lords and Bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of Man only, they might peradventure easily perswade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy and grudg of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have fally alledged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the Heaven? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure Doctrine, armed against all the assauls of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile Carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation. At this most godly word he was forced again to bear, by the consent of the Bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven Bishops afore rehearsed, first took away the Chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, *O cursed* Judas, *why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the* Jews? *We take away from thee this Chalice of thy salvation.* But *John Hus* received this Curse in this manner: But I trust unto God the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the Chalice of his redemption, but have a stedfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his Kingdom. Then followed the other Bishops in order, which every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their Curse. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, *That he did willingly embrace and bear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* At the laft they came to the razing of his shavert Crown. But before the Bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what Instrument it should be done, with a Rasor or with a pair of Shears.

The degrading of John Hus.

In the mean season, *John Hus* turning himself toward the Emperor, said, *I marvel that forsomuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty. Notwithstanding, at the laft they agreed to cut off the skin of the Crown of his Head with a pair of Shears.* And when they had done that, they added these words, *Now hath the Church taken away all her ornaments and priviledges from him.* Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be delivered over unto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach. For they caused to be made a certain Crown of Paper, almoft a Cubit deep, in the which were Painted three Divels of wonderful ugly shape, and this title fet over their heads, *Heresiarcha.* The which when he saw, he faid, *My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a Crown of Thorns; why should not I then for his sake again wear this light Crown, be it never so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly.* When it was fet upon his Head, The Bishop faid, *Now we commit thy Soul unto the Divel.* But I, faid *John Hus* (lifting his eyes up towards the Heavens) *do commit my Spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ, unto thee I commend my Spirit which thou hast redeemed.* These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Bishops turning themselves towards the Emperor, faid, *This moft sacred Synod of* Constance *leaveth now* John Hus, *which hath no more any Office, or to do in the Church of God, unto the civil judgment and power.* Then the Emperor commanded *Ludovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, which ftood before him in his Robes, holding the golden Apple with the Crofs in his Hand, that he ftould receive *John Hus* of the Bishops, and deliver him unto them which ftould do the execution. By whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the Church doors he saw his Books burning, whereat he fmiled and laughed. And all men that paffed by he exhorted, not to think that he ftould die for any Error or Herefie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his adverfaries, which had charged him with moft falfe and unjuft Crimes. All the whole City in manner being in Armor, followed him.

The words of John Hus unto the Emperor.

The Crown of John Hus pared away with Shears.

The marvellous constancy and courage of the blessed Martyrs.

The paper with the Inscription fet upon Hufes head.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gate *Gotlebian*, between the Gardens and Grates of the Suburbs. When as *John Hus* was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he prayed, and faid certain *Pfalms*, and fpecially the 31. and 50 *Pfalms*. And they which ftood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his Prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verfe, *Into thy hands, O Lord I commend my spirit, &c.* Which thing when the Lay-people beheld which ftood next unto him, they faid, *What hath he done afore, we know not, but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly.* Otherfome wifhed that he had a Confeffor. There was a certain Prieft by, fitting on Horfeback, in a green Gown, drawn about with red filk, which faid, *He ought not to be heard, because he is an Heretick.* Yet notwithftanding, whileft he was in prifon, he was both confeffed, and alfo abfolved by a certain Doctor, a Monk, as *Hus* himfelf doth witneſs in a certain Epiftle which he wrote unto his friends out of prifon. Thus Chrift Reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midft of his Enemies. In the mean time whileft he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward to look upward unto Heaven, the Crown of Paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the Souldiers taking it up again, faid, let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his Maifters the Divels, whom he hath ſerved.

The progreſs of John Hus's death liked of the people.

Fo. Biln. Fasc. Rer.

The paper with Divels fell from his head.

At the prayer of John Hus the paper with the Divels fell down.

When as by the commandment of the Tormentors he was risen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said, *Lord Jesus Christ assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the Preaching of thy most Holy Gospel and Word.* Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the Hang-man stripped him of his Garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the Stake with Ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the *East*, certain cried out that he should not look towards the *East*, for he was an Heretick: So he was turned towards the *West*. Then was his Neck tied with a Chain unto the Stake, the which Chain when he beheld, smiling he said, *That he would willingly receive the same Chain for Jesus Christs sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse Chain.* Under his feet they set two Fagots, admixing straw withal, and so likewise from the Feet up to the Chin he was inclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, *Ludovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, with another Gentleman with him, which was the Son of *Clement*, came and exhorted *John Hus*, that he would yet be mindful of his Safeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, *What error should I renounce, when as I know my self guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsly alledged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less Preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my Doctrine, that I might teach all Men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the Holy Doctors: wherefore with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to suffer death.* When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, they departed.

{KING} Ulric. 5.

Pardon offered again to John Hus.

John Hus fastned to the Stake. John Hus turned toward the West.

The last confession of John Hus.

The description of the burning of John Hus, contrary to the safe conduct granted unto him.



The Martyrdom of blessed John Hus.

Then was the Fire kindled, and *John Hus* began to sing with a loud voice, Jesus Christ the Son of the living God have mercy upon me. And when he began to say the same the third time, the Wind drove the flame so upon his Face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moved a while after, by the space that a Man might almost say three times the Lords Prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the Body was left hanging in the Chain, the which they threw down (take and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the Head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto Ashes. The Heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with Staves and Clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp Stick, and Rosted at a Fire apart until it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the Ashes together, they cast them into the River of *Rbene*, that the least remnant of the Ashes of that Man should not be left upon the Earth, whose memory notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by Fire, neither by Water, neither by any kind of Torment.

Cruelous in the sight of God is the death of his Saints.

The Heart of John Hus beaten with Staves, and consumed with fire.

The ashes of John Hus cast into the River of *Rbene*.

¶ I know very well that these things are very slenderly written of me as touching the labours of this most Holy Martyr *John Hus*, with whom the labours of *Hercules* are not to be compared. For that ancient *Hercules* slew a few Monsters; but this our *Hercules* with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued even the world it self, the Mother of all Monsters and cruel Beasts. This Story were worthy some other kind of more curious handling; but forsomuch as I cannot otherwise perform it my self, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all godly minds: neither have I heard it reported by others, but I my self was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preserve the memory of this holy Man and excellent Doctor of the Evangelical truth.

The Author and witness of this Story.

What was the name of this Author which wrote this Story it is not here expressed. *Cochleus* in his second Book *contra Hussitas*, supposeth his name to be *Johannes Pizibram*, a *Bohemian*. Who afterward succeeding in the place of *John Hus* at *Prague*, at last is thought to relent to the Papists.

M. John Fizibram is thought to be his name. *Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de Hist. Hussit.*

This godly Servant and Martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel Council, and burned at *Constance*, *Anno* 1415. about the month of *July*.

How grievously this death of *John Hus* was taken among the Nobles of *Boheme* and of *Moravia*, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear by their Letters which they sent unto the Council, and by the Letters of *Sigismund* the King of *Romans*, written unto them. Wherein he laboureth, all that can, to purge and excuse himself of *Husses* death. Albeit he was not altogether

{KING} Ulric. 5.

Ex Cochleo de Hist. Hussit. lib. 4.

gether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood: yet notwithstanding he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody Prelates of that Council; as the words of the King do purport in form as followeth.

The Emperor excuseth himself of the death of J. Hus.

INterea (inquit) *nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, pervenit ad Constantiam*, &c. *i. In the mean time as we were about the coasts of* Rhene, John Hus *went to* Constance, *and there was arrested, as is not to you unknown. Who, if he had first reforted unto us, and had gone with us up to the Council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the* Bohemians, *which were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him: Insomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the Council; and not only out of the Council, but also went out of the City of* Constance *taking his part, unto such time as the Rulers of the Council sending unto us, said*; That if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the Council, what should they then do in the place? *Whereupon thus we thought with our selves, that here was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole Council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted moreover, that in* Constance *the same time there was not one Clerke, or two, but there were Ambassadors from all Kings and Princes in* Christendom, *especially, since the time that* (Petrus de Luna *giving over) all those Kings and Princes which took his part, came to us: so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be fulfil in this present Council, &c.* Ex Regist. Imp Sigismund. ad Nobiles, *&c.*

¶ By this it may appear that the Emperor, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himself thereof, and have washed his hands with *Pilate*; yet he could not so clear himself, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehention, as may appear by his last words spoken in the Council to *John Hus*, whereof *John Hus* in his Epistles complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in *Boheme* in his 33*d* Epistle, as by his words here following may appear.

Ex Epist. Johan. 33.

The Emperor encouragetb John Hus.

I*Desire you yet again for the love of God, that the Lords* of Boheme *joyning together will desire the King for a final audience to be given to me. Forsomuch as he alone said to me in the Council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for my self briefly in writing: it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in* Bohemia, *which willed me to beware of his safe conduct. And other said, he will surely give you to your Enemies. And the* Milkest Dwaky *told me before* M. Jessenitz, *saying, Master, know it for certain you shall be condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the King. I hope well that he had been well affected toward the Law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did. Who if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of* Pilate *the Gentile, which said: I find no cause in this man: or at least if he had said but thus, Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to return: And if he will not abide the decision of the Council, I will send him home to the King of* Bohemia *with your sentence and attestations, that he with his Clergy may judge him. But now I hear by the relation of* Henry Lefly, *and of other, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience: And if I will not submit my self to the judgment of the Council, he will send me safe, the contrary way*, &c.

Pilate more moderate to Christ, than this Emperor to John Hus.

This *John Hus* being in prison, wrote divers Treatises, as of the Commandments, of the Lords Prayer, of mortal Sin, of Matrimony, of the knowledge and love of God, of three Enemies of mankind, the world, and flesh, and the Divel, of Penance, of the Sacrament of the Body and blood of the Lord, of the sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also divers Epistles and Letters to the Lords, and to his Friends of *Boheme*; And in his writings did foreshew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the Church; and seemeth in the prison to have had divers prophetical revelations shewed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the Volume too much; nor yet in reciting of none will I be so brief, but that the Reader may have some taste, and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man; First beginning with the letter of the Lord *Clum*, concerning the safe conduct of *John Hus*.

A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, *concerning the safe conduct of* John Hus.

'TO all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I *John de Clum* do it to understand, how Master *John Hus* Bachelor of Divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned Prince and Lord *Sigismond* of *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and King of *Hungary*, &c. My gracious Lord, and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy Empire of *Rome*, having the Letters Patent of the said my Lord King of *Romans*, &c. Came unto *Constance* to render a full count of his faith in public audience to all that would require the same. This the said Master *John Hus*, in this Imperial City of *Constance*, under the safe conduct of the said my Lord King of *Romans*, hath been and yet is detained. And although the Pope with the Cardinals have been seriously required by solemn Ambassadors of the said my Lord King of *Romans*, &c. In the Kings Name and behalf, that the said Master *John Hus* should be set at liberty, and be restored unto me, yet notwithstanding, they have and yet do refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe conduct of the King, and of the safegard and protection of the Empire, or Imperial Majesty. Wherefore I *John* aforesaid, in the name of the King, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending, and detaining of the said Master *John Hus* was done wholly against the will of the forenamed King of *Romans* my Lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the Empire, because that the said my Lord was then absent far from *Constance*, and if he had been there present, would never have permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe conduct done to him and to the Empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

Given at Constance, *in the day of the Nativity of the Lord*, 1414.

A Letter of John Hus to the people of Prague.

¶ In this Instrument above prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

First, The goodness of this gentle Lord *John de Clum*, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of *John Hus*, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, The safe conduct granted unto the said *John Hus*, under the faith and protection of the Emperor, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, Here is to be seen the contempt and rebellion of these proud Prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high Magistrate, who contrary to his safe conduct given, and the mind of the Emperor, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said Emperor, and before that *John Hus* was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adjoyn some of the Epistles of this godly Man.

An Epistle of John Hus, *unto the people of* Prague, *in his own vulgar Speech.*

'GRace and Peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you being delivered from sin may walk in his grace, 'and may grow in all modesty and vertue, and after this 'may enjoy eternal life.

'Dearly beloved, I beseech you which walk after the Law 'of God, that you call not away the care of the salvation 'of your souls, when as you hearing the Word of God

' are premonished wisely to understand that you be not de-
' ceived by false Apostles; which do not reprehend the sins
' of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them;
' which flatter the Priests, and do not shew to the people
' their offences; which magnifie themselves, boast their
' own works, and marvelously extol their own worthiness,
' but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the
' Cross and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our mer-
' ciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying; *False*
' *Christs and false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceive*
' *many*. And when he had forewarned his welbeloved Dis-
' ciples, he said unto them, *Beware and take heed of false*
' *Prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly*
' *they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their*
' *fruits*. And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have
' much need diligently to beware and take heed unto them-
' selves. For as our Saviour himself doth say, The elect also,
' if it were possible, shall be brought into error. Where-
' fore my welbeloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye
' be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the Devil.
' And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that An-
' tichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judg-
' ment is near at hand: death shall swallow up many, but
' to the elect children of God the Kingdom of God draw-
' eth near, because for them he gave his own Body. Fear
' not death, love together one another, persevere in under-
' standing the good will of God without ceasing. Let the
' terrible and horrible day of Judgment be always before
' your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal
' life, whereunto you must endeavour. Furthermore, let
' the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds;
' that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, what-
' soever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider
' well in your minds his cross and afflictions, nothing shall
' be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to
' tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and
' shall not doubt to give to your lives moreover for his holy
' truth, if need require. Know ye, welbeloved, that An-
' tichrist being stirred up against you, deviseth divers perse-
' cutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least
' hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testi-
' fie, although he hath been vehemently incensed against
' me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers to make
' intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence,
' sufferance, patience and constancy, that I never swarve
' from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to *Con-*
' *stance*. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have
' not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of
' God. In no place I kept my self secret, nor used any dis-
' simulation. But never did I find in any place more petti-
' lent and manifest Enemies than at *Constance*. Which
' Enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been
' for certain of our own *Bohemians*, Hypocrites and De-
' ceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with co-
' vetousness, with boasting and bragging have perswaded
' the people that I went about to seduce them out of the
' right way: But I am in good hope, that through the
' mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist
' strongly in the immutable verity of God unto the last
' breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that
' whereas every one here is put in his Office, I only as an
' outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merci-
' ful Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, and the Son of the
' immaculate Virgin *Mary* which hath redeemed us by his
' most bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains,
' from the Thraldom of the Devil, and from sin.

From Constance *the Year of our Lord*, 1415.

Another Letter of *John Hus* to his Benefactors.

Another Letter of John Hus.

' MY gracious Benefactors and Defenders of the truth,
' I exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that
' now ye setting aside the vanities of this present world,
' will give your service to the Eternal King, Christ the Lord.
' Trust not in Princes, nor in the Sons of men, in whom
' there is no health. For the Sons of Men are dissemblers and
' deceitful. To day they are, to morrow they perish, but
' God remaineth for ever. Who hath his servants, not for
' any need he hath of them, but for their own profit: un-
' to whom he performeth that which he promiseth, and
' fulfilleth that which he purposeth to give. He casteth off
' no faithful servant from him; for he saith; Where I am, {KING} {Heb. 5.}
' there also shall my servant be. And the Lord maketh
' every servant of his to be the Lord of all his possession,
' giving himself unto him, and with himself, all things;
' that without all tediousness, fear, and without all defect
' he may possess all things, rejoycing with all Saints in joy
' infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord
' shall come, he shall find watching. Happy is the servant
' which shall receive that King of Glory with joy. Where-
' fore welbeloved Lords and Benefactors, serve you that
' King in fear; which shall bring you, as I trust, now to
' *Bohemia* at this present by his grace in health, and here-
' after, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think
' that this is the last Letter that I shall write to you; who
' to morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesus
' Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things
' that happened to me this night I am not able to write.
' *Sigismund* hath done all things with me deceitfully, God
' forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the
' sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have
' no suspition of faithful *Virus*.

Another Letter to the Lord *John de Clum*.

Another Letter of John Hus.

' MOst gracious Benefactor in Christ Jesus, dearly be-
' loved, yet I rejoyce not a little, that by the grace
' of God I may write unto your honour. By your Letter,
' which I received Yesterday; I understand, First how the
' iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the Malignant
' Congregation (whereof mention is made in the *Apocalyps*)
' is detected, and shall be more detected. With the which
' strumpet the Kings of the Earth do commit Fornication,
' fornicating spiritually from Christ, and as is there said,
' filding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of
' Antichrist, through his seduction and through fear, or
' through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly ho-
' nour. Secondly, I perceived by your Letter how the
' Enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly,
' I perceived the setled constancy of your charity, where-
' with you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I
' perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and
' painful service of this present world, and to serve the
' Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serve is to
' Reign, as *Gregory* saith, *Whom he that served faithfully,*
' *hath Jesus Christ himself in the Kingdom of Heaven to*
' *minister unto him*, as he himself saith, *Blessed is that*
' *servant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find*
' *waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he*
' *rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him*. This do
' not the Kings of the world to their servants; whom
' only they do love so long as they are profitable and neces-
' sary for their commodities, &c.

Another Epistle of *John Hus*, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and other.

' THe Lord God be with you. Many causes there were,
' welbeloved in God my dear Friends, which moved
' me to think that those Letters were the last, which before
' I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death.
' But now understanding the same to be deferred, I take it
' for great comfort unto me, that I have some leasure more
' to talk with you by Letters. And therefore I write again
' to you, to declare and testifie at least my gratitude and
' mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God
' doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my
' welbeloved Brother Master *Jerom*, who I trust will die
' holily and without blame; and do know also that he doth,
' and suffereth now more valiantly, than I my self a wretch-
' ed sinner. God hath given us a long time, that we might
' call to memory our sins the better, and repent for the
' same more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our
' long and great temptation should put away our grievous
' sins, and bring the more consolation. He hath given us
' time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes
' of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder
' his cruel death, and so more patiently might learn to bear
' our afflictions. And moreover that we might keep in re-
' membrance, how that the joyes of the life to come are not

{KING} {Heb. 5.}

' not given after the joyes of this world immediately, but
' through many tribulations the Saints have entred into the
' Kingdom of Heaven. For some of them have been cut
' and chopt all to pieces, some their eyes bored through,
' some fod, some roasted, some slain alive, some buried
' quick, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt millstones, drawn
' and hailed hither and thither unto execution, drowned in
' waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with
' rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted
' in bands. And who is able to recite all the torments and
' sufferings of the holy Saints, which they suffered under
' the *Old* and *New Testament* for the verity of God;
' namely, those which have at any time rebuked the malice
' of the Priests, or have Preached against their wickedness?
' And it will be a marvel if any man now also shall escape
' unpunished, whosoever dare boldly relish the wickedness
' and perverity, especially of those Priests, which can abide
' no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled
' now to read my Books, in the which their malice is some-
' what described; and I know they have read the same
' more exactly and willingly, than the Holy Gospel, seek-
' ing therein to find out errors. Given at *Constance* upon
' *Thursday*, the 28th day of *June*, *Anno* 1415.

The Sacraments of the Martyrs under the Old and New Testament.

Another Letter of John Hus *wherein he rehearseth what injuries he received of the Council, and of the Deputies.*

He meaneth belike that he should move the King in such matters contained in this Epistle.

' IF my Letter be not yet sent to *Bohemia*, keep it and
' send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.
' *Item*, If the King do ask, who ought to be my Judge,
' since that the Council neither did call me, nor did cite me,
' neither was I ever accused before the Council, and yet the
' Council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their
' Proctor against me.
' *Item*, I desire you, right noble and gracious Lord *John*,
' if audience shall be given me, that the King will be there
' present himself, and that I may have a place appointed
' near unto him, that he may hear me well, and under-
' stand what I say; and that you also with the Lord *Henry*,
' and with Lord *Wenceslaus* and other mo, if you may, will
' be present, and hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my
' procurator and advocate, and most gracious Judge, will
' put in my mouth to speak, that whether I live or die,
' you may be true and upright witnesses with me, left
' lying lips shall say hereafter that I swarved away from the
' truth which I have Preached.
' *Item*, Know you that before witnesses and notaries in
' prison, I desire the Commissioners that they would depute
' unto me a Proctor and an Advocate, who promised so to
' do, and afterward would not perform it. Wherefore I have
' committed my self to the Lord Jesus Christ, that he will
' be my Procurator and Advocate and Judge of my Cause.

Vid. supra. Pag. 480.

' *Item*, Know you, that they have as I suppose no other
' quarrel against me, but only this, that I flood against the
' Popes Bull, which Pope *John* sent down to *Bohemia*, to
' sanctifie war with the sign of the Cross and full remission
' of sins to all them which would take the holy Cross, to
' fight for the Patrimony of the *Romish* Church against
' *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, and they have mine own writing
' which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be
' mine. Secondly, They have also against me, that I have
' continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take
' upon me to minister in the Church and say Mass.
' Thirdly, They have against me, because I did appeal from
' the Pope to Christ. For they read my appeal before me,
' the which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before
' them all to be mine. Fourthly, Because I left a certain Let-
' ter behind me, which was read in the Church of *Bethleem*,
' the which Letter my adversaries have very evil favourably
' translated, and finitely expounded, in the which I did
' write that I went out with a safe conduct. Whereunto
' you your selves can say and bear me record, that I in my
' going out had no safe conduct of the Pope, neither yet
' did I know whether you should go out with me when I
' wrote that Letter.
' *Item*, If audience may be given to me, and that after the
' same audience the King would suffer me not to be retur-
' ned again into prison, but that I may have your Counsels
' and others my Friends; and if it may please God that I
' may say something to my sovereign Lord the King, for the
' behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit, &c.

Another Letter of John Hus, *wherein he confirmeth the* Bohemians, *and describeth the wickedness of that Council.*

Another Letter of John Hus.

' IOhn *Hus*, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful
' in *Bohemia*, which love the Lord, greeting through the
' grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs
' admonish you, that be the faithful and beloved of God;
' how that the Council of *Constance* being full of pride, ava-
' rice, and all abomination, hath condemned my Books writ-
' ten in the *Bohemo*-Tongue for Heretical, which Books they
' never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had
' heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being
' some *Italians*, some *Frenchmen*, some *Britains*, some
' *Spaniards*, *Germains*, with other people of other Nations
' moe; unless peradventure *John* Bishop of *Litomish* under-
' stood them, which was present in that Council, and cer-
' tain other *Bohemians*, and Priests which are against me,
' and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of
' God, and the honesty of our Country of *Bohemo*. Which
' I judge in the hope of God, to be a godly Land, right well
' given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth
' so greatly define the Word of God, and honest manners.
' And if you were here at *Constance*, ye should see the gric-
' vous abomination of this Council, which they call so holy,
' and such as cannot erre. Of the which Council I have
' heard it by the *Swechors* reported, that the City of *Con-*
' *stance* is not able in thirty years to be purged of those
' abominations in that Council committed. And all be of-
' fended almost with that Council, being fore grieved to
' behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.
' When I flood first to answer before mine adversaries,
' seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing
' them also outragiously crying out, I said plainly unto them,
' that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better or-
' der and discipline in that Council. Then the chief Cardi-
' nal answered, sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest
' more modestly. To whom said I, In the Tower no man
' cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me,
' My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with
' their fearance in condemning my Books. They shall be
' scattered hither and thither abroad, like light Butterflies,
' and their statutes shall endure as Spider-webs. They went
' about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ:
' but they could not overcome the vertue of God in me, by
' the chief Cardinal answer again; Because thou wouldest
' be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first
' revoke thy Doctrine according to the determination of Fif-
' ty Bachelors of Divinity appointed. O high instruction!
' After like manner S. *Katherine* also should have denied
' and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because
' the fifty Matters likewise did withstand her: which not-
' withstanding, that good Virgin would never do, standing
' in her faith unto death: But she did win those her
' Masters unto Christ, when as I cannot win these my
' Masters by any means. These things I thought good to
' write unto you, that you might know how they have
' overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any
' reason: but only did affay with terrors and deceits to per-
' swade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God,
' whose Law I have magnified, was and is with me, and
' I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace
' unto death. Written at *Constance* after the Feast of *John*
' *Baptist*, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death;
' although for the secret Judgments of God, I dare not say
' whether this be my last Epistle: for now also Almighty
' God is able to deliver me.

The abomination of the Council of Constance described.

John Hus feareth prophecy of the Council, as it came to pass.

The Council all afraid to be tried by the Scriptures.

This Cardinal was Cardinal Cambrensis.

S. Katharine disputed with fifty Doctors, converted them: but John Hus could not convert his fifty Doctors.

* *Another Letter of* John Hus, *wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and also declareth the wickedness of the Clergy.*

Good books of good men have been burned of old time.

'MAster *John Hus*, in hope the Servant of God, to 'all the Faithful which love him and his Statutes, 'wisheth the Truth and Grace of God.

'Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you should 'not fear or be discouraged, because the Adversaries have 'decreed that my Books shall be burnt. Remember how 'the *Israelites* burned the preachings of the Prophet *Jeremy*, and yet they could not avoid the things that were 'prophesied of in them. For after they were burnt, the 'Lord commanded to write the same Prophetie again, and 'that larger, which was also done. For *Jeremy* sitting in 'prison spake, and *Baruch* which was ready at his hand, 'wrote. This is written either in the thirty fifth or forty 'fifth Chapter of the Vision of *Jeremy*. It is also written 'in the Books of the *Machabees*, *That the wicked did burn the Law of* GOD, *and killed them that had the* 'same. Again, under the *New Testament*, they burned 'the Saints, with the Books of the Law of GOD. The 'Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of 'Saint *Gregories* Books, and had burnt them all if they 'had not been preserved of GOD by the means of 'Peter, *Gregories* Minister. Having these things before your 'eyes, take heed left through fear you omit to read my 'Books, and deliver them to the Adversaries to be burnt. 'Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which 'he forewarneth us, *Matth.* 24. *There shall be* (saith 'he) *before the day of Judgment, great Tribulation, 'such as was not from the beginning, until this day, 'neither shall be afterwards: So that even the Elect of 'God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for 'their sakes those days shall be shortned.* When you re- 'member these things (beloved) be not afraid, for I trust 'in GOD that that School of *Antichrist* shall be 'afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither 'shall the Council of *Constance* extend to *Bohemia*. For 'I think, that many of them which are of the Council, 'shall die before they shall get from you my Books. And 'they shall depart from the Council and be scattered 'abroad, throughout the parts of the World, like *Storks*, 'and then they shall know when *Winter* cometh, what 'they did in *Summer*. Confider that they have judged 'their Head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible 'Facts that he hath done. Go to now; Answer to this 'you Preachers, which Preach that the Pope is the god 'of the Earth, that he may, as the Lawyers say, make 'sale of the holy things; that he is the Head of the whole 'holy Church, in verity well governing the same; that he 'is the heart of the Church in quickning the same spiri- 'tually: that he is the Well-spring from which floweth 'all vertue and goodness: that he is the Sun of the holy 'Church: that he is the safe Refuge to which every 'Christian man ought to fly for Succour. Behold now 'that Head is cut off with the Sword, now the gut of 'the Earth is bound, now his Sins are declared openly, 'now that Well-spring is dried up, that Sun darked, that 'Heart is plucked out and thrown away, left that any 'man should seek succour thereat. The Council hath 'condemned that Head, and that for this offence, because 'he took money for Indulgences, Bishopricks, and other 'such like. But they condemned him by Order of Judg- 'ment which were themselves the Buyers and Sellers of 'the same Merchandise. There was present *John* Bishop 'of *Lytomissia*, who went twice about to buy the Bishop- 'rick of *Prague*, but others prevented him. O wicked 'men, why did they not first cast out the beam of their 'own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the 'Seller, but they themselves which were the Buyers and 'Consenters to the Bargain, are without danger. What 'shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying, and 'selling at home in their own Countries? For at *Con- 'stance* there is one Bishop that bought, and another 'which sold, and the Pope for allowing of both their 'Facts took Bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in '*Bohemia* also as you know. I would that in that Coun- 'cil God had said, *He that amongst you is without sin 'let him give the Sentence against* Pope John; Then 'surely they had gone all out of the Council-house, one 'after another. Why did they bow the knee to him al- 'ways, before this his fall, kiss his Feet, and call him 'The most holy Father, seeing they saw apparently 'before, that he was an Heretick, that he was a Killer 'that he was a wicked Sinner, all which things now they 'have found in him? Why did the Chardinals choose him 'to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy 'Father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy 'things, in bearing the Office of the Popedom? for to 'this end they are his Counsellors, that they should ad- 'monish him of that which is right. Are not they them- 'selves as guilty of these faults as he? seeing that they 'accounted these things Vices in him, and were partakers 'of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay 'ought to his charge, before he had fled from *Constance*, 'but as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of 'God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they 'conspired all together that he should not live any longer? 'Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination 'and filthiness of *Antichrist* revealed in the Pope and others 'of this Council.

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Pope John made a Pope, being known to be a murderer.

'Now the faithful Servants of GOD may understand 'what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying, *When you 'shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken 'of by* Daniel, &c. *who so can understand it, &c.* Surely 'these be great Abominations, pride, covetousness, simony, 'sitting in a solitary place; that is to say, in a Dignity void 'of goodness, of humility, and other vertues; as we do 'now clearly see in those that are constituted in any Office 'and Dignity. O how acceptable a thing should it be (if 'time would suffer me) to disclose their wicked acts, which 'are now apparent, that the faithful Servants of God might 'know them? I trust in God that he will send after me 'those that shall be more valiant; and there are alive at 'this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of *Anti- 'christ*, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth 'of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give both to you and 'me the joys of life everlasting. This Epistle was written 'upon S. *John Baptist's-day* in prison and in cold Irons, I 'having this meditation with my self, that *John* was be- 'headed in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

Antichrist now first beginneth to be revealed in the Pope.

A Prophesie of John Hus.

Another Letter of John Hus.

'*John Hus* in hope the Servant of GOD, to all the 'faithful at *Boheme*, which love the Lord, wisheth to 'stand and die in the Grace of God, and at last to attain 'unto eternal life.

'Ye that bear Rule over other and be rich, and ye also 'that be poor, welbeloved and faithful in God, I beseech 'you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient unto 'God, make much of his Word, and gladly hearing the 'same, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beseech 'you stick fast to the verity of Gods Word, which I have 'written and preached unto you out of his Law, and the 'Sermons of his Saints. Also I desire you if any man either 'in publick Sermon, or in private talk heard of me any 'thing, or have read any thing written by me which is 'against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. 'Albeit I do not find my conscience guilty that I ever have 'spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

'I desire you moreover if any man at any time have 'noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, 'that he do not follow the same; but pray to GOD for 'me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that 'ye will love your Priests and Ministers, which be of honest 'behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; 'namely, such Priests as travel in the Word of God. I pray 'you take heed to your selves, and beware of malicious and 'deceitful men, and especially of these wicked Priests of 'whom our Saviour doth speak, *That they are under 'sheeps clothing, and inwardly are ravening Wolves.* I 'pray such as be Rulers and Superiors, to behave them- 'selves gently towards their poor Inferiors, and to Rule 'them justly. I beseech the Citizens that they will walk 'every man in his degree and vocation with an upright 'conscience. The Artificers also I beseech, that they will 'exercise their Occupations diligently, and use them with 'the fear of GOD. I beseech the Servants, that they 'will serve their Masters faithfully. And likewise the School- 'Masters I beseech, that they living honestly will bring up 'their Scholars vertuously, and teach them faithfully, first 'to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the 'publick utility of the Commonwealth, and their own 'health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to em- 'ploy their minds to honest Arts. I beseech the Students of 'the University and all Schools, in all honest things to 'obey their Masters, and to follow them, and that with all 'diligence they will study to be profitable both to the set- 'ting forth of the Glory of God, and to the Souls health, 'as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I be- 'seech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty 'thanks to the right honourable Lords, the Lord *Wence- 'laus de Duba*, Lord *John de Clum*, Lord *Henry Lum- 'lovne*, Lord *Vilem Zagecio*, Lord *Nicholas*, and other 'Lords of *Boheme*, of *Moravia* and *Polonie*; that their 'diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; 'because that they, like valiant Champions of Gods truth, 'have oftentimes set themselves against the whole Council 'for my deliverance, contending and standing against the 'same to the uttermost of their power; but especially 'Lord *Wenceslaus de Duba*, and Lord *John de Clum*. 'Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto 'them; for they were in the Council when I there an- 'swered many. They know who they were of *Bohemia*, 'and how many false and flanderous things they brought 'in against me, and that Council cried out against me, and 'how I also answered to all things whereof I was demand- 'ed. I beseech you also that ye will pray for the King of 'Romans, and for your King, and for his Wife your Queen, 'that God of his mercy would abide with them and with 'you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. *Amen.*

A note for all noble men to mark and to follow.

'This Epistle I have written to you out of prison and 'in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof 'for the sentence of the Council upon my death; having 'a full trust that he will not leave me, neither suffer me 'to deny his truth, and to revoke the errors, which false 'Witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mer- 'cifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with 'me in marvelous temptations, ye shall know when as 'hereafter by the help of Christ we shall all meet together 'in the joy of the World to come. As concerning Master 'Hieronme my dearly beloved Brother and Fellow, I hear no 'other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for 'death as I do; and that for the Faith which he valiantly 'maintained amongst the *Bohemians*, our cruel enemies of 'Boheme have given us into the power and hands of other 'enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for 'them.

'Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of *Prague*, that 'ye will love the Temple of *Bethlehem*, and provide so 'long as God shall permit, that the Word of God may be 'preached in the same. For, because of that place, the 'Devil is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred 'up Priests and Canons, perceiving that in that place his 'Kingdom should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in 'God that he will keep that holy Church so long as it shall 'please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of 'his Word by other, than he hath done by me a weak 'Vessel. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, 'and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods 'Word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not 'oppressed by any force and violence. *Written at* Con- 'stance, *the year of our Lord*, 1415.

Another right godly Letter of *John Hus* to a certain Priest, admonishing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Ministers.

A worthy Letter for all Ministers and Prelates.

THe peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. My dear Brother be diligent in preaching the Gospel, and do the work of a good Evangelist; neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed Souldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to other in well-doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings; correct Vice and set forth Ver-

{KING Eliz. 5.}

tue. To evil Livers threaten eternal punishment; but to those that be faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and frustful, prudently understanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that be uncertain and doubtful, lest that your Adversaries take hold upon you, which rejoyce in deproving their Brethren, whereby they may bring the Ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their Faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the Body and Blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy Communion. And I warn you that you enter into no Taverns with Guests, and be not a common Company-keeper. For the more a Preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, wheresoever you may profit other. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; For that is the raging Beast, which devoureth men, for whom the Flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloved, I beseech you to fly Fornication; for whereas a man would most profit and do good, there this Vice doth most to lurk. In any case fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; For S. Austin *saith*, The more devout he is, the more proclive to wantonness, and under the pretence of Religion the snare and venome of Fornication lurketh. *And this know my welbeloved, that the Conversation with them subverteth many, whom the Conversation of this World could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no Women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, fear God and keep his Precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the Flesh, overcome the World, and overcome the Devil; so shall you put on God, find life, and confirm other, and shall crown your self with the Crown of Glory, the which the just Judge shall give you.* Amen.

S. Augustine lamenteth not here of the common fort of light people.

This Letter of John Hus *containeth a confession of the infirmity of mans flesh, how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit. Wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.*

This Paleræ was the chiefest enemy of John Hus, and procurer of his death.

'HEalth be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend, 'I know that *Paleræ* came to me to perswade me 'that I should not fear the flame of abjuration, but to con- 'fider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, '*That the flame of condemnation and burning is greater 'than to abjure*; and why should I fear then that flame? 'But I pray you tell me plainly your mind: Presuppose 'that such Articles were laid to you, which you knew your 'self not to be true; what would you do in that case? 'would you abjure? Who answered, *The case is sore, and began to weep.* Many other things he spake which I did 'reprehend. *Michael de Causis* was sometimes before in 'the prison with the Deputies. And when I was with the 'Deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the Keepers, *We 'by the Grace of God will burn this Heretick shortly, for 'whose cause I have spent many Florens.* But yet under- 'stand that I write not this to the intent to revenge any 'of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God 'for him with all my heart.

Michael de Causis another bitter enemy of John Hus, prayeth for his enemies.

'Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our 'Letters. For *Michael* hath taken such order, that none 'shall be suffered to come into the prison; no nor yet the 'Keepers wives are permitted to come to me. O holy 'God, how largely doth *Antichrist* extend his power and 'cruelty? But I trust that his Power shall be shortned, and 'his Iniquity shall be detected more and more amongst the 'faithful people.

A Prophesie of S. Hus.

'Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his Faithful, 'whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the 'world, that they may receive the eternal Crown of Glory. 'And let *Antichrist* rage so much as he will, yet he shall 'not prevail against Christ, which shall destroy him with 'the spirit of his mouth, as the Apostle saith; and then 'shall the Creature be delivered out of servitude of corrup- 'tion, into the liberty of the glory of the Sons of God, as 'saith the Apostle in the words following. *We also within*

'our

'our selves do groan, waiting for the Adoption of the Sons
'of God, the redemption of our Body.
'I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour,
'*Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate*
'*you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as*
'*execrable, for the Son of man: Rejoyce and be glad, for*
'*behold, great is your reward in Heaven*, Luke 6. O wor-
'thy, yea O most worthy Consolation, which not to un-
'derstand, but to practise in time of Tribulation, is a hard
'Lesson.

'This rule Saint *James*, with the other Apostles, did
'well understand, which saith, *Count it exceeding joy my*
'*Brethren, when ye shall fall into divers temptations,*
The exam- 'knowing that the probation of your Faith worketh Pati-
ple of Christ 'ence; let Patience have her perfect work. For certainly
'it is a great matter for a man to rejoyce in trouble, and to
'take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light mat-
'ter it is to speak it and to expound it; but a great matter
'to fulfil it. For why? our most patient and most valiant
'Champion himself, knowing that he should arise again
'the third day, overcoming his Enemies by his death, and
'redeeming from damnation his Elect after his last Sup-
'per, was troubled in Spirit, and said, *My Soul is heavy*
'*unto death*. Of whom also the Gospel saith, *That he be-*
'*gan to fear to be sad and heavy*. Who being then in
'an Agony, was confirmed of the Angel, and his sweat
'was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And
'yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his
'Disciples, *Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the*
'*cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me*
'*with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of*
'*your Persecutors*. Whereupon those his Souldiers, look-
'ing upon the Prince and King of Glory, sustained great
'Conflicts. They passed thorow fire and water, and were
'saved, and received the Crown of the Lord God, of the
'which Saint *James* in his Canonical Epistle, saith, *Blef-*
'*sed is the man [suffereth temptation, for when he shall be*
'*proved, he shall receive the Crown of life, which God*
'*hath promised to them that love*. Of this Crown I trust
'stedfastly the Lord will make me a partaker also with you,
'which be the fervent Sealers of the Truth, and with all
'them which stedfastly and constantly do love the Lord
'Jesus Christ, which suffered for us, leaving to us exam-
'ple that we should follow his steps. *It behoved him to*
'*suffer*, as he saith, and us also it behoved to suffer, that
'the Members may suffer together with the Head. For he
'saith, *If any man will come after me, let him deny him-*
'*self, and take up his Cross, and follow me*.

The Prayer of John Hus to Christ. 'O most merciful Christ, draw us weak Creatures af-
'ter thee, for except thou should draw us, we are not able
'to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be
'ready, and although the Flesh be feeble, yet let thy
'Grace go before us, go with us, and follow us; for
'without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter
'into the cruel death for thy sake. Give us that prompt
'and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm
'hope and perfect charity, that we may give our lives
'patiently and joyfully for thy Names sake, *Amen*. Writ-
'ten in prison in bonds in the Vigil of S. *John the Baptist*,
'who being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of
'wickedness, was beheaded.

¶ Among divers other Letters of *John Hus*, which he wrote to the great Consolation of others; I thought also here to intermix another certain godly Letter written out of *England*, by a faithful Scholar of *Wickliff*, as appeareth unto *John Hus* and the *Bohemians*, which for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A Letter to John Hus, *and to the* Bohemians *from* London.

A zealous Letter to John Hus from London. 'GReeting, and whatsoever can be devised more
'sweet, in the bowels of Christ Jesus. My dearly
'beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not
'I only, but also all they that have the Knowledge of the
'Truth; which abideth in you, and shall be with you
'through the Grace of God for evermore. I rejoyced
'above measure, when our beloved Brethren came and
'gave testimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked
'in the truth; I have heard Brethren how sharply *Anti-*
'*christ* persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful Servants of
'Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And
'surely no marvel, it amongst you (since it is so almost all the
'world over) the Law of Christ be too too grievously im-
'pugned, and that red Dragon having so many heads (of
'whom it is spoken in the *Apocalyps*) have now vomited
'out of his mouth that great Flood, by which he goeth
'about to swallow up the Woman; but the most gracious
'God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful
'Spouse. Let us therefore comfort our selves in the Lord
'our God, and in his unmeasurable goodness, hoping
'strongly in him, which will not suffer those that love him
'to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we
'according to our duty shall love him with all our heart;
'for adversity should by no means prevail over us, if there
'were no iniquity reigning in us. Let therefore no tribu-
'lation or sorrow for Christs cause discourage us, knowing
'this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth
'to receive to be his Children, those he scourgeth; for so
'the merciful Father will have them tried in this miserable
'life by perfections, that afterwards he may spare them. For
'the gold that this high Artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and
'trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his
'pure treasury. For we see that the time we shall abide here
'is short and transitory; the life which we hope for after this
'is blessed and everlasting. Therefore whilst we have time,
'let us take pain that we may enter into that rest. What
'other thing do we see in this brittle life, than sorrow, hea-
'viness and sadness, and that which is most grievous of all
'to the Faithful, too much abuting and contempt of the
'Law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour our selves,
'as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are
'eternal and abiding, despising in our minds all transitory
'and frail things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our
'Fathers that have gone before us. Let us consider the
Examples of the old Martyrs. 'Saints of the *Old* and *New Testament*. Did they not pass
'through this Sea of Tribulation and Persecution? were the
'not some of them cut in pieces, otherwise stoned, and
'other of them killed with the Sword? some others of
'them went about in Pelts and Goats skins, as the Apostle
'to the *Hebrews* witnesseth. Surely they all walked strait-
'ways, following the steps of Christ, which said, *He that*
'*ministreth unto me, let him follow me wheresoever I go*,
'*&c*. Therefore let us also, which have so noble Examples
'given us of the Saints that went before us, laying away, as
'much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke of sin
'which compasseth us about, run forward through patience,
'to the battel that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the
'Author of Faith, and Jesus the Finisher of the same; who,
'seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the pains of
'the Cross, despising death. Let us call upon him, which
'suffered such reproach against himself of Sinners, that we
'be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may
'heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight against
'his Adversary *Antichrist*; that we may love his Law, and
'not be deceitful Labourers, but that we may deal faithfully
'in all things, according to that which God hath vouch-
'safed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the
'Lords Cause, under hope of an everlasting Reward. Be-
'hold therefore Brother *Hus*, most dearly beloved in Christ,
'although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love
'(for distance of places cannot separate those whom the
'love of Christ doth effectually knit together) be comforted
'in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good
'Souldier of Christ Jesus, preach, be instant in word and in
'example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of
'truth; for the truth of the Gospel is not to be kept in
'silence, because of the frivolous Censures and Thunderbolts
'of *Antichrist*. And therefore to the uttermost of thy power,
'strengthen thou and confirm the Members of Christ, which
'are weakned by the Devil; and if the Lord will vouchsafe
'it, *Antichrist* shall shortly come to an end. And there
'is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoyce, that in your
'Realm and in other places God hath stirred up the hearts
'of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the Word of
'God, Imprisonment, Banishment and Death.

'Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you,
'but I confess that I could wish to pour out my whole
'heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the Law of the
'Lord. Also I salute from the bottom of my heart all the
'faithful

KING Hen. 5. 'faithful Lovers of the Law of the Lord, and specially *Ja-*
'*cobellus* your Coadjutor in the Gospel, requiring that he
'will pray unto the Lord for me in the universal Church
'of Jesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised
'from the dead the Shepherd of the sheep, the mighty Lord
'Jesus Christ, make you apt in all goodness, to do his will,
'working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight.
'All your Friends salute you which have heard of your
'constancy, I would desire also to see your Letters written
'back to us, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort
'us.

At London *by your Servant, desiring to be*
Fellow with you in your Labours
Ricus Wichewitze, *Priest unworthy.*

Another Letter of John Hus *to his Friends of* Boheme.

'THe Lord God be with you. I love the counsel of the
'Lord above gold and precious stone. Wherefore I
'trust in the mercy of Jesus Christ, that he will give me
'his Spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, *For the*
'*spirit is ready, and the flesh is weak*. The Lord Almighty
'be the eternal reward unto my Lords, which constantly,
'firmly and faithfully do stand for righteousness; to whom
'the Lord God shall give in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, to
'know the truth. For the following of which truth, ne-
'cessary it is that they return again into *Boheme*, setting
'apart all vain-glory, and following not a mortal and mi-
'serable King, but the King of Glory which giveth eternal
'life.

'O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of Lord
'*John de Clum* unto me, which was not ashamed to reach
'forth his hand to me a Wretch, and such an abject He-
'retick, lying in fetters of Iron, and cried out upon all men!
'Now peradventure I shall not speak much hereafter with
'you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them all
'the faithful of *Boheme*.

'*Paletz* came to me into prison. His salutation in my
'vehement infirmity was this before the Commissaries,
'that there hath not risen a more perilous Heretick since
'Christ was born, than was *Wickliff* and I. Also he said,
'*That all such as came to hear my talk were infected with*
'*this Heresie, to think that the substance of bread remained*
'*in the Sacrament of the Altar*. To whom I answered and
'said, O *Master what a grievous Salvation have you*
'*given me, and how greatly do you sin? Behold I shall*
'*die, or peradventure to morrow shall be burnt; And what*
'*reward shall be recompenced to you in* Boheme *for your*
'*labour*.

'This thing peradventure I should not have written, lest
'I might seem to hate him. I have always had this in my
'heart, *Trust not in Princes, &c*. And again, *Cursed be the*
'*man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arm*.
'For God take be you circumspect how you stand and
'how you return. Carry no Letters with you. Direct your
'Books not all by one, but diversly by divers Friends.

'Know this for certain, that I have had great conflicts
The visions of John Hus by dreams. 'by dreams, in such sort as I had much ado to refrain from
'crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes escape before he
'went. And after the Lord *John* had told me thereof,
'immediately in the night it was told me, That the Pope
'should return to you again. And afterward also I dream-
'ed of the apprehending of Master *Jerome*, although not
'in full manner as it was done. All the prisonments, whi-
'ther and how I am carried, were opened to me before,
'although not fully after the same form and circumstance.
'Many Serpents oftentimes appeared unto me, having
'heads also in their tail; but none of them could bite me,
'and many other things more.

A Prophesie of Master Hieroms of Prague. 'These things I write, not esteeming my self as a Pro-
'phet, or that I acted my self, but only to signifie unto you
'what temptations I had in body and also in mind, and
'what great fear I had, left I should transgress the Com-
'mandment of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now I remember
'with my self the words of Master *Jerome*, which said,
'*That if I should come to the Council, he thought I should*
'*never return home again*. In like manner there was a
This Taylors name was Andrew a Polonian. 'good and godly man, a Taylor, which taking his leave of
'me at *Prague*, spake to me in these words, *God be with*
'*you* (said he) *for I think verily, my dear and good Master*
'John, *that you shall not return again to us with your life*.
'*The King, not of* Hungary, *but of Heaven, reward you*
'*with all goodness, for the faithful Doctrine which I at*
'*your hands received, &c*.

¶ And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also unto them another Prophetical Vision of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the Church, written in his forty fourth Epistle, the Contents whereof be these.

Another Letter of *John Hus*, sent to the Lord *John de Clum*.

I Pray you expound to me the dream of this night, I saw how that in my Church of Bethlehem *they came to race and put out all the Images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and saw many Painters, which painted and made more fairer Images, and many more than I had done before, which Images I was very glad and joyful to behold. And the Painters, with much people about them, said,* Let the Bishops and Priests come now, and put us out these Pictures. *Which being done, much people seemed to me in* Bethlehem *to rejoyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith felt my self to laugh, &c*.

Prophesie. ¶ This Vision Lord *John de Clum*, and *John Hus* himself in his Book of Epistles in the forty fifth Epistle seemeth to expound, and applieth the Images of Christ unto the preaching of Christ and of his life. The which preaching and Doctrine of Christ, though the Pope and his Cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same Doctrine should be revived again by others, so plenteously, that the Pope with all his Power should not be able to prevail against it. Thus much as concerning this Vision of *J. Hus*. Whereunto doth well accord the Prophesie of *Jerome* of *Prague*, printed in the Coin called *Moneta Hussi*; of the which Coin I have my self one of the Plates having this Superscription following printed about it; *Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi*, that is, after an hundred years come and gone, you shall give account to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Furthermore, in the 48th Epistle the said *J. Hus* seeming to speak with the like Spirit of Prophetie, hath these words following, *Sed ibero, quod quæ dixi sub tecto, prædicabuntur super tecta*: That is, but I trust that those things which I have spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached upon the top of the house. Prophesie.

And because we are here in hand with the Prophesies of *John Hus*, it shall serve well in place, here moreover to record his words in a certain Treatise by him written, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominatione*; wherein the said *John Hus*, speaking prophetically of the Reformation of the Church, hath these words following, *Ex istis ulterius adverte incidentaliter, quod Dei Ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci, &c*.

That is in English.

Prophesie. Moreover, hereupon note and mark by the way, that the Church of God cannot be reduced to his former Dignity, or be reformed, before all things first be made new. The truth whereof is plain by the Temple of *Solomon*. Like as the Clergy and Priests, so also the people are guilty: Or else unless all such as now be addict to errors, from the least to the most, be first converted and reclaimed, as well the people as Clergy and Priests. Albeit as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new Clerks and Priests shall come, and be taken; which all shall hate covetousness, and the glory of this life, hastening to an heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to pass, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lien in their vices, to amend, and fly from the face of the Lords fury, while that in like manner the carnal people, and carnal Priests successively and in time shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth, &c.

Another

Another Letter of *John Hus.*

After Martin *my dear Brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord that you fear God, keep his Commandments, and flee the company of women, and beware of bearing their confession, lest by the hypocrisie of women Satan deceive you; trust not their devotion. You know how I have detested the avarice and the inordinate life of the Clergy; wherefore through the Grace of God I suffer now Persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me, neither do I fear to have my heart poured out for the Name of Christ Jesus; I desire you heartily be not greedy in seeking after Benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any Cure in the Country, let the Honour of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the travel thereof move you thereunto, and not the having of the Living or the Commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such Benefice, beware you have no young Woman for your Cook or Servant, lest you edifie and increase more your House than your Soul. See that you be a builder of your spiritual House, being gentle to the Poor and humble of mind, and waste not your Goods in great fare. I fear also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous Apparel, lest you shall be grievously chastised, as I also wretched man shall be punished, which have used the like, being seduced by custom of evil men and worldly glory, whereby I have been wounded against God with the Spirit of Pride. And because you have notably known both my preaching and outward Conversation even from my Youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to desire you for the mercy of Jesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such levity and lightness, which you have seen in me. You knew how before my Priesthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at Chess, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both my Father and other to anger many times by that play. Wherefore besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to invocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and so direct my life, that having overcome the wickedness of this present Life, the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, I may find place in the heavenly Countrey, at the least in the day of Judgment. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, with all of them which keep his Law. My grey Coat, if you will, keep to your self for my remembrance, but I think you are ashamed to wear that grey colour; therefore you may give it to whom you shall think good. My white Coat you shall give the Minister* N. *my Scholar. To* George *or else to* Zuzikon *sixty Groats, or else my grey Coat, for he hath faithfully served me.*

Note that then Priests were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoid the company of Women.

He repenteth his gay Garments.

He repenteth his playing at the Chess.

John Hus from his gay Garments cometh to his white Coat.

¶ The Superscription.

I pray you that you do not open this Letter, before you be sure and certain of my death.

The Consolation of Master *Jerome* to Master *Hus.*

Master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached after the Law of God against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate Vices of the Priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous Doctrine wherein he was culpable.

BY the Life, Acts and Letters of *John Hus* hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain, that he was condemned not for any error of Doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their Popish Transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the Church of *Rome*, if it were well governed, nor yet the seven Sacraments, and also said Master himself, and almost in all their Popish opinions was a *Papist* with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious Adversaries, because he spake against the Pomp, Pride and Avarice, and other wicked Enormities of the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates of the Church, and because he could not abide the high Dignities and Livings of the Church, and thought the doings of the Pope to be *Antichrist*-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false Witnesses against him. Who straining and picking matter out of his Books and Writings, having no one just Article of Doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him an Heretick, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charity (good Reader) may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story; I beseech thee then, what cause had *John Cochleus* to write his twelve Books against *J. Hus* and *Husites*? In which Books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his Pen, by these few words in his second Book thou mayst take a little taste: which words I thought here briefly to place in *English*, to the end that all *Englishmen* may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these Catholicks be carried. His words be these, *Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur* Joan. Hus *neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius, &c.* That is, I say therefore *John Hus* is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; insomuch that in the day of Judgment, it shall be more easie, not only with the infidel *Pagans, Turks, Tartarians* and *Jews*, but also with the most sinful *Sodomites*, and the abominable *Persians*, which most filthily do lie with their Daughters, Sisters, or Mother, yea and also with most impious *Cain*, Killer of his own Brother, with *Thiestes*, Killer of his own Mother, and the *Lestrygones* and other *Anthropophagi*, which devour mans flesh; yea more easie with those infamous Murderers of Infants, *Pharaoh* and *Herod*, than with him, &c. These be the words of *Cochleus*. Whose railing Books although they deserve neither to be read, nor answered, yet if it please God, it were to be wished, that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this *J. Hus*, which cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfie or slay the Readers mind against this immoderate *Hyperbole* of *Cochleus*, in like few words I will bring out *John Hus* to speak and to clear himself against this slander: whose words in his Book *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum abominatione desolationis*, pag. 84. &c. I beseech the Reader to note, *Nam & ista scribens Fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis peruget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Jesu Crucifixi, &c.* That is, For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weakness and vileness) I covet to bear in my self, beseeching him so to give me Grace, that I never seek to glory in my self, or in any thing else, but only in his Cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his Passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speak these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as unfainedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary will mislike not a little all such as be of *Antichrist*. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he by his inward unction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as *S. Augustine* and *Hieronie* do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and Writings of the Apostles, Evangelists and Prophets, and to the Canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholsome utility, &c. And here place also would require something to say to *Aeneas Sylvius*, to *Antoninus*, and to *Laziardus*, which fally impute Articles to him, which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master *Jerome* of *Prague*.

* *The tragical and lamentable History of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Christ, Master* Jerome *of* Prague, *burned at* Constance *for like cause and quarrel as Master* John Hus *was, 1416.*

THese things hitherto being discourst, touching the life, acts and constant martyrdom of Master *John Hus*, with part also of his Letters adjoyned to the same, whose death was on the sixth of *July, Anno 1416.* now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian Companion and Fellow in bands

The story of Jerome of Prague.

{KING Hus. 5.} Jerome cometh to Constance.

bands Master *Jerome* of *Prague*. Who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his Country of *Boheme*, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory, Master *John Hus*; freely and of his own accord came unto *Constance* the fourth day of *April*, 1415. Who there perceiving that *John Hus* was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to *Iberling* a City of the Empire, until the next day; the which City was a mile off from *Constance*, and from thence he wrote his Letters by me unto *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* and his Barons, and also unto the Council, most earnestly requiring that the King and the Council would give him a safe Conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open Audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the Council that would lay any Crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

The safe conduct was required, but in vain, of the Emperor.

When as the said King of *Hungary* was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the Lord Cardinal of *Cambray*, he denied to give Master *Jerome* any safe conduct, excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of *John Hus* before, and alledging also certain other causes. The Deputies also of the four Nations of the Council being moved thereunto by the Lords of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, answered, *We* (say they) *will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart.* Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master *Jerome*, he the next day after wrote certain Intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he sent unto *Constance* to be set upon the Gates of the City, and upon the Gates of the Churches and Monasteries, and of the houses of the Cardinals, and other Nobles and Prelates. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

The intimation of Jerome, set up in divers places of the Town of Constance.

Unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund, *by the Grace of God King of the* Romans, *always* Augustus, *and of* Hungary, &c. I Jerome of Prague, *Master of Art of the general Universities of* Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg, *and* Prague, *by these my present Letters do notifie unto the King, together with the whole reverend Council, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand, and know, that because of the crafty Slanderers, Backbiters and Accusers, I am ready freely and of mine will, to come unto* Constance, *there to declare openly before the Council, the purity and sincerity of my true Faith, and mine Innocency, and not secretly in Corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my Slanderers, of what Nation or Estate soever they be, which will object against me any Crime of Error or Heresie; let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole Council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publickly before the whole Council, of mine Innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true Faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in Error or Heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or an Heretick.*

Wherefore I most humbly beseech my Lord the King, and the whole sacred Council, That I may have to the end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I offering such Equity and Right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole World, that this general Council doth not proceed according to Equity and Justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait Justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy Council of wise men.

Jerome apprehended in the way by Duke John. Michael de Causis, and Palecz, counsels to Jerome.

Safe conduct denied to Jerome.

WHen as yet he through such Intimations copied out in the *Bohemian, Latin*, and *German*-Tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe Conduct, then the Nobles, Lords, and Knights specially of the *Bohemian* Nation, present in *Constance*, gave unto Master *Jerome* their Letters Patents, confirmed with their Seals for a Testimony and Witness of the premisses. With the which Letters the said Master *Jerome* returned again unto

Jerome returneth toward Bohemia, with the testimonials of the Lords of Bohemia.

Boheme; but by the Treason and Conspiracy of his Enemies he was taken in *Hirsaw* by the Officers of Duke *John*, and in *Zultzbach* was brought back again to the presence of the Duke. In the mean time such as were the Setters forward of the Council against Master *John Hus*, and Master *Jerome*; that is to say, *Michael de Causis*, and Master *Palesz.*, and other their Accomplices required that the said Master *Jerome* should be cited by reason of his Intimations, and certain days after the citation here under-written was set upon the Gates and Porches of the City and Churches, which followeth here in this manner:

Jerome of Prague cited by the Council when he was taken.

¶ *This most sacred and holy Synod and General Council of* Constance, *faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal Militant-Church, unto* Jerome of Prague, *which writeth himself to be a Master of Art of so many Universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto Sobriety and Modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain Writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine own person upon the Gates of the Churches and City of* Constance, *upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the Church of God, Quasi modo geniti. Wherein thou dost affirm, That thou wilt openly answer unto thy Accusers and Slanderers which shall object any Crime, Error or Heresie against thee, whereof thou art marvelously infamed and accused before us, and specially touching the Doctrine of* Wickliff, *and other Doctrines contrary unto the Catholick Faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But forsomuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty Foxes which go about to destroy the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenour of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold Errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third, We do ordain and appoint by Canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the publick Sessions of the sacred Council, if there be any holden in the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when as any Session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy Faith, and to receive and have as Justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as Catholick Faith shall require; We offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe conduct from all violence (Justice always being saved;) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, Process shall go forward against thee by the said Sacred Council, or by their Commissary or Commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept; thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding.* Given in the sixth Session of the General Council, the seventeenth day of *April*, under the Seal of the Presidents of the four Nations.

This Duke John in Silesia is commonly called the Son of Clemmet. Jerome is brought bound unto Constance by Duke John.

¶ Grumpert *Faber, Notary of the* Germans.

AFter that *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, with the rest of the Council, understood by the foresaid Duke *John*, that Master *Jerome* was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master *Jerome* should be brought before them unto the Council. The which Duke *John*, after he had received Letters of the King, and the Council, brought Master *Jerome* bound unto *Constance*, whom his Brother Duke *Ludovicus* led thorow the City to the Cloyster of the Friers *Minors* in *Constance*, whereas the chief Priests and Elders of the people, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, were gathered together; attending and waiting for his coming. He the said Master *Jerome* carried a great handbolt of Iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after Duke *Ludovicus* aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with

with the which chain they also kept him bound in the Cloyster. When he was brought into the Cloyster, they read before him the Letter of Duke *John*, which was sent with the said Master *Jerome* unto the Council, containing in effect, how that the said Duke *John* had sent Master *Jerome* unto the Council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the Heresies of *Wickliff*; that the Council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth, besides many other flattering Tales which were written in the said Letter for the praise of the Council. After this they read the Citation which was given out by the Council against Master *Jerome*, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the Bishops said unto him, *Jerome, why didst thou fly and run away, and didst not appear when thou was cited?* He answered, *Because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the King, as it appeareth by these Letters Patents of the Barons, which you have, neither by mine open Intimations could I obtain any safe conduct.*

The Council neither would give him liberty safely to come nor freely to go

Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy Friends to be here present in the Council, would not my self be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this Citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Boheme, *I would have returned again.* Then all the whole Rabble rising up, alledged divers and sundry Accusations and Testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spoke Master *Gerson* the Chancellor of *Paris*, *Jerome, when thou was at* Paris *thou thoughtest thy self by means of thy Eloquence to be an Angel, and didst trouble the whole University, alledging openly in the Schools many erroneous Conclusions with their* corolaria, *and especially in the question* de universalibus & de Ideis, *with many other very offensive questions.* Unto whom Master *Jerome* said, *I answer to you Master* Gerson; *Those matters which I did put forth there in the Schools at* Paris, *in the which also I answered to the Arguments of the Masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a Philosopher, and Master of the University; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same.*

M. Jerome was argued by Mr. Gerson, with commendation of his Eloquence. Gerson reproveth matters.

The Master of the University of Cullen. This man would accuse, but he lacked matter.

Whiles he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the Master of the University of *Cullen* upon the River of *Rheine*) rising up, said, *When thou was also at* Cullen, *in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters.* Then said Master *Jerome* unto him, *Shew me first one Error which I propounded.* Wherewithall he being in a manner astonished, said, *I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you.*

The Master of the University of Heidelberg.

And by and by the third man rising up, said, *When that you were also at* Heidelberg, *you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain Shield or Scutchine, comparing the Trinity of Persons in divinity unto Water, Snow and Ice, and such like.* Unto whom Master *Jerome* answered, *Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same.*

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Then certain cried out, *Let him be burned, let him be burned.* Unto whom he answered, *If my death do delight or please you, In the Name of God let it be so.*

Then said the Archbishop of *Salisburg*; *Not so Master* Jerome, *forsomuch as it is written, I will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* When these and many other Tumults and Cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outragiously witness against him, they delivered the said Master *Jerome*, being bound, unto the Officers of the said City of *Constance*, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to their Lodgings.

Jerome is comforted by the Nuncy.

In the mean time, one of the Friends of Master *John Hus*, looking out at a window of the Cloister, said unto him, *Master* Jerome. Then said he, *You are welcome my dear Brother.* Then said *Peter* unto him, *Be constant and fear not to suffer death for the Truth sake, of the which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness.* Unto whom *Jerome* answered, *Truly Brother I do not fear death, and forsomuch as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past; let us now see what may be known or done in effect.* By and by his Keepers coming to the window, threatning him with strokes, did put away the said *Peter* from the window of the Cloister. {KING Hen. 5.}

Then came there one *Vitus* unto Master *Jerome*, and said, *Master, how do you do?* Unto whom he answered, *Truly Brother, I do very well.* Then his Keepers coming about him laid hold of the said *Vitus*, saying, *This is also one of the number, and kept him.* When it drew towards evening, the Archbishop of *Rigen* sent certain of his Servants which led away Master *Jerome*, being strongly bound with chains, both by the Hands and by the Neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain Tower of the City in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard, where they tying him fast unto a great Block, and his Feet in the Stocks, his Hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; whereas the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his Head must hang downward. They carried also the said *Vitus* unto the Archbishop of *Rigen*, who demanded of him, *Why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man being a Reprobate of all men, and an Heretick*: and when as he could find no cause of Imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master *John de Clums* Friend (taking an Oath and Promise of him, that he should not go about to endamage the Council by reason of that Imprisonment and Captivity) so dismissed him and sent him away.

Re in de litte ra. Lucæ. 22. Vitus the Companion of John de Clum.

Jerome finally bound hand and foot.

Vitus had to the Archbishop of Rigen.

Vitus bound by Oath.

Master *Jerome*, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said Tower two days and two nights, relieved only with Bread and Water. Then one of his Keepers, coming unto Master *Peter*, declared unto him how that Master *Jerome* lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master *Peter* desired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, because he would procure the same unto him. The Keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell sore sick even unto the death. When as he living then in that captivity and prison, delired to have a Confessor, they of the Council denied that he should have any, until such time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his Friends being then there present in the same Prison and Tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.

Jerome standing in the stocks was fed with bread and water. Peter bringeth meat to Jerom.

Jerome is great sick, faith asketh a Confessor.

Master Jerome was kept in prison the space of one year.

After they had put *John Hus* to death, then about the Feast of the Nativity of *Mary* the Virgin, they brought forth Master *Jerome*, whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the Church of S. *Paul's* and threatning him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master *John Hus*, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make Abjuration, and that in the Cathedral-Church and open Session, the draught whereof penned to him by the *Papists*, here ensueth.

¶ *The Abjuration of Master* Hierome *of* Prague.

The forced Abjuration of Hierome.

I Hierome of Prague, *Master of Art, acknowledging the Catholick Church, and the Apostolick Faith, do accurse and renounce all Heresies, and specially that wherof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past* John Hus *and* John Wickliff *have holden and taught in their Works, Treatises and Sermons, made unto the people and Clergy; for the which cause the said* Wickliff *and* Hus, *together with the said Doctrines and Errors, are condemned by this Synod of* Constance *as Hereticks, and all the said Doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain Articles expressed in the Sentences and Judgments given against them by this sacred Council.*

Also I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of Rome, *the Apostolick Seat in this sacred Council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching*

{KING Hen. 5.} *touching all things, and specially as touching the Keys, Sacraments, Orders, and Offices, and Ecclesiastical Censures, of Pardons, Reliques of Saints, Ecclesiastical liberty, also Ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Christian Religion, as the Church of* Rome, *the Apostolick See, and this Sacred Council do profess: and specially that many of the said Articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reproved by the holy Fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous; some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were counted the Articles lately condemned by the Sacred Council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular Catholick men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain any of the said Articles, under pain of being accursed.*

And I the said Hierome, *forsomuch as I have laboured by Scholastical arts to persuade the opinion, de* Universalibus realibus, *and that one substance of the common kind should signifie many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as Saint* Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, *do affirm, and likewise others; for the teaching hereof by a plain example I described as it were a certain Triangle, form or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.*

Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which peradventure some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith to that intent or purpose, that I would extoll or prefer the opinion of Universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the Catholick Faith could not be defended or maintained, when as I my self would not obstinately stick thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the Triangle or form, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects or persons in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Article of the which Trinity is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the Catholick truth.

Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Hus; *I signifie unto all men by these presents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his Sermons, and also in the Schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the Traditions of our Holy Mother the Church, or holy Doctors; insomuch as when I was lately in this City, and the Articles which I affirmed were shewed unto me, which were also condemned by the Sacred Council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the least not in that form. But when as I had further understood by certain famous Doctors and Masters of Divinity that they were his Articles, I required for my further information and satisfaction, to have the Books of his own hand-writing shewed unto me, wherein it was said those Articles were contained. The which Books when they were shewed unto me written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all, and every one of those Articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judg and think him and his Doctrine, with his adherents to be condemned and reproved by the sacred Council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premisses with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the foresaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred Council against the Doctrines of the said* John Wickliff, *and* John Hus, *and against their own persons; unto the which judgment as a devout Catholick in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.*

Hierome is made here to say not his own mind, but what pleaseth them.

Also I the foresaid Hierome, *which before the reverend Fathers the Lords Cardinals, and reverend Lords, Prelates and Doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred Council in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose amongst other things speaking of the Church, did divide the same into three parts: And as I did perceive afterward, it was understood by some that I would affirm, that in the Triumphant Church there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledg. And now also I say, affirm and declare that it was never my intent and purpose to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledg far exceeding faith. And generally whatsoever I said, either there, or at any time before, I do refer, and most humbly submit my self unto the determination of this sacred Council of* Constance.

Moreover, I do swear both by the Holy Trinity, and also by the most Holy Gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholick Church. And all such as by their Doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judg them worthy together with their Doctrines of eternal curse. And if I my self at any time (which God forbid I should) do presume to preach or teach contrary thereunto, I will submit my self unto the severity of the Canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession and tenor of my Profession willingly before this sacred General Council, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine own hand.

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithstanding kept every day with Soldiers and armed men. And when as afterward his enemies which were appointed against him, as *Michael de Causis*, *Paletz*, and others, with other their companions in these affairs, understood and knew by the words and talk of Master *Hierome*, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same Abjuration and Recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to scape their hands, they together with certain Friers of *Prague*, of the Order of *Carmelites*, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master *Hierome*, and drew the same into Articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forsomuch as his Judges, and certain Cardinals, as the Cardinal of *Cambray*, the Cardinal *de Ursinis*, the Cardinal of *Aquilegia*, and of *Florence*, considering the malice of the enemies of Master *Hierome*, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole Council for his delivery.

Jerome after his Abjuration returned into prison.

Jerome accused answer by Causis, Paletz, and the Carmelites.

The Cardinal of Cambray, with certain other Cardinals labour for the delivery of Jerome.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the Council for the delivery of the said Master *Hierome*, that the *Germans* and *Bohemians* his enemies with all force and power resisted against it, crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then start up one called Doctor *Naso*, which said unto the Cardinals, We marvel much of you most reverend Fathers, that your Reverences will make intercession for such a wicked Heretick, for whose sake we in *Boheme* with the whole Clergy have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your Fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly fear, lest that you have received some rewards either of the King of *Boheme*, or of these Hereticks. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master *Hieromes* cause and matter.

Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæsaris.

Then his enemies aforesaid obtained to have other Judges appointed, as the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and a *German* Doctor, forsomuch as they did know that the Patriarch was a grievous enemy unto Master *Hierome*, because he being before appointed Judg by the Council, had condemned *John Hus* unto death.

The Patriarch of Constantinople gave sentence of death both against Mr. Hiero. and Mr. Hieronim of Prague.

But Mr. *Hierome* would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means consent unto those private Judges. Whereupon the Presidents of the Council thinking that the said Master *Jerome* would renew his Recantation before the said Audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the 25th day of *May*, which was the *Saturday* before the Ascension of our Lord, the said Master *Jerome* was brought unto open Audience before the whole Council, to the great Cathedral Church of *Constance*, where by the Commissioners of the Council, in the behalf of his foresaid enemies, there were laid against him of new a hundred and seven Articles, to the intent that he should not scape the fraie of death, which they provided and laid for him; insomuch as the Judges had before

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declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty Articles, most subtilly objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such Articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsly and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the Articles. Wherefore for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the Articles, there was another time appointed. Which was the third day after the foresaid Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time again early in the morning he was brought unto the said Cathedral Church to answer unto all the residue of the Articles.

False witness against Hieronm.

The dexterity of Hierome in confuting his adversaries.

In all which Articles, as well those which he had answered unto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves affronted at his Oration, and refutation of their reasonings brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence: As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the Sacrament of the Altar, he answered, Before consecration (said he) it is Bread and Wine; after the consecration it is the true Body and Blood of Christ; adding withal moe words according to their Catholick Faith. Then another rising up, *Hierome*, said he, there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldest hold Bread to remain upon the Altar. To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, That he believed Bread to be at the Bakers. At which words being spoken one of the *Dominick* Friers fumishly took on, and said, What, doth thou deny, that which no man doubteth of? Whose pervish fauciness *Hierome* with these words did well repress, Hold thy peace (said he) thou Monk, thou hypocrite: And thus the Monk being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After whom started up another, who with a loud voice cried out, I swear (said he) by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny. To whom said *Hierome* again, speaking in Latin, *Hens, inquit, sic jurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est.* That is, thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his whom he called by no other name than dog, or asse. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

False witnesses.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who coming in presence gave testimony unto the Articles before produced. By reason whereof the innocent cause of *Hierome* was oppressed, and began in the Council to be concluded. Then *Hierome* rising up began to speak: Forsomuch (saith he) as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to speak for my self. Whereupon with much difficulty at last audience was given in the Council for him to say his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to noon continuing, intreated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who first beginning with his prayer to God, belought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entring into his Oration.

Audience hardly given to Hierome to speak for himself.

The Oration of Hierome had before the Council.

I Know, saith he, Reverend Lords, that there have been many excellent men, which have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments. And so beginning with *Socrates*, he declared how he was unjustly condemned of his Countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of *Plato*, the banishment of *Anaxagoras*, and the torments of *Zeno*. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of *Rutilius*, reciting also the unworthy death of *Boetius* and of others, whom *Boetius* himself doth write of.

Socrates.

Plato. Anaxagoras Zeno. Rutilius. Boetius.

From thence he came to the examples of the *Hebrews*, and first began with *Moses* the deliverer of the people, and the Law-giver, how he was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. *Joseph* also, saith he, for envy was sold of his Brethren, and *Josue*, for false suspition of whoredom was cast into bands. Besides these, he reciteth *Eliseus*, *Daniel*, and almost all the Prophets, who as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of *Susanna*, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At the length he came to *John Baptist*, and so in long process he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and *John Baptist* were condemned. Moreover, how *Stephen* was slain by the College of the Priests, and how all the Apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. It is unjust, saith he, unjustly to be condemned one Priest of another, and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that Council of Priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

Kings 1 *Hen.* 5.

Josue. *Eliseus.* *Daniel.* The Prophets. *Susanna.* John Baptist. Christ. The Apostles.

And forasmuch as all the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expresly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no truft was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood touching the Popes Doctrine. All mens minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he of his own accord came up to the Council, and to purge himself he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godliness. This was (saith he) the old manner of ancient and learned men, and most holy Elders, that in matters of Faith, they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the Faith, but to find out the verity. So did *Augustine* and *Jerome* dissent, not only being divers; but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspition of heresie.

The false Witness of Hierom refuted.

All this while the Popes holy Council did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himself, and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the Council. But he perfisting still in his constant Oration, did acknowledg no error, nor gave any signification of retractation.

At last entring into the praise and commendation of Master *John Hus*, he affirmed that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaft and sober man, and a just and true Preacher of the holy Gospel; and whatsoever things Master *John Hus* and *Wickliff* had holden or written, especially against the abuse and pomp of the Clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men, and that in all points of the Catholick Faith he doth believe as the holy Catholick Church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such Articles as *John Wickliff* and *John Hus* had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp and disorder of the Prelates, he would firmly and stedfastly, without recantation hold and defend even unto the death. And last of all he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when as in his recantation he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his Doctrine, and specially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death: And moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lyed upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

Hierome commendeth the life and believeth the death of John Hus.

Hierome recanteth his speaking against John Hus.

And

Kings 1 *Hen.* 5.

And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And perfisting in the praise of *John Hus*, he added moreover, that he never maintained any Doctrine against the state of the Church, but only spake against the abuses of the Clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the Prelates. Forsomuch as the Patrimonies of the Churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches; it was a grief to that good man (said he) to see the same mispent and cast away upon Harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things unbeseeming Christian Religion. And herein he shewed himself marvellous eloquent; yea never more.

He never maintained any Doctrine against the Church of Rome, but only spake against their naughty life.

And when his Oration was interrupted many times by divers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which scaped unblanckt, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When no noise began, he ceased to speak, and after began again, proceeding in his Oration, and desiring them to give him leave a while to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more, neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

Hierome did put them to silence.

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred forty days, having neither Book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirable his memory served him: Declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanity towards him.

Jerome in prison 340 days. The excellent memory in Mr. Hierome.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, they which sat in the Council whispered together, saying, By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself. Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms and feet, with great chains and fetters of Iron.

Mr. Hierome brought again before the Councel.

The *Saturday* next before the *Ascension*-day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the Cathedral Church before the open Congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of Master *John Wickliff*, and Master *John Hus*, confirming and establishing their Doctrine, he would yet recant the same: But he marvellous stoutly without all fear spake against them, and amongst other things said unto them, I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the Articles of the Faith, as the holy Catholick Church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain Articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

Mr. Hierome boldeth all the Articles of the Catholick Church.

The Eloquence of Mr. Hierome.

Then a certain Bishop, named the Bishop of *Londy*, made a certain Sermon exhortative against Master *Hierome*, persuading to his condemnation.

After the Bishop had ended the said Sermon, Master *Hierome* said again unto them, You shall condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I after my death will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts: *Et cito vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo & justissimo Judice post centum annos.* That is, And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years.

The Prophesie of Mr. Hierome.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and Philosophically had spoken in the said Audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no means he might be perswaded to recant the premisses, immediately even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

The sentence read 3 ages an't Mr. Hierome.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. Christ our God, and our Saviour being the true Vine, whose Father is the Husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithful men, saying, *If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry*, &c. The Doctrine and precepts of which most excellent Doctor and Master this most Sacred Synod of *Constance* executing and following in the cause of inquisition against Hereticks, being moved by this said Sacred Synod, through report, publick fame, and open infamation, proceeding against *Hierome* of *Prague*, Master of Art, Lay-man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master *Hierome* hath holden, maintained, and taught divers Articles heretical and erroneous, lately reproved and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, othersome offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, the which are also written in divers of their Works and Books. Which Articles of Doctrine and Books of the said *John Hus*, and *John Wickliff*, together with their memory, and the person of the said *John Hus*, were by the said sacred Synod condemned of Heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this *Hierome* afterward during the time of Inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synod, and approved the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, thereunto consenting, accurling all Heresie, (specially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past *John Hus* and *John Wickliff* maintained and taught in their Works, Sermons, and Books, for the which the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, together with their Doctrine and Errors, were by the said sacred Synod as heretical condemned. The condemnation of all which the premisses he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith. And if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession written with his own hand, he delivered up unto the holy Council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poyson which had long lurked and lyen hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Council. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synod, being publickly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and that he had most shamefully lyed in approving and allowing the said sentence, neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lyed; yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresie in the Books and Treatises of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their Books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master *Hierome* did profess as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Transubstantiation of the Bread into the Body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the Church doth hold and believe, saying also that he doth give more credit unto Saint *Augustine*, and the other Doctors of the Church, than unto *Wickliff* and *Hus*. It appeareth moreover by the premisses, that the said *Hierome* is an adherent and maintainer of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and their Errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synod determineth the said Master *Hierome* as a rotten and withered

branch, not growing upon the Vine, to be cut off and caſt out. The ſaid Synod alſo pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an Heretick and drowned in all kind of Hereſies, excommunicate and accurſed, leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the ſecular Judg, to receive juſt and due puniſhment, according to the quality of ſo great an offence; the ſacred Synod notwithſtanding intreating that the ſaid Judg would moderate his ſentence of judgment without peril of death.

M. Hieroms given to the ſecular power.

The which ſentence ſo given before his face, and ended, a great and long Miter of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red Devils, the which when he beheld and ſaw, throwing away his Hood upon the ground amongſt the Prelates, he took the Miter and put it upon his head, ſaying, Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when as he ſhould ſuffer death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did wear a Crown of Thorn upon his head; and I for his ſake inſtead of that Crown, will willingly wear this Miter and Cap. Afterward he was laid hold of by the ſecular power.

A paper with red Devils put upon the head of M. Hierome by Deviliſh Papiſts.

KING 1 Hier. 5.

M. Hierom conſulted to the ſecular power.

After that he was led out of the ſaid Church to the place of execution; when he was going out of the Church, with a cheerful countenance and a loud voice lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he began to ſing, *Credo in unum Deum*, as it is accuſtomed to be ſung in the Church. Afterward as he paſſed along, he did ſing ſome Canticles of the Church; the which being ended, in the entring out of the Gate of the City, as men go unto *Gothlehem*, he did ſing this Hymn, *Felix namque*. And that Reſpond being ended, after he came to the place of Execution where Maſter *John Hus* before had ſuffered death innocently, kneeling down before an Image which was like unto the Picture of Maſter *John Hus*, which was there prepared to burn Maſter *Jerome*, he made a certain devout prayer.

M. Hieron ſings etc.



While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground ſpoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loyns with a linnen cloth, and bound him faſt with cords and chains of Iron, to the ſaid Image which was made faſt unto the earth; and ſo ſtanding upon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he ſung *Salve feſta dies*. And when the Hymn was ended, he ſung again with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he ſaid unto the people in the *German* Tongue in effect as followeth. Dearly beloved children, even as I have now ſung, ſo do I believe, and none otherwiſe. And this Creed is my whole Faith, notwithſtanding now I die for this cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent and agree to the Council, and with them affirm and hold that Maſter *John Hus* was by them holily and juſtly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true Preacher of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

M. Hieroms tyred to an Image like to *J. Hus.*

M. Hieroms ſingeth at his Burning.

The words of Hierome to the people.

M. Hieroms giveth teſtimony of John Hus.

After that he was compaſſed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they caſt all his garments upon the wood alſo, and with a fire-brand they ſet it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to ſing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum.* When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he ſaid in the vulgar *Bohemian* Tongue, O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knoweſt how ſincerely I have loved thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choaked and ſtopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken within himſelf.

The laſt words of M. Hierome.

When as in a manner his whole Body with his Beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his Body certain great Bladders as big as an Egg, yet he continually very ſtrongly and ſtoutly moved, and ſhaked his head and mouth, by the ſpace almoſt of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whileſt one might eaſily have gone from St. *Clements* over the Bridg unto our Lady-Church; he was of ſuch a ſtout and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his Bedding, his Straw-bed, his Boots, his Hood, and all other things that he had in the priſon, and burned them all to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a Cart, and caſt them into the river of *Rhoine*, which ran hard by the City.

The guilty of his death.

The aſhes of M. Hieron caſt into the river of Rhoine.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Maſter *Jerome*, and ſent the ſame unto us to *Prague* in writing, doth thus conclude. All theſe things (ſaid he) I did behold, ſee, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all thoſe things which happened unto him when he came toward *Conſtance*, and alſo at his firſt coming unto *Conſtance* of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto *Conſtance*, as is aforeſaid, I my ſelf did ſee and perfectly behold, and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the ſame unto you, not lying or falſifying any point thereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mens hearts can bear

The teſtimo of the Writer.

KING 1 Hier. 5.

The truth of this ſtory

bear me witneſs, willing rather to ſuſtain the note of ignorance and rudeneſs of ſtile, to bear witneſs unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled by tickling, or flattering the ears of the hearers with fained and cloaked ſpeech, to ſwarve or go aſide from the truth.

Thus end the Tragical Hiſtories of Maſter *John Hus*, and Maſter *Jerome* of *Prague*, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain *Bohemian*, being a preſent witneſs and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in *Latin*, and ſo ſent by the ſaid *Bohemian* into his Country of *Boheme*, and again tranſlated out of the *Latin* with like fidelity into our *Engliſh* Tongue.

In the mean time while Maſter *Hierome* was in this trouble, and before the Council, the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* and of *Moravia* (but not a little agrieved thereat) directed their Letters unto this barbarous Council of Popiſh murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth.

The Letter of the Fifty four Nobles of Moravia, *written unto the Council of* Conſtance *in the defence of Maſter* John Hus *and* Hierome *of* Prague.

To the right reverend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt, the Lords Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ambaſſadors, Doctors and Maſters, and to the whole Council of *Conſtance*, We the Nobles, Lords, Knights and Eſquires, of the famous Marqueſdom of *Moravia*, with the deſire of all goodneſs, and the obſervation of the Commandments of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Mat. 7.

Rom. 13.

FOr*ſomuch as every man both by the Law of Nature, and alſo by Gods Law, is commanded to do that unto another man, which he would have done unto himſelf, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another, which he would not have done unto himſelf, as our Saviour ſaith,* All things whatſoever you will that men ſhould do unto you, the ſame do you unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets; *yea, the Law is fulfilled in this one point,* Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf: *We therefore (God being our Author) having reſpect as much as in us lyeth unto the ſaid Law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did ſend our Letters unto* Conſtance *for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Maſter* John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, and Preacher of the Goſpel. Whom of late in the Council of* Conſtance *(we know not with what ſpirit being led) you have condemned as an obſtinate Heretick; neither having confeſſed any thing, neither being lawfully convicted as were expedient; having no errors or hereſies declared or laid againſt him, but only at the inſtiter, falſe and importune accuſations, ſuggeſtions and inſtigations of his mortal enemies, and the Traytors of our Kingdom and Marqueſdom of* Moravia. *And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have ſlain him with moſt ſhameful and cruel death, to the perpetual ſhame and infamy of our moſt Chriſtian Kingdom of* Boheme, *and the famy of our moſt Chriſtian Kingdom of* Moravia (*as we have written unto* Conſtance, *unto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord* Sigiſmund *King of* Romans, *and of* Hungary, *the heir and ſucceſſor of our Kingdom*) *the which was alſo read and publiſhed in your Congregations, which we will here alſo have enrolled; and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.*

Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our Letters Patents to your Reverences now preſent in the behalf of Maſter John Hus, *openly profeſſing and proteſting both with heart and mouth, that he the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *was a juſt, good, and Catholick man, and a long ſeaſon worthily commended and allowed in our Kingdoms for his life and converſation. He alſo preached and taught us and our ſubjects the Law of the Goſpel, and of the holy Prophets, and the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, according to the Expoſition of the holy Doctors approved by the Church, and left many Monuments in writing, moſt conſtantly deteſting and abhorring all errors and hereſies, continually admoniſhing both us and all faithful Chriſtians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travel, unto quietneſs and concord; ſo that uſing all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could underſtand, that Maſter* John Hus *had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or hereſie in his Sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our ſubjects, either by word or deed, but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Chriſt, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and by his works, as much as he might, to obſerve and keep the Law of the Goſpel, and the inſtitutions of the holy Fathers, after the preaching of our Holy Mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens ſouls. Neither did theſe premiſſes which you had ſo perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our Kingdom and Marqueſdom, ſuffice and content you, but that alſo without all mercy and pity you have apprehended, impriſoned and condemned, and even now peraduenture, like as you did Maſter* John Hus, *you have moſt cruelly murdered the worſhipful man Maſter* Jerome of Prague, *a man abounding in eloquence, Maſter of the Seven Liberal Arts, and a famous Philoſopher, not being ſeen, heard, examined, neither convict, but only at the inſtiter and falſe accuſations of his and our accuſers and betrayers.*

All that will live godly in Chriſt. 2 Tim. 3.

Defence of Mr. Jerome of Prague.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledg and underſtanding (which we do not without great grief rehearſe) as we may alſo evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievouſly, alleit falſly and trayterouſly, accuſed us, our Kingdom and Marqueſdom aforeſaid, before you in your Council, that in the ſaid Kingdom of Boheme *and Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *divers errors are ſprung up, which have grievouſly and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and alſo the hearts of many faithful men; inſomuch that without a ſpeedy ſtop or ſtay of correction, the ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom, together with the faithful Chriſtians therein, ſhould incur an irrecuperable loſs and ruin of their ſouls.*

Theſe cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom albeit moſt falſly and ſlanderouſly, how may we ſuffer? For ſomuch as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other Kingdoms of the World have oftentimes wavered, making Schiſmes and Antipopes) our moſt gracious Kingdom of Boheme, *and moſt noble Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *ſince the time they did receive the Catholick Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as a moſt perfect* * *Quadrant have always without reproof ſtuck upon the Church of* Rome, *and have ſincerely done their true obedience. Alſo with how great coſts and charges, and great travel, with what worſhip and due reverence they have reverenced the Holy Mother the Church and her Paſtors, by their Princes and faithful Subjects, it is more manifeſt than the day-light unto the whole world; and your ſelves, if you will confeſs the truth, can witneſs the ſame alſo.*

He meaneth the long ſchiſm for ken of before, where three Popes were ſtriving one againſt another.

* A Quadrant being foure-ſquare, proverbially ſignifieth a man that is conſtant and immutable.

Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the Apoſtle, may procure himſelf and good things, not only before God, but before men alſo, and leſt by neglecting the famous renown of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a ſtedfaſt hope, a pure and ſincere conſcience and intent, and a certain true faith in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; by the tenour of theſe we ſignifie and declare unto your Fatherhoods, and to all faithful Chriſtians, openly profeſſing both with heart and mouth, that whatſoever man, of what eſtate, preheminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion ſoever he be, which hath, ſaid, or affirmed, either doth ſay or affirm, that in the ſaid Kingdom of Boheme, *and Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *hereſies have ſprung up which have infected us and other faithful Chriſtians, as is aforeſaid (the only perſon of our moſt noble Prince and Lord,* Sigiſmund *King of* Romans, *and of* Hungary, *&c. our Lord and heir ſucceſſour, being ſet apart, whom we truſt and believe, not to be guilty in the premiſſes) all and every ſuch man (as is aforeſaid) doth lye falſely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty Traytor and betrayer of the ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom, and moſt trayterous unto us, and moſt pernicious heretick, the ſon of all malice and wickedneſs, yea, and of the Devil himſelf;* Joh. 8. *who is a lyar, and the father of all lyes.*

Notwithſtanding, we for this preſent committing the foreſaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will alſo abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, will proſecute them more amply before him, whom God ſhall

Deut. 38. Pſal. 30.

shall appoint in the Apostolick See, to govern his holy Church, as the only and undoubted Pastor. Unto whom, God willing, we exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the Law of God will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said Kingdom and Marquesdom upon the premisses, according to the Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Institutions of the holy Fathers. The premisses notwithstanding, we setting apart all fear and mens Ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble and constant Preachers thereof, given to the shedding of our Bloud.

These Noblemen offered their obedience to the Pope, no further than was lawful, honest and agreeable to reason and the law of God. Mark this, and learn, you Noblemen.

Dated at *Sternberg*, in the year of our Lord 1415. upon St. *Wenceslaus* day, Martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Round about the said Letters there were fifty four Seals hanging, and their Names subscribed, whose Seals they were. The Names of which Noblemen I thought it good here to annex withal, partly for the more credit of that which hath been said, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our Noblemen and Gentlemen in this our Realm of *England*, now living in this clear light of the Gospel, may by their example understand, that if they joyn themselves with the Gospel of Jesus, zealously, and as they should do, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that so have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remain in the story to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthy Gentlemen, within the small Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to be so forward in those so dark days, and among so many enemies two hundred years ago, to take part with Christ; and yet our Gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeal to them to be compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these Nobles, whose Names they may see and read here following:

1. *Alsskabat de Wisco-wirtz.*
2. *Ulricus de Lkota.*
3. *Joan. de Ksimicz.*
4. *Joskko de Sczsioiowcz.*
5. *Eærdus Zwiranowicz.*
6. *Joan. de Zawla.*
7. *Joan. de Reychenberg.*
8. *Wildo Skirtzyny.*
9. *Diliko de Biesa.*
10. *Kos de Doloplatz.*
11. *Joan. de Simusin.*
12. *Dobessimus de Tissa.*
13. *Drazko de Aradeck.*
14. *Steph. de Hmdorkat.*
15. *Joan. Dern de Gabonecz.*
16. *Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.*
17. *Joan. Hmrsdorfar.*
18. *Pfateska de Wilklek.*
19. *Petrus Mog de Sczsitowicy.*
20. *N. Szulenica.*
21. *N. Brischull.*
22. *N. de Cromassona.*
23. *Aramnsick Donant de Polonia.*
24. *Joan. Donant de Polonia.*
25. *Joan. de Cziczow.*
26. *Wenceslaus de N.*
27. *N. de N.*
28. *N. N.*
29. *Fosseck de N.*
30. *Henricus de N.*
31. *Wazclas de buck.*

This Nobleman did accompany *Zohn Hus*, and with certain Horsemen conduct him to *Constance*.

32. *Henr. de Zrenowicz.*
33. *Baczko de Convald.*
34. *Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltvoldeck.*
35. *Czenko de Mossnow.*
36. *N.*
37. *Zibilutz de Clezam.*
38. *Joannes de Paterswald.*
39. *Parsifal de Namyescz.*
40. *Zodoni de Zwietzick.*
41. *Raczack Zawskalp.*
42. *Jon de Tossawicz.*
43. *Diwa de Spissnia.*
44. *Steffko de Draczdow.*
45. *Isska de Draczdow.*
46. *Odich. de Hlud.*
47. *Wosfart de Paulowicz.*
48. *Pirebbor de Tyrezewicz.*
49. *Rynard de Tyrezewicz.*
50. *Bohunko de Wratisdow.*
51. *Ulricus de Raccdraw.*
52. *Dessaw de Nali.*
53. *Bonesh de Frabrenicz.*
54. *Eybl de Roissowan.*

After these things thus declared and discoursed, concerning the History of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the order of place and Country next would require, consequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of these Men in the Country of *Boheme*: but the order of time calleth me back, first to other matters here of our own Country, which passed in the mean time with us in *England*. Which things being taken by the way, and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward return to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the *Bohemians*, with other things beside, pertaining to the later end of the Council of *Constance*, and chooling of Pope *Martin*, as the order of years and time shall require.

{KING} Hen. 5.

Ye heard before, how after the death of *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, succeeded *Henry Chichesley*, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fourteen, and fate twenty five years. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in *England*; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to Exile. Whereof partly now to intreat, as we find them in Registers and Histories recorded, we will first begin with *John Claydon* Coriar, of *London*, and *Richard Turming*, whom *Robert Fabian* doth falsly affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir *Roger Acton* and Master *Brown* suffered, who indeed suffered not before the second year of *Henry Chichesley* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which was in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and thirteen. The History of which *John Claydon* in the Registers is thus declared.

Vide supra. Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Story of John Claydon *Coriar, and of* Richard Turming *Baker.*

The History of J. Claydon Coriar of London, and Richard Turming Baker. Ex Regist. Cant.

THE seventeenth of *August* one thousand four hundred and fifteen, did personally appear *John Claydon* Coriar of *London* (arrested by the Mayor of the said City for the suspicion of Heresie) before *Henry* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in Saint *Paul's* Church; which *John* (it being objected to him by the Archbishop, that in the City of *London*, and other places of the Province of *Canterbury*, he was suspected by divers godly and learned Men for Heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Determination of the Church) did openly confess, and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the City of *London*, and also in the Province of *Canterbury*, and especially of the common sort, for *Lollardy* and Heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church of *Rome*, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

J. Claydon examined.

Informach, that in the time of Master *Robert Braybrook* Bishop of *London* deceased, he was for the space of two years committed to the Prison of *Conway* for the foresaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in Prison in the *Fleet* for three years. Out of which Prison he (in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth) was brought before the Lord *John Scarle* then Chancellor to the King, and there did abjure all heresie and error. And the said *John Claydon* being asked of the said Archbishop whether he did abjure the Heresie of which he was suspect before any other? did confess, that in a Convocation at *London* in *Paul's* Church before *Thomas Arundel* late Archbishop deceased, he did abjure all such Doctrine, which they called Heresie and Error, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church, and that he had not only left such Articles and Opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such Opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

Robert Braybrook Bishop of London deposed, he was first imprisoned by Robert Bishop of London.

J. Claydon before abjured.

And moreover, the said *John* was asked by the said Archbishop, whether ever he had in his house since his Abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in *English*, Books. Whereunto he confessed, that he would not deny, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping many *English* books, for he was arrested by the Mayor of the City of *London* for such books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the Mayors keeping. Upon the which the Mayor did

{KING} Hen. 5. The judgement of the Mayor of London.

did openly confess, that he had such Books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse that ever he did read or see, and one Book that was well bound in red Leather, of parchment, written in a good *English* hand; and among the other Books found with the said *John Claydon*, the Mayor gave up the said Book before the Archbishop. Whereupon the said *John Claydon*, being asked of the Archbishop if he knew that Book, did openly confess that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his own costs and charges, for which he spent much money thereupon since his Abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did answer, one called *John Grime*.

Claydon bestowed much money upon English books.

And further, being required what the said *John Grime* was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same Book, he did confess, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one *John Fullar*. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that Book to be Catholick, profitable, good and true? He answered, that many things which he had heard in the same Book, were both profitable, good and healthful to his soul; and as he said, he had great affection to the said Book, for a Sermon preached at *Hersfaldowne*, that was written in the said Book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said Abjuration, he did commune with one *Richard Baker* of the City aforesaid; he did answer, yea: for the said *Richard Baker* did come often unto his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the said *Richard* to be suspected, and defamed of Heresie, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said *Richard* was suspected and defamed of many Men and Women in the City of *London*, as one whom they thought to be an Heretick.

J. Claydon could not read.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Turming before was then in Prison.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said Books to be delivered to Master *Robert Gilbert*, Doctor of Divinity, to *William Lindewood* Doctor of both Laws, and other Clerks to be examined, and in the mean time, *David Beard*, *Alexander Plulip*, and *Balthasar Mero*, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to Master *John Escourt* General Examiner of *Canterbury*. This done, the Archbishop continued his Session till *Munday* next in the same place. Which *Munday* being come, which was the 20th of the said Month, the said Master *Escourt* openly and publickly exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the Archbishop, and other Bishops; which being read, then after that were read divers tractations, found in the house of the said *John Claydon*: out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for Heresies and Errors, and especially out of the Book aforesaid, which Book the said *John Claydon* confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which Book was intituled, *The Lanthorn of Light*. In the which, and in the other examined, were these Articles under written contained:

Will. Lindewood Doctor of both Laws.

An English Book, intituled, The Lanthorn of Light.

1. First, Upon the Text of the Gospel, how the enemy did sow the Tares, there is said thus; That wicked Antichrist the Pope hath sowed among the Laws of Christ his *Popish* and corrupt Decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

2. That the Archbishops and Bishops, speaking indifferently, are the Seats of the Beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of Errors and Heresies.

3. That the Bishops Licence, for a Man to preach the Word of God, is the true Character of the Beast, *i.* Antichrist, and therefore simple and faithful Priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without Licence.

The head and tail of Antichrist.

4. That the Court of *Rome* is the chief Head of Antichrist, and the Bishops be the body; and the new Sects, that is, the Monks, Canons and Friers, brought in not by Christ, but damnably by the Pope, be the venomous and pestiferous Tail of Antichrist.

This is true, speaking of the invisible Church.

5. That no Reprobate is a Member of the Church, but only such as be elected and predestinate to Salvation; seeing the Church is no other thing but the Congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their Faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Christ did never plant private Religions in the Church, but whilst he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private Religions be unprofitable branches in the Church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material Churches should not be decked with Gold, Silver and Precious Stones sumptuously, but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the Churches be now adays.

Two causes of perfection noted.

8. That there be two chief causes of the Perfection of the Christians: one is, the Priests unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the unstable begging of the Friers, with their high buildings.

Four conditions to give Alms.

9. That Alms is not given vertuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, unless it be given to the honour of God: secondly, unless it be given of goods justly gotten: thirdly, unless it be given to such a person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity: and fourthly, unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the Church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for Priests to occupy themselves with singing in the Church, but with the study of the Law of Christ, and preaching his Word.

That Bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

11. That *Judas* did receive the Body of Christ in Bread, and his Bloud in Wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after Consecration of Bread and Wine made, the same Bread and Wine that was before, doth truly remain on the Altar.

12. That all Ecclesiastical Suffrages do profit all vertuous and godly persons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Bishops Indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

14. That the Laity is not bound to obey the Prelates, whatsoever they command, unless the Prelates do watch to give God a just account of the souls of them.

15. That Images are not to be fought to by Pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their Knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of Reverence.

The books of J. Claydon to be burned.

For the which Articles, the Archbishop with other Bishops, and divers learned communing together, first condemned the Books as heretical, and burned them in fire: and then because they thought the said *John Claydon* to be forsworn and false into Heresie, the Archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said *John*, personally appearing before him in judgment (his Confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner:

The Sentence and condemnation of J. Claydon.

IN *the Name of God*, Amen. *We* Henry *by the grace of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolick See, in a certain cause of heretical gravity, and of relapse into the same, whereupon* John Claydon *Layman of the Province of* Canterbury, *was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said our Province of* Canterbury *publickly defamed (as by publick fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known) first, sitting in Judgment-seat, and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences we have found the said* John Claydon *to have been, and to be publickly and notoriously relapsed again into his former Heresie, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed and pondered before, to the intent that the said* John Claydon *shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren* Richard *Bishop of* London, John *Bishop of* Coventry *and* Lichfield, *and* Stephen *Bishop of* Saint Davids, *and of other Doctors, as well of Divinity as of both Laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce and declare the said*

John

John Claydon *to be relapsed again into his Heresie, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents.*

J. Claydon committed to the Secular power. Thus *John Claydon*, receiving his Judgment and Condemnation of the Archbishop, was committed to the Secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal Magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for Religion condemned of the Prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, *Quojure, quaqua injuria*, *John Claydon* notwithstanding, by the temporal Magistrates not long after, was had to *Smithfield*, where meekly he was made a Burnt Offering unto the Lord, *Anno* 1415.

The Law de comburendo insufficient.

The death and Martyrdom of J. Claydon.

Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which follow him, add also, that *Richard Turming* Baker, of whom mention is made before in the Examination of *John Claydon*, was likewise the same time burned with him in *Smithfield*. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of Condemnation given against the said *Turming*, neither yet in the Story of Saint *Albans*, is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of *John Claydon* aforesaid; wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the Reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said *Turming* this is certain, that he was accused to the Bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bands. What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto the Authors.

{KING Hen.5.} *J. Claydon, Rich. Turming Baker.*

The Burning of John Claidon and Richard Turming.



{Ann. 1416} The next year after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of *John Hus*, being burnt at *Constance*, which was *Anno* 1416. the Prelates of *England* seeing the daily encrease of the Gospel, and fearing the ruine of their Papal Kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain the same. Wherefore to make their state and Kingdom sure, by Statutes, Laws, Constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as *Thomas Arundel*, and other Prelates had done before, so the forenamed *Henry Chichelley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Convocation holden at *London*, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor *Lollards*; the Copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the Bishop of *London*, and to other his Suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in words as followeth:

Bo. Regist. Chichesley 217.

'HEnry by the grace of God Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Legate of the chief Seat; To our Reverend Brother in the Lord, *Richard*, by the grace of God, Bishop of *London*, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately in our last Convocation in S. *Paul's* Church in *London*, being kept by you and other our Brethren and Clergy of our Province, we do remember to have made this Order underwritten, by your consents: When as among many other our cares, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those Hereticks, which like Foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lords Vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet, and from the feet of our fellow brethren; in this the said Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow Brethren, our Suffragans and Archdeacons of our Province of *Canterbury*, by themselves, their Officials or Commissaries in their Jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their Country, twice every year at the least, do diligently encreafe of the Gospel, and fearing the ruine of their Painquire of and search for all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convict they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and especially of the Abjurations, if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any Heresies, that then in the next Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and aperly to be certified to us and our successors; And that they deliver effectually to the Official of our Court, the same process to remain with them, or else in the Register of our Court of *Canterbury*, so that every one, to whom such things appertain, for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same Official with all effect.

Twice every year to inquire for Lollards.

'We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought unto your City and Diocesan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same your selves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding furthermore all and singular our fellow Brethren and Suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their Cities and Dioceses, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and what thing soever you shall do in the premisses, that you certifie us herewith this and the Feast of St. *Peter ad vincula* next coming, that you duly certifie us of these things, by your Letters Patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your Seals. Dated at our House in *London*, the first day of *July*, *Anno* 1416.

{KING Hen.5.} 'And if perhaps, they leave not such persons convict unto the Secular Court, yet notwithstanding, let them commit them unto the perpetual or temporal Prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, until the next Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our Province of *Canterbury*, there personally to remain; and that in the same Prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convict they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and especially of the Abjurations, if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any Heresies, that then in the next Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and aperly to be certified to us and our successors; And that they deliver effectually to the Official of our Court, the same process to remain with them, or else in the Register of our Court of *Canterbury*, so that every one, to whom such things appertain, for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same Official with all effect.

'We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought unto your City and Diocesan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same your selves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding furthermore all and singular our fellow Brethren and Suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their Cities and Dioceses, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and what thing soever you shall do in the premisses, that you certifie us herewith this and the Feast of St. *Peter ad vincula* next coming, that you duly certifie us of these things, by your Letters Patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your Seals. Dated at our House in *London*, the first day of *July*, *Anno* 1416.

¶ During the time of this Convocation in the year aboresaid, two Priests were presented and brought before the Bishops, noted and defamed for Hereticks, one named *John Barton*, unto whom it was objected by *Philip* Bishop of *Lincoln*, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon Articles concerning Religion, and yet neither would appear, being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again to the Church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the foresaid *Philip* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and so to be holden in Prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

The trouble of John Barton and Robert Chapel in cause of religion.

This Philip seemeth to be Philip Repingdon often mentioned in the story of Wickliff.

The other was *Robert Chapel*, otherwise named *Holbeach*, Chaplain sometimes to the Lord *Cobham*; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he being under the sentence of Excommunication about three or four years, yet notwithstanding, to the contempt of the Keyes, did continue saying Mass, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; *Chapel* denying that he did know any such Excommunication given out against him. Then was the Copy of his Excommunication first made by the Bishop of *Rosf*, afterward denounced by the Bishop of *London* at *Pauls-Croft*, brought and read before him; and so that done, that Session brake up for that time, which was about the later end of *May*, *Anno* 1416.

To differ from the common sort is life and manner, against the Popes law.

R. Chapel abjureth.

The 12th day of the Month of *July* next following, the said *Chapel* appeared again before the Archbishop and the Prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the Bishops Licence in divers places, as at *Cobham*, at *Cowling*, and at *Shorn*; at length, he confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet at the last the Bishop of *Rosf*. putting in his hands the Decree of the Canon Law; *1. 9. 7. Cap. Quaries, &c.* and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former Articles and Opinions as Heretical and Schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the foresaid Canon. Whereupon the said *Robert*, being absolved by the authority of the Archbishop (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying Mass before he had been dispensed from the Pope himself for irregularity) was injoyned by the Archbishop himself for his Penance, standing at *Paul's* to publish these Articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

Against English Books.

Imprimis, I confess that Bishops, Priests and other Ecclesiastical persons, having no other possession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain Lands and Possessions temporal, to dispense and dispose the same and the Rents thereof, to the behoof of themselves, or of their Church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

Articles obtruded to R. Chapel to confess.

2. *Item*, I confess, That it were very unlawful, yea rather, unjust, that temporal men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporal Lands and Possessions from the Church, either universal or particular, to which they are given, the consideration of the abuse of mortal Prelates, Priests, or other Ministers in the Church conversant (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. *Item*, I confess, That Peregrinations to the Relicks of Saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited; nor to be contemned of any Catholick, but are available to remission of sins, and approved of holy Fathers, and worthy to be commended.

Mark well this Catholick Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning remission of sins.

4. *Item*, I confess, That to worship the Images of Christ or of any other Saints, being set up in the Church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is any cause inductive of Idolatry, being so used as the holy Fathers do will them to be worshipped; but rather such Images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those Saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir up the people to prayers and devotion.

Mark how this Doctrine joyneth with Gods Commandment; and with his Word.

5. *Item*, I confess, That Auricular Confession used in the Church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done of such a Priest, as is ordained by the Church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoyn him Penance for the same; without which confession (if it may be had) there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

Eyr, by this Doctrine the salt mark liveth not by his saith, but by his Confession Auricular.

6. *Item*, I confess and firmly do hold, that although the Priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the Body of Christ, and minister other Sacraments and Sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the Church.

How can those Priests be servants of Christ, which be makers of Christ.

7. *Item*, I confess, That Bishops in their own Dioceses may forbid, decree, or ordain upon reasonable causes, that Priests should not preach, without their special Licence, the Word of God, and that those that do against the same, should suffer the Ecclesiastical censures.

Private religious profitable, if ye could tell wherefore.

8. *Item*, I confess, That private Religions, as well of Monks, Canons and other, as also of the Begging Friers, being allowed by the Church of *Rome*, are profitable to the Universal Church, and in no means contrary to Gods Law, but rather founded and authorised thereon.

9. *Item*, I promise and swear upon these holy Evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premisses either openly or privately.

Strait inquisition in England.

After the setting out of the Constitution aforesaid, in the days of the abovenamed *Henry Chichelley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, great Inquisition hereupon followed in *England*, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the Gospel, were brought to much vexation, and called outwardly to abjure.

Christ had the hearts of men, they had their bodies.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men; yet the Catholick Antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the other aforesaid, was also *John Taylor* of the Parish of St. *Michaels* at *Quern*: *William Famer*, Master of Art and Physician, who had long remained in Prison, and at length, after Abjuration, was licensed with his Keeper to practise his Physick.

A brief sum of such as abjured, under Henry Chichesley. J. Taylor. Will. Famer.

Also *John Dwarf*, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the Duke of *Bedford* to the foresaid *Chichelley*,

J. Dwarf.

and

and other Bishops, to be examined before them or the Convocation; there he at length revolting from his Doctrine, recanted and did penance.

J. Jourdelay. In like manner *John Jourdelay* of *Lincolnshire*, well commended in the Registers for his learning, accused by the Priests of *Lincoln* for a certain Book, which he contrary to the former Decree of the Bishops, did conceal, and did not exhibite unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure. After whom was brought likewise before the Bishops, one *Katharine Dertford*, a Spinster, who being accused and examined upon these 3 Articles concerning the Sacrament of the Popes Altar, Adoration of Images, and of Pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able, being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her Creed and Ten Commandments; and so was she committed to the Vicar-General of the Bishop of *Winc.* (for that he was of the same Diocess) to be kept, and further to be examined of the same. *Ex Regist. H. Chichesley.*

J. Jourdelay abjureth.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said Archbishop and his fellow Bishops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Parson of *Heggeley* in *Lincolnshire*, named Mr. *Rob.* who being long kept in the Tower, at length, by the Kings Writ, was brought and examined the same time upon the like Articles, to wit, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Peregrination, Adoration of Images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal Lordships, *&c.* To the which Articles he answered (saith the Register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the Sacrament he seemed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore, being committed to the custody and examination of *Richard* Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

Robert Parson of Heggeley examined.

W. Henry of Tenderden examined.

The same likewise did *W. Henry* of *Tenderden*, being suspected and arrested for company keeping with them whom the Bishops called *Lollards*, and for having suspected Books.

A book of the new Law. T. Galle. Rob. Monke. Nic. Cornmonger. M. Hoper. The Granter troubled for their Doctrine.

Besides these, divers other there were also which in the same Convocation were convented, and revoked their Opinions, as *T. Galle* a Priest of *London*, for having a Book in *English*, intituled, *A Book of the new Law. Item, Richard Monk*, Vicar of *Chesham* in *Lincolnshire*, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed moreover, *Bartholomew Cornmonger*, *Nic. Hoper* servant to the Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas Granter* with other more, mentioned in the foresaid Register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their Faith, was one *Radulph Mungin* Priest, who for the same Doctrine was arrested and sent by the Lord Chancellor of *England*, to the foresaid Archbishop, and by him committed to *David Price*, Vicar-General to the Bishop of *London*: Where after he had indured four Months in Prison, he was by the said *David* presented to the Convocation, against whom divers Articles were objected.

A Subsidy gathered by the Pope to fight against the faithful of Bohemia.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this Convocation Provincial, Pope *Martin* had sent down to the Clergy of *England*, for a Subsidy to be gathered of the Church, to maintain the Popes War against the *Lollards* (so the *Papists* did term them) of *Bohemia*. Also another Subsidy was demanded to persecute one *Peter Clerk* Master of Art of *Oxford*, who flying out of *England*, was at the Council of *Basil*; disputing on the *Bohemians* side. And thirdly, another Subsidy was also required to persecute *William Russel*, Warden of the *Gray Friers* in *London*, who the same time was fled from *England* to *Rome*, to maintain his opinion before the Pope, and there escaped out of Prison, *&c.* of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreat. In the mean time mark here the pretty shifts of the Pope to hook in the *English* money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Romish sleights to get the English money.

Thus *Ralph Mungin*, the foresaid Examinate, appearing before the Bishops in the Convocation, it was articulated against him, first that he should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make War against the Hereticks of *Bohemia*.

Articles objected against Ralph Mungin.

Item, It was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of Goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe, how the crafty malice of these adversaries useth fally to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppress them wrongfully whom by plain truth they cannot expugn.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with Master *Clerk* aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the City of *London* certain Books of *John Wickliff* and of *Peter Clerk*, namely the Book *Trialogus*, and the Gospels of *John Wickliff*, *&c.* He was charged moreover, to have spoken against the Popes Indulgences, affirming that the Pope had no more power to give Indulgences than he had.

Trialogus. The Gospels translated by *Wicklif.*

Upon these and other such Articles objected, the said *Mungin*, being asked if he would revoke, answered, that it seemed to him not just or meet so to do, which did not know himself guilty of any Heresie. Thus he being repleted for the time, was committed to Prison till the next sitting; who then being called divers and sundry times afterward before the Bishops, after long Inquisition and strait Examination made, also Depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding pertinently denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the foresaid *Henry* the Archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual Prison.

Ralph Mungin condemned to perpetual Prison.

After whose condemnation, the *Sunday* next following the Recantation of *Thomas Granter*, and of *Richard Monk* Priests above mentioned, were openly read at *Paules Cross*; the Bishop of *Rochester* the same time preaching at the said Cross. The tenor of whose Recantation, with his Articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth:

The Granter, Rich. Monk.

The Recantation of Tho. Granter. Note the Doctrine and Articles in this days, when the Gospel took place.

IN the *Name of God. Before you my Lord of* Canterbury, *and all you my Lords here being present, and before you all here gathered at this time, I* Thomas Granter, *Priest unworthy, dwelling in the City of* London, *feeling and understanding that afore this time, I affirmed open Errors and Heresies, saying, believing and affirming within this City, that he that Christian men called Pope is not very Pope, ner Gods Vicary in earth, but I said he was Antichrist. Also I said, believed and affirmed, that after the Sacramental words said by a Priest in the Mass, there remaineth material Bread and Wine, and is not turned into Christs Body and his Blood. Also I said and affirmed, that it was not to do in no wise, to go on Pilgrimage, but it was better, I said, to abide at home, and beat the stools with their heels; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they laughten. Also I said and affirmed, that I held no Scripture Catholick nor holy, but only that is contained in the Bible. For the Legends and lives of Saints, I held hem nought, and the Miracles written of hem I held untrue. Because of which Errors and Heresies I was tofore Mr.* Dave Price *Vicar-general of my Lord of* London, *and since tofore you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your brethren in your Council Provincial, and by you fully informed, which so said, mine affirming, believing and teaching been open Errors and Heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of* Rome. *Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the Doctrine of Holy Church, and depart fro all manner Errors and Heresies, and turn with good will and heart to the one Head of the Church, considering that holy Church sitteth her cloistn not her bosom to him that will turn again, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather be ben turned and live: with a pure heart I confess, detest, and despise my said Errors and Heresies, and the said Opinions I confess, as Heresies and Errours to the Faith of the Church of* Rome, *and to all universally holy Church repugnant. And therefore these said Opinions in special, and all other Errors and Heresies, Doctrines and Opinions, ayen the Faith of the Church, and the Determinations of the Church of* Rome, *I abjure and forswear heretofore you all, and swear by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, ne preach Error, ne Errors, Heresie, ne Heresies, nor false Doctrine against the Faith of holy Church, and determination of the Church of* Rome, *ne none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such manner things by me or any other person, openly or privily I shall defend, I shall never after the time be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defendor of Hereticks, or of any person suspect of Heresie, ner I shall trow to him, ner wittingly fellaship with him, ner yeve him counsel, favour, sylts, ne*

One Head, that is, the unity of the Church.

{KING Hen. 5.} *ne comfort. And if I know any Heretick, or of Heresie, or of such false Opinions any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding privy Conventicles, or Assemblies, or any divers or singular Opinions from the common Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors or defensors, or any that have suspect books or quiers of such Errors and Heresies; I shall let you my Lord of* Canterbury, *or your Officers in your absence, or the Diocesans and Ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing. So help me God and holy deme, and these holy Evangelists by me bodily touched.*

After this Recantation at the Cross thus published, and his submission made, the said *Granter* then was by the advice of the Prelates put to seven years prisonment, under the custody and charge of the Bishop of *London*.

The afflicten and trouble in Kent, under Chicheley.

After this followed in like manner the Recantation of *Richard Monk*. Also of *Edmund Frith* who was before Butler to Sir *John Oldcastle*.

Besides these above remembred, many and divers there be in the said Register recorded, who likewise for their Faith and Religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the Dioces of *Kent*, in the Towns of *Romney*, *Tenterden*, *Woodchurch*, *Crambrock*, *Stopleherst*, *Benenden*, *Halden*, *Rolvenyden*, and others, whereas whole Housholds, both Man and Wife, were driven to forsake their Houses and Towns for danger of Persecution; as sufficiently appeareth in the proces of the Archbishop *Chichesley* against the said persons, and in the Certificate of *Burbath* his Official, wherein are named the persons following:

1. *W. White Priest.*	9. *W. Chroseling.*	Persons persecuted in Kent.
2. *Th. Grenefeld Priest.*	10. *John Tame.*	
3. *Bartho. Cornmonger.*	11. *John Fowlin.*	
4. *John Wadnon.*	12. *William Somer.*	
5. *Joan his Wife.*	13. *Marian his Wife.*	
6. *Tho. Everden.*	14. *John Abraham.*	
7. *William Everden.*	15. *Robert Munden.*	
8. *Stephen Robin.*	16. *Laurence Coke.*	

These being cited up together by the Bishop, would not appear. Whereupon great Inquisition being made for them by his Officers, they were confirmed to fly their Houses and Towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When *Burbath* and other Officers had sent to the Archbishop, that they could not be found, then he directed down order that Citations should be set up for them on every Church-door, through all Towns where they did inhabite, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But notwithstanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the Archbishop, sitting in his Tribunal Seat, proceedeth to the sentence of Excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them in the Register doth not appear; but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

The description of the cruell Martyrdome of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.



¶ Concerning Sir *John Oldcastle* the Lord *Cobham*, and of his first Apprehension with his whole Story and Life, sufficiently hath been expreffed before, how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned fally of Heresie, escaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in *Wales* about the space of four years. In the which mean time, a great sum of mony was proclaimed by the King, to him that could take the said Sir *John Oldcastle*, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the Lord *Powis*, whether for love or greediness of the mony, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere Doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of *Judas*, at length obtained his bloudy purpose, and brought the Lord *Cobham* bound up to *London*; which was about the year of our Lord 1417. and about the Month of *December*. At which time there was a Parliament assembled in *London*, for the relief of Mony the same time to be sent to the King, whom the Bishops had sent out (as ye heard before) to fight in *France*. The Records of which Parliament do thus say: That on *Tuesday* the fourteenth day of *December*, and the nine and twentieth day of the said Parliament, Sir *John Oldcastle* of *Cowling*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the Kings-Beach, and Excommunicated before by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for Heresie, was brought before the Lords, and having heard his said Convictions, answered not thereto in his Excuse. Upon which Record and Process it was adjudged, that he should be taken as a Traitor to the King and the Realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of *London*, and from thence down through *London*, unto the new Gallows in Saint *Giles* without *Temple-Bar*, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

The second apprehension, and of the L. Cobham.

The Lord Powis playeth Judas.

Men tied to the Church at Rome.

As touching the pretended Treason of this Lord *Cobham*, for which he was falsly accused unto him in his Indictment, rising upon false and wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by unlawful rigour

rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said Lord *Cobham*, against *Alanus Copus*. Where again, it is to be noted, as I said before, and by this it appeareth, that the Lord *Cobham* was never executed by force of the Indictment or Outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the Bar in the Kings-Bench, and there the Judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not shewing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the Judges should have awarded and given the Judgment of Treason; which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the Indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the Indictment and the Outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, because it was neither an execution of a Traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the Judge, as by due order of Law was requisite.

Vide supra.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeat again, that albeit the said Lord *Cobham* was attainted of Treason by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons assented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in such fort (as if indeed he were no Traitor) that any man may not by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certain cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstance and firm arguments, to rise principally of his Religion, which first brought him in hatred of the Bishops; the Bishops brought him in hatred of the King; the hatred of the King brought him to his Death and Martyrdom. And thus much for the Death and Execution of this worthy Servant of Christ the Lord *Cobham*.

Judas forsaketh for his reward.

Moreover, in the Records above mentioned, it followeth, how in the said Parliament, after the Martyrdom of this valiant Knight, motion then was made, that the Lord *Powis* might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made for his great travel taken in the apprehension of Sir *John Oldcastle* Knight, Heretick. Thus stand the words of the Record. Where two things are to be noted: First, how Sir *John* here in the Record is called not Traitor, but Heretick only. Secondly, mark how this Brother of *Judas* here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent bloud. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and *quid vultis mihi dare* in this world, will have an heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unless he repented, &c.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.

Furthermore, in the said Parliament, Act 17. it was Enacted, *That the Church and all Estates should enjoy all their Liberties, which were not repealed, or repealable by the common Law*; meaning belike, the excluding of the Jurisdiction of the Popes foreign power, which hath always, by the common Law been excluded out of this Realm.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.

In the same Parliament also, a grievous complaint was made (by the Bishops no doubt) against Insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the *Lollards*, Hereticks and Traitors, with a request that Commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereupon answer was made, that the Statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the Clergy, *Tanquam leones rugientes*, ceased not to roar after Christian bloud; and whosoever was else in fault, still the Clergy cried, *Crucifie Christ, and deliver us Barabbas*: for then all horrible facts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor *Lollards*.

All the blame laid to the *Lollards*.

And now from our *English* matters, to return again to the story of the *Bohemians*; from whence we have a little digressed: When as the News of the barbarous cruelty excercised at *Constance* against *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were noised in *Boheme*, the Nobles and Gentlemen of *Moravia* and *Boheme*, such as favoured the cause of *John Hus*, gathering themselves together in the zeal of Christ; first sent their Letter unto the Council; expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly Men, as is before expressed. For the which Letter they were all cited up to the Council. Unto this Letter *Sigismund* the Emperor maketh answer again in the name of the whole Council; first, excusing himself of *John Hus* his death, which, he said, was against his safe conduct, and against his will: Informeth that he rose in anger from the Council, and departed out of *Constance*, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the Catholick Church of *Rome*, &c.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Also the Council hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the *Bohemians*, did make Laws and Articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of 14.

Articles decreed in the Council of Constance against the Bohemians.

First, That the King of *Bohemia* shall be sworn to give obedience, and to defend the liberties of the Church of *Rome*.

That all Masters, Doctors and Priests shall be sworn to abjure the Doctrine of *Wickliff* and *Hus*, in that Council condemned.

That all they which being cited would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure; and they which would not appear, contemning the censure of the Keys, should have process against them, and be punished.

That all such secular men as had spoiled the Clergy, should be sworn to restitution.

That Priests being expelled from their Benefices, should be restored again.

That all prophaners of Churches should be punished after the Canonical Sanctions.

That such as had been promoters in the Council against *John Hus*, should be permitted safely to return into *Boheme* again, and to enjoy their Benefices.

That the relicks and treasure taken out of the Church of *Prague*, should be restored fully again.

That the University of *Prague* should be restored again and reformed, and that they which had been the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

That the principal Hereticks and Doctors of that Sect should be sent up to the See Apostolick, namely, *Johannes Jessenetz*, *Jacobellus de Misna*, *Simon de Tysna*, *Simon de Rochiznzano*, *Christianus de Brachatitz*, *Joannes Cardinalus*, *Zdenko de Loben*, The Provost of *Allhallows Zaslaus de Suieritz*, and *Michael de Czasko*.

The forsaken of God, flie in Judgement.

That all secular men, which communicated under both kinds, should abjure that Heresie, and swear to stop the same hereafter.

That they which were ordained Priests by the Suffragan of the Archbishop of *Prague*, taken by the Lord *Zenco*, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the See Apostolick.

This Suffragan was a good man, and held with Hus.

That the Treatises of *John Wickliff*, translated into the *Bohemian* Tongue by *John Hus* and *Jacobellus*, should be brought to the Ordinary.

Wickliff's Doctrine translated by J. Hus and Jacobellus into the Bohemian Speech.

That the Treatises of *John Hus* condemned in the Council, should also be brought to the Ordinary.

That all the Tractations of *Jecobellus De utraque specie de Antichristo* (wherein he calleth the Pope Antichrist) *Et de remanentia panis post consecrationem*, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all Songs and Ballads made to the prejudice of the Council, and of the Catholick persons of both States, should be forbid to be sung in Cities, Towns and Villages, under great and extream punishment.

That none should preach the Word without the Licence of the Ordinary, or of the Parson of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, having Jurisdiction, should not be stopped in their Jurisdiction, by the secular power, under pain of Excommunication.

That all and singular persons shall be commanded to obedience, under pain of Excommunication; and that whosoever knoweth any person to favour any *Wickleviste*, or their Doctrine, or that keepeth company with Wickleviste persons, he shall present the same to his Diocesans or his Officials.

That the confederacy of the Seculars made between themselves, or any of the Spiritualty, to the prejudice of the foresaid Council, and of the Apostolick See and Church of *Rome*, in the favour of *John Hus*, *Jerome* of *Prague*, and other in the said Council condemned, shall be dissolved.

That the Rites and Ceremonies of Christian Religion, touching Gods service, Images, and worthipping of Relicks, shall be observed, and transgressors of the same be punished.

Concilium malignantium.

That

{KING Hen. 5.}

That all and singular, either spiritual or secular that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintain the opinions and articles of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierome*, in this Council condemned, and convicted of the same, shall be holden for Hereticks, and falling in relapse shall be burned.

That all secular Persons being monished and charged by the Ordinaries, shall be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premisses.

The *Bohemians*, notwithstanding these cruel Articles, contemning the vain devices of these Prelates and Fathers of the Council, ceased not to proceed in their league and purpose begun, joyning themselves more strongly together.

In this mean time it happened, that during this Council of *Constance*, after the despoiling of Pope *John*, and spoyling of his goods, which came to 75 thousand pounds of Gold and Silver, as is reported in the Story of Saint *Albanus*, Pope *Martine* upon the day of Saint *Martine*, was elected. Concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the Council, for that beside the Cardinals, five other Bishops of every Nation should enter into the Conclave, who there together should be kept with thin Diet, till they had founded a Pope. At last, when they were together, they agreed upon this Man, and not tarrying for opening the door, like mad men, for haste they braft open an hole in the wall, crying out, *Habemus Papam Martinum*, We have a *Martine* Pope. The Emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and falling down kissed the new Popes feet. Then went they all to the Church together, and sung *Te Deum*.

Deposing of Pope John 23. *Ex Hist. Alsted.*

The election of Pope *Martine*. The Emperor kisseth the Popes feet.

Pope *Martine*.

The next day following, this *Martine* was made Priest (which before was but a Cardinal Deacon) and the next after was consecrate Bishop, and sang his first Mass, whereat was present 140. mitred Bishops. After this the next morrow, the new holy Pope ordained a general procession, where a certain Clerk was appointed to stand with Flax, and fire; who setting the Flax on fire, thus said, *Ecce Pater sanctæ, sic transit gloria mundi. i.* Behold holy Father, thus vadeth the Transitory glory of this World. Which done, the same day the holy Father was brought up into an high Scaffold (saith the Story) I will not say to an high Mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the World, &c. there to be crowned for a triple King. This done, the same day after Dinner, the new crowned Pope was with great Triumph brought through the midst of the City of *Constance*, where all the Bishops and Abbots followed with their Miters. The Popes Horse was all Trapt with red Skarlet down to the ground. The Cardinals Horses were all in white Silk; the Emperor on the right side, and Prince Electon on the left, (playing both the Popes Footmen) went on foot, leading the Popes Horse by the Bridle.

The Coronation of Pope *Martine*. *Mirabile relatu sed per ista non affirmo, ideoque ipsis.*

The Pope on Horseback, the Emperor on foot.

As this Pageant thus with the great Giant proceeded, and came to the Market place, there the *Jews* (according to the manner) offered to him their Law and Ceremonies. Which the Pope receiving, cast behind him saying, *Recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia. i.* Let old things pass, all things be made new, &c. *Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Ursperg.*

Why then doth the Pope keep still the old Jews ceremonies, if all things be made new?

{Anno 1417.}

This was *Anno*, 1417.

Thus the Pope, being now confirmed in his Kingdom, first beginneth to write his Letters to the *Bohemians*, wherein partly he moveth them to Catholick Obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, saigning that if it were not for the Emperors request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly and finally he threateneth to attempt the uttermost against them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the Apostolick, as also with the secular Arm, if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new Bishop did nothing move the constant hearts of the *Bohemians*, whom the inward zeal of Christs Word had before inflamed.

And although it had been to be wished, such bloodshed and wars not to have followed; yet to say the truth, how could these *Rabines* greatly blame them herein, whom their bloudy Tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now with their gloting Letters they could not so easily appease them again?

Wherefore these forefaid *Bohemians*, partly for the love of *John Hus* and *Jerome* their Country-men, partly for the hatred of their maglignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn Memorial of the death of *John Hus* and *Jerome*, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their Friends they obtained certain Churches of the King, wherein they might freely Preach and Minister the Sacraments unto the Congregation. This done, they suppressed divers Monasteries, Pharisaical Temples, and Idolatrous Fanes, beginning first with the great Monastery of the Black-Friers, eight Miles from *Prague*, driving away the wicked and vicious Priests and Monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better Order. And thus their number more and more increasing under the safe conduct of a certain Noble Man named *Nicholas*, they went again unto the King, requiring to have more and ampler Churches granted unto them. The King seemed at the first willingly and gently to give ear unto the said *Nicholas* intreating for the people, and commanded them to come again the next day.

A yearly memorial of *J. Hus* and *Jerome* kept among the *Bohemians*.

When the people were departed, the King turning himself to the Noble Man *Nicholas*, which tarried still behind, said; *Thou hast begun a Work to put me out of my Kingdom, but I will make a Rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee.* Whereupon he immediately departed out of the Kings presence, and the King himself went into the Castle of *Visegrade*: within a while after, into a new Castle, which he himself had builded five stones casts from thence, sending Embassadors to his Brother to require aid.

K. Wenceslaus threateneth Nicholas.

These Protestants being Assembled in the Town of *Prague*, holding their Conventions, the King sent forth his Chamberlain with three hundred Horsemen to run upon them; but he having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the King, all that were about him being amazed, utterly detested the fact: but the Kings Cupbearer standing by, said, *I knew before that these things would thus come to pass.* Whom the King in a rage taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with his Dagger would have slain him; but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the King being taken with a Palsie fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death, incessantly calling for aid of his Brother, and other his Friends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had sent unto, were come with aid, when he had Reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of seven and fifty years.

The death of King Wenceslaus.

The marvellous work of Gods Judgement to be noted, in defending his people.

The Story of Zisca.

Immediately after the death of *Wenceslaus*, there was a certain Nobleman named *Zisca*, born at *Trosnovia*, which from his youth upward was brought up in the Kings Court, and had lost one of his eyes in a Battel, whereas he had valiantly born himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, minding to revenge the injuries which the Council had done, greatly to the dishonor of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, upon their complices and adherents; he gathered together a number of Men of War, and subverted the Monasteries and Idolatrous Temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the Images and Idols, driving away the Priests and Monks, which he said were kept in their Cloysters, like Swine in their sties to be fatted. After this his Army being increased, having gathered together about Forty thousand Men, he attempted to take the Castle of *Visegrade*, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said *Zisca*, under the conduct of *Coranda*, went speedily unto *Pelzima*, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the Town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which tarried behind, took the Castle of *Visegrade*.

Out of Ewil as *Illirius*.

Zisca getteth Pelzima.

Then the Queen *Sophia*, being very careful, sent Letters and Messengers unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, and other Nobles adjoyned unto her, requiring aid and help: But the Emperor made preparation against the *Turk*, which had then lately won certain Castles of him. Whereupon the Queen seeing all aid so far off, together with *Zenko Warterberge*, gathered an Host with the Kings treasure, and fortified the Castle of *Prague*, and the lesser City

The Queen sendeth for *Sigismund* the Emperor.

which joyneth unto the Caſtle, making Gates and Towers of wood upon the Bridge, over the River *Multain*, to ſtop that the Proteſtants ſhould have no paſſage that way. Then it happened that at the *Iſle* of S. *Benedict* one *Peter Sternberge* fought an equal or indifferent battel with them.

In the mean time, the number of the Proteſtants being increaſed in *Prague*, they fought for the Bridge. In which battel many were ſlain on both parts, but at the length the *Huſſites* wan the Bridge and the nether part of Ieſſer *Prague*, the Queens part flying into the upper part thereof: where they turning again fiercely renewed the battel, and fought continually day and night by the ſpace of five days. Many were ſlain on both parts, and goodly buildings were raced, and the Council Houſe, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

The Emperours Ambaſſadors agree with the Citizens of Prague.

During the time of this troubleſome eſtate, the Embaſſadors of the Emperor *Sigiſmund* were come: which taking upon them the rule and governance of the Realm, made a Truce or League with the City of *Prague* under this condition, that the Caſtle of *Viſſegrade* being rendred, it ſhould be lawful for them to ſend Embaſſadors to the Emperor *Sigiſmund* to intreat as touching their Eſtate, and that *Ziſca* ſhould render *Pelzina* and *Pieſta* with the other Forts which he had taken. Theſe conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign Proteſtants departed out of the City, and the Senate of the City, began to govern again according to their acuſtomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the Papiſts which were gone out of the Town, durſt not return again, but ſtill looked for the Emperor, by whoſe preſence they thought they ſhould have been ſafe. But this their hope was fruſtrate by means of certain Letters which were ſent from the Emperor, wherein it was written, that he would ſhortly come and Rule the Kingdom, even after the ſame order and manner as his Father *Charles* had done before him. Whereupon the Proteſtants underſtood that their Sect and Religion ſhould be utterly baniſhed, which was not begun during the Reign of the ſaid *Charles*.

About *Chriſtmas* the Emperor *Sigiſmund* came to *Brunna*, a City of *Moravia*, and there he pardoned the Citizens of *Prague*, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the City, and receive his Rulers and Magiſtrates. Whereunto the whole City obeyed, and the Magiſtrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto Heaven, rejoyced at the coming of the new King. But the Emperor turned another way, and went unto *Uratiſlavia*, the head City of *Sleſia*, where a little before the Communalty of the City had ſlain, in an inſurrection, the Magiſtrates, which his Brother *Wenceſlaus* had ſet in authority;

The City of Prague fall from the Emperor.

the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof when they were reported at *Prague*, the Citizens being feazed by the example of the *Uratiſlavians*, diſtruſting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and having obtained *Conchs*, on their part, which had the government of the Caſtle of *Prague*, they ſent Letters into all the Realm, that no man ſhould ſuffer the Emperor to enter, which was an

The compliant of the City of Prague againſt Sigiſmund.

enemy unto *Bohemе*, and fought nothing elſe but to deſtroy the Kingdom: which alſo bound the ancient City of the *Prutenians* under order by pledges, and put the Marqueſs of *Brandenburge*, from the *Bohemian* Crown: and had not only ſuffered *John Hus* and *Hieronie* of *Prague* to be burned at the Council of *Conſtance*, but alſo procured the ſame, and with all his endeavour did impugn the Doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whileſt theſe things were thus done *Ziſca* having given over *Pelzina* by compoſition, was twice aſſaulted by his Enemies, but through policy he was always Victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his Enemies were on Horſeback, and his Soldiers on Foot, neither could

The policy of Ziſca.

there be any battel fought but on foot. Whereupon when his Enemies were alighted from their Horſes, *Ziſca* commanded the Women which cuſtomably followed the Hoſt, to caſt their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the Horſemen being intangled by their Spurs, were ſlain before they could unlooſe their feet.

After this, he went unto *Auſca*, a Town ſituate upon the River *Lucinitius*, out of which Town, *Procopius* and *Ulricius*, two Brethren Papiſts, had caſt out many Proteſtants. This Town *Ziſca* took by force of Arms the firſt night of *Lent*, raced it, and ſet it on fire. He alſo took the Caſtle of *Litiſes*, which was a Mile off, whither *Ulricius* was fled, and put *Ulricius* and all his Family to the Sword ſaving one only.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The City of Chaboa builded.

Then foraſmuch as he had no walled or fenced Town to inhabite, he choſe out a certain place upon the ſame River, which was fenced by nature, about eight Miles from the City of *Auſca*. This place he compaſſed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them Houſes, where they had pitched their Tents, and named this City *Thabor*, and the Inhabitants his Companions *Thaborites*, becauſe their City by all like, was builded upon the top of ſome Hill or Mount. This City, albeit it was fenced with high Rocks and Cleaves, yet was it compaſſed with a wall and vaumure, and the River *Lucinitius* fenceth a great part of the Town; the reſt is compaſſed in with a great Brook, the which running ſtraight into the River *Lucinitius*, is ſtopped by a great Rock, and drivn back towards the right hand all the length of the City, and at the further end it joyneth with the great River. The way unto it by land is ſcarce thirty foot broad, for it is almoſt an Iſland. In this place there was a deep ditch caſt, and a triple wall made, of ſuch thickneſs, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of Towers and Forts ſet in their convenient and meet places. *Ziſca* was the firſt that builded the Caſtle, and thoſe that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the *Thaborites* had no Horſemen amongſt them, until ſuch time as *Nicholas*, Maſter of the Mint (whom the Emperor had ſent into *Bohemia* with a thouſand Horſemen to ſet things in order, and to withſtand the *Thaborites*, lodging all night in a Village named *Vogize*) was ſurpriſed by *Ziſca* coming upon him ſuddenly in the night, taking away all his Horſe and Armour, and ſetting fire upon the Village. Then *Ziſca* taught his Souldiers to mount on Horſeback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to caſt a ring, ſo that after this he never led Army without his wings of Horſemen.

In this mean time *Sigiſmundus* the Emperor gathering together the Nobles of *Sleſia*, entred into *Boheme*, and went into *Grecium*, and from thence with a great Army unto *Cuthna*, alluring *Concho* with many great and large promiſes to render up the Caſtle of *Prague* unto him, and there placed him to annoy the Town. This *Concho*, infamed with double Treaſon, returned home. The Citizens of *Prague* ſent for *Ziſca*, who ſpeeding himſelf thither with the *Thaborites*, received the City under his governance. In the *Bohemians* Hoſt there were but only two Barons, *Hilco*, *Cruſina* of *Lituburge*, and *Hilco* of *Waldeſtene*, with a few other Nobles. All the reſidue were of the Common-people. They went about firſt to ſubdue the Caſtle, which was by nature very ſtrongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with Famine: Whereupon all the paſſages were ſtopped, that no Victuals ſhould be carried in. But the Emperor opened the paſſages by dint of Sword, and when he had given unto them which were beſieged all things neceſſary, having ſent for aid out of the Empire, he determined ſhortly after to beſiege the City. There were in the Emperors Camp the Dukes of *Saxon*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburge*, and his Son in Law of *Albort* of *Auſtrich*. The City was aſſaulted by the ſpace of ſix weeks. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* was Crowned in the Metropolitan Houſe in the Caſtle, *Conradus* the Archbiſhop ſolemniſing the ceremonies of the Coronation. The City was ſtraitly beſieged. In the mean time the Captains *Roſenſes* and *Chragery*, which had taken the Tents of the *Thaborites*, being overcome in battel by *Nicholas Hus*, whom *Ziſca* had ſent with part of his power, for that purpoſe, were driven out of their Tents, and *Grecium* the Queens City was alſo taken.

Sigiſmund the Emperor raiſeth his ſiege.

Sigiſmund beſieged the City of Prague.

There is alſo above the Town of *Prague* a high Hill, which is called *Videchon*. On this Hill had *Ziſca* ſtrongly planted a garriſon, that his enemies ſhould not poſſeſs it, with whom the Marqueſs of *Miſnian* skirmiſhing, loſt a great part of his Souldiers. For when as the *Miſnians* had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner, which was broken and ſteep, and fiercely ſet upon, when as they could no longer withſtand the violent force of their Enemies, ſome of them were ſlain, and

The Marqueſs of Miſnia overcome in the skirmiſh.

{KING Hen. 5.}

by the multitude and number of his Horſemen being broke, diſcouraged and deſtroyed a great number. *Ziſca* having obtained this Victory, would not ſuffer any Image or Idol to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be bom withal, that Prieſts ſhould miniſter with Copes or Veſtiments: for the which cauſe he was much the more envied amongſt the States of *Boheme*. And the Conſuls of *Prague*, being agrieved at the inſolency of *John Premonſtratenſis*, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they ſuppoſed to be the principals of this faction into the Council Houſe, as though they would confer with them as touching the Common-wealth: and when they were come in, they ſlew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own houſe, thinking the City had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their ſervants being not circumſpect enough, walking down the Court or Yard, waſhed out alſo the Blood of thoſe that were ſlain, throw the Sinks or Chanels; the which being once feen, the people underſtood what was done. By and by there was a tumult; the Council-houſe was ſtraightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal Citizens, which were thought to be the Authors thereof, were ſlain, and divers houſes ſpoyled.

Joannes Premonſtratenſis. The Martyrdom of certain godly Bohemians ſtilly circumvented and killed with the ſword.

Priſoy murthers at length come unto.

The Emperor fighting againſt Ziſca ſhaked the overthrow.

The Abbots of Pelzina ſubverted.

About the ſame time the Caſtle of *Purgel*, wherein the Emperor had left a ſmall Garriſon (whither alſo many Papiſts with their Wives and Children were fled) was through negligence burned, and thoſe which eſcaped out of the fire went unto *Pelzina*. After this divers of the *Bohemian* Captains, and the Senate of *Prague*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Vitold* Duke of *Lituania*, and made him their King. This did *Ziſca* and his adherents gainſay. This *Vitold* ſent *Sigiſmond Coributus* with two thouſand Horſemen into *Boheme*, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of *Prague*. At his coming they determined to lay ſiege unto a Caſtle ſituate upon a Hill, which was called *Charles* Stone.

Ziſca put-teth the Emperor to flight.

Here *Sigiſmundus* had left for a Garriſon four Centurions of Souldiers. The Tents were pitched in three places. The ſiege continued ſix Months, and the aſſault never ceaſed day and night. Five great Slings threw continually great ſtones over the walls, and about two thouſand Veſſels, Tubs, or Baskets, filled with dead carcaſes and other excrements, were caſt in amongſt thoſe which were beſieged: which thing did ſo infect them with ſtench, that their Teeth did either fall out, or were all looſe. Notwithſtanding they bare it out with ſtout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of *Prague*, to faſten their Teeth again.

Stench very hurtful for the Teeths.

In the mean time *Frederick* the Elder, Prince of *Brandenburge*, entring into *Boheme* with a great Power, cauſed them of *Prague* to raiſe the Siege. And *Vitoldus* at the requeſt of *Uladiſlaus* King of *Pole*, which had talked with the Emperor in the Borders of *Hungary*, called *Coributus* his Uncle, with his whole Army, out of *Boheme*. Whereupon the Emperor ſuppoſed that the *Proteſtants* being deſtitute of foreign Aid, would the ſooner do his Commandment: but he was far deceived therein; for they leading their Armies out of *Boheme*, ſubdued the Borderers thereupon adjoyning. It is alſo reported that *Ziſca* went into *Auſtrich*, and when as the Husbandmen of the Country had carried away a great number of their Cattel by water into an Iſle of the River called *Danubius*, and by chance had left certain Calves and Swine in their Villages behind them: *Ziſca* drave them unto the River ſide, and kept them there ſo long, beating them, and cauſing them to roar out and cry, untill that the Cattel feeding in the Iſland, hearing the lowing and grunting of *Ziſca*, the Cattel on the other ſide the water, for the deſire of their like did ſwim over the River; by the means whereof he got and drave away a great booty.

Ziſca loſeth his other eye in battel.

Another Water-like policy of Ziſca.

Ziſca forſaketh divers Towns.

About the ſame time the Emperor *Sigiſmundus* gave unto his Son in law *Albert* Duke of *Auſtrich*, the Country of *Moravia*, becauſe it ſhould not want a Ruler. At the ſame time alſo *Ericine* King of *Denmark*, and *Peter Infant*, Brother to the King of *Portugal* and Father of *James*, Cardinal of Saint *Euſtachius*, came unto the Emperor, being both very expert men in the affairs of War, which did augment the Emperors Hoſt with their Aid and Power. Whereupon they ſtraightway pitched their Camp before *Lutemperge*, a Town of *Moravia*, and

and continued the siege by the space of three Months. There was at that time a certain Knight at *Prague* furnamed *Aqua*, which was very Rich and of great Authority. This man, forsomuch as he had no Child of his own, adopted unto him his Sisters Son, named *Procopius*; whom when he was of mean nature and age, he carried with him into *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, and unto *Jerusalem*, and at his return caused him to be made Prieſt. This man when the Gospel began to flouriſh in *Bohemе*, took arms with *Zisca*, and forsamuch as he was ſtrong and valiant, and alſo painful, he was greatly eſteemed.

Procopius Magnus.

This *Procopius* for his valiant Acts was afterward called *Procopius Magnus*, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the Province of *Moravia*, and the defence of the *Lutemperges*, who receiving a great power by force (mauger all the whole power which lay in the ſiege) carried Victuals into the Town which was beſieged, and ſo did fruſtrate the Emperors ſiege: The Emperor before this,

The vallant courage of Procopius.

had delivered unto the Marqueſſes of *Miſnia* the Bridge and Town of *Alsia*, upon the River of *Albis*, that they ſhould fortifie them with their Garriſons. Whereupon *Zisca* beſieged *Ausca*; and *Frederick* the Marqueſs of *Miſnia*, with his Brother the *Lantzgravoe* of *Turing*, gathering together a great Army out of *Saxonia*, *Turing*, *Miſnia*, and both the *Lusaces*, determined to reſcue and aid thoſe which were beſieged.

There was a great battel fought before the City, and the victory Victory depended long uncertain; but at laſt it fell on the Portellants part. There were ſlain in the battel the *Burgraves* of *Miſnia* or *Chyrpogenſes*, the Barons of *Glychen* and many other Nobles, beſides nine thouſand common Souldiers, and the Town of *Ausca* was taken and utterly raced.

The victory of Portellants.

At the laſt, diſſention riſing between *Zisca* and them of *Prague*, they of *Prague* prepared an Army againſt him, wherewith he perceiving himſelf overmatched, fled unto the River of *Albis*, and was almoſt taken, but that he had paſſage thorow the Town of *Poggiebrat*; but they of *Prague*, purſuing the tail of the battel, flew many of his *Thaborites*. At the length they came unto certain Hills, where *Zisca* going into the valley, knowing the ſtraits of the place, that his Enemies could not ſpread their Army, he commanded his Standard to ſtand ſtill, and exhorting and encouraging his Souldiers he gave them battel.

The battel between the city of Prague and Zisca.

This battel was very fierce and cruel; but *Zisca* having the upper hand, flew three Thouſand of them of *Prague*, and put the reſt to flight, and ſtraightways took the City of *Cautna* by force (which they of *Prague* had repaired) and ſet it on fire: then with all ſpeed he went with his Army to beſiege *Prague*, and incamped within a bow ſhot of the Town. There were many both in the City, and alſo in his Hoſt, which grudged ſore at that ſiege; ſome accuſing *Zisca*, otherſome them of *Prague*. There were great tumults in the Camp, the Souldiers ſaying that it was not reaſonable, that the City ſhould be turnyrefied, which was both the head of the Kingdom, and did not diſſent from them in opinion, ſaying, that the *Bohemians* power would ſoon decay, if their enemies ſhould know that they were divided within themſelves; alſo that they had ſufficient wars againſt the Emperor, and that it was but a fooliſh device to move wars amongſt themſelves. This talk came unto the ear of *Zisca*, who calling together his Army, ſtanding upon a place to be heard ſpake in theſe words.

The noble victory of Zisca.

Zisca beſeecth *Prague.* A notable Oration of *Zisca* to his Souldiers.

BRethren, be ye not aggrieved againſt me, neither accuſe him which hath fought your health and ſafegard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet freſh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your ſake have loſt my ſight, and dwell in darkneſs. Nothing have I gotten by all theſe fortunate battels, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquiſhed; neither do I repent me of my Travels, neither is my blindneſs grievous unto me, but only that I cannot provide for you according to my accuſtomed manner: neither do I perſecute them of Prague *for mine own cauſe, for it is your bloud that they thirſt and ſeek for, and not for mine. It were but ſmall pleaſure for them to deſtroy me, being now an old man and blind, it is your valiantneſs and ſtout ſtomachs which they fear. Either muſt you or they periſh, who whileſt they ſeem to lie in waite for me, do ſeek after your lives. You muſt rather fear civil Wars than foraigen, and civil diſſention ought firſt to be avoided. We will ſubdue* Prague, *and baniſh the ſeditious Citizens before the Emperor ſhall have any news of this ſedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may with the leſs fear look for it, better than if theſe doubtful Citizens of* Prague *were ſtill in our Camp. But becauſe ye ſhall accuſe me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it pleaſe you to ſuffer them of* Prague *to live in quietneſs, I will not be againſt it, ſothat there be no Treaſon wrought. If you determine to have War, I am alſo ready. Look which part you will incline unto, Zisca will be your aid and helper.*

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Souldiers minds were changed, and wholly determined to make Wars, ſo that they ran by and by to take up their Armor and Weapons, to run unto the Walls, to provoke their Enemies to fight for the Gates of the City. *Zisca* in the mean time prepared all things ready for the aſſault. There is a little from *Pelzima* a certain Village named *Rochezana*. In this place there was a Child born of poor and baſe Parentage, whoſe name was *John*; he came unto *Prague*, and got his living there by begging, and learned Grammar and Logick. When he came to Mans ſtate, he became the Schoolmaſter of a Noble Mans Child; and forſomuch as he was of an excellent Wit and ready Tongue, he was received into the College of the Poor: and laſt of all, being made Prieſt, he began to Preach the Word of God to the Citizens of *Prague*, and was named *Joannes de Rochezana*, by the name of the Town where he was born. This Man grew to be of great name and authority in the Town of *Prague*. Whereupon when as *Zisca* beſieged *Prague*, he came by the conſent of the Citizens went out into the Camp, and reconciled *Zisca* again unto the City.

The hearts of the ſouldiers altered by the Oration of Zisca.

Peace between Zisca and Prague, by the means of John de Rochezana.

When as the Emperor perceived that all things came to paſs according unto *Zisca* his will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole State of *Bohemе* did depend, he fought privy means to reconcile and get *Zisca* into his favour, promiſing him the Governance of the whole Kingdom, the guilding of all his Hoſts and Armies, and great yearly revenewes if he would proclaim him King, and cauſe the Cities to be ſworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when as *Zisca* for the performance of the covenants went unto the Emperor, being in his journey at the Caſtle of *Priſcovia*, he was ſtricken with ſickneſs and died.

The Emperor glad to be reconcilled with Zisca.

The death of Zisca at the words of Zisca at his death.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being ſick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the ſkin to be pulled off from his Carcaſe, and the fleſh to be caſt unto the Fowls and Beaſts, and that a Drum ſhould be made of his ſkin, which they ſhould uſe in their battels; affirming, that as ſoon as their enemies ſhould hear the ſound of that Drum, they would not abide but take their flight. The *Thaborites* deſpiſing all other Images, yet ſet up the Picture of *Zisca* over the Gates of the City.

The Epitaph of John Zisca, *the valiant Captain of the* Bohemians.

The Epitaph of Zisca.

JOhn Zisca, not inferiour to an Emperor, or Captain in warlick policy, a ſevere puniſher of the pride and avarice of the Clergy, and a defender of my Country, do lie here. That which *Appius Claudius* by giving good Counſel, and *M. Furius Camillus* by valiantneſs did for the *Romans*; the ſame I being blind have done for my *Bohemians*. I never ſlacked opportunity of battel, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I being blind did foreſee all opportunity of well ordering or doing my buſineſs. Eleven times in joyning battel I went Victor out of the field. I ſeemed to have worthily defended the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry againſt the delicate, fat, and gluttonous Prieſts, and for that cauſe to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deſerved to be numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Notwithſtanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in deſpite of the Pope.

Zisca eleven times victor in the field.

JOANNES

KING Hen. 5.

ΙΩΑΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ Βοημικὸς, ἀπὸ αἰχμαλωσίας

ſuplum By-Σῆς, ἐθνῶ ὃν Θεὸν ἔχολα.

¶ John Zisca a Bohemian, *enemy to all wicked and covetous Prieſts, but with a godly zeal.*

And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy *Zisca*, and other *Bohemians*, which for the more credit we have drawn out of *Æneas Sylvius*, only his railing terms excepted which we have here ſuppreſſed.

All this while the Emperor with the whole power of the *Germans*, were not ſo buſie on the one ſide, but *Martin* the Pope was as much occupied on the other ide: who about the ſame time directed down a terrible Bull, full of all Poiſon, to all Biſhops and Archbiſhops, againſt all ſuch as took any part or ſide with *Wickliff*, *John Hus*, *Jerom*, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which Bull, which I found in an old written Monument, I with the Reader thorowly to peruſe, wherein he ſhall ſee the Pope to pour out at once all his Poiſon.

The Bull of Pope Martin *directed forth againſt the Followers of* John Wickliff *of* England, *of* John Hus *of* Boheme, *and* Jerom *of* Prague.

Pope Martins bloody bull to all Biſhops and Archbiſhops.

MArtin, Biſhop, the ſervant of Gods Servants, to our Reverend Brethren the Archbiſhops of *Salzburgen*, *Guesnen*, and *Pragen*, and to the Biſhops of *Olomucen*, *Lutshomuſlen*, *Bambergen*, *Miſnen*, *Patavien*, *Vratiſlavien*, *Ratiſponen*, *Cracovian*, *Poſnanen*, and *Nitrien*, and alſo to our beloved Children the Inquiſitors appointed of the Prelates above recited, or where elſe ſoever, unto whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, greeting, and Apoſtolical Benedi&tion. Amongſt all other paſtoral cares wherewith we are oppreſſed, this chiefly and ſpecially doth inforce us, that Hereticks with their falſe Doctrine and Errors, being utterly expulſed from amongſt the company of Chriſtian men, and rooted out (ſo far forth as God will make us able to do) the Right and Catholick Faith may remain ſound and undefiled; and that all Chriſtian people, immoveable and inviolate, may ſtand and abide in the ſincerity of the ſame Faith, the whole veil of obſcurity being removed. But lately in divers places of the World, but eſpecially in *Bohemia*, and the Dukedom of *Moravia*, and in the Straits adjoyning thereunto, certain Arch-hereticks have riſen and ſprung up, not againſt one only, but againſt divers and ſundry Documents of the Catholick Faith, being Laid-lopers, Schiſmaticks, and ſeditious Perſons, fraught with deviliſh Pride, and wicked Madneſs, deceived by the ſubtilty of *Satan*, and from one evil Vanity brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe up and ſprang in divers parts of the World, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together, to wit, *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruine and infidelity. For when as thoſe and ſuch like peſtiferous Perſons did in the beginning of their poiſoned Doctrine obſtinately ſow and ſpread abroad perverſe and falſe opinions, the Prelates who had the regiment and execution of the judicial Power, like dumb Dogs not able to Bark, neither yet revenging ſpeedily with the Apoſtle all ſuch diſobedience, nor regarding corporally to caſt out of the Lords houſe (as they were injoyned by the Canons) thoſe fubtil and peſtilent Arch-hereticks, and their wolviſh fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but ſuffering their falſe and pernitious Doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax ſtrong; a great multitude of people inſtead of true Doctrine received thoſe things, which they did long, fallly, pernitiouſly and damnably ſow among them, and giving credit unto them, fell from the right Faith, and are intangled (the more pity) in the foul Errors of *Paganiſm*.

All theſe Errors and Hereſies be, for that they ſpeak againſt the pride of Prelates and their exceſſive dignities.

All the Pages with the Pope, that like not this ſuperſtitious and idolatrous tradi&tions.

Inſomuch, that theſe Arch-hereticks, and ſuch as ſpring of them, have infected the Catholick flock of Chriſt in divers climates of the World, and parts bordering upon the ſame, and have cauſed them to putriſie in the filthy Dunghil of their lies. Wherefore the general Synod of *Conſtance* was compelled with Saint *Auguſtine* to exclaim againſt ſo great and ruinous a Plague of faithful Men, and of the ſound and true Faith it ſelf, ſaying; What ſhall the ſoveraign Medicine of the Church do, with motherly love ſeeking the health of her Sheep, chaſing as it were, amongſt a company of Men frantick, and having the diſeaſe of the Lethargy? What ſhall ſhe deſiſt and leave off her good purpoſe? No, not ſo. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be ſharp to both theſe ſorts, which are the grievous Enemies of her womb. For the Phyſician is ſharp unto the man diſtraught and raging in his frenzie, and yet he is a Father to his own rude and unmannerly Son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by ſhewing therein his great love unto them both. But if they be negligent, and ſuffer them to periſh (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) this Manſlaughter is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe cruelty.

A great difference between a loving Step-father, and the frantick. Where of Babylon.

And therefore the foreſaid Synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preſervation of his Catholick Faith, and augmenting of Chriſtian Religion, and for the ſalvation of Mens ſouls, hath corporally rejected and caſt forth of the houſhold of God, the foreſaid *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerom*; who amongſt other things did believe, preach, teach, and maintain of the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments of the Church, and Articles of the Faith, contrary to that the Holy Church of *Rome* believeth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and have preſumed obſtinately to preach, teach, hold and believe many other moe, to the damnation of themſelves and of others; and the ſaid Synod hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malapert Hereticks from the Communion of the faithful people, and hath declared them to be ſpiritually thrown forth. And many other things both wholeſome and profitable hath the ſame Council, as touching the premiſſes, Stablihed and Decreed, whereby they, which by the means of thoſe Arch-hereticks, and by their falſe Doctrine, have ſpiritually departed from the Lords Houſe, may by the Canonical Rules be reduced to the ſtraight path of truth and verity.

And moreover (as we to our great grief do hear) not only in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and Dukedom of *Morravia*, and other places above recited, but alſo in certain parts and provinces near adjoyning and bordering upon the ſame, there be many other of the ſectaries and followers of the foreſaid Arch-hereticks and Heretical opinions; caſting behind their backs as well the fear of God, as the ſhame of the world, neither receiving Fruit of converſion and repentance by the miſerable deſtruction of the foreſaid *John Hus* and *Jerom*, but as men drowned in the Dungeon of their ſins, ceaſe not to blaſpheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain (whoſe minds the Fathers of his hath damnably blinded) and do read and Study the foreſaid Books or Works, containing Hereſies and Errors, being lately by the foreſaid Synod condemned to be burned; alſo to the peril of themſelves and many other ſimple men, and againſt the Statutes, Decrees, and Ordinances in the Synod aforeſaid, and the Canonical Sanctions, do preſume to preach and teach the ſame, to the great peril of ſouls, and derogation of the Catholick Faith, and ſlander of many other beſides: We therefore conſidering, that Error, where it is not reſiſted, ſeemeth to be allowed and liked; and having a deſire to reſiſt ſuch evil and pernitious Errors, and utterly root them out from amongſt the company of faithful Chriſtians, eſpecially from the aforerecited places of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and other Straits and Ilands joyning and bordering upon the ſame, leſt they ſhould ſtretch out and enlarge their limits; we will and command your diſcretions by our Letters Apoſtolical, the holy Council of *Conſtance* approving and allowing the ſame, that you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other of the Clergy, and every one of you by himſelf, or by any other or others, being grave and fit perſons to have ſpiritual juriſdiction, do ſee that all and ſingular perſons, of what Dignity, Office, Preeminence, State, or Condition ſoever they be, and by what name ſoever they are known, which ſhall preſume otherwiſe to teach, preach, or obſerve, touching the moſt high and excellent, the moſt wholeſome and ſuperadmirable Sacrament of the Bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or elſe of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, Confeſſion of ſins, Penance for ſins, and extreame Unction, or elſe of any other Sacraments of the Church, and the Articles of the Faith, than that which the right Holy and Univerſal Church of *Rome* doth hold, teach, preach, and obſerve; or elſe that ſhall preſume obſtinately by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and teach

We fools thought their life to be madneſs, and their end without honour. Sapient. 5.

Et ego ipſe Jerom to Lea-tus. 1. And his mouth is like the mouth of a Lion. Apoc. 13.

teach the Articles, Books, or Doctrine of the foresaid Arch-hereticks, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, being by the foresaid Synod of *Constance* with their Authors (as is said) damned and condemned, or dare presume publickly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said Arch-hereticks, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the foresaid Errors, as also their believers and adherents; that then as before, you see and cause them, and every of them to be most severely punished, and that you judge and give sentence upon them as Hereticks, and that as arrant Hereticks you leave them to the secular Court or power. Let the receivers also and favourers and defenders of such most pestiferous Persons, notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their Errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous Persons because of carnal affection, or Friendly love, besides the punishment due unto them by both Laws, over and above the same punishment by competent Judges, be for ever afflicted, and for so heinous Acts of theirs, with so severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other in like case offending an example of terror; that at the least, those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

Draconis leo forsquint fergus. The Popes Religion hath left all fruit of humanity.

As touching the third sort, which shall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable Sect, and shall after competent admonition repent and amend themselves of such Errors and Sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy Mother the Church, and fully acknowledge and confess the Catholick Faith: towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

Et odii bellum & regni terra & excommunicationem fugientes cum illo qui fidelem in aquam & excretia ejus. Apoc. 13. *Bi data ejt bis pugna in omnem tribum, & populum, & linguam & gentem*, i. e. And power is given him over all Tribes, and People, and Tongues, and Nations, &c. *Apoc.* 13.

And furthermore we will and command, that by this our authority Apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the Catholick Faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights, and other Magistrates, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, Shires, Countries, and Universities of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages, their Lands and other places, and all other executing Temporal Jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the Law, that they expel out of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages and Lands, and other places, all and all manner of such Hereticks, according to the effect and tenour of the Council of *Lateran*, beginning, *Sicut ait Ecclesia*, &c. that those whom publickly and manifestly by the evidence of their deeds shall be known to be such as like sick and scabbed Sheep infect the Lords Flock, they expel and banish till such time as from us, or you, or else other Ecclesiastical Judges or Inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of *Rome*, they shall receive other Order and countermand; and that they suffer no luch within their Shires and Circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, either yet to use any handy-craft or occupation, or other trades of Merchandise, or else to solace themselves any ways, or frequent the company of Christian men.

And furthermore, if such publick and known Hereticks shall chance to die, (although not so denounced by the Church) yet in this so great a Crime let him and them want Christian burial, and let no Offerings or Oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also from the time of his death, according to the canonical Sanctions being confiscate, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the Ecclesiastical Judges, having power and authority in this behalf, Sentence upon that his or their crime of Herefie be declared, and promulgate; and let such Owners as be found suspect or noted with any such suspition of Herelie, before a competent and Ecclesiastical Judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspition, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a Judge, shew and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as beseemeth in that behalf. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his Oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him be condemned as an Heretick. But such as through negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to shew their faid Innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be Excommunicate, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if by the space of one whole year they shall remain in such Excommunication, then let them as Hereticks be condemned.

{KING Hen. 5.}

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the foresaid pestiferous Doctrine of the Arch-hereticks aforesaid, or in any Article thereof, whether it be by the report of the Seditious, or else well-difposed; let them yet be punished according to the Canons. If only through infamy and suspition of the foresaid Articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspect, and in his purgation canonical for this thing being interdicted, shall fail; let him be accounted as a man convict, and as a convict person by the Canons let him be punished.

Note the tenderness of this loving Mother the Church of *Rome*.

And furthermore, we invocating and putting in execution the Canon of our Predecessor of happy Memory, Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, which beginneth thus, *Ut inquisitionis negotium*, &c. In exhorting-wise require, and also command all Temporal Potentates, Lords and Judges afore recited, by whatsoever Dignities, Offices and Names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the Faithful members and children of the Church, and do rejoyce in the name of Christ, so in likewise for defence of the same Faith, they will obey, intend, give their aid and favourable help to you that are Archbishops, Bishops, and Ecclesiastical men, to Inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other Judges and Ecclesiastical Persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy Mother the Church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid Hereticks, their Believers, their Favourers, their Receivers, and their Defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

Et facies eamus publice, & magnifice, & sonore, & jaspere, & fir-mo, scripto constatibus in manu fua dictante. I. e. And he shall make both little and great, rich and poor, free and bond to take the character in their right hands, &c. *Apoc.* 13.

And that they bring and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the foresaid pestiferous persons to seeking to destroy others with them, into safe keeping and prisons, as by you the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy and Inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their Dominions, Governments and Rectories, where they by Catholick men; that is, by you the Archbishops, Bishops, the Clergy and Inquisitors, or any other that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of Iron under most straight custody for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be by the judgment of the Church finished and determined, and that of such Herelie, by a competent Ecclesiastical Judge (which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the foresaid holy Church of *Rome*) they be condemned.

Satan relinquith his chains.

The residue let the foresaid Temporal Lords, Rectors, Judges, or other their Officers and Purfevants take amongst them with condign deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing left to the prejudice and slander of the foresaid Catholick Faith and Religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtil and crafty men should under the veil of frivolous excuse cloke and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the foresaid Hereticks, their Receivers and Defenders, Favourers, Believers, and Adherents; and also of such as are suspect of Herelie, and with such like perverse Doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction; Therefore as well to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and parts near adjoyning to the same, as all other where this superstitious Doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the Articles hereunder written concerning the Sect of those Arch-Hereticks, for the better direction of the foresaid Catholick Faith.

Touching which Articles, by vertue of holy Obedience, we charge and command you and all other Archbishops and Bishops, all manner of Commissaries and Inquisitors, that every of them within the Diocess and Limits of their Jurisdiction; and also in the foresaid Kingdom and Dukedom, and places near adjoyning, although the same places be beyond the same their Jurisdiction, in the favour of the

Catholick

{KING Hen. 5.} Catholick Faith, do give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those Errors, Archherelies, and most pestiferous Sect aforesaid; and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspect of so pestiferous a Contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the Crime confessed, or of Excommunication, suspention or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and wherefoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an Oath corporally taken, either upon the holy *Evangelists*, or upon the Reliques of Saints, or upon the Image of the Crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the Interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every Article therein written. For we intend against all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Ecclesiastical Persons, or Inquisitors, which shall shew themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their Territories, Dioces, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and depolition of their Pontifical Dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains against such by the Laws limited, and to other yet more grievous (if need require) we our selves will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according as the party his Fact, and filthiness of his Crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those Articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writing are in words as follow.

The old manner of the Popish Oath.

The Articles of John Hus *to be enquired upon.*

1. THere is one only universal Church, which is the University of the Predestinate, as shall after be declared.

2. The universal Church is only one; as there is one University of those that are Predestinate.

3. *Paul* was never a member of the Devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the Church Malignant.

Speaking of the invisible Church, the Article is true.

4. The Reprobate are not parts of the Church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because that the charity of Predestination, which bindeth the same Church together, never faileth.

5. The two Natures (that is) the Divinity and the Humanity, be one Christ.

This Article fetcheth its true sense out of the words of *Jerome* of *Prague*.

6. The Reprobate, although he be sometime in grace according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the holy Church; and the Predestinate is ever a member of the Church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitia*, but not from grace of Predestination; ever taking the Church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this for the Church is an Article of our belief.

7. *Peter* is not, nor ever was the head of the holy Catholick Church.

8. Priests living viciously do defile the authority of Priesthood, and so, as unfaithful Children, do unfaithfully believe of the seven Sacraments, of the Keys of the Church, of Offices, of Censures, of Ceremonies, of the worshipping of Reliques, Indulgences, Orders, and other holy things of the Church.

The Papal Dignity touched.

9. The Papal Dignity came and grew from the Emperor; and his Government and Institution sprang from the Emperors Government.

10. No man can reasonably affirm either of himself or other, that he is the Head of any particular Church, or that the Bishop of *Rome* is the Head of the Church of *Rome*.

11. A man ought not to believe, that he which is Bishop of *Rome* is the head of every particular Church, unless God have predestinate him.

12. None is the Vicar of Christ, or else of *Peter*, unless he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this Power procuratory. For unto the Office of a Vicegerent of Christ is required the conformity of Manners, and the authority of the Institutor.

13. The Pope is not the manifest and true Successor of *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, if he live in manners contrary to *Peter*; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the Vicar of *Judas Iscariot*. And likewise the Cardinals be not the true and manifest Successors of the College of the other Apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the Apostles, keeping the Commandments and Councils of our Lord Jesus Christ.

14. The Doctors alledging that a man, which will not be amended by the Ecclesiastical Censures, is to be delivered to the Secular Powers, do follow in this point the Bishops, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that delivered Christ to the Secular Power (saying, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man*) because he would not obey them in all things; and that such be greater Homicides than *Pilate*.

15. The Ecclesiastical Obedience is such an Obedience as the Priests of the Church have found out, besides the express authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of humane works, is, that they be either vertuous or vitious; And if a man be vitious, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiously, and if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it vertuously. For like as Vice, which is called a great offence or mortal sin, doth stain all the doings of a vitious man; so Vertue doth quicken all the doings of a vertuous man.

16. A Priest of God living after his Law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any Excommunication pretended of the Pope. And further, if the Pope, or any other Magistrate doth forbid a Priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the Order of Priesthood, receiveth in charge the Office of a Preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himself, any Excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

17. By the Censures Ecclesiastical, as of Excommunication, suspending and interdict, the Clergy to their own advancement cause the Lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to *Antichrist*. And it is an evident sign that such Censures proceed from *Antichrist*, which in their Process they call *Fulminationes*; that is, their Thunderbolts wherewith the Clergy principally proceedeth against those that declare the wickedness of *Antichrist*, who so greatly for his own commodity hath abused them.

18. If the Pope be evil, especially if he be a Reprobate, then is he with *Judas* a very Devil, a Thief, and the Son of Perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church Militant, nor any member of the same.

19. The grace of Predestination is the band wherewith the body of the Church and every member of the same is indissolubly joyned to their head Christ.

20. The Pope or Prelate, that is evil and a Reprobate, is a Pastor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a Thief and a Robber in very deed.

John Hus supponderh this Article with this difficult. *Non rationes mentis, sed rationes officii*

21. The Pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his Office-sake, for then ought a King to be called by his Office the most holy One; and the Hangman, with other such Officers also, were to be called holy; yea, the Devil himself ought to be called holy, for as much as he is Gods Officer.

John Hus declareth his mind touching this Article sufficiently before.

22. If the Pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by the right and lawful Election, according to the common custom of men; yet notwithstanding should he otherwise climb than by Christ; yea, though we admit that he should enter by the Election principally made by God. For *Judas Iscariot* was lawfully elect of God Christ Jesus to his Bishoprick, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do unto the Sheepfold.

23. The condemnation of forty five Articles of *John Wickliff* by the Doctors made is unreasonable, wicked and naught, and the cause by them alledged is fained; that is, that none of them are Catholick, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

Election maketh not the Successor of *Peter*, but institution.

24. Not for that the Electors or the most part of them have consented together with lively voice, according to the custom of men upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifest Successor and Vicar of *Peter* the Apostle, or

of

of any other the Apostles in the Ecclesiastical Office. Wherefore, whether the Electors have either well or evil made their Election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the works of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the Church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

One head of the universal Church, beside Christ, hath no foundation in all Scripture.

25. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the Church in Spiritual Causes, which should always be conversant in the Church Militant; for Christ without any such monstrous heads, by his true Disciples sparsed through the whole world, could better a great deal Rule his Church.

26. The Apostles and faithful Priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation; governed the Church before the Popes Office took place, and so might they do again, by like possibily until Christ came to Judgment, if the Office should fail.

Let every one that is suspected in the foresaid Articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth.

The Form and manner of the Popes Inquisition.

IMprimis, Whether he knew *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands?

2. *Item*, Whether he knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sin?

Heresie to pray for *John Wickliff* or *John Hus*, &c.

3. *Item*, Whether that after their deaths, he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either Saints, or else to be saved?

4. *Item*, Whether he thought them, or any of them to be Saints, or whether that ever he spake such words, and whether ever he did exhibite any worship unto them as unto Saints?

5. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, as also the Council of *Constance*, doth represent the universal Church?

Heresie not to believe the Council of *Constance*

6. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that that which the holy Council of *Constance*, representing the universal Church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the Faith, and salvation of Souls, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithful Christians; and that whatsoever the same Council hath condemned, and doth condemn to be contrary both to Faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not?

7. *Item*, Whether he believeth that the condemnations of *John Hus*, *John Wickliff*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, made as well upon their persons, as their Books and Doctrine, by the holy general Council of *Constance*, be rightly and justly made, and of every good Catholick man are so to be holden and affirmed, or not?

8. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were Hereticks or not, and for Hereticks to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their Books and Doctrines were and be perverse or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred Council of *Constance* for Hereticks?

9. *Item*, Whether he have in his custody any Treatises, small Works, Epistles, or other writings in what Language or Tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these Hereticks, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, or any other of their false Disciples and Followers, that he may deliver them to the Ordinaries of that place, or his Commissary, or to the Inquisitors upon his Oath. And if he say that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you swear him to bring the same before his Ordinary, or other aforenamed, within a certain time to him prefixed?

10 *Item*, Whether he knoweth any that hath the Treatises, Works, Epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, in whatsoever Tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their Faith and execution of Justice. {KING. Eliz. 5.}

11. *Item*, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believeth that the Sentence of the holy Council of *Constance* upon the forty five Articles of *John Wickliff*, and the thirty Articles of *John Hus* be not Catholick; which faith that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, othersome blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears?

12. *Item*, Whether he believeth and affirmeth that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear?

13. *Item*, Whether he believeth, that at the Commandment of a Judge or any other it is lawful to take an Oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not?

14. *Item*, Whether he believeth that Perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other mans life, (yea although it be in the cause and defence of the Faith) be a sin or not?

15. *Item*, Whether a man contemning purposely the Rites of the Church, and the Ceremonies of Exorcism, of Catechism, and the consecration of the water of Baptism be in deadly sin or not?

16. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the Priest, in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the figure of Bread and Wine be no material Bread and Wine; but in all points the same very Christ which was crucified upon the Cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father?

17. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the Priest, under the only form of Bread, and besides the form of Wine, be the very Fleth of Christ and his Blood, his Soul and his Deity, and so whole Christ as he is; and in like wise, under the form of Wine, without the form of Bread, be the very Fleth of Christ and his very Blood, his Soul and Deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly?

Heresie to celebrate in both kinds.

18. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that the custom of houseling of the Lay-people under the form of Bread only, observed of the universal Church, and allowed by the only Council of *Constance*, be to be used, and not without the Authority of the Church at mens pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this are to be punished as Hereticks, or not?

19. *Item*, Whether he believe that those which contemn the receiving of the Sacraments of confirmation, or extream Unction; or else the solemnization of Matrimony, commit deadly sin or not?

20. *Item*, Whether he believe that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient Priest, is bound to confess himself only to a Priest, and not to any Lay-man, be he never so devout or good, upon the necessity of Salvation?

21. *Item*, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a Priest may absolve a Sinner confessing himself, and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoyn him penance for the same?

22. *Item*, Whether he believe, that an evil Priest, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other Sacraments even as the Church doth?

23. *Item*, Whether he believe that S. *Peter* was the Vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the Earth?

24. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the Succeffor of *Peter* or not, having supream Authority in the Church of God?

25. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Authority or Jurisdiction of the Pope, an Archbishop or a Bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple Priest or not, although he have charge of Souls?

Heresie to deny the Popes Indulgences.

26. *Item*, Whether he believe, that the Pope may upon a just and good cause give Indulgences and remition of Sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on Pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds? {KING. Eliz. 5.}

27. *Item*, Whether he believe, that by such grant the Pilgrims that vilit those Churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not?

28. *Item*, Whether he believe that all Bishops may grant unto their Subjects, according as the holy Canons do limit, such Indulgences, or not?

Heresie not to worship Images.

29. *Item*, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship Images and the Reliques of Saints, or not?

30. *Item*, Whether he believe that those Religions, which the Church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy Fathers, or not?

31. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope, or any other Prelate for the time being, or their Vicars, may excommunicate their subject Ecclesiastical or Secular for disobedience or contumacy; so that such an one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not?

32. *Item*, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicate, increasing, the Prelates or their Vicars in spiritual things have power to aggravate and to reaggravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the Secular Arm; and that the same Secular Arm or Power ought to be obedient to the Censures, by their Inferiors called for?

33. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope and other Prelates, or else their Vicars, have power in spiritual things to excommunicate Priests, and Lay-men that are stubborn and disobedient, from their Office, Benefice, or entrance into the Church, and from the Administration of the Sacraments of the Church, also to suspend them?

Fleth Popes will be fore to lose nothing.

34. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Ecclesiastical Persons, without committing sin, to have any Possessions and Temporal goods; and whether he believe that it is not lawful for Lay-men to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away and incroachers upon Ecclesiftical goods are to be punished as Committers of Sacrilledge, yea, although such Ecclesiastical Persons live naughtily that have such goods?

Wealthy wickednesse maintained.

35. *Item*, Whether any such taking away or encroaching upon any Prieft rashly or violently made, although the Priest be an evil Liver, be Sacrilledge, or not?

36. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Laymen of whether Sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the Word of God, or not?

The Pope neither preacheth himself, nor yet will suffer other good Priests to preach.

37. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all Priests freely to preach the Word of God whereofever, whenfoever, and to whomfoever it fhall please them, although they be not fent at all?

38. *Item*, Whether he believe that all mortal fins, and especially such as be manifeft and publick, are to be corrected and to be extirpate, or not?

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, That if any by fecret information, by you or any other to be received, fhall be found either infamed or fuspected of any kind of the peftiferous Sect, Herefie, and Doctrine of the moft peftilent men, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the Arch-hereticks aforefaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the forefaid damned men whilft they lived on the Earth, their falfe Followers and Difciples, or any that believeth their Errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongft the number of Catholick men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongft the number of the Saints, either by their preaching, worfhipping, or other ways, wherein they deferve to be fuspected; that then they by you or fome of you may be cited perfonally to appear before you or fome of you, without either Procter or Doctor to anfwer for them, an Oath being openly taken by them as is aforefaid, to fpeak the plain and meer verity of the Articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as cafe and circumftance fhall require, according to your difcretion, as you or any of you fhall fee expedient to proceed againft them, or any of them, according to thefe prefents, or otherwife Canonically, as you fhall think good.

Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be published these present Letters, omitting the Articles and Interrogatories herein contained, in the Cities and other places of your Dioceſs, where conveniently you may; under our Authority, and there to denounce and cauſe to be denounced all and fingular fuch Hereticks, with their Abettors and Favourers of their Herefies and Errors; of what fex or kind foever, that do hold and defend the faid Errors, or do participate any manner of way with Hereticks, privily or apertly; of what ftate, dignity, or condition foever he or they be, Patriarch, Archbifhop, King, Queen, Duke, or of what other dignity either Ecclefiaftical or Secular he be; alfo with their Advocates and Procurators whofoever, which are Believers, Followers, Favourers, Defenders, or Receivers of fuch Hereticks, or fufpected to be Believers, Followers, Fautors, Defenders, or Receivers of them, to be excommunicate every *Sunday* and Feftival day, in the prefence of the people. *Popa ſpiritualia & cadat.*

Furthermore, that you diligently cauſe to be enquired, by the faid our authority, upon all and fingular fuch perſons both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach fuch Errors, or that be Favourers, Receivers and Defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, ſtate, preheminence, degree, order, or condition ſoever. And ſuch as you ſhall find in the ſaid your Inquifition, either by their own confeſſion, or by any other meas to be defamed, or otherwiſe infected with the ſpot of fuch Herefie or Error, you through the ſentence of Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Interdict, and privation of their Dignities, Parſonages, Offices, or other Benefices of the Church, and Fees which they hold of any Church, Monaſtery, and other Eccleſiaſtical Places, alſo of Honours and ſecular Dignities and degrees of Sciences, or other faculties, as alſo by other pains and cenſures of the Church, or by ways and means whatſoever elſe ſhall ſeem to you expedient, by taking and impriſoning their Bodies, and other corporal Puniſhments wherewith Hereticks are puniſhed, or are wont, and are commanded by Canonical Sanctions to be uſed; and if they be Clerks, by degradation, do correct and puniſh, and cauſe them to be corrected and puniſhed with all diligence.

See here the Dragon caſting out of his floods to ſwallow up the Saints.

Furthermore, that you do riſe up ſtourly and couragiouſly againſt ſuch Hereticks, and the goods as well of them, as of the Lay-men, according to the Canonical Sanction made againſt Hereticks and their Followers; under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be ſubject. And alſo ſuch perſons as ſhall be infamed of the Hereſies or Errors aforeſaid, or any of the premiſſes, ſhall be bound to purge themſelves at your arbitrement: but the other, which either by Witneſſes, or by their own confeſſions, or other allegations or probations, ſhall be convicted of the foreſaid Hereſies or Articles, or of any the premiſſes, they ſhall be compelled to revoke and abjure publickly and ſolemnly the ſaid Articles and Errors, and to ſuffer condign penance and puniſhment, yea even to perpetual impriſonment (if need be) for the ſame.

And to the intent that they ſhall not nouriſh any kind of Hereſies hereafter, either in word, deed, or geſture, or ſhall induce other either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly to believe the ſame, they ſhall be forced to put in ſufficient Surety, Who, if it ſo chance that they will not publickly and ſolemnly renounce and abjure their Articles and Errors, and take at your hands condign Penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal puniſhment according to your diſcretion, neither will be contented to put in ſufficient ſurety that they will not hereafter hold or nouriſh theſe Errors and Hereſies, neither will induce other by word or deed privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to believe the ſame, that then you ſhall proceed againſt them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you ſee it ſo expedient, as againſt Hereticks, and as infected with Hereſie, by our authority, according to the Canonical Sanctions ſummarily, and ſimply and plainly, *Sine ſtrepitu & figura judicii*, and of Office, all Appelation or Appellations whatſoever ceaſing, and that you puniſh the ſame, according to the Sanctions and Traditions Canonical, yea if need be, in leaving and committing them to the ſecular power; and againſt ſuch as be Superiors or learned Doctors, laying the Cenſures of Eccleſiaſtical Excommunication, all Appellation ſet aſide, alſo invocating, if need ſhall require, aid of the ſecular arm; The Conſtitution as well of our

Predeceſſor

Pope Martin the Fifth contrary to Pope Boniface the Eighth.

Predeceſſor Pope *Boniface* the Eighth of bleſſed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without his City or Dioceſs (except in certain caſes) or in places being one days journey diſtant from thence where he inhabiteth, ſhall be called into judgment, and that no man do preſume to depute Judges from the See Apoſtolick, without the City and Dioceſs where they are deputed to proceed againſt any; and do preſume to commit their authority to any other perſon or perſons, or to ſetch and remove any man beyond one days journey from out his Dioceſs where he dwelleth, or at moſt two days journey, if it be in a general Council; as alſo all other Conſtitutions of any Biſhop of *Rome*, touching as well Judges delegate, as perſons not be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or elſe any other Edict, indulge, priviledge, or exemption general or ſpecial, granted from the Apoſtolick See, for any perſon or perſons not to be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compaſs of certain limits, or elſe whatſoever thing otherwiſe may hinder, ſtop, or impeach your juriſdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Dat. Conſtant.* the firſt year of our Popedom.

Pope Martin undoeth the Acts and Edicts of all other Popes

¶ This bloody and abominable Commiſſion of Pope *Martin*, which I have copied out of a certain old Monument, remaining in the hands of Maſter *Hackluyt*, Student in the *Temple*, ſeemeth to be directed and given out to the publick deſtruction of all faithful Chriſtian men, about the later end and breaking up of the Council of *Conſtance*. *Anno* 1418. By the which the prudent Reader hath this to note and conſider, what labour, what policy, what counſel, and what Laws have been ſet, what ways have been taken, what feverity hath been ſhewed, how mens power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conſpired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means to ſubvert and ſupplant the Word and Way of the Lord; and yet notwithſtanding man hath not prevailed, but all his force and deviſed policies hath been overthrown, diſpatched, and with the counſel of *Achitophel* and *Ammon*, have been brought to naught, and contrary to the fury of the World the Goſpel of Chriſt hath ſtill increaſed. Neither yet for all this will the Pope ceaſe to ſpurn and rebel ſtill againſt the Kingdom of Chriſt and his Goſpel, againſt which neither he, nor yet the Gates of Hell ſhall ever prevail. The Lord of Hoſts be merciful to his poor perſecuted Flock. *Amen.*

Note how Antichriſt repeth and riſeth againſt Chriſt

Mans power and counſel too weak againſt Chriſt

Againſt this peſtilent Bull and Inquiſition of Pope *Martin* the great *Antichriſt*, I thought good here to adjoyn and annex another contrary writing of the *Bohemians*, bearing the name and ſubſcription of *Procopius*, *Comradus*, and other Captains of the *Bohemians*; which ſeemeth not long after the death of *Ziſca* to be written againſt the peſtiferous See of *Rome*, the tenour whereof here followeth.

A fruitful and Chriſtian Exhortation of the Bohemians *to Kings and Princes, to ſtir them up to the zeal of the Goſpel.*

An exhortation of the Bohemians.

THe Almighty God the Father, by his welbeloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, may in his holy Spirit open the underſtanding both of you and of all Chriſtians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his Doctrine of Righteouſneſs, and may make you to continue therein ſurely eſtabliſhed to the end. This we deſire of you for your ſalvation, all ye honourable, wiſe, and honeſt Noblemen, and all the Communalty, yea Rich and Poor, hear and conſider with diligent heed the words of this preſent Letter, which is ſent unto you from the Country of the *Bohemians*. It is manifeſt and well known to you and many other Cities, Kings, Princes, and Lords, that now a certain number of years there hath been great diſcord betwixt us and you; and there have been ſome which have moved you by Letters, and provoked you to make War againſt us, and to deſtroy us. And as well on your part as ours many men, as well noble as unnoble, have foolihly loſt their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part underſtood our Faith by our own confeſſion, neither whether we be able to prove the ſame out of the Scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the mean time Kings, Princes, Lords and Cities have ſuſtained great damage. And hereof we greatly marvel that you do ſo much truſt and believe the Pope and his Prieſts, which give you drink full of poiſon, and ſuch comfort as no man can underſtand, in that they ſay that they will give you forgiveneſs of all your ſins, and great grace and pardon, to this end that you ſhould War upon us and deſtroy us; whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great Lyes, and a great ſeducing of the Body and Soul of all them that believe them, and put their truſt in them. This we would prove unto them, and overcome them by the holy Scripture; and we would ſuffer, that whoſoever is deſirous to hear, the ſame ſhould hear it. For the Pope and all his Prieſts herein deal with you as the Devil would have done with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of whom *Luke* writeth in his fourth Chapter, That he brought him upon an high hill, and ſhewed unto him in the twinkling of an eye, all the Kingdoms that are in the compaſs of the earth, and ſaid unto him, *I will give thee, &c.* So the Devil deceiveth the Pope, and all the Prieſts with the riches of the World, and worldly power; And they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themſelves ſhall never find favour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, becauſe of their great deceiving of Chriſtendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themſelves have not? So did the Devil, who was rich in promiſing, and poor in giving. And like as the Devil is not aſhamed to call a lye, ſo all they are not aſhamed to ſpeak that which ſhall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures, becauſe for no cauſe they ſtir up Kings, Princes, Lords, and Citizens to make War againſt us, not to the end that the Chriſtian Faith ſhould thereby be defended, but becauſe they fear that their ſecret Vices and Hereſies ſhall be diſcloſed and made manifeſt. For if they had a true cauſe, and a godly love to the Chriſtian Faith, they would then take the Books of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the Weapons of Gods Word, and that is our chief deſire. For ſo did the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who came to the *Pagans* and *Jews*, and brought them from their Infidelity to the true Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and this they did in the Spirit of meekneſs, as the Apoſtle *Paul* writeth in the ſixth Chapter of the *Galatians*, *Brethren, if any man be grieved, &c.* So ought they alſo to do, if they perceived that they were juſt and we unjuſt. And if we would not abide Inſtruction, then they might take to them Kings, Princes, Lords, and Imperial Cities, and reſiſt us according to the Commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the ſubtil defence of all the Biſhops and Prieſts, that they ſay that Maſter *Hus* and *Hierome*, which were burnt at *Conſtance*, were overcome of the holy Father the Pope, and of the whole Council. For ye muſt underſtand that they were not overcome by the Holy Ghoſt, but unjuſtly, with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievouſly punith in all them that gave their counſel and aid thereto. And they ſay it ought not to be ſuffered, that we ſhould be heard in confeſſing our Faith. How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, ſince Chriſt heard the Devil, as it is written in the fourth Chapter of *Matthew*? And they are not better than Chriſt, nor we worſe than the Devil. If they be juſt and have the truth with them (as they ſay they have) and we be unrighteous, why do they fear, ſince the truth ought not be afraid of falſehood, as *Eſdras* writeth in his ſecond Book, the third Chapter? *Zorobabel* declared that truth is of all things the moſt mighty, and overcometh all things. For Chriſt is the truth, *Joh.* 14. *I am the way, the truth, &c.* And the Devil is the Father of lyes, *Joh.* 8. *He is a Lyar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him.* Therefore, if the Pope and his Prieſts have the truth, let them overcome us with the Word of God. But if they have lyes, then they cannot long abide in their preſumption. Wherefore, we exhort and beſeech all the Imperial Cities, all Kings, Princes, Noblemen, Rich and Poor, for Gods ſake, and for his righteouſneſs, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be ſome means made, how we may commune with you ſafely and friendly, at ſome ſuch place as ſhall be fit both for you and us, and bring with you your Biſhops and Teachers, and let them and our Teachers fight together with the Word of God, and let us hear them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or falſe ſubtilty, but only by the Word

The Pope and Prelates by their Letters ſtirred them to fight.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Falſe words to make Fools fain.

The Pope fetcheth the World with vain promiſes of things which he cannot give.

Wherefore the Popes Clergy will abide no Conference with the Laity.

The Devil and the Pope rich in promiſing, and poor in giving.

The Popes pretenced excuſe declared. *Rom.* 1.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing than to fight againſt us, then will we take the Lord to our help and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the Excommunication or Curſe of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the Biſhops, becauſe we know that the Pope is not God, as he maketh himſelf, that he can curſe and excommunicate when he will, or bleſs when he will; who hath now theſe many years curſed and excommunicated us, and yet notwithſtanding God and his gracious bleſſing hath been our help. But peradventure ye will ſay, that though we ſee that Biſhops and Prieſts be evil and wicked, yet we cannot kick them; for who ſhould baptize our Children, who ſhould hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the holy Sacraments? and then alſo we ſhould be within the Excommunication of the Pope, and of his Biſhops. Welbeloved, ye need to take no care for theſe matters. The excommunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Fear ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for thoſe things well enough. If ye would baniſh evil Biſhops and Prieſts, ye ſhould have good Prieſts which ſhould baptize your Children, hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the holy Myſteries, becauſe when the Devil is baniſhed, then place is made for the Holy Ghoſt: So when ill Biſhops and Prieſts ſhall be baniſhed, then place ſhall be made for good Prieſts and Biſhops. Alſo, your Biſhops and Prieſts ſay, That we are Miſcreants and Hereticks, and that we believe not on Purgatory, upon the Virgin *Mary*, nor upon the Saints; wherein they ſay ill, for we will prove by the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods Grace how we ought to believe upon Purgatory, and upon *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, and upon his welbeloved Saints, than they can tell us. Alſo they ſay, That we will not be obedient unto the Pope. Truly when he ſhall become holy and juſt, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, and not before. They ſay alſo, That we deſtroy Gods holy Service, in that we deſtroy Monaſteries, baniſhing thence the wicked Monks and Nuns. Truly we did it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reverend Service of God, but after that we well perceived and conſidered their life and works, then we perceived that they were falſe lowly Hypocrites, and wicked Builders on high, and Sellers of Pardons and Maſſes for the dead, and ſuch as devoured in themſelves the ſins of the people. And

Repentance of Gods bleſſing where the Pope hath curſed.

Objection.

Anſwere.

Chriſt heard the Devil, but the Pope will not hear menconfeſs their Faith.

The Popes falſe Accuſation anſwered.

A juſt and godly requeſt of the *Bohemians*.

{KING Hen. 5.}

whereas they ſaid that they riſe at midnight when other men ſleep, and pray for the ſins of the people: foraſmuch as their ſelling of their Prayers and Maſſes for the dead for Gifts, is no better than Hypocriſie and Hereſie; therefore if we do ſpeak againſt them and deſtroy their Monaſteries, we do not therein deſtroy the Service of God, but rather the Service of the Devil, and the Schools of Hereticks. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently deſtroy them as we do. For Chriſt our Lord did not ordain any ſuch Order, and therefore it muſt needs come to paſs that ſhortly it ſhall be deſtroyed, as our Lord ſaith in the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 15. *Every plant which my Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted up.* We deſire you alſo that ye would diligently conſider the Articles here written, wherein your Biſhops and Prieſts are guilty. *Mat.* 15.

The firſt Article is, That when your Biſhops will ordain Prieſts, they do it not except he that is to be made Prieſt have ſufficient living, either Inheritance left him of his Parents, or of Benefices: whereas notwithſtanding, Chriſt would that Prieſts ſhould be poor, foraſmuch as it is enough for the Scholar to be as his Maſter is, and the Servant to be as his Lord is; and the Biſhops will that they ſhould be rich upon Earth, which is unjuſt before the Lord.

The abuſe of Popiſh Religion in making Prieſts, Cardinals, &c.

The ſecond Article is, That Biſhops take money of ſuch as are to be ordained; but Saint *Peter* did therefore ſharply rebuke *Simon Magus*, when he would have given him money, as it is written in the eighth of the *Acts*. *Acts* 8.

The Third Article is, That they that come to be Prieſts enter into their Prieſthood, not for Gods Service-ſake, becauſe they mean to preach and increaſe it among the Chriſtian people, ſo as the people may be edified and made better, but rather for an idle life, and that they may eat well and drink well, and that they may be honoured and reverenced upon Earth. For every one waiteth upon his Prieſt as a Thief and a Robber, as *John* writeth in his tenth Chapter.

The abuſe of Popiſh Religion in taking Orders.

The fourth Article is, Of Excommunication, which the Pope and all his Prieſts take to themſelves, and therewith fetter and bind all Chriſtian people as they will, and they think that whoſoever they Excommunicate or Curſe, he is accurſed and excommunicate before God. And we will prove by the holy Scripture, that they themſelves are excommunicate and accurſed before God, becauſe they keep not the Commandment of the love of God, whereof the Apoſtle writeth in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the fifteenth Chapter. If any man loveth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he is excommunicate in the day of the coming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are ready bound and excommunicate before God and his Saints; and therefore why fear ye their Excommunication? 1 *Cor.* 16

Popiſh Excommunication abuſed.

The fifth Article is, That they take Gifts to pray for the dead, and to ſay Maſs for their Souls. This is a wickedneſs and Hereſie before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby Prieſts become Merchants of Prayers and of Maſſes; and herewith is all the Church of *Rome* poiſoned and deſiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and ſay Maſs for their Souls, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, foraſmuch as they ought to take no Gifts, neither little nor great. And every one that taketh Rewards to this end, to redeem Souls out of Purgatory, do therewithall caſt their own Souls down into Hell. And they that give any thing to that end, do altogether loſe that which they give: And with ſuch deviliſh ſubtilty the Pope with all his Prieſts have deceived, ſpoiled, and diſherited Kings, Princes, Lords and Knights, and good Houſholders and many other, of their lawful Inheritances, becauſe their Anceſtors and Progenitors gave it to Colleges, Monaſteries, and Churches, that they might make Memorials of them, and to ſing or ſay Prayers or Maſſes for their Souls, that they might be redeemed out of Purgatory. And with ſuch goods, Biſhops, Canons, and Monaſteries have made themſelves ſo rich, that now they fall at variance with Cities and Princes: and whereas they ſhould procure peace betwixt Cities and Rulers, there they are the firſt that begin War; and as long as they have ſuch goods, they will never ceaſe to be at ſtrife with the Lords

The Popes Church poſſeſſed with buying and ſelling their praying and ſinging, and all their doing for money.

Fear of Purgatory hath robbed almoſt all the whole World.

So long as Prieſts be rich, they will never be true Teachers.

Lords and Cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they do as a Dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long he holdeth his peace, and cannot bark; Even so, as long as they have this bone of pleasant riches, it will never be well in the World. Wherefore all Kings, Princes, and Imperial Cities should do a great Work of godliness and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the Dog is when the bone is taken from him.

The subtilty of the Devil in making the Church rich

And therefore ye noble Men, Kings, Princes, Lords, Imperial Cities, and all the Communalty, both rich and poor, if ye have been asleep, yet now awaken and open your eyes, and behold the subtilty of the Devil, how he hath blinded the Church of *Rome*, and take again that which is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your Souls, then do as the *Wiseman* saith, Ecc. 19. *Eccles.* 19. *Lay up Alms, &c.*

The sixth Article is, that they are full of pride and of high mind, which is manifestly known by their long, costly, and superfluous Garments, wherein they walk very unlike to Christ our Lord, who had a Garment without a seam, and to the welbeloved *John Baptist*, who had a Garment of Camels hair; and they will be honoured and worshipped, and they preach and say, That Priesthood ought to be honoured, and so it ought indeed to be; but there are none that do so much slander and abase it, as they themselves, with their evil Works, gay Apparel, and with their evil words, wherein they pass all other men. Saint *Paul* 1 Tim. 3. faith in the first to *Timothy*, the third Chapter, *Let the Elders that govern well be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in the Word and Doctrine of the Lord.* Consider, that he saith, *They that govern well.*

Popish Priests with their long and sumptuous Go-more like to the Pharisees than Christ.

Honour in well governing.

The seventh Article is, That they are covetous from the highest to the lowest, and for covetousness they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy Sacraments, which is a great Heresie; for God commanded that they should give freely. Saint *Paul* writeth in the first to *Timothy*, *Covetousness is the root of all mischief, whereunto many have been given, and therefore they are separated from the Faith, and have denied the Truth.*

The Popes Church poisoned with covetousness. 1 Tim. 1.

The eighth Article is, That they commonly are called *Notorious Whoremongers*. This is manifestly seen in their Concubines and Children, which walk openly in all mens sight, and make many mens Wives Whores, or corrupt their Daughters being Virgins, and make them Priests Harlots and Ribalds.

The Popes Church poisoned with whoredom.

The ninth Article is, That they are full of deviliish envy, and especially in all Monasteries they have great envy and hatred amongst themselves, because when any thing is given or disposed to one Monastery or College, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themselves; Like as among Dogs, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing envieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather devour all himself, than give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sin of Envy, giving nothing unto them; And it were better that their Possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his Disciples, saying, *Go ye and preach the Gospel to all men.*

The Popes Church and Monasteries commonly poisoned with deviliish envy.

The tenth Article is, That they are idle, and chiefly the Bishops, Canons, and other Prelates, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of *Christendom*, whereto they have bound themselves, and they eat the bread thereof in idleness, because when other men watch and labour to maintain themselves and their little Ones, then are they with their Lemmons, or else they walk in some City carrying Hawks on their fists, or else they sit at the good Wine with their Concubines, and there they sing and play the *Lucians*, and eat of the best; and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, shall be made Partners of that Curse which is given them of God, because they eat their bread unjustly, whereof Saint *Paul* writeth in the second to the *Thessalonians*, the third Chapter, *He that laboureth not, let him not eat.*

The Popes Church poisoned with Idleness and belly-cheer.

The eleventh Article, That they are notorious Lyars, because, to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lyes which in the Holy Scripture have no foundation nor proof. Of such writeth *John* in the *Apocal.* 21.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The Popes Church infamous with notorious lies.

The twelfth Article is, That they do not rightly give or minister to the people the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they give it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and deviliish sin, and too great malapertness. Herein we would overcome them with the testimonies of the *Evangelists*; I say, we would overcome the Pope, and all his Priests with the Authorities of *Mark*, *Luke*, and *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. and we would suffer, that Kings, Princes, Lords, and all that are willing to hear, should hear it.

The Popes Church erreth in administring one part of the Sacrament.

The thirteenth Article is, That they sit in Spiritual Judgment, and then many times they judge according to favour, and not according to the righteousnes of God, that they take Bribes, giving Sentence for him, which in Gods sight hath the wrongful Cause. Woe be to such Sentences, as it is written in *Esay* 5. *Woe be to you that, &c.*

The Popes Church charged with partiality.

The fourteenth Article is, That they sit hearing Confessions, and when there come to them Usurers, Raveners, and Thieves, they take Bribes of them of their ill-gotten Goods, to spare them; and they willingly suffer them in Cities and Towns. And likewise of Adulterers and other notorious Whoremongers and Whores, and they neither let or stay them in their great sins, to the end that the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which saith, *Gifts and the love of money do draw to Hell, and do blind the eyes of Judges.*

The fifteenth Article is, That they receive Tythes of men, and will of Right have them, and preach and say that men are bound to give them Tythes; and therein they say fally. For they cannot prove by the *New Testament*, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his Disciples warned no man to do so, neither did themselves receive them. But although in the *Old Testament* it was commanded to give Tythes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that Christian-men are bound thereto; For this Precept of the *Old Testament* had an end in the first year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the Precept of Circumcision. Wherefore, beloved, consider and see how your Bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that have no proof. Christ saith in the eleventh of *Luke*, *Give Alms of those things that remain*; but he said not, Give the Tenth of the Goods which ye possess, but give Alms. But when they hear the Word, they may say as the Lawyer said to Christ, *Master, when thou sayest so, thou givest offence*, Luke 11.

He meaneth of claiming Tythes by mere necessity of the old Law, and not by the positive Law of Christ.

The sixteenth Article is, That they in many places lend money or goods to have Treasure or Usury, and they have in Cities and Towns yearly Payments and perpetual Revenues, as great Princes and Lords. Wherein they do against the Gospel, which saith, *Do not ye possess Gold nor Silver.* And whereas they lend for gain and usury, against that speaketh the Lord, *Deuteronomy* the four and twentieth, *Lend not to usury to thy Brother, &c.* Yea, honest, discreet, and welbeloved Lords, all the aforesaid Articles we will prove against the Pope, all his Priests, with many Testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for brevities sake we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly these four Articles, for which we strive, and desire to defend them to the death.

The Popes Church charged with usury.

The first Article is, That all publick and customable mortal sins ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Priests and Lay-men, according to the commandment of the holy Scripture.

The second Article is, That Riches ought to be taken from the Pope and all his Priests, from the highest to the lowest, and they ought to be made poor, as the Disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were; who had nothing of their own, neither Possessions in this World, neither worldly Power.

He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporal possessions.

The third Article is, That the Word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, or without any inhibition of either Spiritual or Earthly Power, openly or manifestly.

Men appointed to preach, may preach through the Pope forbid them.

The

{KING Hen. 5.} When the Pope holdeth his council, let man look on their Wives and Daughters where the Council is kept.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a Council in *Basil*; Wherefore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keep their Wives, their Daughters, and their Virgins from Bishops, Priests, and Monks. And do not think that there is made any holy Assembly of Bishops and Priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom, but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisie, and let, and hinder the righteousnes of God, which is much contrary to them; and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an Holy Assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at *Constance*, who took many of Bishops and Prelates, and suffered them to sleep with their Wives. Ye welbeloved and honest Lords, if ye find any thing in these foresaid Articles or words written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contemn you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendom is so ill kept and led by the Priests of this present Age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you both in body and Soul, *Amen.* In the year of our Lord, 1430.

Procopius, Smabors, Conradus, Samssmolich, Captains of Bohemia.

Now to prosecute the wars of the *Bohemians* again. After *Zisca* was dead, whereof we did entreat before, there was great fear, sorrow, and lamentation in the Army, the Souldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible Captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was a division in the Host, the one part choosing *Procopius Magnus* to be their Captain, the other part saying, that there was none could be found worthy to succeed *Zisca*; whereupon they choosing out certain to serve the wars, named themselves *Orphans*.

The Army of *Zisca* divided.

Thus the *Thaborites* being divided into two Armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, by means of the death of their Captain, named themselves *Orphans*. And albeit that often times there was diffention between them, yet whensoever any forrain power came towards them, they joyned their powers together in one Camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went into any fenced towns, except it were to buy necessaries, but lived with their Wives and Children in their Camps and Tents. They had amongst them many Carres, the which they used as a Bulwork; For whensoever they went unto battel, they made two wings of them, which closed in the Footmen. The wings of the Horsemen were one the outside, and when as they saw their time to joyn battel, the Waggon-men which led the wings going forth unto the Emperors Standard, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they would, did close themselves in together, whereby the enemies being inclosed, so that they could not be refused, they were partly by the Footmen, and partly by the men that were in the Carres, with their Darts slain. The Horsemen fought without the Fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the Carres opening themselves received them as it were into a fenced City; and by this means they got many Victories, so as much as their enemies were ignorant of their policies.

The order and Policy that the Army of *Zisca* used in War after his decease.

These two Armies went forth, the one into *Slesia*, and the other into *Moravia*, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the Town of *Swetly* in *Austrich*, where the *Thaborites* and the *Orphans* two nights continually assaulted the Walls without ceasing; but *Albert* Duke of *Austrich* coming with his Host to aid the Citizens, they fought by the space of almoft four hours, the valiantest warriers being slain on both parts. At the length the battel was broken off, and the *Thaborites* loft their Carres, and *Albert* was put out of his Camp and Tents. Within a while after, *Procopius Magnus* came again and inclosed the City of *Rhetisem* in *Austria* with a notable Siege. They of *Prague* were in his Army, and *Boslaus Cygneus* of whom we spake before, was slain there with a Dart, and the City of *Rhetium* was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgrave of *Malderburge*, Lord of the Town was also taken and carried unto *Prague*, where also he dyed in prison.

Sigismund the Emperor which burned *Hus* and *Jerom* before, now is fain to intreat for his Kingdoms.

These things thus done, the Emperor sent for the Nobles of *Bohemia*, which went unto him unto a Town of *Hongary*, called *Posonium* in the borders of *Austria*, upontthe banks of the River of *Danubius*; but they would not enter into the Town, but remained without the Townin their Tents; whither as the Emperour going out unto them, communed much with them, as touching his right and title, and the recovering of his Fathers Kingdom, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the *Bohemians* minds from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof: They made answer, that he had made war upon them without a cause, and that he had suffered their Countrimen, contrary to his promife, to be burnt at *Constance* not being heard, and the Kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the Nobles of *Bohemia* to be condemned by the Church of *Rome* as Hereticks; and that he should think the force and power of the *Bohemians* not to be so small, but that they would provide for their own honour. Whereunto the Emperor answered very gently, and offered them a General Council, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal Church: but the *Bohemians* which were become valiant Victors in Arms, would not be overcome with words; and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperor returned home.

The death of John Hus and Hierom revenged.

Then Pope *Martin* perceiving the Gospel to encrease daily more and more, sent the Cardinal of *Winchester* an Englishman, born of a Noble House, into *Germany* to move them unto war againit the *Bohemians*. Whereunto the Emperor also did assist him.

The Cardinal of *Winchester* sent into *Germany* to raise war against the *Bohemians*.

There were three Armies provided. In the first Army were the Dukes of *Saxony*, and the lower Cities.

Three Armies prepared against the *Bohemians*.

The second Army, which was gathered of the *Franconians*, was under the conduct of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*.

The third Army was led by *Otho* the Archbishop of *Trevers*, whom the *Rhenenses*, the *Bavarians*, and the Imperial Cities of *Swevia* followed. These armies entring into *Bohemia* in three several parts, after they were passed the Wood, they joyned together and pitched, before *Misna*. This Town a certain learned and eloquent Protestant, named *Prichicho*, the night before had wonn from the Papists; wherefore the Army was determined first to recover that City, before they went any further. But when as news came unto the Host, how the Protestants had gathered an Army, and came with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto *Tacovia*, leaving behind them their warlike Engins with a great prey. The Cardinal was not yet come into the Camp, but meeting them in their flight at *Tacovia*, he marvelled at the coward y flight of so many Noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turn again unto their enemies, which, he said, were farr weaker than they. Which thing when he had long travelled about in vain, he was fain to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entred the Wood, when as the *Bohemians* coming upon them, fet upon the rereward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying before the *Bohemians* left following. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished *Tacovia*; and having obtained great ftore of warlike Engins, they destroyed *Misna*. And when they would have returned home by *Franconia*, they had great sums of money sent unto them, that they ffould not waste or destroy the Countries of *Bamberge* and *Noremberge*; whereby the Holt of the *Bohemians* was greatly enriched.

The Popes Army flieth like Cowardes.

Sigismundus the Emperor, having news of these things, went ftraight unto *Noremberge*, and gathered there new aid and help. Also Pope *Martin* sent *Julian* the Cardinal of Saint *Angel* into *Germany* with his Ambassage, to make War against the *Bohemians*, and that he should be in the Council of *Basil*, which doth now ftortly draw on, be President in the Popes name. He entring into *Germany* went ftraight to *Noremberge* to the Emperor, where many of the Nobles of *Germany* were assembled.

{Anno 1421. The Pope raiseth war the second time against the Bohemians.}

A new war raised by the Pope against the *Bohemians*.

There was a new expedition decreed against the *Bohemians*, against the eighth of the Kalends of *July*, and *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburge* appointed General of that War, which should follow the Cardinal. He entred into *Bohemia* by the way that leadeth unto *Thopa*, and *Albertus* Prince of *Austrich* was appointed to bring his Army thorow *Moravia*.

In this expedition was *Albert* and *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, and *Frederick* Dukes of *Saxony*, *John* and *Albert* Princes of *Brandenburge*, with their Father which was General of those Wars. Also the Bishops of *Hyperbolus*, *Bamberge* and *Eyften*. Also the Company of the *Swevians*, which they called the Company of S. *George*, and the Magistrates of the Imperial Cities, the Bishop of *Mentz*, *Trevers*, and *Colen* sent their aids, and with them the Chieftains of their Provinces. It is said that the number of their Horsemen were above forty thousand, but their Footmen were not full so many, for the *Germans* for the most part do use to fight their battels on horseback.

The number of the Popes Army against the *Bohemians*.

Also *Rhenatus* Prince of *Lorrain* promised to come to these Wars; but being letted by his Civil Wars, forsomuch as he went about to vanquish the Earl of *Vandome*, he could not keep his promise, and the County Palatine of *Rheine*, which did aid and succour the Earl of *Vandome*, could not go against the *Bohemians*. The Cardinal staying for them deferred his journy until the Calends of *August*. In the mean time *Albert* leading his Army out of *Austria*, understanding that the Cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the *Bohemian* power, he returned back again.

Cardinal *Julian* with a mean host entreth *Bohemia*. The cruel slaughter done by the Cardinal.

After this the Cardinal entred into *Bohemia* with a huge Army, and destroyed many of the Protestants towns, killing Men, Women and Children, sparing neither Old nor Young; notwithstanding this his Tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of *Bohemia*, for his Captains feared to enter farr into the Land. The *Bohemians*, affoon as they had heard tell hat their enemy was come, made ready and gathered their Host with all speed, and laid siege to a Tower called *Stiltiverge*, and brought it under subjection.

God striketh a fear into the Popes Army.

In the mean season there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst the Papists throughout the whole Camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy came in sight. The Cardinal *Julianus* marvelled at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an Army to flee, went about unto the Captains, exhorting them to put on Armour, to order their battels, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their Kingdom, or for the possession of Lands, but for their lives, and honour, and Religion of Christ, and for the salvation of souls. How ignominious a thing is it (saith he) for the *Germans* to flee in battel, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extoll? It were much better to dye, than to give place to any enemies before they were seen; for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, which give place unto their enemy in the field: for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls, and except they would even prefently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death. But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness: for the Ensigns were snatched up, and as though there had been no Captain in the Host, every man run headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his Captain, but casting away their Armor with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The Cardinal also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

Rather for the Religion of Antichrist. This Cardinal better loved to preach rather in the Camp than in the Church.

The Cardinals Army run away for fear.

Thus the Protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and couragious, pursued them through the Woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, *Albertus* when he heard tell that the Cardinal was entred into *Bohemia*, with all speed came again out of *Austrich* with his Army, and besieged the strong Town of *Prezorabia*: but when he understood how the Cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through *Moravia*, which was not yet subject unto him and destroyed above fifty Towns with Fire and Sword, took many of their Cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murther and slaughter, and so afflicted them

Great slaughter in *Moravia* by *Albertus*.

that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition, that as touching Religion he would be bound to do that which the Council of *Basil* should determine.

Then was there an Ambassage sent out of *Bohemia* unto *Basil*, where *Sigismund* held the Council, who during the time of the Wars had kept himself at *Noremberge*. wherein was contained, how that he was a *Bohemian* born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to *Rome* for none other cause but to be Crowned, the which his honour should also be a renown to the *Bohemians*, whom to advance it hath been always his special care.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The Council of *Basil*.

A Letter of the Emperor to the *Bohemians*.

Also, how that through his endeavour the Counsel was begun at *Basil*, exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching Religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy Mother the Church; that the Council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the Synod as touching Religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable Kingdom for him, against his return: Neither should the *Bohemians* think to refuse his Regiment, whose Brother, Father, and Uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reign over them after no other mean or sort, than other Christian Kings use to do.

The Council of *Basil* also wrote their letter to the *Bohemians*, that they should send their Ambassadors which would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal Church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an ambassage of three hundred Horse was sent unto *Basil*. The chief whereof were *William Cosca* a valiant Knight, and *Procopius*, surnamed *Magnus*, a man of worthy fame for his manifold Victories, *John Rhochezana* preacher of *Prague*, *Nicholas Galecut*, Minister of the *Thaborites*, and one *Peter* an Englishman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the Town, and many out of the Synod and Council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people: otherforme gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The Matrons, Maids and Children filled the Windows and Houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel, and stout couragious countenances, saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men beheld *Procopius*, saying, this is he which hath overthrown the Papists in so many battels, which hath subverted so many Towns, and slain so many Men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soulders do fear and reverence; also, that he was a bold, valiant and invincible Captain, which could not be overcome with any terror, labour or travail.

The *Bohemians* first sent by the Council.

Safe conduct given to the *Bohemians* to come to the Council.

A doubt among the *Bohemians* whether to go to the Council of *Basil* or no.

This *Maresius* was after a great backfriend to the faithful *Bohemians*.

Three hundred Horsemen of the *Bohemians* sent Ambassage to the Council.

This Englishman was *Peter Payne*.

The reckoning of the *Bohemians* at *Basil*.

Procopius famous among the *Germans*.

The Oration of Cardinal *Julianus*.

These with other Bohemian Ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, Cardinal *Julianus*, sending for them unto the Council house, made a gentle, long and eloquent Oration unto them, exhorting them to unity and peace, saying, that the Church was the Spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the Mother of all faithful, that it hath the Keys of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and fair without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation, and that he which doth conterm the same Church is to be counted as a prophane Ethnick, and Publican, neither can this Church be represented better by any means than in this Council. He exhorteth them also to receive the decrees of the Council, and to give no less credit to the Council than unto the Gospel, by whose authority

{KING Hen. 5.}

thority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the *Bohemians*, which call themselves the Children of the Church, ought to hear the voice of their Mother, which is never unmindful of her Children; how that now of late they have lived apart from their Mother; albeit (said he) that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past which have forsaken their Mother, and yet seeking after Salvation have returned to her again; That in the time of *Noah*'s flood, as many as were without the Ark perished; that the Lords Passover was to be eaten in one House; that there is no Salvation to be fought for out of the Church, and that this is the Garden and famous Fountain of Water, whereof whosoever shall drink, shall not thirst everlastingly; That the *Bohemians* have done as they ought, in that they have fought the Fountains of this Water at the Council, and have determined now at length to give ear unto their Mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all Armor and Weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of War utterly to be rejected. For the Fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever there they would say in their own cause or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred Synode; whereunto not only the *Bohemians*, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers of Eternal life.

A Letter of the Emperor to the *Bohemians*.

The *Bohemians* answer to the Cardinals oration.

This Oration of the Cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the Fathers. Whereunto the *Bohemians* answered in few words. That they neither had contemned the Church nor the Council; that the sentence given at *Constance*, against those which were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the Christian Religion; that the Authority of the Fathers hath always remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the *Bohemians* have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and Gospel; and that they are now come to manifest their innocency before the whole Church, and to require open Audience, where the Laity may also be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the Church of *Rome*, they propounded four Articles.

The Articles wherein the *Bohemians* did digress from the Church of *Rome*.

First, They affirmed, That all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the Communion of the last Supper under both kinds of Bread and Wine.

The second Article. They affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the Clergy by the Law of God.

The third Article. That the preaching of the Word of God is free for all Men, and in all places.

The fourth Article. As touching open crimes and offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the Council in the name of the whole Realm. Then another Ambassador affirmed, That he had heard of the *Bohemians* divers and sundry things offensive to Christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, That they should preach that the invention of the order of begging Friers was Diabolical.

Then *Procopius* rising up, said, Neither is it untrue; for if neither *Moses*, neither before him the Patriarchs, neither after him the Prophets, neither in the New Law Christ and his Apostles did Institute the Order of begging Friers: Who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the Devil, and a work of darkness?

This answer of *Procopius* was derided of them all. And Cardinal *Julianus* went about to prove, That not only the Decrees of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and those things which Christ and his Apostles had Instituted, were of God, but also that all such Decrees as the Church should Ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the Order of begging Friers might seem to be taken out of some part of the Gospel. The *Bohemians* chose out four Divines which should declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there were four appointed by the Council. This Disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alledged on either part, whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that Council.

Certain appointed by the *Bohemians* and the Council to Dispute.

In the mean season, while the *Bohemians* were thus in long conflicts with *Sigismund* the Emperor and the Pope, fighting for their Religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the Popes power was bent against them, God of his goodness had given such noble victories, as is above-expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves; as these things (I say) were doing in *Bohemia*, King *Henry* the fifth fighting likewise in *France*, albeit for no like matter of Religion, fell sick at *Bloys* and died, after he had Reigned nine years, five months, three weeks and odd days from his Coronation. This King in life, and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the Pope and his Chaplains, that he was called of many, The Prince of Priests: who left behind him a Son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen *Katherine*, Daughter to the *French* King, married to him about two or three years before. The name of which Prince, succeeding after his Father, was *Henry* the sixth, left under the Government and Protection of his Uncle, named *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*.

The Death of King Henry the fifth, called Prince of Priests for favouring the Popes.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury *in this Fifth Book Contained.*

54	*Simon Islepe.*	17
56	*Simon Langham.*	2
57	*William Witlesey.*	5
58	*Simon Sudbury.*	6
59	*William Courtnay.*	15
60	*Thomas Arundel.*	18
61	*Henry Chicheſtye*	29

The End of the Fifth Book of Martyrs.

{KING Hen. 6.}

THE Sixth Part or Section;

PERTAINING To the laſt Three Hundred Years.

A Preface to the Reader.

According to the Five ſundry diverſities and alterations of the Church, ſo have I divided hitherto the order of this preſent Church-Story into Five principal parts, every part containing 300 *years. So that now coming to the laſt* 300 *years; that is, to the laſt times of the Church, counting from the time of* Wickliff: *Foraſmuch as in the compaſs of the ſaid laſt* 300 *years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the marvellous reformation of the ſame through the wondrous Operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one Book: I have therefore diſpoſed the ſaid later* 300 *years into divers Books, beginning now with the Sixth Book at the Reign of King* Henry *the Sixth. In which Book, beſide the grievous and ſundry Perſecutions raiſed up by Antichriſt, to be noted, herein is alſo to be obſerved, That whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common People, that this Religion now generally uſed hath ſprung up and riſen but of late, even by the ſpace (as many do think) of* 20 *or* 30 *years, it may now manifeſtly appear, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the Hiſtories hereafter following, how this profeſſion of Chriſt's Religion hath been ſpread abroad in* England *of Old and Ancient time, not only for the ſpace of theſe* 200 *late years, from the time of* Wickliff, *but hath continually from time to time ſparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never ſo perfectly burſt out, as they have done within theſe Hundred years and more; As by theſe Hiſtories here collected and gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the Dioceſs of* Norwich, *ſhall manifeſtly appear: wherein may be ſeen what Men, and how many both Men and Women within the ſaid Dioceſs of* Norwich *have been, which have defended the ſame cauſe of Doctrine which now is received by us in the Church. Which Perſons although then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they Warriers in Chriſts Church, and fought to their power in the ſame cauſe. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the beſt, good Reader, and refer the cauſe thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.*

King Henry the Sixth.

THIS young Prince being under the Age of one Year, after the Death of his Father, ſucceeded in his Reign and Kingdom of *England*, *An.* 1422, and in the Eighth Year {Ann. 1422} was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*: and the ſecond Year after was Crowned alſo at *Paris*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Cardinal, being preſent at them both, and Reigned 38 Years, and then was depoſed by *Edward* the 4th, as hereafter (if Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in his time. In the firſt Year of his Reign was burned the conſtant Witneſs-bearer and *Teſtis* of Chriſts Doctrine, *William Tailor* a Prieſt, under *Henry Chicheſley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Of this *William Tailor* I read, That in the days of *Thomas Arundel* he was firſt apprehended, and abjured. Afterward in the days of *Henry Chicheſley*, about the Year of our Lord 1421, which was a Year before his burning, the ſaid *William Tailor* appeared again in the Convocation before the Archbiſhop, being brought by the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, being complained of to have taught at *Briſtow* theſe Articles followiug:

Firſt, That whoſoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the Devil.

Secondly, That no human perſon is to be worſhipped, but only God is to be adored.

Thirdly, That the Saints are not to be worſhipped nor invocated.

Upon theſe Articles the ſaid *William Tailor* being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the ſame, eſpecially upon the ſecond and third Articles, only in way of reaſoning, and for argument ſake. And to juſtify his Opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his boſom a Paper or Libel written, wherein were contained certain Articles, with the Teſtimonies of the Doctors alledged, and exhibited the ſame unto the Archbiſhop. Who then being bid to ſtand aſide, the Archbiſhop conſulting together with the Biſhops and other Prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Maſter *John Caſtle*, and *John Rikinghale*, the two Vice-Chancellors of *Oxford*, and *Cambride*, and to *John Langdon* Monk of *Canterbury*. Who adviſing with themſelves, and with other Divines, about the Articles and Allegations, on the Monday following preſented the ſaid Articles of *William Tailor* to the Archbiſhops and Prelates, as Erroneous and Heretical. Whereupon *William Tailor*, being called before them, in concluſion was contented to revoke the ſame, and for his Penance was by them condemned to perpetual Priſon.

William Tailor the firſt time apprehended. *William Tailor* again appeareth before the Archbiſhop. Three Articles firſt objected to *William Tailor*.

Notwithſtanding, through favour, they were contented that he ſhould be releaſed from his carceral indurance, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſurety in the Kings *Chancery*, and ſwear that he ſhall never hold nor favour any ſuch Opinions hereafter. And thus the ſaid *William Tailor*, appointed to appear the next Wedneſday at *Lambeth* before the Archbiſhop, to take his Abſolution from his long Excommunication during the time from *Thomas Arundel*, appeared again before him: where he laying aſide his Arunſouſa, that is, his Cloak, his Cap, and ſtrippèd unto his Doublet, kneeled at the feet of the Archbiſhop. Who then ſtanding up, and having a Rod in his hand, began the Pſalm *Miſerere*, &c. His Chaplains anſwering the ſecond Verſe. After that was ſaid the Collect, *Deus cui proprium*, &c. with certain other prayers. And ſo taking an Oath of him, the Archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to whom power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, upon the conditons aforeſaid. And thus was *William Tailor* for that time Abſolved, being enjoyned notwithſtanding to appear at the next Convocation, whenſoever it ſhould be, before the ſaid Archbiſhop or his Succeſſor that ſhould follow him.

The form of Concordat and Abſolution in the Church to ſuch againſt them that were Excommunicate.

In the mean time, while *William Tailor* was thus in the cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, there paſſed certain writings between him and one *Thomas Smith* Prieſt at *Briſtow*, in the which writings *William Tailor* replied againſt the ſaid *Thomas*, concering the queſtion of worſhipping of Saints. Upon the occaſion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *William Tailor* began a new to be troubled, and was brought again before the publick Convocation of the Clergy by the ſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to anſwer unto his writings. This was *Anno* 1422, the 11th day of February.

Unto

{KING Hen. 6.} Unto the which Convocation the ſaid *William* being preſented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not deny to be of his own hand writing.

The Opinion of William Tailor concerning worſhipping of Saints.

The tenor and effect of whoſe writing only reduced to prove, That every petition and prayer for any Supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no Creature. Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any reſpect to pray to Saints (and bringeth for the ſame *Thomas Aquin*) but only in reſpect of that worſhip, which is called *Cultus latriæ*; And further ſo proſecuteth his mind herein, that he ſeemeth little or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the Papiſts, as moſt plainly appeareth by his own words, ſaying, *Numquam ſamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam vivis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quantum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scripturâ, quæ non falſa, & ex conſona ratione*, &c. And moreover he inferreth the example of *Moſes*, who prayed unto God, alledging the merits of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, paſſing from the teſtimony of *Jerom*, and alledging the example of *Stephen*, ſaith, *Quod nunc magis exaudiur pro venerationibus ſuis, quam tunc exauditus eſt pro lapidatoribus.* And at length he cometh to this concluſion, proving by St. *Auſtin*, in this manner, *Ne igitur cum impiis & idololatris in veteri teſtamento, in circuitu ambulamus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, ſatnam eſt quod faciamus ſecundum conſilium Apoſtoli ſic dicentis, Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut miſericordiam conſequamur, & gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno*, &c. That is, And therefore, leſt we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the *Old Teſtament*, and never come to the center, it is wholſome and good counſel, that we follow the mind of the Apoſtle, ſaying, Let us reſort with boldneſs unto the Throne of his Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help, *&c.*

Aug. Super Pſal. 121.

From Articles by the four Orders of Friers laid againſt *William Tailor.*

Thus much out of the foreſaid writing of *William Tailor*, I have excerped, to the intent that the indifferent Reader, uſing his judgment herein, may ſee how little matter was in this, wherefore he ſhould be condemned by the Papiſts. And yet notwithſtanding the ſame writing, being delivered by the Archbiſhop to the four orders of Friers of *London* to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in theſe points:

1. That every prayer which is a petition of ſome Supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

2. *Item*, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

3. *Item*, To pray to any Creature is to commit Idolatry.

4. Alſo, another Opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth; ſo that although all theſe Opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number, every Order of the four ſorts of Friers, thought to find out ſome matter to offer up to the Archbiſhop againſt him, leſt one Order ſhould ſeem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or elſe perchance leſt any of them ſhould ſeem to favour the party, in bringing nothing againſt him, as the reſt had done.

When the Saturday was come, which was 20th day of *February*, upon the which day the four Orders were appointed to declare their cenſure upon the Articles in the *Chapter-houſe* of *Paul's*, firſt appeareth Frier *Tille*, for the black Friers, then Frier *Winchelſey*, then Frier *Low*, after Frier *Aſhwel*, each Frier for his Order ſeverally bringing his Hereſie, as is above-ſpecified.

Thus the verdict of theſe four Orders being given up to the Archbiſhop, and ſeverally each Order coming in with his Hereſie, which was the twentieth day of *February*; hereupon cometh down a Writ from the King, directed to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, *De hæretico comburendo*, dated the firſt day of *March*, the firſt year of his Reign. The Copy whereof remaineth in the Records of the *Tower*, beginning thus: *Rex Majori & Vice-comitibus.* Whereupon the ſaid *William Tailor*, condemned as a relapſe, firſt was degraded, and after to be burned, and ſo was committed to the Secular Power Power; who then being had to *Smithfield*, the firſt day of *March*, with Chriſtian conſtancy, after long Impriſonment, there did conſummate his Martyrdom, 1422.

William Taller degraded. William Taller burned in Smithfield.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of *John Hus* before, for the Papiſts uſe but one form for all men. Firſt, Degrading them from Prieſthood, by taking from them the Chalice and Patine. From Deaconſhip, by taking from them the Goſpel-Book and Tunicle. From ſub-Deaconſhip, by taking from them the Epiſtle-Book and Tunicle. From Acoluteſhip, by taking from them the Cruet and Candleſtick. From an Exorciſt, by taking away the Book of Exorciſms or Gradual. From the Sextonſhip, by taking away the Church-Door-Key and Surplice. And likewiſe from Benet, in taking away the Surpliſe, and firſt Tonſure, *&c.* All which they orderly accompliſhed upon this godly Martyr, before his burning.

The Popiſh manner of degradation.

The burning of William Tailor *Prieſt.*



The diſpiling of John Florence.



John Florence *a Turner.*

John Florence a Turner.

JOhn *Florence* a Turner, dwelling in *Shelton*, in the Diocefs of *Norwich*, was attached for that he held and taught thefe Hereſies here under-written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

Imprimis, That the Pope and Cardinals have no power to make or conſtitute any Laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept Holy, but only the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

Item, That Men ought to faſt no other time, but of the *Quatuor temporum*.

Item, That Images are not to be worſhipped, neither that the people ought to ſet up any Lights before them in the Churches, neither to go on Pilgrimage, neither to Offer for the Dead, or with Women that are Purified.

He meaneth they ſhould not claim ſuch riches by any tradition.

Item, That Curates ſhould not take the Tithes of their Pariſhioners, but that ſuch Tithes ſhould be divided amongſt the poor Pariſhioners.

Item, That all ſuch as Swear by their life or power, ſhall be damned, except they repent.

{Anno. 1424} Upon Wedneſday being the ſecond day of *Auguſt* in the year of our Lord 1424, the ſaid *John Florence* perſonally appeared before *William Bernam*, Chancellor to *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, where he proceeding againſt him, objected the firſt Article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals; to which Article the ſaid *John Florence* anſwered in this manner: If the Pope lived uprightly as *Peter* lived, he hath power to make Laws; otherwiſe I believe he hath no power. But being afterward threatned by the Judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted himſelf to the correction of the Church, and was Abjured, taking an Oath that from that time forward he ſhould not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any Error or Hereſie contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*, neither maintain, help, or aid any that ſhall teach or hold any ſuch Errors or Hereſies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalf done he was enjoyned this Penance following:

The manner of this diſciplining was with a white Rod chriſe laid upon the head of the Penitentiary.

Three Sundays in a Solemn Proceſſion in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, he ſhould be diſciplined before all the people. The like alſo ſhould be done about his Pariſh-Church of *Shelton*, three other ſeveral Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a publick Penitentiary, his body being covered with a Canvas-ſhirt, and Canvas-breeches, carrying in his hand a Taper of a pound weight; and that done he was diſmiſſed.

Richard Belward *of* Eriſam *in the Diocefs of* Norwich.

Richard Belward of Eriſam in the Diocefs of *Norwich*, was accuſed for holding and teaching theſe Errors and Opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

He meaneth the wicked Biſhops of that time, who uſed curſes God did bleſs. This proveth Sir S. Oldcaſtle to be no Traytor.

Imprimis, That Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters and Ordinaries have no power to Excommunicate, neither can Excommunicate. And albeit that a Biſhop do Excommunicate any Man, God doth abſolve him.

Item, That he held the erronious Opinions and Concluſions that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* held when he was in Priſon, and affirmed that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a true Catholick Man, and falſly condemned and put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

Item, That ſuch as go on Pilgrimage, offering to Images made of Wood and Stone, are Excommunicate, becauſe they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; that is to ſay, the Curates do ſell God upon *Eaſter*-day, when as they receive Offerings of ſuch as ſhould Communicate, before they do Miniſter the Sacrament unto them.

Item, That he counſelled divers Women, that they ſhould not Offer in the Church for the dead, neither with Women that were purified.

The words of the Regiſter.

Item, That he blamed divers of his Neighbours that refuſed his Doctrine, ſaying unto them, Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the Doctrine of my Sect; for your Neighbours which are of my Sect are able to confound and vanquiſh all other that are of your Sect. {KING Hen. 5.}

Item, That the Saints which are in Heaven ought in no caſe to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, That the ſaid *Richard* keepeth Schools of *Lollardy* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the Town of *Dichingham*, and a certain Parchment-maker bringeth him all the Books containing that Doctrine from *London*.

The fifth day of *July* 1424, the ſaid *Richard Belward*, was brought before *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſitting in place of Judgment, where the foreſaid Articles were objected againſt the ſaid *Richard*, which he there denied; whereupon the Biſhop appointed him another day to purge himſelf, the Monday next after the Feaſt of St. *Margaret*: upon which day, being the 24th of *July*, in the year aforeſaid, he appeared again before the Biſhop, and brought with him nine of his Neighbours to purge him upon thoſe Articles, and there did ſolemnly purge himſelf. And afterward, forſomuch as the ſaid Biſhop ſuſpected the ſaid *Richard Belward* greatly of *Lollardy*, he commanded him there preſently to Swear upon the Evangeliſts. That from that day forward he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any Error or Hereſie, contrary to the Church of *Rome*, neither aid, aſſiſt, favour or maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintain the ſaid Errors or Hereſies. In the preſence of Maſter *William Bernam*, *John Wadden*, *Robert Serle*, and *J. Berne* Eſquire, and other of his Neighbours which came unto his purgation.

John Godeſol of Dichingham

In like manner *John Godeſol* of *Dichingham* Parchment-maker, was detected and accuſed upon the ſame Articles, and thereupon brought before the Biſhop, where he denying them, purged himſelf by his Neighbours, as *Richard Belward* before had done, being Sworn alſo in like manner as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accuſed and abjured, as ſhall be more at large declared in the Hiſtory when we come to that year. Sir *Hugh Pie* alſo, Chaplain of *Ludney* in the Diocefs of *Norwich*, was likewiſe accuſed and brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich* the fifth day of *July*, *Anno* 1424, for holding of theſe Opinions following:

Sir Hugh Pie Prieſt.

That the people ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

Item, That the people ought not to give Alms, but only unto ſuch as beg at their doors.

Image of the Croſs not to be worſhipped.

Item, That the Image of the Croſs and other Images are not to be worſhipped. And that the ſaid *Hugh* had caſt the Croſs of *Bromehold* into the fire to be burned, which he took from one *John Wigate* of *Ludney*. Which Articles, as is aforeſaid, being objected againſt him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himſelf by the witneſs of three Lay-men, and three Prieſts. That ſo done, he was Sworn as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, King *Henry* the 6th ſent down moſt cruel Letters of Commiſſion unto *John Exeter* and *Jacolet Germain*, Keeper of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, for the apprehending of Sir *William White* Prieſt, and others ſuſpected of Hereſies, the tenor whereof hereafter enſueth.

The Copy of the Kings Letters directed to *John Exeter* and *Jacolet Germain*, Keeper of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, for the apprehending of Sir *William White* Prieſt, and other (as they called them) *Lollards*.

A Letter of the King.

HEnry *by the grace of God King of* England *and of* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *to his well-beloved* John Exeter, *and* Jacolet Germain, *Keeper of the Caſtle of* Colcheſter, *health:*

Te ſhall underſtand that we fully truſting unto your fidelity and circumſpections, have appointed you ſpontly and ſeverally to take and Arreſt William White *Prieſt, and* Thomas, *late Chaplain of* Stelling, *in the County of* Norfolk, *and* William Northampton *Prieſt, and all other whatſoever they be that are ſuſpect of Hereſie or* Lollardy, *wherſoever they may be found within the Liberties or without, and ſtraightway being ſo taken, to ſend them unto our next Goal*

{KING Hen. 5.} *Goal or Priſon, until ſuch time as we ſhall have taken other order for their delivery: And therefore we ſtraightly command you, that ye diligently attend about the Premiſes, and fulfil the ſame in form aforeſaid. Alſo we charge and command all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other our faithful Officers, by the tenor of theſe Preſents, That they do aſſiſt, aid and counſel you and every of you, in the execution of the Premiſes, as it ſhall be comely for them. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.* Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth of *July*, the ſixth of our Reign.

By vertue of which Commiſſion we find in old Monuments, that within ſhort ſpace after *John Exeter*, which was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, attached ſix perſons in the Town of *Bungay* in the Diocefs of *Norwich*, and committed them to *William Day*, and *William Roe*, Conſtables of the Town of *Bungay*, to be ſent within ten days following, under ſafe cuſtody, unto the Caſtle of *Norwich*. Whoſe names through the Antiquity of the Monument were ſo defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the Book to be read, which were theſe:

Robert Skirving of *Harliſtone*.
William Skirving.
John Terry of *Erſham*.
John Abire of *Erſham*.
John Middleton of *Halve gat*.
John Wayde of *Erſham*.
Richard Clark of *Sething*.
Thomas White of *Bedingham*.
Maſter *Robert Beet* of *Berry*.
Richard Page of *Cliſſly*.

A Catalogue of good Men and Women troubled for ſuſpition of Hereſie.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned, among whom we do ſpecially find mention made of theſe three:

Father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter*.
William White, Prieſt.
John Waddon, Prieſt.

¶ The reſidue, for a great number of good Men and Women were forced to Abjure, ſuſtaining ſuch cruel Penance as pleaſed then the ſaid Biſhop and his Chancellor, to lay upon them. The names of which, both Men and Women, here follow together in this Brief *Catalogue* to be ſeen:

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John Kynget. *Margery Backſter.*
John Skilley. *John Godhold.*
Thomas Albeck. *John Pierce.*
Nicholas Canon of *Eye.*
Thomas Pie. *John Mendham.*
John Middleton. *Thomas Chatris.*
Thomas Wade. *William Taylor.*
John Cuppet, Vicar of *Tunſtal.*
Sir *Hugh Pie*, Prieſt.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Thomas James.
John Fouling.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Thomas Swerden. *Alanus Andrew.*
William Wright.
William Eworden.
William Tailor.
Avis the Wife of *Thomas Moon*, and her Daughter.
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William Bate.
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Rich. Horne of *Erſham.*
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John Spire of *Bungay.*
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Katherine the wife of *Will. Wright.*
William Collin of *Southereke.*
Richard King of *Windham.*
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Thomas Love of *Rokeland.*
Richard Knobbing of *Beckles.*
Richard Grace of *Beckles.*
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John Weſton.
Katherine Hobis.
John Daw.
Robert Grigs of *Martham.*
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Katherine Davy.
Jacob Bodhome, and *Margaret* his Wife.
John Manning of *Marton.*
John Colling of *Beemſter.*
Richard Fletcher of *Beckles* and *Matild* his Wife.
John Eldon of *Beckles.*
Robert Canel, Prieſt.
Nicholas Drey.
William Hardy of *Mundham.*
John Poleyne.

William Bernham, John Exeter being the Regiſter therein; ſo that within the ſpace of three or four years; that is, from the year 1428, unto the year 1431, about the number of 120 Men and Women were examined, and ſuſtained great vexation for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; of whom ſome were only taken upon ſuſpition, for eating of Meats prohibited upon *Vigile*-days; who, upon their purgation made, eſcaped more eaſily away, and with leſs punihment, whoſe name here follow ſubſcribed. *William Biſhop of Norwich, William Bonham* and *Chancellor.*

These three were in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, at his Caſtle of *Framingham*.

Beſide theſe, we alſo find in the ſaid old Monuments within the Diocefs of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, ſpecially in the Towns of *Beckles*, *Erſham*, and *Ludney*, a great number both of Men and Women to have been vexed and caſt into Priſon, and after their Abjuration brought to open ſhame in Churches and Markets, by the Biſhop of the ſaid Diocefs, called *William*, and his Chancellor *Wil-*

¶ John Waddon of Tenterton, *in the County of* Kent, Bartholomew, *Monk of* Eſtham, *in the County of* Norfolk, Cornleader, *a married Man*, William Scuts.

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These fore-named Perſons and Soldiers of Chriſt, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of thoſe days, although they were conſtrained to relent and abjure; that is, to proteſt otherwiſe with their Tongues than their hearts did think, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trained Soldiers in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, although with their Tongues they durſt not expreſs it, we have thought good that their names ſhould not be ſuppreſſed, as well for other ſundry cauſes, as ſpecially for this; either to ſtop the mouths of malignant adverſaries, or to anſwer to their ignorance, who following rather blind affection, than the true knowledge of Times and Antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accuſing the True Doctrine of the Word of God for novelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched Brethren. Who, if they did as well foreſee times paſſed, as they be unwilling to follow times now preſent, they ſhould underſtand as well by theſe Stories as other before, how this Doctrine of the Grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually fought to burſt out, and in ſome places hath prevailed, although in moſt

places,

places, through tyranny and the malice of Men, Chriſts proceedings have been ſuppreſſed and kept under from riſing, ſo much as Mens power and ſtrength joyned with craft and ſubtilty could labour to keep down the ſame; as here by theſe good Men of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* may well appear. For if the knowledge and the good towardneſs of thoſe good Men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been reſtrained through the iniquity of time and tyrannny of Prelates, it had well appeared how old this Doctrine would have been, which now they conterm and reject for the newneſs thereof: neither needed *Bonner* to have asked of *Thomas Hawkes*, and ſuch other, where their Church was forty years ago, in as much as for forty years ago, and more, within the countrey of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, was then found ſuch plenty of the ſame Profeſſion and like Doctrine which we now profeſs. And thus much for the number and names of theſe perſons.

Sooner might ſee the Church here in this age more than forty years before he was born

Now as touching their Articles which they did maintain and defend: Firſt, this is to be conſidered, as I find it in the Regiſtess, ſuch ſociety and agreement of Doctrine to be amongſt them, that almoſt in their Aſſertions and Articles there was no difference. The Doctrine of the one was the Doctrine of all the other: what their Articles were, partly it is ſhewed in the Leaf before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning theſe Articles, that many of them either were falſly objected againſt them, or not truly reported of the Notaries, according as the common manner is of theſe Adverſaries, where the matter is good, there to make Hereſie, and of a little occaſion to ſtir up great matter of ſlander, as they did before by the Articles of *John Wickliff* and *John Hus*, and others moe: So in like manner it ſeemeth they did in the Articles of theſe Men, either miſtaking that which they ſaid, or miſunderſtanding that which they meant, eſpecially in theſe two Articles concerning Baptiſm and paying of Tithes. For whereas they ſpeaking againſt the ceremonial and ſuperſtuous Traditions then uſed in Baptiſm, as Salt, Oil, Spittle, Taper, Light, Chriſmes, exorciſing of the Water, with ſuch other, accounted them as no material thing in the Holy Inſtitution of Baptiſm, the Notaries ſlanderously depraving this their aſſertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, ſo gave out the Article, as though they ſhould hold, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm uſed in the Church by Water is but a light matter and of ſmall effect.

These Men are falſly ſlandered about Baptiſm.

Again, In ſpeaking againſt the Chriſtening the Midwives uſe in private Houſes, againſt the Opinion of ſuch as think ſuch Children to be damned which depart before they come to their Baptiſm, they are falſly reported, as though they ſhould ſay, That Chriſtian people be ſufficiently Baptized in the Blood of Chriſt, and need no Water, and that Infants be ſufficiently Baptiſed, if their Parents be Baptiſed before them. Which thing is ſo contrary to the manifeſt Word, That it is not to be thought any to be ſo ignorant of the Goſpel, that ever would or did affirm the ſame.

Moreover, they thought or ſaid peradventure, That in certain caſes Tithes might be withholden from wicked Prieſts ſometime, and be conferred to better uſes, to the behoof of the poor: Therefore they are falſly ſlandered, as ſaying and affirming, That no Tithes were to be given to the Miniſters and Curates of the Churches.

The Papiſts are but quarrel pickers.

And likewiſe for Matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it conſiſted only in the mutual conſent betwixt the Man and the Woman, needing no other Solemnizing in the publick Church, and all becauſe (as it is like) they denied it to be a Sacrament. Other Articles were objected againſt them, as theſe which hereafter follow:

Articles.

That Auricular Confeſſion is not to be made unto a Prieſt, but unto God only; becauſe no Prieſt hath any power to abſolve a ſinner from his ſin.

Item, That no Prieſt hath power to make the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that, after the Sacramental words, there remaineth pure matrial Bread as before.

Item, That every true Chriſtian-man is a Prieſt to God.

Item, That no Man is bound under pain of damnation unto *Lent*, or any other days prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. {KING Lit. 4.}

Item, That the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Prelates the Diſciples of Antichriſt, and the Pope hath no power to bind and looſe upon Earth.

Item, That it is lawful for every Chriſtian to do any bodily work (ſin only except) upon Holy-days.

Item, That it is lawful for Prieſts to have Wives. In caſe of neceſſity they meant.

Item, That Excommunications and Eccleſiaſtical cenſures given out by the Prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, It is not lawful to Swear in private caſes.

Item, That Men ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

Item, That there is no honour to be given to the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady or any other Saint.

Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the Church by the Prieſt, is not holier or of more vertue than other running or Well-water, becauſe the Lord bleſſed all Waters in their firſt creation.

Item, That the death of *Thomas Becket* was neither Holy nor Meritorious. The death of Thomas Becket.

Item, That the relicts, as dead Mens Bones, ought not to be worſhipped or digged out of their Graves, or ſet up in Shrines.

Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

Item, That Men ought not to pray to any Saint, but only to God.

Item, That the Bells and Ringing in the Church was Ordained for no other purpoſe, but to fill the Prieſts purſes,

Item, That it is no ſin to withſtand the Eccleſiaſtical Precepts.

Item, That the Catholick Church is only the Congregation of Elect. To this Article is meant, that the wicked be in the Church, but out of the Church.

Theſe were the Articles which were generally objected againſt them all, wherein they did ſo agree in one uniform Faith, that whatſoever one did hold, all the other did maintain, and hold the ſame. By the which their conſent and Doctrine is apparent, That they all received it of ſome one Inſtructer, who was *William White*; which being a Scholar and follower of *John Wickliff*, reſorted afterward into this Country of *Norfolk*, there inſtructed theſe Men in the Light of the Goſpel. And now, as we have declared the names and Articles of theſe good Men, ſo it remaineth ſomewhat to ſpeak of their troubles, how they were handled; beginning firſt with *William White*.

William White, Preiſt.

THIS *William White*, being a follower of *John Wickliff*, and a Prieſt, not after the common ſort of Prieſts, but rather to be reputed amongſt the number of them, of whom the wiſe Man ſpeaketh, * *He was as the morning ſtar in the midſt of a cloud*, &c. This Man was well learned, upright and a well-ſpoken Prieſt. He gave over his Prieſthood and Benefice, and took unto him a godly young Woman to his Wife, named *Joan*; notwithſtanding he did not therefore ceaſe to leave from his former Office and Duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praiſe of the Spouſe of Chriſt, by reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his Doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recant at *Canterbury*. *Will. White, Martyr.* {Ann. 1428} {Ex Fabine Ecc. 18.}

That Men ſhould ſeek for the forgiveneſs of their ſins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the Pope, and his Holineſs, is nothing elſe but a Deviliſh eſtate and heavy yoke of Antichriſt, and therefore he is an Enemy unto Chriſts Truth.

That Men ought not to worſhip Images, or other Idolatrous Paintings.

That Men ought not to worſhip the holy Men which are dead. The Romiſh Church aptly reſembled to the curſed Fig-tree.

That the *Romiſh* Church is the Fig-tree which the Lord Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That ſuch as wear Couls, or be Anointed or Shorn, are the lance-Knights and Soldiers of *Lucifer*'s, and that they all, becauſe their Lamps are not burning, ſhall be ſhut out, when as the Lord ſhall come.

Upon

{KING Hen. 6.} Upon which Articles he being attached at *Canterbury* under the Archbiſhop *Henry Chicheſly*, in the Year of our Lord 1424, there for a certain ſpace, ſtoutly and manly witneſſed the truth which he had preached: but like as there he loſt his courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became again much more ſtoutter and ſtronger in Jeſus Chriſt, and confeſſed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into *Norfolk* with his ſaid Wife *Joan*, and there occupying himſelf buſily in teaching and converting the people unto the True Doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt, by the means of the Kings Letters ſent down for that intent and purpoſe, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty Articles, and there was burned in *Norwich*, in the month of *September*, *An.* 1424.

The Biſhops men ſtuffeth him on the mouth, ſo ſtopping the people.

This *William White* and his Wife had his moſt abode with one *Thomas Moon* of *Ludney*. This Man was of ſo devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and deſired him to pray for them: inſomuch that one *Margaret Wright* confeſſed, That if any Saints were to be prayed to, ſhe would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the Stake, thinking to open his mouth to ſpeak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the Biſhops ſervants ſtruck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep ſilence. And thus this good Man, receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great dolour and grief of all the good Men of *Norfolk*. Whoſe ſaid Wife *Joan*, following her Husbands ſootſteps according to her power, teaching and ſowing abroad the ſame Doctrine, confirmed many Men in Gods Truth; wherefore ſhe ſuffered much trouble and puniſhment the ſame Year at the hands of the ſaid Biſhop.

The Burning of William White



The deſcription of the penance of Thomas pye and John Meridham



Father *Abraham*, *John Waddon*, Prieſts, Martyrs and burned.

About the ſame time alſo was burned father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter*, and *John Waddon* Prieſt, for the like Articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what Depoſitions came in againſt them, and what was the order and manner of the Penance enjoyned them, here it might be ſet out at large: but for avoiding of prolixity, it ſhall be ſufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better underſtanding may be given to the Reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

Firſt, Amongſt them which were Arreſted and cauſed to Abjure in this Year aforeſaid ſpecified, 1428, was *Thomas Pie*, and *John Meridham* of *Alborough*, who, being convict upon divers of the Articles before-mentioned, were injoyned Penance to be done in their own Pariſh-Church, as by the Biſhop's Letter directed to the Dean of *Rhodenhall*, and the Pariſh-Prieſt of *Alborough*, doth more at large appear, the Tenor whereof here enſueth:

The Copy of the Biſhop of *Norwich* his Letter.

A Letter of the Biſhop of Norwich.

William *by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of* Norwich, *to our well-beloved Sons in Chriſt, the Dean of* Rhodenhall *of our Diocеſs, and to the Pariſh-Prieſt of the Pariſh-Church of* Alborough *of the ſame our Diocеſs, Health, Grace and Benediction. Foraſmuch as we, according to our Office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the Souls of* Thomas Pie *and* John Meridham *of* Aldborough *of the Diocеſs aforeſaid, becauſe they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Hereſies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of* Rome, *and the Univerſal Church and Catholick Faith, have enjoyned the ſaid* Thomas *and* John, *appearing before us perſonally, and confeſſing before us ſpecially that they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Hereſies, this Penance be hereunder writſen, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in manner, form and time hereunder-written, according as Juſtice doth require; that is to ſay, five ſuffigations or diſciplinings about the Pariſh-Church of* Aldborough *aforeſaid, before a ſolemn Proceſſion for ſeveral Sundays, and three diſciplinings about the Market-place of* Hereſtone *of our ſaid Diocеſs three principal Market-days, bare necked in his head, legs and feet, their bodies being covered only with their ſhirts and breeches, either of them carrying a Taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the Church, as about the Market-place, in every of the foreſaid appointed days; which Tapers, the laſt Sunday after the Penance finiſhed, we will that the ſaid* John *and* Thomas *do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high Altar of the Pariſh-Church of* Aldborough *at the time of the Offertory of the high Maſs the ſame day, and that either of them, going about the Market-place aforeſaid, ſhall make four ſeveral pauſes and ſtays, and at every of thoſe ſame pauſes humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three diſciplinings. Therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you and either of you, joyntly and ſeverally by virtue of your* The manner of the Popiſh Penances.

your obedience, that every Sunday and Market-day, after the receit of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pie *and* John Mendham *to begin and accomplish their said Penance, and so successively to finish the same in manner and form aforeappointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalf, and begin and finish their said Penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorily, that they or either of them appear before us, or our Commissary, in the Chappel of our Palace at* Norwich, *the twelfth day after the Citation so made, if it be a Court day, or else the next Court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cause why they should not be Excommunicate for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of Law, and further to receive such punishment, as Justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the Premises, whether the said* Thomas *and* John *have obeyed your Admonitions, and performed the same Penance or no, we will that you or one of you, which have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us between this and the last day of* November *next coming.* Dated at our Palace of *Norwich* under our Commissaries Seal, the 8th day of *October*, *Anno* 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of their whole Penance: howbeit some were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their Penance they were banished out of the Diocess, and other some more straitly used by longer Imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverly alias *Battild.*

John Beverly. JOhn *Beverly* alias *Battild*, a labourer, was attached by the Vicar of *Southereke*, the Parish-Priest of *Waterden*, and a Lawyer, and so delivered unto Master *William Barnham* the Bishops Commissary, who sent him to the Castle of *Norwich* there to be kept in Irons: where afterward he being brought before the Commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an Oath, that every year afterward he should confess his sins once a year to his Curate, and receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, as other Christians did; and for his offence was enjoyned that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on Bread and Water, and upon the Saturday to be * whipped from the Palace of *Norwich*, going round about by *Tomelands*, and by St. *Michaels* Church, by *Cottlerow*, and about the Market, having in his hand a Wax-Candle of two pence, to offer to the Image of the Trinity after he had done his Penance. And forsomuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon *Easter*-day, and was not shriven in all *Lent*, nor received upon *Easter*-day, the Judge enjoyned him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in *Whitson*-week, having but one meal a day of fish and other white Meats, and after this Penance so done he should depart out of the Diocess, and never come there any more.

* Alias fubligated.

John Skilley of *Flixon*, Miller.

John Skilley. The Penance of J. Skilley. JOhn *Skilley* of *Flixon*, Miller, being apprehended and brought before the Bishop of *Norwich* the 14th day of *March*, 1428, for holding and maintaining the Articles above-written, was thereupon convict and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made (which here to avoid tediousness we omit) he had a most sharp sentence of Penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: That forsomuch as the said *Skilley* was convict by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the Articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly Men into his House, as Sir *William White* Priest, and *John Wadden*, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable Heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of Excommunication which he had incurred by means of his Opinions, he was injoyned for Penance seven years Imprisonment in the Monastery of *Langly*, in the Diocess of *Norwich*. And for so much as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoyned to fast on Bread and Water every Friday by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of *Lent*, and every *Ashmonday*-Thursday, he should appear before the Bishop or his Successor, or Commissary for the time being, in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, together with the other Penitentiaries, to do open Penance for his offences. {KING} {Hen. 6.}

Besides these there were divers other of the same company, which the same year were forced to like Abjuration and Penance. And so to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same Register, which were examined, and did Penance in like sort, to the number of 16 or 17. In the number of whom was *John Baker*, otherwise called *Usher Tonstal*, who for having a Book with the *Pater-Noster*, the *Ave* and *Creed* in *English*, and for certain other Articles of fasting, Confession, and Invocation, contrary to the determination of the *Romish* Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure and sustain such Penance, as the other before him had done.

The Story of Margery Backster.

Margery Backster. ANother was *Margery Backster*, Wife of *William Backster Wright* in *Martham*, the same year accused; against whom one *Joan*, Wife of *Clissland* was brought in by the Bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following:

A Woman brought in for witness in the Popes Court. The Bee will sting. *First*, That the said *Margery Backster* did inform this Deponent, That she should in no case Swear, saying to her in *English*, Dame beware of the Bee, for every Bee will sting, and therefore take heed you Swear not, neither by Bee, neither by our Lady, neither by any other Saint; and if ye do contrary, the Bee will sting your Tongue and venom your Soul.

Against the Popes fasting days. *Item*, This Deponent being demanded by the said *Margery*, what she did every day at Church; she answered, That she kneeled down and said five *Pater-Nosters*, in worship of the Crucifix, and as many *Ave Maries* in worship of our Lady. Whom *Margery* rebuked, saying, You do evil to kneel or pray to such Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in such Churches, neither shall come down out of Heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a Candle lighted, and set under the cover of the Font, will give light by night to those which are in the Church; saying moreover in *English*, Lewd Wrights of Stocks hew and form such Crosses and Images, and after that, lewd Painters gleer them with Colours. And if you desire so much to see the true Cross of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your own House. Which this Deponent being desirous to see, the said *Margery*, stretching out her Arms abroad, said to this Deponent, This is the true Cross of Christ, and this Cross thou oughtest and mayst every day behold and worship in thine own House, and therefore it is but vain to run to the Church to worship dead Crosses and Images. Against Images.

The Sacrament is not God. *Item*, This Deponent being demanded by the said *Margery* how she believed touching the Sacrament of the Altar, said, That she believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration, to be the very Body of Christ in form of Bread. To whom *Margery* said, Your belief is naught. For if every such Sacrament were God, and the very Body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a Thousand Priests and more do every day make a Thousand such gods, and afterward eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily stinking under the Hedges, where you may find a great many such gods if you will seek for them. And therefore know for certainty, That by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because it is falsly and deceitfully ordained by the Priests in the Church, to induce the simple people to Idolatry; for it is only material Bread.

The Bishop a Traitor. Moreover, The said *Margery* said to this Deponent, That *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whom the people called St. *Thomas*, was a false Traitor, and damned in Hell, because he injuriously endowed the Churches with possessions, and raised up many Heresies in the Church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said *Thomas* is accursed; and those false Priests that say

{KING} {Hen. 6.} say that he suffered his death patiently before the Altar, do lie; For as a cowardly Traitor he was slain in the Church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this Deponent saith, that the said *Margery* told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, and especially the Bishop of *Norwich* and others that support and maintain Heresies and Idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false Mammeries and Laws, to extort money from the simple folk to sustain their pride, riot and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father *Abraham*, and *W. White*, a true preacher of the Law of God, and *John Wadden*, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said *Caiaphas*, the Bishop of *Norwich* and his Ministers, which are members of the Devil, before this time, if the Pope had not sent over those false pardons unto those parties, which the said *Caiaphas* had falsly obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the Church. Which pardons brought the simple people to cursed Idolatry. Father Abraham, William White, John Wadden. Against Image worship.

Item, The said *Margery* said to this Deponent, that every faithful Man and Woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the Church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon *Thursday* at night on the fasting days, than to go to the Market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that Pope *Silvester* made the Lent.

William White willing to speak at the stake, was struck on the mouth. *Item*, The said *Margery* said to this Deponent, that *William White* was falsly condemned for an Heretick, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a Devil, one of Bishop *Caiaphas* servants struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

John Pury. John Bunge. Sir John Ubert. *Item*, This Deponent saith, that the said *Margery* taught her that she should not go on Pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of *Walsingham*, nor to any other Saint or place.

Also this Deponent saith, that the said *Margery* defired her that she and *Joan* her Maid would come secretly in the night to her Chamber, and there she should hear her Husband read the Law of Christ unto them; which Law was written in a book that her Husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her Husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also that the same *Margery* had talked with a Woman named *Joan West*, and that the said Woman is in a good way of Salvation.

Also that the said *Margery* said to this Deponent, *Joan*, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you; and this Deponent swear that she would never disclose it, without the said *Margery* gave her occasion. Then said *Margery* unto this Deponent; If thou do accuse me unto the Bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain Frier a Carmelite of *Yarmouth*, which was the best learned Frier in all the Country. Then this Deponent desired to know what she had done to the Frier. Unto whom *Margery* answered, that she had talked with the said Frier, rebuking him because he did begg, saying; that it was no Alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the Plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those Friers. Then the Frier required of the said *Margery*, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said *Margery* (as she affirmed to this Deponent) declared to this Frier the Gospel in English, and then the Frier departed from her. After this the said Frier accused the said *Margery* of Heresie; and the understanding that the Frier had accused her, accused the Frier again, that he would have known her carnally; and because she would not consent unto him, the Frier had accused her of Heresie. And moreover she said, that her Husband would have killed the Frier therefore; and so the Frier for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

Against ill-peculiar confession. This *Margery* also said, that she had oftentimes been friendly confessed to the Dean of the Fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said *Margery* oftentimes money. Then this Deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sins to a Priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any Priest, and therefore she would never confess her self to any Priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no Priest.

Against Image worship. *Item*, That the said *Margery* said to this Deponent, that the people did worship Devils which fell from Heaven with *Lucifer*, which Devils in their Fall to the Earth, entred into the Images which stand in the Churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them; so that the people, worshipping those Images commit Idolatry.

Richard Fletcher. *Item*, She said more to this Deponent, that holy Bread and holy Water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the Bells are to be cast out of the Church, and that they are excommunicated which first ordained them.

Moreover, that the should not be burned, although she were convict of Lollardy, for that she had a Charter of salvation in her body.

Also the said Deponent saith, that *Agnes Berthem* her servant, being sent to the house of the said *Margery* the *Saturday* after *Ashwednesday*, the said *Margery* not being within, found a brass Pot standing over the fire, with a piece of Bacon and Oatmeal seething in it, as the said *Agnes* reported to this Deponent.

There were also, besides this Deponent, divers other sworn and examined upon the said *Margery*, as *John Grimley* and *Agnes Berthem*, servants to *William Clisland*, which all together confirmed the former Depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning *Margery Backster*, which we have gathered out of the old Monuments and Registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said Registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like Depositions made by one *William Wright* against divers good men, as here followeth.

John Pury of Ludney. *First*, This Deponent saith, that *William Taylor* told *John Pury* of *Ludney*, in the house of *John Bungay* of *Begdson*, in the presence of *John Bungay*, *Robert Grigges*, *Wright* of *Martham*, and *John Usher*, that all the good men of *Martham* which were favourers and helpers to that good man *William White*, are evil troubled now a-days, and that the said *William White* was a good and holy Doctor; and that the best Doctor after him was *William Everden*, which wrought with the said *William Taylor* of *Ludney*, by the space of one month, and that the first *Sunday* of the same month, the said *William Everden* did fit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said *William Taylor*, that he would not go to Church to shew himself a Scribe or a Pharisee; and the second *Sunday* he put on gentlemans apparel, and went to *Norwich* to harken how the Bishop and his Ministers used the poor Christians there in prison. W. Everden. Mr. Taylor of Ludney. of Ludney.

Also the said *William Wright* deposed, that *William Taylor* of *Ludney* was one of the Sect, and went to *London* with Sir *Hugh Pie*, and had conversation oftentimes with Sir *William White*, having often conference with the *Lollards* Doctrine.

The Wife and Daughter of Tho. Moon. *Item*, That *Anise*, Wife of *Thomas Moon*, is of the same Sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often, and also the Daughter of *Thomas Moon* is partly of the same Sect, and can read English.

Richard Fletcher of Beckles is a most perfect Doctor in that Sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a Book of the new Law in English, which was Sir *Hugh Pies* first.

Nicholas Belward. *Item*, That *Nicholas Belward*, son of *John Belward*, dwelling in the Parish of *Southelam*, is one of the same Sect, and hath a new Testament which he bought at *London* for four Marks and forty pence, and taught the said *William Wright* and *Margery* his Wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament. A New Testament cost four marks and forty pence.

Item,

Tho. Gremner. *Item*, That *Thomas Gremner*, Turner of *Dychingham*, is perfect in that Sect and Law.

John Clark. *John Clark* the Younger of *Bergh* had the Bedding and Apparel of *William Everden* in his cuſtody, after the return of *William White* from *Bergh*, and is of the ſame Sect.

W. Bate. *Item*, *William Bate*, Tailor of *Sething* and his Wife, and his Son, which can read Engliſh very well, are of the ſame Sect.

W. Skirving. *Item*, *William Skirving* of *Sething* received *Joan* the Wife of *William White* into his houſe, being brought thither by *William Everden*, after their departure from *Martham*.

W. Osburn. John Reve. Baudwin Cooper. *Item*, *Will.* Osburn of *Sething*, *John Reve* Glover, and *Baudwin Cooper* of *Beckles*, are of the ſame Sect.

John Peri. *Item*, *John Peri*, late ſervant of *Thomas Moon*, is of the ſame Sect, and can read well, and did read in the preſence of *William White*, and was the firſt that brought Sir *Hugh Pie* into the company of the *Lollards*, which aſſembled oftentimes together at the houſe of the ſaid *Thomas Moon*, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Sir Hugh Pie Prieſt. *Item*, Sir *Hugh Pie* bequeathed to *Alice*, ſervant to *William White*, a new Teſtament, which they then called the Book of the new Law, and was in the cuſtody of *Oſwald Godfrey* of *Colcheſter*.

Joh. Parker. *John Perker*, Mercer of a Village by *Ipſwich*, is a famous Doctor of that Sect. Alſo he ſaid, that Father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter* is a good man.

A prophecy. *Item*, The ſaid *William Wright* depoſeth, that it is read in the Prophecies amongſt the *Lollards*, that the Sect of the *Lollards* ſhall be in a manner deſtroyed; notwithſtanding at the length the *Lollards* ſhall prevail and have the victory againſt all their enemies.

Alſo he ſaid, that *Tucke* knoweth all of that Sect in *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Eſſex*.

Beſides theſe, there were many other the ſame year troubled, whoſe names being before expreſſed in the table of *Norfolk*-men, here for brevities ſake we omit further to intreat of, paſſing over to the next year following, which was 1430. *Ex Regiſt. Norw.*

Ex Regiſt. Norw.

John Burrel. JOhn Burrel, ſervant to *Thomas Moon* of *Ludney*, in the Diocеſs of *Norwich*, was apprehended and arreſted for Hereſie the 9th day of *September*, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Mr. *William Bernham* the Biſhops Commiſſary, upon the Articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following objected againſt him.

Imprimis, That the Catholick Church is the ſoul of every good Chriſtian man.

Lent faſt, faſh-days. *Item*, That no man is bound to faſt the Lent or other faſting days appointed by the Church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the Prieſts; and that every man may eat fleſh or fiſh upon the ſame days indifferently, according to his own will, and every *Friday* is a free day to eat both fleſh and fiſh indifferently.

Pilgrimage to the poor. *Item*, That Pilgrimage ought not to be made but only unto the poor.

Maſſes for the dead unprofitable. *Item*, That it is not lawful to ſwear, but in caſe of life and death.

Item, That Maſſes and Prayers for the dead are but vain; for the ſouls of the dead are either in Heaven or Hell: and there is none other place of Purgatory but this World.

Upon the which Articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and ſuffered like penance as the other before had done. KING Hen. 6.

Tho. Moon of Ludney. THomas *Moon* of *Ludney* was apprehended and attached for ſuſpition of Hereſie, againſt whom were objected by the Biſhop the Articles before written, but ſpecially this Article, that he had familiarity and communication with divers Hereticks, and had received, comforted, ſupported, and maintained divers of them, as Sir *William White*, Sir *Hugh Pie*, *Tho. Pet*, and *Will. Callis* Prieſts, with many more; upon the which Articles he being convict before the Biſhop was forced to abjure, and received the like penance, in like manner as before.

Will. White, Hugh Pie, Tho. Pet, Will. Callis, Prieſts proſecuted.

Robert Grigges of Martham. In like manner, *Robert Grigges* of *Martham* was brought before the Biſhop the 17. day of *February*, in the ſame year aforeſaid, for holding and affirming the foreſaid Articles, but ſpecially theſe hereafter following.

Articles. That the Sacrament of confirmation, miniſtred by the Biſhop did avail nothing to Salvation.

That it was no ſin to withſtand the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*.

That holy Bread and holy Water were but triſles, and that the bread and water were the worſe for the conjurations and characters which the Prieſts made over them.

Upon which Articles he being convict, was forced to abjure, and received Penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.

John Finch of Colcheſter, Prieſt. The like alſo (albeit ſomewhat more ſharp) happened unto *John Finch* of *Colcheſter*, the 20 day of *September*, who albeit he was of the Diocеſs of *London*, being ſuſpect of Hereſie, was attached in *Ipſwich* in the Diocеſs of *Norwich*, and brought before the Biſhop there, before whom he being convict of the like Articles, as all the other before him, was enjoyned Penance, three diſciplinings in ſolemn proceſſion about the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, three ſeveral Sundays, and three diſciplinings about the Market-place of *Norwich* three principal Market-days, his head and neck and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a ſhort ſhirt or veſture, having in his hand a Taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he ſhould offer to the Trinity; and that for the ſpace of three years after, every *Aſhwedneſday* and *Maunday-Thurſday*, he ſhould appear in the Cathedral Church at *Norwich*, before the Biſhop or his Vicegerent, to do open penance amongſt the other Penitentiaries for his offences.

Popiſh penance.

There were, beſides theſe men which we have here rehearſed, divers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and alſo for that their Articles and puniſhments were all one, we have thought good at this time to paſs over, eſpecially forſomuch as their names be before recited in the Catalogue.

Richard Hoveden Martyr. ABout the ſame time, even the ſame year 1430, ſhortly after the ſolemn Coronation of King *Henry* the ſixth, a certain man named *Richard Howeden*, a Woollen-winder, and Citizen of *London*, received alſo the Crown of Martyrdom. Which man when he could by no perſwaſions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of *Wickliff*, he was by the Rulers of the Church condemned for Hereſie and as *Fabian* writeth, burned hard by the *Tower* of *London*.

THE

KING Hen. 6.

The burning of Richard Houeden.



The burning of Thomas Rhedonenſis.



Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Nicolas Canon of Eye. Ann. 1431. NOw to proceed in our ſtory of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one *Nicolas Canon* of *Eye* was brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich* for ſuſpition of Hereſie, with certain witneſſes ſworn to depoſe againſt him touching his manners and converſation, which witneſſes appointing one *William Chriſtopher* to ſpeak in the name of them all, he depoſed in manner and form following.

Depoſitions. Firſt, that on *Eaſter*-day when all the Pariſhioners went about the Church of *Eye* ſolemnly in Proceſſion, as the manner was, the ſaid *Nicolas Canon*, as it were mocking and deriding the other Pariſhioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the Proceſſion.

This Article he confeſſed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in ſo doing.

Item, The ſaid *Nicolas* asked of Maſter *John Colman* of *Eye* this queſtion, Maſter *Colman*, what think you of the Sacrament of the Altar? To whom the ſaid *Colman* anſwered, *Nicolas*, I think that the Sacrament of the Altar is very God and very man, the very fleſh and very blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt under the form of Bread and Wine. Unto whom *Nicolas* in deriſion ſaid, Truly, if the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and very man, and the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; then may very God and very man be put in a ſmall room; as when it is in the Prieſts mouth, that receiveth it at Maſs. And why may not we ſimple men as well eat fleſh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the Prieſt to eat the fleſh, and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently? The which Article the ſaid *Nicolas* denied that he ſpake unto Maſter *Colman*, but unto a Monk of *Hockeſney*, and ſtiffthermore he thought he had ſpoken well in that behalf.

If the Sacrament be very fleſh, then the Prieſts eat fleſh on Friday.

Item, That upon *Corpus Chriſti* day at the Elevation of High Maſs, when all the Pariſhioners and other ſtrangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the Sacrament, the ſaid *Nicolas* went behind a Pillar of the Church, and turning his face from the High Altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the Sacrament.

This Article he alſo acknowledging affirmed that he believed himſelf to do well in ſo doing.

Item, When his Mother would have the ſaid *Nicolas* to lift up his right hand, and to croſs himſelf from the craſts and aſſaults of the Devil, forſomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his Mother took up his right hand and croſſed him, ſaying, *In nomine patris, filii, & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen.* Which ſo ended, the ſaid *Nicolas* immediately deriding his Mothers bleſſing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and bleſſed him otherwiſe, as his adverſaries report of him. This Article the ſaid *Nicolas* acknowledged to be true.

Nicolas Canon turned his back to the Sacrament. *Item*, That upon *Allhallows*-day, in the time of Elevation of High Maſs, when as many of the Pariſhioners of *Eye* lighted many Torches, and carried them up to the High Altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the Sacrament, the ſaid *Nicolas* carrying a Torch went up hard to the High Altar, and ſtanding behind the Prieſts back faying Maſs, at the time of the Elevation he ſtood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the Prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the Sacrament. This Article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which Articles the Biſhops Commiſſary cauſed to be copied out word for word, and to be ſent unto Maſter *William Worſted*, Prior of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, and to other Doctors of Divinity of the Order of Begging-Friers, that they might deliberate upon them, and thew their minds between that and Thurſday next following. Upon which Thurſday, being the laſt of *November* the year aboveſaid, the ſaid *Nicolas* was again examined before Maſter *Barnam* and divers other, upon two other Articles which he had confeſſed unto *J. Excetor* Notary, and *Thomas Geruſton* Bachelor of Divinity, and others. Whereof the firſt Article was this, That the ſaid *Nicolas Canon* being of perfect mind and remembrance, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the Sacrament of the Altar were the very Body of Chriſt or no. This Article he confeſſed before the Commiſſary to be true.

Another examination of Nicolas Canon.

Articles objected.

Item, That he being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confeſs his ſins to a Prieſt. This Article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what theſe Doctors aforeſaid concluded upon the Articles; whoſe anſwer unto the ſame was this.

The Judgment of the Prior and Doctors upon his Articles. Firſt of all, as touching the firſt Article, they ſaid that the Article in the ſame terms as it was propounded, is not ſimply an Hereſie, but an error.

Item, As touching the ſecond Article, the Doctors agree as in the firſt.

Item, As touching the third Article, they affirm that it is an Herefie.

Unto the fourth Article, they anfwered as unto the firft and fecond.

Item, The Doctors affirm the fifth Article to be an Herefie.

An herefie to doubt whether the Sacrament be the perfect Body of Chrift,or no.

Item, As touching the fixth Article, the Doctors conclude, that if the faid *Nicolas*, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the Sacrament of the Altar were the very perfect Body of Chrift or no, then the Article is fimply an Herefie.

Nic. Canon declared an Heretick.

Whereupon the faid Commiffary declared and pronounced the faid *Nicolas* upon the determination of the faid Doctors,to be an Heretick,and thereupon forced the faid *Nicolas* to abjure all the faid Articles. That done he enjoyned the faid *Nicolas* penance for his offences,three Difciplinings about the Cloifter of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, before a folemn Proceffion, bare headed and bare foot, carrying a Taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforefaid, like a meer Penitentiary : the which his penance the Judg commanded fhould be refpited until the coming of the Bifhop into his Diocefs, and that in the mean time he fhould be kept in prifon,to the end that he fhould not infect the flock with his venom and poyfon of Errors and Herefies.

Penance enjoyned to *Nic. Canon.*

Thus have we briefly difcourfed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by the fpace of thofe four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year, certain notable examples fufficient for the declaration of all the reft, forfomuch as their opinions being nothing different their penance and punifhment did alfo nothing differ, otherwife than by thofe particular examples may be plainly feen,

Thomas Bagley Prieft.

Thomas Bagley Prieft, Martyr.

AND now to proceed as we have begun with our former Stories, generally we find in *Fabians* Chronicles, that in the fame year of our Lord 1431. *Thomas Bagley* a Prieft, Vicar of *Monenden* befide *Maldon*, being a valiant Difciple, and adherent of *Wickliff*, was condemned by the Bifhops of Herefie at *London*, about the middeft of *Lent*, and was degraded and burned in *Smithfield*.

Paul Craw a *Bohemian*.

Paul Craw, Martyr.

THE fame year alfo was *Paul Craw* a *Bohemian* taken at Saint *Andrews* by the Bifhop *Henry*, and delivered over to the Secular power to be burned for holding contrary opinions unto the Church of *Rome* touching the Sacrament of the Lords-Supper, the worfhipping of Saints, Auricular confeffion, with other of *Wickliffs* opinions.

Ex Hiftor. Bafil.

The Story of Thomas Rhedon,*a* French *man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in* Italy *for the profeffion of Chrift.*

Thomas Rhedonenfis Martyr. *Ex Antonino 3. parte. Hift.fol.169.*

WE have declared before how this cruel ftorm of perfecution which firft began with us in *England* after it had long raged here againft many good and godly men, brake out and paffed into *Boheme*, and after within a.fhort time, the fire of this perfecution increafing by little and little, invaded *Scotland*, and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entred *Italy*, and fuffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and flaughter of moft good and godly men. It happened about this time that one *Thomat Rhedon*, a Frier of that Sect, which taketh his name of the Mount *Carmelus*, by chance came with the *Venetian* Ambaffadors into *Italy*. This man although he was of that fort and Sect, which inftead of Chriftians are called *Carmelites*, yet was he of a far other Religion, and underftood the Word of God,judging that God ought not to be worfhipped neither in that Mount, nor at *Jerufalem* only, but in fpirit and truth. This man being a true *Carmelite*, and favouring with his whole heart that new fweet Mufte of Jefus Chrift, with earneft ftudy and deline feeking after a Chriftian integrity of life, prepared himfelf firft to go into *Italy*, truffing that he fhould find there, or elfe in no place, fome by whofe good life and living he might be edified and inftructed. For where ought more abundance of vertue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all Religion ? And how could it otherwife be,but that whereas fo great holinefs is profeffed, whereupon all mens eyes are bent as upon a Stage, whereas Saint *Peters* feat is, and is thought to be the Ruler and Governour of all the Church, all things fhould flourifh and abound worthy of fo great expectation in that place ? This holy man having thefe things before his eyes, and confidering the fame with himfelf, forfook his own Country and City, and went unto *Rome*, conceiving a firm and fure hope that by the example of fo many notable and worthy men, he fhould greatly profit in godlinefs and learning : but the fuccefs of the matter did utterly fruftrate his hope,for all things were clean contrary. Whatfoever he faw was nothing elfe but meer diffimulation and hypocrifie. Inftead of gold he found nothing but coals ; and to fay the truth he found nothing elfe there but gold and filver. Inftead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongft them the pomp and pride of the world : In place of godlinefs, riot : Inftead of learning and ftudy, ftothfulnefs and fuperftition. Tyranny and haughtinefs of mind had poffeffed the place of Apoftolick fimplicity : that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly underftood. Finally, all things were turned arfieverfie, all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation whereofever he went. But nothing fo much offended this good mans mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example of humility fhould efpecially commend and praife to the whole world. And albeit that he faw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the Apoftles, yet thefe things did fo much poffe all meafure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in fo great abufe and corruption of the Church,feeing fuch ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their Palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of fervants, in their horfe and armour, and finally in all things pertaining unto them. Which things how much they did vary from the prefcript rule of the Gofpel, fo much the more was this good man forced to fpeak ; albeit he did well underftand how little he fhould prevail by fpeaking : for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the Books of *Wickliff* and divers other were not wanting. The famous teftimonies of *John Hus*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, and their blood fhed for the fame, was yet prefent before their eyes : at whofe moft effectual exhortations, they were fo little corrected and amended, that they feemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man, but that in fo neceffary and wholefome an office he would fpend his life if need fhould be. So by this means he which came to be a fcholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens lives and manners, had now contrariwife fet before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lived fo amongft them, that his life might be a rule unto them all, and fo taught, as he might alfo be their Schoolmaifter. For even as *Paul* had foreftewed unto fuch as defired to live godly in Chrift, that they fhould fuffer perfecution, fuch like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of Godlinefs, which they fhould follow : they again fet upon his head the diadem of Martyrdom. He fhewed them the way to falvation ; and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death : and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travels, they with moft extream ignominy perfecuted him even unto the fire. For when as by continual Preaching he had gotten great envy and hatred,the Rulers began to conſult together by what means they might circumvent this mans life. Here they had recourfe to their accuftomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual cuftom amongft the Prelates of the Church, that if any man did difpleafe them,or that his talk be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful,or a hindrance to their lucre and gain,by and by they frame out Articles of fome Herefie, which they charge

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charge him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himſelf from harm, as nature hath armed the Boar with his Tuſks, the Hedghog with his Prickles,the Lion is feared for his Claws, the Dog for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his Horns, neither doth the Aſſe lack his Hoofs to ſtrike withal : even ſo this is the only armour of the Biſhops, to ſtrangle a man with Herefie, if he once go about to mutter againſt their will and ambition ; which thing may be eaſily perceived and ſeen in this moſt holy man, beſide a great number of other. Who when as now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be ſuffered ; what did they? ſtraightways flie unto their old policies, and as they had done with *Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, even ſo went they about to practiſe againſt this man. They overwhelm him with ſuſpition, they ſeek to intangle him with queſtions, they examin him in judgment,they compile Articles againſt him, and lay Herefie unto his charge, they condemn him as an Heretick, and being ſo condemned, they deſtroy and kill him. This was their godlineſs : this was the peaceable Order of thoſe *Carmelites*. Whoſe Religion was to wear no ſword nor ſhield, notwithſtanding they did bear in their hearts malice, rancor, vengeance, poyſon, craft, and deceit, ſharper than any ſword. With how great care and policy is it provided by Law, that none of theſe Clergy-men ſhould fight with ſword in the ſtreets ? when as in judgment and accuſations (whereas it is not lawful for a man to oppreſs his Brother) there is no murtherer which hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely eſteem his Brothers ſoul than they. They ſhed no blood themſelves, they ſtrike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be ſlain. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the Miniſters of the cruel fact ? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then ? Although not after the ſame ſort, yet they do it by another mean.

Popery armed with policy and defended with tyranny.

The Golden City of *Rome*.

All things corrupt at *Rome*.

The wickedneſs and pride that reigneth at *Rome*.

His Articles

The Articles which they falſly gathered againſt this man, are affirmed by ſome to be theſe :

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it ſhall be puniſhed and reformed.

That Infidels, *Jews*, *Turks*, and Moors ſhall be converted unto Chriſt in the later days.

That abominations are uſed at *Rome*.

That the unjuſt Excommunication of the Pope is not to be feared : and thoſe which do not obſerve the ſame do not ſin or offend.

Ex Antonin. 3 part. Hiſt. fol. 169. W. Cardinal. Ie Hieronymo geniſe his perſecutor. *Thomas Rhedonenſis* brought before Pope *Eugenius*.

But yet there lacked a Miniſter for theſe Articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at *Rome*, where all things are to be ſold, even mens ſouls. For this office and miniſtery there was no man thought more meet than *William* of *Rowne*, Cardinal of Saint *Martins* in the Mount, Vicechancellor of the Court of *Rome*. *Eugenius* at that time was Pope, who had a little before ſucceeded Pope *Martin* above mentioned. Before the which *Eugenius* this godly *Rhedonenſis* the *Frenchman* was brought, and from thence ſent unto priſon. And again after his impriſonment, and divers and ſundry grievous torments, he was brought before the Judges. The Wolf fat in judgment, the Lamb was accuſed. Why ? becauſe he had troubled the ſpring : But here need not many words. This good *Thomas* not being able to reſiſt the malice of theſe mighty Potentates,had offended enough, and was eaſily convict and condemned to be burned, but in ſuch fort, as firſt of all he ſhould be deprived of all ſuch degrees as he had taken of Prieſthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a Prieſt ſhould be puniſhed with prophane puniſhment, when as notwithſtanding it is lawful enough for Prieſts to put any Lay-man to death, be he never ſo guiltleſs.

The corruption of *Rome* will admit no reformation

How religiouſly and earneſtly do they foreſee that the Majeſty of the Prieſtly dignity ſhould not in any caſe be hurt ? But how little care have they that their conſciences be not hurt with falſe judgments, and oppreſſing the guiltleſs ? Wherefore before that he ſhould come unto puniſhment, this good man muſt be degraded. The order and manner of this Popiſh degrading is partly before touched in the ſtory of *William Taylor*.

Fifty rewarded with perſecution.

Thomas degraded.

Thomas Rhedonenſis, a Frenchman, burned at *Rome*.

After that it had pleaſed the Biſhops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had conſecrated him, and thought not that ſufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life alſo, and burned him four years after that he came to *Rome*. In the year of our Lord, 1436.

And thus through the cruelty of theſe moſt tyrannous Prelates, this bleſſed Martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loſs of this body for a greater gain of ſalvation before the juſt judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted but that he liveth eternally under the Altar with them whoſe blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too ſoon for ſome of them, whom the earth hath here ſo long holden unpuniſhed.

As this *Thomas* aboveſaid ſuffered at *Rome*, ſo were diverſ others in other places about *Germany* executed neer about the ſame time, after the burning of *John Hus*, and *Henry Grundfelder* Prieſt, of *Ratiſbone*, Ann. 1429, alſo *Henry Radzgeber* Prieſt, in the ſame City, *Ann.* 1423. *John Draendorfe* of Noble birth, and a Prieſt, was burned at *Wormes*, *Anno* 1424. *Peter Thoraw* at *Spire*, Anno 1426.*Matthew Hager* alſo ſuffered at *Berlin* in *Germany*, not long after. *Ex Bales Centur. ſept.*

Henry Grundfelder Prieſt, *Henry Radzgeber* Prieſt, *John Draendorfe* Prieſt, *Peter Thoraw*, *Matthew Hager*.

After the death of Pope *Martin*, who reigned fourteen years, ſucceeded *Eugenius* the Fourth of that name, about the year of our Lord 1431. Of whom *Antonius* thus writeth, that he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the *Romans* may declare : alſo the Batels between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

Eugenius the Fourth.

This Pope began firſt to celebrate the Council of *Baſil*, which Council *Martin* his Predeceſſor had before intended according to the inſtitution of the Council of *Conſtance*. Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Eugenius* perceiving afterward this Council of *Baſil* not to favour him and his doings, and fearing ſome detriment to come to him by the ſame, afterward laboured by all ſubtil practiſe to diſſolve and interrupt the ſaid Council, and from *Baſil* to tranſlate it firſt to *Ferraria*, then to *Florentia*, more near to his own See of *Rome*. Concerning the which Council of *Baſil*, forſomuch as we have begun here to make mention, it ſhall be no great digreſſion out of the way to diſcourſe ſomething thereof (the Lord ſo permitting) more at large, ſo much as for the moſt principal matters thereof ſhall ſeem ſufficient or neceſſary to be known.

The Council of *Baſil*. *Ex Æneæ Sylvio.*

Ex Cochleo in Hiſt. Huſſ.

Et ex paralipom. Abbatis Urſperg.

Here followeth the order and manner of the Council of Baſil, *touching the principal matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged here in this preſent Book ; the reſt whereof we have referred unto our former Edition, wherein the full diſcourſe of the whole Diſputation is to be ſeen more at large for ſuch as have luſt and leiſure to ſee more thereof.*

IN the Thirty ninth Seſſion of the Council of *Conſtance*, (as is before mentioned) it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of ſuch General Councils as ſhould hereafter follow : The firſt that ſhould next enſue, to be kept the fifth year after the ſaid Council of *Conſtance* : The ſecond to be holden the 7th year after that, and ſo orderly all other to follow ſucceſſively from ten year to ten year. Wherefore according to this Decree, followed a General Council five years after the Council of *Conſtance*, celebrate and holden at *Sene*, under Pope *Martin*, Anno 1424, but it ſoon broke up. After the which Council the term of ſeven years being expired, another Council was holden at *Baſil*, in the year of our Lord 1431. The which Council is noted to have been the moſt troubleſome, and to have endured longer than any other Council beforetime celebrate and holden in the Church. This Council continued almoſt the ſpace of ſeventeen years : wherein it was concluded, as before in the Council of *Conſtance*, that the General Councils were above the Pope, and both of theſe two Councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto the General Council ; which is the cauſe that the contrary part doth derogate ſo much from the authority of this prefent Council.

When as Pope *Martin* the Fifth had appointed *Julian*, Cardinal and Deacon of Saint *Angel*, his Legate, to celebrate and hold a General Council at *Baſil*, for the reformation of the Church, and rooting out of Herefies,within

The death of Pope Martin. Pope Eugenius the Fourth.

thort ſpace after Pope *Martin* died, in whoſe ſeat *Eugenius* the Fourth ſucceeded, who confirmed unto the ſaid Cardinal *Julian* the ſame authority which his Predeceſſor before had given him. Unto this Council of *Baſil* being begun, came the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, who during his life time, with his preſence and authority, did protect and defend the ſaid Synod. After the Emperors death, Pope *Eugenius* altering his former mind and purpoſe, would tranſport the Council unto *Bononie*, and thereby hindred the ſucceſs of the Council of *Baſil*. And firſt he held a contrary Council at *Ferraria*, and afterward at *Florence*. For after the death of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, there were no Princes nor Noblemen that had any care or regard of the Council. *Eugenius* the Pope pretended cauſes, as touching the *Greeks* which ſhould come unto the Council, and the uniting of the Church unto the Weſt Church, the which *Greeks* would in no wiſe paſs the *Alpes*; alſo as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto *Baſil*, being ſo long a journey, and that all his men might have eaſie acceſs unto *Bononia*, and that amongſt the *Germans* (which in their own Country are ſo intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal *Julian*, and the Fathers of the Council unto *Bononia*, under great penalty. They again cited the Pope that either he ſhould come himſelf unto the Council, or ſend Ambaſſadors under the like penalty. For this cauſe the Ambaſſadors of *Albert* King of the *Romans*, and of the other Princes of *Germany*, aſſembled together firſt at *Norenberge*; and when as they could determine nothing there, they aſſembled again at *Franckford* to appeaſe the diſſention between the Council and the Pope: for it was thought that the Electors of the Empire might beſt aſſemble and meet in that place, in the mean time the Emperors Ambaſſadors, and the Ambaſſadors of the Electors went into *Baſil*, and having conference with the Ambaſſadors of the other Princes which were there, they did earneſtly exhort the Fathers of the Council, that they would embrace and receive the unity which they would offer. The requeſt of the Princes was, that the Fathers would tranſport the Council, and go unto another place; the which only thing Pope *Eugenius* ſeemed always to ſeek and deſire, that thereby he might either divide the Fathers of the Council, or take away their liberty.

Pope Eugenius ſeeketh to diſſolve the Council of *Baſil*.

Diſſention between the Council of *Baſil*, and Pope *Eugenius*.

The Prelates of the Council refuſe the Popes requeſt.

Notwithſtanding this ſacred Synod thought good neither to deny the Princes requeſt, nor to grant that which Pope *Eugenius* required. During this doubt, the Emperors Ambaſſadors, the Biſhops of *Patavia* and *Auguſta*, (being much required and ſtirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant Baron called *Comrade Weinſperge*, by the Kings commandment to be Protector and defender of the Council, and the Fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceived the Emperors mind to be alienate from the Pope, ſo the Fathers of the Council underſtood his good will towards them, forſomuch as he would not have ſent them a Protector, if he had not judged it a lawful Council; neither again would he have judged it a Council in *Baſil*, if he had given credit to Pope *Eugenius*. But by means of a great Peſtilence which began to grow, the aſſembly that ſhould have been holden at *Frankford* was tranſported unto *Mentz*. The Ambaſſadors of the Princes alſo thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the Pope again unto the Council.

The Princes aſſembled at *Mentz*, to make unity between the Councel and the Pope.

The aſſembly was very famous, for there were preſent the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, Electors of the Sacred Empire, and all the Ambaſſadors of the other Electors. Notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop of *Colen* was the chief favourer of the Council in this aſſembly, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bring the matter unto a good end. *Rabanus* the Archbiſhop of *Trevers* ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat more rough. The ſacred Synod alſo thought good to ſend thither their Ambaſſadors, and appointed out the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Biſhop of *Vicense*, and the Biſhop of *Argen*: Divines, *John Segovian*, and *Thomas de Corcellis*, with divers others. There was no man there preſent which would name himſelf the Ambaſſador of *Eugenius*: Albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the Council, and alſo out of *Florence*, the which albeit they had ſworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more *Eugenius* than the Council. But the chief *Hercules* of all the *Eugenians* was *Nicolas Cuſanus*, a man ſingularly well learned, and of great experience. After divers conſultations had, the Electors of the Empire, and the Ambaſſadors of the other Princes of *Germany*, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole Nation and Country, that the Decrees of the Council of *Baſil* ſhould be received and obſerved.

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Whileſt theſe things were thus debated at *Mentz*, there ſprang a certain very doubtful Queſtion amongſt the Divines which remained at *Baſil*, whether *Eugenius* might be called an Heretick, which had ſo rebelliouſly contemned the commandments of the Church. Hereupon they gathered themſelves together, diſputing long amongſt themſelves, ſome affirming, and otherſome holding the Negative part. Upon this their diſputation there aroſe three ſeveral opinions, ſome affirming that he was an Heretick; otherſome, not only an Heretick, but alſo a relapſe: The third ſort would neither grant him to be an Heretick nor a relapſe. Amongſt theſe Divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority, was the Biſhop of *Ebrun*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Caſtile*, and a certain *Scotiſh* Abbot: which as two moſt valiant Champions, ſubdued all their enemies, ſo that all the reſt did either conſent unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and ſo their determination took place, and *Eugenius* was pronounced both an Heretick and relapſe. Eight Concluſions were there determined and allowed amongſt the Divines, which they called verities, the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Chriſtendom.

Three opinions touching the Pope.

The Ambaſſadors of the Council were returned from *Mentz*, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their Decrees, the Fathers of the Council thought good to diſcuſs the Concluſions of the Divines more at large. Whereupon by the commandment of the Deputies all the Maſters, and Doctors, and Clergy were called together, with all the reſidue of the Prelates, into the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, there openly to diſpute and diſcuſs *Eugenius* hereſie. The which thing ſo grieved the Biſhop of *Millain*, fearing leſt this diſputation would work the deprivation of *Eugenius*, the which, as he ſaid, he had always letted for fear of a Schiſm. Wherefore he ceaſed not by all manner of ways to labour, to ſtop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were abſent by his Letters, and encouraging thoſe that were preſent by his words, to the defence of *Eugenius*. But at the laſt there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter-houſe, ſome coming thither to diſpute, and otherſome to hear. This diſputation continued ſix days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongſt whom Cardinal *Ledovicus*, Archbiſhop *Arelatenſis* was appointed as Judg and Arbiter of the whole diſputation; who beſides many other notable vertues, was both valiant and conſtant. *Nicholas Amici* which was alſo a Protector of the Faith, a famous man amongſt the Divines of *Paris*, demanded of every man what their opinion was. *John Deniſeſh*, publick Notary, wrote every mans ſentence and judgment. The Concluſions of the Divines, which were the ground and foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here following.

The Ambaſſadors return from *Mentz*.

The Pope hereſie diſcuſſed.

The Biſhop of *Millain* letteth cauſes part for fear of a Schiſm.

1. It is a verity of the Catholick Faith, that the Sacred General Council hath power over the Pope, or any other Prelate.

Concluſions of the Diſputation.

2. The Pope cannot by his own authority, either diſſolve, tranſport, or prorogue the General Council being lawfully congregate, without the whole conſent of the Council: and this is of like verity.

3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an Heretick.

4. Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth hath reſiſted theſe verities, when as at the firſt, by the fulneſs of his Apoſtolick power, he attempted to diſſolve or to tranſport the Council of *Baſil*.

5. *Eugenius* being admoniſhed by the Sacred Council, did recant the errors repugnant to theſe verities.

6. The diſſolution or tranſlation of the Council, attempted the ſecond time by *Eugenius*, is againſt the aforeſaid verities, and containeth an inexcuſable error touching the Faith.

7. *Eugenius*, in going about to diſſolve and tranſport the Council again, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

8. *Eugenius*

{KING Lib. 6.}

8. *Eugenius* being warned by the Synod that he ſhould revoke the diſſolution or tranſlation the ſecond time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, perſevering in his rebellion, and erecting a Council at *Ferraria*, ſhewed himſelf thereby obſtinate.

These were the Concluſions which were read in the Chapter-houſe before the Fathers of the Council. Upon the which when they were deſired to ſpeak their minds, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithſtanding, *Panormitane* Archbiſhop diſputed much againſt them. Likewiſe did the Biſhop of *Burgen*, the King of *Arragons* Almoner. Yet did they not gain-ſay the three firſt Concluſions, but only thoſe wherein Pope *Eugenius* was touched. This *Panormitane*, as he was ſubtil, ſo did he ſubtilly diſpute againſt the laſt Concluſions, endeavouring himſelf to declare that *Eugenius* was not relapſed, and had great contention with the Biſhop of *Argen*. *John Segovius*, and *Francis de Fuxe*, Divines. He divided the Articles of the Faith into three ſorts: ſtraitly, as in the Articles of the Faith: largely, as in the Declarations made by the Church: moſt largely of all, as in thoſe things which riſe of the premiſſes: affirming that *Eugenius* did by no means violate his faith in his firſt diſſolution that he made, becauſe it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the Church, that the Pope cannot diſſolve the Councils: and that it ſeemeth not unto him to riſe of the determinations before made, but rather of the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*. And further, that this as a caſe omitted is reſerved for the Pope to be diſcuſſed, forſomuch as in the Chapter beginning *Frequens*, it appeareth that the place where the Council ſhould be kept ought to be choſen by the Pope, the Council allowing the ſame, and nothing is thereof at all ſpoken. And if peradventure *Eugenius* had offended in the firſt diſſolution, notwithſtanding he ought to be holden excuſed, becauſe he did it by the Council of the Cardinals, repreſenting the Church of *Rome*: whoſe authority he ſaid to be ſuch, that the judgment thereof ſhould be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any ſacred Council found to have proceeded againſt *Eugenius* as an Heretick; and that is an evident ſign that the Council hath not thought him to have ſwarved from the faith, neither to have any occaſion that he ſhould be called Heretick for his errors revoked; and that he himſelf hath read the whole Text, that the Pope did not revoke the diſſolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence: Alſo that the laſt diſſolution hath no ſuch cauſe in it, forſomuch as likewiſe he had done it by the Council of the Cardinals, and for the uniting of the *Greeks*, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cauſe to anſwer by his Procurator, when as he being letted by ſickneſs, could not come perſonally, *ſcil.* foraſmuch as in the firſt diſſolution *Eugenius* hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be perſwaded that he can be called a relapſe, forſomuch as he neither in the firſt, neither yet in the ſecond diſſolution did violate his faith.

Panormitane ſeeketh anſwer for the Pope.

Articles of faith divided into three ſorts.

Panormitane preferreth the judgment of the Cardinals of Rome before all the world.

The Pope pretendeth the uniting of the Greeks, when he meaneth another thing.

This Oration of *Panormitane* was more praiſed than allowed of men. Notwithſtanding this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapſe was taken out of the Concluſions, and inſtead thereof this word prolapſe put in. Neither durſt *Panormitane* himſelf altogether excuſe *Eugenius* of Hereſie, but defended more the firſt diſſolution, than the ſecond, yet departed he not without anſwer; for *John Segovius* an expert Divine, riſing up, anſwered him reverently, as was comely for ſuch a Prelate. He ſaid, He granted that which *Panormitane* had ſpoken touching the diviſion of the Articles of the Faith into three points, becauſe it made for this purpoſe. For if thoſe things are to be holden for Articles of Faith, ſaid he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifeſt that the Concluſions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church, that is to ſay, of the Council of *Conſtance*; for if therein the Pope be made ſubject unto the General Council, who is it that will ſay that the Pope hath power over the Council which is above him; or that *Eugenius* ought to remain Pope, becauſe he could not diſſolve the Council which is above him, without the conſent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violate and broken. And if any man will ſay that in the firſt diſſolution this article was not violate, becauſe there was no declaration made thereof, let him which ſo thinketh thus, underſtand, That the Biſhop of *Rome* ought not only to know the plain and manifeſt, but alſo the ſecret and hidden things of the Faith; for he being the Vicar of Chriſt, and the Head of all other, ought to inſtruct and teach all men. But if ſo be he will not, then he ſhall be convicted for being dead, becauſe he continued long in the diſſolution after the declaration of the Council, neither did conſent unto the determination of the Church; and therefore if peradventure he did not err in the Faith in diſſolving of the Council, yet did he err in perſevering in the ſame, as it manifeſtly appeareth by the ſaying of *Clement* oftentimes alledged by *Panormitane*, wherein it is ſaid, That he which liveth rebelliouſly, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Chriſt, and rather an Infidel than a true believer; ſo that *Eugenius* by diſobeying the Church may worthily be called an Infidel. Neither is it true that the Pope hath not offended in the Faith; forſomuch as well in that anſwer which beginneth *Cogitanti*, as alſo in the anſwer which beginneth *Sperant*, made unto the Popes Ambaſſadors, theſe words are manifeſt; this Article concerning Faith, and we had rather die than through cowardlineſs to give place. By the which ſaying it is evident the Synod to have ſufficiently admoniſhed the Pope that he did againſt the Faith, and therefore it ſeemed that afterward, when as *Eugenius* revoked the diſſolution, he alſo revoked the error of faith contained in the ſame. There are alſo divers offences ſprung and riſen through the error of faith: for ſome ſay that the Pope is under the Council, other-ſome deny it, and this diverſity of Doctrine bringeth offence. Alſo it is expreſly againſt the authority of the Council, that the Pope did revoke the aſſertions made in their name.

The Pope prolapſe, but not relapſe.

John Segovius anſwereth Panormitane.

The Pope neglecting to do good is a member not of Chriſt, but of the Devil.

And albeit in ſuch revocations the ſtile and order of judgments is not obſerved, notwithſtanding it doth ſuffice in ſuch caſe when as the Council doth proceed againſt the Pope, in which caſe only the truth is to be obſerved, neither is the Council ſubject unto any poſitive Law, that it ought to obſerve any terms or judicial orders. Alſo he ſaid that he utterly contemned that ſingular Gloſs which did prefer the Pope before all the world, ſo that it might well be called ſingular, which decreed ſo foolith and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvel at *Panormitane*, and other Doctors of thoſe days, which whileſt they went about to extoll the authority of the Gloſſes, do abaſe the ſame by adding a ſingularity thereto; for that Gloſs is ſingular which is alone. But who would not more eſteem a Gloſs conſtantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place reacheth any thing which may ſeem to be an error; and that as touching the verity and truth? Saint *Hierome* a grave and ancient Doctor, is contrary to this Gloſs, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is above the City it ſelf, that is to ſay, *Rome*.

Councils bound to old poſitive Law.

Segovius could ſcarcely finiſh this his Oration without interruption; for *Panormitane* oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reaſon. Whereupon the Biſhop of *Argen* riſing up, a man not only eloquent, but alſo of a ſtout courage, troubled *Panormitane* in his reaſons and arguments, and put him from his purpoſe; yet they proceeded ſo far, that they paſſed the manner of diſputation, and did not abſtain from opprobrious taunts.

Panormitane appointeth the Pope Lord of the Church.

When the Biſhop of *Argen* chanced to ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be the Miniſter of the Church, *Panormitane* could not ſuffer that: inſomuch that he ſo forgot himſelf that day, and his knowledg (which otherwiſe was great) did ſo fail him, that he was not aſhamed to ſay and affirm, that the Pope was Lord over the Church. Whom *Segovius* anſwered, Mark (ſaith he) O *Panormitane*, what thou ſayeſt; for this is the moſt honourable title of the Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he calleth himſelf the *Servant of the Servants of God*. Which is gathered upon this point, when as Chriſt ſaid unto his Diſciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greateſt, you know he anſwered them, *The Princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongſt you it is not ſo*, &c. Wherein he doth utterly prohibit Lordſhip and Dominion; and *Peter* which was the firſt Vicar of Chriſt ſaid, *Feed the flock of Chriſt which is committed*

The Pope and the Clergy deſire Dominion contrary to the Scriptures.

unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly; and immediately after he said, *not as Lords over the Clergy*. For if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministred unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his Vicar have any Dominion, or be called Lord, as you *Panormitane* will affirm? forsomuch as his Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. And the Lord himself saith, *Be ye not called Masters, forsomuch as your only Master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall be your servant. Panormitane* being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the Council brake up and departed.

The French Kings Embassador.

The next day there was a General Congregation, and they returned all again unto the Chapter-house after Dinner, where the Archbishop of *Lions*, the Kings Orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons, proved *Eugenius* to be an Heretick, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignavy of those that had preferred such a Man unto the Papacy, and so moved all their hearts which were present, that they all together with him did bewail the calamities of the Universal Church.

The Bishop of *Burgen.*

Then the Bishop of *Burgen*, the Embassador of *Spain*, divided the Conclusions into two parts, some he called general, and otherforme personal, disputing very excellently as touching the three first Conclusions, affirming, that he did in no point doubt of them, but only, that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtful unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the Council was above the Pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proved both by Gods law, and mans law, he taught it also by physical reason, alledging *Aristotle* for witness. He said, *That in every well ordered Kingdom it ought especially to be desired, that the whole Realm should be of more authority than the King*; *which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a Kingdom, but a Tyranny: so likewise doth he think of the Church, that it ought to be of more authority than the Prince thereof, that is to say, the Pope.* The which his Oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his Oration, than to have an end thereof.

The Councel above the Pope.

The force of truth which appeared also in Rome himself the Writer hereof, although afterward when he was Pope, he denied the same.

But when as he entred into the other Conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there that same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in Oration, or cheare, fulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which minished Copy of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof. But when as he began once to speak against her, he took away even his natural eloquence from him. Notwithstanding *Panormitane*, and the Bishop of *Burgen*, shewed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last Conclusions to be verities of Faith: yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, which were but mean Divines: but rather unto the Opinions of the Divines. But the King of *Arragon*'s Almoner, being a subtil and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the Conclusions, but picking out here and there certain Arguments, sought to let and hinder the Council. Against whom an Abbot of *Scotland*, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; and *Thomas de Corcelles*, a famous Divine, alledged much against him out of the Decrees of the sacred Council, and with a certain modest shamefastness, always beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the Conclusions.

Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.

But now to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare Arguments whereby the Conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to intreat of the five last Conclusions, which concern the person of *Eugenius*, but only upon the three first, whereunto I will adjoyn certain probable Arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the Fathers. In the first Conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed; touching the which, two things are to be required and examined. The one, *Whether the General Council have authority over the Pope.* The other, *Whether the Catholick Faith commandeth it to be believed.* As touching that the Pope is subject to the General Council, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alledged by the Bishop of *Burgen*. For the Pope is in the Church, as a King in his Kingdom; and for a King to be of more authority than his Kingdom, it were too absurd: *Ergo*, neither ought the Pope to be above the Church. For like as oftentimes Kings which do wickedly govern the Commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their Kingdoms; even so, it is not to be doubted, but that the Bishops of *Rome* may be disposed by the Church, that is to say, by the General Councils.

The Conclusions of the Disputation.

The first Conclusion.

A King is not of more authority than is his Kingdom.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so ample and large authority unto Kings, that they will not have them bound under any Laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, which do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say, that the moderation of the Law is alway in the Princes power; that do I thus understand, that when as reason shall perswade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the Law; for he is called a King, which careth and provideth for the Commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his Subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth; which if he do not, he is not to be counted a King but a Tyrant, whose property it is, only to seek his own profit; for in this point a King differeth from a Tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged wherefore Kings were ordained.

The interpretation of this place, *Oravi pro te Petre*, is meant of the Church.

Those kind of flatterers came more to our days.

What a King is.

At the beginning (as *Cicero* in his Offices saith) it is certain, that there was a certain time when as the People lived without Kings. But afterward, when Lands and Possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every Nation, then were Kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise justice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend the poor from injury, and ordain Laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of Kings, the poor were oftentimes oppressed, Laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich; whereby we do understand and know, not only the People, but also the King to be subject to the Laws. For if we do see a King to contemn and despise the Laws, violently rob and spoil his Subjects, defloure Virgins, dishonest Matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerariously; do not the Nobles of the Kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his Kingdom, set up another in his place, which shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the Laws? Verily as reason doth perswade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the Church, that is to say, in the Council, which is done in any Kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the Pope is subject unto the Council.

The Pope ought to be subject unto the Council.

But now to pass unto the Arguments of Divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do intreat upon, are the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but especially where as he speaketh unto *Peter*, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferni non prævalebunt adversus eam*; that is, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this Disputation, forsomuch as some were wont to alledge these words, to extol the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. But (as it shall by and by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think; for he saith, *And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of Hell should not prevail against the Church? These gates of Hell, as St. *Jerome* saith, do signifie sins. Wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the Church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over Mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in *Job*, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit, thereby it followeth, that the power of the Church is above all other power.

This place *Tu es Petrus* expounded.

Sins are the gates of Hell.

We

{KING} *Hist. 6. 3. Against the opinion, that the Pope cannot err.*

We may also upon the same saying, reason after another sort; forsomuch as the gates of Hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the Pope which is a mortal man, forsomuch as it is written, *Seven times in the day the just man doth offend.* If the Church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled Church? Neither let us give ear unto those which will not refer these words of Christ unto the Church, whereas he saith, *Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat Fides tua*, that is to say, Peter *I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith should not fail thee.* For as S. *Augustine* saith in the Exposition of the *Psalms*, Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the Apostle *Peter*, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the Church the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the Newe and Old Testament, upon the words, *Rogavi pro te Petre, I have prayed for thee* Peter; what is doubted? Did he pray for *Peter*, and did he not pray for *James* and *John*, beside the rest? It is manifest, that under the name of *Peter* all others are contained. For in another place of S. *John*, he saith, *I pray for them whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am, they shall be also with me.* Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of *Peter* understand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forsomuch as within a while after, the Faith of *Peter* failed for a time, by the denial of Christ, but the Faith of the Church, whose person *Peter* did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

The Church one flesh with Christ.

The Church is without spot or sin, is to be understood not by nature, but only by imputation.

The Church without spot now to be understood.

The error of those which says that only the Virgin Mary did persevere constant at the time of Christs Passion.

Bishops of *Rome* are Hereticks. He meaneth *Silvester* the second.

As touching the Bishops of *Rome*, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been Hereticks, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant, how that *Marcellinus* at the Emperors commandment, did sacrifice unto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attain unto the Papacy by devilish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of *Paul* unto the *Hebrews* shall suffice us at this time, who saith, *that every Bishop is compassed in with infirmity*, that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the Church remaineth always without sin; for in *Matthew* he saith, *I am with you even unto the end of the World.* The which words were not only spoken to the Apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world) but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his affistance, whereby he would preserve the holy Church, consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

The Church is without fail, and the Pope is a sinner.

The institution of Kings.

And again in another place, *I* (saith he) *will pray, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you.* The which words being spoke unto the Disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the Church. And if the spirit of truth be continually in the Church, no man can deny but that the Church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the Church, who seeth not but that the Church is undefiled? *For the Husband and the Wife* (as the Apostle saith) *are two in one flesh*, and (as he doth also add) *no man hateth his own flesh*; thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the Church, forsomuch as she is his Spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself; *Ergo*, the Church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle, to confess that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writing unto *Timothy*, affirmeth the Church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon in this Song to the Spouse it is said, *My friend thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee.* These words peradventure, may abash some; that I do go about to prove the Church to be without sin. For when as the Church doth contain all Men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of Faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I do fear left some men will think, that I do affirm all men to be without sin; which is so far from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or differ among themselves; for the Church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto humane fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable Sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers which affirm that the Virgin *Mary* only persevered in Faith at the Lords Passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitate and weakned, that it should return to one only old Woman, whose opinion, or rather madness, St. *Paul* seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the *Romans*, *Do ye not know* (saith he) *what the Scripture writeth of* Helias, *how incessantly he called upon God against the Children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and digged down thine Altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul: But what answer received he of God? I have left unto my self yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal.* What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of them which think the Church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men, who affirm, that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father, *O holy Father, save them in thy Name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy Name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the World, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.*

This is not to be translated, and also severeth the one from another more than is meet.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his Disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he so praying, without doubt is heard; for he saith in another place, *I know that thou hearest me.* But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, forsware at the time of his Passion? As for example, by what means did Christ hanging upon the Cross, commend his dearly beloved Mother unto *John*, if so be he were either then forsworn, or should by and by after have forsworn from the Faith? Moreover, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and say, *truly this is the Son of God?* The *Jews* also which at that time were far distant from *Jerusalem*, might both be called faithful, and also saved by their faith; seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound unto the Gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the Church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the Church is compared unto a Net which is cast into the Sea, and gathered together all kind of Fithes.

The Church sometime receiveth both the evil and good. Mat. 20.

And again, it is compared unto a King, which made a Marriage for his Son, and sent forth his Servants to call those which were bidden unto the Wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the Church; the which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the Church were. But forsomuch as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithful in the Church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the Church, to be called most holy;

holy; which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our Creed, *unam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam*, that is to say, *one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*; the which Article the Synod of *Constantinople* added unto the rest; wherefore if the Church be holy, it is also without sin. But to return to our former purpose, this word *Sanctum*, which signifieth holy (as *Macrobius* alledging *Trebatius*, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the Church holy, as the Apostle *Peter* calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epistle of *Clement*.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by Saint *Paul*, *That Christ is the Head of the Church*; for if the Church should wholly sin, the should not agree with her Head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himself would signifie unto us in *Matthew*, when he commendeth the House which was builded upon the strong Rock, against the which, neither the Winds, neither the Storms could prevail. *Is the house of God* (saith the Apostle) *which is the Church, builded upon the Rock, which Rock* (as the Apostle declareth) *is Christ*. Who then is so unthankfull, that he will affirm the Church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sin? And will not rather cry out with the Prophet, and say, *Domine, dilexi decorum domus tuæ*; that is to say, *O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house?* Hereupon wrote *John Chrysostome* this Golden Sentence, *The Church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand, and overcame. And albeit that others do ly in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the Rock is not shaken.* Saint *Hilary* also saith, *That it is the property of the Church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reproved, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when as it seemeth almost overcome.* Thus by many reasons and testimonies, it is proved that the Church doth not err; which is not spoken or affirmed of the Bishops of *Rome*, so that this reason doth make the Pope subject unto the Church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now forbear what more intreat.

Christ is the Rock whereupon the Church is builded.

If authority be sought for, saith Saint *Jerome* (for I willingly occupy my self in his sentences, as in a most fertile field) *the World is greater than a City*. What then I pray you *Jerome?* Is the Pope mighty because he is Head of the Church of *Rome?* His authority is great, notwithstanding the Universal Church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one City, but also the whole World. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the Mother of all faithful, then the hath the Bishop of *Rome* for her son; *otherwise*, as Saint *Augustine* saith, *he can never have God for his Father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his Mother*. The which thing *Anacletus* understanding, called the Universal Church his Mother, as the Writers of the Canons do know. And *Calixtus* saith, As a Son he came to do the will of his Father, so we do the will of our Mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the Son is inferiour to the Mother, so much the Church is superiour or above the Bishop of *Rome*.

We proveth by authority the Pope to be under the Council.

If the Church be the Mother, the Pope must be her Son.

Also we have said before, that the Church was the Spouse of Christ, and the Pope we know to be a Vicar; but no man doth so ordain a Vicar, that he maketh his Spouse subject unto him, but that the Spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the Vicar; forsomuch as she is one body with her Husband, but the Vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of St. *Paul* unto the *Romans*, *Let every soul* (saith he) *be subject unto the higher powers*. Neither doth he herein except the Pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the Church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto *Peter* by Christ, *Whatsoever thou bindest, &c.* In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the Person of the Church, for we find it spoken afterward unto them that is, *Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in Heaven*. And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the Apostle writeth unto the *Corinthians*, it is given for the edifying of the Church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuse the Keys, and bring all things unto ruine?

The Church being the Spouse, the Pope cannot be the Head thereof, but he must also be the Head of Christ, forsomuch as Christ and his Spouse be both one.

The exposition of this place, *Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram, ligatum erit in cœlis*.

Add hereunto also another Argument. A Man in this life is lesser than the Angels, for we read in *Matthew* of *John Baptist*, that *he which is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he*. Notwithstanding Christ saith in another place, *that amongst the children of women, there was not a greater than John Baptist*. But to proceed, Men are forced, by the example of *Zacharias*, to give credit unto Angels, left through their misbelief, they be stricken blind as he was. What more? the Bishop of *Rome* is a Man: *Ergo*, he is less than the Angels, and is bound to give credit to the Angels. But the Angels learn of the Church, and do reverently accord unto her Doctrine, as the Apostle writeth unto the *Ephesians*: *Ergo*, the Pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the Angels, and less than the Church, whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by Saint *Augustine* unto the Sun; that like as the Sun by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the Church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon Saint *Augustine* writeth thus, *I would not believe the Gospel, saith he, if the authority of the Church did not move me thereunto*: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the Bishop of *Rome*, who representing the Church, and being Minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ, do specially prove the Bishop of *Rome* to be subject to the Church, as we will hereafter declare. For he sending *Peter* to preach unto the Church, said, *Go, and say unto the Church*. To the confirmation of whose authority, these words do also pertain, *He that heareth you, heareth me*. The which words are not only spoken unto the Apostles, but also unto their successors, and unto the whole Church.

How foolishly the Church of *Rome* doth weresh the Scriptures, neglecting the expositions of the Fathers.

The Church and not the Pope compared to the Sun.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the Pope do not hearken and give ear unto the Church, he doth not give ear unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an *Ethnick* and *Publican*. For as Saint *Augustine* affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate, is bound in Heaven, and when the Church looseth he is loosed. Likewise, if he be an Heretick which taketh away the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, as the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* do determine, how much more is he to be counted an Heretick which taketh away the authority from the Universal Church, wherein the Church of *Rome* and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave Authors) that the Pope is subject unto the Universal Church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of the General Council. For there are some, which (whether it be for desire of vain glory, or that through their flattery they look for some great reward) have begun to teach new and strange Doctrines, and to exempt the Bishop of *Rome* from the Jurisdiction of the General Council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present Schism, but also all other Schisms, even unto this day have had their original. For as in times past the greedy desire and ambition of the Papacy, brought in that pestiferous Beast, which through *Arrius* then first crept into the Church; even so they do especially nourish and maintain this present Heresie which are not ashamed to beg. Of the which number, some cry out and say, the works of the Subjects ought to be judged by the Pope, but the Pope to be referred only unto the Judgment of God. Others said, that no man ought to judge the high and principal Seat, and that it cannot be judged either by the Emperor, either by the Clergy, either by any King or People. Other affirm, that the Lord hath reserved to himself the depositions of the chief Bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the Bishop of *Rome*, although he carry souls in never so great number unto Hell, yet he is not subject unto any correction or rebuke.

He is to be feared Christ hath had many such Popes.

Whither the Pope is to be judged by the General Council, &c.

These are the Canons and the School Divines, and begging Friers.

Diversity of judgments touching the Bishop of *Rome*.

And

KING 1. Hen. 6. The Church may depose the Pope, if he abuse the Keys.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they run straightways unto the Gospel, and interpret the words of Christ; not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteem and regard this which was spoken unto *Peter*, *Tu vocaberis Cephas*: that is, *Thou shalt be called Cephas*; by the which word they make him the Head of the Church. Also, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth, &c. I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith should not fail.* And again, *Feed my Sheep; Cast thy Net into the deep; Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men*: Also that Christ commanded *Peter*, as the Prince of the Apostles, to pay Toll for them both; and that *Peter* drew the Net into the Land full of great Fishes; and that only *Peter* drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the Expositions of the Fathers; the which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceive, by the authorities aforesaid, that the Pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in Council, but when they are separate and divided.

But these things being passed over, forsomuch as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was resolved of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men, which are of any name or estimation, do agree, that the Pope is subject to the Council, and for the proof thereof they repeat (in a manner) all those things which were before spoken of the Church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the Church, to serve for the General Council. And first of all they alledge this saying of the Gospel, *Die Ecclesiæ, Tell it unto the Church*. In the which place it is convenient to understand, that Christ spake unto *Peter*, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, *If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee*, Die Ecclesiæ, *Tell it unto the Church.*

Those things were spoken of the Church, serve also for the General Council.

The Pope do not hearken to the Church, is an Ethnick and Publican.

What shall we understand by the Church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole World? *My yoke is pleasant*, saith the Lord, *and my burden is light*. But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? For how could *Peter* speak unto the Church which was dispersed, or to seek out every Christian scattered in every Town or City? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause, it is necessary that we remember the double person which *Peter* represented, as the person of the high Bishop, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are evident and plain enough of themselves, that they need no supplement or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word *Ecclesia* signifieth, the which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when as he said unto *Peter*, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*; that is, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. Wherefore the Church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. *Die Ecclesiæ, tell it unto the Church*, that is to say, *Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful*; the which, forsomuch as they are not accustomed to come together but in a General Council, this interpretation shall seem very good. *Die Ecclesiæ, tell it unto the Church*, that is to say, *Die generali Concilio, tell it unto the General Council.*

Peter represenseth a double person.

Christ nameth the Church but twice in the Gospel.

What the Church is.

The interpretation of this place Die Ecclesiæ.

In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man which doth think these words to be more properly expressed in any Prelate, than in the Council, when as they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at this Interpretation, let him search the old Writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy Fathers and old Doctors, which have first given light unto the Church, as Pope *Gregory* witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning) whose words are these, written in his Register unto the Bishop of *Constantinople*; *And we* (said he) *against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the truth doth command us, saying*, Si peccaverit in te frater, that is, *If thy brother do offend against thee, &c.* And afterward he addeth more, *If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the Church.* The which words do manifestly declare the Church here to be taken for the General Council. Neither did *Gregory* say, that he would seek help of the Church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the General Council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Also Pope *Nicholas* reproving *Lotharius* the King for adultery, said, *If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy Church.*

The Church taken for the General Council.

In the which saying, Pope *Nicholas* did not say, that he would go throughout the World to certifie every one, man by man; but that he would call the Church together, that is to say, the General Council, and there would publish and, declare the offence of *Lotharius*, that he which had contemned the Popes commandments, should fear the reverence of the General Council. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend unto one end; but this one testimony of the Council of *Constance*, shall suffice for them all; wherein it is said, that not only the Pope in the correction of his Brother, is remitted unto the Council, when as he cannot correct him of himself; but also when as any thing is done as touching the correction of the Pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the Council. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the Church to be in the General Council. Hereupon in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Congregations which were then holden were called the Church. Also in the Council of *Nice*, and in other Councils, when as many should be excommunicated, always in manner, this sentence was adjoyned, *Hanc excommunicat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia*, i. *The Catholick and Apostolick Church doth excommunicate this man.* And hereupon that Title is given unto the Councils, whereby we do say, that the General Council doth represent the Universal Church. Wherefore the Laws and Decrees of the Council are called the Laws of the Church, for that the Church doth not set forth any Laws in any other place, but in the General Council; except we will call the Popes Constitutions the Laws of the Church, which cannot be properly said but of the Council; whereas, albeit all these which are of the Church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the Church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, *It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all the Church*. For albeit that all the faithful were not there present (because a great number of them remained at *Antioch*) yet notwithstanding it was called the whole Church, because the whole power of the Church consisted in the Council. Thus for this present it is sufficient that we understand by the Church the General Council.

The Constitutions of the Bishops of *Rome*, are not the laws of the Church.

The Acts of the Apostles the Council of *Nice*.

The title of the Councils

By the Church the General is understood.

The Constitution of *Honorius* concerneth the Pope to be under the Council.

Simon obtained necessary in the Bishops of *Rome*.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto *Peter*, *If thy brother do offend against thee*, unto this Text following, *Tell it unto the Church*; and let us understand the Council by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent unto the Council, or the Council whereunto *Peter* was sent? The verity doth remit the Bishop of *Rome* unto the General Council. And why so? verily because the Bishop of *Rome* should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above them, the which they should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon *Peter* is also called by another name, *Simon*; the which, as *Rabanus* in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the *Hebrew* Tongue, obedience, that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the Bishop of *Rome*.

The authority of the Council of *Constance* might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries; which while they go about to maintain the unsatiable

The favourers and maintainers of the Pope go about to maintain and prefer the prelature and profit of one before a common commodity.

fatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth, before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stirup. Against the which, besides many other, *Zacharias* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly thrive. Who in the great and sacred Synod of *Chalcedon*, when as the sentence of the Bishop of *Rome* was objected unto him, that the Canon of Pope *Nicholas* and other Patriarchs was above the Council, he replied against it. And *Zosimus* the Pope saith thus, as touching the Decrees of the General Council, *The authority of the feat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the Fathers.* Neither doth he here speak of the Decrees of the Fathers which are dispersed abroad in Cities or Wilderness, for they do not bind the Pope; but of them which are made and published by the Fathers in the General Council. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of Pope *Leo*, the moit eloquent of all the Bishops of *Rome*, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto *Anatholius*, *That the Decrees of the Council of* Nice *are in no part to be violate and broken*; thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high Patriarch.

The authority also of *Damasus* upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto *Arelius* the Archbishop, as *Isidorus* declareth in the Book of Councils, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the Synod is this, *That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or willingly consent unto those which would do any thing contrary and against the sacred Canons. they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.* Of the which blasphemy whether *Gabriel*, which calleth himself *Eugenius*, be presently partaker, let them judge which have heard him say, *That it is so far from his office and duty to obey the General Council.* That he saith, *he doth then best merit and deserve, when as he contemneth the Decrees of the Council. Damasus* addeth yet moreover, *For the purpose*, saith he, *the rulers of the sacred Canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no mans, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid) we do transgress against any of the Decrees of the holy Fathers.* Notwithstanding we daily fee in all the Popes Bulls and Letters, these words. *Non obstante*, that is to say *notwithstanding*, which no other necessity hath brought in, than only unsatisfiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

The Pope can abide no General Councils.

Nos adstante is the Popes Bulls.

But now to return again unto *Damasus*, mention is made in the Epistles of *Ambrose* Bishop of *Millain*, of a certain Epistle, which is said to be written by *Damasus*, unto the Judges deputed by the Council of *Capua*, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Council. By the which saying, he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirm and say, the Bishop of *Rome* to be above the Council. The which, if it were true, *Damasus* might have taken into his hands the cause of *Bonosius* the Bishop to determine,which was before begun by the Council; but forsomuch as the Council is above the Pope, *Damasus* knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon *Hilarius* also acknowledging the Synod to be above him, would have his Decrees confirmed by the Council. Also the famous Doctor Saint *Augustine* in his Epistle which he did write unto *Glorius* and *Eleusius*, and *Felix* the *Grammarian*, declareth the cafe. *Cecilianus* the Bishop was accused by *Donatus*, with others. *Melchiades* the Pope with certain other Bishops, absolved *Cecilian*, and confirmed him in his Bishoprick. They being moved with those doings, made a Schism in the parts of *Africa*, S. *Augustine* reproveth them, which having another remedy against the sentence of the Pope, did raise a Schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner: *Behold, let us think those Bishops which gave judgment at* Rome, *not to have been good Judges, there remained yet the judgment of the Universal Church, where the cause might have bin pleaded even with the Judges themselves, so that if they were convict not to have given just judgment, their sentence might be broken.*

The Council to be above the Pope.

Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the Pope alone, but also the Pope with his Bishops joyned with him, might be made fruitrate by the Council; for the full judgment of the Universal Church is not found elsewhere but in the General Council. Let not any man doubt, in that S. *Augustine* seemeth here only to speak of the Bishops, for if the Text of his Epistle be read over, he shall find the Bishop of *Rome* to be comprehended amongst the other Bishops. It was also prohibited by the Councils of *Africa*, that the Bishops of *Rome* should not receive or hear the Appeals of any which did appeal from the Council; which altogether declare the superiority of the Council. And this appeareth more plainly in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where *Peter* is rebuked by the Congregation of the Apostles, because he went in to *Cornelius* a Heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the Congregation; and yet it was faid unto him as well as others, *Ite & baptizate, &c. Go and baptise.* But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose, which St. *Paul* writeth unto the *Galatians*, where he saith, *he resisted* Peter *even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the Gospel.* Which words, if they be well underftood, signifie none other thing, by the verity of the Gospel, than the Canon of the Council decreed amongst the Apostles for the Disciples being gathered together, have so determined it. Whereupon S. *Paul* doth shew, that *Peter* ought to have obeyed the General Council.

{KING} 1 *Hen.* 6. The full judgment of the Church is not to be found but in the General Council.

No appeal to be made from the Council to the Pope.

Acts 31.

Gal. 2. Peter compelled to obey the General Council.

But now to finish this Disputation, we will here adjoyn the determination of the Council of *Constance*, which Council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared by a solemn Decree, *That all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were Popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred General Councils.* And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, *in such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head as in the members*: notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adjoyned, is to be noted, *Et in pertinentibus ad ea*, that is to say, *with all the appurtenants.* The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord faid thus unto his Apostles, *Go ye forth and teach all people.* He did not say in three points only, *but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* And in another place he saith, not this or that, but *whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* and by which all together are alledged for the authority of the Church and General Councils. For the preferment whereof these things alfo come in place, *He that heareth you, heareth me.* And again, *It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God.* Also, *Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c.* Again, *Whatsoever ye shall ask, &c. O holy Father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And I will be with them even unto the end of the World.* Also out of St. *Paul* these places are gathered, *We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made us apt Ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles, and some Prophets, &c.* In all which places, both Christ and the Apostles, spake of the authority of many, which all together are alledged for the authority of the Universal Church.

The Decree of the council of Constance.

Divers places are referred out of the Gospels and Apostles, for authority of the Church and General Councils above the Pope.

But forsomuch as that Church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing; therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the Church doth consist in the General Councils where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the Primitive Church, that hard and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but only in the General Councils and Congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward. For when as the Churches were divided, General Councils were holden. And in the Council of *Nice* we do find the Heresie of *Arrius* condemned. In the Council of *Constantinople* the Heresie of *Macedonius*. In the Council of *Ephesus* the Heresie of *Nestorius*. In the Council of *Chalcedon* the Heresies of *Eutychius* were alfo condemned; forsomuch as they thought the judgment of the Bishop of *Rome* not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the Council to be of greater force than the sentence of the Pope, forsomuch as he might err as a Man; but the Council wherein so many Men were gathered together,

Weighty matters intreated but only in General Councils.

{KING} 1 *Hen.* 6. ther, being guided with the holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of *Arsenius* the Emperor, which ferveth for that purpose, whose words are these: *Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of meer madness, at the noon-time and fair day light, to seek for a feigned light; for he which having found the truth seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.*

Whether the Pope may be deposed by the Council or not.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the Bishop of *Rome* is under the Council. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the Council or not: For albeit it be proved, that he is under the Council, yet for all that will they not grant, that he may be also deposed by the Council. Wherefore, it is bad no digreffing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter: and first of all, to speak of these Railers which are yet so eamest for the defence of the Bishop of *Rome*, which being vanquished in one Bartel still rente another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the preheminence of the Bishop of *Rome*, or the Patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words than eloquent, they stay much of this point, where Christ said unto *Peter*, *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum*; *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon Earth shall be bound in Heaven*; as though by those words he should be made Head over the others. And again they do amplifie it by this, *Pasce ove meas, Feed my sheep*, which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the Apostles. And because it is said, that *Peter* was the chief and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal See; being all of this opinion with *Boniface*, which said, that the Pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into Hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could open the Kingdom of Heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him: that he could feed other, if he himself lacked pasture.

The places Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, Pasce ove meas, make nothing for the Popes supremacy.

The Popes supremacy confuted.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For Saint *Augustine* in the Sermon of the *Nativity of Peter and Paul*, saith in this wife, *Our Lord Jesus Christ, before his Passion, chose his Disciples, (as ye do know) whom he called brethren. Amongst those* Peter *alone almost in every place, represented the person of the Church, And therefore it was said unto him*, Tibi dabo claves Regni Cœlorum, *that is to say*, Unto thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. *These Keys did he not receive at one man, but as one he received them for the Church.* And in another place, where he writeth of the Christian Agony, he faith, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given unto the Church, when as they were given unto* Peter. And when as it was spoken unto him, *Amas me? Pasce oves meas*, that is to say, *Lovest thou me? Feed my Sheep*; it was spoken unto them all. And Saint *Ambrose* in the beginning of his Pastoral, saith, *Which sheep and which flock the blessed Apostle Saint* Peter *took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we altogether with him.* By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown. For if *Peter* represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto *Peter*, but unto the Church. Neither do I see how that can stand which *Boniface* doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understood otherwise than it is spoken.

Peter reprefenteth the person of the Church, and not of the Pope.

The Keys given to the Church, and not to one man.

Pope Boniface erreth.

But it may peradventure seem a great thing unto some, that it is said the Bishop of *Rome* to be the Head of the Militant Church. For as in the body of man, Physicians do never give counsel to cut off the Head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be never so full of Ulcers, or infected: so in this Mystical Body of the Church, the Head ought always to be kept: and albeit it be never so wicked, yet it is to be suffered and born withal. But now convert this Argument, If it were possible in the body of man, when one Head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the Church; should not Heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the Head of the Church should be, in respect of his body, as the Head of Man in respect of the body of Man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the Pope being dead, the Church also should be dead; the which how far it differeth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoever other men fay. I am not of opinion with them, which affirm the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church, except peradventure, they do make him the ministerial Head: for we do read that Christ is the Head of the Church, and not the Pope: and that he is the true Head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting, and the Church is his body, whereof the Pope himself is also a member, and the Vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroyer of the Church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do; and we ought, as Pope *Leo* faith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the Gospel: that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord faith in another place, *every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.* And in another place also it is said unto us, *Take away all evil and wickedness from among you.* It is very just and true which is written in the Epistle of *Clement*, unto *James* the brother of our Lord, *that he which will be saved, ought to be separate from them which will not be saved.*

They doubt which say that the Pope cannot be deposed for any other cause than for heresie.

The Epistle of Clement to James doubted.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of *John*, *I am the true Vine*, saith the Lord, *and my Father is the Husbandman, but ye are the branches: every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off.* These words were spoken unto the Apostles, amongst whom also *Peter* was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also saint *Jerome* upon these words of *Matthew*, *Unsavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and troden of swine.* Whereupon in the person of *Peter* and *Paul* he saith thus, *It is no base matter to stand in the place of* Peter *and* Paul, *and to keep the chair of them which reign with Christ. This unsavoury salt, that is to say, a foolish Prelate, unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth to be trodden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty Prelates, as their own flock and herd.* Behold this testimony of *Jerome* is plain and evident, *Let him be cast out*, saith he.

Prelates are branches cut off.

The Pope is unfavoury salt, to be cast away.

A note for all naughty Prelates.

He expoundeth and speaketh it of the Prelate which usurpeth the place of *Peter*, and so consequently of the Bishop of *Rome*, who being unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be depofed (as *Jerome* affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither as some do dream, is he to be depofed for Heresie only. *Isidorus* in the Book of Councils, reherseth a certain Epistle of *Clement* the Successor of *Peter*, written unto *James* the Apostle, where the said *Clement*, referring the words of *Peter* unto himself, saith thus, *If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thy self, and those which of* Peter to *shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation; whereby it shall come to pass, that thou, as a man for not teaching those things which pertain unto salvation, shalt be depofed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance.* Notwithstanding in another place, in stead of this word *depofed*, it is found, *thou shalt be punished*; which two words, if they be well underftood, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment. But peradventure some will here object, that this Epistle is not to be judged *Clement's*, because it is said to be written unto *James*, who as the Ecclesiastical Historyaffirmeth, was dead before that *Peter* was put to death. But *Clement* might think that *James* was alive, when as he wrote; which were far distant asunder, and Messengers of the Christians came not often unto *Rome*. Moreover, there is mention made of this Epistle in divers places of the Decretals, as most true, and therefore

The words of Peter to Clement.

It

It shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same Epistle; where he saith, *That he which liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Christ, and doth shew himself rather to be an Infidel than a faithful Christian.* Upon which words, the Gloss which *Panormitane* calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, That if the crime or offence of the Bishop of *Rome* be notorious, whereby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, *Ergo*, also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

The Pope may and ought to be both accused and punished for ill doing.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the Pope may be deposed. Notwithstanding it is not yet evident whether he may be deposed by the Council or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And first of all the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the Bishop of *Rome* may be deposed by the Church, forsomuch as the Pope being the Vicar of the Church, no man doubteth but that a Lord may put out his Vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the Pope is more truly called the Vicar of the Church than of Christ. But if the Church may depose the Pope, *Ergo*, the Council also may do the same. Also the Gloss, which *Panormitane* in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence, *That the General Council is judge over the Pope in all cases.* Likewise the most sacred Synod of *Constantinople*, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the Bishops of *Rome* to be under the judgment of the Council; and the Council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the Bishop of *Rome*. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because this word deposition is not mentioned; for it is said *of every doubtful matter or question*; for if the Synod do judge of every doubt, *Ergo*, it shall also judge whether the Pope shall be deposed or not; for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, *John* 23. whom all the World did reverence, was deposed and the Church by his manifold crimes, the sacred Synod thought good to depose him; and ever since continually the Church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirm, that the Pope cannot be deposed, but only for Heresie.

Whether the Pope may be deposed by the Council or no.

The Pope is rather to be called the Vicar of the Church than of Christ.

Pope John 23. and deposed, and yet for no Heresie.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the General Councils to be of no effect, except the Pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they said, that Legate of Pope *Leo*, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the Apostolick See, to call a Council at *Ephesus*. They also alledge another testimony of the Synod of *Chalcedon*; where, when mention was made of the Council of *Ephesus*, all the Bishops cried out, saying, *We ought not to call it a Council, because it was neither gathered by the Apostolick authority, neither rightly kept.* By the which authorities, they which say that the Councils cannot be holden without the consent of the Pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they define, it shall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy shall we find, if that a wicked Pope do disturb the whole Church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the Faith, and fill the People full of Heresies, shall we provide no stay or stop for him? Shall we suffer all things to run to ruine and decay with him? Who would think that the Bishop of *Rome* would congregate a Council for his own correction or depolition? for as Men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when as I do perule ancient Histories, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, I do not find this order, that Councils should be gathered only at the will of the Pope; for the first Council of all, after that *Matthias* was substitute in the place of *Judas*, was not congregate at the commandment of *Peter*, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from *Jerusalem*, but look for the promise of the Father.

Whether Councils may be congregated without the authority of the Pope.

They err that say the Pope ought only to appoint the Councils. Mark wherefore the Popes will have no General Councils.

The first Council of the Apostles

The second Council, as touching the election of the Deacons, *Peter* alone did not congregate, but the Twelve Apostles, for it is written, *The twelve Apostles calling together the multitude, &c.* KING Hen. 6. The second Council of the Apostles.

The third Council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the Law, was gathered together by a general Inspiration: for it is written, *The Apostles and Elders came together, &c.* The third Council of the Apostles.

The fourth Council, where certain things contained in the Law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by *James*, and so discourling throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive Church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of Councils should pertain only unto Bishops of *Rome*. Neither afterwards in the time of *Constantine Magnus*, and other Emperors, was the consent of the Bishops of *Rome* greatly required to the congregating of Councils; and therefore it is written thus of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, *The sacred and universal Synod gathered together at* Chalcedon, *the chief City of the Province of* Bethulia, *according unto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and Christian Emperor. Valentinian* and *Martian* do not make any mention of the Bishop of *Rome*, although his consent were there. The fourth Council of the Apostles

Wherefore, if the Pope would resist, and would have no Council congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do judge it necessary to have a Council, the Council may be congregate whether the Pope will or no. The Council holden at *Pisa*, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any Pope, when as *Gregory* did condemn it, and *Benedict* cursed it. The same also may be said of the Council of *Constance*, which was assembled by the authority of Pope *John*, who in respect of the *Spaniards* was no true Pope. And if the Council of *Pisa* were no true Council, Pope *John* was no true Pope; whereupon his consent to the congregation of the Council of *Constance* was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the Pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the Council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the Council whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part: and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the Unity of the Church, he maketh himself a Schismatick. If the greater part of the Church do confirm a Council it may be holden whether the Pope will or no. How the Pope is a schismatick.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion; if it be true, as it is indeed, that the Pope is under the Council, how can the Pope then dissolve, alter and transport the Council, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferiour hath power over the superiour? How can the Synod correct the Pope, if the Pope may dissolve the Synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, covetous, a lover of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the Church and the name of Christ, how can the Council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the Council? For alloon as ever that the Bishop of *Rome* shall understand that in the Council they do intreat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the Council. For as *Macrobius* saith, he that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the Bishop of *Rome* may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or transporting the Council, it followeth that the Council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is aboveforsaid, that the Pope is under the Council, or else deny that the Pope hath power to dissolve the Council, contrary to the will and determination of the Council. The Pope cannot dissolve a General Council against the will of the same. The saying of *Macrobius*.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the Divines is also manifest, albeit that some do admit it in certain cases, and in othersome exclude it again. For if we do admit, that for certain causes the Pope may dissolve the Council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the Pope Judge of the Council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion. Whether the Pope in certain cases may dissolve the Council.

Now it is proved that the Council is above the Pope, and cannot be dissolved by the Pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an Article of

KING Hen. 6. of our Faith to believe it: which matter hath respect unto the third Conclusion. For these have been many, which albeit they did confess these two Conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the Catholick Faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an Article of Faith that the Pope be under the Council. Which being proved, it shall also appear to be an Article of Faith, that the Pope cannot Dissolve the Council without the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire what Faith is, that we may thereby the better understand what pertaineth thereunto.

The definition of Faith.

Faith, as the Divines do define it, is a firm and stedfast cleaving unto things, believed by the Authority of him that speaketh; If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that the Pope of *Rome* is under the Council, some authority doth move us thereunto; so is it the Faith of him which believeth it. But the Question is not whether it be an Article of Faith only, but whether it be an Article of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore we must again enquire what the Catholick Faith is. This word *Catholick* is a Greek word, and signifieth *Universal*. The Catholick Faith, that is to say, the Universal Faith, is not to called because that every man holdeth it, but because every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is Incarnate, but every Man ought so to believe. And albeit that many be against this Faith, yet doth it not cease to be Universal. For what writeth the Apostle unto the *Romans*? *If some of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the Faith of God Vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a lyar.* Therefore to believe that the Pope is under the Council, is a point of the Catholick Faith, although some think the contrary: for we are bound to believe it, forsomuch as it is taken out of the Gospel. For we are not bound only to believe those things which are noted to us in the *Creed*, but also all those things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one jot. And those things which we alledge for the superiority of the general Council are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Epistles of Saint *Paul*: *Ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that these things are taken out of the Gospel, the Council of *Constance* doth witness, the which groundeth his authority upon these words, *Die Ecclesiæ*, that is to say, Tell it unto the Church. And where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. with other such like texts. The definition of the Catholick faith. *Rom.* 3 Catholick what it is.

The Council of *Constance* *Vide supra.* Whereupon ta Pope *Martin* the fourth being yet in *Constance*, under the licence of the Council, sent out his Bulls, which do reckon up the Articles, whereupon they ought to be examined which had fain into any Heresie; amongst the which Articles he putteth this Article; Whether he doth believe the sacred general Council to have power immediately from God, and that the Ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians; which if any Man would deny, he should be counted an Heretick. Wherefore, when as the sacred Synod of *Constance* doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of the general Council, what should let, but that we also should confess the same to be a verity of the Catholick Faith? For the Catholick Church being Congregate at *Constance* received that Faith, that is to say, believed it by the authority of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his Saints. Tell the Church, that is to say the general Council.

The words of the Council of *Chalcedon*, whereby he is declared an Heretick, that holdeth any opinion contrary to the Council. To this purpose also serve very well the words of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, written in this manner: It is not lawful for him that is condemned by the whole Synod to nominate any Bishop. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the Faith of the Fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is an Heretick. And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and chosen Synod.

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred Synod, which said, that he is an Heretick, which holdeth any opinion contrary unto the Council: But he is no Heretick, except he refuse the Catholick Faith: *Ergo*, it was the Catholick Faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the sacred Council. But how was the same any point of the Catholick Faith? Verily forsomuch as the sacred Synod, perusing over the Holy Scriptures, hath received this Conclusion out of the words of Christ and other Holy Fathers. And like as the Synod of *Chalcedon* took their Conclusions out of the Holy Scriptures, so did the Council of *Constance*, this we now reason upon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholick Faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an Heretick.

Furthermore they seem unto me to dream and dote, which confessing them to be verities, will not confess them to be verities of Faith. For if they be verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Grammar, much less of Logick; and from Astronomy and Phylick they are far distant. Neither is there any other Man but a Divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe Christ, or his Apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the Catholick Faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged an Heretick, as the third Conclution doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should be called an Heretick, which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the general Council, which is confirmed by so many Testimonies and Authorities. Also *Panormitane* alledgeth Saint *Jerome*, saying, He which understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the consent of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the Church, may be called an Heretick. *Panormitane* is noted, and very well rejected by his own supposition.

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words of Christ, saying unto *Peter*, *Die Ecclesiæ. i.* Tell it unto the Church, doth not understand by the Church the general Council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as an Heretick. And to prove that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the Council of *Constance* doth declare: The which interpreting those words, *Die Ecclesiæ. i.* Tell it unto the Church, spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of the general Council. By these and many other weightier reasons the three aforesaid Conclusions seemed true unto the Divines, and through them they also allowed the residue.

Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised: neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of these three first Conclusions. Now to return again unto our Story, it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the Conclusions of the Divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable unto the posterity. Tell the Church, that is to say the general Council.

When the disputation was ended, and a final Conclusion of these matters even at hand, the Archbishop of *Millain* and *Panormitane* with the residue of their fellow Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon*, and Duke of *Millain*, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomachs.

And first of all, as soon as the Congregation was assembled together, the Bishop of *Burgen* exhorted them to defer the Conclusion, and to tarry for the Ambassadors of other Provinces, which would return from *Mentz*. The Bishop of Burgen.

After him *Panormitane*, with a grave and *Rhetorical* Oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth. Panormitane's Oration.

I have (said he) had a Commandment by the Prophet, to cry without ceasing. Which Prophet said; Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before he ought to have cryed, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when as the state of the Universal Church is intreated upon either to be preferved, or utterly overthrown: and that he hath cryed so much in this manner, that he doubted not but the saying of *David* was fulfilled in him, where he saith, *Laboravi clamans, rauca sunt fauces meæ*; I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarse.

Notwithstanding that he would, both now, and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and specially now in this moft difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred Council gently to hear both

him, and the Ambaſſadors of other Princes: Adding moreover four things to be conſidered in all requeſts made of any man. The which he alſo required the Fathers now preſently to mark and conſider: Who it is that maketh the requeſt. What is required. Why it ſhould be required. And what effect would come by the requeſt either granted or denied. As touching the firſt point he ſaid; The moſt noble Kings and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power: and then he reckoned up the King of *Caſtile*, the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Millain*, and the Biſhops of the ſame Princes, rehearſing alſo the merits and good deeds of the ſaid Kings, and alſo of the Duke of *Millain*. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, he could not refrain himſelf, but began to wax ſomewhat hot, ſaying, that the greateſt number of Prelates were on his part. For if the Biſhops and Abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greateſt part of them would have this preſent matter deferred: and forſomuch as the whole power of the Council doth conſiſt in the Biſhops, it is not to be ſuffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that ſhould be concluded, which pleated the greater part of the inferiors. For the Keys (ſaid he) were given to the Apoſtles, and to their ſucceſſors which are the Biſhops: alſo that there are three kinds of Synods, Epiſcopal, Provincial, and General, and none of all theſe without Biſhops. Wherefore the manner and order of the preſent Council ſeemed undecent, whereas things were not weighed according as men excel in Diginity, but by moſt voyces: Notwithſtanding, according to the moſt famous Epiſtle of *Clement*, the Biſhops were the pillars and keys of Heaven, and the Inferiors had no determining voice, but only a conſultative voice with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of Faith ſhould be determined without the Biſhops; in which matter not only the Biſhops, but alſo the ſecular Princes ought to be admitted. And forſomuch as they in the name of their Princes, deſired to be admitted to the examination of this preſent matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was that they ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed.

Panormitane would have dignity to be conſidered in Council, and not voices.

After many things ſpoken to this end and effect, he paſſed over to the ſecond part of his Oration, declaring what it was that he required; not Gold, nor Silver, neither precious Stones, neither Provinces nor Kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but that only the delay of the ſacred Council was required, and that the Fathers would ſtay in the proceſs againſt the Pope, and in the concluſion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither ſhould the delay be long, but only until the return of the Ambaſſadors from *Mentz*, whom he knew well would return very ſhortly. That this was but a ſmall matter, and needed but ſmall intreaty, becauſe there was no danger in it. And alſo it ſhould ſeem injurious, not to tarry for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes which were then at *Mentz*, when as they were not abſent for their own private Commodity, but about the affairs of the Commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had deſired, that during their abſence there ſhould be nothing renewed concerning the matters of *Eugenius*.

Panormitane ſeemeth to delay the proceſs againſt the Pope.

The third part of *Panormitanes* Oration.

Then immediately adjoyning the third part of his Oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private Commodity of any one Man, but for a Common-wealth; not to caſte any trouble or unquietneſs, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might paſs with peace and quietneſs, that the matter might be ſo much the more firm and ſtable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the conſent of many. And ſo he proceeded to the laſt part of his argument, requiring the Fathers that they would conſider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they ſhould grant or deny this requeſt. For (ſaith he) if ye ſhall deny this ſmall petition of the Princes, they all will be agrieved therewith, and take this repulſe in ill part. They will ſay, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your Decrees. In vain ſhall ye make Laws, except the Princes do execute them, and all your Decrees ſhall be but vain: yet would I think this to be born withal, if I did not fear greater matters, to enſue. What if they ſhould joyn themſelves with *Eugenius*, who deſireth to ſpoil you, not only of your livings, but alſo of your lives? Alas! what ſlaughter and murther do the eyes of my mind behold and ſee? Would God my opinion were but vain! But if you do grant and conſent unto my petitions, they will think themſelves bound unto you; they will receive and imbrace your Decrees; and whatſoever you ſhall require of them ſhall be obtained. They will forſake your adverſary, they will ſpeak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praiſe, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly ſubmit themſelves; and then ſhall follow that moſt excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the Church. And thus he required the matter to be reſpited on all parts. At the laſt he ſaid, that except the Ambaſſadors of the Princes were heard, he had a proteſtation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

Proteſtations of *Panormitane*.

When *Panormitane* had made an end of his Oration, *Lodovicus* the Protonotary of *Rome* roſe up, a Man of ſuch ſingular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous Men aforetime. Inſomuch that he had always in memory whatſoever he had heard or read, and never forgat any thing that he had ſeen. This man, firſt commending *Panormitane*, ſaid; that he came but the day before from the Baths, and that it ſeemed unto him a ſtrange thing which was now brought in queſtion; wherein he deſired to hear other mens minds, and alſo to be heard of others, and that thoſe Prelates which were at *Mentz* ſhould be tarried for, to be preſent at the diſcuſſing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great eſtimation, and the Orators of moſt mighty Princes.

The praiſe of *Lodovicus* the Protonotary.

He allowed alſo the ſaying of *Panormitane*, touching the voices of the Inferiors, that it ſeemeth not to be againſt the truth, that only Biſhops ſhould have a deciding or determining voice in Councils. And albeit that ſome in this diſputation do think that which is written in the 15. Chap. of the *Acts* to be their force or defence; notwithſtanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any effect, albeit it was ſaid, it ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt and to us; whereas both the Apoſtles and the Elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the Apoſtles. For he ſaid, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be marvelled at, than to be followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the Apoſtles called the Elders of Duty, but that it is only declared that they were there preſent; whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it ſeemed unto him, that the inferiors in the Council of *Baſil* were admitted to determine with the Biſhops, but of grace and favor only, becauſe the Biſhops may communicate the authority unto others. He alledged for Teſtimony the Biſhop of *Concen*, a Man of great Authority, who would not ſuffer any incorporation, or fellowſhip of the meaner ſort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himſelf, which as yet was not made Biſhop, to have any deciding voice in the Council. Wherefore forſomuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the Biſhops ſpake againſt it, he required the Council that they would of neceſſity ſtay and tarry for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes coming from *Mentz*.

Biſhops only to have determining voice in Councils.

His Oration was ſomuch the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and ſpecially in that point, that he ſaid the Apoſtles were not to be followed: for that all men did impugn as a blaſphemy. But here a Man may marvel, that a Man of ſuch ſuch excellency alledged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the Man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly ſpeak in this matter, and deſired nothing ſomuch, as not to obtain that which he intreated for. After him many other ſpake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and defer the concluſion of theſe matters.

It is no marvel why he alledged no more or better matter; for of naughty teachers no man can make a good ſhooe. And more how God withdraweth his gifts, when men diſſemble and ſpeake the truth.

THen *Lodovicus* the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, a Man of marvelous conſtancy, and born for the governance of the general Councils, gathering together the words of all the Orators, ſpake in this wiſe: *Moſt reverend Fathers, this is now no new or ſtrange buſineſs, nor begun to day or yeſterday. For it is now many weeks ago ſince the Chri-*

{KING} Hiſt. 6. 5 *Concluſions were diſputed upon amongſt the Divines, and ſent unto* Mentz, *and to all other parts of the world. After this they were diſputed upon ſix days continually, and fully diſcuſſed, and after that not without great delay approved by the Deputies; and as the truth ſeeketh no corners, ſo all things were done publickly and openly. Neither can any Man pretend ignorance, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned. For we called all that were preſent at Baſil, and exhorted all the reſt to be preſent. And forſomuch as mention is made of the moſt Noble King of Caſtile; who is it that is ignorant that the Kings Orators were there preſent? The Biſhop of* Burgen *and* Ebrun, *men of ſingular learning and eloquence, and you alſo* Panormitan *your ſelf, which here repreſent the perſon of the moſt famous King of* Arragon, *were twice preſent your ſelf in the Chapter-houſe, and diſputed twice moſt ſubtilly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you deſire any more? Alſo out of the Territory of the Duke of* Millain *there was preſent the Archbiſhop of* Millain, *who alſoeit he be no Ambaſſador, yet how famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Archbiſhop being ſomewhat moved ſaid unto him, *My Lord Cardinal, you ſupply the room of a Preſident no better than I do the place of a Dukes Orator*, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinal, (as he was a Man moſt patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means) ſaid, *This is it that I even now deſired. For if the Archbiſhop be an Ambaſſador, then hath the Duke no cauſe to complain, which had his Orator preſent at the diſcuſſing of thoſe matters.*

Truth ſeeketh no corners.

The patience and Anſwer of *Arelatenſis*.

I paſs over other Princes, becauſe they do not complain. Notwithſtanding, the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, had there the Biſhop of *Lions*, a grave and ſober Man, his Ambaſſador at the diſputation. As for other Princes, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhould be tarried for, which knowing the Council to be congregate for ſuch matters as pertain unto Faith, do not think it abſurd that the doubtful matters of Faith ſhould be declared in the Council; Whereupon if they had been willing to come, they would have been preſent ere this.

Why this matter ſhould need ſo much diſcuſſing as ſome will have, I do not underſtand. For if I be well remembred, *Panormitan* and alſo *Ludovicus* have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very ſame thing which the Concluſions ſignifie. And if any of them now will go about to gainſay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto *Didimus*. To whom, when as on a time he repugned againſt a certain Hiſtory as vain and frivolous; his own Book was delivered unto him, wherein the ſame was written: So likewiſe theſe two Men (meaning *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Beſides this, there are Synodal Epiſtles and Decrees of this Council, which are full of ſuch Concluſions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raiſed? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath ſo often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (ſay they) the Princes and Ambaſſadors are abſent, which are Biſhops, by whoſe preſence the decrees ſhould be of more authority. Well, they are not only abſent which are gone to *Mentz*, but almoſt an infinite number of others, diſperſed throughout the whole World; whom if we ſhould tarry to look for, nothing at any time ſhould be decreed. They are all called unto the Council; they might have come if they would. To thoſe that are preſent power is given, and they ought to debate theſe matters. If any man will ſay, that they which are abſent are about the affairs of the Common-wealth; truly we ſent them not thither, but they went rather againſt the will of the Council, than with the conſent thereof.

Didimus reprehended that which was in his own Book found.

He meaneth *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary.

And admit that they had been ſent by the Council, yet were not our power ſo much refrained but that we might reform the Church, for otherwiſe there ſhould never any thing be done in the Council: forſomuch as always ſome are ſent out by the Council, and ſome are always to be looked and tarried for, and therefore we muſt either do nothing at all, or ſend out no Prelates from the Council. Whereas he ſaid that Prelates, and eſpecially Biſhops are contemned, that is moſt far from the truth, for they have the chief and firſt places. They ſpeak firſt, and give their voices firſt of all unto all things: and if ſo be they do ſpeak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors without any gainſaying did ſoon follow their mind.

Mark what worldly pomp dignity and wealth had brought the Prelates to in thoſe days.

Neither peradventure ſhall it be found untrue, that there was never any Synod, which did more amplifie the power and authority of Biſhops, than this. For what have the Biſhops been in our days, but only ſhadows? Might they not well have been called Sheepherds without the Sheep? What had they more than their Miter and their Staff, when as they could determine nothing over their Subjects? Verily in the Primitive Church the Biſhops had the greateſt power and authority: but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common ſort of Prieſts only in their habit and revenews. But we have reſtored them again to their old State: we have reduced the collation of benefices again into them; we have reſtored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again the cauſes of the Subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them Biſhops which were none before. What cauſe is there then, that the Biſhops ſhould ſay they are contemned of the Council? Or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But *Panormitan* faith, that forſomuch as moſt Biſhops are on his part, and few againſt him, the Concluſion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors: but let *Panormitan* remember himſelf, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

Mark O ye Biſhops, the Council of Baſil confeſſeth for you, and ye will not underſtand it.

This order of Proceeding, the Council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time ſince. And this order, *Panormitan*, in times paſt hath pleaſed you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your mind. But now, becauſe they do not follow your mind, they do diſpleaſe you. But the Decrees of the Council are not ſo mutable, as the Wills of men. Know ye moreover that the very ſame Biſhops which do conſent with you in word, do not conſent with you in mind, neither ſpeak the ſame ſecretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their Country, that except they would follow your mind they ſhould diſpleaſe the King. They fear the power of the Prince, and to be ſpoyled of their temporalties; neither have they free liberty to ſpeak as is requiſite in Councils. Albeit if they were true Biſhops, and true Paſtors of ſouls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their Sheep, neither be afraid to ſhed their bloud for their Mother the Church.

This was a fine Cardinal out of thoſe words which the very diſcreet not, but feared not, the threatnings of Princes, neither fought any worldly glory or dignity.

But at this prefent (the more is the pity) it is too rare to find a Prelate in this world, which doth not prefer his temporalties before his ſpiritualties; with the love whereof they are ſo withdrawn, that they ſtudy rather to pleaſe Princes than God; and confeſs God in corners, but Princes they will openly confeſs. Of whom the Lord ſpeaketh in his Goſpel, Every one, faith he, that confeſſeth me before Men, I will confeſs him before my Father which is in Heaven. And contrariwiſe, the Lord will not confeſs him before his Father, which is afraid to confeſs the Lord before men. Neither is it true which *Panormitan* faith, moſt Biſhops to be on his part; for here are many Biſhops Proctors whom he doth not reckon, becauſe they are not of his opinion. Neither is the Dignity of the Fathers to be reſpected in the Council, as he ſaith, but only reaſon: nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth: neither will I for my part prefer a lye of any Biſhop, be he never ſo rich, before a verity or truth of a poor Prieſt. Neither ought a Biſhop to diſdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent Prieſt ſhould be preferred before his. For wiſdom dwelleth oftner under a bare and ragged Cloak, than in rich Ornaments and Apparel.

Note here the great endlineſs and moſt Chriſtian dying of theſe good Biſhops.

Truth many times dwelleth under the ragged cloke.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord Biſhops, do not ſo much contemn your Inferiors; for the firſt which dyed for Chriſt, the which alſo opened unto all other the way of Martyrdom, was no Biſhop but only a *Levite*. As for that which *Ludovicus* and *Panormitan* do alledge touching the voices of Biſhops, I know not where they have it. Wherefore I deſire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councils, we ſhall find that the Inferiors were always preſent with the Biſhops. And albeit that *Ludovicus*

Shewn the firſt Martyrs.

do forbid us the examples of the Apoſtles, I ſtay my ſelf moſt upon their doings. For what is more comly for us to follow, than the Doctrine and Cuſtoms of the Primitive Church? It is faid therefore in the 15. Chap. of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, *It ſeemed good unto the holy Ghoſt, and to us.* The which words *(to us)* is referred unto them which are before named the Apoſtles and the Elders. Whether this word, *(it ſeemed good)* ſignifieth in this place conſultation, but deciſion and determination; whereby it appeareth that other beſide the Biſhops had determining voices. In another place alſo of the ſaid Acts, when as the Apoſtles ſhould intreat upon a weighty matter, they durſt not determine by themſelves, but the Twelve called together the multitude.

Note the ſincerity of this good Biſhop, which ſtayed himſelf upon the examples of the Primitive Church; and not upon cuſtoms and Popes.

Here *Ludovicus* faith, that it doth not appear that the Apoſtles called other of neceſſity: But I ſay unto him, how knoweſt thou that they did not ſay unto them of neceſſity? But forſomuch as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibite us to follow the Apoſtles. For ſeeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apoſtles would give us example, that in weighty matters we ſhould admit our Inferiors. And therefore in all Councils which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we find that Priests were alſo preſent: as in the Council of *Nice*, which of all other was moſt famous, *Athanaſius* being then but only a Prieſt, withſtood the *Arrians* and infringed their arguments, albeit there were alſo other Prieſts. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty two Biſhops, yet it is not denyed but that the Inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cauſe, for that they were almoſt innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the moſt part is taken of the moſt worthy.

Athanaſius being but a Prieſt and no Biſhop, vanquiſhed an Archbiſhop.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon* (which was counted one of the four principal Synods) it is ſaid that there were there preſent 600 Prieſts; the which name is common both unto Biſhops and Prieſts. In other Councils the name both of Biſhops and Prieſts is omitted, and mention made only of Fathers, which hath the ſame ſignification that this word *Elders* hath in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. We have alſo a Teſtimony of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, how that there was a Council gathered at *Rome* of ſixty Biſhops, and as many Prieſts and Deacons againſt the *Novatians*, which called themſelves *Cathari*. Alſo, when *Paul* the Biſhop of *Antioch* in the time of *Galiene* the Emperor, Preached that Chriſt was a Man of common nature, the Council aſſembled againſt him in *Antioch*; whereunto there came Biſhops out of *Ceſarea*, *Cappadocia*, out of *Pontus*, *Aſia*, and from *Jeruſalem*, many other Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; and it is ſaid, that for that cauſe the Council was often holden.

The name of Prieſts or Elders common both to Biſhops and Prieſts.

Paul Biſhop of *Antioch.*

And at the laſt in the ſame place, under *Aurelius* the Emperor, *Paul* was condemned of all Chriſtian Churches which were under Heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the ſaid *Paul*, than *Malchion* a Prieſt of *Antioch*, which taught *Rhetorick* in *Antioch*. But to make no long digreſſion from the matter, we have moſt evident Teſtimonies for the defence of Inferiors. For the chief and principal amongſt all the Divines, St. *Auſten* upon the words of *Matthew*, where Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, ſaith, That by thoſe words the judicial Power was given not only unto *Peter*, but alſo to the other Apoſtles, and to the whole Church, the Biſhops and Prieſts. If then Prieſts have a judicial Power in the Church, what ſhould let that they have not alſo a determining voice in the Councils. The famous Doctor Saint *Jerom* doth alſo agree with Saint *Auſten*, whoſe words are theſe upon the Epiſtle of *Paul* unto *Titus*. Before that difference was made in Religion by the inſtigation of the Divel, or that it was ſpoken amongſt the people, I hold of *Paul*, I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common conſent and Council of the Prieſts; for a Prieſt is the very ſame that a Biſhop is. Wherefore all Biſhops ought to underſtand, that they are of greater power than Prieſts, rather by cuſtom than by diſpenſation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the Church together. And this we do alſo gather out of *Paul* unto *Titus*, which maketh ſo much concordance between Biſhops and Prieſts, that oftentimes he calleth Prieſts, Biſhops; whereby it doth evidently appear, that Prieſts

St. *Auguſtines* mind upon this ſentence. *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum.*

Biſhops are of greater power than Prieſts, rather by cuſtom than by diſpenſation of truth.

are not to be excluded from the conventions of Biſhops and determinations of matters. Albeit, as Saint *Jerom* writeth that Biſhops only by cuſtom are preferred before Prieſts, it may be that a contrary cuſtom may take away that cuſtom. For if Prieſts ought to rule the Church together with the Biſhops, it is evident that it alſo pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the Church.

{KING Hen.6.} Biſhops and Prieſts ought to rule the Church together.

Wherefore the Teſtimony of Saint *Paul* is evident; for (as he writing unto the *Epheſians* ſaith) If Chriſt inſtituted his Apoſtles, Prophets, Paſtors, and Teachers to the work of the miniſtery, for the edifying of his Church, until ſuch time as we ſhould meet him, for this purpoſe, that there ſhould be no doubt in the diverſity of doctrine; who doubteth then, but that the governance of the Church is committed unto others together with the Apoſtles? Let theſe our Champions now hold their peace, and ſeem to be no wiſer than they ought to be. The memorial of the Council of *Conſtance* is yet freſh in memory, where divers of us were preſent, and I my ſelf alſo which was neither Cardinal nor Biſhop, but only a Doctor, where I did ſee without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the Inferiors to be admitted with the Biſhops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be aſhamed to follow the example of that moſt ſacred and great Council, which alſo followed the examples of the Council of *Piſa*, and the great Council at *Lateran*, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Prieſts did joyntly judge together with the Biſhops.

Æneas Silvius.

Moreover, if Abbots, as we do ſee it obſerved in all Councils, having a determining voice, which notwithſtanding were not inſtituted by Chriſt; why ſhould not Prieſts have the ſame, whoſe order Chriſt ordained by his Apoſtles? Hereupon alſo, if only Biſhops ſhould have a determining voice, nothing ſhould be done but what pleaſed the *Italian* Nation, the which alone doth exceed all other Nations, or at the leaſt is equal with them, in number of Biſhops. And howſoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the Inferiors ſhould be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wiſe.

Note that Abbots were not inſtituted by Chriſt.

Italy ſurmounteth all other Nations in number of Biſhops.

Behold you do ſee the zeal, conſtancy, uprightneſs, and magnanimity of theſe Inferiors. Where ſhould the Council now be, if only Biſhops and Cardinals ſhould have their voice? Where ſhould the Authority of the Council's be? Where ſhould the Catholick Faith be? Where ſhould the Decrees and Reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of *Eugenius*, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpoſe, except theſe Inferiors, whom ye now contemn, had withſtood him. Theſe are they which have contemned the privation made by *Eugenius*. Theſe I ſay, are they which have not regarded his threatnings, ſpoil and perſecution. Theſe are they which being taken, impriſoned and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the Council; yea, even theſe are they, who albeit they were by *Eugenius* delivered over a prey, yet would they ſtill continue in the ſacred Council, and feared not to ſuffer War, Famine, and moſt cruel Peſtilence: and finally, what thing is it, that theſe men have not willingly ſuffered for the right and equity of the Council? You might have heard this Inferior ſort, even in the midſt of their Tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and ſay, *Albeit that all Men become obedient unto that Subverter of the Church* Eugenius, *and that every Man do depart from the verity of the Faith and conſtitutions of the Fathers, conſenting unto the Commandments of* Eugenius, *yet we and our Brethren will be conſtant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy Fathers, the which indeed they have done.* Neither could they be feared with threatnings or diſcouraged with any ſpoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their moſt bleſſed purpoſe. And (to ſpeak ſomewhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

Note the terrible perſecution of thoſe days, and the great conſtancy of the truths ſake.

O zeal of Faith, worthy the crown of Martyrdom?

As for the Biſhops, whom *Panormitan* alone would have to determine, you ſee how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here preſent are not able by vertue to overcome iniquity, they fear the Terrene power, and commit offence with their haſt. Have ye not heard how they all faid, they would conſent unto the Kings will and pleaſure? But the Inferiors are they which have had truth, no

The Biſhops of the Primitive Church what they were. Poor men more meet to give judgment than rich: for riches, wealth, and dignity bring fear: but poverty cauſeth liberty.

* The Biſhops in this age of the Church, what they are.

The Biſhops fear the earthly power, but no God.

{KING Hen.6.} righteouſneſs, and God himſelf before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for ſhewing themſelves ſuch Men unto the Church of God. But why do I defend the cauſe of theſe Inferiors? When as ſome will alſo exclude thoſe Biſhops which are but Biſhops by name and title, and have no poſſeſſion of the Church, from our company, not underſtanding that whileſt they go about to put back thoſe men, they do condemn *Peter*, and the other Apoſtles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flock; neither was *Rome* unto *Peter*, nor *Jeruſalem* unto *James*, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a ſmall flock believed in Chriſt.

For, I pray you, what is that we ſhould enquire of theſe Biſhops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenews: but Money maketh not a Biſhop, and as the Lord ſaith, *Beati pauperes ſpiritu*, that is, Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit. Neither was their any rich Biſhops in the Primitve Church, neither did the ancient Church reject *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Millain*, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercelles*, or *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictavia*, although they were never ſo poor, and baniſhed without a flock. But if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment, than the rich: becauſe that riches bring fear, and their poverty cauſeth liberty. For the poor Men do not fear Tyranny as our rich Men do, which being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleneſs and ſloath, will rather deny Chriſt, than lack their accuſtomed pleaſures; * whom not their flock, but their revenews make Biſhops, delighting ſo much in Riches, that they judge all poor Men unhappy. But, as *Cicero* ſaith; Nothing can happen better unto a wiſe Man, than the mediocrity of ſubſtance. Whereupon it is written in the Goſpel; *It is eaſier for a Camel to paſs thorow a needles eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

But now to return to a more full Declaration of *Panormitans* words, I determine to paſs over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his Oration, that is, *Qui petant, & cur petant*, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cauſe they make their petition. We grant that they are great Men, and Men of power, and (as he doth affirm) that they have deſerved good of the Church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a ſincere affection. But whether it be a ſmall matter that is required, or that the ſame effects would riſe thereupon which he ſpake of; it is now to be enquired.

The Eighth year of the Council of Baſil. How ſubtilly they fought delays.

The Biſhops fear the earthly power, but no God.

Likewiſe the *French*-men, after they had taken *Rome* and beſieged the *Capitol*, whileſt that they greedily fought to have great ſums of Money, and delayed the time in making of their Truce, *Camillus* coming upon them did moſt ſhamefully chaſe them out again. But what need I to rehearſe old Stories, when as our own examples are ſufficient for us? Ye know your ſelves how often theſe delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the Eighth year that you have ſpent in delays; and you have ſeen, that always of one delay another hath ſprung and riſen. Wherefore I do require that *Panormitan* ſhould conſider, that the Conclusion being this day diſturbed, we know not whether it will be

In matters of Faith and Religion, there ought to be no delays.

A delay (faith he) is required; a delay for a few days. A ſmall matter; a matter of no importance, a matter eaſie to be granted. Notwithſtanding, let *Panormitan* here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of Faith. The verities are already declared; then be already diſcuſſed and determined. If now there ſhould be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one Moment, is the loſs of a whole Year; hereof we have many examples. *Hannibal* when he had obtained his Victory at *Cannas*, if he had gone ſtraight unto *Rome*, by all Mens judgments he had taken the City. But forſomuch as he did defer it until the next day, the *Romans* having recovered their force again, he was ſhut out, and deſerved to hear this Opprobry:

Vincere ſcis Hannibal, uti victoria neſcis.

Hannibal thou knowſt H Victory to get,
But how to uſe it thou know'ſt not yet.

brought to paſs hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may riſe. Neither doth *Panormitan* lay, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward content with his Fellows unto the Concluſions; for he denyeth that he hath any Commandment thereunto: and (which is more to be conſidered) he ſaith that the Ambaſſadors at their return from *Mantz* may bring ſuch news, whereby theſe Concluſions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent than the truth.

The which thing doth manifeſtly declare, that they do not ſeek delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the Concluſions the more ſtrongly. Neither do I agree with *Panormitan*, as touching the effects which he ſaid ſhould riſe either of the denial, or granting of the requeſts; For I ſee no cauſe why the Princes ſhould greatly require and delay. There are no Letters of any Prince come unto us as touching ſuch requeſt, neither is there any Man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of Faith ſhould be determined. But this is a moſt pernicious Concluſion which *Panormitan* hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of thoſe moſt godly Princes; where he ſaith, if we do pleaſe them, they will take our part. If contrariwiſe, they will decline unto *Eugenius*, and wholly refuſe and rebel againſt us. This is a marvelous word, and a wonderful Concluſion, altogether unworthy to be ſpoken of ſuch a Man. The Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* are, that all manner of Men, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be, are bound to the Ordinances and Decrees of the general Councils. But *Panormitans* words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the Princes obedient unto the Council, but the Council to be obedient unto the Princes.

The decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*.

If theſe things ſeem to unſtable-like, what ſhall we ſay, when as they make the Pope a God?

Alas, moſt Reverend Fathers, Alas, what times and days, what manners and conditions are theſe? Into what miſery are we now brought? How ſhall we at any time bring to paſs, that the Pope being Chriſts Vicar, and (as they ſay) another Chriſt in Earth, ſhould be ſubject unto the Council of the Chriſtians, if the Council it ſelf ought to obey worldly Princes? But I pray you look for no ſuch things at the Princes hands. Do not believe that they will forſake their Mother the Church. Do not think them ſo far alienate from the truth, that they would have juſtice ſuppreſſed.

The Concluſions, whereupon the controverſie is, are moſt true, moſt holy, moſt allowable. If the Princes do refuſe them, they do not reſiſt againſt us, but againſt the Holy Scriptures, yea, and againſt Chriſt, himſelf; which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comly for *Pahormitan* ſo to ſay. *Panormitan* (by your licence be it ſpoken) you have uttered moſt cruel words, neither do you ſeem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the Fathers: for you have reheaſed great perils and dangers, except we ſubmit our ſelves unto the Princes.

They which teach this Doctrine, are Hereticks and Schiſmatick: but bleſſed are they which live Hereticks for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

But you moſt Reverend Fathers, ſhall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the ſoul they cannot kill; neither ſhall ye forſake the truth, although you ſhould ſhed your blood for the ſame. Neither ought we to be any whit more ſluck in the quarrel of our Mother Church, and the Catholick Faith, than thoſe moſt holy Martyrs, which have eſtablished the Church with their blood. For why ſhould it be any grievous matter unto us to ſuffer for Chriſt, which for our ſakes hath ſuffered ſo cruel and grievous death? Who when he was an immortal God, void of all Paſſions, took upon him the ſhape of a mortal Man, and feared not for our redemption to ſuffer torments upon the Croſs. Set before your eyes the Princes of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *Bartholomew*, and (not to ſpeak only of Biſhops) mark what *Stephen*, *Laurence*, *Sebaſtian* and *Fabian* did. Some were Hanged, ſome Beheaded, ſome Stoned to death, other ſome Burned, and others Tormented with moſt cruel and grievous Torments ſuffered for Chriſts ſake. I pray you for Gods ſake let us follow the example of theſe Men. If we will be Biſhops and ſucceed in honour, let us not fear Martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we? Alas, what faint hearted people are we? They in times paſt by the contempt of death converted the whole World, which was full of Gentility and Idolatry and we through our ſluggiſhneſs and deſire of life, do bring the Chriſtian Religion

A Chriſtian exhortation to conſtancy and Martyrdom.

This came to paſs about twenty years after, when *Chriſtendom* loſt *Conſtantinople*, and all the *Eaſt* parts unto the *Turks*.

out of the whole World into one corner; and I fear greatly, left the little alſo which is left, we ſhall loſe through our cowardlineſs, if that by following *Panormitans* mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the Church unto the Princes. But now play the ſtout and valiant men in this time of Tribulation, and fear not to ſuffer death for the Church, which *Curtius* feared not to do for the City of *Rome*: which *Mencetheus* for *Thebes*, and *Codrus* for *Athens*, willingly took upon them.

Examples of good men dying for their Country.

Not only the Martyrs, but alſo the *Gentiles* might move and ſtir us to caſt off all the fear of death. What is to be ſaid of *Theremenes* the *Athenian*? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleaſant countenance, did he drink the poiſon? What ſay you unto *Socrates* that moſt excellent Philoſopher? did he either weep or ſigh when he ſupped up the poiſon? They hoped for that which we are moſt certain of: Not by dying to die, but to change this preſent life for a better.

Truly we ought to be aſhamed, being admoniſhed by ſo many Examples, inſtructed with ſo great Learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Chriſt, ſo greatly to fear death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole Legions, which have chearfully and couragiouſly gone unto thoſe places, from whence they knew they ſhould not return. With like courage did the *Lacedemonians* give themſelves to death at *Thermopylæ*, of whom *Symonides* writeth thus:

Die hoſpes, Spartanos te hic vidiſſe tacentes,
Dum ſanctis Patriæ legibus obſequimur.

Report thou ſtranger, the Spartans *here to lie,*
Whiles that their Countrey Laws they obeyed willingly.

The noble Lacedemonians.

Neither judge the contrary, but that the *Lacedemonians* went even of purpoſe unto death; unto whom their Captain *Lecnidas* ſaid, *O ye* Lacedemonians, *go forward couragiouſly, for this day we ſhall ſup together with the infernal gods.* But I, moſt reverend Fathers, do not invite you unto the Infernals, as he did his *Lacedemonians*, but unto the celeſtial and everlaſting joys of Paradiſe, if that you can ſuffer death for the truths ſake, and patiently abide the threatnings of theſe Princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you unto that eternal Glory, where there is no alteration of State, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetual things do abound: where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man ſtealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man baniſheth, no man murdereth; and finally no man dieth. Where all men are bleſſed and happy, all The bleſſed ſtate of the Elect to come. are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like eſtate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well conſider, we ſhall truly anſwer *Panormitan*, as *Theodorus Cyrenenſis* is ſaid to have anſwered *Lyſimachus* the King, when he threatned to hang him: who ſaid, *I pray you threaten theſe horrible things unto your Courtiers: as for* The worthy anſwer of Theodorus the Cyrenen-ſis. Theodorus, *it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground, or under the ground.* So likewiſe let us anſwer unto the Princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their Torments.

What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too ſhort a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of Vertue. And if the death which a man ſuffereth in the quarrel of his Country, ſeemeth not only to be glorious amongſt the *Rhetoricians*, but alſo happy and bleſſed: what ſhall we ſay for theſe deaths which are ſuſtained for the Country of all Countries, the Church? Truly moſt reverend Fathers, it is too much that our Adverſaries do perſwade themſelves of you, for they judge you fearful, fluggiſh and faint-hearted; and therefore they do object Princes unto you, becauſe they think that you will not ſuffer hunger, thirſt, exile in the quarrel and defence of the Church. But I think you will eſteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlaſting life, to do the ſame which Ship-men do for the obtaining of tranſitory riches, to put themſelves in danger of the Sea and Wind, and ſuffer moſt cruel ſtorms.

No death to be feared for Chriſts Church.

Example of Mariners and Hunters.

The Hunters lie abroad in the nights in the Snow, in the Hills and Woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but ſome wild Beaſt of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do whoſe Reward ſhall be Paradiſe? I am aſhamed of your ignavy, when as I read that Women, yea even young Maidens have violently obtained Heaven through their Martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This River of *Rheine*, which runneth along by the City, in times paſt hath carried eleven thouſand Virgins unto Martyrdom. In *India* (as *Cicero* writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who ſhould be burned with him; and the whom he loved beſt having vanquiſhed the other (all the reſt joyfully following her) was caſt into the fire with the dead Karcaſs of her Husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heavineſs and ſorrow, wiſhing rather to have died than live.

{KING Hen.6.} {KING Hen.6.}

Example of the eleven thouſand Virgins.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Chriſts ſake, will anſwer *Panormitan* even as the *Lacedemonians* anſwered *Philip*, who when as by his Letters he threatned them, that he would ſtop all that which they went about, they aſked him, *Whether he would alſo let them to die.* Therefore, as you are excellent men, ſo uſe your vertue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that Power is given of the Lord, and ſtrength from the moſt High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye ſhould be careful to render a good account, judging rightly and keeping the law of righteouſneſs, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the Ambaſſadors of *Eugenius* do openly preach and declare a new Doctrine, extolling the Biſhop of *Rome* above the univerſal Church, to the end that ignorant Souls be not ſnared, ye ſhall not ceaſe or leave to publiſh the three firſt Concluſions, following the example of the Apoſtle *Paul*, which would in no point give place unto *Peter* when he walked not according to the Goſpel. As for the other matters which do reſpect the only perſon of *Eugenius* (becauſe *Panormitan* and the other Ambaſſadors of the Princes ſhall not ſay that we do paſs our bounds) ye ſhall defer them for this preſent.

When as Cardinal *Arelatenſis* had made an end of this Oration, there was a great noiſe, crying out and brawling every where. The Preſidents Commandments were not regarded, neither was the acciuſtomed order obſerved; for ſometimes they ſpake unto *Panormitan*, ſometime unto *Ludovicus*; no man was ſuffered to ſpeak, but in haſte the Biſhops brawled with Biſhops, and the Inferiors with their Fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia* perceived, a man of no leſs courage and ſtomach, than of nobility and birth, being alſo a Duke, for the zeal that he bare unto the univerſal Church, turning himſelf unto *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary, he ſaid, *Do not think the matter ſhall ſo paſs, you know not yet the manners of the* Germans, *for if you go forward on this faſhion, it will not be lawful for you to depart out of this Country with whole heads.* With which words *Panormitan*, *Ludovicus*, and the Archbiſhop of *Millain* being ſtricken (as it were with Lightning from Heaven,) roſe up, and ſaid, *Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the Patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads ſhould be broken?* And turning themſelves unto *John* Earl of *Dierſtein*, which then ſupplied the Protectors place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the Council, and preſerve all men in their liberty, or no?

Lewis Patriarch of *Aquileia*.

Duke of Bavaria.

The Earl of *Dierſtein*.

The Citizens alſo and Senators were preſent to provide and foreſee that no offence ſhould riſe; for the Citizens obſerved always this order, that they would be preſent in all Affairs, which they ſuppoſed would breed diſſention, foreſeeing ſpecially that no tumults ſhould riſe, otherwiſe than with words. They uſed always ſuch a marvelous forelight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cauſe againſt them, to complain for violating their promiſe. Wherefore if at any time any Citizens have deſerved well at the hands of the Church, ſurely this praiſe is to be given unto the *Baſilians*. Theſe men together with *John* Earl of *Dierſtein*, being preſent in the Aſſembly of the Fathers, gave a ſign of preſervation of their liberty. The Earl (albeit he was moved at the ſtrange-

The praiſe of the Citizens of Baſil.

{KING Hen.6.} ſtrangeneſs of the matter, (for he would not have thought ſo great contentions could have riſen amongſt wiſe men) anſwered by his Interpreter, *That they all ſhould be of good cheer. For the Emperors ſafe Conduct ſhould be obſerved and kept even to the uttermoſt: neither ſhould the Patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty, or take away the aſſurance granted by the Emperor.* Notwithſtanding he deſired the Patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not to ſpeak any more in ſuch ſort. But that famous Father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole mind unto *John Bacheiſtein*, Auditor of the Chamber, a man both grave and eloquent to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarchs mind was not to threaten any man, or diſturb the liberty of the Council, but to move the Fathers unto conſtancy, that they ſhould be mindful of the Reformation which they had promiſed unto the whole World, and not to ſay one thing to day, and another to morrow; for if they would ſo do, it were to be feared, leſt the Laity ſeeing themſelves deluded, and deſpairing of Reformation, ſhould riſe againſt the Clergy.

Therefore he moniſheth the Fathers to foreſee and provide for the peril, that they ſhould not depart from the Council, nothing being determined or done; and finally he deſired pardon, if in his words he had offended either againſt the Council, *Panormitan*, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly ſaid, *That Humility is the ſiſter of Nobility:* both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the Patriach ſtop or ſtay their noiſe or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the *Concordatum*, great noiſe and rumors were ſtill made to ſtop the ſame. Then *Amedeus* Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and Primate of all *France*, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeal of Faith, which he ſaw there to be ſtopt and ſuppreſſed, ſaid, *Moſt reverend Fathers, I have now a great occaſion to ſpeak: for it is now ſeven years or more, that I have been amongſt you, yet have I never ſeen the matter at that point which it is now at, moſt like unto a Miracle; for even preſently I do behold moſt wonderful ſigns of Miracles: for it is no ſmall matter, that the Lame do walk, the Dumb do ſpeak, and that poor men preach the Goſpel. Whereupon I pray you cometh this ſudden Change? How happeneth it that thoſe which lie lurking at home, are now ſuddenly ſtart up? Who hath given hearing to the Deaf, and ſpeech to the Dumb? Who hath taught the poor men to preach the Goſpel? I do ſee here a new ſort of Prelates come in, which unto this preſent have kept ſilence, and now begin to ſpeak. Is not this like to a Miracle? I would to God they came to defend the Truth, and not to impugn Juſtice.*

Humility ſilter to nobility.

Amedeus Archbiſhop of *Lions*. Anno 1438.

Biſhops that lie at home, here tongues here to ſpeak for the Pope.

But this is more to be marveled at than any Miracle, that I do ſee the beſt learned men of all impugn our Concluſions which are moſt certain and true: And they which now reprove them, in times paſt allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus *the Protonotary preached theſe Verities at* Lovaine *and at* Collen, *and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the Univerſities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the Truth in no point altered. And therefore I deſire you and beſeech you all, that ye will not give ear unto theſe men, which albeit they are moſt excellently learned, yet have they no conſtancy in them, which doth adorn all other Vertues.*

Mark how they are turned back which ſometime favoured the truth, and are now become Lyars and flatterers.

Conſtancy lacked in divers of this Council

When he had ended his Oration, *Ludovicus* the Protonotary riſing up, ſaid, *It is moſt true that I brought theſe Verities, but you do call them Verities of Faith, which addition ſeemeth very doubtful unto me.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, Cardinal *Arelatenſis* required that the *Concordatum* of the twelve men ſhould be read, and many whiſpered him in the ear, that he ſhould go forward, and not alter his purpoſe.

Then *Panormitan*, as ſoon as the *Concordatum* began to be read, riſing up with his Companions and other *Aragons*, cried out with a loud Voice, ſaying, *You Fathers do contemn our Requeſts, you contemn Kings and Princes, and deſpiſe Prelates; but take heed leſt whilſt that ye deſpiſe all men, you be not deſpiſed of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greateſt part of Prelates, we make the Council, and it is our part to conclude: and I in the name of all other Prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed.* With this word there ſprang ſuch a noiſe and rumor in the Council, as is accuſtomed to be in battel, with the ſound of Trumpets, and noiſe of Horſemen when two Armies joyn: Some curſing that which *Panormitan* went about, other ſome allowing the ſame: So that diverſity of minds made divers contentions.

Panormitan ſpake like himſelf.

Then *Nicholas Amici*, a Divine of *Parie*, according unto his Office, ſaid, *Panormitan, I appeal from this your Concluſion, to the Judgment of the Council here preſent; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it ſhall ſeem good. The contrary part ſeemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it ſeen how they could conclude amongſt ſo great Cries and Uproars.* Notwithſtanding, amongſt all this troublous noiſe, *John Segovius*, a ſingular Divine of the Univerſity of *Salamantine*, lacked not audience; for the whole Council was deſirous to hear him: wherefore all men as ſoon as he roſe up kept ſilence, and he perceiving that they were deſirous to hear him ſpeaks, began in this ſort:

Nicholas Amici a Divine of Paris.

The Oration of Segovius.

Moſt reverend Fathers, the zeal and love of the Houſe of God forceth me now to ſpeak: and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have ſeen thoſe things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I ſhould not have heard thoſe words which have been ſpoken. Who is it that is ſo ſtony or hard-hearted, which can abſtain from tears, when as the authority of the Church is ſo ſpoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the Council, and that there is no place given unto the verity? O ſweet Jeſus, why haſt thou forſaken thy Spouſe? Behold and look upon thy people, and help us if our Requeſts are juſt.

We come hither to provide for the neceſſity of the Church, we require nothing for our ſelves, and our deſire is only that truth might appear. We truſted now to have concluded upon the Verities which were ſometimes allowed in the ſacred Deputations; The Orators of the Princes are preſent, and require the Concluſions to be declared. But we be not unmindful of thoſe things which Ambroſe *wrote unto* Valentinian *the Emperor in this manner. If we ſhall intreat upon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times paſt, who is it that will deny but that in caſe of Faith (I ſay in caſe of Faith) the Biſhops ought to judge upon Chriſtian Emperors, and not Emperors upon Biſhops? Neither do we admit their Petition but upon moſt urgent cauſes. Notwithſtanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilſt that they did ſpeak even ſo long as they would.*

Ambroſ. ad Valentinian.

How far and wherein Biſhops ought to judge upon Emperors.

But now if any of our part would ſpeak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honeſty is this? what modeſty or gravity? is it lawful ſo to do in the Council? where is the Decree of the Council of Toloſue *now become? (where are our Decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but alſo ſmall bablings and talk?) They ſay, it is becauſe we contemn them: but they are they, which not only contemn the Council, but alſo reſiſt the ſame. The Patriarch ſpake but one ſmall word againſt them, and that of no evil intent or purpoſe, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken: but they, when as they do enforce the Council, when as they forbid the Preſident to ſpeak, and will not ſuffer the Ordinances to be read, do not judge that they do any thing contrary to the liberty of the Council. They ſay, they are the Council themſelves, and yet they intreat the Council. Theſe things do not I underſtand; for if they be the Council, why do they intreat themſelves? If they be not the Council, why do they not ſuffer the Council to ſpeak? Why do they not look for an anſwer of him to whom they make their Petitions?*

He excuſeth the Patriarch.

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is alſo too much, to ſuffer ſuch exceſs even in the face of the Church. But this doth moſt of all grieve me, and this do I moſt marvel at, that *Panormitan*, a man of ſingular wit and Doctrine, did conclude without any diſcuſſing or deciding of the Deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and ſeen, I would ſcarcely believe,

He meaneth Panormitanus which did conclude without the examination of 12 men.

believe, if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit my self, the matter seemeth so terrible: for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the Authority of his King, *Who*, he saith, *will have it so.* But you most reverend Fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward Prelates shall have one to conclude for them.

Paul would give to Peter no respite when he smarted for piety.

And albeit *Panormitan* hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet notwithstanding, I do require you most reverend Fathers to follow the example of the Apostle, who (as *Arelatensis* hath very well declared) would not give one hours respite unto *Peter*, when he swarved from the truth of the Gospel. The Faith is speedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than Faith doth. For Heresies except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help and aid, Hoise up your Sails, and lanch out your Oars. What should we tarry looking for either the Prelates or the Princes? You are now in conflict: I only desire that you would hasten unto the Victory. Regard not the threatnings of those Princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: *For you are blessed*, saith the Lord, *when as men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lyes and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoyce and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven.* What is it I pray you that the Princes do so much object against us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the Furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those Princes? I beseech you most reverend Fathers and loving Brethren, have no less hope in Jesus Christ, than *Sidrach, Misach, and Abednego* had, which feared not that old King *Nabuchodonosor*: and let the people know, *That the most High ruleth over the Kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth.* God beholdeth all things from above; He is (I say) in the midst amongst us; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and shew your selves as a strong wall for the Church of God; suffer not the Faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not them which seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the Backbiter and Slanderer. Again I say unto you, shew your selves valiant and stout, defend your Mother the Church. And unto thee, O thou President, I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait Judgment of God. And thus without any more words he sate down in his place.

Mark the great constancy and Christian zeal of this man.

An exhortation to constancy.

In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted *Panormitan* that he should give over his conclusion. The Bishop of *Burgen* was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the Fathers, and went about to make an unity with all men. But neither the Fathers of the Council were determined to depart without a conclusion; neither was *Panormitan* minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the Prelates sit in their Seats, as they were accustomed, but as every mans affection led him. Some went to the Cardinal *Arelatensis*, some unto *Panormitan*, and exhorted them, as if they had been Princes or Rulers of Armies. Then *Arelatensis* knowing the matter to be in danger; and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult.

The Bishop of Burgen seeketh conclusion.

How men be ready to hear news.

Note the godly policy of the Cardinal.

Most reverend Fathers, said he, *we have received now Letters out of* France, *which declare unto me marvelous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which if you will give me willing Audience, I will declare unto you.* By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole Council, and by this marvelous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, without either Fable or History of any Letters feen, he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requisite in an Orator, came by little and little to the principal Point, saying, *That* Eugenius *his Messengers filled all* France, *preaching a new Doctrine, and extolling the Authority of the Bishop of* Rome *above the General-Council: against whom, except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the sacred Council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the Verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the* Eugenians *might be repressed; which Verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the Fathers intent to conclude upon them all, but only the three first: even as I also* (saith he) *here do conclude in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

{KING. Hen.6.} but against the Pope.

The conclusion of three figures Council.

When he had finished his Oration, with a chearful and merry countenance riling up, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his Garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a *Frenchman* born, had that day vanquished the *Italians*, which were men of great policy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the Cardinals own power. The other of the contrary Faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his Lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another, so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more also is reported of *Panormitan*, that when he came to his Lodging, and was gone unto his Chamber, he complained with himself upon his King, which had compelled him to thrive against the truth, and put both his Soul and good name in danger of losing; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly impugned the truth.

The Holy Ghost worketh.

The sorrow of Panormitan for impugning the Truth.

The Bishop of Eleven and Burgen.

The just answer of the Council.

After this there was great consultation amongst the *Eugenianes*, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the Council, otherfome thought it meeter to tarry, and withall endeavour to refift that nothing fhould further be done againft the *Eugenians*; and this opinion remained amongft them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of *April*, the Archbifhop of *Lions* and the Bifhop of *Burgen*, calling together the Prelates in the Chapter-houfe of the great Church, began many things as touching peace. The Bifhop of *Burgen* perfwaded that there fhould be Deputations appointed that day, unto whom the Archbifhop of *Lions* fhould give power to make an agreement. Unto whom anfwer was made, as they thought very roughly, but as other judged gently, but notwithftanding juftly and truly: For they faid, *There could be no unity of Concord made before the Adverfaries confeffed their fault, and asked pardon therefore.*

The Bishop of Concen fpeaketh.

The anfwer of them both.

The Bifhop of *Burgen* and other *Lombards* and *Cathelans*, went unto the *Germans*, and from thence unto the Senate of the City, fpeaking much as touching the prohibiting of Schifms. The *Germans* referred themfelves to thofe things which the Deputation fhould determine. The Senate of the City (as they were great men in wifdom, which would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) anfwered, *That the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the Council: the Fathers whereof were moft wife men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Chriftian Faith; and if there were any danger toward, it fhould be declared unto the Council, and not to the Senate. For they believe that the Elders of the Council, if they were premonifhed, would forefee that there fhould no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the City, it was their duty only to defend the Fathers, and to preferve the promife of the City.* With this anfwer the Bifhop of *Burgen* departed.

Mark what the truth muft fuffer.

O marvelous defpite and contumely in a Bifhop: for if *Arelatenfis* had kept Whores or Concubines, he would have prefently him: but to maintain learned men was a great offence.

The form of the Decree is written and approved.

In the mean time the Fathers of the Council had drawn out a form of a Decree upon the former Conclufions, and had approved the fame in the facred Deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the Affembly at *Mentz*, and holding a Council amongft themfelves, they had determined to let the Decree. The ninth day of *May*, there was a general Convocation holden, whereunto all men refforted, either part putting forth himfelf unto the conflict.

The Princes Ambaffadors were called by the Bifhop of *Lubeck* and *Comrade de Winfperge* the Protector into the

{KING. Hen.6.}

The policy of the Cardinal *Arelatenfis.*

The Bifhop of Tarnon.

the Quire, and there kept where they intreated of a Unity, and by what means it might be had, and there they tarried longer than fome thought to do; the which matter gave occafion to bring things well to paſs, beyond all expectation. The only form of the Decree was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as foon as Cardinal *Arelatenfis* perceived the Congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with filence, he thought good not to delay it for fear of tumult, but commanded by and by the publick *Concordances* to be read, wherein this was alſo contained, that the Cardinal *Arelatenfis* might appoint a Seſſion whenſoever he would. Which being read, he being delired by the Promoters, concluded according as the manner and cuſtom is. The Ambaſſadors of the Princes being yet in the Quire, as ſoon as they underſtood how the matter paſſed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all things to the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, which of purpoſe had kept them in the Quire, and practiced the time. Whereupon they entering into the Congregation, filled the Church full of complaints.

Firſt of all, the Orator of *Lubeck* complained both in his own name and the name of the Proctor, as touching the concluſion, and required that the Council would revoke the ſame. If that might be granted, he promiſed to intreat a Peace, and to be a Proctor between the Council and the Ambaſſadors of the Princes. But the Archbiſhop of *Turnon* ſaid, *That it ſeemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to ſpeak againſt that Law which ſhould be promulgate, until the Seſſion, when the Canons ſhould be conſecrated and receive their force: when as the Biſhops in their Pontificalibus, after the reading of the Decree in the Seſſion, ſhould anſwer that it pleaſed them: otherwiſe the demand which was made by the Promoters in the Seſſion, to be but vain: And for that the Concluſions were not yet allowed in the Seſſion, therefore he ſaid that he might without rebuke ſpeak ſomewhat as touching the ſame; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in ſuch a ſhort time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithſtanding that he being an Archbiſhop, ought to have known the matter, that at his return home, he might inform the King, and alſo inſtruct thoſe which were under him. And that he and his Fellows, before any Seſſion ſhould be, would both hear and be heard of others. Neither doth it ſeem good unto him that the Seſſion ſhould be holden, before report were made of thoſe things which the Ambaſſadors of the Princes had done at* Mentz, *which would peradventure be ſuch as might alter and change the minds of the Fathers.*

The Bishop of Eleven and Burgen.

Then the Biſhop of *Concen*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Caſtile*, which alſo lately returned from *Mentz*, a man of great underſtanding, but lacking utterance, grievouſly complained that the Prelates were contemned. *Neither had it been* (ſaid he) *any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expences went to* Mentz, *not for their pleaſure, but of neceſſity.* And afterward as it were ſmiling, he ſaid, *How mad am I, that would have the Prelates to be tarried for, until they return from* Mentz, *when as they are not tarried for, whilſt they came out of the Quire of the Church? Do therefore as ye liſt. If there riſe any offence or miſchief hereupon, neither are we the Ambaſſadors of* Caſtile *to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our moſt noble King.*

The Fathers of the Council ſtanded by Paternoſters. Four figns to know the good from the bad.

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed againſt the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*: but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Trillan* railed moſt cruelly upon him, ſaying, *That he foftered and maintained a rabble of Sophiſters and School-Maſters, and that he had concluded in matters of Faith with them; calling him alſo another* Catiline, *unto whom all deſperate and naughty perſons had refuge, that he was their Prince, and ruled the Church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the Ambaſſadors of the moſt noble Princes, or to the moſt famous Prelates in this moſt weighty matter. Albigamenſis* a Biſhop, and a man of great Nobility, deſcended of the Emperors blood, albeit he had never alienate his mind before from the Council, yet left he ſhould ſeem to differ from other Ambaſſadors of the Princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the Prelates. After this it came unto *Panormitan* to ſpeak, who as he had a greater vehemency in ſpeaking, ſo alſo he did declare a more angry ſtomach and mind: for in the beginning of his Oration he ſeemeth not to go about according to the Precept of the Orators, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he ſaid, *That our Saviour ſhewed four ſigns in the Goſpel, whereby we ſhould know the good from the reprobate; for he which is of God* (ſaith he) *heareth the words of God, but ye bear not the words of God, becauſe ye are not of God.* And again, *He that doth evil hateth the light.* And in another place *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.*

The Bishop of Tarnon.

Look if it be not ſeen of them in the Goſpels, where mention is made of the Seaſt which is fallen into the dirth.

What is it that ambition will not do?

All which ſayings he wreſted againſt the Fathers of the Council, becauſe they would not hear the words of God; that is to ſay, the words of peace: which the Ambaſſadors had ſpoken: becauſe they fled from the light in the abſence of the Ambaſſadors, privily concluding; and becauſe in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy-day, but had concluded thereupon; alſo becauſe they had the upper-hand in the forefaid concluſion, not by reaſon, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he ſaid, *That the Fathers themſelves ſhould meditate and conſider how that, if their fruits were not good, they alſo themſelves were not good; and that he did ſee another Council at hand, where he feared leſt theſe Concluſions ſhould be revoked, as the fruit of an evil Tree: and therefore they ought not ſo ſuddenly to proceed in ſo weighty matters: and that he would be yet more fully heard before the Seſſion, as well in his own name, becauſe he was an Archbiſhop, as in the name of his Prince, which reigned not over one Kingdom alone, but over many.* Alſo he ſaid, *That he herein ſhewed by his words, deeds and writings, hath extolled the authority of the Council; and that he feared, leſt by theſe means the authority thereof ſhould be ſubverted.* At the laſt he required pardon if he had offended the Fathers of the Council, forſomuch as very ſorrow and grief forced him to ſpeak ſo.

Abbot of Virgilisaceſis.

Lodovicus the Protonotary in ſetting forth of the Creed, labouring to ſeem learned, forgot to be good.

The Apoſtles principally gathered the Creed.

The Abbot of *Virgiliascenſis* would have made anſwer to thoſe things which *Panormitan* had touched, concerning his deputation: but *Arelatenſis* thought good that all the contrary part ſhould ſpeak firſt, among whom, laſt of all *Ludovicus* the Protonotary; the Manner of Lawyers ſtood up. And albeit that he ſpake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And whiles he went about to ſeem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He ſaid, *That the Council ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of Faith againſt the Prelates, leſt any offence ſhould follow; for that ſame would ſay it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Chriſt choſe twelve Apoſtles and ſeventy Diſciples, notwithſtanding in the ſetting forth of the Creed only the Apoſtles were preſent, thereby (as it were) giving example that the matters of Faith did pertain only unto the Apoſtles, and ſo conſequently unto Biſhops. Neither that they ought haſtily to proceed in matters of Faith, which ought to be clearly diſtinct, forſomuch as* Peter *afformeth the trial of Faith to be much more precious than Gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the Biſhops be contemned, which are called the Pillars and Keys of Heaven, the Faith cannot ſeem to be well reviewed or examined.* But at length he confeſſed that the Inferiors might determine with the Biſhops, but denied that the leaſt part of the Biſhops with the moſt part of the Inferiors might determine any thing. From thence he paſſing to the matter of Faith, ſaid, *That thoſe Verities whereupon queſtion was now had, are Articles of Faith, if they were Verities of Faith. And forſomuch as every man ſhould be bound to believe thoſe, therefore he would be better inſtructed and taught in that matter which he ſhould believe as an Article of Faith. Neither ſhould it be camely for the Council to deny him his requeſt; which according to the rule of the Apoſtle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which ſhall require it, touching the Faith which it holdeth.*

How men be ready to hear news.

After every man had made an end of ſpeaking, the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* calling his Spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he anſwered now the one, and now the others. And firſt of all he commended the deſires of the Imperial Ambaſſadors, which offered to intreat a Peace and Unity; but neither neceſſity, nor honeſty (he ſaid) would ſuffer thoſe things which are concluded to be revoked. He anſwered alſo, That the Petition of the Ambaſſadors

The Orator of the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* to the Imperial Ambaſſadors.

To the Ambassadors of *France.*

Basſadors of *France* is moſt juſt, in that they required to be inſtructed touching the Faith; and that the Council would grant their requeſt, and ſend unto them certain Divines, which ſhould inſtruct them at home at their Lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought into queſtion, that the Seſſion was only holden, rather to beautifie the matter, than to confirm the ſame. And as touching that which the Biſhop of *Concen* ſo greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvel: for he could not know the proceſs of the matter, when he was abſent: who being better inſtructed, he ſuppoſed would ſpeak no more any ſuch words, forſomuch as a juſt man would require no unjuſt thing. Alſo that his proteſtation had no evil ſenſe or meaning, in that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his King, if any offence ſhould riſe upon the Concluſions. Notwithſtanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil ſhould ſpring of good Works. But unto the Biſhop of *Mellain*, he would anſwer nothing, becauſe he ſaw him ſo moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying of more grievous and hainous words. As for *Panormitan* he referred unto the laſt. But unto *Ludovicus* the *Protonotary*, which deſired to be inſtructed, he ſaid, *He willed him to be ſatisfied with the words which were ſpoken unto the Biſhop of Turnon.*

To the Biſhop of *Concen.*

To *Ludovicus* the *Protonotary.*

Notwithſtanding, he left not this untouched which *Ludovicus* had ſpoken concerning the Apoſtles Creed. For albeit that in the ſetting forth of the Creed the Apoſtles be only named, yet it doth not follow (ſaith he) that they only were preſent at the ſetting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that Princes are commended and praiſed as chief authors and doers of things, when as notwithſtanding they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the Souldiers, yet the Victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in theſe our days they do aſcribe all things which the Army doth either fortunately or wiſely, unto *Nicholas Picenius*, that moſt valiant Captain, which hath obtained ſo many famous Victories; albeit that oftentimes other have been the Inventers of the Policy, and Workers of the Feat. And therefore *Ludovicus* ought to know and underſtand, that they are not only Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the Councils as touching the Faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be ſome Articles of the Creed which we now uſe in the Church, that were not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by general Councils; as that part wherein mention is made of the Holy Ghoſt, which the Council of *Lions* did add; in which Council alſo it is not to be doubted, but that the Inferiors did judge together with the Biſhops. But for ſo much as he had ſufficiently declared that matter in the Congregation before paſſed, he would ſtay no longer thereupon. But coming unto *Panormitan*, he rehearſed his words, *Qui ex Deo eſt, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods Word*; which is very well taken out of the Goſpel, but not well applied unto the Council (ſaid he;) for he firmly believed, that his Predeceſſors have judged the Holy Ghoſt to be in the midſt of the Councils, and therefore the words of the Councils to be the words of the Holy Ghoſt, which if any man do reject, he denieth himſelf to be of God. Neither doth the Council hate the light, which doth all things publickly and openly, whoſe Congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it as the Conventicles of the Adverſaries, admit ſome and exclude otheſome. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be intreated of for two months ago and firſt the concluſions were largely diſputed upon in the Divinity Schools, and afterward ſent unto *Mentz* and other places of the world.

Nicholas Piccinus an Italian.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the Apoſtles, but ſome by the Councils.

The Article of the Holy Ghoſt put in by the Council of *Lions.*

Panormitan wounded with his own darts.

After all this the Fathers were called into the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, to the number of an hundred and twenty; amongſt whom *Panormitan*, which now complaineth, was alſo preſent, and according to his manner did learnedly and ſubtilly diſpute, and had liberty to ſpeak what he would. Likewiſe in the Diſputations every man ſpake his mind freely, and in the diſputation where *Panormitan* was, the matter was three days diſcuſſed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general Congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and alſo without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did ſit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that; neither is it any new or ſtrange thing, foraſmuch as they have often their Seſſion upon Feſtival-days, when as the matter hath had haſte, and ſpecially that the matter of Faith hath no holy days. And further he ſaid, That he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the Congregation, as *Panormitan* hath reported, but publickly and openly at the requeſt of the Promoters. Neither hath any man any juſt cauſe to complain upon him, for ſo much as when he was made Preſident, he was ſworn that always when three or four of the deputations did agree, he ſhould conclude thereupon. And for ſo much as he had already concluded, in divers cauſes touching the Pope, he ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould not conclude in the matter of Faith, for that he was a Cardinal, and did wear his red Hat for this purpoſe, that he ſhould ſhed his blood in the defence of the Faith. Neither hath he done any thing now againſt the Pope, for that omitting the five Concluſions touching *Eugenius*, except he had done, the Fathers ſhould have had juſt cauſe to complain againſt him (in that they truſting in his fidelity and faithfulneſs, had choſen him Preſident) if by him they ſhould now be forſaken in this moſt neceſſary cauſe of Faith. And turning himſelf unto the people, he delired the Fathers to be of good comfort, for ſo much as he would never forſake them, yea although he ſhould ſuffer death: for he had given his Faith and Fidelity unto the Council, which he ſhould obſerve and keep: neither ſhould any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpoſe: that he would be always ready to do whatſoever the Council ſhould command him, and never leave the commandments of the Deputies by any means unperformed.

{KING Hin.6.} *Arelatenſis* concluded not, but at the requeſt of the Promoters.

Theſe four deputations were four out of the choſen men, which did diligently and determine thoſe things which the Fathers did conclude upon.

Albiganen. *ſis* readeth the proteſtation, but none could hear him.

Verily this is no Sabbatical Conſtitution, but of the Immaculate Spouſe, Jeſus Chriſt. He ſpeaketh to the whole Council.

The Acts of the Council are read.

As touching that *Panormitan* had extolled the authority of the Council, he ſaid, *That he was greatly to be thanked.* But yet he ought to underſtand and know the authority of the Council to be ſuch as cannot be augmented or increaſed by any mans praiſe or commendation, or be diminiſhed by any opprobry or ſlander. Theſe things thus premiſed, he commanded the form of the Decree to be read. Then *Panormitan* and thoſe which took his part, would needs have a certain Proteſtation to be firſt read. There was great contention on every ſide. Notwithſtanding at the laſt *Arelatenſis* prevailed, and the form of the Decree was read unto this word *Decernimus*; that is to ſay, We decree. Then *Panormitan* riſing up would not ſuffer it to heard any further: And the Biſhop of *Catavia* cried out ſaying, *That it was uncomely that* Arelatenſis, *with a few other Biſhops by name, ſhould conclude the matter.* The like did alſo all thoſe which favoured *Panormitan.* The Cardinal of *Taracomia* alſo (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievouſly rebuke his Partakers, that as men being aſleep or in a dream, they did not read the Proteſtation, and commanded by and by one of his Familiars to read it. But like as the Adverſaries before did perturb the reading of the *Concordances*, ſo would not the Fathers of the Council now give place to the reading of the Proteſtation. Which when *Albiganenſis* did conſider, he commanded the Writing to be brought unto him, and as he began to ſpeak, ſuddenly *Arelatenſis* roſe up, with a great number of the Fathers to depart: Which thing pleaſed the Cardinal of *Taracomia* and *Panormitan* very well, for that they hoped that they alone with their Adherents, ſhould remain in the Church. They exhorted *Arelatenſis* to revoke the concluſion and to make another.

Aeneas Sylvius being preſent exhibited this. *Arelatenſis* concluded here, as he did alſo before, not without the conſent of the Deputies, according to the order of the Council.

Every man may determine of Faith, having the Scripture on his part.

Contention in the Council about reading of the proteſtation.

There was in that Congregation in his place *George* the *Protonotary* of *Barduxina*, ſitting ſomewhat beneath his Uncle, the Cardinal of *Taracomia*, a man but young of age, but grave in wiſdom, and noble in humanity: who as ſoon as he ſaw the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* riſe, he determined alſo to depart, and when as his Uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he ſaid, *God forbid farther did I ſhould tarry in your Congregation, or do any thing contrary to the Oath which I have taken.* By which words he declared his excellent Vertue and Nobility, and admoniſhed our men which remained, of thoſe things they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghoſt, and words more neceſſary than could be thought. For if he had not ſpoken that word, the Fathers of the Council had peradventure departed, and gone their way; and the

{KING Hin.6.} the other remaining in the Church had made another concluſion which they would have affirmed to have been of force, becauſe they would ſay the laſt concluſion was to be received. But many being warned by the words of the *Protonotary*, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other Councils before, called back again the multitude which were departing, and cried upon the Cardinal and the Patriarch to ſit down again, and that they ſhould not leave the Church void and quiet for their Adverſaries. Whereupon ſuddenly all the whole multitude ſate down, and the Gates were ſhut again. In the mean time *Matthew Albiganenſis* a Biſhop, read the proteſtation to none elſe but to himſelf alone, for it could nor be heard for noiſe: which being ended, the *Lombards* and the *Cathelanes* confirmed the Proteſtation. When the Cardinal of *Terracomia* ſaid, That he did agree to that diffenſion, they marvelled at that ſaying. And when ſome ſmiled and laughed at him: *What ſaid he, ye Fools do ye mock me? do not the Ambaſſadors of my King aſſent from you? What do you marvel then if I do ſay I conſent unto their diſſentions?* And with theſe words he and almoſt all the *Aragoni*, *Lombards* and *Cathelanes* departed; all the other tarried ſtill. And albeit it was ſomewhat late (for it was paſt Two at Afternoon) *Arelatenſis* ſeeing the Congregation quier, commanded the affairs of private perſons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded alſo the publick affairs to be read, and willed the concluſions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the Congregation, the Ambaſſadors of the Empire of *France*, talking together of their affairs. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Turnon* heard mention made of the concluſions, and turning himſelf to the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, ſaid, *Loe, the matters of Faith are now in hand again, let us go hence I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not ſaid, to diſſent from the other Ambaſſadors.* To whom the Biſhop of *Lubeck* anſwered, *Tarry Father, tarry here, are not the Concluſions moſt true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?* Theſe words were not heard of many, for they ſpake them ſoftly between themſelves. Notwithſtanding I heard it, for I ſitting at their feet, did diligently obſerve what they ſaid. *Arelatenſis*, after all things were read, which he thought neceſſary, at the requeſt of the Deputies concluded, and ſo making an end, diſmiſſed the Congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty *Arelatenſis* eonclued, forſomuch as neither the matter, nor the form could be concluded without diffention: and the concluſions were miraculous, and paſt all mens hope, but were obtained by the indutry of *Arelatenſis*, or rather by the ſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Comrade Wiſeperge a Baron.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Barons and Arelatenſis the Ulyſſes of the Councils.

The Papiſts extol that which makes both for them and againſt the contrary they condemn, whether it be Scripture or prophane

* Aeneas, you did not ſo praiſe this Council after you were Biſhop your ſelf.

After this it was determined between the *Lombards* and *Aragons* to abſtain from the Deputations for a certain time, which they did not long obſerve, notwithſtanding the Deputations were holden very quietly for a certain ſpace, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of *May*; during which time, all means poſſible were fought to ſet a concord between the Fathers, but would not be. Then *Nicholas Amici* Promoter of the Faith, was called into the Congregation, and briefly rehearſed thoſe things which were done the days before, and declared how that *Arelatenſis* might point a Seſſion. Wherefore forſomuch as delay in matters of Faith was dangerous; he required that a Seſſion ſhould be appointed againſt the morrow after, requiring the Cardinal for his Dignities-ſake, in that he was called *the Principal of the Church*, and the other Biſhops, that (as they had promiſed in their Confecration) they would not now ſhrink from the Church in theſe weighty Affairs, and ſuffer the Faith to be oppreſſed; but the other Inferiors he required, upon their Oath which they had taken, to ſhew themſelves faithful and conſtant herein. Then again there fell a great contention upon theſe words; and exhorted all men to be there preſent in their Robes. The Biſhop of *Lubeck* riſing up made a proteſtation in his own name, and alſo in the name of his Protector, *That he would not conſent that there ſhould be any Seſſion, if it ſhould in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Gregorius Miles* alſo, his Fellow-Ambaſſor, conſented to this proteſtation. When as the Protector of the Council, appointed by the Emperor, underſtood himſelf to be named by the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, he marvelled a while what the matter ſhould be. But being certified by an Interpreter, he anſwered, *That he would in no caſe conſent unto the Proteſtation of the Biſhop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at* Mentz; *alſo that he was ſent by the Emperor to the ſacred Council, and hath his Charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto.* After whom the Biſhop of *Concenſe*, according to his accuſtomed manner, made his proteſtation, and after him alſo followed *Panormitan*. Whoſe words before I will repeat, I deſire that no man would marvel that I make mention ſo often of *Panormitan*; for it is neceſſary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

The Biſhop of Lubeck.

Move God ſometimes by occaſion.

Arelatenſis anſwer to *Panormitan.* This deputation of Faith, was ſpecially for the compaſſing of chooſen men which did determine matters of Faith.

It happned in theſe matters, even as it doth in Warlike affairs: for as there, ſuch as are moſt valiant and ſtrong, and do moſt worthy Feats, obtain moſt fame, as in the battel of *Troy*, *Achilles* and *Hector*: ſo in theſe Spiritual Wars and Contentions, thoſe which moſt excel in Learning and Eloquence, and do more than other, ſhould be moſt renowned and named: for on the one part *Panormitan* was Prince and Captain; on the other, *Arelatenſis*: but his own will made not the one Captain, but only neceſſity, for it behoved him to obey his Prince. Notwithſtanding he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he refuſe willingly againſt it; for I have ſeen him oftentimes in his Library complain of his Prince, that he followed other mens counſel. When as his time came to ſpeak, he ſaid, *That he did not a little marvel why the Protector of the Faith ſhould require the Prelates to have a Seſſion, which was nothing pertaining to his Office, and that he ought not to uſurp the Preſidents place.* And again, *He complained touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did preſently touch the ſtate of the Apoſtolick See, and for that cauſe the See ought to be heard before any Seſſion be holden. Neither is it to be regarded* (ſaid he) *that the Council of* Conſtance *ſeemeth to have decreed, that it ſhould now be ſpoken of, forſomuch as* Pope John *was not heard at* Conſtance, *neither any man elſe, to ſpeak for the See*; by which words he ſeemed both to conterm and bring in doubt all the Decrees of that moſt great and ſacred Synod of *Conſtance*: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, ſaying, *That the Synod of* Conſtance *is holy, and the Authority thereof ought to be inviolate.* But he, being ſtill inſtant, with a ſtout and haughty courage affirmed, *That the matter could not be finiſhed without the Ambaſſadors of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of Faith.* And again, *that the Ambaſſadors themſelves cannot conſent, for ſo much as in the Colloquie holden at* Mentz *they had promiſed, during the Treaty of Peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the Pope ſhould either do againſt the Council, or the Council againſt the Pope; and that he doubted not but that the three firſt Conclusions declared* Eugenius *an Heretick, inſomuch that it was evident that* Eugenius *did vehemently reſiſt the two laſt firſt. And therefore forſomuch as the Seſſion was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before that Seſſion to ſay what he will, he deſired and required them moſt inſtantly that there might be no Seſſion as yet holden.* Unto whom *Arelatenſis* anſwered, *That it was not to be doubted but that the Promoter of the Faith, by his Office might call the Prelates to determine a matter of Faith, and ſpecially forſomuch as the deputation of the Faith and the whole Council had ſo given him in Commandment.*

S. Jerome unto *Nepotianus de vita clericali.* Mark how politickly and ſincerely he doth confute his Adverſaries.

As touching the Prelates, he ſaith, That albeit without all doubt Biſhops have chief Authority, yet notwithſtanding it is accuſtomed in Councils not to make any concluſion in the name of the Biſhops, but in the name of the whole Council: and the univerſal Church hath decreed certain Laws in this Council which ſhould remain inviolate. Neither let the Biſhops think the preſence of the Inferiors grievous unto them, when as oftentimes under a bare and torn Coat, wiſdom lieth hid, and under rich Veſtures and Ornaments folly lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be mindful of the ſaying of *Dominius*, which (as S. *Jerome* reporteth) ſaid, *Why ſhould I eſteem thee as a Prince, if thou doſt not regard me as a Senator?* For the Biſhops ought to eſteem Priests as Priests, if they will have reverence done unto them as Biſhops. Neither ought

ought the Princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forsomuch as the Church is not congregated in the name of the Princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not received his Power from Princes, but immediately from God: to the defence whereof he should perceive the Inferiors to be no leſs encouraged than the Biſhops, for that he did well underſtand and know, that they would not only ſpend their Temporal goods, but alſo their lives for the defence thereof. As for ſome Biſhops, rather than they will loſe any part of their Temporalties, they will ſell the liberty of the Church unto the Emperor, and make them Judges and Lords over the Councils. As touching the Acts at *Mentz*, he doth not regard them, forſomuch (as it is ſaid) they counted without their Hoſt: for he ſaith, *He doth not underſtand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the Pope, nor the Council.* The one or the other they muſt needs be obedient unto; for there is no third Tribunal whereunto any Obedience is due in theſe matters which concern the faith and ſalvation of Souls. And finally; that the Church would not ſuffer that their affairs and matters of Faith ſhould be determined by the Judgment of Princes: for the Holy Ghoſt is not ſubject unto Princes, but Princes unto him: and upon this concluſion he would not fear either the loſs of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas *Panormitane* doth now ſhew himſelf ſo great a Defender of *Eugenius*; he ſaith, *That he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times paſt no man hath more publiſhed* Eugenius *his Errors, than he: by whoſe ſpecial labour and counſel, both a decree monitory, and alſo the ſuſpenſion was admitted and ſet out againſt* Eugenius. And now, whereupon this ſudden change ſhould come, he ſaith, *That he was utterly ignorant, forſomuch as neither* Eugenius *had altered his life, neither could the Church continue in ſuch a Schiſm.* Wherefore he defined *Panormitane* diligently to conſider, whether he ſpake according to his conſcience or not: *For* (ſaith he) *the Concluſions which now ſhall be decreed, are moſt general*: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope: and moreover the verity of Faith is contained in them: againſt the which if *Eugenius* did contend, it were more meet that the Pope ſhould be corrected, than the verity omitted. And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the Seſſion. The Protector alſo deſired the ſacred Council, that none ſhould be ſuffered to bring any weapon to the Seſſion: forſomuch as he was ready to obſerve the ſafe conduct of the Emperor, and together with the Senate of the City, to prohibite all quarrels for doing of injury.

No man hath heretofore more than *Panormitane* publiſhed the errors of *Eugenius*: whom he now ſo greatly defendeth.

The Seſſion proclaimed.

When the ſixteenth day of *May* was come, all they whom the Seſſion contented and pleaſed, aſſembled at the hour. The Ambaſſadors alſo of the Princes were come together into the Quire of the Church, to attempt further what they could do; and ſending the Biſhop of *Lubeck* and *Concenſe*, and the Dean of *Turnon*, an excellent learned man, they offered themſelves to be preſent at the Seſſion, if that the depoſition of *Eugenius* might yet be deferred four months. Who when they had received a gentle anſwer of *Arelatenſis* and the other Principals, returning again unto the Ambaſſadors, they would only have the firſt Concluſion decreed, and thereupon ſent again unto *Arelatenſis*: unto whom anſwer was made, *That the chief force did conſiſt in the two other Concluſions, and that the Council would ſpecially determine upon them.* If the Ambaſſadors would not be preſent, they ſhould underſtand, that the Concord was broken by them, which would not obſerve that which they had offered. With which anſwer they departed, and the Seſſion began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of *Aragon* preſent at it, neither out of *Spain*, nor out of *Italy*, only the Biſhop of *Groſſetane*, and the Abbot of *Dona*, which for their conſtancy and ſtedfaſt good will toward the Univerſal Church, could not be changed from their purpoſe: but of Doctors and other Inferiors, there were a great number of *Aragons*, and almoſt all the Inferiors of *Spain* and *Italy* (for the Inferiors feared not the Princes, as the Biſhops did) and then the worthy ſtoutneſs of the *Aragons* and *Carbelanes* appeared in the inferior fort, which would not ſhrink away in the neceſſity of the Church. Of the two other Nations there were only preſent twenty Biſhops. The reſidue lurked in their Lodgings, profeſſing the Faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths.

In Italy there were ſcarcely two Prelates found which fought for the commodity of the Univerſal Church, in Spain there was none.

{KING} 1 *Hiſt.* 6.

Arelatenſis conſidering afore what would come to paſs, cauſed prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that he would ſend them his holy Spirit to aid and aſſiſt them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This Congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many Biſhops preſent, yet all the Seats were filled with the Biſhops Proctors, Archdeacons, Preſidents, Priors, Prieſts and Doctors of both Laws, which I judged to be about the number of 400 or more: amongſt whom there was no noiſe, no chiding, no reproprious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the Faith, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the Church. The Biſhop of *Maſſilia* had not one word. a noble man, read the Decree, which was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, *Te Deum laudamus* was ſung with great joy and gladneſs, and ſo the Seſſion diſſolved, which was in number the thirty third Seſſion, and amongſt all the firſt the moſt quiet and peaceable.

Prayers made with tears.

Among 400 Doctors that were preſent, there was

The day following, being the 22th of *May*, the Princes Ambaſſadors without all mens expectation came unto the general Congregation, by that their doing at the laſt giving their aſſent unto the Seſſion before paſſed. In celebrating whereof, if the Fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the Princes and Ambaſſadors to have holden the Council with thoſe Fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorſe of conſcience, and even now ſo deteſted and abhor that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the Ambaſſors of the Empire and *France*. For the Biſhop of *Lubeck* ſaid, *That the cauſe of his abſence was, for that he was appointed by the Emperors Commandment to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be preſent at any buſineſs, whereby he ſhould be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace ſhould be intreated.* Notwithſtanding, he did much commend the Seſſion before holden, and believed the Decree therein promulgate to be moſt good and holy, and the Verities therein contained to be undoubted; and ſaid, *That he would ſtick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death.* But the Biſhop of *Turnon*, a man both learned and eloquent, ſpeaking for him and his Fellows, ſaid, *That he heard how that they were evil ſpoken of amongſt ſome, in that they had not honoured their King in that moſt ſacred Seſſion, whom it becometh ſpecially to exalt and defend the Faith; which alſo for that cauſe above all other Kings was named* moſt Chriſtian: *notwithſtanding*, he ſaid, *that they had a lawful excuſe, in that it was convenient that they, which were ſent to intreat peace, ſhould do nothing whereby their Ambaſſage ſhould be ſtopped or letted. Alſo there are two kinds of Injuſtice* (ſaid he) *whereby either things are done that ſhould not be done, or of ſalvation. things that ſhould be done are not done.* The firſt doth not always bind, becauſe it is convenient to have reſpect of time, place, and perſon. But the laſt doth always bind, wherein he ſaid they were not culpable. But as touching the firſt point, they might ſeem unto ſome to have erred, becauſe they were not preſent at the Seſſion: but yet in this point they had ſufficient to anſwer, forſomuch as if they had been preſent at that Seſſion, they ſhould have been unmeet to have entreated any peace with *Eugenius*. And therefore albeit they were wanting at ſo holy a buſineſs, in that point they followed the example of *Paul*, which albeit he deſired to be *diſſolved and to be with Chriſt*, yet for the further profit and advancement of the Church, it was deferred. So likewiſe he ſaid, *That they had now done; for that they were not abſent becauſe they doubted of the Concluſions (which they judged to be moſt true and holy, and wherewnto they would ſtick even unto the death) but becauſe they would not be unmeet for the Treaty of Peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their own Perſons, they had fulfilled* (ſaid he) *by their Servants and Houſhold, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that Seſſion.* I would that I had been then in the place of ſome great Prelate; ſurely they ſhould not have gone unpuniſhed, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as a great Offender, which conſenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What ſhall we need any further teſtimony? For now the Embaſſadors of the Princes have declared *Eugenius* to be an enemy unto the truth. But to paſs over theſe things, it is ſufficient that *Eugenius* wrote afterward unto the King of *France*, that he did underſtand the Biſhop of *Tournon* to become his enemy.

The 23th Seſſion. The Ambaſſadors conſent to the former Seſſion.

{KING} 1 *Hiſt.* 6.

Arelatenſis commendeth the Embaſſadors.

After that the Biſhop of *Tournon* had made an end, Cardinal *Arelatenſis* gave thanks unto God, which had ſo defended his Church, and after great Storms and Clouds had ſent fair and clear weather; and commending the good will of the Emperor and the King of *France* toward the Church, he alſo praiſed the Biſhop of *Lubeck* and *Tournon*, for that oftentimes in the Council, and alſo of late at *Mentz*, they had defended the authority of the Council. But ſpecially he commended this their preſent doings, that they had openly confeſſed the truth, and had not ſequeſtred themſelves from the faith of the Church.

This Council was gathered to take away the ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, that they ſhould not think they might do all things according to their own pleaſures, and further to revoke them from the care of temporal things unto ſpiritual things, which now they regarded not.

Afterward he, entring into the declaration of the matter, ſaid, that he was at *Piſis* and at *Conſtance*, and never ſaw a more quiet or devout Seſſion, than this; affirming that this Decree was moſt neceſſary, to repreſs the ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, which exalting themſelves above the Univerſal Church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleaſure, and that no one man from henceforth ſhould tranſport the Council from one place to another, as *Eugenius* attempted to do, now to *Bononia*, after to *Florentia*, then again to *Bononia*, after to *Ferraria*, and after that again to *Florentia*; and that hereafter the Biſhops ſhould withdraw their minds from the careſulneſs of temporal goods, which (as he himſelf did ſee) had no mind at all on ſpiritual matters; and therefore by how much this Seſſion was moſt holy and neceſſary, by ſo much more the aſſent of the Embaſſadors was moſt laudable and acceptable to all the Fathers. Theſe words thus ſpoken, he roſe up, and the Congregation was diſſolved.

The Council doth deliberate upon the Popes Election.

Now after that *Gabriel Condulmarius* was depoſed from the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, the principal Fathers of the Council, being called together in the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, conſulted together, whether it were expedient that a new Biſhop ſhould be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the Election ſhould be done with ſpeed, ſhewed how dangerous a thing it was for ſuch a Congregation to be without a Head; alſo what a peſtiferous ſickneſs was in all the City, which not only conſumed young men and children, but alſo men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this Plague came firſt by ſtrangers unto the poor of the City, and ſo infected the rich, and now was come unto the Fathers of the Council; amplifying moreover, and encreaſing the terour thereof, and making the thing worſe than it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the Decree (ſaid they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided, that there ſhould be delay of ſixty days after the See is void; for that is to be underſtood when as the See is void, at ſuch time as there is no Council holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, leſt the Princes being perſwaded by *Gabriel*, ſhould reſiſt; unto whom the Depoſition of *Gabriel*, and the Election of ſome other, is to be certified all under one meſſage. The other, which thought good that there ſhould be a delay, ſaid, that the Council did lack no Head, forſomuch as Chriſt was the Head thereof: neither did lack a Ruler, forſomuch as it was governed by the Preſidents and other Officers; and that no mention ſhould be made of any Peſtilence in ſuch caſe, ſeeing that unto ſtout and ſtrong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear them which contend for the Chriſtian Faith. As for that Peſtilence which doth now increaſe and grow in the City, forſomuch as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will aſſwage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of Juſtice. Alſo, that in ſo doubtful a matter, they ought rather to uſe the Princes againſt their will, than to neglect them; and that it is not to be feared, but that in this caſe God will help thoſe that are ſtout and vallant. The matter being thus diſcuſſed amongſt them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men) yet it ſeemed unto them all, that it was moſt profitable to chuſe the Biſhop by and by, but moſt honeſt to defer it.

Two kinds of Injuſtice.

40 days muſt be delayed after the See is void.

Note, the Chriſtian zeal of their men, which would refuſe no danger for Gods cauſe.

Arelatenſis commendeth the Princes for their zeal.

Hereupon *John Segovius*, a man of excellent learning, ſaid, *Moſt Reverend Fathers, I am diverſly drawn by ſundry reaſons, to this ſide and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a ſpeedy election it ſeemeth good, to ſpeak after mans judgment; but to delay it for two Months, to ſpeak after Gods judgment, it ſeemeth much better. I do judge that not only the words, but alſo the meaning of our Decree ought to be obſerved. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honeſty, than ſecure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be diſcerned from honeſty.* This opinion of delay took place among the Fathers, and they determined to ſtay for the ſpace of two Months.

Dangerous honeſty preferred before ſecure utility.

J. Segovius.

In the mean time Meſſengers were ſent unto the Princes, to declare the Depoſition of *Eugenius* by the Synod, and publiſh it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt Air was nothing at all purged, but the Mortality daily increaſing, many died and were ſick. Whereupon a ſudden fear came upon the Fathers. Neither were they ſufficiently adviſed what they might do; for they thought it not to be without danger, either to depart or to tarry. Notwithſtanding, they thought it good to tarry, and alſo they cauſed others to tarry; that ſince they had overcome famine, and the aſſaults of their enemies on earth, they would not ſeem to ſhrink for the perfection of any Plague or Sickneſs. But forſomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politickly provided, that the Council ſhould not ſeem to be diſſolved for any mans departure. And for the more eſtabliſhment of the matter, there were certain things read before the Fathers, which they called *De ſtabilimento*, whoſe authority continued long time after. When as the Dog-days were come, and that all Herbs withered with heat, the Peſtilence daily increaſed more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to ſee the Coarſes hourly carried through the Streets, when on every ſide there was weeping, wailing and ſighing. There was no houſe void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but Matrons bewailing their Husbands, and the Husbands their Wives. Men and Women went through the Streets, and durſt not ſpeak one to another. Some tarried at home, and otherſome that went abroad, had Perfumes to ſmell unto, to preſerve them againſt the Plague.

A great Peſtilence in Basil.

The Common People died without number; and like as in the cold Autumn the Leafs of the Trees do fall; even ſo did the Youth of the City conſume and fall away. The violence of the diſeaſe was ſuch, that ye ſhould have met a man merry in the Street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead Coarſes was ſuch alſo, that they lacked place to bury them in; inſomuch that all the Church-Yards were digged up, and filled with dead Coarſes, and great holes made in the Pariſh Churches, where a great number of Coarſes being thruſt in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cauſe the Fathers were ſo afraid, that there appeared no bloud in their faces; and ſpecially the ſudden death of *Ludovicus* the Protonotary died alſo, who was a ſtrong man, and flouriſhing in age, and ſingularly learned of all in both Laws, whom the ſame envious and raging ſickneſs took away in a few hours. By and by, after died *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adverſity, neither could he ſee the day of the Popes Election which he had long wiſhed for. Notwithſtanding, he took partly a conſolation, in that he had ſeen *Gabriel* depoſed before his death. This mans death was grievous unto all the Fathers; for now they ſaid, that two Pillars of the Council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the Prothonotary and the Patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the Council.

Ludovicus the Prothonotary died of the Plague.

About the ſame time alſo died the King of *Arragon's* Almoner in *Switzerland*, a man of excellent learning, being Biſhop of *Ebrom*. The Abbot of *Vergilia* died at *Spire*, and *John* the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, between *Vienna* and *Buda*.

The exhortation of Inſtincts which died.

Theſe two laſt rehearſed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When as they perceived the hour of their death approach, calling unto them certain grave and wiſe men, ſaid, *All you that be here preſent, pray to God that he will convert ſuch as knowledge* Gabriel *for high Biſhop, for in that ſtate they cannot be ſaved*; and profeſſing themſelves, that they would die in the Faith of the Council of *Baſil*, they departed in the Lord. In *Boheme* alſo departed the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, which was Embaſſador for the Council. There was great fear

The Biſhops of Conſtance dieth.

fear and trembling throughout all the Council. There had been alſo in the Council, by a long time, the Abbot of *Dona*, of the Dioceſs of *Cumana*, a man poor unto the World, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatning could turn away from his good purpoſe and intent, chuſing rather to beg in the truth of the Fathers, than to abound in riches with the falſe flattering adverſaries.

The Abbot *Dona*, a true Abbot.

Whereupon, after the Lords were departed which gave him his living, he remaining ſtill, was ſtricken with the Plague and died. Likewiſe a great number of the Regiters and Doctors died; and ſuch as fell into that Diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongſt all the reſt, *Æneas Sylvius*, being ſtricken with this Diſeaſe, by Gods help eſcaped. This man lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in deſpair of him; notwithſtanding it pleaſed God to grant him longer life. When as the Peſtilence was moſt fervent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great intreaty made unto Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, that he would go to ſome other Town or Village near hand; for theſe were the words of all his friends and houſhold, *What do you moſt reverend Father? At the leaſt void this Wane of the Moon and ſave your ſelf; who being ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe; if you dy, we all periſh. If the Plague oppreſs you, unto whom ſhall we fly? Who ſhall rule us? Or who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your Chamber. Your Secretary and Chamberlain are already dead. Conſider the great danger, and ſave both your ſelf and us.* But neither the intreaty of his Houſhold, neither the coarſes of thoſe which were dead could move him, willing rather to preſerve the Council with peril of his life, than to ſave his life with peril of the Council; for he did know, that if he ſhould depart, few would have tarried behind, and that deceit ſhould have been wrought in his abſence.

Æneas Sylvius the author hereof eſcaped death hardly.

The invincible conſtancy and fortitude of the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*.

Wherefore, like as in Wars the Soldiers fear no danger, when as they ſee their Captain in the midſt of their enemies: ſo the Fathers of the Council were aſhamed to fly from this Peſtilence, ſeeing their Prelident to remain with them in the midſt of all dangers. Which theſe doings did utterly ſubvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the Fathers tarried in *Baſil*, to ſeek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth which men would change for their lives; for that all ſuch as do ſerve the World, do prefer it before all other things. But theſe our Fathers, ſhewing themſelves an invincible ſtrong Wall for the Houſe of God, vanquiſhing all the craftey deceits which *Gabriel* uſed, and overcoming all difficulties, which this moſt cruel and peſtiferous year brought upon them, at the length all deſire of life alſo being ſet apart, they have overcome all dangers, and have not doubted with moſt conſtant minds to defend the verity of the Council, even unto this preſent.

The time of the Decree being paſſed, after the Depoſition of *Gabriel*, it ſeemed good unto the Fathers, to proceed to the Election of another Biſhop. And firſt of all, they nominated thoſe that together with the Cardinals, ſhould elect the Pope. The firſt and principal of the Electors, was the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, a man of invincible conſtancy, and incomparable wiſdom; unto whoſe verdict I may juſtly aſcribe whatſoever was done in the Council; for without him, the Prelates had not perſevered in their purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any Prince have ſo defended them. This man came not to the Election by any favour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The reſt of the Electors were choſen out of the *Italian*, *French*, *German* and *Spaniſh* Nations and their Cells and Chambers appointed to them by lots, without reſpect of dignity or perſon, and as the lots fell, ſo were they placed; whereby it chanced a Doctor to have the higheſt place, and a Biſhop the laſt. Wherein the diſtribution of lots was very ſtrange, or rather a divine diſpenſation, reproving the devices of man, whereas the Prelates had determined to have the beſt Chambers appointed for themſelves, and had earneſtly contended before to have their Chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The commendation of *Arelatenſis*.

The counſel of *Marcus*.

The next day after there was a Seſſion holden, wherein *Marcus* a famous Divine, made an Oration unto the Electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of *Gabriel*, which was depoſed. He endeavoured to perſwade the Electors to chuſe ſuch a man, which ſhould in all points be contrary unto *Gabriel*, and eſchew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful unto all men, ſo he which ſhould be choſen, ſhould ſhew himſelf acceptable unto all men, through juſtice; and as *Gabriel* was covetous and full of rapine, ſo this man ſhould ſhew himſelf continent.

{KING} 1 Hen. 6.

There was ſo great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the Streets, any man could paſs. There was preſent *John* Earl of *Dierſein*, who ſupplied the place of the Emperors Protector; alſo the Senators of the City, with many other Noblemen, to behold the ſame, whereof you ſhall hear (Chriſt willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in Armour, to take care that there ſhould be no uproar made. The Electors received the Communion together, and afterwards they received their Oath; and the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, opening the Book of Decrees, read the form of the Oath in the audience of all men, and firſt of all, he taking the Oath himſelf, began in this manner:

The godly Oath of *Arelatenſis*.

Moſt reverend Fathers, I promiſe, ſwear and vow before my Lord Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe moſt bleſſed Body I unworthy ſinner have received, unto whom in the laſt Judgment, I ſhall give an account of all my deeds) that in this buſineſs of Election, whereunto now by the will of the Council we are ſent, I will ſeek nothing elſe, but the only ſalvation of the Chriſtian People, and the proſit of the Univerſal Church. That I ſhall be my whole care and ſtudy, that the authority of the General Councils be not contemned, that the Catholick Faith be not impugned, and that the Fathers which remain in the Council be not oppreſſed. This will I ſeek for; this ſhall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my ſelf; neither will I reſpect any thing in this point, either for mine own cauſe, or for any friend, but only God, and the proſit of the Church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart will I take mine Oath before the Council.

The other Electors take their Oath.

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other Electors in their order, did ſwear and take their Oath. Then they went with great ſolemnity unto the Conclave, where they remained ſeven days. The manner of their Election was in this ſort. Before the Cardinals Seat was ſet a Desk, whereupon there ſtood a Baſon of Silver, into the which Baſon all the Electors did caſt their Schedules; which the Cardinal receiving, read one by one, and four other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the Schedules was in this manner: *I* George *Biſhop of* Vicene, *do chuſe ſuch a man, or ſuch a man, for Biſhop of* Rome, and peradventure named one or two; every one of the Electors ſubſcribed his name unto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and ſay nay, if it were contrary to that which was ſpoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The firſt ſcrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the Papacy; yet none had ſufficient voices, for that day there were 17 of divers Nations nominate. Notwithſtanding, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, a man of ſingular vertue, ſurmounted them all; for in the firſt ſcrutiny he had the voice of 16 Electors, which judged him worthy to govern the Church.

Amedeus Duke of *Savoy*.

A ſcrutiny in a privy election by voices.

After this, there was a diligent inquiſition had in the Council touching thoſe which were named of the Electors, and as every mans opinion ſerved him, he did either praiſe or diſcommend thoſe which were nominate. Notwithſtanding, there was ſuch report made of *Amedeus*, that in the next ſcrutiny, which was holden in the Nones of *November*, the ſaid *Amedeus* had 21 Voices, and likewiſe in the 3d and 4th ſcrutiny, 21 Voices. And forſomuch as there was none found in all the ſcrutiny to have 2 parts, all the other Schedules were burnt. And forſomuch as there lacked but only one Voice to the Election of the high Biſhop, they fell unto prayer, deſiring God that he would vouchſafe to direct their minds to an unity and concord, worthily to elect and chuſe him which ſhould take the charge over the flock of God. Forſomuch as *Amedeus* ſeemed to be nearer unto the Papacy than all other, there was great communication had amongſt them touching his life and diſpoſition. Some ſaid that a Lay-man ought not ſo ſuddenly to be choſen; for it would ſeem a ſtrange thing, for a ſecular Prince to be called unto the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; which would alſo too much derogate from the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate,

Prayer for unity and concord.

{KING} 1 Hen. 6.

as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Otherſome ſaid, *that a man which was married and had children, was unmeet for ſuch a charge.* Otherſome again affirmed, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be a Doctor of Law, and an excellet learned man.

When theſe words were ſpoken, otherſome riſing up, ſpake far otherwiſe; that albeit *Amedeus* was no Doctor, yet was he learned and wiſe, forſomuch as all his whole youth he had beſtowed in learning and ſtudy, and had ſought not the name, but even the ground of Learning. Then ſaid another, if ye be deſirous to be inſtructed further of this Princes life, I pray you give ear unto me, which do know him throughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiouſly than ſecularly, being always obedient to his Parents and Maſters, and being always indued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonneſs; neither hath there at any time been any child of the Houſe of *Savoy*, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardneſs; whereby all thoſe which did behold and know this man, judged and foreſaw ſome great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye deſire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been; firſt, know ye this, that this man hath reigned, ſince his Fathers deceaſe, about forty years.

Let lying *Eugenius* be aſhamed of his falſe Invective againſt *Amedeus*.

During whoſe time, Juſtice, the Lady and Queen of all other Vertues, hath always flouriſhed: For he, hearing his Subjects himſelf, would never ſuffer the poor to be oppreſſed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the Fatherleſs, the advocate of the Widows, and protector of the Poor. There was no Rapine or Robbery in all his Territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous to his Subjects, or importune againſt ſtrangers throughout all his Country; there were no grievous exactions of Mony throughout all his Dominion. He thought himſelf rich enough, if the Inhabitants of his Dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good Shepherd to ſhear his Sheep, and not to devour them. In this alſo was his chief ſtudy and care, that his Subjects might live in peace, and ſuch as bordered upon him, might have no occaſion of grudge.

By which policies he did not only quietly govern his Fathers Dominion, but alſo augmented the ſame by others, which willingly ſubmitted themſelves unto him. He never made War upon any, but refuſing againſt ſuch as made War upon him, he ſtudied rather to make peace, than to ſeek any revenge, deſiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits, than with the Sword. He married only one Wife, which was a Noble Virgin, and of ſingular beauty and chaſtity. He would have all his Family to keep their hands and eyes chaſt and continent, and throughout all his houſe, honeſty and integrity of manners was obſerved. When as his Wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his Dutchy to be eſtabliſhed, and that it ſhould come without any controverſie unto his Poſterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and dedicate unto God, and ſhewed what will and affection he had long born in his heart. For he contemning the pomp and ſtate of this World, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a Wilderneſs; where building a goodly Abby, he addicted himſelf wholly to the ſervice of God, and taking his Croſs upon him, followed Chriſt. In which place he being converſant by the ſpace of many years, ſhewed forth great examples of holineſs, wearing no other garments but ſuch as could withſtand the cold, neither uſing any kind of dainty fare, but only to reſiſt hunger, watching and praying the moſt part of the Night. Wherefore this Prince is not newly come unto the Church (as ſome do ſuppoſe) but being a Chriſtian, born of Progenitors, a thouſand years and more, being Chriſtians, doth now ſerve God in a Monaſtery.

Commendation of *Amedeus* Pope elect.

But as touching that alſo which is ſpoken concerning a Wife, I do not regard it; when as not he only which hath had a Wife, but he alſo which hath a Wife may be elect and choſen Pope. For why do the Doctors diſpute, whether a married man choſen Pope, ought to perform his duty towards his Wife, but only becauſe a married man might be received and choſen? For as you know well enough, there were many Popes that had Wives; and *Peter* alſo was not without a Wife. But what do we ſtand about this? For peradventure, it had been better that more Prieſts had been married; for many ſhould be ſaved through Marriage, which are now damned through their ſingle life. But hereof we will (ſaith he) ſpeak in another place. But this ſeemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any anſwer, which is objected touching his children; for what can children (ſpecially being of great age) be impediment or let unto the Father being a Biſhop? Doth not the Scripture ſay, *We be unto him that is alone; for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again?* This cannot be imputed unto the Prince? for he hath two ſons, both comely and wiſe, whereof the one is Prince of *Piemont*, the other Earl of the *Gevennians*; theſe men will rule the Country of *Savoy* in the abſence of their Father, and will help him if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a Biſhop of *Rome* to have valiant children, which may help their Father againſt Tyrants? O moſt reverend Fathers, the more I do behold the ſtorm of this moſt perverſe and froward time, the more I do conſider the vexations and troubles which the Church is now tormented withal; I do ſo much the more think it profitable, yea and neceſſary, that this man ſhould be choſen Prince and Head; I will think that God hath ſhewed his mercy upon us, if I may ſee him have the governance over this Boat; I pray you conſider into what ſtraits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and toſſed? What Prince is it that is obedient unto this Council? For ſome will not confeſs, that the Council is here, neither receive our Decrees: Otherſome confeſs it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at *Florence*. For albeit that by their words and Letters, they do not deny that the Church is here, yet do they procure Promotions at the hands of *Gabriel* which is defaced. This is the ſtate of the Church with theſe ſtorms and tempeſts the Ship is ſhaken and bruiſed; wicked children have riſen up againſt their Mother, which being unmindful of their Mothers labours and kindneſs towards them, deſpiſe her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuſe a bare man, which ſhall rather be derided of our Princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have reſpect only unto vertue, *for* (as the Satyrical Poet writeth) *vertue is praiſed, but is coldly followed.* A poor man ſpeaketh, and they aſk what he is? Truly vertue is good, but for our purpoſe it muſt be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man; you muſt chuſe a Governour which may rule the Ship not only by counſel, but by power alſo. The wind is great; wherefore except the counſel be good, and the power ſtrong, the Ship ſhall be broken and all put in danger. The memorial is yet freſh before our eyes, that the Princes do neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantneſs ſhewed in this point, in that you fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have ſo long contended for the truth of Chriſt? But the moſt mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will reſiſt this their pride. I have often conſented unto their opinion, which ſaid it was expedient that the Temporal Dominions ſhould be divided from the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate; for I did think that the Prieſts ſhould thereby be made more apt to the divine Miniſtry, and ſecular Princes more obedient to the Clergy. But forſomuch as at this preſent the Churches of the World are poſſeſſed, partly by *Eugenius*, and partly by other Tyrants, we muſt provide that we chuſe ſuch a one, which may recover again the Patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Chriſts Vicar may not be contemned; through the ſhield of whoſe power their contumacy may be ſuppreſſed, which contemn both vertity and reaſon. Whereunto no man ſeemeth unto me more apt or meet, than *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, which holdeth the one part of his poſſeſſions in *Italy*, and the other in *France*; unto whom all Chriſtian Princes are allied either by conſanguinity, or joyned by amity and friendſhip, and whoſe vertue, how famous it is, I have already declared. Why do we then ſtay or doubt to chuſe him, than whom *Gabriel* feareth no man more. Let him therefore periſh with the ſword wherewithal he hath ſtricken. There is no man which can more pacifie the Church than he. Do ye require devotion in a Biſhop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? Now ye underſtand by his former life what manner of

To have a Wife is no let for a good man to be elected Pope. Popes have been married.

Read the 6th Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, and you ſhall ſee that the Apoſtles had Wives, and *Baptiſta Mantuanus* maketh mention, how that *Hilarion* Biſhop of *Pitanium* had a Wife. Eccleſ. 4.

Should were that temporal Dominions were divided from the Church.

Schiſm in the Church.

man is he. If ye seek for Justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for vertue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye flay? Go to I pray you, chuse this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the Church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the Church to have been afore spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a Pope be chosen which should comfort *Sion*, and set all things in peace? And who I pray you should be be that could fulfil these things except we chuse this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, do whatsoever you shall think most good and holy.

Amedeus Duke of *Savoy* chosen Pope.

When he had spoken these words, the greateſt number of the Electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished and ended, and when the scrutiny was opened, it was found that *Amedeus*, the most devout Duke of *Savoy*, according to the Decree of the Council, was chosen Pope. Wherefore suddenly, there was great joy and gladness amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* published unto them the name of the elect Bishop. After this all the Prelates in their Robes, *Pontificalibus* and Miters, and all the Clergy of the City coming unto the Conclave, the Electors being likewise adorned, they brought him unto the great Church, where after great thanks given unto God, and the Election again declared unto the people, a Hymn being sung for joy, the Congregation was dissolved.

This *Amedeus* aforesaid, was a man of reverent age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour; also before married. Who thus being elect for Pope about *November*, was called *Felix* the Fifth, and was crowned in the City of *Basil*, in the Month of *July*. There was present at his Coronation, *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*; *Philip* Earl *Gebenenſe*. *Lewis* Marquess of *Saluzz*; The Marquess of *Rotelen*; *Comrade* of *Winsperg* Chamberlain of the Empire: The Earl of *Dierstein*: The Embassadors of the Cities of *Strasbourgh*, *Bern*, *Friburgh*, *Solatorn*, with a great multitude of other besides, to the view of 50000 persons. At this Coronation, the Popes two Sons did serve and minister to their Father. *Lewis* Cardinal of *Hostia* did set on his Head the Pontifical Diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand Crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the Procession, or the Popes riding about the City. First proceeded the Pope under his Canopy of Cloth of Gold, having on his Head a Triple-Crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the Marquess of *Rotelen*, and *Conrade* of *Winsperg*, leading his Horse by the Bridle. The Procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excellively sumptuous; where the Popes two Sons were Butlers to his Cup; the Marquess of *Saluzz* was the Steward, &c.

Pope *Felix* the fifth.

The number of people at the Coronation of Pope Felix. The Popes two Sons serving at the Coronation. The relation of this Popes Crown. The Popes dinner and service.

Valer. lib. 3.

Of this *Felix* thus writeth *Volaterane* in his third Book. *That he being desired of certain of the Embassadors, if he had any Dogs or Hounds to shew them; he willed them the next day to repair unto him, and he would shew unto them such as he had. When the Embassadors according to the appointment were come, he shewed to unto them a great number of poor People and Beggars sitting at his Tables at meat, declaring that those were his Hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of Heaven to come.*

A note for our Gentlemen and Lords, to learn how to hunt and what Dogs to keep.

And thus you have heard the ſtate of this Council hitherto, which Council endured a long season, the space of 17 years.

The death of *Sigismund* the Emperor. *Albert* the 5th Emperor. *Anno* 1438.

About the sixth year of the Council, *Sigismund* the Emperor died, leaving but one Daughter to succeed him in his Kingdoms, whom he had married to *Albert* the second Duke of *Austrich*, which first succeeded in the Kingdom of *Hungary* and *Bohemе*, being afore adversary to the *Bohemians*, and afterward was made Emperor, *Anno* 1438, and reigned Emperor but two years, leaving his Wife, which was *Sigismund* his Daughter, great with Child. After which *Albert* succeeded his Brother *Frederick*, the third Duke of *Austrich*, in the Empire, &c. Whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

The death of *Albertus*.

In the mean time *Eugenius* hearing of the death of *Sigismund* above recited, began to work the dissolution of the Council of *Basil*, and to transfer it to *Ferraria*, pretending the coming of the *Grecians*. Notwithstanding, the Council of *Basil*, through the disposition of God, and the worthiness of Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, constantly endured. Albeit in the said Council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the sore Plague of Pestilence which fell in the City, during the said Council. In the which Plague time, besides the death of many worthy men, *Æneas Sylvius* also himself, the Writer and Compiler of the whole History of that Council, sitting at the feet of the Bishops of *Turnon* and *Lubeck*, lay sick three days of the same sore, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to *Eugenius* as Pope, against that Council, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. *Arelatenſis* being moſt instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be intreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the Church, than of his own life.

{KING} {Hen. 6.} The Plague at *Basil* in the time of the Council.

Æneas Sylvius sick of the Plague in *Basil*.

The contentful zeal of *Arelatenſis* to the truth.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this Council, strange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom such as first seemed to favour the Council, after did impugn it; and such as before were against it, in the end shewed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief Cardinals and Prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipt away, or else lurked in Houses or Towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the Council most rested upon their Proctors, Doctors, Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Priors, and such other of the inferiour sort. Whereof *Æneas Sylvius*, in his 183 Epistle, maketh this relation, where one *Caspar Schlick*, the Emperors Chancellor, writeth to Cardinal *Julian* in these words, *Those Cardinals* (saith he) *which so long time magnified so highly the authority of the Church, and of General Councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now at the sight of one Letter from their King (wherein yet no death was threatned, but loss of their promotions) slipt away from* Basil. And in the same Epistle, deridingly commendeth them, as wife men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. *Albeit* (saith he) *they departed not far away, but remained about* Solatorn, *waiting for other commandments from their Prince.* Whereby it may appear how they did shrink away not willingly; *but the Burse* (quoth he) *bindeth faster than true honour,*

Æneas Sylvius, epiſt. 189.

The wealthy Prelates slide away from the Council. Wealthy Prelates a-fraid of truth. *Fide quam mutant, carne mutant.* Promotions choke the Clergy.

Quid enim salvis infamia nummis? that is to say, *What matter maketh the name of a Man, so his Many be safe?* Hæc Æneas.

Moreover, in one of the Sessions of the said Council, the worthy Cardinal *Arelatenſis* is said thus to have reported, *that Christ was sold for thirty pence; but I* (said he) *was sold much more dear: For* Gabriel, *otherwise called* Eugenius *Pope, offered threescore thousand Crowns, who so would take me, and present me unto him.* And they that took the said Cardinal, afterward excused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the Cardinals Brother, what time the *Armiakes* wasted *Asiatia*, had brought great damage to the Inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a *Frenchman*, wheresoever they might take him. At length by the Bishop of *Strasbourgh*, *Rupert*, and the said City, the matter was taken up, and he refused. Wherein no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the peſtilent danger of the Pope his adversary. *Ex Paralip. Abbat. Urſper.*

60000 Crowns offered by Pope *Eugenius*, for the betraying of *Arelatenſis*. &c.

Arelatenſis taken and refused. Gods defence toward his servants. *Ex Paralip. Abbat. Urſper.*

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this forefaid Council, until the election of *Amedeus*, called Pope *Felix* the Fifth, before we prosecute the reſt that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the relidue pertaining to the matters concluded between this Council and the *Bohemians*, declaring the whole circumstances of the Embassage, their Articles, Disputations and Answers, which they had first in the said Council, then in their own Country with the Councils Embassadors; also with their Petitions and Answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the *Bohemians*, how they being sent for, came up to the Council of *Basil*, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before

{KING} {Hen. 6.} The story of the Bohemians prosecuted.

before hath been expressed. Now as leisure serveth from other matters, to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the reſt that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the Reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The *Bohemians* then (as is before declared) having always the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new Bishop *Eugenius*, yet it was thought good that they should be called unto *Basil*, where the Council was appointed. Whereupon Cardinal *Julian* sent thither before *John Pulmiar* Doctor of the Law, and *John de Ragusio*, a Divine. Who coming unto *Basil* in the Month of *August*, *Anno* 1431. called by their Letters unto the Council, *John* Abbot of *Muldrun*, and *Johan Gelhusius*, Monk of the same Cloister; which men for dexterity of their wit and experience, and knowledge of Countries, were very meet and neceſſary for Embassages.

Within a few days after, *Julianus* also came thither, as he had promiſed, and immediately sent out *John Gelhusius*, and *Hammon Offenburgh*, a Senator of *Basil*, first unto the Emperor *Sigismund* being at *Feldirch*, and afterward unto *Frederick* Duke of *Austrich*, for the appeasing of the Wars between him and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, but also the Merchants might have safe access unto *Basil*, and so bring in all things neceſſary for sustentation.

The *Bohemians* invited to come to the Council.

They going on this Embassage, received Letters from the Synod, to be delivered unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, whereby the *Bohemians* and *Moravians* were called unto the Council. These Letters he by and by caused to be carried unto *Boheme*. But forsomuch as he himself went into *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown of the Bishop, he left *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, as his Deputy, to be Protector unto the Council. Furthermore, when as the Synod understood that our men would take a peace with the *Bohemians*, after their moſt shameful flight, they sent *John Niderus* a Divine, and *John Gelhusius*, to comfort the people which joyned upon *Boheme*, and earneſtly to move the *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, which were before called, to come unto the Council.

They departing from *Basil*, about the end of *October*, took their journey toward *Monacum*, a Town of *Bavaria*; where, after they had saluted *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, and his Brother *Ernestus*, and *Albert* the Son of *Ernestus*, and had declared the Commission of their Embassage, and had shewed unto Duke *William*, how that as soon as he should come unto *Basil*, the protection of the Council should be committed unto him by the Emperor; they exhorted *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, the Senate of *Noremberg*, and other Princes and Lords, partly by the Letters of the Council, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no means take any Truce with the *Bohemians*, for that it might be hurtful unto the Church, and said they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the Council, *That if the* Bohemians *would send their Embassadors unto* Basil, *they would guide them, every man through his Country in safety*; which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoyced that the *Bohemians* were sent for.

The *Bohemians* labored to come to the Council.

After this, when as they counselled with the Senate of *Noremberg*, touching the sending of the Councils Letters unto *Boheme*, it seemed best first of all to inquire of the Rulers of *Egra*, whether the *Bohemians* had made any answer to the former Letters of the Council which they had sent. The Rulers of *Egra*, being advertised by these Letters, sent him which carried the Councils Letters into *Boheme*, unto *Noremberg*. He reported how reverently the Council of the greater City of *Prague* received the Letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon they conceived great hope of the good ſucceſs of the Embassage. Therefore the Embassadors uſing the counsel of the Senate of *Noremberg*, and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto *Egra*, with their own private Letters, and with Letters of the Council; for there was no better mean to send the Letters to *Boheme*. Much travel was taken by them of *Egra*, *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongſt Chriſtians. The Copy of those Letters, whereby the Synod did call the *Bohemians* unto the Council, and other Letters exhortatory of the Embassadors, and the *Bohemians* answer unto the same, for brevities cause we have here pretermitted. The *Bohemians* not in all points truſting unto the Embassadors, required by their Letters that the Councils Embassadors, with the other Princes, would come unto *Egra*, where their Embassadors should also be present, to intreat upon the safe conduct, and other matters.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sunday after *Easter*, which was the twenty seventh day of *April*. Then came the Embassadors of the Council unto *Egra*, with the noble Princes *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, with other Nobles, almoſt to the number of 252 Horse. But none of the *Bohemians* were present, because the Inhabitants of *Pilsana*, and the Lord *Swambergius* had not sent their safe conduct. When they understood this by their Letters, they brought it to pass, that the Embassadors of the *Bohemians*, *Nicolaus Humpelzius*, Secretary of the greater City of *Prague*, and *Matthew Clumpezane*, President of *Pisina*, should be brought forth by them of *Egra*, and the *Elenbogenſes*, and so they came unto *Egra* with nineteen Horse, the 8th day of *May*. The next day after *Henry Tocgye* received the *Bohemian* Embassadors before the Marquess with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Gospel for his Theme, *Pax vobis*, i. *Peace be with you*. When they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there were some hope that they should be heard.

The Embassadors of the *Bohemians*, *Nicolaus Humpelzius*, Secretary of the greater City of *Prague*, and *Matthew Clumpezane*, President of *Pisina*, should be brought forth by them of *Egra*, and the *Elenbogenſes*, and so they came unto *Egra* with nineteen Horse, the 8th day of *May*. The next day after *Henry Tocgye* received the *Bohemian* Embassadors before the Marquess with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Gospel for his Theme, *Pax vobis*, i. *Peace be with you*. When they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there were some hope that they should be heard.

The Embassadors of the *Bohemians*, and of the Council, meet together at *Egra*.

After this they conferred as touching the safe conduct. The *Bohemians* required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but Princes and Nobles. Which thing, forasmuch as it did not content the Embassadors, and that the matter should so be put off, the common People of *Egra* began to cry out, *That it was long of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, that a concord was not made with the* Bohemians. Then *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, bound themselves of their own good wills. The like also did *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, at the requeſt of the Council. Likewise also did the Council and the Emperor *Sigismund*. Furthermore, promise was made, *That all the Princes and Cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the City of* Basil *also*. The copy of which safe conduct was afterward sent unto *Prague*. This also was required by the *Bohemians*, *That if it were possible the Emperor should be present at the Council.*

The *Bohemians* require the Emperor to be present at the Council.

This convention at *Egra*, continued 21 days. But the *Bohemians*, albeit they heard the Councils Embassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two Embassadors, *Nicholas Humpelzius*, and *John Zaczenſes*, which should go to *Basil*, and diligently enquire out all things. These men, *Conrade* Bishop of *Ratisbone*, and *Conrade Seglawer* Dean of *Eistein* brought into *Cattelſburg*, where the Marquess dwelt, being sent out by the Synod a little before, to enquire whether the *Bohemian* Embassadors would come or not. When they were come to *Biberach*, one being overcurious, inquired of one of the *Bohemian* Embassadors, of what County he was. He answered that he was a *Zaczen*. *There* (said he) *are moſt execrable heretickes and naughty men, &c.* Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to Priſon, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the *Bohemian* Embassadors, and the Abbot of *Eberz*, had not intreated for him. When they came unto *Basil*, they were honourably received with Wine and Fish. They tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of *October* they came unto the Synod, which was assembled at the Friers *Augustines*.

The *Bohemians* bound to return.

Goodfellow upon a slanderous railer. The gentleness of the *Bohemian* Embassadors.

These Embassadors, when as they were returned home with the Charter of the Synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earneſtly handled without fraud or deceit; there were Embassadors chosen to be sent unto the Council, both for the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and the Marquesdom of *Moravia*, which coming unto *Tuſca*, were brought from thence

The Embassadors of the *Bohemians* returned home.

with thirty two Horse, and divers Noblemen unto *Chambia*. From thence they came to *Swenkenderph*, and so unto *Noremberg*, where, beside their entertainment of Wine and Fish, 22 Horsemen accompanied them unto *Ulmes*; from thence they of *Ulmes* brought them unto *Biberach* and *Sulgotia*, where *James Tunches* a Knight, receiving them, brought them to *Stockacum*, and from thence the Bands of the Duke of *Bavaria*, brought them unto *Schaf-huse*. There they taking Ship the fourth day of *January*, came unto *Basil* the ninth day of the same Month. What were the names of these Embassadors of the *Bohemians*, which were brought up with three hundred Horse, and how they were received at *Basil*, mention is made before. When as they came unto the Synod, Cardinal *Julian* made an Oration, *That what soever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the Council, forsomuch as all men are bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy Church, which the General Council doth represent*. Which Oration was not allowed of all the *Bohemians*.

The Bohemians send up to the Councell of the solemn Embassadors.

The Oration of the Cardinal *Julian* to the Bohemians. *Vide supra.*

Then *Rochezanus* made an Oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the fifteenth day of the same Month. Upon which day *John Rochezanus*, having made his Preface, began to propound the first Article, touching the Communion to be ministred under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days always before Noon. Then *Wenceslaus* the *Thaborite* disputed upon the second Article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days. After whom *Uldericus* Priest of the *Orphans* propounded and disputed upon the third Article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the Word of God.

The 1st Article of the Bohemians propounded by the first Embassador.

The 2d Article of the Bohemians, by the second Embassador.

The 3d Article of the Bohemians, by the 3d Embassador.

Last of all, *Peter Pain* an *Englishman*, disputed three days upon the 4th Article, touching the civil dominion of the Clergy, and afterward gave Copies of their Disputations in writing unto the Council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the Council, condemning *John Hus* and *John Wickliff* for their Doctrine. Whereupon *John de Ragusio*, a Divine riling up, defired that he might have leave to answer in his own name, to the first Article of the *Bohemians*. The Council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the Fore-noon, he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answer, *John* the Abbot of *Sistertia* made an Oration unto the *Bohemians*, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy Church, which this Council doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the *Bohemians*. *John Ragusinus* a Divine, after Scholas fashion, in his answer spake often of Heresies and Hereticks. *Procopius* could not suffer it, but riling up with an angry stomach complained openly to the Council of this injury. This our Countryman (saith he) doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes Hereticks. Whereunto *Ragusinus* answered, forsomuch as I am your Countryman both by Tongue and Nation, I do the more delire to reduce you again unto the Church. He was a *Dalmatian* born, and it appeareth that the *Dalmatians*, going into *Boheme*, took their name by their Country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the *Bohemians* would depart from *Basil*, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the *Bohemians* would not hear *Ragusinus* finish his Disputation.

The Oration of the Abbot of *Sistertia*, offensive to the Bohemians.

John Ragusinus replieth against the 1st Article.

The Bohemians displeased with *Ragusinus*.

After him a famous Divine, one *Egidius Carlerius*, Dean of the Church of *Cambray*, answered unto the second Article, by the space of four days. To the third Article answered one *Henricus*, firnamed *Frigidum Fegrum*, three days together. Last of all one *Johannes Polomarius*, Master of the requests of the Palace, answered unto the 4th Article likewise by the space of 3 days, so that the long time which they used in Disputations seemed tedious unto the *Bohemians*. Notwithstanding this answer, the *Bohemians* still defended their Articles, and specially the first, insomuch as *John Rochezanus* did strongly impugn *Ragusinus* answer by the space of six days. But forsomuch as one Disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made; the Prince *William* Duke of *Bavaria* Protector of the Council, attempted another remedy, that all Disputations being set apart, the matter should be friendly debated.

Egidius Carlerius answereth to the second Article. *Henry Cadoren* answereth to the 3d Article. *J. Polomarius* answereth to the 4th Article.

There were certain appointed on either part to intreat upon the concord; who coming together the eleventh day of *March*, those which were appointed for the Council, were demanded to say their minds. *It seemed good*, said they, *if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them.*

{KING Hen. 5. Ex Cochlæo, Hist. lib. 7.} Certain chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The *Bohemians*, when they had a while paused, said, *This way seemed not apt enough, except first of all the four Articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter, if they being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the Articles.* Here answer was made to the *Bohemians*, That if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forasmuch as every Christian ought to believe that Determination; which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer satisfied them not, insomuch that the other three rose up and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinal *Julian* Freisident of the Council, made this Oration unto the *Bohemian* Embassadors.

The Oration of Cardinal *Julian* to the Bohemians.

That sacred Synod, saith he, *hath now by the space of ten days patiently heard the Propositions of your four Articles*; and afterward he annexed, *You have propounded*, saith he, *four Articles, but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange Doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if that a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the Council, to be end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present which have seen them with their own eyes in* Boheme, *and partly we do gather it by your own reports. For Master* Nicholas, *which was the second that did propound, amongst other things alledged, that* John Wickliff *was an Evangelical Doctor. If ye believe him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentick; if ye do not so think, it is reason that it should be opened unto us.*

The Oration of Cardinal Julian.

Nicholas the second propounders, charged by the Cardinal, for commending of *John Wickliff*.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certifie us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require, that you should now declare your reasons but it shall satisfie us, if you will answer unto every Article by this word, Credimus aut non credimus, *that is*, We believe, or believe not. *Which if you will do, (as we trust you will) then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing wherein you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the Doctrine of Saint* Peter, *to render account unto every man which shall require it, touching the Faith which we hold.* Hereunto the *Bohemian* Embassadors answered in few words, *That they came only to propound those four Articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole Kingdom of* Boheme, and spake no more. Whereupon *William* the noble Protector of the Council, calling upon him four men on either part, intreated touching the pacifying the matter, by whose advice the Council decreed to send a famous Embassage with the *Bohemian* Embassadors, unto *Prague*, where the People should assemble upon *Sunday*. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made hafte to depart. Whereupon the 14th day of *April*, there were ten chosen out of the Council, to go with the *Bohemian* Embassadors unto *Prague*.

A prudent answer of the Bohemians to the Cardinal *Julian*.

The Embassadors of the Bohemians return without agreement.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these Embassadors all the way in their journey, and specially when they came unto *Boheme*, by the Citizens of *Prague*, when as a great number of *Bohemians* were assembled at *Prague* at the day appointed, both of the Clergy, Nobility and Common people.

The coming of the Legates to *Prague*. *Jo. Rochezanus* speaks.

After the coming of those Embassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began *John Rochezanus*, who speaking in the publick person of the Commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four

{KING Hen. 5. Ex Cochlæo, Hist. lib. 7.} four verities of the *Bohemians* before propounded; charging also the Prelates and Priests for their slanderous obtrectations and undeserved contumelies wherewith they did infame the noble Kingdom of *Boheme*, complaining also that they would not receive those Christian verities, left and allowed by their King *Wenceslaus* now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole Nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such fort, that they would reltore to them again their *Josephs* vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, wherein their brethren, their enemies had spoiled them, &c.

To this *Polomar.* maketh answer again, with a long and curious Oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the Church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should be soon removed, promising also, that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply reltord again; and afterward, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

Polomar answereth to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians reply again to Polomar.

But all this pleased not the *Bohemians*, unless they might first have a declaration of their four Articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace (said they) began first to be broken by themselves, in that the Council of *Constance*, by their unjust condemnation, burned *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, and also by their cruel Bulls and Censures, raised up first Excommunication, then War against the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*.

Polomar enticeth the Councell. General Councils may err and have erred.

Hereunto *Polomar*, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnifie the honour and dignity of General Councils. To conclude, as much as the said *Polomar* did extol the authority of the Council, so much did the answer of the *Bohemians* extenuate the same; saying, *That the later Councils which are not expressed in the Law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chance unto the dry.* But of other, the moft strong Pillars of the Militant Church, the Apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the Catholick Faith to have remained three days found and incorrupt only in the Virgin *Mary*. No christian man therefore ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the Pope or the Council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the Law of God. For it is evident, that all the General Councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace and manners of the Church, but have always, both in their lite and decrees, notoriously swarved, and have not eltablished themselves upon the foundation which is Christ. Wherefore the said *Bohemians* protested, that they would not simply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yield themselves to their Doctrine, nor to such rash and hatty Decrees; left through that their hatty and unicircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and found Doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In sum, in no cale they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their four Articles which they counted for Evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained (said they) if they would condescend with them in the verity of the Gospel, so would they joyn together, and be made one with them in the Lord, *&c. Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. 7.*

Ex Cochleo, Hist. lib. 7.

The Embassadors of the Council and the Bohemians could not agree.

A declaration of three Articles granted to the Bohemians by the Council.

The Embassadors of the Bohemians when they came to the Council, declared unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the Council by three *Bohemian* Embassadors.

Afterward the Council sent a Declaration into *Boheme*, to be published unto the People in the common Assemblies of the Kingdom, by the Embassadors, which were commanded to report unto the *Bohemians*, in the name of the Council, that if they would receive the Declaration of those three Articles, and the Unity of the Church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the fourth Article, of the Communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

A Declaration of the Council to the Bohemians concerning the first three Articles.

They propounded in *Prague*, in an open Assembly of the Nobles and Commons, the Declarations of the three Articles in form following:

Forsomuch as touching the Doctrine of the verity, we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words being so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and (to use the words of Modene) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful; whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sins in these words, All mortal sins and specially open offences ought to be rooted out, punished and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the Law of God: here it is to be marked and understood, that this word (whose duty it is) is too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbours Ox do not fall therein; all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the Doctrine of the holy Doctors, it is thus universally to be holden, That all mortal sins, especially publick offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, at reasonably as may be according to the Law of God, and the Institutions of the Fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto them which have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.

The 1st proposition propounded by the Bohemians with the declaration from the Council.

Punishing of publick offences how and by whom. Note here the Popes addition.

As touching the preaching of the Word of God, which Article you have alledged in this form, *That the Word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt Ministers of the Lord*: Left by this word (*freely*) occasion might be taken of disordered liberty (which as you have often said you do not mean) the circumstance thereof is to be understood; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and Doctrine of the holy Fathers) it is thus universally to be believed, *That the Word of God ought freely, but not every where, but faithfully and orderly to be preached by the Priests and Levites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the Bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things according to the institution of the holy Fathers.*

The 2d Article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the Council.

Liberty of preaching, how far, and to whom it extendeth.

As concerning the last Article expressed under these words, *It is not lawful for the Christian Clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods*; we remember that in the solemn Disputation holden in the sacred Council, he which was appointed by the Council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

The 4th Article of the Bohemians, with the Declaration from the Council.

Temporal possessions in the Clergy means hands.

First, *That such of the Clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods*; as the inheritance of his Father or any other, if it be left unto him; or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract or else some lawful Art.

The Second conclusion, *The Church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, moveable and unmoveable, Houses, Lands, Towns and Villages, Castles and Cities, and in them a private and civil dominion.* Your Embassador which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying, *That they did not impugn the sense of this Article being well understood, forsomuch as he understandeth this Article of civil dominion, formally meant.* Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, that this Article, *to have secular dominion*, expressed in the foresaid Article, seemeth to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forsomuch as the Doctrine of the Church is not to be intreated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that, which according to the Law of God, and the Doctrine of the holy Doctors, is universally to be believed, that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, That the Clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the Church, whose Administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the Church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilledge.

The Popes hand hard for their temporal kingdom.

Thus the sacred Council (said they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three foresaid Articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt; according to the information which we have received in the sacred Council, we are ready by Gods help (who is the

principal

principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the faid three Articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, true, and perfect unity touching the liberty of the Communion under both kinds which you defire and require, which alſo you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy Church; we have authority from the General Council, by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, truſting that you will ſhew your ſelves as you will continue.

The Bohemians take a deliberation of the 4th Article.

Theſe things thus declared, after the *Bohemians* had taken deliberation, they ſaid, *That they would give no anſwer unto the premiſes, before they underſtood what ſhould be offered them as touching the Communion.* Wherefore it ſhall be neceſſary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following.

A Declaration of the Council touching the 4th Article of the Communion.

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, upon the Sacrament of whoſe moſt bleſſed laſt Supper we ſhall intreat, that he which hath inſtituted this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchſafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the faid Lord Jeſus our Lord, and that he will ſubvert all the fubtilties of the Devil, which through his envious craftineſs hath made the Sacrament of peace and unity, an occaſion of war and diſcord; that whilſt Chriſtians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the Communion. Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* in his Sermon upon Infants, in the Decrees *De conſecrat. diſtinct. 2. Quia paſſus*, ſaith thus, *So the Lord Jeſus Chriſt cerrified us, and willed that we ſhould appertain unto him, and conſecrate the myſtery of our peace and unity upon the Table. He that receiveth the myſtery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a myſtery for himſelf, but a teſtimony againſt himſelf.* This we thought good above all things to be premiſed, that the general cuſtom of the Church, which your Fathers and you alſo in times paſt have obſerved, hath a long time had and ſtill uſeth, that they which do not conſecrate, communicate only under the kind of Bread. Which cuſtom being attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, ſhould be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy Church, ſhall be lawful, if other things let it not; becauſe (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.*

Conſecrat. diſt. 2. quia paſſus.

Talk is to ſet up the Church above the Scripture.

The holy Communion requireth amendment of life.

Whereupon St. *Iſidore* of the ſecond *Diſtinct.* upon the Confeſſion written thus, *They which live wickedly, and ceaſe not daily to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleanſed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleanſing of their ſins.* And St. *Auguſtine* in the ſame diſtinction ſaith, *Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are ſalvation, but unto the evil damnation.* There are beſides this many other authorities. The Apoſtle *Judas* was amongſt them which did firſt communicate, but forſomuch as he received unworthily, having that ſin of Treaſon in his heart, did profit him nothing, but the Devil by and by exerciſed the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reaſon, Which of you is it, that if you ſhould receive your Lord into your houſe, would not with all diligence and care ſtudy to make clean and adorn his houſe, that he may receive the Lord honeſtly? much more he that ſhall receive the Lord and Saviour into the houſe of his ſoul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his ſoul, to cleanſe it by the Sacrament of Penance, with ſorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely and truly confeſſing his ſins, and receiving due Satisfaction and Penance, to adorn and deck the ſame with the purple or rich aray of devotion, that the heart being ſo purged and adorned with fervent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the World unto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverent receiving of the Sacraments.

Wherefore the moſt ſacred Synod admoniſheth, exhorteth and commandeth, that all Prieſts ſhould diligently exhort and admoniſh the people, and that they ſhould uſe all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that moſt bleſſed Sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, leſt that which is received for the ſalvation of the ſoul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof. {KING 1 Hen. 6.}

Moreover, Doctors do ſay, that the cuſtom of communicating unto the people, only under the kind of bread, was reaſonably introduced by the Church and holy Fathers, for reaſonable cauſes, ſpecially for the avoiding of two perils; of error and unreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Chriſts Body were in the Bread, and the other part in the Cup, which were a great error. Of unreverence, forſomuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the Miniſter, as on the part of the Receiver: As it is ſaid, that it happened when as a certain Prieſt, carried the Sacrament of the Cup unto a ſick man, when he ſhould have miniſtred, he found nothing in the Cup, being all ſpilt by the way, with many other ſuch like chances. We have heard moreover, that it hath often happened, that the Sacrament conſecrate in the Cup, hath not been ſufficient for the number of Communicants, whereby a new Conſecration muſt be made, which is not agreeable to the Doctrine of the holy Fathers, and alſo that oftentimes they do miniſter Wine unconſecrate for conſecrate Wine, which is a great peril. By this means when it ſhall be brought to paſs, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the Church in all other things beſides the uſe of the Communion under both kinds, conforming your ſelves to the faith and order of the Univerſal Church, you that have that uſe and cuſtom ſhall communicate ſtill by the authority of the Church under both kinds, and this Article ſhall be diſcuſſed fully in the ſacred Council, where you ſhall ſee what as touching this Article, is to be holden as an univerſal verity, and is to be done for the profit and ſalvation of the Chriſtian people, and all things being thus throughly handled, then if you perſevere in your deſire, and that your Embaſſadors do require it, the ſacred Council will grant licence in the Lord unto your Miniſters, to communicate unto the people under both kinds, that is to ſay, to ſuch as be of lawful years and diſcretion, and ſhall reverently and devoutly require the ſame: this always obſerved, that the Miniſters ſhall ſay unto thoſe which ſhall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe, *not the fleſh only to be contained under the form of Bread, and the blood only under the Wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Chriſt.*

Error grounded upon error.

Cauſes why to miniſter under one kind.

Receiving in both kinds, permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annexed.

Thus hitherto we have declared the Decree of the Council. As touching the other doubts and queſtions which were afterward moved by the Maſters and Prieſts of *Boheme*, the Embaſſadors of the Council anſwered thus.

Doubts or queſtions of the Bohemians.

Firſt they ſaid, That it was not the meaning of the ſacred Council, to ſuffer the Communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the Libel of divorcement was permitted to the *Jews*, forſomuch as the Council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the *Bohemians* and *Moravians*, doth not mean to ſuffer it with ſuch kind of ſufferance, which ſhould not exclude ſin, but ſo to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of his true Spouſe the Church, it may be lawful, profitable and healthful unto thoſe which worthily receive the ſame. Alſo as touching that which was ſpoken by the ſaid *Bohemians*, of the puniſhing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes ſtirreth up the hearts of private perſons to the correcting and puniſhing of ſins, and ſo it ſhould ſeem lawful unto the inferiours to correct and puniſh their ſuperiors; they anſwered, alledging the Text of S. *Auguſtine* in the 23d Decree. He that ſtriketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cauſe of death againſt them, is the Miniſter of God; but he which without any publick adminiſtration or office murthereth or maimeth any wicked thief, facrilegious, adulterous or perjured perſon, or any other offender, ſhall be judged as an Homicide, and ſo much the more ſharply, in that he feared not to abuſe and uſurp the power not granted him of God; and truly this City would take it much more grievouſly, if any private man ſhould attempt to puniſh an offender, and ſet up a Gallows in the Street and there

Permiſſion of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of ſufferance, but by full authority.

Puniſhing of offences conſidered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be puniſhed.

{KING 1 Hen. 6.} there hang him, than if one man ſhould kill another in brawle or quarrel. They alledged alſo other Texts of St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Hierome* agreeable to the ſame. They ſaid that no man doubteth that the Law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is ſimply written, *Thou ſhalt not ſtea.* And notwithſtanding by the Commandment of God the Children of *Iſrael* carried away the Goods of the *Egyptians*, which they had borrowed of them. Alſo in the ſame Law it is plainly written, *Thou ſhalt do no murther.* Whereupon St. *Auguſtine* in his firſt Book *De Civitate Dei*, proveth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himſelf; and when as he maketh example of *Samſon*, he anſwereth with theſe words: When as God commandeth and doth affirm himſelf to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience ſin? or who will accuſe the obedience to God?

To do that God commandeth, is obedience, and no ſin, though it be extraordinary.

The Iſraelites did ſtea from the Egyptians without ſin.

Samſon killed himſelf without ſin.

Of extraordinary commandment no general Laws to be made.

Here in this Propoſition you have the words of St. *Auſtin* for anſwer. But let every man well foreſee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumſtances, and let him prove the ſpirits whether they be of God. But in ſuch caſes there are no Laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there ſhould eaſily occaſion riſe to make fedition, and for the inferiors to riſe againſt the ſuperiors. For when any man had ſtollen any thing, or killed any man, he would ſay that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifeſt proof thereof, he ſhould be puniſhed.

Objection. Anſwer. How the laity hath power over the Clergy, and wherein. The Pope will be judged by his own Laws.

Again they ſaid that there were certain caſes wherein the Laity had power over the Clergy. It was anſwered, that there were certain caſes in the law, wherein the laity had power over the Clergy, and oftentimes over Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter the Conclave to elect a new Pope, the King, Prince, or other Lord or Secular power may compell them: but in theſe caſes he is now no private perſon, but uſeth his juriſdiction by the authority of the Law. The like is to be underſtood of all other caſes expreſſed in the Law.

Objection.

They ſaid further, That no common Law hath any right or juſtice, except Gods Law do allow the ſame.

Anſwer.

It was anſwered, That no common Law hath right or juſtice, if it be againſt the Law of God; becauſe the Law of God is the rule of all other Laws. But there is great cunning and knowledg in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule; for oftentimes it ſeemeth that there is diverſity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, becauſe the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

Objection.

As touching the Article of preaching the Word of God, it was moved that oftentimes ſome Prelates through their own envy and malice, without any reaſonable cauſe, do inhibit a good and meet Preacher that preacheth Catholickly and well.

Anſwer. Abuſe of Prelates inhibiting true Preachers.

Anſwer was made, How that they underſtood well enough that the abuſe of certain Prelates, which did inordinately behave themſelves, gave a great occaſion of thoſe troubles. Alſo that they never heard of any ſuch complaints in thoſe parts, but that the Prelates do favour good Preachers, and ſtir them up to preach, by intreaty, favour, and promotion. In all ſuch caſes there are remedies already provided by the Law; for when any man is ſo prohibited to uſe his right, he hath remedy to appeal: and if he do truſt his appeal to be juſt, he may uſe his right, all violence both of the Spiritual and Secular power ſet apart; for the end of the matter ſhall declare if he had juſt cauſe to appeal. Then ſhall it be declared that the ſuperior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the Plaintiff juſtly in doing, and the ſuperior for his unjuſt prohibition ſhall be puniſhed. But if he be juſtly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do contemn the juſt commandment of his ſuperior, he is worthy to be puniſhed with condign puniſhment.

Remedy of Appeal.

Objection.

Where it was moved concerning the third Article, whether it were lawful for the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates to exerciſe in their proper perſon, the Acts of Secular dominion: Hereunto it was anſwered, that if by this word, Acts of Secular dominion, are underſtood Acts which a Secular Lord may do or exerciſe, then it is to be ſaid, that a Prelate may lawfully exerciſe ſome ſuch Acts in his proper perſon, as to ſell, pawn, or pledg, to infeoffe by manner and form ordained by Law: but there are ſome Acts which it is not lawful for them to exerciſe in their proper perſon, but ought to have afterward a Vicegerent or Proctor to do the

Anſwer. Acts of Secular dominion to be exerciſed of the Clergy, after a due, but reſpective and not precipitate manner.

ſame; whereupon there is priſhion made in the Law in the Rubrick, *Ne Clerus vel Monachus ſeculariibus negotiis ſe immiſceat, & in aliis rebus.*

Objection.

It was alſo moved, whether that coactive power, which ought to be exerciſed by a Steward, &c. be in the hands of an Eccleſiaſtical Prelate.

Anſwer.

Whereupon *John Polomair* anſwered, That this Queſtion preſuppoſeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongſt the Doctors, in whoſe power the dominion of the Church ſhould be: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the perſon of the Tutor or Proctor, or if they be not in their perſon, notwithſtanding by the conſtitution of any Actor or Proctor (whoſe exerciſing of thoſe actions do give authority unto the Actor or Proctor) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to ſpeak at this preſent. But forſomuch as he was urged to ſay his opinion, he ſaid, that to ſuch as had either leiſure or pleaſure in diſputation, and would argue againſt him, he would be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church-matters ſhould be in the power of Chriſt: and the Prelates with the other Clergy, are but Canonical adminiſtrators in manner of Tutors; but they have more power and adminiſtration than Tutors, and by conſtituting a Steward or Vicegerent, &c. their conſtitution being duly made, the Steward or Vicegerent hath the ſame coactive power and exerciſe of juriſdiction.

Coactive power, whether it belongeth to the Clergy, and how.

Alſo as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the firſt Concluſion, it is agreed that theſe words, *Juſte requiſita, i.e.* juſtly gotten, alledged therein, determine all things contained in the ſame.

Alſo as touching the ſecond Concluſion, whereas the Sacred Canons and holy Doctors ſpeak thus, The Goods of the Church, the ſubſtance of the Church, and the poſſeſſions of the Church, and divers other opinions there be amongſt the Doctors, in whoſe power the rule thereof ſhould be, as it is noted in the Gloſſ. *Cap. expedit xxi. Quæſt. 1.* they do not intend to conſtrain any man to any of thoſe opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that every man ſhould have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh beſt.

The Goods of the Church in whoſe poſſeſſion they be properly.

2 q. 1. cap. Expedit.

Moreover the *Bohemians* ſaid, that they did believe that the Clergy are but adminiſtrators of the Temporalities of the Church, and not Lords thereof, according to the manner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctors and Canons. Alſo the *Bohemians* ſaid, that in all occaſions which ſhall hereafter riſe, they would wholly ſtand to the determination of the Judg agreed upon in *Egra*, with one conſent. In this manner did the Ambaſſadors make anſwer unto the *Bohemians*. At the laſt, after much communication had to and from, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by ſetting to their hands. The *Bohemians* promiſed to receive the peace and unity of the Church, and the declaration of the three Articles. This was done in the year of our Lord 1433. About the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambaſſadors of that Council, and of *Bohemе*, that whatſoever remained ſhould be determined and agreed upon, firſt at *Ratiſbona*, afterward at *Bruna* in the Diocels of *Olymutes*; then at *Alba* in *Hungary*, before the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

The Clergy be adminiſtrators, not Lords of the Temporalties of the Church.

1 Anno 2. Cap. 8.

The agreement between the Bohemians and the Council.

1438.

At the laſt the concord was confirmed by writing with their Seals at *Inglaxia*, a City of *Moravia*, the fifth day of *July*, in the preſence of the Emperor.

¶ *Certain Petitions which the* Bohemians *put up loſt of all in the Sacred Council of* Basil, *Anno* 1438, *in the Month of* November.

Certain Petitions of the Bohemians put up to the Council. 1 Anno 2. 1438.

UNto the moſt reverend Fathers in Chriſt, and our moſt gracious Lords: We the Ambaſſadors of the Kingdom of *Boheme* do moſt humbly and heartily require you that for the perpetual preſervation of peace and concord, and for the firm preſervation of all things contained in the compoſition, you will vouchſafe of your Clemency to give and grant unto us all and ſingular our requeſts here underwritten, with effectual execution of the ſame.

First, And above all things we deſire and require you, for the extirpation of divers diſſentions and controverſies which will

will undoubtedly follow amongſt our people under the diverſity of the Communion, and for the aboliſhing of infinite evils which we are not able to expreſs as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchſafe of your goodneſs and liberality to give, grant and command, unto our Kingdom of *Boheme*, and Marqueſdom of *Moravia*, one uniform order of the Communion unto all men, under both kinds, that is to ſay, unto the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, the Biſhop of *Luthonius*, *Olimutz*, and other Prelates of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, having charge of Souls, and to their Vicars, and alſo to their flocks and ſubjects, and that according to thoſe things which are contained in the Bull of the Ambaſſadors, and in the compoſitions made in the name of the whole Council, written in the Chapter, *Pro firmitate*, where it is thus ſaid, *And all other things ſhall be done, which ſhall be meet and neceſſary for the preſervation of the peace and unity.* For this done, by your benefit the whole Kingdom ſhall be comforted above meaſure, and eſtabliſhed in brotherly love; whereby an uniform ſubjection and obedience ſhall be perpetually attributed unto the holy Church.

The Communion in both kinds to be generally granted.

Item, We require and deſire (as before) that for the avoiding of all falſe ſuſpition and doubtfulneſs of many, which ſuppoſe that the Sacred Council hath granted the ſaid Communion under both kinds unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholſome, but as the libel of divorcement; that you will vouchſafe, according to this Chapter alledged in the Compoſitions: *Firſt they ſaid, that it was not the intent of the Sacred Council, &c.* wholſomely and ſpeedily to provide for our ſafety, and with your grant in this behalf, and with the Bulls of your Letters, to confirm that Chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your Ambaſſadors.

To have a good and lawful Paſtor and Biſhop.

Item, We beſeech you (as before) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the diſcipline of all the Clergy, and for the final defence and obſervation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in Spiritualties, ye will vouchſafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful Paſtor, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which ſhall ſeem unto us moſt meet and acceptable for our Kingdom, to execute thoſe offices and duties.

Free Communion under both kinds to be permitted to all Princes.

Item, We require you (as aforeſaid) that your Fatherly reverences will vouchſafe, for the defence of the holy fame of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, to declare and ſhew our innocency, in that they have communicated, do, and hereafter ſhall communicate under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the Letters of the Sacred Council, in manner and form moſt apt and meet for ſuch declaration, unto all Princes, as well Secular as Spiritual, Cities and Communalties, according to the Compoſitions, and as the Lords the Ambaſſadors are bound unto us to do.

Item, We deſire you that in the diſcuſſing of the matter for the Communion under both kinds, and of the Commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwiſe than according to the *Concordatum* agreed upon in *Egra*: that is to ſay, according to the Law of God, the order of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the General Councils, and the minds of the holy Doctors, truly grounded upon the Law of God.

The Goſpels and Epiſtles to be read in the vulgar tongue. The Scriptures read in the Greek tongue of old time.

Item, We deſire that your Fatherly reverences conſidering the great affection of our people, will give us the deſired liberty to communicate unto the younger ſort the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this uſe of Communicating ſhould be taken away, which our Kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of moſt great and holy Doctors, and brought in by example, hath received as Catholick, and exerciſed now a long time; verily it ſhould raiſe up an intolerable offence amongſt the people, and their minds would be grievouſly vexed and troubled.

Incorporation to be granted to Univerſities an unlawful requeſt.

Item, We require you (as before) that for like cauſes your Fatherly reverences would vouchſafe to permit, at the leaſt the Goſpels, Epiſtles, and Creed, to be ſung and read in the Church in our Vulgar Tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our *Slavon* language it hath been uſed of old in the Church, and likewiſe in our Kingdom.

Item, We require you in the name of the ſaid Kingdom, and of the famous Univerſity of *Prague*, that your Fatherly reverences would vouchſafe to ſhew ſuch diligence and care toward the deſired reformation of that Univerſity, that according to the manner and form of other Univerſities reformed by the Church, Prebends and Colleges of certain Benefices of Cathedral and Pariſh-Churches may be annexed and incorporate unto the ſaid Univerſity, that thereby it may be increaſed and preferred.

{KING Hen. 6.}

A requeſt for reformation and diſcipline.

Item, We deſire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and alſo (ſaving always your Fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former Compoſitions we moſt inſtantly admoniſh you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and ſtudy, your reverences will watch and ſeek for that long deſired and moſt neceſſary reformation of the Church and Chriſtian Religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publick evils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you have often promiſed to do in our Kingdom, in the Compoſitions, and as our fourth Article, touching the avoiding of all publick evils doth exact and require.

There were certain anſwers provided by the Council to theſe Petitions of the *Bohemians*, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpoſe and intent we know not. Wherefore becauſe we thought them not greatly neceſſary for this place, and alſo to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this preſent to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiouſly the chief and principal matters intreated and done in this famous Council of *Baſil*. And here (to conclude withal) we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (which judg many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be) and thereupon have eſtabliſhed a great part of their opinions) how that toward the latter end of this Council, that is to ſay, in the 37th Seſſion of the ſame, holden the 17 of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1439, the Feaſt of the Conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like caſe alſo in the 44th Seſſion of the ſame Council, holden the firſt day of *July*, Ann. 1441, it was ordained that the Feaſt of the Viſitation of our Lady ſhould be celebrate and holden yearly in the Month of *July*. VVe have alſo thought it good, before we do end this ſtory, to annex hereunto certain Decrees, profitably and wholſomely ordained in the ſaid Council, againſt the inordinate giving of the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Livings by the Pope, with certain other Conſtitutions alſo, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the Church.

The Conception of our Lady brought in to the Church.

The Viſitation of our Lady brought in.

During the time that the General Council at *Baſil* was ſo diligent and careful about the reformation of the Church, this one thing ſeemed good unto them to be proſecuted and followed with an earneſt care and diligence, that thorough every Church apt and meet Miniſters might be appointed, which might ſhine in vertue and knowledg, to the glory of Chriſt, and the healthful edifying of the Chriſtian people: whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers diſorders, and many dangers upon the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate. For hereby oftentimes ſcarcely apt or meet Miniſters have been appointed for the Churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void Benefices (as the old Laws do witneſs) doth give occaſion to deſire another mans death, which is greatly prejudicial unto ſalvation: beſides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongſt the ſervants of God; rancor and malice nouriſhed; the ambition and greedy deſire of Pluralities of Benefices maintained; and the riches and ſubſtance of Kingdoms and Provinces marvelouſly conſumed. Poor men ſuffer innumerable vexations by running unto the Court of *Rome*. They are oftentimes ſpoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having ſpent their Patrimony and ſubſtance left them by their parents, they are conſtrained to live in extream poverty. Many do challenge Benefices, which without any juſt title (yea ſuch indeed as ought not to have them) obtain and get the ſame; ſuch I ſay, as have moſt craft and ſubtilty to deceive their neighbour, or have greateſt ſubſtance to contend in the Law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intrication of theſe prerogatives, antelations, and ſuch other as do aſſociate theſe expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Alſo oftentimes the Miniſtry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whiles that by the troubles of thoſe contentions, and divers diſcourſes, running to and fro by means of thoſe graces, they are vexed and trubled; the Eccleſiaſtical

Vovſons and gifts of Benefices before they were void, debarred by the Council, which Vowſons here are called Expditive Graces.

Inconveniences that ariſe by Vovſons of Benefices.

{KING Hen. 6.}

cal order is confounded, whiles that every mans authority and juriſdiction is not preſerved; and the Biſhops of *Rome* alſo, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the publick utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confuſion unto the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to the great prejudice and hinderance of Gods true worſhip, and publick ſalvation.

No controverſies to be brought to *Rome* beyond four days journey from thence.

In the ſame Council alſo divers other Conſtitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuſes and diſorders brought in, eſpecially by the Biſhop of *Rome*, as touching cauſes not to be brought up and tranſlated to the Court of *Rome*: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controverſies ſhould be brought from other Countries to be pleaded at *Rome*, which were beyond four days journey diſtant from the ſaid Court of *Rome*, a few principal matters only excepted. Alſo that no frivolous Appeals ſhould be made to the Pope hereafter. It was moreover in the ſame Council decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they ſhould not exceed the number of four and twenty, beſides them that were already, and that they ſhould be freely taken out of all Countries; and that they ſhould not be of kin to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or to the Cardinals, nor yet blemiſhed with any ſpot or crime. Alſo for Annates or firſt fruits, or half fruits, it was there provided that no ſuch Annates or confirmation of Elections, or collation of Benefices, ſhould be paid or referred any more to the Pope, for the firſt years voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the *French* King, *Charles* the Seventh, with the full conſent of all his Prelates, in his High Court of Parliament in *Bitures*, and there called *Pragmatica Sanctio*, *Ann.* 1438. whereupon great utility enſued afterward to the Kingdom of *France*. Albeit in proceſs of time divers Friers there were which wrote againſt the ſame. *Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.*

No Appeal to be made to the Pope, Againſt the ſuperfluous number of Cardinals.

Againſt the Popes firſt-fruits.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.

Amongſt many Decrees of the ſaid Council of *Baſil*, in the Nineteenth Seſſion there was alſo a Decree made touching the converting of *Jews*, and young Novices in Religion, unto the Chriſtian Faith.

An Act made for the Converſion of the *Jews*.

Alſo that all Ordinaries ſhould yearly at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the Holy Scriptures, in ſuch places where *Jews* and other Infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholick Faith, that they acknowledging their error might forſake the ſame; unto the which preaching the ſaid Miniſters ſhould compel them to reſort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the ſaid Diocеſans and Preachers ſhould behave themſelves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Chriſt, not only by the declaring of the verity, but alſo in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

An Act for ſtudying the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the Preachers might be the better inſtructed in the Tongues, it was alſo in the ſame Council provided and commanded, that the conſtitution made before in the Council of *Vienna* for learning the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabick* and *Greek* Tongues, ſhould by all means be obſerved and kept, and ordinary ſtipends provided for them that ſhould teach the ſame tongues.

Againſt Prieſts that kept Concubines.

Another Decree moreover in the twentieth Seſſion was Enacted, that whoſoever was known or publickly noted to be a keeper of Concubines, ſhould be ſequeſtred from all fruits of his Benefices for the ſpace of three months, which fruits ſhould be converted by the Ordinary to the reparations, or ſome other utility of the Church; and if he did not ſo amend, it was by the Synod decreed, that he ſhould be clearly depoſed from all his Benefices.

Furthermore the ſaid Synod did greatly inveigh againſt them, which having the juriſdiction of the Church, did not ſhame to ſuffer ſuch Whoremaſters, for bribes and money, ſtill to continue in their filthineſs, *&c.*

By theſe Decrees of the Council above ſpecified, it is to be ſeen, what corruption had been then frequented in the Church of God, through the Biſhop and Court of *Rome*. For the more expreſs declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one *Martin Meyre*, writing to *Æneas Sylvius*, touching and noting the ſaid corruptions; the tenour of whoſe Epiſtle here enſueth.

Unto the Reverend Father, the Lord *Æneas*, Cardinal of *Scene*; *Martin Meyre*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Mentz*, witheth health.

The Epiſtle of Martin *Meyre* to *Æneas Sylvius*, tranſlated into Latin out of the Dutch, the Latin whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book *Ex Ord. Cruc.*

I *Have underſtood by certain of my friends Letters, that you are created Cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received ſo worthy rewards for your vertues. I rejoyce alſo for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto ſuch a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: But this is a grief unto me, that you have happed upon thoſe days, which ſeem to be trouble ſome unto the Apoſtolick See. For there are many complaints made unto my Lord the Archbiſhop upon the Pope, that he will neither keep the Decrees of the Council of* Conſtance, *neither of* Baſil, *neither yet thinketh himſelf bound to the Covenants of his Predeceſſors, and ſeemeth utterly to contemn our Nation, and to ſeek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the Election of Prelates is every where rejected; Benefices and Dignities, of what ſort ſoever they be, are reſerved for the Cardinals, and chief Notaries; and you your ſelf have obtained the reſervation of three Provinces of* Germany, *under ſuch a form as hath not been acciuſtomed or heard of. Vowſons or gifts of Benefices are granted without number; yearly ſtipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The Regiments of Churches are not committed unto ſuch as beſt deſerve them, but unto ſuch as offer moſt money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to ſcrape and gather together money. Tythes are commanded to be exacted without the conſent of our Prelates, for the* Turkiſh *war; and thoſe matters which were acciuſtomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the Apoſtolick See of* Rome. *A thouſand ways are invented and deviſed, how the See of* Rome *may, by ſubtilty and craft, extort and get gold and treaſure from us, even as it were of the* Turks *or Barbarians; whereby our Nation, which was ſometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the* Roman *Empire, and was once the Lady and Queen of all the world, now being brought into poverty, is made a hand-maid, and become tributary, and being now in extream miſery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our Nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their ſleep, have begun to conſider and deviſe with themſelves, by what means they might withſtand this calamity, and utterly ſhake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themſelves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no ſmall loſs unto the Court of* Rome, *if the Princes of* Germany *bring to paſt that which they have deviſed. Wherefore as much as I do rejoice of your late obtained dignity, ſo much alſo am I moved and grieved that theſe things happen in your days. But peradventure Gods determination is otherwiſe, and his Will ſhall ſurely take place. You in the mean time be of good cheer, and deviſe according to your wiſdom, by what means the vehemency of theſe floods may be ſtayed. Thus fare ye well.*

From *Haſtaffenberge* the laſt day of *Auguſt*.

The authority of the Council of Baſil expended.

Concerning the authority of this General Council of *Baſil*, what is to be eſteemed of it by the acts and fruits thereof may be underſtood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the firſt beginning, ſo long as the Pope agreed and conſented unto it. But after the Pope began to draw back, many other followed, eſpecially of the richer ſort of Prelates, which had any thing to loſe; whereof ſufficiently hath been ſaid by *Arsdatenſis* the Cardinal before. In the number of thoſe unconſtant Prelates, beſides many other, was firſt Cardinal *Julian*, the firſt Collector of this Council, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his fervent and vehement Letter, written to Pope *Eugenius* in defence of this Council, may well appear. VVherein he moſt earneſtly doth expoſtulate with the foreſaid Pope *Eugenius*, for ſeeking to diſſolve the Coun-

The Epiſtle of Cardinal *Julian* to the Pope, in the commendation of the Council of *Baſil*.

cil,

cil, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoyce, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the Council and the *Bohemians*, and so exhorteth him with manifold perswasions to resort to the Council himself, and not to seek the dissolution of the same. The copy and tenour of whose Epistle to the Pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, we thought here good to set down to be seen.

The Copy of an Epistle, which Julian *Cardinal of* S*t.* Angen, *and the Popes Ambassador into* Germany, *wrote marvellous boldly and freely unto* Eugenius *Bishop of* Rome, *for that he went about to dissolve the Council of* Basil.

Most blessed Father, after the devout kisses of your blessed feet.

'NOW shall the whole world understand and know, whether that your Holiness have in you the bowels of fatherly love and charity, and the zeal of the House of God, whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be that good shepherd which giveth his life for his sheep. Behold the door beginneth now to be opened, whereby the lost sheep may return again unto their own Folds: now is there good hope even at hand of the reconciliation of the *Bohemians*. If that your Holiness, as it is your duty, do help and further the same, you shall obtain great glory both in Heaven and Earth. But if peradventure you go about to let the same (which is not to be feared at your hands) all men will reprove you of impiety; Heaven and Earth will conspire against you, all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, which with one word may restore peace and quietness to the Church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceive a better hope in you, how that your Holiness without any excuse, will, with your whole heart and mind, favour this most Sacred Council, and give thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodness, that this Congregation hath not departed. Behold the Ambassadors of this Sacred Council are returned with great joy and gladness from *Egra*, reporting how that, through the Grace of the Holy Ghost, they have firmly concluded with the Ambassadors of the *Bohemians*, that is to say, of the *Pragues*, *Orphans* and *Thaborites*, amongst whom were also present the Captains of their enemies, and specially *Procopius*: That a solemn Ambassade of all the Estates of the Realm should come unto the Council of *Basil*: After that a safe Conduct is sent unto them by the said Council in form conditioned, which shall be done with speed, this Sacred Congregation is marvellously exhilerate and joyful. For those our Ambassadors affirm, that all things were handled with such charity at *Egra*, and that they did see such things amongst the *Bohemians*, that not without cause, they do conceive great hope of their reconciliation.

The Ambaſsadors of the Councell are returned from *Egra*.

'And at last gently embracing one another, even with tears of gladness, they departed from *Egra*; the *Bohemians* requiring our Ambassadors, that the matter might be ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that Treaty, which if any man heard, and did not weep for joy, he might well think himself to be but finally affectioned unto Christ. As for three of the four Articles, they seem not to make any great difficulty upon. As touching the fourth, that is, of the Communion under both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the judgment of the Council. Who is it then that dare counsel your Holiness to perfer vere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for if the Council had not been appointed at all, for so great hope and necessity; it ought to have been appointed in this place. How worthy praise and commendation should your Holiness do, if that you would leave *Italy* and all other affairs, and come hither in your own person; although you should need to be carried in a Wagon or Litter; The keeping and defence of the Temporal Patrimony of the Church may well be disposed and done by Legates and Vicars. This is the true Patrimony of the Church, to win souls. For the Church is not an heap of stones and walls. Christ hath not made you a keeper of Castles and Forts, but a Pastor of souls. Therefore you should do that in your own person which is most necessary and acceptable unto Christ, and all other things by your substitutes. For so did the Apostles, which to the intent they might the more freely attend to the preaching of the Word of God, did institute seven to serve the Tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I hear that by the Grace of God your Holiness doth daily recover and amend; and if so be, as it is said, you do visit some Churches on foot, ye may also come hither on Horseback; for you cannot go unto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto the place where innumerable benefits and goodness may spring. Let your Holiness understand and consider wherein Christ, whose Vicar you are, and Saint *Peter* whose Successor you are, and the Apostles and holy Bishops did exercise and occupy themselves; and as you do succeed them in office, so succeed them in manners. But if peradventure your Holiness cannot come hither, I do counsel you, that for so great a benefit you would send the more part of the reverend Lords, Cardinals of the Court of *Rome*, and command all other Prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

What the Church is.

'Your Holiness may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counsel you in this fort, be ye not separate from your members, nourith your children as the Hen doth her Chickens under her wings. And if so be that you will do nothing else, yet speak this only word, *Placet*, that is to say, that it pleaseth you that the Council of *Basil* should go forward. For a few days past there came news hither, for the which your Holiness ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reverend Father the Archbishop of *Lions* hath written unto the Council, and unto me also, how that the Prelates of *France* have assembled together in the City of *Bituria*, and there after long and exact examination have concluded, that the Council is lawfully congregate in this place. And that it is necessary that it should be holden and celebrate here at this present; and how the Prelates of *France* should come unto it: he also directed hither the cause which moved them so to conclude, the copy whereof I suppose is sent unto your Holiness by some other. Whereupon then doth your Holiness stay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by your Messengers, Letters, and divers means to draw back the Prelates, and have laboured with all your endeavour to dissolve the Council; yet notwithstanding, as you do see, it is increased day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more are all mens minds inflamed to the contrary. Is not this then to resist the will of God? Why do ye provoke the Church to anger? Why do ye stir up the Christian people? Vouchsafe I pray you so to do, that ye may get the love and favour of the people, and not the hatred; for all Nations are greatly offended when they hear these your doings. Suffer not your Holiness to be seduced by any man, which peradventure shall inculcate fear unto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that do perswade you this to be no lawful Council. I know I should offend your Holiness if I should go about to prove the contrary; but it is better that I do offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds; for a Physician layeth a burning corrosive unto the disease, and healeth the sore: For the medicine cannot profit except it be sharp and bitter in taste. Under this hope and confidence I will not fear to declare the truth; that it being known, your Holiness may the better provide both for your self and the Church. It dependeth upon the Council of *Constance*, whether this Council be lawful or not. If that were a true Council, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that Council were lawful, and likewise whatsoever was there decreed to be lawful: for if any man will say, that the Decrees of that Council are not of force, he must needs grant that the deprivation of Pope *John*, which was done by the force

Eugenius prevented the Church.

A strong argument against Eugenius.

{KING Hen. 6.}

'force of those decrees, was of no effect. If that deprivation were not of effect; neither was the election of Pope *Martin* of any force, which was done he being yet alive. If *Martin* were no true Pope, neither is your Holiness, which was chosen by the Cardinal that he made; wherefore it standeth no man more upon to defend the decrees of that Council, than your Holiness, for if any decree of that Council be called into doubt; by like means may all the rest of the decrees be revoked. And by like means shall the decrees of any other Council be of no force and effect: for by like reason, as the faith of one Council is weakned, all the rest shall also be weakned, according to Saint *Augustins* saying in the 9. *Distinct. cap. Si ad scripturas.* Then, saith he, both the Faith and all other Sacraments shall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any Council lawfully congregate. There was a decree made in the Council of *Constance*, intituled *Frequens*. Whereby it was ordained, that the first Council after that should be holden within five years, and another within seven years after that again. The Council of *Constance* being ended, and the five years passed, the Council of *Papia* or *Seene* was holden, after which seven years passed also run over, this Council is begun to be celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in the Bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the seventh year is already past? When as of necessity it ought to be passed before the Council can be celebrate. For these words, from seven year or five year, signifie according to the Law, that all parts of time should be passed, and the last day looked for. Wherefore it behoved that seven years to be fully compleat, before this Council of *Basil* should begin. Like as five years were fully expired, before that the Council of *Papia* did begin. But peradventure some man will say, that it ought to have begun the first day after the seventh year was expired. For otherwise the term of the Council is passed. But hereunto we may answer, that it is not contained in the Chapter *Frequens*, that except it were holden the first day, it should not be holden at all, neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after seven years expired, but whether it be the second or third day, or the third or four month after the seventh year, it doth satisfie the Chapter *Frequens*. For when the first day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the Council, but not afore; but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, *In quinquennium*, that is to say, against five years, next following, which is alledged in the Chapter *Frequens*, and seemeth to be repeated also for the seven years; for it is not understood that it is necessary to be holden the first day precisely after the seventh year, but because it should not be understood of other seven years to come. For in speaking simply of seven years, it is understood of seven years next ensuing. Admit also that in the Chapter *Frequens*, any of these words had been joyned with immediately following, as by and by, out of hand, immediately, or straightways after, or such other words; yet ought they to be understood with a certain moderation, and distance of time, that as soon as might be convenient: as these words are expounded by the Lawyers and Doctors, for they are inlarged and restrained according to the Subject and divers circumstances of the matters and affairs. For it is not by any means likely that it was the mind of those which made the decree, that considering the long journey and hard preparation of such affairs, and also the manifold impediments which may happen, that they would restrain so precise a time, even at the first day, that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be holden at all, for by such fabull means it should also be holden even in the first moment and very instant after the same year.

'But forsomuch as words are civilly to be understood, this sense or understanding is too far disagreeable. For if any man will say, then it is commanded to be prorogued, that is also forbidden in the Chapter *Frequens*. He that doth so argue, doth not understand himself, nor the force of the words. It is not prorogued if it be begun the second or third month, but it is rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prordgation, then forsomuch as a prorogation doth favour of the nature of the first delay, it could not be begun before the time prorogued; but this happeneth not in our case: for albeit it were not begun in the first month, but in the second or third: it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the first: but if there had been any prorogation made till the second month, then it could not have been begun in the first, as for example, I promise to give an hundred pounds after *Easter*; afore *Easter* it cannot be required, but by and by after *Easter* it may be required; and albeit that I be not urged for it, notwithstanding I do not cease to be bound; and if so be I be demanded it in the second or third month after, it is not thereby understood that there is any prorogation made; Neither doth it follow, but that it might have been demanded in the beginning, which could not have been done if that there had been any prorogation made. Also it is the nature of prorogation to be made before the first day or term or day be passed. For otherwise it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be said, that then it may be long delayed; it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto the judgement of the Church, which considering divers circumstances would think the time meet. For the liberty of celebrating of Councils was institute for the profit and favour of the Church. What if it should happen that when the time cometh, in the place where a Council should be kept there be a great Plague, or some Siege, which should continue by the space of three or four months, and the Pope in the mean time doth not change the place according to the form of the Chapter *Frequens*, and that through such impediments the Prelates did not come the first day unto the place, or if any were coming and were taken by the way, which if they had not been taken, had been present at the first day in the place appointed; is it therefore to be said that the power of the Council is past? Or that the impediment ceasing, and the Prelates coming thither, the Council cannot be holden? That truly were greatly absurd and too much prejudicial to the Church of God: but in this our case, the cause is probable why that the Prelates did defer to come at the beginning of the time appointed; for so much as when the time drew near, Pope *Martin* dyed the twentieth of *February*. For which cause the Prelates might well doubt upon some impediment of the Council also. Also they tarried looking that some should come thither in the name of the Pope, because they would not tarry in that place in vain without a President. As for the Legate which was appointed for the Council, whose presence all men tarried for before he would prepare himself for that journey, he came not at the time appointed unto the Council, but went unto *Norenberge*, to persecute the *Bohemians*; according to the commandment of Pope *Martin*, which had enjoyned him to go first thither before he went to *Basil*.

The cause of the long delay of the Prelates.

'And the same Legate being oftentimes required at *Norenberge*, that he should go to *Basil* to hold the Council, he answered, that he would not go before he had the consent of the new Bishop. This was the cause of the Prelates delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed unto the Prelates, which suspected that Pope *Martin* would not have holden the Council, and feared to bring themselves in trouble, and good cause had they so to fear, through those things which happned in the Council of *Seene*. For there were many things spoken which caused great suspition. It was reported unto me that many had said, I came unto *Germany* to disturb the Council.

The doubt of Seene.

'Also this was Pope *Martini* mind and intent, that albeit the Council was not begun at the beginning of *March*, notwithstanding the authority of holding the Council should not be void. For he, when as the time of the Council approached, willed me that I should first go unto *Bohemia*, before I went unto the Council; whereof

'also mention is made in the Bull of the Consistory dis-
'solution.

'But what need we any other proof, than by your
'Holiness Letters? In which your Letters dated the second
'of the Kalends of *June*, and delivered unto me long
'after the time, by the space of three months, you
'do commend me, that my business being done in
'*Bohemia*, I should take my way to *Basil* to hold the
'Council, and there to foresee unto all things as it was
'enjoyned me, and ordained in the Council of *Con-*
'*stance*. The same also ye repeat in the Bull of
'the dissolution brought unto me by the Lord *Paren-*
'*tine*, the words are these; Unto your circumspection.
'Since your going into *Germany* no Prelates have as-
'sembled in *Basil* for the celebrating of the Council:
'We gave you in commandment that in the mean time
'you should be diligent about the expedition against
'the *Bohemian* Hereticks, which is committed to
'your charge, and afterward you shall come unto *Basil*,
'the place appointed for the Council, and there rule
'in Our place in the name of the Church. What is
'more evident than this? If any thing were doubt-
'ful, by the tenour of these Letters it were evidently taken
'away. If any man would say, that neither Pope *Mar-*
'*tin* nor *Eugenius* could confirm the Council by writ-
'ing of such Letters, because there was a prorogation
'which is prohibited by the Chapter *Frequens*: It
'is answered, that there is no prorogation, but executi-
'on of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is
'not necessary to hold the Council precisely even at the
'beginning. Also it is no prorogation. For a proroga-
'tion is made before the term is expired and not after; for
'after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment.
'And if any man will say that there can be no new indi-
'ction made, then may this be objected; How could the
'Council of *Bononia* be newly appointed? If they will
'answer, that the appointment of the Council of *Bo-*
'*nonia* was of force, because the Council of *Basil* was
'dissolved by your Holiness, then I have my intent. For
'if it were dissolved; *Ergo*, it was a Council be-
'fore, because it presupposeth the habit. If it were a
'Council before, then, as hereafter shall be proved, it
'could not be dissolved without the consent of the Coun-
'cil; what can be more answered hereunto? For the
'greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the Ab-
'bot of *Virgilia*, even upon the same day of the time ap-
'pointed or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the
'great Church, and many other Prelates and Notable
'men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was
'come to celebrate and hold the Council, and that he was
'come unto *Basil* for the same purpose, requiring them
'that they would confer and intreat together upon mat-
'ters touching the Council, and hereupon there is a pub-
'lick instrument or testimonial.

'Within a month after the Ambassadors of the Uni-
'versity of *Paris* came thither, and began to entreat
'of matters touching the Council, writing also unto
'the Emperor, and to the other Princes of *Germany*,
'that they should send unto the Council; which Letters I
'my self did see; neither doth the small number of men
'let; for whereas authority is, a great number is not re-
'quired, according to the saying of Christ, where as two
'or three are gathered together in my name, I am in
'the midst of them. Upon the which authority the
'Councils are grounded. Now therefore your Holiness
'doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous.
'For to what end should any dissolution be made, if it
'had not been a Council? Wherefore it is not to be
'doubted but that it was a lawful Council, and cano-
'nically congregate. And peradventure it is scarfly found
'where any Council hath been confirmed by so many
'authorities as this, that is to say, by the two Councils
'before passed, of *Constance* and of *Seene*, and confirm-
'ed by two Bishops of *Rome*.

'Besides this, I have heard that some do report at
'*Rome*, that I could not call the Prelates unto the Coun-
'cil, because that clause was not added in the Bull of
'Pope *Martin*. I greatly marvel why this should be
'objected, specially seeing that not I alone have cal-
'led them, but I together with the rest which are here
'assembled in the Council. It is a marvellous matter;
'Pope *Martin* gave me authority by the advice of the
'Council to root out Heresies, to pacifie Kingdoms, {KING Hen. 6.}
'to reform the manners of every state of Christen-
'dom, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them.
'Power is given me to judge and to condemn, and
'have I not also power to cite? The Law doth say; un-
'to whom any power or jurisdiction is committed, all
'things seem to be committed unto him, without
'the which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction; for
'how could all the premises be done, if the Prelates or
'others should not come hither? Also why is it said
'in the Chapter, *Ego enim de jurejurando*, I will come
'unto the Synod if I be called, if he cannot be cal-
'led? By whom then is it presupposed that he should
'be called, but only by the Council, or by him which
'ruleth the Council? Also the whole eighteenth di-
'stinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the
'Bishops being called unto the Council, if they come
'not, they may be Excommuniate and Suspended. Let
'these men read the Book of Councils of Saint *Isidore*,
'and they shall find how that in many Councils the Pre-
'lates have been called by the Synod. Now it remains
'eth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be
'of force or no. Wherein I do again fear to move your
'Holiness unto anger. But charity forceth me thereunto;
'for peradventure your Holiness doth think the dissoluti-
'on to be effectual, and therefore do persevere in it;
'whereby for so much as many offences may arise, my
'Conscience doth move me not to hold my peace. First of
'all the chapter, *Frequens*, declareth that it is of no force; for
'if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is
'a small matter, much more is dissolution, which is a
'greater matter, for it is a greater matter to take away
'than to defer: For by proroguing a thing is but
'deferred, and by dissolving it is utterly taken away.
'Also these men say, that the said constitution in the chap-
'ter, *Frequens*, may be made void, forsomuch as soon as
'the Council is begun, it may be dissolved without any
'thing done, as it is said that it was done at *Senes*; and now
'they say also that your Holiness hath been perverfly inform-
'ed touching the dissolution. They say also, that the said
'dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subversion of faith,
'the ruin of the Church, and the trouble of the Christian
'people. Therefore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

'They say moreover, that the said dissolution could not
'be made by means of a certain decree of the Council of
'*Constance* in that behalf provided; That in such matters as
'appertain unto Faith, the extirpation of sin, and reforma-
'tion of the Church in the head and in the members, all
'men of what estate or condition soever they be, yea the
'Pope himself should be bound to obey the statutes, pre-
'cepts and ordinances of every general Council; and ex-
'cept they did obey, it had power to punish them. Mark
'now that these things, to have power to determine upon
'any man, to command him and punish him if he be not
'obedient, are signs of superiority, in those matters which
'he doth decree, command or punish; and to be bound
'to obedience, to be subject and obey the same, are signs of
'inferiority in the said cases. *Ergo* in the foresaid cases,
'seeing that the Pope, as they say, is under the Council,
'which also hath been; in that for one of the said three
'cases the Council did deprive *John*, and for the other
'*Benedict*, neither could the Pope dissolve the Council, in
'that he is inferiour unto the Council, he cannot bind or
'compel the superiour; As in the Chapter *Cum inferior*,
'otherwise it should contain in it a contradiction, that he
'is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, because he
'may dissolve; for how should he be obedient unto the
'ordinance and decree of the Council, if he may annihi-
'late and take away the same ordinance and decree?
'This Council is congregate for the rooting out of
'Heresies, for the making of peace, and reformation of
'manners; and in the first Session it did ordain, that
'their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and
'that he which should procure to let the Council, to pro-
'rogue or alter it, should be punished, and have process
'against him as against a common disturber of the peace,
'*&c.* If it may be dissolved, it is evident that they do
'not obey the said ordinance; whereby this also must of
'necessity be granted, that if it may be dissolved, the de-
'cree of the Council of *Constance* is of no force.

This

{KING Hen. 6.} 'This is also proved by another reason. No man doubteth
'but if any controversie of Heresie should be moved against
'any Bishop of *Rome*, that he could not dissolve the Coun-
'cil: For if he might dissolve the Council, he could not
'be judged, which were contrary to the Chapter. *Si Pap.*
'40. *Ergo*, like as it is in Heresie, so is it in the two other
'cases. For these three were pacified by the Council of
'*Constance*: for thus speaketh the Council, as it is in the
'Chapter, *Si Papa in illo uno*. And as I have before said,
'the Council of *Constance* allowed this decree, through
'the which they deprived *Peter de Luna*, for making of a
'Schism, and Pope *John* for the deformity of his life.

'And albeit there be certain Laws that say, The prin-
'cipal seat cannot be judged of any man; and again, no
'man judgeth the chief seat; and, no man saith unto
'himself, why doest thou so? There are to be undestood
'in the three cases; first, that there was provisio made
'for the faith in the Chapter *Si Papa*; and in the
'other two points, by the decree of *Constance*. Other-
'wise it should be understood, without any exception,
'that the first seat, *&c.* and then the Chapter *Si Pa-*
'*pa* 40 *distinct.* and the said decree of *Constance* should
'be false. If the Chapter *Si Papa* had added cases of
'Heresies, no man would have doubted upon these two
'cases, touching the said sentence; so likewise no man
'ought to doubt of the decree of the Council, that it
'was made by the authority of the Pope, and represent-
'eth the universal Church. And if any man would say,
'that in all Councils the authority of the Pope is excep-
'ted: I answer, that is true, when as the person of the
'Pope is not specially included. But if he be specially in-
'cluded, he cannot be excepted, because it should favour
'of contradiction. Most blessed Father, God is my wit-
'ness that I have spoken these things with great anguish
'and sorrow of mind; but I am forced so to speak, that
'your Holiness may cease from the said dissolution, left
'there might happen infinite evils in the Church of God.
'If your Holiness did see my pure mind, my upright
'Conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby
'I am moved to write those things, even for very love
'you would embrace and kiss me, and without doubt
'love me as your own Son. I have often said, and now
'do say and protest before God and man, that you will
'be the cause of Schism, and infinite mischiefs, if you do
'not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty
'God preserve your Holiness in the prosperity of a vertuous
'man. Unto whose feet I do most humbly recommend
'me. From *Basil* the 5th day of *June*.

Thus endeth the Epistle of Cardinal *Julian*, written unto Pope *Eugenius*. Wherein, forsomuch as mention is made how that the *Bohemians* had promised to send their Ambassadors unto the Council, and, as before is partly touched in the *Bohemian* story, of their coming into *Basil* and propounding of certain Articles, wherein they dissented from the Pope; we do not think it any thing differing from our purpose, to annex a brief epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their Ambassage, their Articles, disputations and answers which they had at the said Council of *Basil*, with their petitions and answers unto the same. Faithfully translated out of Latine by *F. W.*

In like manner *Æneas Sylvius* also, with his own hand writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this Council, but also bestowed his labour and travel in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding the same *Sylvius* afterward being made Pope, with his new honour, did alter and change his old sentence. The Epistle of which *Æneas* touching the commendation of the said Council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought here following, for the more satisfying of the Readers mind, to insert.

An Epistle of Æneas Sylvius *to the Rector of the University of* Colen.

An Epistle of *Æneas Sylvius*, in defence of the Council of Basil.

TO *a Christian man which will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of Faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: And if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the Gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly to the truth of the Gospel. Which thing I am glad and so are we all, to hear that your University hath done in this Council of Basil. For a certain Treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of such, which do deny the Bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgement, to be subject unto the general Council; and that the supream tribunal seat of judgment standeth in the Church, and in no one Bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery Eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you. These be the words of* Sylvius.

The Tribunal seat standeth not in one Bishop.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the foresaid Council, this is to be noted, that during the life *Sigismund* the Emperor no man resisted this Council. Also, continuing the time of *Charles* the Seventh, the French King, the said Council of *Basil* was fully and wholly received through all *France*. But after the death of *Sigismund*, when *Eugenius* was deposed, and *Felix* Duke of *Savoy* was elected Pope, great discords arose, and much practise was wrought, but especially on *Eugenius* part; who being now excommunicated by the Council of *Basil*, to make his part more strong, created eighteen new Cardinals. Then he sent his *Orators* unto the *Germans*, labouring by all perswasions to dissolve the Council of *Basil*. The *Germans* at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with *Felix* and the Council of *Basil*; othersome, with *Eugenius* and the Council of *Ferraria*; and some were Neuters. After this, the French King being dead, which was *Charles* the Seventh, about the year of our Lord 1444, the Pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of *Rome*, to excite (as is supposed) the *Dauphin* of *France* by force of Arms to dissipate that Council collected against him. Who, leading an Army of fifteen thousand men into *Alsatia*, did cruelly waste and spoil the Country; after that, laid Siege unto *Basil*, to expel and drive out the Prelates of the Council. But the *Helvetians*, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the *Frenchmen*, and put them to Sword and Flight; like as the *Lacedemonians* only with three hundred did suppress and scatter all the mighty Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylæ*.

The authority of the Council of *Basil* maintained by the Emperor and the French King, so long as they lived.

The practise of Pope Eugenius, to undo the Council of *Basil*.

The Pope stirreth up War.

The *Dauphin* driven to pay by a few Germans.

Although *Basil* was by the valiantness of the *Helvetians* thus defended, yet not withstanding the Council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the Princes Ambassadors, which shrunk away and would not tarry. So that at length *Eugenius* brought to pass, partly through the help of *Frederick* (being not yet Emperor, but labouring for the Empire) partly by his Orators (in the number of whom was *Æneas Sylvius* above mentioned amongst the *Germans*) that they were content to give over both the Council of *Basil*, and their neutrality.

The dissolution of the Council of *Basil*.

This *Frederick* of *Austrich* being not yet Emperor, but towards the Empire, brought also to pass, that *Felix*, which was chosen of the Council of *Basil* to be Pope, was contented to renounce and resign his Papacy to *Nicholas* the Fifth, successor to *Eugenius*, of the which *Nicholas* the said *Frederick* was confirmed at *Rome* to be Emperor, and there Crowned, *An.* 1451.

Frederick of *Austrich* Crowned Emperor, great Grandfather to this *Ferdenandus*.

As these things were doing at *Basil*, in the mean season Pope *Engenius* brought to pass in his convocation at *Florence*, that the Emperor and the Patriach of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present, were perswaded to receive the sentence of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost; also to receive the Communion in unleavened Bread, to admit Purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish Bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other Churches of *Grecia* would in no wise assent at their coming home; insomuch that with a publick execration they did condemn afterward all those Legats which had consented to these Articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian burial: which was, *An.* 1439. *Ex Casp. Pencer.*

The Legates of the Greeks condemned here to the Popes Law.

The Greek Churches refuse the Popes doctrine.

And thus endeth the story, both of the Council of *Basil*, and of the Council of *Florence*, also of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and of the Schism between Pope *Engenius* and Pope *Felix*, and also of the *Bohemians*. The which *Bohemians*, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults abovesaid, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new City of *Prague*, partly also through the discord of the messengers and Captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterward, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their Religion, not by Sword, but by argument and disputation, that the Bishop of *Rome* could never yet to this day remove the *Thaborites* and City of *Prague* from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which in the beginning of the Council was enjoyned their Priests to observe, as testifieth *Cochleus, lib. 8. hist. Hus.* With whom also recordeth *Antoninus*, who in 3. *part. hist.* saith; That the Doctrine of the *Bohemians*, which he termeth by the name of *Zizania*, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by Fire nor Sword it could be extinct. *Anton.* 3. *part. hist. tit.* 22. *cap.* 10.

The inconvenience of discord.

Ex Cochlæ lib. 8. hist. Husitis.

Ex Antonin. 3. part. tit. 22. cap. 10.

Concerning the which *Bohemians*, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, and in the quarel of *John Hus*, and *Hieronm* of *Prague*, provoked by their Catholick adversaries to War, fighting under *Zisca* their Captain, had eleven battels with the Popes side, and ever went away victors. *Ex Paral. Abb. Ursp. in Epitaphio Joan. Zisc.* Moreover in the History of *Peucer* it is testified that Pope *Martain* the fifth, sending for the Bishop of *Winchester* then Cardinal, had levied three main Armies, intending to over-run all the *Bohemians*; one Army of the *Saxons* under the Prince Elector: the second of the *Francones*, under the Marquis of *Brandenburge*; the third of *Renates*, *Bavarians* and *Suechers*, under *Otto* Archbishop of *Treveris*. With these, *Sigismund* also the Emperor, and Cardinal *Julian* the Popes Legate (who at last was flain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joyned all their force. Who joyning together five times (saith the story) with five sundry battles, affailed and invaded the *Bohemians*: at every which battel, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their Tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given. *Ex Casp. Peuc. lib.* 5. whereby it may appear that the holy Angels of God do fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospel.

Marvelous fear fallen upon the Popes Army.

Ex hist. Cæs. part. Peucer. lib. 5.

Gods holy Angels pitch their tents about them that fear him. *Isa.* 54.

Thus the *Bohemians*, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of *Zisca*, and also of *Procopius*, till at length, through discord growing between them and their Captains *Procopious* and *Mainardus*, they were subdued unto their enemies.

The cruel deceit and wicked fact of Mainardus against the Souldiers of *Bohemia*.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of *Mainardus*, who after the death of *Procopius*, Thinking to purge the Realm of *Bohemia* of those chief and principal Souldiers, which had been long expert and trained up in Wars, found means for a Proclamation made, as though he would War against other Countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all them which were disposed to take wages, into certain Barns or Hovels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that means under subjection to the Emperor during his life time; which after that continued not long. *Ex Æn. Sylv.* The which Souldiers if they had fought so much for the Catholik liberties of the Pope and his Church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy Martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (faith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of *Mainardus* is worth of all men to be detested.

{KING Hen.6.}

Certain thousands of the Bohemians Souldiers burnt. Ex Æneas Sylv. lib. de hist. Bohem. cap. 35.

During this business among the Bishops beyond the Sea, in the mean time our Bishops here also in *England* were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the Country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the Clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardnesh in Gods religion, had it is to say: this is manifeth to all men which will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in *England* is more burning and flaying for Religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other Land or Nation in *Christendom* besides. After the burning of *Richard Hoveden*, of *Nicholas Canon*, and of *Thomas Bagley* Priest, above recorded, whom the Bishops condemned to death, *An.* 1431. not long after about the year of our Lord, 1439. which was the eighteenth of the reign of K. *Henry* the sixth, they had another poor man by the back named *Richard Wiche* Priest, mentioned both in *Robert Fabian*, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one *Perminger*. What his opinions were they do not expresse. This they record, that this *Richard Wiche* first was degraded, then burnt at *Tower-hill* for Heresie. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

England condemned for cruelty.

Burning and flaying in England.

{Anno 1439. Rich. Wiche Priest, Martyr. Ex Fabian. part. 7. Ex antiqua alia Chronic.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as professying) that the Postern of the *Tower* should sink; which also afterward came as he saith to pass, wherefore of the people he was counted for an holy man; insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their Oblations and prayers, and areared a great heap of flones, and fet up a Cross there by night: so that by this means a great clamor ran upon the Church-men, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumor, the King gave commandment to punish such as went thither on Pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

Rich. Wiche after his death taken for a Saint.

Rex Vicecomitibus London & Midd. salutem. *Albeit* Richard Wiche *late Clerk, who heretofore long sithence hortically did hold, teach, and publickly preach certain Heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our Realm of* England, *and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did before a Judge in that behalf sufficiently abjure all Heresie generally, and afterward, as a Dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publickly preach his former errors and hereses, so that he was worthily adjudged a Relapse. And again, being impeached, for the same before the reverend Father in God* Robert *Bishop of* Lond. *his lawful Ordinary, was called forth to judgement, and being before him, did judicially confess his errors and hereses: For the which cause the Reverend Father, upon mature deliberation by him the said Reverend Father first had with the advice of the learned in the Law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said* Richard, *did by his sentence definitive pronunce and adjudge him to be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all Priestly Ornaments, and deprived him of all Priestly function and priviledge (according to justice) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is: and afterwards you, by our Princely commandment and Warrant, did according to the Law of our Realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said* Richard *to ashes, being a Relapse convict, and degraded as a notorious Traitor, not only against God, but also against us, and our Crown and dignity; All which notwithstanding, certain our Subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not only Sedition, but also Idolatry with-*

in

{KING Hen.6.}

in our Realm, are not afraid publickly to affirm, that the said Richard *was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay rather they do most shamefully with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died a good, just, and an holy Man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him.) Which disordinate persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable not only of heretical pravity, but also of High treason, and as Rebels to our person, Adherents, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our Realm, as withal breakers and Trespassers against the sacred Canons of the Church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said* Richard *as a Saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he never so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the Bishop of* Rome: *We therefore being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out of all the coasts of the same all manner of Idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause forthwith Proclamations to be made on our behalf, straightly charging that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said* Richard *was executed under colour of a Pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said Reverend Father by his definitive sentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for an Heretick or a favourer of Hereticks, and to receive condigne punishment provided for Hereticks. And that you arrest all and every person whom ye shall find to do any thing contrary to this our Proclamation, and the same so arrested commit to our Prison, there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance. Witness the King at his Manor of* Eltampited, *the fifteenth day of* July, *in the eighteenth year of his reign.*

Per ipsum Regem.

Like Writs and to the same effect were directed to all the Sheriffs through all the Realm, bearing all one and the same date. By the vertue of which Letter, the Mayor and Sheriffs did use such diligence, that thortly after, that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

Ex Regist. Honr. Chicheley.

The Bishops consult to abolish the Law of Premunire facias.

Then after the burning of this man, which was about the month of *June*, in the same year about *November*, a convocation was called by *Henry* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wherein was propounded among the Clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the Law of *Premuniri facias*; for so were the hearts then of the temporality set against the Ecclesiastical fort, that where any vantage might be given them by the Law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the Church-men at that time were greatly molested by the said Law of *Premuniri*, and by the Kings Writs, and other Indictments, to their no small annoiance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented, to the King, for the abolishing of the aforesaid Law of *Premuniri facias*, and also for the restraining of other Briefs, Writs, and Indictments, which seemed then to lye heavy upon the Clergy. This Bill or Supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and of *York*, unto the King, standing in need the same time of a Subsidy to be collected of the Clergy; This answer was given to their Supplication, on the Kings behalf: That forsomuch as the time of *Christmas* then drew near, whereby he had as yet no sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In the mean time, as one tending their quiet, he would send to all his Officers and Ministers within his Realm, that no such Brief of *Premuniri* should pass against them or any of them, from the said time of *Christmas*, till the next Parliament, *Anno* 1439. *Ex Regist. Cant.*

The Kings answer to the Bill of the Clergy touching the Law of Premunire.

In my former Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, so hastily raked up at that present, in such shortnesh of time, as in the said Book thou mayest see (gentle Reader) declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one *Eleanor Cobham*, Dutchess of *Glouceester*, and of Sir *Roger Only* Knight (Priest, it should have been Printed,) which two persons, about the year of our Lord 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to Death, the other to perpetual Prison. Of this little short matter Mr. *Cope* the Popes scout, lying in privy waight to spie faults in all mens works wheresoever any may appear, taketh Pepper in the Nose, and falleth again unto his old barking against me, for placing these foresaid persons in my Book of *Martyrs*; but especially he thinketh to have great vantage against me, for that in the same story I do joyn withall, one *Margaret Foxtleman*, the Witch of *Eye*, condemned also with them the same time, and burned for practising the Kings death by an Image of Wax, &c. To answer hereunto.

A brief answer to Cope concerning Lady Eleanor Cobham.

First, I say (as I before said) that I profess no such title to write of Martyrs, but in general to write of *Acts and Monuments* passed in the Church and Realm of *England*. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than other that have gone before me?

To the third Objection.

Secondly, Touching my condemnation of Sir *Roger Only*, and the Lady *Eleanor*; if Mr. *Alane* be therewith offended; I answer, that I commended them for favouring and favouring of the truth of Christs doctrine: for the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine one head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well believe *John Bale*, as Mr. *Alane* believe Mr. *Fabian*? Especially feeing, I do know, and was privy, that the said *John* in recognising his Centuries, followed altogether the History of *Leland de Catalogo virorum illustrium*; which Book being borrowed of Mr. *Cheek*, I my self did see in the hands of the foresaid *John Bale*, what time we were both together, dwelling in the House of the Noble Lady Dutchess of *Richmond*. Wherefore if he think me so lewd to speak without mine Authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine Authors not to be believed, then let this *Nomothetes*, or jolly *Dictator*, come forth and prescribe us a Law, what Authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit *John Bale*, and *Leland*, as for him to credit *Robert Fabian*, and *Edward Hall*; especially seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge, and so did never theste?

Thirdly, For the name of *Roger Only*; if *Cope* deny that there was any such name in stories meationed, but that there was one called *Roger Bolinbroke*, &c. hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of *England* deceived him, or else that he, going no farther but to *Fabian* and *Hall*, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect Sicophant. And admit the said name of *Only* could not be found in those writers, yet were it not unpossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man, to bear the name of the Town where he was born, besides his own proper firname. But now, what if I (Mr. *Cope*) can avouch and bring forth to you the name of *Roger Only* out of sufficient Record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly (think you) so bitterly to flee in my face, and bark so eagerly all this while at Moon-shine in the water, having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the Moon? And now left you should think me so unprovided of unjust authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience; write you to your prompter or fubomer (wherefoever he lurketh here in *England*) to send you over unto *Lovane* the book of *John Harding* a Chronicler, more ancient than either *Fabian* or *Hall*, printed in the house of *Richard Grafton*, *Anno* 1543. Where turn to the *fol.* 223. *fac. b. lin.* 19. and there you shall find and read these words.

Again, the Church and the King cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Only, *&c.*

By the which words you must necessarily confess *Roger Only* to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the Author. For otherwise, that Master *Roger Bolinbroke* was the only helper to the Duchess in that fact,

Pat. Cresser. 6. Bal. cap. 4.

by no wife it can ſtand with the ſtory of theſe Authors, which ſay, that four other beſides him were condemned for the ſame crime, &c. And moreover, though the ſaid Sir *Roger Only* was no Knight (as I have ſaid in my former Edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the Teſtimony of them that have ſeen his works, but that he was a Prieſt, which you will grant to be a Knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Mr. *Roger Only*.

To the fourth objection.

Fourthly, As concerning *Margaret Jourdeman*, whom ye call the Witch of *Eye*, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a Martyr, which was a Witch; when as I here profeſs, confeſs and aſcertain both you, and all Engliſh men, both preſent, and all poſterity hereafter to come, that this *Margaret Jourdeman* I never ſpake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book your ſelf. So far is it off, that I either with my will, or againſt my will, made any Martyr of her.

M. Cope maketh without a cauſe.

Furthermore, I profeſs and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any juſt or congrue occaſion in my Book ſo to judge, much leſs to rail on me. For where in expreſs words I do ſpeak of the Mother of the Lady *Young*, what occaſion have you thereby to ſlander me and my Book with *Margaret Jourdeman*? Which *Margaret* whether ſhe was a Witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But becauſe I couple her in the ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhe was the Mother of a Lady, I thought to joyn her with another Lady in the ſame ſtory, as in one Pew together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtanding I do ſo couple the ſaid Mother with the Dutcheſs, in ſuch diſtinct difference of years, that you Maſter *Cope* might eaſily have underſtood, or beſide you, no man elſe would have thought the contrary but *Margaret Jourdeman* was neither here in my Book, nor yet in my *Memento*. For the words of my ſtory are plain, where the condemnation of the Lady *Eleanor*, and of the Mother of Lady *Young*, being referred to the year of our Lord, 1441. I do alſo in the ſame ſtory (through the occaſion of that Lady) infer mention of the Mother of the Lady *Young*, declaring in expreſs words, that ſhe followed certain years after, and in the end of that Chapter do name alſo the year of her burning to be 1450 which was fifty years after the death of *Only*, and *Margaret Jourdeman*: by the computation of which years it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady *Youngs* Mother.

The former Edition, p. 371.

But Mr. *Cope*, continuing ſtill in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my Calender the ſaid Lady *Youngs* Mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after death of *Roger Only*, which day pertaineth properly to *Margaret Jourdeman*, which was burned the ſame day in *Smithfield*, and not to the Ladies Mother, *&c.*

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he which had the diſpoſing of the Catalogue, did place them ſo in months, as he ſaw them joyned in Chapters, not peruſing peradventure nor adviſing the Chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my ſtory, which ſufficiently doth clear it ſelf in diſtinguiſhing them rightly in names and alſo in years, as is afore declared.

The fifth Obiection.

Fifthly and laſtly, Having thus ſufficiently anſwered to your circumſtances of perſons, names, and times (Maſter *Cope*) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the Lady Dutcheſs, and to the reſt; with this proteſtation before premiſed unto the Reader, that if the fact be true, and ſo done as is reported in the Hiſtories of *Fabian*, *Hall*, and *Harding*, I deſire the Reader then to take me, as though I did not deal here withal, nor ſpeak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and diſpunctted the ſame. But for ſo much as the deed and offence laid and given forth againſt theſe parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I do but only move a queſtion by way of Hiſtory, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the queſtion, whether it is to be judged true, or ſuſpected rather to be falſe and forged, and ſo having briefly propounded certain conjectural ſuſpitions or ſuppoſals concerning that matter, I will paſs it over, neither meddling on the one nor on the other.

The ſtory of the Lady *Eleanor* and *Roger Only* here pretermitted.

A queſtion whether *Eleanor* the Dutcheſs was culpable of treaſon againſt the King.

The firſt conjecture, why it may be poſſible that this act of Treaſon, laid to the charge of the Dutcheſs and *Roger Only*, againſt the King, may be untrue, is this; that the ſaid *Only* (otherwiſe named *Bolingbroke*) took it upon his death, that they never intended any ſuch thing as they were condemned for.

{KING Hen. 6.} Although theſe with many moe conjectures may be alledged in ſome part of defence of this Dutcheſs, and of her Chaplains and Prieſts, yet becauſe it may not be unpoſſible again the matter laid againſt them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I find it; ſaying as I ſaid before, That if it be true which the Stories ſay in this matter, think I beſeech thee gentle Reader, that I have laid nothing hereof. Only, becauſe the matter may be diſputable, and not unpoſſible to be falſe, I have but moved thereof a queſtion, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if *M. Cope* be ſo highly offended with me, becauſe in my firſt Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, I durſt name the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, and *Roger* only; let him take this for a ſhort anſwer, becauſe my leaſure ſerveth not to make long brawls with him, That if I had thought no imperfections to have paſſed in my former Edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the ſecond time, whereby to ſpunge away ſuch motes, as I thought would ſeem great ſtumbling blocks in ſuch Mens walks, which walk with no charity to edifie, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admoniſhing what they ſee amiſs in others, neither carrying with other Men reform themſelves, and finally finding quarrels where no great cauſe is juſtly given. And here an end with Maſter *Cope* for this time.

A brief anſwer to Maſter *Cope's* cavillations concerning Duke Humphrey's Wife.

Forſomuch as in the Proceſs before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the Cardinal, called the rich Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the good Duke *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, the Kings Uncle and Protector of the Realm, order of Story now requireth to open ſome part of that matter more at large. Wherein this firſt is to be underſtood, that long before great flames of grudge and diſcord did burſt out between theſe two. For as the noble heart of the Duke could not abide the proud doings of the Cardinal, ſo much again the Cardinal in like manner fore envied and diſdained at the rule of the Duke of *Glocester*. Notwithſtanding that, by the means of the Duke of *Bedford*, the braſling out between them was before appeaſed and cured: yet not ſo, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as ſparkles under the imbers, did ſtill remain: ſo that the Cardinal, joyning with the Archbiſhop of *York*, attempted many things of their own preſumption, contrary to the conſent, not only of the King (being then under age) but alſo of the Protector and Governor of the Realm. Wherewith the Duke (like a true hearted Prince) being not without juſt cauſe offended, declared in writing to the King certain complaints contained in 21 Articles, wherein the Cardinal and Archbiſhop had tranſgreſſed both againſt the King and his Laws. The tenor whereof more at large is in other Stories expreſſed, the briefe abſtract thereof followeth in a ſhort Summary here to be ſeen.

The contention between the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* and Duke Humfrey, Lord Protector.

{Anno 1440}

Ex Polydoro.

Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke Humphry *againſt the Cardinal of* Wincheſter.

Wincheſter preſumeth to be Cardinal againſt the mind of the King.

FIrſt, complained to his Sovereign Prince his right reſpected Lord Duke *Humphry*, his Uncle and Protector of the Realm, That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the days of his Father King *Henry* the fifth, took upon him the ſtate of a Cardinal, being denied by the King, ſaying, That he had as lief ſee his own Crown beſide him, as to ſee him wear a Cardinals Hat; and that in Parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a Biſhop among the Spiritual perſons, preſumed above his order; which the ſaid Duke deſired to be redreſſed.

Wincheſter incurreth the Law of *Præmunire*.

2. *Item*, Whereas he being made a Cardinal was voided of his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he procured from *Rome* the Popes Bull, unknowing to the King, whereby he took again his Biſhoprick, contrary to the Common Law of this Realm, incurring thereby the caſe of proviſion, and forfeiting all his Goods to the King, by the Law of *Præmunire facias*.

Wincheſter Intruded himſelf to be the Kings Governor.

3. *Item*, He complained that the ſaid Cardinal, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, intruded themſelves to have the governance of the King, and the doing under the King of Temporal matters, excluding the Kings Uncle, and other Temporal Lords of the Kings kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

The Cardinal diſcloſeth the King of his Jewels.

4. *Item*, Whereas the King had borrowed of the Cardinal four thouſand pounds, upon certain Jewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his Jewels; the Cardinal cauſed the Treaſurer to convert that money to the Payment of another Army, to keep the Jewels ſtill to his own uſe and gain.

The Cardinal deliverith the King upon his own Authority.

5. *Item*, He being then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor of *England*, delivered the King of *Scots* upon his own Authority, contrary to the Act of Parliament, Wedding his Niece afterward to the ſaid King. Alſo, where the ſaid King of *Scots* ſhould have paid to the King forty thouſand pounds, the Cardinal procured Ten thouſand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the reſt very ſlenderly paid.

The Cardinal playeth the Merchant.

6. *Item*, The ſaid Cardinal, for lending notable ſums to the King, had the profit of the Port of *Hampton*, where he ſetting his ſervants to be the Cuſtomers, Wool and other Marchandiſe was, under that cloke, exported, not ſo much to his ſingular vantage, being the chief Merchant, as to the great prejudice of the King, and detriment to his ſubjects.

The Cardinal diſcloſeth the Merchant.

7. *Item*, The Cardinal in lending out great ſums to the King, yet ſo deferred and delaied the ſum thereof, that coming out of ſeaſon the ſame did the King little pleaſure, but rather hinderance.

The Cardinal a defender of the King.

8. *Item*, Where Jewels and Plate were priſed at Eleven thouſand pounds in weight of the ſaid Cardinal forfeited to the King; the Cardinal for Loan of a little piece, got him a reſtorement thereof, to the Kings great damnage, who better might have ſpared the Commons, if the ſum had remained to him clear.

9. *Item*, Where the King's Father had given *Elizabeth Berwichamps* Three hundred Marks of Livelood, with this condition, If the Wedded within a year; the Cardinal, notwithſtanding ſhe was Married two or three years after, yet gave her the ſame, to the Kings great hurt, and diminiſhing of his Inheritance.

The Cardinal diſturbeth upon him like a King.

10. *Item*, The Cardinal, having no Authority nor Intereſt in the Crown, preſumed notwithſtanding to call before him, like a King, to the Kings high derogation.

11. *Item*, That the Cardinal ſued a Pardon from *Rome*, to be freed from all Diſtins, due to the King by the Church of *Wincheſter*, giving thereby example to the Clergy, to withdraw their Diſms likewiſe, and lay all the charge only upon the Temporalty and poor Commons.

12, 13. *Item*, By the procuring of the ſaid Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *York*, great Goods of the Kings were loſt and diſpended upon needleſs Ambaſſades, firſt to *Arras*, then to *Calice*.

14. *Item*, It was laid to the charge of the ſaid Cardinal and Archbiſhop, That by their means, going to *Calice*, the two Enterviſes of the King, the Duke of *Orleance* and Duke of *Bergain*, were deduced together in one and alliance; who being at War before between themſelves, and now confederate together again, joyned both together againſt the Kings Towns and Countries over the Sea, to the great danger of *Normandy*, and deſtruction of the Kings people.

The Cardinal Traitor to the Crown.

15. *Item*, By the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Cardinal, perſuations were moved openly in the Kings preſence, to with allurements and inducements, that the King ſhould leave his right, his title, and honour of his Crown, in nominating him King of *France*, during certain years, and that he ſhould utterly abſtain, and be content only in writing with *Rex Angliæ*, to the great note and infamy of the King, and all his Progenitors.

16, 17. *Item*, Through the ſleight and ſubtilty of the ſaid Cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the King and certain adverſaries of *France*; alſo the deliverance of the Duke of *Orleance* was appointed in ſuch ſort, as thereby great diſworthip and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the Kings ſide, than of the other.

The Cardinal a ſpoyler of the Kings Lands.

18 *Item*, That the Cardinal had purchaſed great Lands and Liveloods of the King, the Duke being on the other ſide the Sea occupied in Wars, which redounded little to the worſhip and profit of the King; and moreover he had the King bound, to make him as ſure Eſtate of all thoſe Lands by *Eaſter* next, as could be deviſed by any learned Counſel, or elſe the ſaid Cardinal to have, and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, the Lands of the Dutchy of

Lancaſter

{KING Hen. 6.}

Certain conjectures of the cauſe not to be true.

1. Conje. 2. Conje.

3. Conje.

4. Conje.

5. Conje.

6. Conje.

7. Conje.

8. Conje.

9. Conje.

10. Conje.

Al-

Lancaster in *Norfolk* to the value of seven or eight hundred Marks by the year.

Peterck counsel of the Cardinal.

19. *Item*, Where the Duke the Kings Uncle had often offered his service for the defence of the Realm of *France*, and the Dutchy of *Normandy*; the Cardinal ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after his singular affection; whereby a great part of *Normandy* hath been lost.

The Cardinal a decciver of the King, and a briber

20. *Item*, Seeing the Cardinal was risen to such Riches and Treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his Church, nor by Inheritance (which he then had) it was of necessity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the King and his Subjects, in selling Offices, Preferments, Livelioods, Captainships, both here, and in the Realm of *France*, and in *Normandy* so that what hath been there lost, he hath been the greatest causer thereof.

The Cardinal purchaseth a Pardon against his Prædecessors.

21. Furthermore, when the said Cardinal had forfeited all his Goods by the Statute of Provition, he having the rule of the King, and of other matters of the Realm, purchased from the Pope a Charter of Pardon, not only to the defeating of the Laws of the Realm, but also to the defrauding of the King, who otherwise might and should have had wherewith to sustain his Wars, without any Tallage of his poor people, &c.

Prelates hold one with another.

When the King heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his Council, whereof the most part were Spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dalled out, and nothing said thereunto, and a fair countenance was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had been taken, nor malice born in these Spiritual stomachs. But shortly after, the smoke hereof not able to keep in any longer within the Spiritual breasts of these charitable Church-men, brast out in flames of mischief. For upon the neck of this matter, as witnesseth *Fabian*, *Polychronicon*, and *Hall* which followeth *Polychronicon*, first enfied the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Dutchess and her Chaplains, as ye have heard before. Whereby it may appear, the said Dutchess more of malice than of any just cause thus to have been troubled. Also within six years after followed the lamentable destruction of the Duke himself, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Malice brast out.

Paul's Steple set on fire by Lightning.

About which time, or not long after, *Anno* 1443, the Steeple of *Pauls* was set on fire by Lightning, and at last by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

{Ann. 1445} The death of *Henry Chichesly* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

And after the condemnation of Lady *Eleanor* the Dutchess aforesaid, within few years, *Anno* 1445, followed the death of *Henry Chichesly* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whom the was condemned in St. *Stephen's* Chappel at *Wynchester*, for Penance to bear a Taper through *Cheapside* three sundry times, and afterward Out-lawed to the *Isle of Man*, under the custody of Sir *John Standly*, Knight. This *Henry Chichesly* builded in his time two Colleges in the University of *Oxford*, the one called *Alsolne College*, the other named *Barnard College*.

The building of *Alsolne* College and *Barnard* College of *Oxford*.

Proceeding now to the year, wherein suffered *Humphry* that good Duke of *Glocester*, which was the year of our {Ann. 1447} Lord 1447, first we will begin in few words to intreat of his life and converfation; then of the manner and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this Duke, first, he was the Son of *Henry* the fourth, Brother to King *Henry* the fifth, and Uncle to King *Henry* the sixth, affigned to be the Governor and Protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meek and gentle, loving the Common-wealth, a fupporter of the poor Commons, of wit and wisdom, discreet and studious, well affected to Religion, and a friend to verity, and no lefs Enemy to pride and ambition, especially in haughty Prelates, which was his undoing in this present evil World. And which is feldom and rare in such Princes of that calling, he was both learned himself, and no lefs given to study, and also a singular favourer and Patron to them which were studious and learned. And that my commendation of him may have the more credit I will produce the Teftimony of learned writers, who living in his time, not only do commend his famous knowledge, and ripeneſs of learning in him, but also commit and submit their works to his Judgment to be examined. Of which writers, one is *Petrus de Monte*, writing, *De virtutum & vitiorum differentia*; who in his Epiſtle Dedicatory beginning with the singular commendation of this Duke, and afterward speaking *De optimarum artium, liberalium; scientiarum peritia*, saith thus: *Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis: adeo ut nihil tibi sine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur*, &c. And in further proceſs of his work, thus he further declareth, saying, *Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut scientia, quamquam & id quidem esset satis; verum fere omnibus, earumque ordines magna quadam avviditate legisti*, &c. Besides this *Petrus de Monte*, let us hear also the judgment of another writer of the same age, named *Lapideatellius*, who likewise Dedicating to the faid Duke *Humphry*, his Book intituled *Comparatio studiorum & rei militaris*, Amongst divers other words commendatory, hath these which follow, *Ad te potissimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & sapientissimum judicem sore existimo, qui ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajocensi Episcopo, homine tuæ laudæ cupidissimo, accepi, ita in hu humanitatis studia invigilaveres, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit*, &c. Many other arguments and places may be brought to declare what is to be efteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble Prince.

{KING Hen.6.}

Lapideatellius. De comparatione studiorum & rei militaris ad D. Humfridum.

Furthermore, As the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreet Wisdom and singular Prudence in him no lefs to be considered; as for the more manifeſt proof thereof I thought here good, amongst many other his godly doings, to recite one example reported as well by the Pen of Sir *Thomas More*, as also by M. *William Tindal*, the true Apoſtle of these our later days, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of falſe Miracles in the Clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty Prince, the foresaid Duke *Humphry*, may give us the better to underſtand what Man he was. The story lieth thus:

A falſe miracle espied.

In the young days of this King *Henry* the sixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke *Humphry* his Protector, there came to St. *Albans* a certain begger with his Wife, and there was walking about the Town begging, five or six days before the Kings coming thither, saying, That he was born blind, and never saw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he should come out of *Barwick*, where he faid he had ever dwelled, to seek St. *Alban*, and that he had been at his Shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other places; for he had heard fome say, since he came, That St. *Albans* body should be at *Colen*, and indeed such a contention hath there been. But of truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here, at St. *Albans*, saying some reliks of him, which they there shew Shrined. But to tell you forth my tale, when the King was come, and the Town full, suddenly this blind Man at St. *Albans* Shrine, had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly Rung, and *Te Deum* Sung, so that nothing was talked of in all the Town, but this miracle. So hapned it then, that Duke *Humphry* of *Glocester*, a Man also no lefs wise than well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poor Man unto him; and first shewing himself joyous of Gods glory so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekneſs, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proud of the peoples praise, which would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his Eyes, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his Wife as himself affirmed fally no, then he looked advisedly upon his Eys again, and said, I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet. Yea Sir, quoth he, I thank God and his holy Martyr, I can see now as well as any Man. You can (quoth the Duke) What colour is my Gown? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this Mans Gown? He told him also, and so forth, without any flicking he told him the names of all the colours that could be shewed him. And when the Duke saw that, he had him walk Traitor, and made him to be set openly in the stocks: for though he could have seen suddenly by miracle the difference between divers colours, yet could he not by the sight so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the Men that he should suddenly see.

Diſſimulation well punished.

By

{KING Hen.6.}

By this may it be seen how Duke *Humphry* had not only an head to diſcern and diſſever truth from forged and fained Hypocriſie, but study also, and diligence likewise was in him to reform that which was amiss.

Commendation of Duke Humphry. The good Duke of *Glocester*.

And thus much hitherto for the noble Prowess and Vertues, joyned with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely Duke. For the which as he was both loved of the poor Commons, and well spoken of of all Men, and no lefs deſerving the same, being called The good Duke of *Glocester*; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that House, which is but a vain and frivolous obſervation of *Polydore* and *Hall* which followeth him, bringing in the examples of *Hugh Spenser*, of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Son of King *Edward* the third, of this Duke *Humphry*, and after of King *Richard* the third, Duke likewise of *Glocester*: or whether it was, That the nature of true vertue is such, that as the flame ever beareth the smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightneſs of vertue never blazeth, but hath some diſdain or envy waiting upon it; or else whether it was rather for some divorcement from his Wife, or for some other vice or treſpaſs done (as seemeth moſt like truth) which God as well in Dukes Houſes correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where he loveth. But howsoever the cauſe is to us unknown, this good Duke of *Glocester*, albeit being both the Kings sole Uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole Realm, yet lacked not his Satan, lacked not his secret ministers. Of whom specially was *Henry Beuford* Cardinal, Bithop of *Winchester*, and Chancellor of *England*; who, of long time diſdaining, and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, first had diſposed and appointed himself to remove the Kings Perſon from *Eltham* unto *Windsor* out of the Dukes hands, and there to put in such Governors as him liſted. After that, intending the Dukes Death, he set Men of Arms and Archers at the end of *London-bridge*, and fore-barring the Highway with a draw-chain, set Men in Chambers, Cellers and Windows with Bows and Arrows, and other Weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the Duke and his retinue, if God had not so diſposed to turn his journy another way. Beside other manifold injuries and moleſtations, the ambitious Cardinal, seeking by all means to be Pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole Realm; insomuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great Perſonages; for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Quinbre*, called the Prince of *Portingale*, rode seven times in one day between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diviſion within the Realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet Cardinal.

The enemies of the Duke of *Glocester*.

The malicious working of the Cardinal against the Duke of *Glocester*.

William de la Pool, Duke of *Suffolk*, the cauſe of the Duke of *Glocester's* death.

Over and beside this Cardinal afore-mentioned, an other capital enemy to the said Duke was *William de la Pole*, first Earl, then Marquesś, at last Duke of *Suffolk*, a Man very ill reported of in Stories, to be not only the Organ and Inſtrument of this good Mans death, but also to be the annoyance of the Common-wealth, and ruin of the Realm. For by him and his only device was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonorable Marriage between the King and Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Duke of *Angeou*; whereas the King had concluded and contracted a Marriage before with the Daughter of the Earl of *Armonick*, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a Prince to Marry a Wife with Riches and Friends, than to take a Maid with nothing, and diſinherit himself and his Realm of old Rights, and ancient Inheritance; which so came to paſs. And all this the good Duke did well forefee, and declared no lefs; but his Counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed first the giving away the Dutchy of *Angeou*, and the City of *Maine*, with the whole Country of *Maine*, to *Reiner* Duke of *Angeou* and Father of the Damsel, called then King of *Sicile*, and of *Jeruſalem*, having thereof no peny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

The unprofitable marriage between King *Henry* the fifth and Queen *Margaret*.

Queen Margaret mortal enemy to the Duke of *Glocester*.

Another sore Enemy and mortal Plague to this Duke was the Queen her self, lately before Married to the King, Who being of haughty ſtomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wilineſs, lacking nothing, and perceiving her Husband to be simple of wit, and eaſie to be ruled, took upon her to Rule and Govern both the King and Kingdom. And because the Advice and Counsel of *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester* was somewhat a ſtay that her Authority and Regiment could not so fully proceed; and partly because the said Duke before did diſagree from that Marriage, this manly Woman and courageous Queen ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible to fet forward his deſtruction, having also for her helper herein the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c.

The malice of a Woman.

These being his principal Enemies and mortal Foes, fearing leſt some commotion might arise, if such a Prince so near the Kings blood, and so dear to the people, and of all Men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they deviſed how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof a Parliament was Summoned to be kept at *Bury*, *Anno* 1447, far from the Citizens of *London*, as *William Tindal* in his Book of praćtise writeth, where resorted all the Peers of the Realm, and amongst them the Duke of *Glocester*, thinking no harm to any Man, and leſs to himself. Who on the second day of the Seſſion was by the Lord *Beamond*, High Conſtable then of *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and other, arrested, apprehended and put in Ward, and upon the same all his servants diſcharged and put from him, of whom 32 of the principal, being also armed themselves, were diſperſed into divers Priſons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this Arreſt thus done, and the Duke put into Ward, the night after (said *Hall*, six nights after saith *Fabian* and *Polychron.*) he was found dead in his Bed, the 24th of *February*, and his body shewed to the Lords and Commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some suddain Diſeaſe. And although no wound in his Body could be seen, yet to all indifferent Perſons it might well be judged, that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrangled, some that a whole Spit was privily forced into his Body; some affirm that he was ſtifled between two Feather-beds. After the death of this Duke, and his Body being interred at St. *Albans*, after he had politickly by the space of 25 years governed this Realm, five of his Houſhold, to wit, one Knight, three Eſquires, and a Yeoman, were Arraigned, and Convict to be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered. Who being Hanged and cut down half alive, the Marquesś of *Suffolk*, there preſent, ſhewed the Charter of the Kings Pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithſtanding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, saying, That the saving of the servants was no amends for the murthering of the Maſter.

A ſnare to catch the Innocent. {Anno 1447} A Parliament at *Bury*.

The cruel death or Martyrdom of the good Duke of *Glocester*.

In this cruel Fact of these perſons, which did so conſpire and conſent to the death of this noble Man, and which thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous works of Gods Judgment appeareth herein to be noted, who as in all other like cruel policies of Man, so in this also turned all their policies clean contrary. So that where the Queen thought most to preſerve her Husband in honour, and her self in State, thereby both she lost her Husband, her Husband loſt his Realm, the Realm loſt *Angeou*, *Normandy*, the Dutchy of *Aquitane*, with all her parts beyond the Sea, *Calice* only except, as in the ſequel of the matter, whoſo will read the Stories, ſhall right well underſtand.

The judgment of God upon them which perſecuted the Duke of *Glocester*.

The next year following, it followed also that the Cardinal, who was the principal Artificer and Ringleader of all this miſchief, was ſuffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in *Edward Hall*, I omit here to ſpeak. What he himself and manner of the ſame. ſpake on his death-bed for example to other, I thought not beſt to pretermit. Who hearing that he ſhould die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he ſhould die having ſo much Riches, ſaying, That if the whole Realm would ſave his life, he was able either by Policy to get it, or by Riches to buy it; adding and ſaying moreover. Fie (quoth he) will not Death be hired? Will mony do nothing? When my Nephew of *Bedford* died, I thought my ſelf half up the wheel, but when I ſaw mine other *Nephew* of *Glocester* deceaſed,

{Anno 1448} The death of the Cardinal of *Winchester* and his death

The words

Petrus de Monte, de virtutum & vitiorum differentia, ad D. Humfridum.

then

then I thought my self able to be equal with Kings, and so thought to encrease my Treasure, in hope to have worn the Triple Crown. *&c. Ex Edovar. Hallo.* And thus is the rich Bishop of *Winchester*, with all his Pomp and Riches, gone; with the which Riches he was able, not only to build Schools, Colleges, and Universities, but also was able to sustain the Kings Armies in War (as is specified in Stories) without any Taxing of the Commons.

Will. Wanfleet Bishop of *Winchester*. *Magdalen* College in *Oxford* builded.

In whose seat next succeeded *William Wanflet*, preferred to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, who though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the College of *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*. For the which Foundation as there have been and be yet many Students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess my self to be one, except I will be unkind.

Gods punishment upon the Marquess of *Suffolk*.

Among the other mischievous adversaries which sought and wrought the death of *Humphry* Duke *Glocester*, next to the Cardinal of *Winchester* (who as is said, died the next year following) was *William de la Pole*, Marquess of *Suffolk*, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped the unpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the means of the Queen, (whose Marriage he only procured) unto the favour of the King, and was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the Realm, whose acts and facts his vain glorious head caused also by the assent of the Commons to be Recorded, and substantially to be Registred in the Rolls of the Parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his Posterity for ever; yet notwithstanding, the hand of Gods Judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his Triumphant Victory. For within three years after the death and ruin of the Cardinal, the voices of the whole Commons of *England* were utterly turned against him, accusing him in the Parliament at the *Black-Friers* for declaring himself to be the Author of the Dutchy of *Angeou* and the Earldom of *Maine*; also for the death of the noble Prince *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*. They imputed moreover to him the loss of all *Normandy*, laying unto him, That he was a swallower up and consumer of the Kings Treasure, the expeller of all good and vertuous Counsellors from the King, and advancer of vitious persons, apparent adversaries to the publick wealth; so that he was called in every Mans mouth, A Traitor, a Murtherer, and a Robber of the Kings Treasure.

The vain glory of mans heart forgetting himself in honour.

The Commons unconstant.

The Duke of *Suffolk* accused by the Commons.

The Queen, albeit she tenderly loved the Duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the Commons, was forced to commit him to the *Tower*, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired, he was delivered and restored again unto his old place, and former favour with the King; whereat the people more grudged than before. It hapned by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called *Blewbeard*, that the Parliament was for that time adjourned to *Leicester*, the Queen thinking by force and rigour of Law to repress there the malice and evil will conceived against the Duke. But at that place few of the Nobility would appear. Wherefore it was again rejourned unto *London*, and kept at *Westminster*, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the King and Queen, and with them the Duke of *Suffolk* as chief Counsellor. The Commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed again their former Articles and Accusations against the said Duke, against the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and other. When the King perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first, he sequestred from him the Lord *Say*, Treasurer of *England*, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of *Suffolk* for term of five years, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltless blood of *Humfry* Duke of *Glocester* to be unrevenged, or the flagitious perfon further to continue. For when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, intending to be transported into *France*, he was encountred with a Ship of War belonging to the *Tower*; whereby he was taken, and brought into *Dover*-roade, and there on the one side of a Ship-boat, one stroke off his head; which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

The Duke of *Suffolk* again accused.

Example of Gods judgment and of blood revenged.

The Duke of *Suffolk* beheaded.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of Duke *Humphry*, and of all his adversaries; also of Gods condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the foresaid Duke, and of the proud Cardinal his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certain instrument, by the King and advice of his Council, made against the said Cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this Realm as Legate from the Pope, contrary to the old Laws and customs of this Realm, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latine may well appear.

{KING Hen. 6.}

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod Anno Dom.* 1428 *Indictione septima pontificatus Sancti. in Christo Patris, & D. nostri D. Martini, &c.*

Publicum instrumentum nomine Regis.

Ego Richardus Candry, procurator & nomine procuratorio Christianissimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hiberniæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu partier & advisamento Illustris & potentis Principis Humfredi Ducis Glocestriæ, Comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris & defensoris regni Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ Regiæ celsitudinis ac consilium ejusdem facientium & hac-vice repræsentantium, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod dictus Christianissimus Princeps, dominus meus supremus, suique inclytissimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali privilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque præscripta, necnon a tempore & per tempus (cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit) pacifice & incuncusse observata, sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus Apostolicæ sedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliæ. aut alias suas terras & dominia, nisi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, invitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque & sunt dicti Christianissimus Princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclyti progenitores, hujusmodi Reges Angliæ, in possessione quasi juris & facti privilegii, & consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacifice & quiete Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus supradictum, præmissa omnia & singula civibus, tolerantibus, & ipsarum consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem, quasi juris & facti, Legatum hujusmodi (ut præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras & dominia mitendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, & rogatum Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis. Et quia reverendi, in Christo Patri, & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Eusebii presbyter, Cardinalis sanctæ sedis Romanæ, Legatum se affirmans, more legati, insignis Apostolicæ dignitatis utens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, invitatione, aut rogatu Christianissimi domini nostri Regis prædicti, finclytum regnum Angliæ de facto se ingressus, protector igitur palam, & publice in his scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra ac omnium ipsius Domini nostri Regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis præfati Christianis. Principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de consilio, in derogationem legum, jurium, consuetudinum, libertatum & privilegiorum dicti D. nostri Regis ac regni, ingressum hujusmodi dicti reverendissi. patris, ut legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apostolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates & privilegia prædicta quovismodo admittere seu recognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, aliquibusque per ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apost. actus, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis adversus præmissa, legis jura, consuetudines, libertates, & privilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire; sicque dissentit dictus dominus noster Rex, atque dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per præsentes, &c.

The sum and effect whereof in English is this, That in the year of our Lord 1428, *as the King with Duke* Humphry *Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, were in the Dukes house in the Parish of S.* Bennets by Pauls-Wharf, one Richard Candray *Procurator, in the Kings name and behalf, did protest and denounce by this publick instrument, that*

An Instrument by the K. against the admitting the Popes Legate.

{KING Hen. 6.} *that whereas the King and all his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of* England, *have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special priviledge and custom used and observed in this Realm from time to time, that no Legate from the Apostolick See should enter into this Land or any of the Kings Dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Request, Invitement or Desire of the King; and forsomuch as* Henry Bishop of Winchester, *and Cardinal of St.* Eusebius, *hath presumed so to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the King; therefore the said* Richard Candray *in the Kings name doth protest by this Instrument, that it standeth not with the Kings mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratifie the coming of the said Legate in any wise, in derogation of the Rights, Customs and Laws of this his Realm; or to Recognise, or assent to any exercise of this his Authority Legatine, or to any Acts, Attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the foresaid Laws, Rights, Customs and Liberties of this Realm, by these Presents, &c.*

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the story of Duke *Humphry*, and the Cardinal of *Winchester*, extract out of an old written Volume, remaining in the hands of Master *William Bowyer*.

The Benefit and Invention of PRINTING.

{Ann. 1440} The Art of Painting Invented. *Ex Typographo per Mathiam Fusdicem.*

IN following the course and order of years, we find this foresaid year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous inventing of Printing. *Nauclerus*, and *Wymfelingus* following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. *In Paralip. Abbatis Ursp.* It is Recorded this faculty to be found, *An.* 1446. *Æneas Antonius* and *Ziegleras* do say, *Anno*, 1450. The first Inventor thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a *German*, dwelling first in *Argentine*, afterward Citizen of *Mentz*, named *J. Fausius*, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this Invention first was by Engraving the Letters of the Alphabet in Metal; who then laying black Ink upon the Metal gave the form of Letters in Paper. The Man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in Letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his counsel, one *J. Guttemberg* and *P. Schaffard*, binding them by their Oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years *John Guttemberg*, compartner with *Faustus*, began then first to broach the matter at *Strausbrough*. The Art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, *J. Mentel*, *J. Prus*, *Adolphus Ruschius*, were great helpers. *Ulricus Han*, in *Latin* called *Gallus*, first brought it to *Rome*. Whereof the Epigram was made:

Carmen Ant. Campani.

Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis
Consreperes, Gallus decidat, ultor adest
Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Printing came of God.

Notwithstanding, what Man soever was the Instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, than he was of the gift of Tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of Printing be resembled to the gift of Tongues: for like as God then spake with many Tongues, and yet all that would not turn the *Jews* so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of Books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the Gospel.

Printing likened to the Gift of Tongues.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of Printing to the Earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

The time considered when Printing was found.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of Man, this is to be marked, that when as the Bishop of *Rome* with all the whole and full consent of the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, Lawyers, Doctors, Provosts, Deans, Archdeacons, assembled together in the Council of *Constance*, had condemned poor *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* to death for Heresie, notwithstanding they were no Hereticks, and after they had subdued the *Bohemians* and all the whole World under the Supreme Authority of the *Romish* See; and had made all Christian people obediencies and vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all the World at their will, so that the matter now was past, not only the power of all Men, but the hope also of any Man to be recovered; in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where Mans power could do no more, there the blessed Wisdom and Omnipotent Power of the Lord began to work for his Church, not with Sword and Target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with Printing, Writing and Reading to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that, by this means of Printing, the secret Operation of God hath heaped upon that proud Kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the Bishop of *Rome* had burned *J. Hus* before, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who neither denied his Transubstantiation, nor his Supremacy, nor yet his Popish Mass, but said Mass, and had Mass themselves, neither spake against his Purgatory, nor any other great matter of his Popish Doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous Pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it Heresie, or at least matter of Death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God of his secret Judgment, seeing time to help his Church, hath found a way by this faculty of Printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his Doctrine, Laws and Institutions, most detestable in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his Doctrine standing as it doth, no Man is so blind but he may see, that either the Pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is near Cousin to the Pope. And all this doth and will hereafter more and more appear by Printing.

Double confusion upon the Pope by Printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby Tongues are known, Knowledge groweth, Judgement encreaseth, Errors are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the Doctors be read, Stories be opened, Times compared, Truth discerned, Fallhood detected, and with Finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of Printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the Pope must abolish Printing, or he must seek a new World to reign over: for else, as this World standeth, Printing doubtless will abolish him. But the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, must this understand, That through the Light of Printing, the World beginneth now to have Eyes to see, and Heads to judge: He cannot walk so invisible in a Net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of *John Hus* before, and of *Jerome*, that they might not preach, thinking to make his Kingdom sure: yet, in stead of *John Hus* and others, God hath opened the Press to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his Triple Crown. By this Printing, as by the Gift of Tongues, and as by the singular Organ of the Holy Ghost, the Doctrine of the Gospel founded to all Nations and Countries under Heaven, and what God reveleth to one Man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one Nation, is opened to all.

Good counsel to the Pope.

The first and best were for the Bishop of *Rome*, by the benefit of Printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that Printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the Pope hath lost, since Printing and the Press began to preach, let him cast his Counters. First, When *Erasmus* wrote, and *Frobenius* Printed, what a blow thereby was given to all Friers and Monks in the World? And who seeth not that the Pen of *Luther* following after *Erasmus*, and set forward by writing, hath set the Triple Crown so awry on the Popes head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this one argument of Printing, the Bishop of *Rome* might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against

against him, having provided such a way in Earth, that almost how many Printing Presses there be in the World, so many Block-houses there be against the high Castle of Sr. *Angel*; so that either the Pope must abolish Knowledge and Printing, or Printing at length will root him out. For if a Man wisely consider the hold and standing of the Pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the Pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high Spire of his Papacy so much, as Reading, Preaching, Knowledge and Judgment; that is to say, The fruit of Printing; Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lords Blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, Tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of Men daily (no doubt) be instructed through the benefit of Printing. And though the Pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession: yet neither must he think, that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forsomuch as in those former days Books then were scarce, and also of such excessive Price, that few could attain to the Buying, fewer to the Reading and Studying thereof; which Books now by the means of this Art, are made eatie unto all Men. Ye heard before, *pag.* 755, how *Nicholas Belward* bought a *New Testament* in those days for four Marks and forty Pence, whereas now the same Price will well serve forty persons with so many Books.

So preached the Vicar of Croydon in King Henry the eighth's days, as Paul's Cross is, That either we must root out Printing, or else Printing will root out us.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the Testimony of *Armachanus*, how for defect of Books and good Authors, both Universities were decaied and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging Friers, scraping all the wealth from other Priests, heaped up all Books that could be gotten, into their own Libraries; where either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good Books, when neither they which could have Books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greedines of a few Prelates did abate the blindnes of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God of his merciful Providence, seeing both what lacked in the Church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his Glory, gave the understanding of this excellent Art or Science of Printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the World. First, The price of all Books is diminished. Secondly, The speedy help of Reading more furthered. And Thirdly, The plenty of all good Authors enlarged; according as *Aprutinus* doth truly report:

Tright commodity by Printing.

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. i.

The Press in one day will do in Printing,
That none in one year can do in Writing.

When Guns were first Invented.

By reason whereof, as Printing of Books Minisired matter of Reading, so Reading brought Learning, Learning shewed Light, by the brightnes whereof blind Ignorance was suppressed, Error detected, and finally Gods Glory with Truth of his Word advanced. This faculty of Printing was after the Invention of Guns the space of 130 years; which Invention was also found in *Germany*, *Anno* 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of Printing.

The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

The losing of Constantinople.

{Anno 1453.} ANno 1453, *Constantinus Paleologus*, being Emperor of *Constantinople*, the 29th day of *May*, the great City of *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turk Mahometes*, after the Siege of 54 days; which Siege began in the beginning of *April*. Within the City, beside the Citizens, were but only 6000 refuers of the *Greeks*. And 3000 of the *Venetians* and *Genues*. Against these, *Mahometes* brought an Army of 400 Thousand, collected out of the Countries and Places adjoyning near about, as out of *Grecia*, *Illyrica*, *Wallachia*, *Dardania*, *Triballis*, *Bulgaria*, out of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Lydia*, *Cicilia*, and such others which Places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one Neighbour for lucre sake helped to destroy another. {KING Hen.6.}

The City was compassed of the *Turks* both by the Sea and Land. *Mahometes* the *Turk* divided his Army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the City so beat the Walls and brake them down, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the City. But the valiantnes of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose Duke was called *John Justinianus*, of *Genua*. But forsomuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian Soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the Walls and at the Haven against such a multitude of the *Turks*, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the Armies which lay battering at the Walls, the *Turk* had upon the Sea his Navy of 250 Sail, lying upon the Haven of the City, reaching from the one side of the Havens mouth unto the other, as if a Bridge should be made from the one Bank to the other. Which Haven by the Citizens was barred with Iron Chains, whereby the *Turks* were kept out a certain space. Against which Navy 7 Ships there were of *Genua* within the Haven, and 3 of *Creta*, and certain of *Chio*, which stood against them. Also the Soldiers issuing out of the City, as occasion would serve, did manfully gainstand them, and with wilde fire set their Ships on fire, that a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the Chains being brast, and a way made, the *Turks* Navy entred the Haven, and assaulted the City; whereby the *Turk* began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardnes to obtain the City. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, *Mahometes* the tyrant stood by upon an Hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the Walls and enter the Town; otherwise, if any reculled, he threatned to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his Soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the *Turks* Men, being sent by his commandment to slay them, and so they were justly served, and well payed their hire. *The tyranny of th. Turk toward his own Men.*

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the City the *Turks* retinue so confumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of War, it hapned *Justinian* the Duke above-named to be hurt; who notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by *Paleologus* the Emperor, not to leave his Tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his Fort dis-furnished, setting none in his place to ward the same. And so this doughty Duke, hurt more with his false-heart than with force of Weapon, gave over and fled to *Chius*, where shortly after for sorrow, rather than for soreneſs of his wound, he died. Many of his Soldiers, seeing their Captain flee, followed after, leaving their Fort utterly destitute without defence. The *Turks*, understanding that vantage, soon brast into the City. The Emperor *Paleologus* seeing no other way but to fly, making toward the Gate, either was slain, or else troden down with the multitude. In the which Gate Eight hundred dead Mens bodies were found and taken up. *The conveyances of Duke Justinian.*

The City of *Constantinople* thus being got, the *Turks* facking and ranging about the streets, houses, and comers, did put to the Sword moſt unmercifully whomsoever they found, both Aged and Young, Matrons, Virgins, Children and Infants, sparing none; the noble Matrons and Virgins were horribly ravished, the Goods of the City, the Treasuries in houses, the Ornaments in Churches brisoully handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havock of the City lasted three days together, while the barbarous Souldiers murdered and rifled what them lifted. *The Emperour of Constantinople slain.* *Constantinople won of the Turk.* *The bloody victory of the Turks.*

Theſe things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days *Mahometes* the *Turk* entreth into the City, and first calling for the heads and Ancients of the City, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my Author) reported, that in the Feasts of the *Turks*, honeſt Matrons and Virgins, and such as were of the Kings stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their diſport. *The horrible tyranny of the Turk.*

And

{KING Hen.6.} And this was the end of that Princely and famous City of *Constantinople*, beginning first by *Constantinus*, and ending also with *Constantinus*, which for the Princely Royalty thereof was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first *Constantine*, equally with the City of *Rome*, and called also by the name thereof *New Rome*, and also continued the space of 1120. years. I pray God that *Old Rome* may learn of *New Rome*, to take heed and beware betime. *Constantinople called New Rome.*

This terrible destruction of the City of *Constantinople*, the Queen of Cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the Barbarous cruelty of these filthy Raske-hells and merciful Murderers; as specially for this, that we being admonished by the doleful ruine and misery of these our even Christened, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads, and thereby may learn betime to invocate and call more earnestly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he for his Sons sake will keep us, and preserve his Church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen. *Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.* *A warning to all Christendom by Constantinople.*

The Hiſtory of Reynol Pecock *Biſhop of* Chichester, *afflicted and imprisoned for the Goſpel of Chriſt.*

The Story Reynold Pecock.

AFter the death of *Henry Chichesley* before mentioned, next succeeded *John Stafford*, *Anno* 1445. who continued eight years. After him came *John Kemp*, *Anno* 2453. who sate but three years. Then succeed *Thomas Burchere*. In the time of which Archbishop fell the trouble of *Reynold Pecock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for his Faith and profession of the Gospel. Of this Bishop, *Hall* also in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment (as he termeth it) was given by the Fathers of the spiritualty against him. This man (saith he) began to move Questions not privately, but openly in the Universities, concerning the *Annates Peter-pence*, and other jurisdictions, and authorities pertaining to the See of *Rome*, and not only put forth the Questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same; wherefore he was for this cause abjured at *Pauls* Cross. Thus much of him writeth *Hall*. Of whom also recordeth *Polychronicon*, but in few words. This Bishop, first of Saint *Asaph*, then of *Chichester*, so long as Duke *Humfrey* lived (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as *Leland* recordeth) divers Books and Treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good Man lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the Archbishop, Letters first were directed down from the Archbishop, to cite all Men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which Citation here ensueth.

The Copy of the Citation sent by the Archbiſhop.

The Citation of the Archbishops. The Names, Alias's, Surnames.

THomas *by the permission of God*, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolick See, to all and singular, Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and not Curates Clerks, and learned Men, whatsoever they be, constituted and ordained in any place throughout our Province of* Canterbury, *health, grace and benediction.*

We have received a grievous complaint of our Reverend fellow Brother, Reynold Pecock *Bishop of* Chichester, *containing in it, that albeit our said Reverend fellow Brother, the Bishop, delivered unto us, certain Books written by him in the* English *Tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, collected, reformed and allowed; notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said Books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly Preached and taught at* Pauls *Cross in* London, *and in divers other places of our Province of* Canterbury, *that our said fellow Brother the Bishop hath propounded, made and written, or caused to be written in the said Books, certain Conclusion repugnant to the true Faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the Lord* Reynold *the Bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvellously hardened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoyning you, that openly and generally you do warn or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, which will object any thing contrary, and against the Conclusions of our said Reverend fellow Brother the Bishop, had or contained in his Books or Writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do freely of their own accord appear before us and our Commissaries in this behalf appointed, wheresoever we shall then be in our City, Diocess, or Province of* Canterbury, *to speak, propound or alledge, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever Heretical or Erroneous matter they will speak, propound or object against the said Conclusions contained in his said Books; and both to satisfie and receive, whatsoever shall seem meet and right in this behalf by the holy institution and ordinances.*

And forsomuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and discussed, nothing ought to be attempted or removed; we charge you that by this our authority you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we by the Tenor of these presents do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the Conclusions and Books aforesaid, depending before us and our Commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without advice and judgment, to preach, judge and affirm any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold *the Bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us our Commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their Citation, if it be a Court day, or else the next Court day following, wheresoever we shall then be, in our City, Diocess, or Province of* Canterbury, *to make further declaration by form of law of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in their behalf; and that by our Letters you do duly certifie us or our Commissaries, what you have done in the Premises at the day and place aforesaid; or that he which hath so executed our Commandment, do so certifie us by his Letters. Dated at our Mannour of* Lambeth *the 22d day of* October, *Anno* 1457. *and in the fourth year of our Translation.*

Pecock appeareth at Lambeth before the Archbishop.

This Citation being directed, the Bishop upon the summon thereof was brought, or rather came before the Judges and Bishops unto *Lambeth*, where the foresaid *Thomas* the Archbishop, with his Doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbishops Court. In which convention also the Duke of *Buckingham* was present, accompanied with the Bishops of *Rochester*, and of *Lincoln*. What were the opinions and Articles against him objected, after in his revocation shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the Popes friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithstanding he stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed.

Great labor to reduce Pecock, from his opinions.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travel extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatning, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixt withal. Briefly, to make a short Narration of a long and busie travesse, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to intreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his mind, till at length, he being vanquished and overcome by the Bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation

was put unto him by the Bishops, which he should declare before the people. The Copy of which his recantation here followeth.

The form and manner of the retractation of Reynold Pecock.

The retractation of Bishop Pecock.

IN the name of God, *Amen*. Before you the most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord *Thomas* by the grace of God, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Legate of the Apostlick See, I *Reynold Pecock*, unworthy Bishop of *Chichester*, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught and written, as touching the Sacraments, and the Articles of the Faith, than the Holy Church of *Rome*, and Universal Church; and also that I have made, written, published and set forth many and divers pernitious Doctrines, Books, Works, Writings, Heresies, contrary and against the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, containing in them Errors contrary to the Catholick Faith, and especially these Errors and Hereties here under written.

Ex Regist.

His Articles.

1. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of Faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into Hell.

2. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church.

3. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the Communion of Saints.

4. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body material in the Sacrament.

5. *Item*, That the Universal Church may err in matters which pertain unto Faith.

6. *Item*, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that which every general Council doth Universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily for the help of our Faith, and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

Wherefore *I Reynold Pecock*, wretched sinner, which have long walked in darkness, and now by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy Mother the Church, renounce and forsake all Errors and Hereties aforesaid.

Notwithstanding (godly Reader) it is not to be believed that *Pecock* did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the Bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any Man, they carry him whither they list, as it were a young Steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a Parret, that he should speak unto the people; not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasie. Neither is it to be doubted but that this Bishop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may eatily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret Tyranny, and there obtained the the crown of Martyrdom, or no.

The Articles of Reynold Pecock condemned by Thomas Gascoigne, in Theol. lib. de Dictis Pecocks. Fascic. Rerum.

The Dictionary of *Thomas Gascoigne* I have not in my hands at present. But it credit be to be given to such as have to us alledged the Book, this we may find in the eighth Century of *John Ball*, Chapter nineteen, That the said *Thomas Gascoigne* in his third part of his Dictionary, writing of *Reynold Pecock*, maketh declaration of his Articles, containing in them matters of foure Hereſie.

First (saith he) *Reynold Pecock* at *Pauls* Cross Preached openly, that the Office of a Christian Prelate, chiefly above all other things, is to preach the Word of God. That Mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament*. That the use of the Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That Bishops which buy their admissions of the Bishop of *Rome*, do sin. That no Man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the Church of *Rome*. Also that the riches of Bishops by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. *Item*, That the Apostles themselves personally were not the makers of the *Creed*; and that in the same *Creed* once was not the Article, He went down to Hell. *Item*, That of the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little edification, in some points, to the authority of the old Doctors. *Item*, That he condemned the willful begging of the Friers, as a thing idle and needless. This out of *Thomas Gascoigne*. *Leland* also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the Catholick sentence of the Church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy *Eucharist*.

{KING Hen. 6.}

At length, for these and such other Articles, the said *Reynold Pecock* was condemned for an Heretick, by the Archbishops and Bishops of *Ross*, *Lincoln*, and *Winchester*, with other Divines moe. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was notwithstanding detained still in prison. Where some say, that he was privily made away by death.

R. Pecock detained in prison.

Hall addeth, that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons by Gods law ought to have no temporal possessions. Other write, that he said, that personal Tithes were not due by Gods Law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at *Pauls* Cross to abjure, and all his Books burnt, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that *Polydore*, of his extremity of the Bishops handling, and of his Articles, in his History maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honesty of his great Master the Pope.

Polydor noted.

From perfecution and burning in *England* now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foraign matters of the Church of *Rome*; you remember before, in the later end of the Council of *Basil*, how *Eugenius* was deposed. Of whose conditions and martial affairs, how he made War against *Sforcia* a famous Captain of *Italy*, and what other Wars he raised betide, not only in *Italy*, but also in *Germany*, against the City and Council of *Basil*, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition he heard also how *Felix* Duke of *Savoy* was elected Pope. Whereupon another great Schism followed in the Church during all the life of *Eugenius*.

Eugenius waged battail against Sforcia and divers others.

Pope Felix.

After his death, his next succesſor was Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, who (as you before have heard) brought to passe with the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, that *Felix* was contented to renounce and resign his Papacy to *Nicholas*, and was therefore of him afterward received to the room of Cardinal for his submission; and *Frederick* for his working was confirmed at *Rome* to be full Emperor, and there Crowned, *Ann.* 1451. For Emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the Pope, are no Emperors, but only called Kings of *Romans*.

Pope Nicholas the 5th.

Emperors are but Kings of Romans before they be Crowned by the Pope.

This Pope *Nicholas* here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of Money, appointed a Jubile in the year of our Lord 1450, at which time there reſorted a greater number of people unto *Rome*, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read in the Story of *Platina* that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people reſorting up to the mount *Vatican* to behold the Image of our Saviour, which there they had to shew to Pilgrims, the people being thick going, too and fro between the Mount and the City, by chance a certain Mule of the Cardinals of Saint *Mark*, came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the Mule, there was such a preaſe and throng upon that occasion on the Bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of Men, and three Horſes were there strangled, and on each side of the Bridge many besides fell over into the Water, and were drowned.

Ex Platina de vitis.

The example of Idolatry punished.

By means of which occasion the Pope afterward caused the small Houſes to be plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by Idolatry. *Ex Platin.*

The fruit of Idolatry.

In the time of this Pope one *Mat. Palmerius* wrote a Book *De Angelis*, for defending whereof he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at *Corna*, *An.* 1448. *Ex Tritemio.*

Mat. Palmerius a Martyr.

After him succeeded *Calixtus* the Third, who amongſt divers other things ordained, both at Noon and at Even-ing the Bell to toll the Aves, as it was uſed in the Popiſh time,

Tolling of Aves.

{KING Hen. 6.}

time, to help the Souldiers that fought againſt the *Turks*; for the which cauſe alſo he ordained the Feaſt of the Transfiguration of the Lord, Solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was *Corpus Chriſti* day.

S. Edmund of Canterbury Canonized.

Alſo this Pope, proceeding contrary to the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, decreed that no Man ſhould appeal from the Pope to any Council. By whom alſo Saint *Edmund* of *Canterbury* with divers other, were made Saints.

Pope Pius the 2d.

Next after this *Calixtus* ſucceeded *Pius Secundus*, otherwiſe called *Æneas Sylvius*, who wrote the two Books of Commentaries upon the Council of *Baſil* before mentioned. This *Æneas*, at the time of the writing of thoſe his Books, ſeemed to be a Man of an indifferent and tolerable Judgment and Doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope ſeemed to decline and ſwarve, ſeeking by all means poſſible how to deface and abolish the Books which heretofore he had written.

Promotion diſturbeth Religion.

Sentences attributed unto this Pius.

The proverbe of Pius.

THe Divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by Faith, than by diſputation.

Chriſtian Faith is to be conſidered, not by what reaſon it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous Man be ſatisfied with Money, nor a learned Man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poor Men in ſtead of Silver, to Noblemen in ſtead of Gold, and to Princes in ſtead of precious Stones.

An Artificial Oration moveth Fools, but not wiſe Men.

Suters in the law be as birds; the Court is the baite; the Judges be the Nets; and the Lawyers be the Fowlers.

Men are to be given to Diſputations, and not Diſputies to Men.

The Office of a Biſhop is heavy, but it is bleſſed to him that doth well bear it.

A Biſhop without learning may be likened to an Aſs.

An evil Phyſitian deſtroyeth bodies, but an unlearned Prieſt deſtroyeth ſouls.

Marriage was taken from Prieſts not without great reaſon; but with much greater reaſon it ought to be reſtored again.

Marriage of Prieſts allowed by Æneas Sylvius.

The like ſentence to this he uttereth in his ſecond Book of the Council of *Baſil* before ſpecified, ſaying, Peradventure it were not the worſt, that the moſt part of Prieſts had their Wives; for many ſhould be ſaved in Prieſtly marriage, which now in unmarried Prieſthood are damned. The ſame *Pius* alſo, as *Celius* reporteth, diſſolved certain Orders of Nuns, of the Orders of Saint *Briget* and Saint *Clare*, bidding them to depart out, that they ſhould burn no more, nor cover a Harlot under the Veſture of Religion.

This *Pius*, if he had brought ſo much piety and godlineſs as he brought learning unto his Popedom, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It ſhall not be impertinent here to couch, what the ſaid *Æneas*, called *Pius* the Pope, writeth touching the peace of the Church, unto *Gaſper Sclick*, the Emperors Chancelor, in his 54th Epiſtle.

Ex Epiſt. 54. Pii. ſecundi ad Caſparem Schlick.

All Men do abhor and deteſt Schiſm. The way to remedy this evil Charles *the* French *King hath ſhewed us both ſafe and brief, which is, that Princes or their Orators ſhould convene and aſſemble together in ſome common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongſt themſelves. To bring this to paſs, it were needful writings to be ſent again to all Kings and Princes, to ſend their Orators to* Strawesborow, *or to* Conſtance, *with their full authority, there to intreat of matters appertaining to the peace of the Church. Neither would it require ſo great expences: For aſmuch as we ſee the year before 300 Gilderns to be ſufficient.* Conſtantine *the Emperor beſtowed not much more in the Congregation of the Council of* Nice. *And this way could not be ſtopped, neither could the Pope or the Council withſtand it, or make excuſe, as though this might not eaſily be done without them. For why? The ſecular Princes may convent and aſſemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithſtanding unity may there be concluded: For he ſhall be an undoubted Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neither do I ſee any of the Clergy ſo conſtant to death, which*

The way to exclude Schiſm in general Councels of Princes.

The Popes Clergy will not abide the fire, wherfore Princes or Pope.

will ſuffer Martyrdom either For the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that Faith which our Princes hold: which if they would worſhip Idols, we would alſo do the ſame, and deny not only the Pope, but God alſo, if the ſecular Power ſtrain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all Faith is gone. Howſoever it be, let us all deſire and ſeek for peace: the which peace, whether it come by a Council, or by aſſembly of Princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we ſtand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a ſtone, ſo you give it me to aſſuage my hunger. Whether you call it a Council or a Conventicle, or an Aſſembly, or a Congregation or a Synagogue, that is no matter, ſo that Schiſm may be excluded, and peace eſtabliſhed.

Thus much out of the Epiſtle of *Pius*.

The breath of this peſtilent ſore corrupteth all that ſit in it, whatſoever they were before.

By this it may appear, of what ſentence and mind this *Pius* was in the time of the Council of *Baſil*, before he was made Pope. But as our common proverb ſaith, honours change manners; ſo it happened with this *Pius*, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when as before he preferred general Councils before the Pope, now being Pope, he did decree that no Man ſhould appeal from the high Biſhop of *Rome* to any general Council.

Æneas Sylvius, now puffed up with worldly pomp and glory, forgeteth the truth which he did before both know and profeſs.

And likewiſe for Prieſts marriage, whereas before he thought it beſt to have their Wives reſtored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwiſe, inſomuch that in his Book intreating of *Germany*, and there ſpeaking of the Noble City of *Auguſt*, by occaſion he inveighed againſt a certain Epiſtle of *Hulderick* once Biſhop of the ſaid City, written againſt the conſtitution of the ſingle life of Prieſts. Where-by it appeareth how the mind of this *Pius* was altered from that it was before. This Epiſtle of *Hulderick* is before expreſſed at large.

Diſcord between Pope *Pius* and the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

Here alſo might I touch ſomething concerning the diſcord betwixt this *Æneas Sylvius* and *Diotherus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and what diſcord was ſtirred up in *Germany* upon the ſame between *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Wittenberge*, with others; by the occaſion whereof, beſides the ſlaughter of many, the City of *Mentz*, which was free before, loſt her freedom and became ſervile.

The cauſes of the diſcord betwixt Pope *Pius* and *Diotherus* were theſe.

Firſt, Becauſe that *Diotherus* would not conſent unto him in the impoſition of certain Tallages and Taxes within his Country.

Secondly, For that *Diotherus* would not be bound unto him, requiring that the ſaid *Diotherus*, being Prince Elector, ſhould not call the other Electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

And Thirdly, Becauſe *Diotherus* would not permit to the Popes Legates, to convocate his Clergy together after their own hill. This Pope *Pius* began his See, about the year of our Lord 1458.

Anno 1458. R. Fowler. in Ex Stanislao, Rutheno, ubi Cent. 8. Bal.

After this *Pius Secundus* ſucceeded *Paulus Secundus*, a Pope wholly ſet upon his Belly and ambition, and not ſo much void of all learning, as the hater of learned Men. This *Paulus* had a Daughter begotten in fornication, becauſe he ſaw her to be had in reproach, for that he was gotten in fornication, began (as the Stories report) to repent him of the Law of the ſingle life of Prieſts, and went about to reform the ſame, had not death prevented him. *Ex Stanislao Ruthено.*

The Feaſt of the conception of our Lady. Beads brought in.

After this *Paulus* came *Sixtus* the Fourth, which builded up in *Rome* a Stews of both kinds, getting thereby no ſmall revenews and rents unto the Church of *Rome*. This Pope amongſt his other Acts, reduced the year of Jubile from the fiftieth unto the twenty fifth. He alſo inſtituted the Feaſt of the conception, and the preſentation of *Mary* and of *Anna* her Mother, and *Joſeph*. Alſo he Canonized *Bonaventure* and Saint *Francis* for Saints.

By this *Sixtus* alſo were Beads brought in, and inſtituted to make our Ladies *Pſalter*, through the occaſion of one *Alanus* and his Order, whom *Baptiſta* maketh mention of in this verſe, *His filo inſertis numerant ſua murmura Baccis*. That is, Theſe men putting their Beads upon a ſtring, number their Prayers. This *Sixtus* the Pope made two and thirty Cardinals in his time, of whom *Petrus Ruerius* was the firſt, who for that time that he was Cardinal, which was but two years, ſpent in luxurious Riot, waſted

wasted and consumed two hundred thousand Florens, and was left 60000. in debt. *Wefelius Groningensis*, in a certain Treatise of his *de indulgentiis papalibus*, writing of this Pope *Sixtus*, reporteth this, That at the request of the forefaid *Peter* Cardinal, and of *Hieronm* his Brother, the faid Pope *Sixtus* permitted and granted unto the whole Family of the Cardinal of Saint *Lucy*, in the three hot Months of Summer, *June*, *July*, and *August* (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leave and liberty to use Sodomitry, with this clause, *Fiat ut Petitur*, That is, Be it as it is asked.

Wefelius Groningensis Tax Pope Hermith the whole family of a certain Cardinal to play the Sodomites three Months in the year.

Next after this *Sixtus* came *Innocentius* the Eighth, as rude, and as far from all learning, as his Predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble Facts of this Pope this was one, that in the Town of *Polus apud Equiculos*, he caused eight Men and six Women, with the Lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for Heretick, because that they said none of them was the Vicar of Christ which come after *Peter*, but they only which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of Heresie, *George* the King of *Boheme*, and deprived him of his Dignity and also of his Kingdom, and profured his whole flock to be utterly rooted and put down, giving his Kingdom to *Matthias* King of *Pannonia*.

Pope Innocentius the Eighth. Eight Men and six Women condemned of Heresie by Pope Innocentius the Eighth.

George King of Boheme condemned of Heresie.

Now from the Popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the Emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the *Germans*, and also other Princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this King *Henry* and his Seat, now following to be shewed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business in a short Narration, here is to be remembred, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the King and his Realm. For after the giving away of *Angeou* and *Main*, to the *French-men*, by the unfortunate Marriage of Queen *Margaret* above mentioned, the said *French-men*, perceiving now by the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, the stay and pillar of this Common-wealth to be decayed, and seeing moreover the Hearts of the Nobility amongst themselves to be divided, forebacked no time, having such an open way into *Normandy*, and in short time they recovered the same, and also got *Gascoine*, so that no more now remained to *England* of all the parts beyond the Sea, but only *Calis*. Neither yet did all the calamity of the Realm only rest in this: For the King now having loft his friendly Uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldned to set upon him; as appeared first by *Jack Cade* the *Kentish* Captain, who, encamping first on *Blackheath*, afterward afpired to *London*, and had the spoil thereof, the King being driven into *Warwickshire*. After the suppressing of *Cade*, ensued not long after the Duke of *York*, who, being accompanied with three Earls, set upon the King near to Saint *Albans*, where the King was taken in the field captive, and the Duke of *York* was by Parliament declared Protector, which was in the year of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortal War between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, continuing many years. At length about the year of our Lord 1459, the Duke of *York* was slain in Battel by the Queen near to the Town of *Wakefield*, and with him also his Son Earl of *Rutland*. By the which Queen also shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom the keeping of the King was committed by the Duke of *York*, and so the Queen again delivered her Husband.

Mischiefs to *England* after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, *Angeou*, *Main*, *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, recovered of the *Frenchmen*.

Jake Cade.

The Duke of *York* a-gainst King *Henry*.

Anno 1459.

After this Victory obtained, the *Northern* Men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob Churches, and religious Houses, and Villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their Lords and Captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the City of *London*, and to take the spoil thereof; and no doubt (saith my History) would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the Noble Prince *Edward* unto *London* with a mighty Army, the seven and twentieth day of *February*, who was the Son and Heir to the Duke of *York* above mentioned, accompanyed with the Earl of *Warwick*, and divers moe. King *Henry* in the mean time, with his Victory, went up to *York*; when as *Edward* being at *London*, caused there to be proclaimed certain Articles concerning his Title to the Crown of *England*, which was the second day of *March*.

The Northern men Intended the subversion of London.

Ex historia manuscripta, ad finem Scala mundi.

Whereupon the next day following, the Lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said Articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said Month of *March*, after a solemn general procession (according to the blind superstition of those days) the Bishop of *Exceter* made a Sermon at *Pauls* Cross, wherein he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the Title of Prince *Edward* to be just and lawful, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

KING Hen. 6.

London refused by Prince Edward.

Anno 1461. The title of Edward to the Crown proved at Pauls Cross.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince *Edward* accompanied with the Lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to *Westminster* Hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the Lords, as also by the voice of all the Commons, took his possession of the Crown, and was called King *Edward* the Fourth.

King Edward takes both possession of the Crown.

These things thus accomplished at *London*, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of Money sufficiently being minister of the people and Commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his Wars; he with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Fauconbridge*, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King *Henry*; who now being at *York*, and forsaken of the *Londoners*, had all his refuge only reposed in the *Northern* Men.

Ex Scala mundi.

When King *Edward* with his Army had passed over the River of *Trent*, and was come near to *Ferebridge*, where also the Host of King *Henry* was not far off, upon *Palm-Sunday*, between *Ferebridge* and *Tadcaster*, both the Armies of the *Southern* and *Northern* Men joyned together in Battel. And although at the first beginning divers Horsemen of King *Edwards* side turned their backs, and spoiled the King of Carriage and Victuals; yet the courageous Prince with his Captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which Battel on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside Men of name, 30000 of the poor Commons. Notwithstanding, the Conquest fell on King *Edwards* part, so that King *Henry* having lost all, was forced to flie into *Scotland*, where also he gave up to the *Scots* the Town of *Barwick*, after he had Reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

The fierce and cruel battel between King Henry the fourth, and King Edward the fourth.

King Henry the sixth conquered. Berwick given to the Scots by King Henry the sixth.

The claim and title of the Duke of *York*, and after him of *Edward* his Son, put up to the Lords and Commons, whereby they challenged the Crown to the House of *York*, is thus in the Story of *Scala mundi*, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

The Title of the House of *York* to the Crown of *England*.

EDward *the Third*, *right King of* England, *had Issue*, *First*, *Prince* Edward. *Secondly*, William Hatfield. *Thirdly*, Lionel. *Fourthly*, John of Gaunt, *&c.* *Prince* Edward *had* Richard *the Second*, *which died without Issue*. William Hatfield *died without Issue*. Lionel *Duke of* Clarence *had Issue lawfully begot*, Philip, *his only Daughter and Heir*; *the which was lawfully coupled to* Edmund Mortimer, *Earl of* March, *and had Issue lawfully begot*, Roger Mortimer *Earl of* March, *and Heir*; *Which* Roger *had Issue*, Edmund *Earl of* March, Roger, Anne, *and* Alienor; Edmund *and* Alienor *died without Issue*, *and the said* Anne, *by lawful Matrimony was coupled unto* Richard *Earl of* Cambridge, *the Son of* Edmund *of* Langley, *who had Issue and lawfully bare* Richard Plantaginet *now Duke of* York; John *of* Gaunt *gat* Henry, *which unrightfully intreated King* Richard, *then being alive* Edmund Mortimer *Earl of* March, *Son of the said* Philip, *Daughter to* Lionel. *To the which* Richard *Duke of* York *and Son to* Anne, *Daughter to* Roger Mortimer

The Title of the house of Lancaster.

Richard Plantaginet.

KING Edw. 4. timer *Earl of* March, *Son and Heir to the said* Philip, *Daughter and Heir to the said* Lionel, *the third Son of King* Edward *the Third, the right and dignity of the Crown appertained and belonged, before any Issue of the said* John of Gaunt. *Notwithstanding, the said Title of Dignity of the said* Richard *of* York, *the said* Richard *desiring the wealth, rest and prosperity of* England. *agreeth and consenteth that* Henry *the Sixth should be had and taken for King of* England *during his natural life, from this time without hurt of his title.*

Wherefore the King understanding the said Title of the said Duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the Parliament, and by the authority of the same Parliament declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard *of* York *very true and rightful Heir to the Crown of* England *and* France; *and that all other Statutes and Acts made by any of the late* Henries, *contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The King agreed and consented that the said Duke and his Heirs should after his natural life enjoy the Crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the Duke of* York, *shall be high Treason, and all Acts of Parliaments contrary to this principal Act be void and of none effect, &c.*

And thus much for the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, who now lacked his Uncle and Protector, Duke of *Glocester*, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this King was builded the House in *London* called *Leaden-Hall*, founded by one *Simon Eyre*, Maior once of the said City of *London*, *An.* 1445.

Leaden-Hall builded. The Standard in Cheap.

Also the Standard in *Cheap* builded by *John Wells An.* 1442. the Conduit in *Fleetstreet* by *William Eastfield*, *Anno* 1438. Item, *Newgate* builded by the goods of *Richard Whittington*, *An.* 1422.

The Conduit in Fleetstreet. Newgate builded.

Moreover the said *Henry* the Sixth founded the College of *Eaton*, and another house, having then the title of St. *Nicholas*, in *Cambridge*, now called the Kings College. *Ex Scala mundi.*

The College of Eaton and the Kings College in Cambridge founded.

In the Reign of this *Henry* the Sixth, it is not to be passed over in silence which we find noted in the Parliament Rolls, how that *Lewis* Archbishop of *Rhoan*, after the death of the late Bishop of *Ely*, had granted unto him by the Popes Bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said Bishoprick, by the name of the administrator of the said Bishoprick. *Lewis* the foresaid Archbishop theweth his Bulls to the King, who utterly rejected his Bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in *France*, the King granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said *Lewis*, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were Bishop, touching profits, liberties and liability.

The King rejecteth the Popes Bulls.

Ex vetusto cod. cui in-stitulum, Nomina confulum &c. Ex ex Fabiano.

Neither again is here to be overpault a certain Tragical act done between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* of a false *Briton*, *Anno* 1427. which murdered a good Widow in her Bed (who had brought him up of Alms, without *Algat* in the Suburbs of *London*) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of Holy Church at St. *Georges* in *Southwark*; but at the last he took the Cross and forswore the Kings Land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and Women of the same Parish came out with Stones and Channel-dung, and there made an end of him in the High-street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the Constables and other Men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

Example of Gods rod and judgment.

King Edward *the Fourth.*

Anno 1461. King Edward the Fourth.

KIng *Edward*, after his Conquest and Victory atchieved against King *Henry*, returned again to *London*, where, upon Vigil of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, being on *Sunday*, he was Crowned King of *England*, and Reigned twenty two years, albeit not without great disquietnes, and much perturbation in his Reign.

Queen *Margaret*, hearing how her Husband was fled into *Scotland*, was also faign to flie the Land, and went to her Father Duke of *Angeou*; from whence the next year following she returned again to renew War against King *Edward*, with small succor and less luck. For being encountred by the Earl of *Warwick*, about *November* the was driven to the Seas again, and by tempest of weather she was driven into *Scotland*.

Queen Margaret fled the Land.

Anno 1462. K. Edward sitteth in the Kings Bench judging.

In this year we read that King *Edward*, in the cause of a certain Widow for rape, sate in his own person in *Westminster-Hall* upon his own Bench, discussing her cause.

Anno 1463. King Henry the sixth again retained into the battel of Exham.

The year following, King *Henry*, issuing out of *Scotland* with a sufficient power of *Scots* and *Frenchmen*, came into the *North* Country to recover the Crown, unto whom the Lord *Radulph Percy*, and Lord *Radulph Gray* flying from King *Edward*, did adjoyn themselves: But the Lord so disposing, King *Henry* with his power was repulsed in battel at *Exham* by the Lord *Mountecute*, having then the rule of the *North*; where the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Rosse*, with certain other were taken. The Lord *Radulph Percy* was slain, the residue fled, Albeit the History of *Scala mundi*, refereth this battel to the year 1464. the 15th day of *May*. In the which Month of *May* were beheaded the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Rosse*, Lord *Philip Wentworth*, Lord *Thomas Hussy*, Lord *Tho. Finders*, beside Twenty one other belonging to the retinue and houshold of King *Henry* the Sixth. Queen *Margaret*, finding no resting place here in *England*, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own Country to drink that Drink, which she her self had brewed here in *England*.

Ex Scala mundi.

And not long after, the next year, *An.* 1465. on the day of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, King *Henry* being found and known in a Wood by one *Cantlow* (as they say) was arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, and at last, of a King made prisoner in the Tower of *London*.

K. Henry 6th taken, arrested, and committed to the Tower. Anno 1465.

In this mean time, King *Edward* (after the motion of Marriage for him being made; and first the Lady *Margaret* Sister to *James* the fourth King of *Scots* thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Henry* King of *Castile*, being intended; but she being under age, the Earl of *Warwick* turning then his legation and voyage to the *French* King *Lewes* the eleventh, to obtain Lady *Bona*, Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to *Carlos* the *French* Queen, had obtained the same) had cast favour unto one *Elizabeth Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey* Knight, slain before in the battel of St. *Albans*, Daughter to the Dutches of *Bedford*, and Lord *Rivers*, and first went about to have her to his Concubine. But she as being unworthy (as she said) to be the Wife of such an high Personage, so thinking her self to be too good to be his Concubine, in such fort was the Kings heart, that incontinent before the return of the Earl of *Warwick*, he married her; at the which marriage were no moe than only the Dutches of *Bedford*, and Gentlewomen, the Priest and Clerk. Upon this so hafty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the King, much bloodshed to the Realm, undoing almost to all her Kindred, and finally confusion to King *Edwards* two Sons, which both were declared afterward to be Bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the King, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after fought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the King, and to put him beside his Cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spie a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two Brethren, to wit, the Marques *Mountecute*, and the Archbishop of *York*, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove a far off the mind of the Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edwards* Brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his Daughter in Marriage.

The King fleeth marriage with Queen Elizabeth.

The first falling out between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick.

Conspiracy against King Edward.

This matter being thus prepared against the King, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the *North* Country. Where the *Northern* Men in short space gathering themselves in an open Rebellion, and finding

Captains of their wicked purpoſe, came down from *York* toward *London*. Againſt whom was appointed by the King, *W.* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Lord *Stafford*, and certain other Captains to encounter. The *Yorkſhire* men giving the Overthrow firſt to the Lord *Stafford*, then to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Company of *Welchmen* at *Banbury* Field, at laſt joyning together with the Army of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, in the dead of the night ſecretly fealing on the Kings Field at *Wolney* by *Warwick*, killed the Watch, and took the King Priſoner, who firſt being in the Caſtle of *Warwick*, then was conveyed by night to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, under the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York*, where he having looſe keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas* of *Borough*, and other his Friends, was too good for his Keepers, and eſcaped the hands of his Enemies, and ſo came to *York*, where he was well received; from thence to *Lancaſter*, where he met with the Lord *Haſting* his Chamberlain, well accompanied, by whoſe help he came ſafe to *London*.

King Edward taken Priſoner by the Earl of Warwick.

The Rebellion in Lincolnſhire repreſſed.

After this tumult, when Reconciliation could not come to perfect Peace and Unity, although much labour was made by the Nobility, the Earl of *Warwick* raiſeth up a new War in *Lincolnſhire*, the Captain whereof was Sir *Robert Wells* Knight, who ſhortly after being taken in battel with his Father, and Sir *Thomas Duncock*, were beheaded, the reſidue caſting away their Coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the Field, called *Lofecoat-Field*.

The Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence flee into Exeter.

The Earl of *Warwick* after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of *England*, *Anno* 1470. firſt to *Calice*, then to *Lewis* the *French* King, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence*. The fame of the Earl of *Warwick* and of his famous Acts was at that time in great admiration above meaſure, and ſo highly favoured, that both in *England* and *France* all men were glad to behold his Perſonage. Wherefore the coming of this Earl, and of the Duke of *Clarence*, was not a little grateful to the *French* King, and no leſs opportune to Queen *Margaret*, King *Henries* Wife, and Prince *Edward* her Son, who alſo came to the *French* Court to meet and confer together touching their Affairs; where a League between them was concluded, and moreover a marriage between *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Anne* the ſecond Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the Earls part, beſide the large Offers and gre. : Promiſes made by the *French* King, on the beſt manner to ſet forward their purpoſe, the Earl having alſo intelligence by Letters, that the hearts almoſt of all men went with him, and longed fore for his preſence, ſo that there lacked now but only haſte with all ſpeed poſſible to return; he with the Duke of *Clarence*, well fortified with the *French* Navy, ſet forward toward *England*; for ſo was it between them before decreed, that they two ſhould prove the firſt venture, and then Queen *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward* her Son, ſhould follow after. The arrival of the Earl was not ſoon heard of at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, but great concourſe of people by thouſands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made Proclamation in the name of King *Henry* the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear Armor, to prepare themſelves to fight againſt *Edward* Duke of *York*, Uſurper of the Crown. Here lacked no friends, ſtrength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for ſuch a matter.

The Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence return into England.

The recruiting of the Earl of Warwick into England.

King Henry again proclaimed King.

When King *Edward* (who before not paſſing for the matter, nor ſeeking how either to have ſtopped his landing, or elſe ſtraightways to have encountred with him, before the gathering of his Friends, but paſſing forth the time in Hunting, in Hawking, in all Pleaſure and Dalliance) had knowledge what great reſort of multitudes inceſſantly more repaired and more daily about the Earl and the Duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late. Who truſting too much to his Friends, and Fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconſtant thing the people is, and eſpecially here of *England*, whoſe nature is never to be content long with the preſent ſtate, but always delighting in News, ſeeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which ſtandeth, or elſe pitying that which is fallen. Which inconſtant mutability of the light people, changing with the Wind, and wavering with the Reed, did well appear in the courſe of this Kings ſtory. For he, through the favour of the people when he was down, was exalted; now being exalted of the ſame was forſaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all Princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and ſtable; ſo there is no truſt nor aſſurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promiſes of his Word, only in Chriſt his Son, whoſe only Kingdom ſhall never have end, nor is ſubject to any mutation.

The inconſtant levity of the people.

{KING Edw. 4}

Theſe things thus paſſing on in *England* on the Earls ſide againſt King *Edward*, he accompanied with the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, and the Lord *Haſtings*, who had married the Earl of *Warwicks* Siſter, and yet was never untrue to the King his Maſter; and the Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queen, ſent abroad to all his truſty Friends for furniture of able Souldiers for defence of his perſon, to withſtand his Enemies. When little reſcue and few in effect would come, the King himſelf ſo deſtitute, departed to *Lincolnſhire*, where he perceiving his Enemies daily to increaſe upon him, and all the Countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and ſinging Songs, crying, *King Henry, King Henry, a Warwick a Warwick*, and hearing moreover his Enemies the *Lancaſtrians* to be within half a days journey of him, was adviſed by his Friends to fly over the Sea to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, which not long before had married King *Edwards* Siſter.

The conſtant heart and truth of the Lord Haſtings.

King Edward forſaken of his people, and his need.

The weak ſtate of King Edward.

Here might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, peradventure that King *Edward*, as he had in his hands the life of King *Henry*, of his Queen and Prince, ſo if he had diſpatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this miſery: but becauſe he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reaſon gave him, therefore that ſparing pity of his, turned now to his confuſion and ruine. And certes I ſuppoſe no leſs, but if the ſame caſe had fain in theſe our pitileſs days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almoſt forgotten, the occaſion of ſuch a time ſhould not be ſo neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly ſimplicity always in the end of things gaineth more than mans policy, forſomuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether godly ſimplicity, or mans policy be ſtronger.

Queen Elizabeth taketh Sanctuary.

Prince Edward born in Sanctuary

And ſo far is it off, that event and ſucceſs of things be governed by mans adviſed policy, or unadviſed affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flouriſheth in man, than that which is caſt down in the Lord; as in the double caſe of both theſe Kings may well appear. And firſt let us conſider the caſe of King *Edward*, who, being ſo beſet and compaſſed with evils and diſtreſſes on every ſide, firſt was compelled to take the *Wathes* between *Lincolnſhire* and *Linne* (which was no leſs dangerous to his life, than it was unſeemly for his ſtate.) Being come to *Linne*, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the Townſmen, if he had been known to his Enemies? And how could he be but known, if had tarried any ſpace? But though men and friends forſook him, yet the mercy of God, not forſaking the life of him which ſhewed mercy unto other, ſo provided, that at the ſame preſent there was an *Engliſh* Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to their journey. Thus King *Edward* without proviſion, without bag or baggage, without cloth-ſack or mail, without ſtore of money, without raiment, ſave only apparel for War; alſo without all friends, except only his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Scales*, and Lord *Haſtings*, with a few other truſty friends, to the number of ſeven or eight hundred perſons, took Shipping toward *Holland*; at which time he was in no leſs jeopardy almoſt on the Sea, than he was on the Land. For certain *Eaſterlings* having many Ships of War, which lay roving the ſame time on the Sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the *Engliſh* Merchants as to the *French* Nation, ſpying the Kings Ship, with ſeven or eight gallant Ships, made Sail after the King and his Company. The Kings Ship was good of Sail, and gate ſome ground, albeit not much, of the *Eaſterlings*, that ſtaid came to the Coaſt of *Holland* before *Alquemare*, and there caſt Anker; for otherwiſe, being an ebbing-water, they could not enter the Haven. The *Eaſterlings* with their great Ships approached as near as they could poſſibly come for the low water, purpoſing at the Flood to obtain their prey, and ſo were like to do, if the Lord had not there alſo pro-

The double ſafe of their two Kings conſidered.

King Edward taketh the Weſtſea.

God provideth.

King Edward taketh Shipping.

King Edward retreateth again into England.

King Edward taken of the Eaſterlings.

{KING Edw. 4}

God again providedth.

King Edward delivered from the Eaſterlings.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne, King Edwards Brother in law.

King Edward forſaken of his friends.

provided *Mounſieur de Grounture*, Governor for Duke *Charles* in *Holland*, at that ſeaſon to be perſonally preſent in the Town of *Alquemare*, who, hearing of the Jeopardy of the King being there at Anker, prohibited the *Eaſterlings*, on pain of death, to meddle with any *Engliſhmen*, which were the Dukes Friends and Allies.

Thus King *Edward* well chuſtified of God for his wantonneſs, both by Sea and Land, but not utterly given over from his protection, eſcaping ſo many hard chances, was ſet on land with his company; who there well refreſhed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to *Hage*.

Duke *Charles*, at the hearing of the unproſperous caſe and condition of King *Edward* his Brother in law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himſelf, much caſting and doubting what he ſhould do. For being then in war with the *French* King, he could not well provoke the *Engliſh* Nation againſt him, without his manifeſt grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great ſhame and obloquie, leave the King his Brother in that neceſſity. Notwithſtanding, ſo he demeaned himſelf through fair ſpeech, pretending to the *Engliſhmen* to joyn part with the houſe of *Lancaſter*, being himſelf partly deſcended of the ſame Family by his Grandmothers ſide; that he both was his own Friend openly, and the Kings Friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tydings was ſpread in *England* of King *Edwards* flying, innumerable people of all bands reſorted to the Earl of *Warwick*, to take his part againſt King *Edward*, a few only except of his conſtant Friends which took Sanctuary. Amongſt whom was alſo *Elizabeth* his wife, who, deſperate almoſt of all comfort, took alſo Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe in great penury forſaken was delivered of a fair Son called *Edward*, which without all pomp was baptized like another poor womans Child, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, the Godmother was the Lady *Scroope*.

King Henry the Sixth brought out of the Tower.

To make the ſtory ſhort, the Earl of *Warwick* having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of *October* rode to the *Tower*, which was then delivered to him, and there took King *Henry* out of the Ward, and placed him in the Kings Lodging. The five and twentieth day of the ſame month, the Duke of *Clarence* accompanied with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Stanley*, with a great company, brought him in a long Gown of *blew Velvet* through the high Streets of *London*, firſt to *Pauls* Church to offer, then to the Biſhops Palace of *London*, and there he reſumed again to the Crown Royal, *Anno* 1471. which he did not long enjoy.

King Henry reſtored again to his Kingdom.

After this followed a Parliament, in the which King *Edward* with all his Partakers were judged Traytors. Queen *Margaret* with her Son Prince *Edward*, all this while was tarrying for a fair Wind, thinking long belike till ſhe came to an evil Bargain, as it proved after. For King *Edward* within ſix months after his departure out of *England* unto the Duke of *Burgoyne*, whether by Letters from his Friends ſollicitate, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made inſtant ſuit to Duke *Charles* his Brother, to reſcue him with ſuch Power as he would beſtow upon him; for he was fully reſolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

The Duke camped in double fear in ſuch a dangerous caſe, notwithſtanding overcome by nature and affinity, ſecretly cauſed to be delivered to him 50000 *Florence*, and further cauſed four great Ships to be appointed for him in a Haven in *Zeland*, where it was free for all men to come. Alſo the ſame Duke had for him hired fourteen Ships of the *Eaſterlings* well appointed, taking bond of them to ſerve him truly till he were landed in *England*, and fifteen days after.

Thus King *Edward* being furniſhed but only with two thouſand men of War, with more luck than hope to ſpeed, ſped his Voyage into *England*, and landed at *Ravenſpur* in the Coaſt of *Yorkſhire*. Although there was no way for the King with ſuch a ſmall Company of Souldiers to do any good, yet, to uſe policy where ſtrength did lack, firſt he ſent forth certain light horſemen to prove the Country on every ſide, with perſwaſions, to ſee whether the *Uplandiſh* people would be ſtirred to take King *Edwards* part. Perceiving that it would not be, King *Edward* flieth to his ſhifts, diſſembling his purpoſe to be, not to claim the Crown and Kingdom, but only to claim the Dutchy of *York*, which was his own Title, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed. This being notified to the people, that he deſired no more but only his juſt Patrimony and lineal Inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compaſſion towards him, either to favour him or not to reſiſt him; and ſo journeying toward *York*, he came to *Beverley*. The Marquiſs *Mountacute*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was then at *Pomfret*, to whom the Earl had ſent ſtraight charge, with all expedition to ſet upon him, or elſe to ſtop his paſſage; and likewiſe to the Citizens of *York* and all *Yorkſhire*, to ſhut their Gates and take Armor againſt him. King *Edward* being in theſe ſtraits, proceeded notwithſtanding near to *York* without reſiſtance, where he required of the Citizens to be admitted into their City. But ſo ſtood the caſe then, that they durſt not grant unto him, but on the contrary ſent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own ſafeguard. The deſolate King was here driven to a narrow ſtrait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the Country and loſs of his cauſe: neither could go further, for the preſent danger of the City. Wherefore uſing the ſame policy as before, with lovely words and gentle ſpeech he deſired the Meſſengers to declare unto the Citizens, that his coming was not to demand the Realm of *England*, or the Title of the ſame, but only the Dutchy of *York*, his old Inheritance; and therefore determined to ſet forward, neither with Army nor Weapon. The Meſſengers were not ſo ſoon within the Gates, but he was at the Gates in a manner as ſoon as they.

King Edward only with 2000 Souldiers cometh to Ravenſpur, alias Ravenſpurr.

The diſſembling policy of King Edward.

King Edward repelled by the Citizens of York.

King Edward changeth his Title.

The gentle and fair words of King Edward.

The Citizens hearing his courteous Anſwer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the King, nor of the Realm, were ſomething mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the Walls, willing him to withdraw his Power to ſome other place, and they ſhould be the more ready to aid him, at leaſt he ſhould have no damage by them.

Two conditions put to King Edward.

Notwithſtanding he again uſed ſuch lowly Language, and delivered ſo fair ſpeech unto them, intreating them ſo courteouſly, and ſaluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own Town, whereof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly alſo enticed with fair and large promiſes, fell to this convention, that if he would ſwear to be true to King *Henry*, and gentile in entertaining his Citizens, they would receive him into the City.

King Edward put to his Oath.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entring of the Gate, a Prieſt was ready to ſay Maſs, in the which after the receiving of the Sacrament the King received a ſolemn Oath to obſerve the two Articles afore agreed. By reaſon of which ſo raſhly made, and as ſt rdly broken, and not long after puniſhed (as it may well be thought) in his poſterity, he obtained the City of *York*. Where he, in ſhort time forgetting his Oath, to make all ſure, ſet in Garriſons of armed Souldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no ſtir to be made againſt him, he thought to foreſtack no opportunity of time, and ſo made forward toward *London*, leaving by the way the Marquiſs *Mountacute*, which lay then with his Army at *Pomfret*, on the right hand, not fully four miles diſtant from his Camp: and ſo returning to the high-way again, he went forward without any ſtirring to the Town of *Nottingham*; where came to him Sir *William Parre*, Sir *Thomas* of *Borough*, Sir *Thomas Mountgomery*, and divers elſe of his aſſured Friends, with their Aids, which cauſed him by a Proclamation to ſtand to his own Title of King *Edward* the Fourth, ſaying, *That they would ſerve no man but a King:* At the fame hereof being blown abroad as the Citizens of *York* were not a little offended (and that worthily) ſo from other Towns and Cities, Lords and Noble men began to fall unto him, thinking with themſelves that the Marquiſs *Mountacute* either favoured his Cauſe, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howſoever it was, King *Edward*, being now more fully furniſhed at all points, came to the Town of *Leiceſter*, and there hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, accompanied with the Earl of *Oxford* were together at *Warwick* with a great Power, minding to ſet on the Earl, he removed from thence his Army, hoping to give him battel. The Duke of *Clarence* in

Victory got by perjury puniſhed at length in Poſterity.

King Edward ſafely cometh to Nottingham.

King Edwards Friends reſort unto him.

King Edward reſteth with the name of a King.

King Edward cometh to Leiceſter.

in the mean time about *London* had levied a great Host coming toward the Earl of *Warwick*, as he was by the Earl appointed. But when the Earl saw the Duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his Brethrens part. The King advancing forward his Host, came to *Warwick*, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward *Coventry*, where the Earl was; unto whom the next day after he boldly offered battel. But the Earl, expecting the Duke of *Clarence* his coming, kept him within the Walls. All this made for the King. For he hearing that his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* was not far off, coming toward him with a great Army, raised his Camp, and made toward him, either to entreat or else to encounter with his Brother. When each Host was in sight of the other, Richard Duke of *Glocester*, Brother to them both, as Arbiter between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain. But hereby both the Brethren, laying all Army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joyned together. And that fraternal Amity by Proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspition.

King Edward goeth toward Warwick.
The Earl of Warwick flyeth to Coventry.
The Duke of Clarence cometh with a great Army.
Contord of Brethren.

Then was it agreed between the three Brethren to attempt the Earl of *Warwick*, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he crying out thame upon the Duke of *Clarence*, stood at utter defiance. From thence King *Edward* so throughly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to *London*. Where, after it was known that the Duke of *Clarence* was come to his Brethren, much fear fell upon the *Londoners*, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at *London* the same time the Archbishop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Somerset*, with other of King *Henries* Council, to whom the Earl had sent in Commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the City, that they should keep the City from their Enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant Army, who, according to their commandment, defended the City with all their power, but yet to little purpose. For the Citizens consulting with themselves for their own most indemnity, having no Walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with King *Edward*. This was not so soon known abroad, but the Commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King *Edward*, and to salute him as their King. Whereupon the Duke of *Somerset*, with other of King *Henries* Council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the World, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there King *Henry* alone. Who, the same day being caused by the Archbishop of *York* to ride about *London* like a King, was before night made Captive, and reduced again to the *Tower*.

King Edward entreth to London. Londoners take part with King Edward.
King Henries Counsellors fly away.
King Henry again taken and committed to prison.

It was not long after these things thus done at *London*, but the coming of the Earl of *Warwick* was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and mischief of his purpose. In the Earls Army were *John* Duke of *Exceter*, *Edmund* Earl of *Somerset*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marquess *Mountacute*, the Earls Brother. The Earl had now passed a great part of his Journey, when he hearing news of the World so changed, and of the Captivity of King *Henry*, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he stayed with his Army at S. *Albans*, to see what way further to take. And forsomuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to *Barnet* ten miles from S. *Albans*.

The Earl of Warwick cometh to Barnet.

Against him set forth King *Edward*, well appointed with a strong Army of picked and able persons, with Artillery, Engins and Instruments meet for the purpose; bringing with him also King *Henry*. On *Easter* even he came to *Barnet*, and there he embattelled himself. In the morning upon *Easter-day* the battel began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King *Edward* then desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh Souldiers set upon his wearied enemies. Where the Earls men, encouraged with words of their Captain, stoutly fought, but they sore wounded and wearied could not long hold out. The Earl, rushing into the midst of his Enemies, ventured so far, that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. Marquess *Montacute* thinking to succour his Brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this Field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as *Polydore Virgil* reciteth. *Fabian* numbereth of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Oxford*, thinking to fly to *Scotland*, returned to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* in *Wales*. The Duke of *Exceter*, hardly escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. For the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, the King was not so glad, as he was sorry for the Marquess of *Mountacute*, whom he took to be his Friend. The Corps of these two were brought to the Church of *Pauls*, where they lay open in two Coffins two days, and then were interred. *Ex Polyd. & aliis.*

{KING Edw.4}
The Earl of Warwick and his Brother slain.

In the narration of this History *Polydore Virgil*, whom *Hall* followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from *Robert Fabian*. Neither do I doubt but both these had their Authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I marvel, that *Polydore*, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite unto us those Writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel or rather lament, if it be true that I have heard, that he not only nameth no Author unto us, but also burned an heap of our *English* stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth. But now to our Text again.

Difference between Fabyan and Fabian.
Hall follower of Polydore, Polydore is said to have burned a number of our English Writers.

All this while yet Queen *Margaret*, with young Prince *Edward* her Son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary Winds; who at length in the month of *April* arrived at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*, and hearing the sorrowful tydings of these things lately happened to her Husband, and to the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother, and of the prosperous success of King *Edward*, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with her self, lamenting her Husband, bewailing her Son, curling her coming, and crying out of *Fortune*, as though *blind Fortune* were she that governeth times and tides (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men) and not the secret Power and terrible Justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that Queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion, (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of Duke *Humfrey*, slounden. whom before she neglected, but now the lacked) that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live. In this desolate case Queen *Margaret* learning now to know her Friends from her Foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heavines, without solace or hope of remedy, she with her Son and her Company departed for the next Refuge, to a Monastery of Monks called *Beauly* in *Hampshire*, there to take Sanctuary and Privilege of the House.

The return of Queen Margaret into England.
Ex Polyd. fol. 144.
Queen Margaret forsook.
Queen Margaret taketh Sanctuary.

Yet all hearts were not found nor subdued in *England*, especially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, with Lord *John* his Brother, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Wenlock* *John Longserother*, being Prior of the Knights of *Rodes* in Saint *Johns*. These hearing of the Queens return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she being somewhat quickned in her spirits, and animated to War, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew War against King *Edward*, being now unprovided, by reason his Army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his Souldiers wasted. Here great hope of Victory was shewed, great Promises made. Although the Queens mind was, being more careful for the young Prince than for her self, to send him over into *France*, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time, which required haste, he began with all Expedition to gather their Power. Likewise *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* polled into *Wales* to do the same.

Queen Margaret moved to renew wars against King Edward.

King

{KING Edw.4}
King Edward wanteth aguinst Queen Margaret.

King *Edward* having Intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light Horsemen, to espy abroad through the West parts what was in his Enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to *London*, gathered a power, such as he could make about *London*, and first cometh to *Abingdon*, from thence to *Marlbridge*, hearing that the Queen was at *Bathe*, thinking to encounter with them, before they diverted into *Wales* to the Earl of *Pembroke*, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the Queen, understanding the King to be so nigh, removeth from *Bathe* to *Bristow*, sending word in the mean while to the Citizens of *Glocester*, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their City. Which when it could not be obtained, with her Army she departed from *Bristow* to *Tewkesbury*; where the Duke of *Somerset*, knowing King *Edward* to be at hand at his very back, willed the Queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward, for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other Captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Army were with them associate; yet the mind of the Duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the Field pitched, the time of battel came, the King was looked for; who being within one mile of *Tewkesbury*, with like industry and policy, as his Enemies had done, disposed his Army likewise in their array. The celerity of the King, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till he had conjoyned with the Earl of *Pembroke*, had put the matter in great hazzard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Queen Margaret removed from Glocester.
The battel of Tewksbury.
A great matter to take a thing in time.

Of this battel *Hall* thus reporteth, adding more than *Polydore*, that the Duke of *Somerset*, although he was strongly intrenched, yet through the occasion or policy of the Duke of *Glocester*, which had the fore-ward of the Kings part, a little reculing back, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the middle-ward, would have followed hard at his back. The Duke of *Glocester*, whether for thame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was estsoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The Duke of *Somerset* not a little agrieved, at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle-ward, where he seeing the Lord *Wenlock* abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him Traytor, and with his Ax striketh the brains out of his head.

Thus much addeth *Hall* besides *Polydore*; but sheweth not his Author where he had it. *Polydore*, writing of this Conflict, writeth no more but this, that the Queens Army being overset with the number and multitude of their Enemies, and she having no fresh Souldiers to furnish the Field, was at last overmatched, and for the most part slain or taken. In which battel were named to be slain, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wenlock*, Lord *John* Duke of *Somerset* his Brother, besides other. Among them that were taken was Queen *Margaret*, found in her Chariot almost dead for sorrow, Prince *Edward*, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *John* Prior of Saint *Johns*, with twenty other Knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the Queen only and the young Prince excepted. Which Prince *Edward* being then brought to the Kings presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battel against him. To this *Edward Hall* addeth more, and saith, That after the Field was finished the King made Proclamation, That whosoever would bring Prince *Edward* to him, should have Annuity of an hundred pound during his life, and the Princes life should be saved. Whereupon Sir *Richard Crofts*, not mistrusting the Kings promise, brought forth his Prisoner, &c. And to the King demanding of the Prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this Realm with his Banner displayed against him, he answered, saying, *That he came to recover his Fathers Kingdom and Inheritance from his Grandfather and Father to him descending*; whereat (said *Polydore*) the King with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Other say, that the King struck him on the face with his Gauntlet.

Queen Margaret taken in battel.
Prince Edward brought to the King. The short answer of the Prince to the King.

At the speaking of these words was present *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earl Lord *William Hastings*. Who upon the same uncourteously falling upon the Prince, did slay him. Queen *Margaret*, being brought Prisoner to *London*, was to afterward ranfomed of her Father Duke of *Angeou*, for a great sum of money which he borrowed of the *French* King, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the Title of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Naples*, *&c.* King *Edward* for these prosperous Wars rendred to God his hearty thanks, and caused publickly through his Realm solemn Processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much touching the Wars of King *Edward* the fourth, which was done, *Anno* 1471. *Ex Polyd. & aliis.*

Prince Edward, Son to King Henry, slain.
Queen Margaret gave ransomed for a great sum of money.
Publick processions for victory got.
{Anno 1471.}

The same year, and about the same time, upon the *Ascension*-even, King *Henry*, being Prisoner in the *Tower*, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty eight years, and six months. *Polydore* and *Hall* following him, affirm that he was slain with a Dagger by *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, the Kings Brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the King his Brother. In the History, intituled, *Scala mundi*, I find these words, *Quod in turri, in vigilia Ascensionis Dominicæ, ibidem feliciter morieni, per Thamesim navicula usque ad Abbatiam de* Chertesey *deducitur, ibi sepultus est*; That is, *That* King Henry *being in the* Tower, *upon the* Ascension-*even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by* Thames *in a Boat to the Abbey of* Chertesey, *and there buried.*

The death of King Henry the Sixth.
Ex Scala mundi.
King Henry buried at Chertesey.

Polydore, after he hath described the Vertues of this King, recordeth that King *Henry* the Seventh did afterward translate the Corps of him from *Chertesey* to *Windsor*, and addeth moreover, that by him certain Miracles were wrought. For the which cause the said King *Henry* the Seventh (saith he) laboured with Pope *Julius*, to have him canonized for a Saint, but the death of the King was the let why that matter proceeded not. *Edward Hall*, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why King *Henries* fainting went not forward, to be this; For that the Fees of canonizing of a King were of so great a quantity at *Rome* (more than of another, Bishop or Prelate) that the said King thought it better to keep the money in his Chests, than with the impoverishing of the Realm to buy so dear and pay so much for a new Holy day of S. *Henry* in the *Kalender*, *&c. Ex Hallo.* Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope *Julius*, that if Popes be higher than Kings in the Earth, and especially in Heaven, why then is a Pope-Saint so cheap in the Marketplace of *Rome*, and a King-Saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all Markets and Burses be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought; what reason is it, seeing the fainting of a King beareth a bigger sale than the fainting of any Pope in Heaven, but that Kings should be set above Popes also upon the Earth? *Sed extra jocum*, as I do not doubt, but that King *Henry* was a good and a quiet Prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so touching the ruine of his House, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that the *Henries* of *Lancaster* house were such Enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the Lord *Cobham* and many other; or else for the unjust displacing of King *Richard* the Second; or else thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of *Humfrey* the good Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle; whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

Polydores Miracles.
A King Saint, is dear ware in the Popes Market.
Ex Hallo.
The cause examined of Lancaster House.
Example of Gods just rod of correction.

During the time of these doings, being about the year of our Lord 1465, there was here in *England* a certain Frier *Carmelite*, who about the term of *Michael* the *Archangel* preached at *Pauls* in *London*, That our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present World, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose Opinion and Doctrine the Provincial of that Order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctors more and Brethren of the same Order; unto whom also adjoyned certain of the *Jacobites*; and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many Doctors and also Lawyers, both in their publick Lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the Defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contension of Forms and Fashions of Garments.

A Frier Carmelite, preached at Pauls Cross.
Contention in the Church whether Christ was a Begger or not.
Times compared.

But

But I put my self here in *Pythagoras* School, and keep silence with these Friers. In the story moreover it followeth, that this beggerly question of the begging-Friers, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the Popes ears, *Paulus* 2. who was no beggar ye may be sure. After that the fame of this Doctrine mounting over the *Alpes*, came flying to the Court of *Rome*, which was about the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the year next following, *Anno* 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine Noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high Heresie. Wherefore the holy Father Pope *Paulus* the Second to repress the sparkles of this Doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might have set his whole Kitchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and estoons directeth down his Bull into *England*, insinuating to the Prelates here, *Heresim illam pestiferè asserentem quod Christus publice mendicavit, esse antiquitus a* Romanis *Pontificibus, cum suis concilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata undique declarandam & concludendam, &c.* That is, *that this Heresie, which peskiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the Bishops of* Rome, *and his Councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned Doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all mens feet, &c.* This was in the same year when Prince *Edward*, King *Edwards* Son was born in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, *Anno* 1465.

Ex Mss. *Sanct. mon. de fol. xii.*

The Popes determined falsehood, that Christ was no beggar.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this King, (which had vanquished hitherto in nine battels, himself being present) how afterward he, through the incitement of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* his Brother in law, ventured into *France* with a puissant Army, and how the Duke failed him in his promise; also how Peace between these two Kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said Kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white Dove sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of King *Edwards* Tent) also of the Marriage promised between the young *Dolphin* and *Elizabeth* King *Edwards* eldest Daughter, but afterward broken off on the *French* Kings part; moreover as touching the death of the Duke of *Burgoyne* slain in War, and of his Daughter *Mary*, Niece to King *Edward*, spoiled of her Lands and Possessions wrongfully by *Lewis* the *French* King, and married after to *Maximilian*; Furthermore, as touching the Expedition of King *Edward* into *Scotland*, by reason of King *James* breaking promise in marrying with *Cicely* the second Daughter of King *Edward*, and of driving out his Brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of *Berwick* of these (I say) and such other things more, partly becaufe they are described sufficiently in our common *English* stories, partly also because they are matters not greatly pertaining to the Church, I omit to speak, making of them a *Supersedeas*. Two things I find here, among many other, specially to be remembred.

{KING Edw. 4.

Marriage between the French Kings Son and King Edwards Daughter, made and broken.

The first is concerning a godly and constant Servant of Christ, named *John Goose*, which in the time of this King was unjustly condemned and burnt at the *Tower-hill*, *Anno* 1473, in the month of *August*. Thus had *England* this is to be noted, that since the time of King *Richard* the Second, there is no Reign of any King to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire for the Religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said *John Goose*, or *John Hus*, this moreover I find in another *English* Monument recorded, that the said *John* being delivered to *Robert Belisdon*, one of the Sheriffs, to see him burnt the Afternoon; the Sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his Errors. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, desired the Sheriff to be content; for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this he desired of the Sheriff, for Gods sake to give him some meat, saying, *That he was very sore hungred*. Then the Sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, *I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shoures ere I go to Supper*. And might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit unto God. *Ex Polychron.*

{Anno 1473.

John Goose Martyr. John Goose in English, is as much as John Hus in the Bohemian Tongue.

Prophesies not rashly to be believed.

Satan can lay truth for a wicked end. Devilish Prophesies although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex Joseph. lib. 2. Antiquit. Judaic. 16.

John Goose heareth his dinner before he went to Martyrdom.

A Spirit of divination which could spell and foredeem things past, present and to come; which knowledge God many times permitteth to the Devil.

Ex Paulo Diac.

The Burning of John Goose



The unworthy death of the Duke of Clarence.

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings second Brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted King *Edward* his Brother, against the Earl of *Warwick* at *Barnet* Field, and helped him to the Crown; and now after all these benefits was at length thus requited, that (for what cause it is uncertain) he was apprehended and cast into the *Tower*, where he being adjudged for a Traytor, was privily drowned in a Butt of *Malmsey*. What the true cause was of his death it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers Conjectures and Imaginations there be diverstly put forth. Some partly imputed it to the Queens displeasure.

The Duke of Clarence drowned in a Butt of Malmsey.

Other

{KING Edw. 4.

The cause of his death expounded. The artificial cheat. Satan worketh by false Prophesies.

Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his Servant, which was accused and condemned for poysoning, Sorcery or Inchantment. Another fame there is, which furmiseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish Prophesie, coming no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times elfe happen among *Infidels* and *Gentiles*, where Christ is not known; where among high Princes and in Noble houses much mischief groweth, first murther and paricide, and thereby ruine of ancient Families, and alteration of Kingdoms. The effect of this Prophelie (as the fame goeth) was this, That after King *Edward* should one Reign whole name should begin with *G*. And because the name of the Duke of *Clarence*, being *George*, began with a *G*. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily (as is aforesaid) was made away.

The Prophesie of G.

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such Prophesies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what Fountain or Author they proceed, that is (no doubt) from Satan, the ancient enemy of Mankind, and Prince of this World; against whose deceitful delusions, Christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them though they happen true. For Satan being the Prince of this World, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dream of *Astiages*, seeing a Vine to grow out of his Daughter, which should cover all *Asia*, and fearing thereby that by his Nephew he should lose his Kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet notwithstanding of Satan it came, and caused cruel murther to follow, first of the Shepherds Child, then of the Son of *Harpagus*, whom he fed before his own Father to eat. *Ex Justo. lib. 1. Martyrs Prophesies. 1 Reg. 18. Mat. 16.*

Three things to be noted concerning false Prophesies.

Many there be, which being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall become them, how and when their end will come, how long Princes shall Reign, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same get unto them Soothsayers, Astrologers, Sorcerers, Conjurers, or Familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to seach or ask, but the Devil is as ready to answer them, who either fallly doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was Pope *Silvester* the Sorcerer circumvented by the Devil, who told him, that he should be at *Jerusalem* before he died, and so it fell out. For as he was saying his Mass at a Chappel in *Rome*, called *Jerusalem*, there he fell sick, and within three days after died: To King *Henry* the Fourth alfo it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to *Jerusalem*, who being brought to the Abbots Chamber of *Westminster*, and hearing the name of the Chamber to be called *Jerusalem*, knew his time to be come, and died.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

By such deceitful Prophesies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience both publickly and privately groweth to the life of men, either causing them fallly to truft where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appear both by this King, and also divers more. So was *Pompeius*, *Craffus*, and *Cæsar* (as writeth *Cicero*) deceived by the false *Chaldees*, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such a false truft rising upon false Prophelies, S. *Ambrose* in his Book of *Exameron* writeth, speaking of rain, which being in thofe parts greatly defired, was promised and prophefied of one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the *new Moon*: but (saith S. *Ambrofe*) there fell no such rain at all, till at the prayers of the Church the fame was obtained; giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the *Moon*, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator. *Ex Ambrof. in Examer.*

False truft by deceitful Prophesies.

Ambrosius in Examer.

Joan. Picus Earl of *Mirandula*, in his excellent Books written against thefe vain Star-tellers and Astrologers, writeth of one *Ordelaphus* a Prince, to whom it was prognofticated by a famous cunning man in that Science, called *Hieronymus Manfredus*, that he fhould injoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who notwithstanding the self same year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased: and after divers other examples added moreover upon the same, he inferreth alfo mention, and the name of a certain rich Matron in *Rome*, named *Constantia*, who in like manner departed the fame year, in which she received great promises by these Soothsayers and Astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband thefe words, *Behold* (faith she) *how true be the Prognostications of these Sooth-tellers?* If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whofe names I would in no cafe to be blemished with any spot; I could recite the names of certain, especially one, which taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the fuccefs and good speed of his Journey, was notwithstanding in the fame Journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that never injoying good day, in short time he departed. In *Basil* this I my self heard of one which knew and was conversant with the party, who having a curious delight in thefe Speculations of Chances and Events to come, by his Calculation noted a certain day which he misstruted fhould be fatal unto him, by fomething which at that time fhould befal upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him fure and safe within his Chamber; where he reaching up his hand to take down a Book, the Book falling down upon his head, gave him his deaths wound, and shortly after he died upon the fame. Of thefe and fuch like examples the World is full, and yet the curiousness of mens heads will not refrain, still to pluck the Apple of this unlucky and forbidden Tree.

Foan. Pic. Mirandan contra Aftr. l. 1. ca. 9. Experiment of false Prophesies.

This man by false dissemblers was taken, betrayed, and brought into Bondage.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

Besides all this, what murther and paricide cometh by the fear of thefe Prophefies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them which read and well advise the stories, as well of our Kings here in *England*, as in other Kingdoms more both Christened and *Turkish*, whereof another place shall serve as well (Christ willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertaineth alfo the great inconvenience and hinderance that groweth by the fear of such Prophesies in the vocation of men, forsomuch as many there be which fearing, some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow inordinate ways. As if one having a blind Prophesie, that his destruction fhould be on the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle-light; and so forth

forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second part above Prophecies are to be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in these Prophesies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the Prophesies proceeding from God, and the false Prophesies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometime playeth Gods Ape, and transformeth himself into an Angel of Light; bearing such a resemblance and colour of Truth and Religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning Prophesies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

To the second part three things to be considered.

1. First, Whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous; whereof the one seemeth to taste of Gods Spirit, such as be the Prophesies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of Gods Prophesies, as also of Miracles is commonly and ordinarily expired, yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do shew any Prophesie, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in the Prophesies.

2. Secondly, This is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this Family or that Family, or public. For as the Scriptures, so commonly the Prophesies of God have no private interpretation, but general: for somuch as the care of Gods holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally and indifferently respecteth the whole Church of his Elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such Prophesies as privately are touching the arms of houses or names of men, riding or falling of private and particular Families, are worthily to be suspected.

The third thing to be considered in Prophesies.

3. The third note and special argument to descry the true Prophesies of God from the false Prophesies of Satan and his false Prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof; that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present World, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort of the publick Church.

The third part, how to avoid the danger of sinister Prophesies. Two remedies against devilish Prophesies. The first remedy.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what Prophesies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish Prophesies which make against us. Wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every Christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, that we fet the name of Christ Jesus the Son of God against them, through a true Faith in him, knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the Works of the Devil. And again, *This is the Victory* (saith the Scripture) *that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* Whatsoever then Satan worketh, or can work against us, be it never so forcible, Faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a Majesty is in our Faith, believing in the Name of the Son of God.

The second remedy against dangerous Prophesies.

The other remedy is faithful Prayer, which obtaineth in the Name of Christ all things with the Lord. So that wicked Fiend, which had killed before seven Husbands of *Tobias* Wife, could not hurt him entring his Matrimony with earnest prayer; so no more shall any sinister Prophetie prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such Temporal evils and punishments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal Salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our Faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish Prophesies may be avoided and defeated.

Man policy can nothing do against the Devil.

Now many there be, which leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such Prophesies, either in eschewing the place and time subtilly, or else cruelly by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murther, and parricide, with other mischiefs in Common-wealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, which only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in *Astyages*, King of the *Medes* aforesaid, and *Cyrus*; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the World doth daily offer to our eyes. So Queen *Margaret* thought her then cockfure, when Duke *Humfrey* was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much as the loss and lack of that man.

{KING Edward 5. No power can withstand Satan, but only Christ, and our faith in him.

So if King *Richard* the Second had not exercised such cruelty upon his Uncle *Thomas*, Duke of *Glocester*, he had not received such wrong by King *Henry* the Fourth as he did. Likewise this King *Edward* the Fourth, if he had suffered his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* to have lived, his House had not so gone to wrack by *Richard* his other Brother, as it did. What befel upon the Student of Astrology in the University of *Basil* ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his Chamber for fear of his Divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now in avoiding such Prophetical events which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples for instruction sake, I thought by occation to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practise of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in private houses, as in weals publick.

Only Christ able to withstand the power of Satan. *Psal.* 90.

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan through such subtil Prophecies hath yet and daily practise to manifold mischiefs in the World, setting Brother against Brother, Nephew against the Uncle, House against House, and Realm against Realm, gendring hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our Christian Faith; therefore the first and best thing is for godly men not to bulke their brains about such Phantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by Soothsayer, or by Conjuration, or by Familiar, or by Astrologer; knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be delirous or ready to search for them, the Devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his Oracles by Idols and Priests of that time; so the same Devil, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by Astrologers and Conjurers in these our days, and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every Christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring his things not in the word expressed, unto him which is faith in his word, *Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta temporum, &c. It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own Power, &c.*

Sigismundus Emperor. Sigismundus unprosperous in his wars.

A brief remembrall of the matter of Prophesies before pasted.

Sigismundus overcomed of the Turks.

Sigismundus overcomed of the Bohemians.

The Devil ready to answer, in matters of Divination.

Curiosity of Prophesies to be avoided.

Secondly, In this matter of Prophesies, requisite it is (as is said) for every Christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true Prophesies, which proceed of God, and the false Prophesies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned; so necessary it is that every good man do rightly understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, Because it is not sufficient that the deceitful Prophesies of the Devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satans Works and Prophesies are to be overcome; that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that Enemy. Under Heaven there is nothing else that can prevail against his Works, but only the Name of the Lord Jesus the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our Lips, or signed in our Foreheads with the outward Cross, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a silent Faith, firmly and earnestly

{KING Ed. 4.

The strength of a Christian mans faith in Christ.

earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his Name. For so it hath pleased his Fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousnes before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son in whom we do believe.

Such is the strength and effect of Faith both in Heaven, in Earth, and also in Hell: In Heaven to justifie, in Earth to preserve, in Hell to conquer. And therefore when any such prophesie, or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first confider whether it favour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in our selves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation therefore, following unordinate ways; but let us run to our Castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembring the true promise of the Psalm, *Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur*: That is, Who so putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of Heaven to be his Protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalm, *Ipse liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aspero*: That is, And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words, and prophecies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him, *&c.* And thus much by the occasion of King *Edward*, of Prophecies.

Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christs Church, as well here in *Europe* under the Pope, as in the East parts under the *Turk*, first deducing our story from the time of *Sigismund*, where before we left. Which *Sigismund*, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in the Council of *Constance* against *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*. The Emperor had ever evil luck fighting against the *Turks*. Twice he warred against them, and in both the Battels was discomfited and put to flight; once about the City of *Mysia*, fighting against *Bajazetes* the Great *Turk*, Anno 1395, the second time fighting against *Celebinus* the Son of *Bajazetes*, about the Town called *Columbacium*. But especially after the Council of *Constance*, wherein were condemned and burned these two godly Martyrs, more unprosperous succes did then follow him, fighting against the *Bohemians* his own subjects, *Ann.* 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many Battels, to his great dishonour, during all the life of *Zisca*, and of *Procopius*, as is afore more at large expressed; who was so beaten both of the *Turks*, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the *Turks* after. Then followed the Council of *Basil*, after the beginning whereof within six years, this *Sigismundus* which was Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and King of *Boheme*, died in *Moravia*, Anno 1434.

¶ *Albertus*, Emperor.

Albertus Duke of Austrich Emperor, K. of Hungary, King of Boheme.

THis *Sigismund* left behind him one only Daughter *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Albert* Duke of *Austrich*, by reason whereof he was advanced to the Empire, and so was both Duke of *Austrich*, Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and King also of *Boheme*. But this *Albert*, (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a disquieter to the *Bohemians*, and especially to the good men of *Thabor*, as he was preparing and setting forth against the *Turks*, in the mean time died, in the second year of his Empire, *Ann.* 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who lying then in *Hungary*, and thinking her self to be great with a Daughter, called to her the Princes and the Chieftains of the Realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and unsufficient to the Governance of such a state; and moreover how the thought her self to be with child of a Daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them such a Prince and Governour, (referring the right of the Kingdom to her self) as were fit and able under her, to have the Regiment of the Land committed. The *Turk* in the mean while, being elevated and incouraged with his prosperous victories against *Sigismundus* aforesaid, began then more fiercely to invade *Hungary*, and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the *Hungarians* making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make Duke *Uladislaus*, Brother to *Casimirus* King of *Polonie*, their King.

Albertus Emperor but two years.

Elizabeth Daughter to *Sigismund*, Wife to *Albert*, Emperor.

The Turk beginneth to invade *Hungary*. *Uladislaus* Brother to *Casimirus* K. of *Polonie*, made King of *Hungary*.

Elizabeth Q. of Hungary brought to bed of a man-child.

But while this was in working between the *Hungarians* and *Uladislaus* the Duke, in the mean space *Elizabeth* brought forth a Son called *Ladislaus*, who being the lawful heir of the Kingdom, the Queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the Kingdom for her Son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refuseth Marriage with the said *Uladislaus*, which she had before pretended. But *Uladislaus* joyning with a great part of the *Hungarians*, perfisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reason whereof great contention and division kindling among the people of *Hungary*, *Amaratbes* the Great *Turk* taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surprized with pride of his former succes against *Sigismund* aforesaid, with his whole main and force invaded the Realm of *Hungary*; where *Huniades*, Sirnamed *Vaivoda*, Prince of *Transilvania*, joyning with the new King *Uladislaus*, did both together set against the *Turk*, Ann. 1444, and there *Uladislaus* the new King of *Hungaria*, the fourth year of his Kingdom was slain. *Elizabeth* with her Son was fled in the mean while to *Frederick* the Emperor. Of *Huniades Vaivoda* the Noble Captain, and of his Acts, and also of *Ladislaus* (Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

Ladislaus Prince of Hungary born.

Division and discord in Hungary.

The Turk yeareth against Hungary. *Huniades Vaivoda*. *Uladislaus* K. of Hungary slain in the War.

Fredericus the Third, Emperor.

Fredericus the Third Emperor.

AFter the decease of *Albert* succeeded in the Empire, *Fredericus* the Third, Duke of *Austria*, Ann. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we have before signified) that Pope *Felix*, Elected by the Council of *Basil*, did resign his Popedom to Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth; upon this condition, that the said Pope *Nicholas* should ratifie the Acts decreed in the said Council of *Basil*. In the days of this Emperor much War and diffention raged almost thorough all Christian Realms, in *Austria*, *Hungaria*, *Polonia*, in *France*, in *Burgoine*, and also here in *England*, between King *Henry* the Sixth, and King *Edward* the Fourth, as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easie for the *Turk*, with little mastery, to have over-run all the Christian Realms in *Europe*, had not the Providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep *Amurathes* the *Turk* occupied in other civil Wars at home in the mean while. Unto this *Frederick* came *Elizabeth* (as is aforesaid) with *Ladislaus* her Son; by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of *Uladislaus* aforesaid, King of *Hungary*, (which was slain in Battel by the *Turks*) the men of *Austria*, through the instigation of *Ulricus Eizingerus*, and of *Ulricus* Earl of *Cilicia*, rising up in armour, required of *Frederick* the Emperor, either to give them their young King, or else to stand to his own defence.

Uladislaus K. of Hungary slain in battel by the Turk.

When *Frederick* heard this, neither would he render to them a fudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay; and so the matter growing to war, the new City was belieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length the Emperors part being the weaker, the Emperor, through the intervention of certain Nobles of *Germany*, restored *Ladislaus* into their hands, who being yet under age, committed his three Kingdoms to three Governours; whereof *John Huniades*, the worthy Captain above mentioned, had the ruling of *Hungary*: *George Pogiebracius* had *Boheme*: and *Ulricus* the Earl of *Cilicia* had *Austria*. Which *Ulrice* having the chief custody of the King, bare the greateft authority above the reft; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almoft of all the *Austrians*, and thortly after, by the means of *Eizingerus*, was excluded allo from the King and the Court, but afterward reftored again, and *Eizingerus* thruft out. Such is the unftable condition of them which be next in place about Princes. But this contention between them I overpafs.

John Huniades Governour of Hungary.

Ulricus Governour of *Austria*.

Ladislaus & young Pogibrin King.

Ladislaus could not abide the Doctrine of *Hus*.

Not long after, *Ladislaus* the young King went to *Boheme*, there to be Crowned, where *George Pogiebracius* (as is faid) had the Governance. But *Ladislaus* during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor hear the fervice of them which did draw after the Doctrin of *Hus*. Informuch

that when a certain Prieſt, in the high Tower of *Prague*, was appointed and addreſſed, after the manner of Prieſts, to ſay ſervice before the King, being known to hold with *John Hus* and *Rochezana*, the King diſdaining at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or elſe he would ſend him down headlong from the rock of the Tower; and ſo the good Miniſter repulſed by the King, departed. Alſo another time the ſaid *Ladiſlaus* ſeeing the Sacrament carried by a Miniſter of that ſide, whom they called then *Huſſites*, would do thereunto no reverence. *Ex Æn. Sylvio.*

At length the long abode of the King, although it was not very long, yet ſeemed to the godly diſpoſed to be longer than they wiſhed; and that was not to the King unknown, which made him to make the more haſte away; but before he departed, he thought firſt to viſit the noble City *Uratiſlavia* in *Schleſia*. In the which City the foreſaid King *Ladiſlaus* being there in the high Church at Service, many great Princes were about him. Among whom was alſo *George Pogiebracius*, who then ſtood neareſt to the King, unto whom one *Chilianus*, playing the Paraſite about the King, as the faſhion is of ſuch as begin themſelves fools, to make other men as very fools as they, ſpake in this wiſe as followeth. With what countenance you do behold this our Service I ſee right well, but your heart I do not ſee. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion ſeem unto you decent and comely? Do you not ſee how many and how great Princes, yea, the King himſelf, do follow one order and uniformity? And why do you then follow rather your Preacher *Rochezana* than theſe? Do you think a few *Bohemians* to be more wiſe than all the Church of Chriſt beſides? Why then do you not forſake that rude and ruſtical people, and joyn to theſe Nobles, as you are a Nobleman your ſelf?

Chilianus a Paraſite about King *Ladiſlaus.*

The words of a Popiſh Paraſite to *Pogiebracius.*

Unto whom thus *Pogiebracius* ſagely again doth anſwer. If you ſpeak theſe words of your ſelf (ſaith he) you are not the man whom you feign your ſelf to be; and ſo to you I anſwer, as not to a Fool. But if you ſpeak this by the ſuggeſtion of others, then muſt I ſatisfie them. Hear therefore, *As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, every man hath a conſcience of his own to follow. As for us we uſe ſuch Ceremonies, as we truſt pleaſe God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will our ſelves. The mind of man, being perſwaded with great reaſons, is captivated: will he, nill he; and as nature is inſtructed and taught, ſo is ſhe drawn, in ſome one way, and in ſome another. As for my ſelf, I am fully perſwaded in the Religion of my Preachers. If I ſhould follow thy Religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to mine own conſcience, but I cannot deceive God, who ſeeth the hearts of all; Neither ſhall it become me to frame my ſelf to thy diſpoſition. That which is meet for a Peſſer, is not likewiſe convenient for a Nobleman. And theſe words either take to thy ſelf, as ſpoken to thee, if thou be a wiſe man; or elſe I refer them to thoſe which ſet thee on work.* Ex Æneas Sylv. in Hiſt. Bohem.

An anſwer proceeding of a Heavenly wiſdom.

After the King was returned from the *Bohemians* again to *Auſtria*, the *Hungarians* likewiſe made their petitions to the King, that he would alſo come unto them. The Governour of *Hungary* (as ye before have heard) was *Johannes Huniades*, whoſe victorious acts againſt the *Turks* are famous. Againſt this *Huniades*, wicked *Ulricus* Earl of *Cilicia* did all he could with the King to bring him to deſtruction, and therefore cauſed the King to ſend for him up to *Vienna*, and there privily to work his death. But *Huniades* having thereof intelligence, offereth himſelf within *Hungary* to ſerve his Prince to all affairs: Out of the land where he was, it was neither beſt (ſaid he) for the King, nor ſafeſt for himſelf to come. The Earl being ſo diſappointed, came down with certain Nobles of the Court to the borders of *Hungary*, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to *Vienna*, or there to diſpatch him. *Huniades* without in the fields ſaid he would commune with him, within the Town he would not be brought. After that another train alſo was laid for him, that under pretence of the Kings ſafe conduct he ſhould meet the King in the broad fields of *Vienna*. But *Huniades* ſuſpecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he neither ſeeing the King to come, nor the Earl to have any ſafe conduct for him, was moved (and not without cauſe) againſt the Earl, declaring how it was in his power there to ſlay him, which went about to ſeek his blood, but for the reverence of the King he would ſpare him and let him go.

Ulricus ſeeketh the death of *Huniades.*

Huniades ſlayeth his enemy.

{KING} {Ed. 4.}

Not long after this, the *Turk* with a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundred and fifteen thouſand, arrived in *Hungary*, where he laid ſiege to the City *Alba*. But through the merciful hand of God, *John Huniades*, and *Capiſtranus* a certain *Minorite*, with a ſmall Garriſon of Chriſtian Souldiers gave him the repulſe, and put him to flight with all his mighty hoſt: Whereof more (Chriſt willing) hereafter. *Ex Hiſt. Bohemic. Æn. Sylvio. Huniades* ſhortly after this victory deceaſed. Of whoſe death when the King and the Earl did underſtand, they came the more boldly into *Hungary*, where he being received by *Ladiſlaus Huniades* Son into the Town of *Alba*, there viewed the place where the *Turks* before had pitched their Tents. When this *Ladiſlaus* heard that the King was coming firſt toward the Town, obediently he opened to him the Gates. Four thouſand only of armed Soldiers he debarred from entring the City.

Alba beſieged of the *Turk.*

The power of God by the means of *Huniades* and *Capiſtranus* a Minorite put the *Turk* to flight.

Ladiſlaus Huniades Son.

In the mean time while the King was there reſident in the City, the Earl with other Nobles did ſit in Council, requiring alſo *Ladiſlaus* to reform unto them; who firſt doubting with himſelf what he might do, at length putteth on a privy coat of Mail, and cometh to them. Whether the Earl firſt began with him, or he with the Earl, it is not known. The opinion of ſome is, that *Ulricus* firſt called him Traytor, for ſhutting the Gates againſt the Kings Soldiers. Howſoever the occaſion began, this is undoubted, that *Ulricus* taking his ſword from his Page let fly at his head. To break the blow, ſome putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The *Hungarians* hearing a noiſe and tumult within the Chamber, brake it open upon them, and there incontinent flew *Ulrick* the Earl, wounding and cutting him almoſt all to pieces. The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little diſcontented thereat in his mind: yet ſeeing there was then no other remedy, diſſembled his grief for a time.

Debate between *Ulricus* Earl of Cilicia and *Ladiſlaus Huniades* Son.

Ulricus Earl of Cilicia ſlain.

From thence the King took his journey again to *Buda*, accompanied with the foreſaid *Ladiſlaus*; who paſſing by the Town where the Wife of *Huniades* was mourning for the death of her Husband, feemed with many fair words to comfort her, and after he had there ſufficiently repaſted himſelf, with ſuch pretence of diſſembled love, and fained favour, that they were without all ſuſpition and fear; from thence he fet forward in his journey, taking with him the two Sons of *Huniades*, *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias*, who were right ready to wait upon him. The King being come to *Buda* (whether of his own head, or by miniſter counſel fet on) when he had them at a vantage, cauſed both the Sons of *Huniades*, to wit, *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias*, to be apprehended. And firſt was brought forth *Ladiſlaus* the elder Son to the place of Execution, there to be Beheaded, where meekly he ſuffered, being charged with no other crime but this, publiſhed by the voice of the Cryer, ſaying, *Thus are they to be chaſtned, which are rebels againſt their Lord,* *Peucerus* writing of his death addeth this moreover, That after the Hangman had three blows at his neck, yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Ladiſlaus*, having his hands bound behind him, after the third ſtroke roſe upright upon his feet, and looking up to Heaven called upon the Lord, and protefted his innocency in that behalf; and ſo laying down his neck again, at the fourth blow was diſpatched: *Matthias* the other Brother was led captive with the King into *Auſtria*. The reſt of the captives brake the priſon and eſcaped.

The cruel diſſimulation of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary.*

The two Sons of *Huniades*, *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias*, put to death.

A great concourſe of Catholick Princes intended againſt the *Huſſites.*

A miraculous token at the death of *Ladiſlaus.*

Ex Pucer. Chron. lib. 5.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon *Ladiſlaus*, the King being about the age of twenty and two years, that talk was made of the Kings marriage with *Magdalen* Daughter to the *French* King. The place of the Marriage was appointed at *Prague*, where great preparation was for the matter. At the firſt entrance of the King into the City of *Prague*, *Rochezana* with a company of Miniſters, ſuch as were favourers of *John Hus*, and of ſincere Religion, came with all ſolemnity to receive the King, making there his Oration to gratulate the Kings moſt joyful and proſperous acceſs into the ſame his own Realm and Country of *Bohemе*. Unto which *Rochezana*, after he had ended his Oration, ſcarce would the King open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his Company, but fiercely ſeemed

Preparation to the Kings Marriage.

Ladiſlaus the King of *Bohemе* received in Triumph.

Ladiſlaus the King of *Bohemе* an inſtrument againſt the *Huſſites.*

{KING} {Ed. 4.} ſeemed to frown upon them. In the next Pagent after theſe came forth the Prieſts of the high Miniſter, after the moſt Popiſh manner, meeting him with Proceſſion, and with the Sacrament of the Altar: For as *Panacea* among Phyſicians ſerveth for all diſeaſes, ſo the Sacrament of the Popes Altar ſerveth for all pomps and Pagents. Firſt it muſt lye upon the Altar, then it muſt be holden up with hands, then it muſt hang in the Fixe, it muſt ſerve for the quick, it muſt alſo help the dead, it muſt moreover viſit the ſick, it muſt walk about the Churchyard, it muſt go about the ſtreets, it muſt be carried about the fields to make the graſs to grow, it muſt be had to the battail, it muſt ride on horſeback before the Pope: And finally it muſt welcome Kings into Cities. Wherein theſe Catholick Fathers do ſeem ſomewhat to forget themſelves. For if the Pope being inferior to the Sacrament of the Altar, at the coming of Kings do uſe to fit ſtill while the Kings come and kiſs his feet, what reaſon is it that the Sacrament of the Altar, which is (I trow) above the Pope, ſhould meet Kings by the way, and welcome them to the Town? But this by the way of *Parentheſis*: Let us now continue the Text.

The Sacrament of the Altar uſed to many purpoſes.

When *Ladiſlaus* this Catholick King, who had ſhewed himſelf before ſo ſtout and ſtern againſt *Rochezana* and his company, had ſeen theſe Catholick Prieſts with their Proceſſion, and eſpecially with their bleſſed Sacrament, to come with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his Horſe, he embraced the Croſs and kiſſed it, and with chearful countenance ſaluted the Prieſts in order. All this while his young Wife was not yet come out of *France*, but Legates were ſent, after moſt ſumptuous wiſe, to conduct her. Other Legates alſo were ſent the ſame time to the Emperor *Frederick*, for concluſion of peace. The third Legacy was directed likewiſe to Pope *Calixtus* about Religion, how to reduce the *Bohemians* to the Church of *Rome*. The Author of this Story (which was Pope *Pius* himſelf) declareth further the opinion of ſome to be, that King *Ladiſlaus* the ſame time had intended to make a final end and deſtruction of all that ſect in *Bohemia*, which held with the Doctrine of *John Hus* and *Hieronme*, by the aſſembly and concourſe of the Catholick Princes, and Popiſh Prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that Marriage in *Prague*. For there ſhould be firſt the Emperor *Frederick*, *Elizabeth* the Kings Mother, and his Siſters *Elizabeth* and *Anna*, the Princes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Sileſia*, *Francovia*, the Palatine, and other Princes of *Rhene*: many alſo of the Lords of *France*, beſides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates, and other Poteſtates of the Popes Church; who if they had altogether converted in *Boheme*, no doubt but ſome great miſchief had been wrought there againſt the *Huſſites*; againſt whom this *Ladiſlaus*, following the ſteps of *Sigiſmundus* his Grandfather, and *Albertus* his Father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purpoſed, yet God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him.

Ex Æneas Sylvio in Hiſt. Bohem.

Governance of Empires and Kingdoms is not in mans power.

Man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth. *Ex Æneas Sylvio.*

And therefore truly it is written of *Æneas Sylvius* in the ſame place, ſaying, *De regimine Civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum eſt quod homines poſſint (tum vero de religionis conſtitutione multo minus) magna magnus diſponit Deus.* That is, In Regiment of Cities, in alteration of Kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is leſs than nothing that man can do; it is the High God that ruleth high things. Where-unto then I may well add this moreover, and ſay, That if the governance of worldly Kingdoms ſtandeth not in mans power, but in the diſpoſition of God, much leſs is it then that mans power can do in the Regiment and governing of Religion. Example whereof in this purpoſed device of Princes doth evidently appear. For as this great preparation and ſolemnity of Marriage was in doing, and the Princes ready to ſet it forth, with a little turn of Gods holy hand, all theſe great purpoſes were ſuddenly turned and dathed. For in the midſt of this buſineſs, about the one and twentieth day of *November*, Anno 1461, this great adverſary of Chriſts people, King *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Boheme*, of *Hungary*, and Prince of *Auſtria* ſickned, and within ſix and thirty hours died; ſome ſay of a Peſtilent ſore in his Groin, ſome ſay of poyſon. But howſoever it was, as it came not without the juſt judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of *Ladiſlaus Huniades* Son, wrongfully put to death before; ſo by the opportune death of this King, the poor Churches of *Boheme* were graciouſly delivered. And this end made *Ladiſlaus* one of the mightieſt Princes at that time in all *Europe*; in whom three mighty Kingdoms were conjoyned and combined together, *Auſtria*, *Hungaria*, and *Bohemia*; which Countries do lye South-Eaſt from *England*, in the fartheſt parts of all *Germany*, toward *Conſtantinople*, and the Dominions of the *Turks*, and contain theſe principal Towns in them.

Governance of Kingdoms is not in mans power.

The great work of God in defending his poor ſervants.

The death of King *Ladiſlaus.*

Blood revenged by God.

The Large Dominion of Ladiſlaus.

A *Uſtria*, called once *Pannonia ſuperior.*
Vienna, which was beſieged of the *Turk*, Ann. 1533.
Meleck.
Neuſtat. nova Civitas.
Gretz.
S. Hypolit.
Linтz.
Stein.
Haynberg.
Kremſz.
Karolsburg.
Toben.
Rotza.
Rabo.
Lindenburg.

¶ To *Auſtria* be adjoyning alſo certain Provinces and Earldoms: as,

Stiria. *Carinthia.* *Croatia.* } Provinces.

Cilicia. *Tyrolentz.* } Earldoms.

H *Ungaria*, which was once called *Pannonia inferior.*
Buda. Ofen.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadinum.
Nitria. { *Nova.* *Veſti.*
Nicopolis.
Agria.
Orſz.aw.
Boſſen.
Sabaria.

¶ This *Hungaria* was firſt called *Pannonia*, or *Pania*. After the coming of the *Huns*, it was called *Hungaria*. Of which came *Attila*, which ſubjoyned *Italy*, about the year of the Lord 440. Through *Hungaria* runneth *Danubius*, having on the Weſt-ſide, *Auſtria*, and *Bohemia*; on the Eaſt, *Servia*; on the South-ſide, *Polonia*, &c. The moſt of this *Hungary* is now under the *Turk*; which *Turk* firſt came into *Europe*, *Ann.* 1211.

B *Ohemia.*
Praga.
Pilzen.
Thabor.
Budowis.
Kolm, or *Kolin.*
Egra.
Kuttenberg.
Leimitz.
Laun.
Raconick.
Glarow.
Bern. or *Beraun.*
Bruck. Moſt.
Gretz. Hradetz.
Auſt.
Maut. Myta.
Hoſ.
Taromin.
Dub. Biela.
Lautzhut.
Gilowy.
Krupka.
Krumaw.
Pardubitz.
Chumitzaw.
Loket. *Teplitz.*
Hanzburg. Zbraſlaw.
Labe. *Uttawa.*

George Pogiebracius.

Scanbius Hamades.

After the death of *Ladislaus*, the Kingdom of *Boheme* fell to *George Pogiebracius* above mentioned, whom Pope *Innocent* the Eighth did Excommunicate and depose for his Religion, as is afore declared.

Furthermore the Kingdom of *Hungary* was given to *Matthias* Son of *Huniades*, who was in captivity (as is said) with King *Ladislaus*, and should have been put to death after his Brother, had not the King before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said King *Ladislaus* thus dying without wife and iſſue, left behind him two Siſters alive, to wit, *Elizabeth*, which was married to *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*; and *Anna*, married to *William* Duke of *Saxonie*; *Elizabeth* by her Husband *Caſimirus*, King of *Polonia*, had *Uladiſlaus*, who at length was King of both *Boheme* and *Hungary*. This *Caſimirus* firſt was married to *Beatrix*, Wife before to *Matthias*. Then being divorced from her by the diſpenſation of Pope *Alexander*, he married a new Wife, a Counteſs of *France*, by whom he had two Children, *Lewes* and *Anna*; *Lewes* which was heir of both Kingdoms, of *Boheme* and *Hungary*, was ſlain fighting againſt the *Turks*. *Anna* was married to *Ferdinandus*, by whom he was Archduke of *Auſtria*, King of *Boheme*, &c.

{ KING Ed. 4.5

- *Sigiſmundus* left only one Daughter,
  - *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Albertus* Emperour: who had three Children.
    - *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*, *Boheme*, and *Auſtria*.
    - *Elizabeth*, Wife of *Caſimirus*, King of *Polonie*: who had
      - *Anna*, Wife to *William* Duke of *Saxon*.
      - *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Boheme* and *Hungary*: who by his ſecond Wife, Counteſs of *France*, had
        - *Ludovicus*, King of *Boheme*, and *Hungary*.
        - *Anne*, Wife to *Ferdinandus*, Father to this *Maximilian*, now Emperor.

War between *Maximilian* and *Frederick*, the Emperor.

Ye heard before how after the deceaſe of *Ladiſlaus* the *Hungarians* by their Election preferred *Matthias*, Sirnamed *Corvinus*, which was Son of *Huniades*, to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. For which cauſe diſſention fell between *Frederick* the Emperor and him, for that the ſaid *Frederick* was both nominated himſelf by divers unto that Kingdom, and alſo becauſe he had the Crown of *Hungary* then remaining in his hands, which *Elizabeth* Mother to King *Ladiſlaus* had brought to the Emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceaſed by the interceſſion of the Princes of *Germany*, ſo that *Matthias* ranſomed that Crown of *Frederick* for Eight thouſand *Florences*.

George Pogiebracius depoſed from his Kingdom, for favouring of *John Hus*.

Not long after, Pope *Innocent* being diſpleaſed with *George Pogiebracius* (or *Bojebracius*) King of *Bohemia*, for favouring of *John Hus* and his Religion, that is to ſay, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did Excommunicate and depoſe him, conferring his Kingdom to *Matthias*. But forſomuch as *Frederick* the Emperor would not thereto conſent, and eſpecially after the death of the aforeſaid *George*, when the Emperor and the *Bohemians*, leaving out *Matthias*, did nominate *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, and of *Elizabeth*, to be King of *Boheme*, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. Wherein the Emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not *Albertus* Duke of *Saxony*, reſiſted the Emperor, and repreſſed the vehemency of *Matthias*.

Albert Duke of Saxony.

The noble acts of *John Huniades* and of this *Matthias* his Son, were not only great ſtays to *Hungary*, but almoſt to all Chriſtendom, in repelling back the *Turk*. For beſide the other Victories of *John Huniades* the Father aforementioned, this *Matthias* alſo his Son ſucceeding no leſs in valiantneſs than in the name of his Father, did ſo recover *Sirmium*, and the confines of *Illyrica*, from the hands of the *Turks*, and ſo vanquiſhed their power, that both *Mahometes* and alſo *Bajazetes* his Son were inforced to ſeek for Truce.

The noble acts of *John Huniades* and *Matthias* his Son, againſt the *Turks*, *Sirmium* & the borders of *Illyrica*, recovered from the *Turks*.

Boſna recovered. The fabrile practiſe of Satan to ſtop good proceedings.

Over and beſides, the ſame *Matthias* conducting his Army into *Boſna* (which lyeth South from *Hungary*) recovered again *Jaitza*, the principal Town of that Kingdom from the *Turks* poſſeſſion. Who if other Chriſtian Princes had joyned their helps withal, would have proceeded farther into *Thracia*. But behold here the malicious ſubtilty of Satan, working by the Pope. For while *Matthias* was thus occupied in this expedition againſt the *Turks*, wherein he ſhould have been let forward and aided by Chriſtian Princes, and Biſhops; the Biſhop of *Rome* wickedly and ſinfully miniſteth matter of civil diſcord between him and *Pogiebracius* aforeſaid, in removing him from the right of his Kingdom, and transferring the ſame to *Matthias*. Whereupon not only the courſe of victory againſt the *Turks* was ſtopped, but alſo great war and bloodſhed followed in Chriſtian Realms, as well between this *Matthias* and *Pogiebracius*, with his two Sons *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, as alſo between *Caſimirus Uladiſlaus*, and *Matthias* warring about *Uratiſlavia*, till at length the matter was taken up by the Princes of *Germany*.

The Popes Excommunication not obeyed of divers in *Bohemia*.

Albeit, for all the execrable Excommunication of the Pope againſt *Pogiebracius*, a great part of *Boheme* would not be removed from the obedience of their King, whom the Pope had curſed, and depoſed; yet *Matthias* took from him *Moravia*, and a great portion of *Sileſia*, and adjoyned it to his Kingdom of *Hungary*, Anno 1474.

¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in *Bohemia*, planted by *John Hus*, could not be extinguiſhed or ſuppreſſed with all the power of four mighty Princes, *Vincellaus*, *Sigiſmundus*, *Albertus* and *Ladiſlaus*, notwithſtanding they with the Popes did therein what they poſſibly could; but ſtill the Lord maintained the ſame, as ye ſee by this *Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, whom the Pope could not utterly remove out of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

{ Anno 1474. } The Raiſing on of the *Bohemians* defended by God againſt the four greateſt Princes in *Europe*.

This forementioned *Matthias*, beſide his other memorable acts of Chivalry, is no leſs alſo commended for his ſingular knowledg and love of Learning and of Learned men, whom he with great Stipends procured into *Pannonia*; where by the means of good Letters, and furniture of Learned men, he reduced in ſhort ſpace the barbarous rudeneſs of that Country into a flouriſhing Commonwealth. Moreover ſuch a Library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of Authors, Sciences and Hiſtories, which he cauſed to be tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, as the like is not thought to be found next to *Italy*, in all *Europe* beſide. Out of which Library we have received divers fragments of Writers, as of *Polybius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which were not extant before. *Ex Peucer.*

Matthias a great lover of Learning and of learned men.

The noble Library of *Matthias* K. of Hungary. *Ex* Ge. Lib. Franc.

The conſtant fortitude alſo of *Georgius Pogiebracius*, King of *Boheme*, is not unworthy of commendation; whom alſo Pope *Pius* himſelf, in *Deſcriptione Europæ*, doth honeſtly report (as a Pope may ſpeak of a Proteſtant) in theſe words writing, *Magnus vir aliquoi, & rebus belli-cis clarus*, &c. Who although Pope *Innocent* did execrate with his Children, yet he left not off the profeſſion of the verity and knowledg which he had received. Moreover, the Lord ſo proſpered his Sons, *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, that they ſubdued their enemies, and kept their Eſtate: Inſomuch that when *Frederick* the Emperor at *Vienna* was in cuſtody incloſed by the Citizens, *Victorinus* did reſcue, and deliver him out of their hands. Whereforé the Emperor afterward advanced them to be Dukes. Alſo God gave them ſometimes proſperous victory againſt *Matthias*, as at the City of *Glogovia*, &c.

Commendation of *Geo. Pogiebracius* in *Æ. Sil. Pont. De Statu Europæ.*

God's favour to the Sons of Pogiebracius.

After the deceaſe of *Georgius Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, *Frederick* the Emperor aſſigned that Kingdom, not to *Matthias* upon whom the Pope had beſtowed it before, but upon *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, *Caſimirus* and of *Elizabeth*, Daughter of the Emperor *Albert*, and Siſter to *Ladiſlaus*. For the which *Matthias* being diſcontented and for that the Emperor had denied him his Daughter *Kunegunda*, went about to exclude *Uladiſlaus* out

The death of Pogiebracius.

Uladiſlaus, *Caſimirus* Son, made King of *Hungary*.

{ KING Ed. 4.

out of *Boheme*, and alſo proclaimed war againſt *Frederick*. But before he accompliſhed his purpoſed preparation, death prevented him, who without iſſue departed, *Anno* 1490.

After the death of *Matthias*, departing without iſſue, *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, and of *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Albert* Emperor, and Siſter to King *Ladiſlaus*, married his Wife *Beatrix*, whom *Matthias* left a Widow, and with her was Elected King of *Hungary*, with this condition made between him and *Frederick* the Emperor, that if he died without lawful iſſue, then the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and of *Boheme* ſhould return to *Maximilian* Son to *Frederick*. But *Uladiſlaus* not long after did repudiate his Wife *Beatrix*, and deprived her of her Kingdom, cauſed the ſaid *Beatrix* to ſwear and to conſent to his marrying of another woman, which was the Daughter of the *French* King, named *Anne*, procuring from Pope *Alexander* a diſpenſation for the ſame, as is before ſignified. By this *Anne Uladiſlaus* had *Lewis*, and *Anne*, which *Anne* afterward was married to *Ferdinandus*.

Uladiſlaus forſaketh his firſt wife. Diſpenſation from Pope *Alexander* to forſake his firſt Wife, and to marry another. *Ludovicus*, *Uladiſlaus* Sons, King of *Hungary* and *Boheme*.

Lewis ſucceeding after his Father, had both the faid Kingdoms of *Boheme* and *Hungary*, Ann. 1492, and married *Mary*, Siſter to *Charles* the fifth Emperor. *Anne*, as is ſaid, was coupled to *Ferdinandus*, &c.

War between *Charles* Duke of Burgoyn and *Frederick* the Emperour.

Of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* ſomewhat was before touched, who had married King *Edwards* Siſter; and what troubles by him were ſtirred up in *France*, partly was before notified. This *Charles* after he had beſieged the City *Nuſſia*, or *Noveſium*, the ſpace of a whole year, went about to alienate the Territory of *Colen* from the Empire to his own Dominion: wherefore war began to be moved between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a Marriage appointed between *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles*, and *Maximilian* the Emperors Son, *Anno* 1475. Then from *Noveſium*, *Charles* leadeth his Army toward *Helvetia*, againſt *Renatus*, or *Reinhardus* Duke of *Lotharing*; then againſt the *Helvetians*, where he being thrice overcome, firſt at *Granſon*, then at *Moratum*, or *Murta*, in the higher part of *Helvetia*, at laſt at the Town of *Nanſe*, was overthrown and ſlain, *Anno* 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly *Lewis* the 11th, the *French* King, to the intent he might compaſſe the Dominion of *Burgundy* under his ſubjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding *Mary* the Daughter of *Charles*, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cauſe the *Burgundians* were the more willing to joyn her Marriage with *Maximilian*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor: by reaſon whereof the Title of *Burgundy* was firſt joyned to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

{ Anno 1475. } *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*, ſlain in war.

{ Ann. 1477

Mary Daughter of *Charles* of Burgoyn married to *Maximilian*.

War and diſſention among Chriſtian Princes.

And thus have you the miſerable vexations and contentions among our Chriſtian Princes here in *Europe* deſcribed, under the reign of this *Frederick* the Third Emperor, ſo that almoſt no angle or portion of all Chriſtendom (whether we conſider the ſtate of the Church, or Civil Government) was free from diſcord, tumults, and diſſentions. This cankered worm of ambition ſo mightily creepeth, and every where prevaileth in theſe later ends of the world, that it ſuffereth neither reſt in Commonwealth, nor peace in the Church, nor any ſparkle of charity almoſt to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then if the Lord ſeeing us ſo far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counſels, but almoſt from the ſenſe and bond of nature, that Brother with Brother, Uncle with Nephew, Blood with Blood cannot agree, in ſtriving, killing, and fighting for worldly Dominions, do ſend therefore theſe cruel *Turks* upon us, ſo to ſcourge and devour us? Of whoſe bloody tyranny and daily ſpilling of Chriſtian blood hereafter (by the Grace of Chriſt) we will diſcourſe more at large, when we come to the peculiar conſideration of the *Turkiſh* Stories. In the mean time this ſhall be for us to note and obſerve not ſo much the ſcourge how grievous it is; but rather to behold the cauſes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miſerable ambition and wretched wars among our ſelves.

The diſcord of Chriſtian ſcourged by the *Turks*.

Diſcord and diſſention in the Church noted.

And yet if this Chriſtian peace and love, left and commended ſo heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now baniſhed out of Chriſtian Realms, and Civil Governance, might at leaſt find ſome refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuary among men profeſſing nothing but Religion, leſs cauſe we had to mourn. Now ſo it is, that as we ſee little peace and amity among Civil Potentates; ſo leſs we find in the ſpiritual fort of them, which chiefly take upon them the adminiſtration of Chriſts Church. So that it may well be doubted whether the ſcourge of the *Turk*, or the civil ſword of Princes have ſlain more in the fields, or the Popes Keys have burnt more in Towns and Cities. And albeit ſuch as be profeſſed to the Church do not fight with Sword and Target for Dominions and Revenues, as warlike Princes do; yet this ambition, pride and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly Poteſtates; eſpecially if we behold and adviſe the doings and infatiable deſires of the Court of *Rome*. Great arguments and proof hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be fought, what Realm almoſt through all Chriſtendom hath not only ſeen with their eyes, but have felt in their purſes the ambition intolerable, and avarice inſatiable of that devouring Church, and alſo have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redreſſed? What exactions and extortions have been here in *England* out of Biſhopricks, Monaſteries, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other Offices of the Church, to fill the Popes Coffers? and when they had all done, yet every year brought almoſt ſome new invention from *Rome* to fetch in our *Engliſh* money; and if all the floods in *England* (yea in all *Europe*) did run into the See of *Rome*, yet were that Ocean never able to be ſatisfied.

Ambition and avarice of the Church of *Rome*.

¶ In *France* likewiſe what floods of money were ſwallowed up into this See of *Rome*? It was openly complained of in the Council of *Baſil*, as is teſtified by *Henry Token*, Canon and Ambaſſador of the Archbiſhop of *Meidenburge*, written in his Book intituled *Populari*, where he writeth that in the Council of *Baſil*, Ann. 1436, the Archbiſhop of *Lions* did declare that in the time of Pope *Martin* there came out of *France* to the Court of *Rome*, Nine Millions of Gold, which was gathered of the Biſhops and Prelates, beſides thoſe which could not be counted of the poor Clergy, which daily without number ran unto the Court of *Rome*, carrying with them all their whole ſubſtance. The Archbiſhop of *Turome* ſaid alſo at *Baſil*, in the year of our Lord 1439, that Three Millions of Gold came unto *Rome* in his time, within the ſpace of fourteen years, from the Prelates and Prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beſide the poor Clergy which daily run to that Court. Let the man who feareth God judg what a devouring gulf this is; a Million containeth Ten hundred thouſand.

Ex Repoſitorio Henrici Tokeu.

The See of *Rome* is turned into an Ocean, that hath no bottom.

What a Million is.

And what made Pope *Pius* the Second to labour ſo earneſtly to *Lewis* the Eleventh, the *French* King (who as is aforeſaid was a great enemy to the Houſe of *Burgoine*) that he would (according to his former promiſe) abliſh and utterly extinguiſh the conſtitution eſtabliſhed before at the Council of *Bitures*, by King *Charles* the Seventh his Predeceſſor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that See, which had no meaſure, and their avarice which had no end? The ſtory is this, King *Charles* the Seventh the *French* King, willing to obey and follow the Council of *Baſil*, did ſummon a Parliament at *Bitures*; where by the full conſent of all the States in *France*, both Spiritual and Temporal, a certain conſtitution was decreed and publiſhed, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and Decrees concluded in the Council of *Baſil*. The which conſtitution the ſaid King *Charles* willed and commanded through all his Realm inviolably to be obſerved and ratified for the honour and increaſe of Chriſtian Religion for ever. This was *Ann.* 1438.

Concilium Biturienſe.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Tom. Mirei Belg. Chronic. & Concilior. Cap. 24.

If followed that after the deceaſe of the foreſaid *Charles* the Seventh, ſucceeded King *Lewis* the Eleventh, who had promiſed before, being Dauphin, Pope *Pius*, that if he ever came to the Crown, the foreſaid *Sanctio Pragmatica* ſhould be abroliſhed. Whereupon *Pius* hearing him to be Crowned, did ſend unto him *John Balerus* a Cardinal, with his great Letters-patent, willing him to be mindful of his promiſe made. The King either willing, or elſe pretending a will to perform, and accomplish that he had promiſed, directed the Popes Letters-patent, with the ſaid Cardinal, to the Council of *Paris*, requiring them to conſult upon the cauſe.

Pope *Pius* laboureth that *Pragmatica Sanctio* ſhould be abroliſhed.

Thus the matter being brought and propofed in the Parliament-Houſe, the Kings Attorney named *Joannes Romanus*, a man well ſpoken, ſingularly witted, and well reaſoned, ſtepping forth, with great eloquence, and no leſs boldneſs, proved the faid ſanction to be profitable, holy and neceſſary for the wealth of the Realm, and in no caſe to be abolithed. Unto whoſe ſentence the Univerſity of *Paris* adjoyning their conſent, did appeal from the attempts of the Pope to the next General Council. The Cardinal underſtanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning many terrible things againſt them; but all his minatory words notwithſtanding, he returned again to the King, his purpoſe not obtained, *Anno* 1438. *Ex Joan. Mario.*

The Council of Pavy appealeth from the Pope to the General Council. *Vide ſupra.*

Thus the Popes purpoſe in *France* was diſappointed, which alſo in *Germany* had come to the like effect, if *Frederick* the Emperor had there done his part likewiſe toward the *Germans*; who at the ſame time, bewailing their miſerable eſtate, went about with humble ſuit to perſwade the Emperor, that he ſhould no longer be under the ſubjection of the Popes of *Rome*, except they had firſt obtained certain things of them as touching the Charter of Appeals; declaring their eſtate to be far worſe, (although undeſerved) than the *Frenchmen* or *Italians*, whoſe ſervants (and eſpecially of the *Italians*) they are worthily to be called, except that their eſtate were altered. The Nobles and Commonalty of *Germany* did inſtantly intreat with moſt weighty reaſons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the Empire, to have the Emperors aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an Oath; alledging alſo the great diſhonour and ignominy in that they alone had not the uſe of their own laws, declaring how the *French* Nation had not made their ſuit unto their King in vain againſt the exactions of Popes, by whom they were defended; which alſo provided Decrees and Ordinances for the liberty of his people, and cauſed the ſame to be obſerved; the which thing the Emperor ought to foreſee within his Empire, and to provide for his People and States of his Empire, as well as other Kings do; for what ſhall come to paſs thereby, if that foreign Nations, having recourſe unto their Kings, being relieved and defended by them from the ſaid Exactions, and the *Germans*, and States of the Empire flying unto their Emperor, be by him forſaken, or rather betrayed and deprived of their own Laws and Decrees? The Emperor being moved, and partly overcome by their perſwaſions, promiſed that he would provide no leſs for them, than the King of *France* had done for the *Frenchmen*, and to make Decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of *Æneas Sylvius*, as *Platina* writeth in the Hiſtory of *Pius* the ſecond, brake off the matter; who by his ſubtle and peſtiferous perſwaſions, did ſo bewitch the Emperor, that he, contemning the equal, juſt and neceſſary requeſts of his Subjects, choſe the ſaid *Æneas* to be his Embaſſador unto *Calixtus* then newly choſen Pope, to ſwear unto him in his name, and to promiſe the abſolute obedience of all *Germany*, as the only Country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the Ordinances and Decrees of their Country, as before he had done unto *Eugenius* the 4th, being Embaſſador for the ſaid *Frederick*, promiſing that he and all the *Germans* would be obedient unto him from henceforth in all matters, as well ſpiritual as temporal.

The complaint of the *Germans* to the Emperor, for help and aid againſt the oppreſſion of the Pope.

Thus twice *Frederick* of *Auſtrich* contemned and deſpiſed the *Germans*, and fruſtrating them of their native Decrees and Ordinances, brought them under ſubjection and bondage of the Pope; which partly was the cauſe that ſeven years before his death, he cauſed his Son *Maximilian*, not only to be choſen, but alſo crowned King of *Romans*, and did aſſociate him to the miniſtration of the Empire, left after his death (as it came to paſs) the Empire ſhould be tranſported into another Family, ſuſpecting the *Germans*, whom he had twice contrary to his Laws made ſubject, and in bondage unto the Popes Exactions; firſt before he was crowned in the time of *Eugenius* the fourth; and again, the ſecond time after his Coronation, and death of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, denying their requeſts. Whereupon *Germany* being in this miſerable poverty and grievous ſubjection under the Popes tyranny and pollings with tears and ſighs lamenting their eſtate, continued ſo almoſt unto *Luther*'s time; as the Hiſtories hereafter following do teſtifie.

Frederick made the *Germans* twice ſubject unto the Pope.

And here ceaſing with the ſtory of *Frederick*, we will now proceed to the Reign of *Maximilian* his ſon, omitting divers things elſe incident in the time of this Emperor; as firſt touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this *Frederick* and *Albertus* his Brother, and *Sigiſmundus* his Uncle, for the Dukedom of *Auſtria*, after the death of *Matthias* afore mentioned. Omitting alſo to ſpeak of the long and cruel War between the *Pruſſians* and *Polonians*, with the religious Sect of them; which were called *Tentones fratres ſanctæ Mariæ*, in the time of *Uladiſlaus*: Omitting alſo the ſtrife and variance for the Dukedom of *Millain*, between *Fredericus* the Emperor, *Alphonſus*, *Carolus* Duke of *Orleance*, and *Franciſcus Sforcia*; And how the ſaid Princedom being after given to *Sforcia*, great Wars were kindled and long continued between *Sforcia* and the *Milleners*, then between the *Milleners* and *Venetians*, and after between the *Frenchmen* and the *Milleners*. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpoſe of this ſtory, I refer to other Writers, where they are to be found more amply diſcourſed.

{KING {Ed. 4.} *Frederick*, *Albertus* his Brothers, and *Sigiſmund* ſtrive for the Dukedom of *Auſtria*. War between *Franciſcus Sforcia* and the Venetians about *Millain*. War between *Lewis* the French K. and the City of *Millain*.

This as more properly belonging to the ſtory of the Church, I thought good not to paſs over, touching ſuch as were condemned, and ſuffered the pains of fire for teſtimony of Chriſt and his Truth. Of whom one was *John* a Paſtor or a Neat-herd, which was a keeper of Cattel: The other was *Joannes de Weſalia*, although not burned, yet perſecuted near to death, under the Reign of this Emperor *Fredericus* the 3d.

And firſt touching this *John* the Neat-herd, thus writeth *Sebaſt. Munſterus*, That the Biſhop of *Herbipolis* condemned and burned for an Heretick one *John*, which was a Keeper of Cattel at a Town called *Nicholas Hauſen* in *Franconia*, becauſe he taught and held that the life of the Clergy was ignominious and abominable before God. *Ex Munſter.*

John Neat-herd of *Franconia* Martyr. {*Anno* 1476.

The other was Doctor *Joannes Weſalia*, who was complained upon unto *Dietherus* the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, by the *Thomiſts*, upon certain Articles and Opinions gathered out of his Books. Wherefore the ſaid *Dietherus* fearing elſe to be depoſed again from his Biſhoprick, directeth forth Commiſſion to the Univerſities of *Heidelburgh* and *Colen*, to have the matter in examination; who converting together the year above mentioned, called this Doctor *de Weſalia* before them, making him to ſwear that he ſhould preſent and give up all his Treatiſes, works and writings, whatſoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his Books amongſt themſelves, ſeverally every man to find out what Hereſies and Errors they could. His Articles and Opinions are theſe:

John de Weſalia perſecuted by {*Anno* 1479

That all men be ſaved freely, and through meer grace by faith in Chriſt. Free will to be nothing. That we ſhould only believe the Word of God, and not the Gloſs of any Man, or Fathers. That the Word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That Prelates have no authority to make Laws, nor to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto them more than to another. That mens Traditions, as Faſtings, Pardons, Feaſts, long Prayers, Peregrinations and ſuch like, are to be rejected. Extream Unction and Confirmation to be reproved; Confeſſion and Satisfaction to be reprehended. The Primacy of the Pope alſo be affirmed to be nothing.

The Articles and Opinions of *J. de Weſal.* Free-will nothing. Prelates have no more power over Scriptures than other men. Extream Unction reproved. Againſt the primacy of the Pope.

Certain other Articles alſo were gathered out of him by his adverſaries, but in ſuch ſort, that they may ſeem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than true intelligence of his mind, whereof more is to be underſtood in this proceſs hereafter.

Thus when *Weſelianus* was commanded to appear, there convented together firſt the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitor, the Doctors of *Colen*, and the Doctors of *Heidelburg*, with the Maſters of the ſame, and the Rector of the Univerſity of *Mentz*, the Dean of Faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, and many other Maſters of the ſame Univerſity, Canons, Doctors, with the Biſhops Chancellor, and his Counſellors, beſides many religious Prelates, Scholars, with a Doctor of *Francfort*, the Sumner and Bedles, which all met together in the great Hall of the *Minorites*, for the examination of this *Jo. de Weſalia.*

The Inquiſitor ſpeaks.

Frier *Elton* the Inquiſitor firſt ſitteth in the higheſt place, then after him, others according to their degree. In the beginning of the Examination, firſt the Inquiſitor be-

{KING {Ed. 4.} beginneth with theſe words, *Moſt Reverend Fathers, and honourable Doctors, &c. Our reverend Father and Prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent Convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Maſter* John de Weſalia, *in certain ſuſpected Articles concerning the Catholick Faith. But ſomething I will ſay before, that may do him good, and deſire that two or three of them that favour him, or ſome other, will riſe up and give him counſel to forſake and leave his errors, to recognize himſelf, and to ask pardon; which if he will do, he ſhall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed againſt him without pardon.* And thus *Weſelianus* being cited, and brought in the midſt betwixt two *Alphonſus*, being very aged, and having a ſtaff in his hand, was ſet before the Inquiſitor. Who beginning to anſwer for himſelf with a long proteſtation, could not be ſuffered to proſecute his Oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words, whether he would ſtand to his opinions, or to the determination of the Church. To this he anſwered, that he never ſpake any thing againſt the determination of the Church, but ſaid, *That he had written diverſe and ſundry Treatiſes, in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the ſame, and do all things that were requiſite.* Then ſaid the Inquiſitor, *Do you ask then pardon?* The other anſwered, *Why ſhould I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?* The Inquiſitor ſaid, *Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the Examination.*

John of *Weſalias* brought before the Prelates.

The cruel proceeding of the Inquiſitor.

In the mean time, others called upon him inſtantly to ask pardon. Then ſaid *Weſalianus*, *I ask pardon.* Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitor proceeded to the Examination, reading there two Inſtruments, declaring that he had authority from the Apoſtolick See; after this, he cited the ſaid *John* to appear to his Examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of diſobedience, in the vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, and under pain of Excommunication of the greater Curſe (from the which no man could abſolve him, but only the Pope, or the Inquiſitor, except only at the point of death) to tell plainly the truth upon ſuch things as ſhould be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and ſophiſtication of words. And ſo being demanded firſt whether he did believe upon his Oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were againſt himſelf or any other; To this he anſwered, *Scio*, that is, *I know.* Then the Inquiſitor biddeth him ſay, *Credo*, that is, *I believe.* To which he anſwered again, *What need I ſay that I believe that thing which I know?* There the Inquiſitor ſomething ſtirred with the matter, as hot as a Toaſt (as they ſay) cried with a loud voice, *Maſter* Joannes, *Maſter* Joannes, *Maſter* Joannes, *ſay* Credo, *ſay* Credo; then he anſwered, *Credo.*

The greater curſe of the people. *Scio.* *Credo.*

After this, being demanded whether he had written any Treatiſe, concerning the binding of humane Laws, to one *Nicholas* of *Boheme*; and whether he had written any Treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical power of Indulgences and Pardons, and of Faſting and other Treatiſes; he anſwered, *That he believed that he had ſo written, and had conferred with divers learned men's alſo, That he had ſent to the Biſhop of* Worms *a certain Treatiſe of Faſting.*

His opinion of the Sacrament.

Many other interrogatories were minuted unto him, whereof ſome were vain, ſome falſe. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leaving out ſuperfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a Fautor of the *Bohemians*, he ſaid, he was not. Alſo, being demanded concerning the Sacrament of the holy Body and Blood of our Lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe in the ſaid Sacrament, the ſubſtance of Bread there to remain, or only the form thereof; To this he anſwered, not denying but the Body of Chriſt was there really contained, and alſo that the Body of Chriſt the ſubſtance of Bread did remain.

His opinion of Monks and Nuns. The vow of Chaſtity.

After this, he was demanded his Opinion concerning Religious Men, as Monks, Nuns or *Begwines*, whether he thought them to be bound to the Vow of Chaſtity, or to the keeping of any other Vow, and whether he ſaid to the Friers *Minorites* any ſuch word in effect, *I cannot ſave you in this your ſtate and Order.* This he confeſſed that he had ſaid, *how that not your Religion ſaveth you, but the grace of God, &c.* not denying but they might be ſaved.

Item, Being required whether he believed, or had written, that there is no mortal ſin, but which is expreſſ to be mortal in the Canon of the holy Bible; To this he anſwered, *that he did ſo believe as he hath written, till he wax better informed.* Likewiſe, being required what he thought of the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, he anſwered, *That he believed that Chriſt left no Vicar in earth*; for the confirmation whereof he alledged and ſaid, *That Chriſt aſcending up to Heaven, ſaid* Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum, &c. *Behold I am with you*, &c. *In the which words he plainly declared, that he would ſubſtitute under him no Vicar here in earth*; Chriſt left no Vicar in earth. *in the abſence of the Principal hath to do the works of the Principal, then Chriſt hath no Vicar here in earth.*

Mortal ſin. Found by the Pope beſide that which is expreſſed to be mortal in the Scripture.

What is this Article, but to make the Pope a God?

In like manner, concerning Indulgences and Pardons, ſuch as the Church doth uſe to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof; who anſwered again, *That he had written a certain Treatiſe of that matter, and what he had written in that Treatiſe he would perſiſt therein, which was thus, That he believed that the treaſure-box of the merits of Saints could not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe that Treaſure is not left here in earth, for ſoit is written in the Apocalyps*, Opera enim illorum ſequuntur illos, &c. that is, *their works follow them.*

Pardons and Indulgences be of no effect.

The treaſure of Saints merits is not in earth

Item, That their Merits could not be applied to other men, for the ſatisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the Pope and other Prelates, cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in the ſaid his Treatiſe he called Pardons and Indulgences, *Pias fraudes fidelium*, that is, *holy fraud's and deceits of the faithful.*

This ſaying was taken out of one *Caeſar Baronius*, which was wont to ſay, that Pardons were holy deceits, becauſe that lay-men were provoked, by naughty deſerts, to give good alms.

Alſo being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and bleſſing of Altars, Chalices, Veſtments, Wax-Candles, Palms, Herbs, Holy-water, and other divine things, &c. He anſwered, *That they had no ſpiritual vertue and power in them to drive away Devils, and that Holy-water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remiſſion of venial ſins, and driving away Devils, and other effects, which the School Doctors do attribute to it.*

Item, For degrees of Marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth, *That all Chriſtian men under deadly ſin are bound unto the ſame.*

Degrees in Scripture forbidden to marry.

Item, That he believeth, *That God may give grace to a man, having the uſe of reaſon, without all motion of free will.* Alſo he thinketh, *that Saint* Paul *in his Converſion did nothing of his own free will for his Converſion.* He believeth moreover, *That God may give ſuch grace to a man having the uſe of reaſon, not doing that which in him is.*

Nothing to be believed, but which is in Scripture contained.

Item, He affirmed, *That nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the Canon of the Bible.*

Alſo, *That the Elect are ſaved only by the grace of God.*

Beſides all theſe, moreover he was charged with the old Opinion of the *Grecians*, which they did hold contrary to the *Roman* Church, unto the time of the Council of *Ferraria* above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Church giveth witneſs who were the Writers of the Scriptures, but hath no authority above which is written.

The Wedneſday next following, three Doctors, the Suffragan, *Herwicus* and *Jacobus Sprenger*, were ſent unto him, with perſwations to exhort him; and when he would not ſtand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his Doctrine, he, was then demanded of *Herwicus*, why he would believe rather the four Evangeliſts, than the Goſpel of *Nicodemus*? To whom he anſwered, becauſe he would. Being asked again why he believed the four Evangeliſts, he ſaid, becauſe he ſo received of his Parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the Doctors; *becauſe* (ſaid he) *their Doctrine is not Canonical Scripture.* Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himſelf when he preached, ſeeing he would not believe the holy Doctors? To whom he anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, *That he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.*

This Examination being ended, after theſe Articles were condemned by the Inquiſitor and his Aſſiſtants, then ſaid he after this manner, *As you do with me, if Chriſt himſelf were here, he might be condemned as an Heretick.*

By this Inquiſition, Chriſt himſelf might be condemned.

After

After this they fent divers to him to have communication with him, and to perfwade him, fending alfo to him, with his Articles, a form of asking pardon; at length, within three or four days after, he was content to condefcend unto them, and to fubmit himfelf to their holy Mother Church, and the information of the Doctors. In the Book of *Ordinaire Gratitat*, and in *Paralipomena*, adjoyned to *Abbas Urfpergenfis Gratitat*, we read thefe words written of this *Joannes de Weſalia, Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti in aliis videtur non ita grave cenſura, &c.* That is, *Except only the Article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt, in other Articles it ſeemeth that he was not to be chaſtned with ſo ſharp cenſure, if raſhnie and ſpace had been given him, if good counſellors had been about him, if all they which did accuſe and molest him had not been* de via veritatis, as Thomiſts, *that is, of the Sect of* Thomas; *which* Thomiſts *were ſet at that time againſt the other Sect of the Seculars, which were called* Nominales, *and therefore they ſo ſtirred this Doctor, becauſe he did not hold with their* Thomas, *againſt whom otherwiſe (had it not been for that cauſe) they would never have been ſo fierce and malicious in proceeding againſt him. I take God to witneſs, which knoweth all things, that this Proceſs which was made againſt him, for his revoking and burning of his Books, did greatly diſpleaſe Maſter* Engeline of Brumfwick, a great Divine, and alſo, Maſter John Keifersburg, *being both learned and famous men; but namely Maſter* Engeline *thought, that too much malice and raſhneſs was ſhewed in handling of that ſame man, and did not fear to ſay, That many of his Articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantaſtical diſſention of the* Thomiſts, *ſeeking by all manner of ways how to get the triumph over the Secular Divines, &c.* Hæc ille.

Although this aged and feeble old man by weakneſs was conſtrained to give over unto the *Romiſh* Clergy by outward profeſſion of his mouth; yet notwithſtanding, his Opinions and Doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death preſent had not inforced him to fay otherwiſe than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no ſuch form of Recantation to be preſcribed to him to read openly unto the People, as the uſe is here in *England*. This ſtory of this man is more fully to be found in the Books of *Orth. Gratius, &c.*

As touching the Reign of this *Frederick* Emperor, ſeeing we have comprehended hitherto ſufficiently the moſt principal matters in his time incurrent, we will now paſs forward (the Lord guiding us) to *Maximilian*, after I have firſt given a brief *Memorandum* of three valiant Princes and Captains, flouriſhing in the ſame time of this *Frederick* in *Germany*: Of the which, one was *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*; who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by publick voice, *Dextra manus Imperii, The right hand of the Empire.* The other was *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, to whom alſo the name was attributed, named of Pope *Pius* to be *Achilles Germanicus.* The third was *Frederick* Earl *Palatine*, ſirnamed *Victoriofus*, who manfully defended the Freedom and Majeſty of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppreſſions of the Popes tyranny.

In the year of our Lord 1484, in this Emperors time died Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, a little before touched, a Monſter rather of Nature, than a Prelate of the Church. Of him writeth *Platina*, that unjuſtly he vexed all *Italy* with war and diſſention. *Agrippa* writing of him ſaith, That among all the Bawds of theſe our later days, which were builders of Brothel-houſes, this Pope *Sixtus* the 4th, ſurmounted all other; who at *Rome* erected a Stews of double abomination, not only of Women, but alſo, *&c.* whereupon no ſmall gain redounded to his Coffers. For every ſuch common Harlot in *Rome* paid him a *July* piece, the ſumm whereof grew in the year, ſome while to 20000, at length to 4000 Duckets. Whereunto accordeth right well the Epitaph of *John Sapidus*, which in the end hereof we will annex.

John Carion alſo, ſpeaking of this Biſhop, witneſſeth him to be a man rather born to War than to Religion. For he warred againſt *Vitellius, Tiphernates*, againſt the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, whom he excommunicated, and did not abſolve till he died; alſo againſt *Columnenſis*, againſt *Ferdinandus* King of *Apulia*, and Duke of *Calabria* alſo againſt other Nation and Princes more. *Ex Joan. Lanzardo.*

{KING Ed. 4. Ex Joan. Lanzardo, lib. 8. Vincentij ca. 22.

Of the ſaid Pope it is recorded, that he was a ſpecial Patron and Tutor to all Begging-Friers, granting them to have and enjoy Revenues in this World, and in the World to come everlaſting life. Among the which Friers there was one named *Alanus de rupe*, a black Frier, which made the Roſary of our Ladies Pſalter (ſo they term it) and erected a certain new fraternity upon the ſame, called *Fraternitas Coronarium*, pertaining to the Order of the *Dominicks*, of the which Order *Jacobus Sprenger*, one of the condemners of *Joannes de Weſalia* above mentioned, was a great advancer, and eſpecially this Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave to the ſaid Fraternities large graces and priviledges.

A large gift of the Pope to the begging Friers. *Alanus* author of our Ladys Pſalter.

Concerning the Inſtitution of this Roſary, there was a Book ſet forth about the year of our Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared, *That the bleſſed Virgin entred into the Cell of this* Alanus, *and was ſo familiar with him, that not only ſhe did eſpouſe him to her Husband, but alſo kiſſed him with her heavenly mouth, and alſo for more familiarity opened to him her Pap, and powred great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the ſaid* Alanus *this holy Babe (ſaith the ſtory) did ſwear deeply, curſing himſelf, if it were not thus as he had made relation.*

Then had the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* a ſtepfonne.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of *John Bale*, I began with my ſelf to miſtruſt the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the Reader with ſuch incredible Forgeries. But as the Providence of God worketh in all things, ſo alſo it appeared in this, that the very ſame Book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this ſelf ſame narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in *John Bale* is expreſſed, but alſo found in like manner another wonder as prodigious as this; where in another place not far off, it is ſtoried in the ſame Book, how that about the time of Saint *Dominick*; there was a certain Matron in *Spain*, named *Lucia*, which being taken Captive by the *Saracens*, having her Huſband killed, was carried great with Child into the *Turkiſh* Land.

The death of K. Edw. the fourth. {Ann. 1483 Burdet. Tyranny is miſconſtruing a mans words. The leaves of the Realm miſconſtrued for the Princes pleaſure.

An old Knave to ſeek his Wives breaſt.

When the time of her labour came, ſhe being left deſolate among Beaſts and Hogs, and remembring this twice holy Roſary; (firſt inſtituted, ſaith the Book, by Saint *Dominick*, and afterward renewed by *Alanus*) eſtſoons the holy Virgin was ready and ſtood by her, and received the Child at her travel, ſupplying all the parts of a diligent Midwife; and moreover cauſing a Prieſt ſuddenly to appear, ſhe gave the Child to be Chriſtened, calling it after her own name, *Marianus*; and ſo was the Wife to *Alanus*, Midwife to *Lucia*, and Godmother to *Marianus*. Which ſtory if it be true, then is the Popes Canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth Midwives in time of neceſſity to baptiſe, ſeeing the bleſſed Virgin, playing the part her ſelf of a Midwife, durſt not baptiſe this Child without a Prieſt.

The deteſtable Impiety and blaſphemy of the Popiſh Roſary lying Relikes.

Mendacem memorem eſſe oportet.

If followeth more in the ſtory, that by the help of the ſaid bleſſed Virgin, this *Lucia* our Ladies Goſſip, after her Purification, was reſtored with her Child ſafe to her Country again. This Book, being in *Latine* and printed, beareth this Title *Roſacea Auguſtiſſimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ Eu Latins Codice impreſſi, cui titulus, Roſacea Mariæ Coronæ.*

Rich. Duke of Glocester made Protector. The young King committed to the Duke of Glocester.

The Duke of Buckingham a great doer for the Protector. Both King Edward's & Children in the poſſeſſion of the Protector.

The death of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth. Here endeth ful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the *Platina*. Popes.

The

{KING Ed. 5.

The Epitaph of Pope *Sixtus* is this:

Non potuit ſæevum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

Another Epitaph of the ſame Pope.

Sixte jaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſeculi,
Sæviſti in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta move.
Sixte jaces tandem, deſtens tua buſta cinæsis,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

Another mentioned.

Gaude priſce Nero, vincis te crimine Sixtus,
Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.

But leaving here Pope *Sixtus* with his Verſes and Vices, let us now proceed, as we before promiſed, to enter the ſtory of *Maximilian*, keeping notwithſtanding, the order of our Kings here in *England*. For a little before the Reign of *Maximilian*, King *Edward* the fourth ceaſed his life, *Anno* 1483. after he had Reigned twenty two years. In the time of which King *Edward* this alſo is not to be forgotten, that one *Burdet*, a Merchant dwelling in *Cheapſide*, at the Sign of the *Crown*, which is now the Sign of the *Flower-de-luce*, merrily ſpeaking to his Son, ſaid that he would make him inheritor of the Crown, meaning indeed his own Houſe. For the which words, King *Edward* cauſing them to be miſconſtrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the Crown of the Realm, within leſs ſpace than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn and quartered in *Cheapſide*.

King EDWARD *the Fifth.*

K. Edward the Fifth.

THIS King *Edward* left behind him by his Wife *Elizabeth*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*, and two Daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Cecile*. Which two Sons *Edward* and *Richard*, forſomuch as they were under Age, and not ripe to govern, a Conſultation was called among the Peers, to debate whether the aforeſaid young Prince and King, ſhould be under the government of his Mother, or elſe that *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, Brother to King *Edward* the fourth, and Uncle to the Child, ſhould be Governor of the King, and Protector of the Realm, there hath been and is an old Adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wreſted out of *Solomon*, *Væ Regno cujus Rex eſt puer, &c.* i. *Wo to the Kingdom, the King whereof is a Child, &c.* But if I may find leave herein to thruſt in a Gloſs, I would add this, and ſay, *Væ illi puero, qui ſui Regni Rex non eſt.* i. *Wo to that child, which is a King in a Kingdom unruly and ambitious.* There was the ſame ſeaſon, among other noble Peers of the Realm, the Duke of *Buckingham*, a man of great authority, who had married King *Edward*'s Wives Siſter. Becauſe the Duke being ſo near allied to the King, had been unkindly (as he thought) of the King entreated, having by him no advancement, nor any great friendſhip ſhewed, according to his expectation, he took part therefore with *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, both againſt the Queen and her children, to make the foreſaid Duke the chief Governor and Protector. The which thing being brought to paſs, by the aid, aſſiſtance and working of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Queen took Sanctuary with her younger Son (the elder Brother, which was the King, remaining in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Glocester*, his Uncle. Who, being now in a good towardneſs to obtain that which he had long looked for, fought all the means, and ſoon compaſſed the matter, by falſe colour of diſſembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that the other Brother alſo ſhould be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious Protector and unnatural Uncle, having the poſſeſſion of his two Nephews, and innocent Babes, thought himſelf almoſt up the Wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in ſuch miſts and clouds, but his deviſed purpoſes began to be eſpied; which cauſed him more covertly to go about to remove from him all ſuſpicion, and to blind the peoples eyes. But before he could accompliſh his execrable enterpriſe, ſome there were whom he thought firſt muſt be rid out of the way, as namely the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley*; who as they were ſitting together in Council within the Tower, the Protector (the matter being ſo appointed before) ſuddenly ruſhed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he ſuddenly halted out again, his mind belike being full of miſchief and fury, was not quiet. Who within the ſpace of an hour returned again into the Chamber, with a ſtern countenance and a frowning look, and ſo there fate down in his place. When the Lords were in great marvel and muſe at the meaning hereof, then he out of a cankered heart thus began to bray, asking them, *What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the deſtruction of him being ſo near to the Kings Bloud, and Protector of the Realm?* At the which queſtion as the other Lords fate muſing, the Lord *Haſtings*, becauſe he had been more familiar with him, thus anſwered, *That they were worthy of puniſhment, whatſoever they were.* Which when the other Lords alſo had affirmed; *that is* (quoth the Protector) *yonder Sorcereſs, my Brothers Wife*, meaning the Queen and other with her; adding moreover, and ſaying, *That Sorcereſs and other of her Council*, as Shore's *Wife with her affinity, have by their Witchcraft thus waſted my body*, and therewith ſhewed forth his left Arm, a wearith withered thing, as it was never otherwiſe, as was well known.

The deſtruction of him being ſo near to the King's Bloud, and Protector of the Realm?

The devil-like Protector picketh quarrels.

The Queen and Shore's Wife falſly accuſed of the Protector to be witch his Arm.

This *Shore's* Wife had been before a Concubine to King *Edward*, and afterward was kept by the ſame Lord *Haſtings*. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the conſent of the ſaid Lord *Haſtings*, the cruel Protector had deviſed about the ſame time, the Kindred of the Queen innocently to be beheaded at *Pomfret*, of meer ſpight and hatred. Wherefore, this puniſhment not undeſervedly, by the juſt hand of God, fell upon the Lord *Haſtings*.

Adultery puniſhed of God.

Murder juſtly puniſhed of God.

It followeth then more in the ſtory, that when the Lord *Haſtings* had heard of theſe falſe accuſations of the Tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; *Certainly (my Lord)* ſaid he, *if they have ſo done, they be worthy of heinous puniſhment. Why*, quoth the Protector, *doſt thou ſerve me with if and with and? I tell thee, they have ſo done, and that I will make good on thy body, Traytor*; and therewith giving a great rap on the Board (for a token or a watch-word) one cried *Treaſon* within the Chamber was full of armeſſed men. The Protector then approaching to the Lord *Haſtings*, arreſted him as a Traytor. Another let fly at the Lord *Stanley*; who to avoid the blow, ſhrunk under the Table, or elſe his Head had been cleft aſunder; notwithſtanding he received ſuch a wound, that the bloud ran about his ears. There were in that Council the ſame time the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, (by whoſe procurement afterward King *Henry* the Seventh was ſent for into *England*, and he made Archbiſhop and that of *Canterbury*) theſe with the Lord *Stanley* diverſly were beſtowed in divers Chambers. The Lord *Haſtings* was commanded to ſpeed and ſhrieve him apace, for before Dinner the Protector ſware by Saint *Paul* that he ſhould die; and ſo incontinently, without further judgment, his Head was ſtricken off, by whoſe counſel the Queens Kindred were at the ſame time and day beheaded at *Pomfret*.

Ecclē. 10.

Væ puero regi in ſuo regno.

L. Haſtings arreſted for a Traytor.

L. Stanley wounded.

Biſhop *Morton.*

The tyranny of the Protector.

The Lord Haſtings beheaded.

After this tyrannous Murder accompliſhed, the miſchievous Protector aſpiring ſtill to the Crown, to ſet his devices forward, firſt through gifts and fair promiſes, did ſuborn Doctor *Shaw* a famous Preacher then in *London*, at *Paul's Croſs* to infinuate to the people, that neither King *Edward* with his Sons, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begotten, nor the very Children of the Duke of *York*, but begotten unlawfully by other perſons in Adultery on the Dutcheſs their Mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful Heir of the Duke of *York*. Moreover, to declare and to ſignifie to the audience, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but his Wife before was Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo the two Children of King *Edward* to be baſe and Baſtards, and therefore the Title of the Crown moſt rightly to pertain unto the Lord Protector. Thus this falſe flatterer and loud lying Preacher, to ſerve the Protectors humour, ſhamed not moſt impudently to abuſe that holy Place, that reverend Auditory, the ſacred Word of God, taking for his Theme, *Sapi. 4. Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas, &c.* which he

The bleſſy Protector accuſeth his own Mother. Dr. Shaw's Im, udent Sermon at Paul's-Croſs.

Example for all ill-taught Preachers to beware.

he most impiously did apply against the innocent Children, and right Heirs of the Realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for fhame of the people crying out of him, in few days after he pined away.

The Duke of Buckingham another Minister for the Protectors fury.

When this Sermon would take no effect with the people, the Protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, refused not thus, but within a few days after excited the Duke of *Buckingham*, first to break the matter in covert talk to the Mayor and certain Heads of the City picked out for the purpose; that done, to come to the *Guildhall*, to move the people by all flattering and lying perswations to the same, which shamefully *Shaw* before had preached at *Pauls Cross*. Which the Duke with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial Oration, suppoling no less, but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, *King Richard*, *King Richard*. But there was no King *Richard* in their mouths, less in their hearts. Whereupon the Duke looking to the Lord Mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then answered of the Lord Mayor, that the people peradventure well understood him not: wherefore the Duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his Oration again and again. Then the Commons which before stood mute, being now in amaze, feeing this opportunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no King *Richard* could found in their lips, fave only that in the nether end of the Hall, certain of the Dukes servants, with one *Nashfield*, and other belonging to the Protector, thrusting into the Hall among the Prease, began suddenly at mens backs to cry King *Richard*, King *Richard*, throwing up their Caps, whereat the Citizens turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The Duke of Buckingham speaketh for the Protector in Guildhall.

An hard thing to make the tongue forge against the heart.

A stoln consent in the Guildhall.

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for haste to the Protector, then lying at *Baynards* Castle. Where the matter being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made in the name of the whole Commons, and that with three sundry sutes, to the humble and simple Protector, *That he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would of his humility stoop to low, as to receive the heavy Kingdom of* England *upon his shoulders*. At this their tender request and sute of the Lords and Commons made (ye must know how) the mild Duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although fore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himself so low, as of a Protector to be made King; not much herein unlike to our Prelates in the *Popish* Church, who when they have before well compounded for the Popes Bulls, yet must they for manner take make courtesie, and thrice deny that for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have payed for.

Fie of hypocrisie.

The hypocrisie of the Protector, denying the Crown thrice before he would take it.

King RICHARD *the Third*, Usurper.

K. Richard, Usurper.

AND thus *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* took upon him to be made and Proclaimed King of *England*, the year aforesaid, *Anno* 1483. in the Month of *June*. Who then coming to the Tower by Water, first made his Son, a child of ten year old, Prince of *Wales*, and *John Howard* (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be Duke of *Northfolk*, and Sir *Thomas Howard* his Son he ordained Earl of *Surry*. Also *William* Lord *Barkley* was appointed Earl of *Nottingham*. *Francis* Lord *Lovel* was made Viscount *Lovel*. Lord *Stanley* for fear of his Son was delivered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the Kings Houthold. Likewise the Archbishop of *York* was set free; but *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* into *England*, and to conjoyn Marriage between *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s Daughter and him, whereby the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were united together.

After the Kingdom of *England* was thus alotted to King *Richard* the Usurper, as in manner above remembred, she tarried not long for his Coronation, which was solemnized the Month next ensuing, the sixth day of *July*.

KING Rich. 3.

K. Richard crowned.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped Coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet Tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young *Edward* the right King and his Brother were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this, how to rid those innocent Babes out of the way, that he might reign King alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender hearts to understand. As the younger Brother lingred in thought and heavines; so the Prince, which was eleven years old, was so out of heart, and so fraught with fear, that he never tyed his points, nor joyed good day, till the traiterous impiety of their cruel Uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness which was not long in dispatching. For after King *Richard* their Uncle had first attempted to compass his devilish device by *Robert Brandon* Constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact (to die therefore) then he got one *James Tyrril*, joyning with him *Sir Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, to perpetrate this heinous murther. Which *Dighton* and *Forrest*, about midnight entring into their Chamber, so bewrapped and intangled them amongst the Cloaths, keeping down the Featherbed and Pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their Bed.

The truth of Rob. Brandon by no means to his Prince.

James Tyrril, Sir Dighton, Miles Forrest, cruel Traitors, and Murtherers of their Prince.

Young Princes, the children of K. Edward murthered.

And thus ended these two young Princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloudy murther committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first *Miles Forrest*, at S. *Martins le graund*, by piece-meal miserably rotted away; *John Dighton* lived at *Calis* long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir *James Tyrril* was beheaded at Tower-Hill for Treason. Also King *Richard* himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, torn and tugged like a Cur-dog.

The left vindictment of God upon the murtherers of them two.

The punishment of God upon K. Richard.

Furthermore, the said justice of Gods hand let not the Duke of *Buckingham* escape free, which was a great maintainer and setter up of this butcherly Usurper: for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for Treason by the said King, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

The punishment of God upon the Duke of Buckingham.

In the same Catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we have also to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was Doctor *Shaw* above rehearsed; the other Doctor *Pinky*, Provincial of the *Austen* Friers; both famous Preachers, and both Doctors in Divinity, both of more learning than vertue (saith the story) of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. *Shaw* made a Sermon in praise of the Protector, before his Coronation. *Pinky* preached after his Coronation. Both were so full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. *Pinky* in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was feign to leave off and came down in the midst. Dr. *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, so that he never durst utter that shew his face again. But as for the Frier, he was so far past shame, that the losts thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, by whose means the device was first broached, for the conjoyning of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* together. This device was first broken to the Duke of *Buckingham*, which soon after coft him his life. But that Bishop, more crafty to save himself, incontinent fled into *Britain*. Notwithstanding, the device once being broached, was (to plausible and took such effect, that message was sent over the Sea to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Mother, and by the Queen, Mother to the Lady *Elizabeth*, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s Daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter

Dr. Shaw, and Dr. Pinky, two flattering Preachers.

God judgement upon the two flattering Preachers.

The first motion of joyning the two Houses York and Lancaster together.

KING Rich. 3.

matter which is sufficiently set forth by Sir *Tho. More*, so ornately, it needeth not.

Earl Henry maketh preparation toward his Journey.

Briefly, (to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing) after that the Earl *Henry*, with such other banished men as fled out of *England* at the taking of the Duke of *Buckingham*, had perfect intelligence by his Mother, and by the Queen and other friends more out of *England*, how the case of the Realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all convenient speed haste his return over into *England*, promising to marry with Lady *Elizabeth*; he with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first Voyage sped not; for that, the Winds turning contrary, by force of Weather his Ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into *France* again. His second Voyage was more prosperous. Who taking the Seas at *Harfleet*, in the Month of *August*, *Anno* 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of Ships, arrived at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, and first came to *Dale*, then to *Harford west*, where he was joyfully received, and also by the coming in of *Arnold Butler* and the *Pembroke* men, was in power increased. From thence he removing by *Cardigan* to *Shrewsbury*, and then to *Newport*, and so to *Stafford*, from thence to *Lichfield*, his Army still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small Rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this Earl, divers noble Captains and men of power adjoyned themselves, as *Richard Griffith*, *John Morgan*, *Rice ap Thomas*, then Sir *George Talbot*, with the young Earl of *Shrewsbury* his Ward, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Burchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Knights. At the last the said Earl, hearing of the Kings coming, conducted his whole Army to *Tamworth*.

The arriving of Henry Earl of Richmond in Wales.

K. Richard gathered his power to encounter with Earl Henry.

King *Richard* first hearing of the arrival of the Earl *Henry* in the parts of *Wales* after his slender fort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after understanding that he was come to *Lichfield*, without relistance or incumbrance, he was fore moved, and exceedingly took on, curling and crying out against them which had so deceived him, and in all post speed sent for *John* Duke of *Northfolk*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, with other his friends of special trust. *Robert Brakenbury*, also, Lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with Sir *Thomas Burchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, with certain other Knights and Esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had fome fuspicious jealousie. Thus King *Richard*, after most forcible manner, well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, fet forward toward his enemies. The Earl by this time was come to *Tamworth*, to whom secretly in the Evening resorted Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Sanford*, Sir *Simon Digby*, and many other, forsaking the part of King *Richard*, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The King, having perfect knowledge the Earl to be encamped at *Tamworth*, embattelled himself in a place near to a Village called *Bunworth*, not far from *Leicester*, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspence concerning the Lord *Stanley*, (which was the Earls Father-in-law, and had married his Mother) to what part he would incline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the Earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet becaufe of his Son and Heir *George* Lord *Strange*, being then in the hands of King *Richard*, left the King should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be fen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured, and therefore closely kept himself between both, till the path came that his help might serve at a pinch.

K. Richard taketh the field of Bosworth.

This Lord Stanley was he, which was hurt at the Towser when the L. Hastings was attched.

The number of the Earls part exceeded not to the one half of the side of King *Richard*. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two Battels should encounter and joyn together, fore stripes and great blows were given on both sides, and many flain. If number and multitude might govern the succefs of Battel, King *Richard* had double to the Earl. But God is he, not Man, that giveth Victory, by what means it seemeth to his Divine Providence best. In what order, and by what occasion this Field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only the History of *Polydore Virgil*, whom Sir *Thomas More* doth follow word for word. In the which story it doth appear, that as these two Armies were coupling together, King *Richard* understanding by his Espials where the Earl of *Richmond* was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage, than ruled with reason, set Spurs to his Horse, and ranging out of the compass of his Ranks, prefsed toward the Earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed Sir *William Brandon* the Earls Standard-bearer, Father to the Lord *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, then after overthrew Sir *John Cheinie*, thinking likewife to oppress the Earl. But as the Lord by his secret Providence disposeth the event of all things, as the Earl with his Men about him, being overmatched, began to despair of Victory, suddenly and opportunely came Sir *William Stanley* with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby King *Richard*'s men were driven back, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confution and death, which he worthily deserved.

Sr. Brandon, Charles Brandon.

The death of K. Rich.

In the mean time the Earl of *Oxford*, who had the guiding of the foreward, discomfited the forefront of King *Richard*'s Host, and put them to flight, in which Chase many were slain, of Noblemen especially above other, *John* Duke of *Northfolk*, Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Richard Radcliff*, and *Robert Brankenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord *Thomas Haward* Earl of *Surrey* there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

Duke of Northfolk slain. L. Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey advanced by King Henry 7th.

This King *Richard* had but one Son, who, shortly after the cruel Murther of King *Edward*'s Sons, was taken with sickness and died. The Wife of the said King *Richard* (whether by poyson or by sickness) died also a little before the Field of *Bosworth*, after whose decease, the story of *Polydore* and of Sir *Thomas More* affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, his own Brothers Daughter, and so to prevent the Earl of *Richmond*.

K. Richards Son punished for the wickednesh of his Father.

K. Richard purposed to marry his Brothers Daughter.

Moreover, as touching the Lord *Stanley*, thus reporteth the story, that King *Richard* being in *Bosworth* Field, sent for the Lord *Stanley* by a Purlevant, to address forward with his company, and come to his prefence; otherwise he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons Head before Dinner. The Lord *Stanley* sent word again, *That if he did, he had more Sons alive*. Whereupon the King immediately commanded the Lord *Strange* to be beheaded; which was the very time when both the Armies were within fight, and were ready to joyn together. Wherefore the Kings Counsellors, pondering the time and the case, perswaded the King that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the Battel were ended. And so (as God would) King *Richard* breaking his Oath, or rather keeping his Oath, for he himself was flain before Dinner, the Lord *Strange* was committed to be kept Prisoner within the Kings Tent; who then, after the Victory gotten, was fought out and brought to his joyful Father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched King *Richard*.

L. Stanley Husband to K. Henry's Mother, forsook K. Richard.

The Lord Strange marvellously preserved.

Henry the Earl of *Richmond*, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious Victory obtained, proceeded to the Town of *Leicester*, where was brought to him, by the Lord *Strange*, the Crown, and put on the Earls Head.

In the mean time the dead Corps of King *Richard* was shamefully carried to the Town of *Leicester*, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being stuffed behind a Purfevant of Arms, was carried like a Hog or a Dog, having his Head and Arms hanging on the one side of the Horse, and the Legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and bloud. And thus ended the usurped Reign of King *Richard*, who reigned two Years and two Months, *Ex Polyd. & Th. More*.

The shameful trolling of King Richard's dead Corps.

Anno 1485

King

King HENRY *the Seventh.*

King Henry the 7th.

WHEN King *Henry*, by the Providence of God, had obtained this Triumphant Victory and Disdein of the Realm, first feading for *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, for *Leicester* he removed to *London*, and not long after, according to his Oath and Promise made before, espoused to him the young Lady *Elizabeth*, Heir of the House of *York*; whereby both the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were conjoyned together, to the no little rejoycing of all *English* hearts, and no less quiet unto the Realm, which was *Anno* 1485. This King Reigned 23 Years and 8 Months, and being a Prince of great Policy, Justice and Temperance, kept his Realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting a little the course of our *English* matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and matters of the Empire, especially such as pertain to the Church.

King Henry married with Elizabeth. The two Houses of York and Lancaster joyned together.

¶ Maximilian *the Emperor.*

{Ann. 1485 Maximilian Emperor.

IN the Year of our Lord 1486, *Fredericus* waxing aged, and partly also misfrusting the hearts of the *Germans*, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore misdoubting that his House, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his life time did associate his Son *Maximilian* to be joyned Emperor with him; with whom he Reigned the space of seven years, till the death of the said *Frederick* his Father, who departed *Anno* 1494, after he had Reigned over the Empire 53 years, lacking only but three years of the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, under whom was the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

The Reign and Death of Frederick Emperor. {Anno 1494.

This *Maximilian*, as he was a valiant Emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his Reign intangled in many unquiet and difficil Wars; first in the lower Countries of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, where the said *Maximilian* was taken captive, but shortly after refcued and delivered again by his Father, *Anno* 1487. It was signified before how this *Maximilian*, by the advice of the *Burgundians*, had to Wife *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, *Philip* and *Margaret*. *Anno* 1477. Which *Mary* not long after, about the year of our *Lord* 1481. by a fall from her Horse, fell into an Ague, and departed. Other Wars many more the same *Maximilian* also atchieved, both in *France*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, and divers besides.

Maximilian married with the Dutchess of Burgundy.

This Mary was Neece to King Edward the fourth.

So happy was the education of this Emperor in good Letters, so expert he was in Tongues and Sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the *Latine* stile, that he, imitating the example of *Julius Cæsar*, did write and comprehend in *Latine* Histories his own acts and feats done, and that in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his History to one *Pircamerus* a learned Man, asking his judgment how his warlike stile of *Latine* did like him, the said *Pircamerus* did affirm and report of him to *John Carion* (the witness and writer of this story) that he did never see nor read in any *German* story, a thing more exactly (and that in such haste) done, as this was of *Maximilian*. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so was he a singular Patron and advancer of learned Students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the University of *Wittenburgh*. By this Emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other Liberal Arts, as also namely, to the searching out of old Antiquities of Histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in *Germany*, to set their minds, and to exercise their diligence in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of History, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely *Cuspinianus*, *Nauclerus*, *Conradus*, *Pentingerus*, *Manlius*, and other.

The learning of Maximilian commended.

Maximilian Writer of his own stories. *In Jean. Carione.*

Maximilian first ordainer of the University of Wittenburg.

Here now it began night well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the World by the Art and Faculty of *Printing*, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which *Printing* the Church and Commonwealth of Christ, began now to be replenished with learned Men, as both may appear by this Emperor, being so induced himself with such excellent knowledge of good Letters, and also by divers other famous and worthy wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to encrease and multiply; as *Baptista Mantuanus*, *Aug. Politianus*, *Hermolaus*, *Barbarus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and *Franciscus* his Cosin, *Rodol. Agricola*, *Pontanus*, *Philippus*, *Beroaldus*, *Marsilius*, *Ficinus*, *Volaterranus*, *Georgius Valla*, with infinite other.

{KING Hen. 7. Learned men begin to grow in Christendom

Among whom is also to be numbred *Weselus Groningensis*, otherwise named *Basilius*, who was not long after *Joan. de Wesalia* above recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This *Weselus* died in the year of our Lord 1490. After that *Johannes* Doctor *de Wesalia* aforesaid, was condemned, this *Weselus* being familiar with him, thought that the Inquisitor would come and examine him also, as he himself in a certain Epistle doth write. He was for notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called *Lux Mundi*, that is, *The light of the World*.

Dr. Weselus of Groningan. his Epistle. Wesselus called Lux Mundi.

Concerning his Doctrine, first he reprehended the Opinion of the *Papists*, as touching Repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, Satisfaction and Confession he did disallow. Likewise Purgatory and Supererogation of works and pardons he did disprove, both at *Rome* and at *Paris*. He spake against the Popes Indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the Popes Court perswaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter, than he himself had done.

The Doctrine of Wesselus Groningens.

The abuses of Masses, and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the Supremacy of the Pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a Book of his, *De sacramento panitentiæ*) denying utterly that any supream Head or Governor ought to be in the World over all others; affirming also, and saying many times, *That the Pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth, that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far he sentence to stand; neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so at every true Christian Bishop may prevail over another.* Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, *but that Popes and their spiritual Prelates, proceeding against Christs Doctrine, be plain Antichrists. Such as were infirm and not able to perform the bond of Chastity taken upon them, he said they might well break their Vow.*

Ex lib. D. Weselli. De Sacramento Panitentiæ. The Popes supremacy written against.

Also the said *Weselus* witnesseth, that the forefathers which were before *Albert* and *Thomas*, did relish and withstand the Popes Indulgences, calling them in their Writings plain Idolatry, meer fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good Divines had withstood these Pardons and Indulgences of the Pope, innumerable errors had overflown the Church.

Amongst these works of *Weselus*, there is a certain Epistle of one written to him, in which the Author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at *Paris*, called Mr. *Thomas de Curselis* a Dean; who being in the Council of *Basil*, with 22 divers began to advance the power of the Pope too far, declared and affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, *Quicquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in cælo, &c. Et non quicquid dixeris esse ligatum*; that is, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven*, but not, *Whatsoever thou sayst to be bound*. As who should say, the Pope cannot nor doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go alwayes with him; then he doth so bind indeed. There is a certain Book of this man amongst divers others, which he intituled, *De fabulis & superioribus*, in the which he disputeth greatly against the Pope and his Prelates; affirming that the Pope, unless his Faith and Doctrine be found, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the Pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner means to resist him. *Item*, That great and superfluous riches in the Clergy do not profit, but hurt the Church. That the Pope doth wickedly distribute the Rents of the Church, and the Church it self, to unworthy Ministers by Simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear, that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the Church. *Item*, That the precepts and commandments of the Pope and Prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of Phylicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome and standing with the word.

Ex epist. cujusdam apud Wesel. Christs answer to Tho. de Curselis touching this place, Quicquid ligaveris super terram. &c. But whatsoever is bound in earth, that is also bound in Heaven. Against riches in the Church. The precepts of the Pope and Prelates how they bind.

{KING Hen. 7. The Popes keys. Vows. Doctrine to be received without examination.

word. *Item*, That the Pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the Keys of the Pope and of the Prelates be not such wherewith they open the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather shut it, as the *Pharisees* did. Concerning Vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

Excommunication.

He sheweth moreover that the sentence of Excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honest, simple and learned man, than from the Pope; as in the Council of *Constance*, *Bernard* was more esteemed than *Eugenius*. Also if the Pope with his Prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they never so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two Popes, *Pius* the Second, and *Sixtus* the Fourth, he saith, that *Pius* the Second did usurpe unto himself all the Kingdoms of the whole World, and that *Sixtus* the Pope did dispense with all manner of Oaths, in causes temporal, not only with such Oaths, as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter; which was nothing else but to give liberty and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceive one another.

This *Weselus* being a *Phrygian* born, and now aged in years, upon a certain time when a young man, called M. *Joannes Ostendorpius*, came to him, said these words; Well my child, thou shalt live to that day, who thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious Divines, as *Thomas* and *Bonaventure*, with others of the same fort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true Christian Divines. And this which *Ostendorpius* then being young heard *Weselus* to speak, he reported himself to *Noviomagus*, which wrote the story, *Anno* 1520, and heard it of the mouth of the said *Weselus*, *An.* 1490, *Martii*. 18.

Ex Noviomago. Ostendorpius was a man well learned and Canon of the Minster of Lubeck.

Philippus Melanthon writing of the life of *Rodulphus Agricola*, saith, that *Jossquinus Groningensis*, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the Sermons of *Rodulphus* and *Weselus*, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the Church, and reprehended the abuses of the Mass and of the single life of Priests. *Item*, that they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of Faith, why Saint *Paul* so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by Faith, and not works. The same *Josquine* also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of Monks, which say that men be justified by their works. *Item*, Concerning mens Traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those Traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of Doctor *Wesellianus* and *Weselus*.

Here it appeareth that this Rodulphus Agricola was of good judgment though the Friers afterward buried him in a Friers weed. Rodulphus Agricola, Weselus lamenteth the darkneſs of the Church.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of Printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and discern the errors of the Pope from the truth of Gods Word; as partly by these above said may appear, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seen.

About the very same time and season, when as the Gospel began thus to branch and spring in *Germany*, the Holy

of Christs Church began also to mutter and to multiply likewise here in *England*, as by these Histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this *Weselus*, in the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year the Reign of *Henry* the 7th, the 28th of *April*, was burned a very old Woman named *Joane Boughton* widow, and Mother to the Lady *Young*, which Lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her Mother was. Her Mother was of fourscour years of age or more, and held eight of *Wickliffs* opinions (which opinions my Author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in *Smithfield* the day aboresaid. My Author saith, she was a Disciple of *Wickliff*, whom the accounted for a Saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the Doctors of *London* could not turn her from one of them: and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she fet nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for the said she was so beloved of God, and his holy Angels, that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cryed to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the moft part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the Doctrine that she dyed for.

{Anno 1494. Joane Boughton Mother to the Lady Young burnt.

Shortly after the Martyrdom of this godly aged Mother, in the year of our Lord, 1497, and the 17th of *January*, being Sunday, two men, the one called *Richard Milderale*, and the other *James Sturdy*, bear Faggots before the procession of *Pauls*, and after stood before the Preacher in the time of his Sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at *Pauls* Cross all the Sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a Faggot on his neck. After that in *Lent* season upon Passion Sunday one *Hugh Glover* bear a Faggot before the procession of *Pauls*, and after with the Faggot stood before the Preacher all the Sermon while at *Pauls* Cross. And on the Sunday next following four men stood, and did their open Penance at *Pauls*, as is aforesaid, in the Sermon time, and many of their Books were burnt before them at the Cross.

{Ann. 1497. Richard Milderale. James Sturdy.

Hugh Glover. Four others bear Faggots.

FUrthermore the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1498, in the beginning of *May*, the King then being at *Canterbury*, was a Priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the Clerks and Doctors then there being could not remove him from his Faith: Whereof the King being informed, he caused the said Priest to be brought before his presence, who by his perswasion caused him to revoke, and so he was burnt immediately.

{Anno 1498. A Priest burnt.

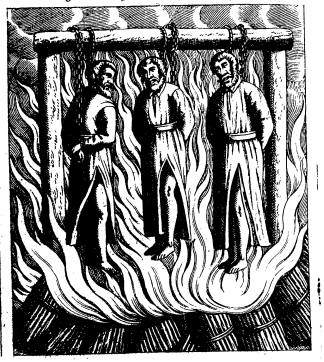
IN the same year above meritioned, which was the year of our Lord 1498, after the beheading of *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick*, and son to the Duke of *Clarence*, the King and Queen being removed to *Calis*, a certain godly man and a constant Martyr of Christ, named *Babram*, in *Norfolk*, was burnt in the mouth of *Yarmouth*, as is in *Fabian* recorded, after the Copy which I have written. Albeit in the Book *Fabian* Printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is, *An.* 1500. *Ex Fabiatio, & alio scripto codem.*

This Queen was removed to Calis at the beheading of Edward Plantaginet Babram burnt in Norfolk Martyr.

The burning of Babram.



The Martyrdome of Ierome & his two companions



An old man burned.

ABout which year likewiſe, or in the next following, the twentieth day of *July*, was an old man burnt in *Smithfield*.

Anno 1498. *Hieromus Savanarola* with two Friers Martyrs.

In the ſame year alſo, which was of the Lord, one thouſand four hundred ninety and nine, fell the Martrydom and burning of *Hieronymus Savanarola*, a man no leſs godly in heart, then conſtant in his profeſſion. Who being a Monk in *Italy*, and ſingularly well learned, preached ſore againſt the evil life and living of the ſpiritualty, and eſpecially of his own Order, complaining ſore upon them as the ſprings and authors of all miſchiefs and wickedneſs. Whereupon by the help of certain learned men he began to ſeek reformation in his own order. Which thing the Pope perceiving and fearing that the ſaid *Hierom*, which was now in great reputation amongſt all men, ſhould diminiſh or overthrow his authority, he ordained his Vicar or Provincial to ſee reformation of theſe matters; which Vicar with great ſuperſtition began to reform things: but the ſaid *Hierom* did always withſtand him, whereupon he was complained of to the Pope, and becauſe that contrary unto the Popes commandment he did withſtand his Vicar, he was accuſed. But for all that

Propheſie of *Ieronymus* againſt *Italy*.

the ſaid *Ieronymus* left not off preaching, but threatned *Italy* with the wrath and indignation of God, and propheſied before unto them, that the Land ſhould be overthrown for the pride and wickedneſs of the people, and for the untruth, hypocriſie and falſhood of the Clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged, as afterward it came to paſs, when as K. *Charles* came into *Italy* and to *Rome*, and ſo ſtraightly befet Pope *Alexander*, that he was forced to make compoſition with the King.

Pope *Alexander* beſieged by Charles the French King.

Now forſomuch as the ſaid *Hierom* would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the Pope, to give account of his new learning (for ſo then they called the truth of the Goſpel) but by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuſe that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the Pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernitious, falſe and ſeditious.

Savanarola cited to appear before the Pope.

The doctrine of *Savanarola* condemned becauſe he would not come before the Pope.

Savanarola preacheth contrary to the Popes commandment.

This *Ieronymus*, as a man worldly wiſe, foreſeeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear left off preaching. But when as the people, which fore hungred and longed for Gods Word, were inſtant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach in the year of our Lord, 1496, in the City of *Florence*, and albeit that many counſelled him that he ſhould not ſo do without the Popes commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When as the Pope and his ſhavelings heard news of this, they were grievouſly incenſed and inflamed againſt him, and now again curſed him, as an obſtinate and ſtiffnecked Hereticke. But for all that, *Ieronymus* proceeded in teaching and inſtructing the people, ſaying that men ought not to regard ſuch curſes, which are againſt the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people ſhould be learned and amended, Chriſts Kingdom enlarged, and the Kingdom of the Devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he deſired to teach no other thing than the only pure and ſimple Word of God, making often proteſtation that all men ſhould certifie him if they had heard himteach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his own conſcience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure Word of God. What his doctrine was all men may eaſily judge by his Books that he hath written.

Hierom with two other Friers and brought out of Saint *Marks* Cloiſter, and two other Fryers with him, named *Dominick* and *Silveſter*, which favoured his learning, and was carried into Priſon, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that moſt comfortable thirty firſt *Pſalm*; *In te Domine ſperavi, non confundar in æternum, ſed in juſtitia tua libera me.* Wherein he doth excellently deſcribe and ſet forth the continual ſtrife between the fleſh and the ſpirit.

Hierom with two other Friers committed to priſon.

The commentary of *Ierom.* upon the Pſalm beginning. *In te domine ſperavi.*

After this the Popes Legates came to *Florence* and called forth theſe three good men, threatning them marvelouſly; but they continued ſtill conſtant. Then came the chief Counſellers, of the City, with the Popes Commiſſioners, which had gathered out certain Articles againſt theſe men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which Articles hereafter enſue.

Articles objected againſt *Ierom* and the two Friers.

1. The firſt Article was as touching our free Juſtification on through Faith in Chriſt.

2. That the Communion ought to be miniſtred under both kinds.

3. That the Indulgencies and Pardons of the Pope were of no effect.

4. For preaching againſt the filthy and wicked living of the Cardinals and ſpiritualty.

5. For denying the Popes Supremacy.

6. Alſo

{KING Hen.7.}

6. Alſo that he had affirmed that the Keys were not given unto *Peter* alone, but unto the Univerſal Church.

7. Alſo, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Chriſt, for that he did attribute more to his own Pardons and Traditions, than to Chriſts meats, and therefore he was Antichriſt.

8. Alſo, that the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.

9. *Item*, That Auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary.

10. *Item*, That he had moved the Citizens to uproar and ſedition.

11. *Item*, That he had neglected and condemned the Popes Citation.

12. *Item*, That he had ſhamefully ſpoken againſt, and ſlandred the Pope.

13. *Item*, That he had taken Chriſt to witneſs of his naughtineſs and Hereſie.

14. Alſo, that *Italy* muſt be cleanſed through Gods ſcourge, for the manifold wickedneſs of the Princes and Clergy.

These and ſuch other like Articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the ſaid *Hierom* and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they anſwered, that through Gods help they would ſteadfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth, and not depart from the ſame. Then were they degraded one after another by the Biſhop of *Veſon*, and ſo delivered over to the ſecular Rulers of *Florence*, with ſtraight commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obſtinate and ſtiffnecked Hereticks

Hierom with his two companions hanged and burnt for the Goſpels truth.

Thus was the worthy witneſs of Chriſt, with the other two aforeſaid, firſt hanged up openly in the Market place, and afterward burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes gathered up, and caſt into the River of *Arnus*, the 24th of *May*, in the year of our Lord, 1499. *Ex Catal. teſtium Ilyrici.*

The Propheſies of *Hieronymus Savanarola.*

This man foreſhewed many things to come, as the deſtruction of *Florence* and *Rome*, and the renewing of the Church; which three things have hapned in theſe times within our remembrance. Alſo he foreſhewed that the Turks and Mores in the later days ſhould be converted unto Chriſt. He alſo declared that one ſhould paſs the *Alpes* into *Italy*, like unto *Cyrus* which ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all *Italy*. Whereupon *Johannes Franciſcus Picus*, Earl of *Mirandola*, called him a Holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings againſt the Pope. Many other learned men alſo defended the innocency of the ſaid *Savanarola*. *Maſſilius Ficinus* alſo in a certain Epiſtle doth attribute unto him the ſpirit of Propheſie, greatly commending and praiſing him. In like manner *Philippus Cominеus* a French Hiſtoriographer, which had conference with him, witneſſeth that he was a holy man, and full of the ſpirit of Propheſie, forſomuch as he had foreſhewed unto him ſo many things which in event had proved true.

Ex Ioan. Franciſc. Mirandula.

Ex Maſſilii Ficini.

Ex Phi. Cominæ.

Anton. Flaminius an *Italian*, and for piety and learning famous, in that age, wrote this Epigram upon the death of *Hierm. Savanarola.*

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, paſcitur artus,
Relligio, ſanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, & O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite, ſunt iſto viſcera noſtra rogo.

Which may be thus Engliſhed.

Whilſt flames unjuſt (bleſt Saint) thy body burns,
Weeping Religion with diſhevel'd hairs,
Cries out, and ſays, Oh ſpare his ſacred urnes,
Spare cruel flames; that fire our ſoul impairs.

There were beſides theſe, many other, not to be paſſed over or forgotten: as *Philip Norice* an Irithman, profeſſor at *Oxford*, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is ſaid) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that ſuch as have occupied themſelves in writing of Hiſtories, and have ſo diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign Common-wealths, had beſtowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing thoſe things which pertain unto the affairs of the Church: whereby the poſterity might have had fuller and more perfect underſtanding and knowledge of them.

This *Savanarola* abve mentioned, ſuffered under Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, of which Pope more leiſure and opportunity ſhall ſerve hereafter (Chriſt willing) to entreat, after that we ſhall firſt make a little digreſſion, to entreat of certain cauſes and complaints of the *Germans*, incident in the mean time, which as they are not to be overpaſt in ſilence, ſo can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred. What complaints of the *Germans* were made and moved unto the Emperor *Frederick* againſt the Popes ſuppreſſions and exactions, mention was made before; where alſo was declared, how the ſaid *Germans* at that time were twice put back and forſaken of the Emperor, whereby they continued in the ſame yoke and bondage until the time of *Luther*. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it alſo good here briefly to declare, how the ſaid *Germans*, in the time of *Maximilian* the Emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the Emperor ten principal Grievances, whereby, the Germans have been long time oppreſſed; ſhewing alſo the remedies againſt the ſame, with certain adviſements unto the Emperors Majeſty, how he might withſtand and reſiſt the Popes ſubtilites and crafts: The order and tenor whereof here enſueth.

The complaint of the Germans againſt the Popes oppreſſions reſerved.

The ten Grievances of the Germans.

Ten Grievances complained of by the Germans.

1. THat the Biſhops of *Rome*, ſucceſſors one unto another, do not think themſelves bound to obſerve and keep the Bulls, Covenants, Priviledges, and Letters, granted by their Predeceſſors, without all derogation; but by often diſpenſation, ſuſpenſion and revocation, even at the inſtance of every vile perſon, they do gainſay and withſtand the ſame.

2. That the elections of Prelates are oftentimes put back.

3. That the elections of Preſidentſhips are withſtood, which the Chapter houſes of many Churches have obtained with great coſt and expence, as the Church of *Spire* and *Haſſel* do well know; whoſe Bull, touching the election of their Preſident, is fruſtrate, he being yet alive which granted the ſame.

4. That Benefices and the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical dignities are reſerved for Cardinals and head Notaries.

5. That expectative graces, called Vowſons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do ariſe, and much money is ſpent, both that which is laid out for the Bulls of thoſe Vowſons, which never take effect, and alſo that which is conſumed in going to Law. Whereupon this proverb is riſen, Whoſoever will get a Vowſon from *Rome*, muſt have C. or C. C. pieces of Gold laid up in his Cheſt, for the obtaining of the ſame, which he ſhall have need of, to proſecute the Law withal.

6. That Annates, or yearly revenews are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the Biſhops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new Offices and new Servants, as by the examples of the Churches of *Mentz* and *Straſsbourgh*, may be ſeen.

7. That the rule of the Churches is given at *Rome* unto thoſe that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep Mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

8. That new Indulgences and Pardons, with the ſuſpention and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and ſcrape money together.

9. That Tenths are exacted, under pretence of making War againſt the *Turk*; when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.

10. That the cauſes which might be determined in *Germany*, where there are both learned and juſt Judges, are indifferently carried unto the Court of *Rome*; which thing S. *Bernard* writing to Pope *Engenius*, ſeemeth wonderfully to reprove.

Here enſueth the remedy againſt the ſaid Grievances.

Remedy againſt the foreſaid Grievances.

IF it ſhall ſeem good unto the Emperors Majeſty, let it be declared unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the *Germans*, to ſuffer continually ſo great charges and grievances, to pay

So great Annates for the confirmation of the Bishops and Archbishops, and especially in such Bishopricks, whereas the Annates by succes of time are enhanced, and in many (as it is said) doubled. For the Archbishops See of *Mentz* (as it is said) sometime paid only ten thousand Florens; which then, when as one which was chosen there, refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he which was afterward elect, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the Apostlick See, offered the said sum of 10000 Florens: but notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20000 Florens. Which being enrolled in the register of the Chamber, as much hath been exacted of every Archbishop since, until these our days; and not only 20000, but also 25000 for their new offices, and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27000 Florens, which *James* the Archbishop of *Mentz* was compelled to pay, as his Commissary did report. Step by this means, in a little time there was seven times 25000 Florens payd out of the Archbishoprick of *Mentz* unto *Rome*, for the confirmation of the Archbishop. And when this Archbishop *James* had kept the Archbishoprick scarce four years, the Lord *Uriel* was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24000, or 25000 Florens. Whereof a part he borrowed of Merchants: but to satisfie and pay them again, he was forced to exact a Subsidy of his poor Subjects and Husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the Bishops Pall, so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extream poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry Wars and Battels, the Lands of *Germany* lye desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarsenes of Husbandmen, the Fields for the most part lye untilled, the Tolls are by divers means diminished, the Mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the Archbishops and Bishops should pay their Annates unto the Apostolick See, besides their other necessary and honest charges; wherefore, that not without just cause, *James* the Archbishop of *Mentz*, being even at the point of death, said, That he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor Subjects should be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the Pall. Wherefore let the high Bishop, as a godly Father, and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent Pastor, deal more favourably with his children the *Germans*, lest that persecution happen to rise against the Priests of Christ, and that men following the example of the *Bohemians*, do swerve from the Church of *Rome*.

At the least, let him be more favourable, as often as any Archbishop or Bishop hapned to rule his Church but a few years; as it hapned to the Bishops of *Bamberge*, whereof three died within few years. The like also might happen by other Bishopricks, whereof (as *Æneas Sylvius* witnesseth) there are in *Germany* to the number of fifty, besides Abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at *Rome*.

And admit that in *Germany* there were greater profits and Revenues rising of the Ground, Mines and Tolls; notwithstanding the Emperor and the other Princes should lack treasure and munition of War against their enemies, and specially the Infidels, and to preserve *Germany* in peace and quietnes, and to minister justice unto every man: for which purpose the Council of the Chamber, being most hollily instructed and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the Emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the Rebels in the Empire, to banish and drive away Thieves and Murtherers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoil Churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the Clergy themselves. Finally, our Nation and Country of *Germany* hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of Churches and Monasteries, but also for Hospitals for Children that are laid out in the Streets, for Widows, for Women with Child, for Orphans, for marriage of the Daughters of poor Men, that they be not deflowred, for such as have need and necessity, for the Old and Weak, for the Sick and the Sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) *Germany* is fully replenished and filled.

{KING Hen.7.}

Advertisements unto the Emperors Majesty.

LEt the Emperors Majesty foresee and provide that the begging Friers do not preach against his Majesty, which are wont to complain gladly unto the Apostolick See, fearing to lose their priviledges, which I would to God were as well grounded upon Christ, as they are upon profit. Let the Emperors Majesty also beware, that the Pope do not give commandment unto the Electors, to proceed to the Election of a new King of the *Romans*, as he did against *Frederick* the Second, when as the Landgrave of *Thurin*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, were elect by the commandment of the Pope. Let the Emperors Majesty also fear and take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and especially of the Presidents, which by their Oath are bound to advertise the Pope. Let the Emperors Majesty also fear and beware, that the Pope do not take away from his Subjects their obedience, and provoke the people bordering upon him, to make invasion into the Emperors Dominions and Archduchy of *Austrich*; which those men, under colour shewing obedience unto the Popes commandment, be ready to do.

The Emper. advertised of the fulfil practises of the Pope and popish Prelates.

Let the Emperors Majesty also take heed of the Apostolick censures, from which the Pope will in no case refrain. Finally, let the Emperors Majesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the Pope do not persuade the people with most subtil Arguments, contrary to the Pragmatical sanction, excusing himself, and getting the good will of the simple, alledging that with great costs and charges, he will repair the Church of Saint *Peter* in *Rome*, and build in certain places against the Turks, and recover again the Lands and Patrimony pertaining unto the Church of Saint *Peter*, as he is bound by his Office. Therefore let your Majesty diligently foresee and deliberate, how through your most wise and discreet Counsel, if need shall require, you will answer to those subtilities to the Pope.

The Popes pretence of building S. Peters Church in Rome.

A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperors Majesty.

YOur Majesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternal remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the *Germans*; to take away all occasions from the Laity, to persecute the Clergy: also to take away the Benefices out of the hands of Courtesans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counsel any man (of which Benefices, as *Æneas Sylvius* writeth, some are equal to the Bishopricks of *Italy*) to encrease Gods honour and worship; and so to use with, that not only they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, Council, harbour or give them any thing, all their Messengers, and Writers, Proctors, Sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. *From* Octopent, &c.

A supplication or Exhortation to *Maximilian* Emperor of the Church.

No man to have two Canonships or Prebends at once.

{KING Hen.7.}

from the *Grecians* unto *Germany*, have reigned many years before.

Hereafter ensueth the Copy of a certain Letter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, given out in manner of a Decree or Commandment against certain abuses of the Clergy. Whereunto we have also annexed the answer of *Jacobus Seleſtadiensis* unto the Emperors Letters, wherein he seemeth also to have sought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

An Edict of *Maximilian* the Emperor.

WE, *according to the example of our dearly beloved Father*, Frederick *Emperor of* Rome, *reverencing the chief Pastor of the Church, and all the Clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the Ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the Prelates and Clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by humane frailty, with* Constantine *our Predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and Cover. But forsomuch as through our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect into the Empire, without any desert) that among all other affairs of Peace and War, the Churches do not decay, Religion quail not, or Gods true worship be not diminished; which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive by the insatiable covetousnes of some, which are never satisfied in getting of Benefices, through whose absence (being resident but only upon one) GODS honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, Churches decrease, the Ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, Learning and Monuments are lost and destroyed, Hospitality and Alms diminished, and by their insatiable greedines, such of the Clergy, as for their Learning and Vertue were worthy of Benefices, and their Wisdom profitable in Commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the encrease of GODS honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any Canonship or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, shall occupy or possess a Prebend in another Church of the same City, except he give over the first within a years space unto some person fit and profitable for the Church; neither that he do by unjust quarels, vex or trouble any man in getting of Benefices, neither that any man do falsly feign himself to have been of the Emperors houshold, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the Patronages from any Lay-man, or aggravate the small Prebends of Curates, or Churches with Pensions, neither that they do use in getting of Benefices and Bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked Simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regress, or other thing contrary to the sacred Canons, right, honesty, equity and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which to use with, that not only they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, Council, harbour or give them any thing, all their Messengers, and Writers, Proctors, Sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. From* Octopent, &c.

¶ Here ensueth the Copy of a Letter written unto the Emperor *Maximilian*.

To our Most victorious Lord, *Maximiliam* the Emperor, *Jacobus Seleſtadiensis* most humble commendations.

MOst *Victorious Emperor, when I had read your Majesties Epistle, and received instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my self with all my whole endeavour to satisfie your Majesties desire. For even from my youth hitherto, I have applyed all my care and study, first for the honour of your Majesty, and consequently for the amplifying of the German nation, and sacred Roman Empire. Albeit I know my self far unable to satisfie your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which have greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senates of Commonwealths, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie* Germany, *and perswade to reduce all the Clergy unto a Christian Discipline, and to an unity and peace of the universal Church. Wherein, not only your Majesty, but also your predecessors, as* Charles the Great, *and his Son* Ludovicus Pius, *the* Othoes, Conrades, Fredericks, *and* Henricks, *and last of all,* Sigismundus, *have with all labour and diligence travelled, being stirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto almighty God, and thankfulnes to Christ for his benefits which he hath bestowed upon mankind, and specially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poor for us, that we should live in all vice and wantonnes upon his patrimony, and shew forth our ambition and covetousnes; neither did he suffer hunger, that we should glut up our selves; nor suffered labours, chastity, and grievous torments, that we should live in idlenes, wantonnes, and all kind of voluptuousnes. Neither they which were contributers, and Benefactors to Churches, indowing the Ministery thereof with their temporal riches, had any such respect herein, that the Clergy should live only in idlenes, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause, why that they in times past did impoverish themselves and their, to endow the Church; verily, that they might the better attend unto Divine Service, without care of want of living (which they might easily get and gather out of the Fields, Woods Meadows and Waters), and to the intent that they should liberally give Alms unto the poor Christians, Widows, Orphans, Aged and Sick persons. For in the Institutions of the Canonical profession, which we suppose was written by the commandment of* Ludovicus Pius *the Emperor, and allowed by the Council of the Bishops, thus it is read: The goods of the Church (as it is alledged by the Fathers, and contained in the Chapters before) are the vows of the faithful, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithfull, through the forwardnes of their faith and love of Christ, being inflamed, having an earnest desire of that heavenly Kingdom, have enriched the holy Church with their own goods, that thereby the Souldiers of Christ might be nourished, the Church adorned, the poor refreshed, and captives according to the opportunity of time redeemed. Wherefore such as have the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper use, but rather according to their substance and possibility they do not neglect them, in whom Christ is fed and cloathed. Prosper is also of the same mind, affirming that holy men did not challenge the Church goods to their own use, as their own proper goods, but as things commended unto the poor, to be divided amongst them. For that is to contemn that which a man possesseth, not to possess a thing for himself, but for others, neither to covet the Church goods with covetousenes to have them to himself, but to take them with a godly zeal to help other. That which the Church hath, is common to all them which have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (saith he) which have of their own; for to give unto them which have enough, is but to cast things away.*

Ex Illyrico.

To return now to the order of Popes, where we left before, speaking of *Innocentius* the eighth. After the said *Innocentius*, next succeeded Pope *Alexander* the sixth. In which *Alexander*, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when *Gemes* (*Princeps* named him *Demes*) brother to *Bajazetes* the Great Turk, was

Pope Alexander.

was committed by the *Rhodians* to the safe custody, first of Pope *Innocent*, then of *Alexander* the sixth, for whose keeping, the Pope received every year 40000 Crowns; yet notwithstanding, when Pope *Alexander* afterward was compelled to send the said *Gemes* to *Charles* the eighth, the French King, for a pledge, because the French King should not procure the Great Turks favour, by sending his Brother *Gemes* to him to be slain, he being hired by the *Turk*, caused the said *Gemes* to be poysoned, who, in his journey going toward the French King, died at *Terracina*. *Ex Hieronymo Mario.*

The Pope poysoneth Gemes the Turks Brother, being committed to his custody. *Ex Paulo Jovio lib. 2. Ex Pencero lib. 5. Ex Hieronymo Mario.*

Moreover, in the said *Hieronymus Marius*, it appareth that this *Alexander* taking displeasure with the foresaid *Charles* the French King, about the winning of *Naples*, sent to *Bajazetes* the *Turk*, to fight against the forsaid *Charles*. *Ex eodem.*

The Pope feeteth the Great Turk against the French King. *Ex Sab. Monsterillo 2. Cosmograph.*

Munsterus lib. 4. *Cosmog.* declaring the foresaid History of *Gemes* something otherwise, first calleth him *Zizemmus*, and saith that he was first committed by the *Rhodians* to the French King. And when as *Joannes Huniades* aforementioned did labour to the French King to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the *Turk*, as it was not unlike: This *Alexander* the Pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French King into his own hands, by whose means the said *Gemes* afterward was poysoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Unto these poysoned acts of the Pope, let us also adjoyn his malicious wickedness, with like fury exercised upon *Antonius Mancinellus*, which *Mancinellus* being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent Oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as *Antoninus* the Tyrant once did with *M. Cicero*, for writing against his horrible life, as length, as one poyson requireth another, this poysond Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senators of *Rome* at dinner, his servants unawars brought to him a wrong Bottle, wherewith he was poysoned, and his Cardinals about him.

Mancinellus, writing against the wickedness of the Pope, lost his hands and tongue.

Poyson requited with poyson.

In the time of this Pope *Alexander* also it hapned (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angel, which stood in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten down with terrible Thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedom. After this Pope, next succeeded *Pius* the third, about the year of our Lord, 1503. After whom came next *Julius* the second, a man so far passing all other in iniquity, that *Wicelius*, and such other of his own friends writing of him, are compelled to say of him, *Marti illum quam Christo deditiorem fuisse*; that is, that he was more given to War and Battel, than to Christ. Concerning the madnes of this man; this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to War, he cast the Keys of Saint *Peter* into the River *Tibris*, saying, that forsomuch as the Keys of *Peter* would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the Sword of *Paul*. Whereupon *Philip Melanthon*, amongst many other writing upon the same, maketh this Epigram.

The high Angel of the Palace throwen down.

Pope *Pius* 3. Pope *Julius* 2.

Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet:
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem
Egressus sævas edidit ore minas.
Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
Tibridis, hic urbi poni ubi junget aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri.

Whereupon also *Gilbert Ducherius* maketh this Epigram.

In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armatam eduxit Julius urbe manum.
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projecit, & sævus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.

{KING Hen.7.}

The sense of these Epigrams in English, is this.

When *Julius* Pope against the French
determined to make War:
As fame reports, he gathered up
great troops of men from far.
And to the Bridge of *Tibur* then,
marching as he were wood;
His holy Keys he took and cast
them down into the flood.
And afterward into his hand
he took a naked Sword:
And shaking it broke forth into
this fierce and warlike word:
This Sword of *Paul* (quoth he) shall now
defend us from our foe;
Since that this Key of *Peter* doth.
nothing avail thereto.

Of this *Julius* it is certainly reported, that partly with his Wars, partly with his cursings, with in the space of seven years, as good as 200000 Christians were destroyed. First, he besiged *Ravenna* against the *Venetians*; then *Servia*, *Imolia*, *Faventia*, *Forolivium*, *Bononia*, and other Cities, which he gate out of Princes hands, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of *John Sleyden* make mention, that when this *Julius* was made Pope he took an Oath, promising to have a Council within two years: but when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his Wars in *Italy* among the *Venetians*, and with the French King, and in *Ferraria*, and in other Countries; nine of his Cardinals, departing from him, came into *Millain*, and there appointed a Council at the City of *Pise*; amongst whom, the chief were *Bernardus*, *Cruceus*, *Guilelmus Prenestimus*, *Franciscus*, *Constantinus*, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoyned the Procurators of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and of *Charles* the French King. So the Council was appointed the year of our Lord, 1511, to begin in the Kalends of *September*. The cause why they did so call this Council, was thus alledged, because the Pope had so broken his Oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any Council; and also becaufe there were divers other crimes, where upon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through Bribes and ambition. *Julius* hearing this, given out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another Council against the next year, to be begun the 19th day of *April*. The French King understanding Pope *Julius* to joyn with the *Venetians*, and so to take their part against him, convented a Council at *Thurin*, in the Month of *September*; in which Council these Questions were proposed.

The Popes Law giveth leave to kill all that be secured of him.

The Wars and bloodshed of Pope *Julius* 2.

A Council called to depose Pope *Julius*.

The Pope perjured.

Whether it was lawful for the Pope to move War against any Prince without cause.

Whether any Prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his Obedience.

Unto the which Questions it was answered, That neither the Bishop ought to invade, and also that it was lawful for the King to defend himself. Moreover, that the Pragmatical sanction was to be observed through the Realm of *France*: Neither that any unjust Excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the King sent to *Julius* the answer of his Council, requiring him either to agree to Peace, or to appoint a general Council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. *Julius* would neither of both these, but forthwith accurfed *Charles* the French King, with all his Kingdom. At the length a *Ravenna*, in a great War he was overcome by the French King, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloodshed, and mortal War, this Pope died in the year of our Lord, 1513, the 21. day of *February*.

The Pragmatical Sanction established, mentioned before.

No unjust Excommunication to be feared.

If

{KING Hen.7.}

The Turks doings requisite to be known of christians.

IF it were not that I fear to overlay this our Volume with heaps of forreign Histories, which have professed chiefly to intreat of *Acts and Monuments* here done at home; I would adjoyn after these Popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the Saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of *Christendom*: yet notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruine and subversion of so many Christian Churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of *England*, as also to other Nations.

The first cause.

First, For the better explaining of the Prophefies of the New Testament, as in Saint *Pauls* Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and also in the Revelation of Saint *John*. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these Histories, cannot so perfectly be understood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter (Christ granting) orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehersal.

The second cause.

Another cause is, that we may learn thereby, either with the publick Church to lament with our Brethren, such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

The third cause.

The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with our selves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the sequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The fourth cause.

Fourthly, The consideration of this horrible perfecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissention among our selves, may reduce us again from our domestical Wars, in killing and burning one of another, to joyn together in Christian patience and concord.

The fifth cause.

Fifthly, But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and improsperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the Prince of this World, goeth with the Turks. Which to resist, no strength of mans Army is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Son of God, going with us in our battels; as among the old Israelites the Ark of Gods covenant and promise went with them also fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we War against the Devil, or against the *Turk*, it is true that the Scripture saith, *Sine me nihil potestis facere, i.* without me you can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the Devil, or to conquer the world, *Nisi fides nostra*, that is, our Faith only; to which all the promises of God (touching salvation) be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the Word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the Word expressed, goeth not, but wandreth, he cannot tell whether. Neither must we appoint God how to save the World, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set God to school, nor comprehend his holy spirit within our Sculs. He that made us without our Council, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not refuse but search his Word, and thereunto apply our Will; which if we will do, all our contentions will be foon at a point. Let us therefore search the Will of our God in his Word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all Nations, why do we make merchandise thereof? If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without mony or money worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.

Admonition to fight against the *Turk*.

Christian faith necessary to be joyned with outward force against the *Turk*.

Gratis accumulati estis, gratis redimimini. Esay 52.

Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas, emite absque argento & commutatione. Esay 55.

And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his Majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth Saint *George* or Saint *Dennis* as Partners to the field to fight against the *Turk*, leaveth Christ (no doubt) at home. Now how we have fought these many years against the *Turk*, though stories keep silence, yet the successe declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors our selves. We wrestle against a bloody Tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christs people with the Sword, and we burn them with fire. He observing the works of the Law, seeketh his justice by the same; the like also do we. But neither he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is, by Faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, your Doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because that Christians be wicked, and their Doctrine impure. Our Temples with Images, our hearts with Idolary are polluted: our Priests think before God for Adultery, being restrained from lawful Matrimony. The Name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We War against the Turk with our Works, Masses, Traditions and Ceremonies; but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the Power of his Glory, which if we did, the Field were won.

Reformation of religion requisite before we fight the Turks.

Wherefore briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose; this hope I have, and do believe, That when the Church of Christ with the Sacraments thereof shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our Justifier, all other Religions, Merits, Traditions, Images, Patrons and Advocates set apart, the Sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquith the Turks pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

Faith getteth victory.

The fifth cause.

The fifth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks History requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, which for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what hapneth to their other Brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable state of Christs Church, I thought it requisite, by order of History, to give this our Nation also fourning to understand, what hath been done in other Nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the Church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the Name of his Son, to stop the course of the Devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his Faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed. *Amen.*

Earnest invention necessary in the Church of Christ.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and *Saracens*, first let us call to remembrance the Prophetie and forewarning of Saint *Paul* writing to the *Thessalonians*, in his second Epistle, in these words: Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or writing, or by Letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed, *&c.* Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry Expositors: some thinking this defection to mean a falling away from the Empire of *Rome*: some from the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint *Paul* little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman Empire; so lets he passed upon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saint *Paul* meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these Churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

2 *Thes.* 2.

The place of S. *Paul* expounded, 2 *Thes.* 2. Speaking of the outward defection to come.

Another Misery there is in the Revelation, *Apocal.* 13. where the number of the Beast is counted 666. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the rise Origin and springing of these beastly *Saracens*, as by the sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devillish sect of *Mahomet*.

The number of the Apostate cap. 13. expounded.

Moreover, another place there is, *cap.* 16. *Apocal.* where we read, that by pouring out of the Vial of Gods wrath, of the sixth Angel, the great flood *Euphrates* was dryed up, to let in the Kings of the *East*; the opening of which prophetie may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming of these Turks into *Europe*.

Another place *Apoc.* 16.

Some also apply to the Turks certain Prophefies of *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, and other places of the Old Testament, but I omit, forsomuch as the Prophefies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than

Et statua Angelus ejus pedibus suis &c.

to

to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the *Jews* Kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any mans opinion, but that every man may abound in his own senſe.

The time of Mahomet the falſe Prophet expounded.

As touching the year and time when this peſtiferous ſect of *Mahomet* the firſt began, Hiſtories do not fully conſent, ſome affirming that it began, *Anno* 621. and in the tenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; in which mind is *Ioannes Lucidus*. As *Munſterus* counteth, it was in the year of our Lord, 622. *Martin Luther* and *John Carion* refer it to the 18th year of the reign of *Heraclius*, which is the year of our Lord, 630. Unto the which number, the computation of the *Beaſt* ſignified in the *Apocalypſe*, doth not far diſagree, which numbereth the name of the Beaſt, with three Greek letters χ ξ ϛ, which Greek letters, after the ſupputation of the *Greekians*, make the number of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix.

The number of the Beaſt in the Apoc. c. 13.

Mahomet of the ſtock of the Iſhmaelites, diſtelling in Arabia.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable *Mahomet* was born in the Country of *Arabia*, bordering on the Eaſt part of *Jewry*. His father was a *Syrian*, or a *Perſian*, his mother was an *Iſhmalite*, which *Iſhmalites* being a people of *Arabia*, were called the *Agareni*; Which term *Mahomet* afterward turned to the name of *Saracens*. Of this wretched *Mahomet*, mention was made before, where we ſhewed, how he making himſelf the higheſt Prophet, of all other, yet denieth not Chriſt to be an holy Prophet, and next to him, and *Moſes* alſo to be another. Moreover, he denieth not *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt to be a Virgin, and to have conceived Chriſt by the Holy Ghoſt: affirming further, that Chriſt in his own perſon was not crucified, but another called *Judas* for him. He greatly commendeth alſo *John* the ſon of *Zachary* for a Virgin: when he himſelf permitteth a man to have four Wives, and as many Concubines as he is able to find: and ſaith that whereas Chriſt and other Prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was ſent by force of ſword, to compel men to his Religion.

The prodigious lies and blaſphemies of Mahomet Alchoran.

Mahomets Alchoran mingled with divers lawes.

The prodigeous vanities, lyes and blaſphemies contained in his Law called *Alchoran*, are rather to be laught at, than recited.

It is thought that *Sergius* a *Neſtorian* was a great doer with *Mahomet*, in contriving of this lying *Alchoran*, and ſo it doth well appear by the ſcope and pretence thereof, which eſpecially tendeth to this end, to take the divinity from the perſon of Chriſt, whom he granteth notwithſtanding to be a moſt holy man, and alſo that he is received up to God, and ſhall come again to kill Antichriſt, *&c.*

The number ration of the Apocal. 666.

Moreover, this ridiculous *Alchoran* is ſo blanched and powdered with divers mixtures of the Chriſtians, *Jews*, and the Gentiles Laws, giving ſuch liberty to all wantonneſs of fleſh, ſetting up Circumciſion, abſtaining from ſwines fleſh, and Judaical lotions, and ſo much ſtanded upon Father *Abraham*, that it is ſuppoſed of ſome, this filthy *Alchoran*, not to be ſet out in the days of *Mahomet*, but that certain *Jews* had ſome handling alſo in this matter, and put it out after his death, and ſo ſeemeth ſtrit to take his force about the number of years limited in the *Apocalypſe*, as is aforeſaid, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the Beaſt: for it is the number of a man, and his number is ſix hundred ſixty and ſix.

Throughout ſubdued of the Saracens.

After this deviliſh *Mahomet* had thus ſeduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of ſword to give his Law, and that they which will not obey it, muſt either be put to death, or elſe pay tribute (for ſo be the words of the *Alchoran*;) and after that he had gathered ſtrength about him of the *Arabians*, which *Arabians* had then occaſion to rebel againſt the Emperor, becauſe their ſtipends were not paid them of *Heraclius* the Emperors Officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of *Syria*, bordering near unto him, and firſt ſubdued *Mecha*, then *Damaſcus*; and further increaſing in power, he entred into *Ægypt*, and ſubdued the ſame. From thence he turned his power againſt the *Perſians*, with whom *Coſroes* the King of *Perſia* encountred with a puiſſant Army, overthrew the *Saracens*, and put *Mahomet* to flight. Of theſe *Perſians* came the *Turks*, which afterward joyning with the *Saracens*, maintained them againſt the Chriſtians. *Ex Monſter.*

Mahomet put to flight by Coſroes, King of the Perſians.

After the death of this Beaſt, which as ſome ſay, was poyſoned in his houſe, ſucceeded *Ebeconra*, or *Ebubecer* his Father in law, or as *Bibliander* affirmeth, his Son in law, who took upon him the government of the Chriſtians, and got the City *Garza*, and beſieged alſo *Jeruſalem* two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief City *Damaſcus*.

{KING Hin.7.}

Jeruſalem beſieged.

After him followed *Omar*, or *Abumer*, who conquered a great part of *Syria*, and got *Ægypt*.

The fourth King of the *Saracens*, after *Mahomet*, was *Odman*, then followed *Haly*, and after him *Muhanias*: which after a Siege of 7 years, obtained and got the Chriſtian City of *Coſarea*: alſo overcame the *Perſians*, with their King *Orimalda*, and ſubdued that Country to his Law.

Coſarea got of the Saracens.

The Kingdom of the Perſians ſubdued to the Saracens.

Thus the wicked *Saracens*, in the ſpace of thirty years, ſubdued *Arabia*, got *Paleſtina*, *Phenicia*, *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and *Perſia*, which came directly to the 666 years, Propheſied of in the Revelation of Saint *John*, as is aforeſaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got *Aſrik*, and then *Aſia*, as in the proceſs of their ſtory ſhall appear, the Lord willing.

Arabia, Paleſtina, Phenicia, Syria, Ægypt, Perſia, ſubdued of the Saracens.

Conſtance the Emperor overcome by the Saracens.

Not long after *Heraclius* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſucceeded *Conſtance* his Nephew, who in the 13. year of his Empire, fighting unluckily againſt the *Saracens* in *Lycia*, was overthrown of *Mahamias* aforeſaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which *Conſtance*, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his Wars, it was no great marvel, conſidering that he had ſlain his brother *Theodoſius* before at home; moreover, lived in inceſtuous Matrimony: alſo, being inclined to certain new Sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but ſlew them which admoniſhed him thereof. The ſaid *Conſtance* going afterward to *Italy*, was alſo overcome of the *Lumbardi*, &c. The *Saracens* after this victory, ſpoiled all *Rhodes*.

Rhodes ſpoiled of the Saracens.

Although theſe curſed *Saracens* in theſe their great victories and conquelts, were not without domeſtical ſedition and diviſions among themſelves, yet the Princes of the *Saracens*, being called then Sultans, had in their poſſeſſion the government of *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Aſrik*, and of a great part of *Aſia*, about the term of 400 years, till at length the *Saracen* King which ruled in *Perſia*, fighting againſt the *Saracen* of *Babylon*, fought aid of the Turks, to fight with him againſt the Sultan of *Babylon*. The which Turks by little and little ſurpriſed upon the Sultan of *Perſia*, and not long after putting him out of place, uſurped the Kingdom of *Perſia*: which afterwards went further, as ye ſhall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the firſt beginning of the Turks dominion.

Sultans firſt called.

The firſt riſing of the Turks.

The deſtruction of the Turks unordinate Empire.

Theſe *Turks*, after they had thus overcome many Countries and Provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in *Aſia* and *Europa*, began to divide their Kingdoms and Countries amongſt themſelves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly War contended for the bounds of thoſe Kingdoms and Dominions, in the mean time four of the principal Families, conquering and ſubduing all the reſt, parted the whole Empire amongſt themſelves. And yet they alſo not ſo contented, fell to ſuch cruel hatred, contention, war and ſlaughter, (no doubt by the juſt Judgment of God againſt his blaſphemous Enemies) that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient *Turks* was utterly rooted out.

The Turks dominions parted into four families.

For it is evident that there are few now remaining, which are *Turks* indeed by birth and blood, and that the State of that great Empire is not upholden, but by the ſtrength and power of Soldiers, which have been Chriſtians, and now are turned to *Mahomets* Religion; ſo that even their own natural Language is now out of uſe amongſt them, ſaving in certain Families of their Nobility and Gentlemen.

The Chriſtian Kingdoms and Churches deſtroyed by the Turks are a warning for us, whom God hath yet ſpared.

Theſe four Families above-mentioned, with their Captains and Armies, about the year of our Lord 1330, went raging throughout all *Aſia* and *Europe*, and every one of them conquered ſome part of the Countries where they paſſed.

The diſſenſion of the Chriſtians do make the Turk ſo ſtrong.

The cauſes of theſe great Invaſions and Victories, were the diſſention and diſcord, falſhood, idleneſs, uncouſtancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Chriſtian Men of all ſtates and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilful defection and back-ſliding of the Chriſtians, the *Turkiſh* power did exceedingly increaſe, in that many

{KING Hin.7.}

No Imperial Country in all the Turkiſh Dominions.

many deſiring the licentious life and liberty of War, and allured with the proſperous ſucceſs of things, forſook the Church of God, and made themſelves bondſlaves to *Mahumet* and his Deviliſh Sect; both becauſe that fleſhly liberty is delightful to all Men, and partly alſo becauſe as fortune favoureth, ſo commonly the wills of Men incline. And again, ſuch as be prophane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all Ages are wont commonly to judge of Religion, according to the ſucceſs of Realms and Kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but alſo for the diverſity of events and fortune amongſt Men, have enquired and do enquire, Whether there be any Church of God diſtinct from other Nations: what it is, and where it is: eſpecially, forſomuch as the greateſt part of Men, both in the old time, when as the four Monarchies flouriſhed in order, was ignorant of this Doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now alſo the barbarity of *Mahumet* prevaileth and reigneth in the moſt part of the World. And how ſtandeth this with Mans Reaſon, that a ſmall number, both miſerable and alſo feebled and broken with many Battels, ſhould be regarded and loved of God, and the other flouriſhing in all Wealth, Proſperities, Victories, Authority and Power, ſhould be rejected and deſpiſed of God, ſeeing there is no Power and Authority, but by the Ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the *Turks* hath been, for theſe two hundred years, of greater force than any other Monarchy of the World beſides, yet is there no Imperial Dignity to be eſteemed in that *Turkiſh* tyranny, but amongſt thoſe Nations only, where the Heavenly Doctrine of the Goſpel is preached, and other Diſciplines neceſſary for the Church of God, and the common life of Man maintained and regarded; whereas the Laws of God, and other honeſt and civil Ordinances agreeable to the ſame, do flouriſh and reign: where lawful Judgment is exerciſed; where vertue is honoured and rewarded; where ſin and wickedneſs is puniſhed; where honeſt Families are maintained and defended.

Theſe things are not regarded amongſt the *Turks*, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful Empires: becauſe they diſſolve and reject all godly Societies, honeſt Diſcipline, good Laws, Policies, righteous Judgment, the Ordinance of Matrimony, and godly Families. For what hath the Empire of the *Turks* been hitherto, but moſt deadly, cruel, and perpetual War, to work all miſchief, deſtruction and deſolation? To ſubvert good Laws, Cities, Kingdoms, Policies, and to enlarge their cruel Power and Dominion? The ſtay and ſtrength whereof is not love and favour proceeding of vertue and juſtice, as in Lawful and well Governed Empires; but fear, violence, oppreſſion, ſwarms and infinite thouſands of barbarous and moſt wicked people, Miniſters of Satans malice and fury. Which kind of Dominion and Tyranny hath been condemned by the Voice of God many years ago; the Teſtimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the Church, leſt the godly, being moved with the power and ſucceſs thereof, ſhould fall away and forſake the Son of God.

Ezek. 39 Apo. 20.

Wherefore, let us not ſeek for any Imperial ſtate in that barbarity: but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reſerved to us certain remnants of the *Roman* Empire: And let us call upon him daily with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the Houſe of God, that this *Turkiſh* power joyned with the malice of Satan againſt the Son of God, prevail not againſt the poor Congregations and little Remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done againſt thoſe ſtrong and noble Chriſtian Kingdoms and Churches, where now we ſee the *Turkiſh* tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full poſſeſſion. Whoſe ſtate was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without ſuch horrible overthrows and deſolation. Oh that we might foreſee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads. For though the *Turk* ſeemeth to be far off, yet do we nouriſh within our breaſts at home, that which may ſoon cauſe us to feel his cruel hand and worſe, if worſe may be; to over-run us; to lay our Land waſte; to ſcatter us amongſt the Infidels, the Enemies and Blaſphemers of the Son of God.

Now, although theſe four Families above-mentioned long continued together in bloody Wars, deadly hatred, yet one of them paſſed the reſt in all cruelty and tyranny, and ſubduing the other three Families, took upon him the Government alone, and ſo became the firſt Monarch, or Emperor, that reigned amongſt them, called *Ottomannus*; of whom all that reigned after him were called *Ottomanni*. Who ſucceeding orderly of his Line, have occupied the ſame Dominion and Seat of the *Turks*, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this preſent time, which have been to the number of 12, of the which 12, in ſuch order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Chriſt ſo permitting) ſeverally and compendiouſly ſomething to intreat, briefly abſtracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, ſuch ſpecialties, as for us Chriſtians ſhall be briefly requiſite to be known.

Four principal Families of the Turks.

The Family of Ottomannus.

Ottomannus *the firſt great Emperor, or Tyrant of the* Turks.

Ottomannus the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

THIS *Ottomannus* was at the firſt of poor eſtate, and of obſcure amongſt the common ſort of Men, coming of a baſe Progeny, and of ruſtical Parents; but through his valiantneſs and activity in War, he got him a great name amongſt the *Turks*. For he being a Man of hierce courage, refuſing no labour, and delighting in War, and gathering together by great ſubtilty a multitude of common Soldiers, began to make War, and by conqueſt and victories to advance himſelf and his Family. Firſt, He began to rob and ſpoil with a great band of rovers, and afterward he attempted to ſet upon all Men. Neither did he vex and deſtroy the Chriſtians only, but ſet upon his own Nation alſo, and fought all occaſion to ſubdue them wholly unto him. For now the Princes and Captains of the *Turks* inflamed with ambition and deſire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themſelves, inſomuch that they fell to domeſticial and inward War, with all the power they could.

Forward War among the Turks.

Ottomannus having this occaſion very fit and meet to accompliſh that which he long had fought for, gathering unto him all ſuch as he thought to be given to robbing and ſpoiling, and ſet all upon miſchief, in ſhort time began to grow in Authority, and firſt ſet upon certain Towns, as he ſaw opportunity to ſerve him. Of which Towns ſome he took by force, ſome by yielding, other ſome he ſpoiled and overthrew to terrify the reſt, thus laying the firſt foundation of his riſing. In the mean time, the diſcord which was amongſt the Chriſtians was no ſmall advantage to this *Ottomannus*, by occaſion whereof, he within ten years ſpace ſubdued *Bithynia*, and all the Provinces about *Pontus*: alſo *Natolia*, which comprehendeth all the Dominion of the *Greeks* within *Aſia*: *Ancyra* in *Phrygia*: *Synope* a City in *Galatia*; and *Sabaſtia* a City in *Cappadocia*: and thus ſtill prevailing, he increaſed in ſhort time to a mighty power, either through the ſecret Judgment of God againſt that Nation, or elſe becauſe God would have them ſo far and ſo cruelly to prevail, for the puniſhment of the ſins of other Nations, like as it was Propheſied before, that ſuch a Kingdom there ſhould be of *Gog* and *Magog*.

The coming up of Ottomannus.

Bithynia, Natolia, Ancyra, Synope, Sabaſtia ſubdued.

Ezek. 38

This *Ottomannus*, after he had reigned 28 years, in the year of our Lord 1327, died, and departed to his *Maihumet*, leaving behind him three Sons, of whom *Orchanes*, being the youngeſt, killed his two Brethren, whilſt they were at variance between themſelves.

Orchanes *the ſecond Emperor after* Ottomannus.

Orchanes, the ſecond Emperor of the Turks after Ottomannus.

Miſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Frigia, Sicilia, Nicomedia: Chriſtipol, Sea Euxinus, Byſia.

ORchanes, the youngeſt of the Sons of *Ottomannus*, obtained after he had ſlain his two Brethren, took the Regiment of the *Turks* after his Father. Who after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, ſuch as had their diſpoſitions ſet upon the licentious life of War, converted his power further to enlarge his Fathers Dominion, winning and ſubduing *Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia* and *Caria*: All which Countries, being within the compaſs of *Aſia*, unto the Sea-ſide of *Helleſpontus*, and the Sea *Euxinus*, he added to the *Turkiſh* Empire. Alſo he wan *Priſia*, which was the Metropolitan City of *Bithynia*,

nia, which then he made the chief seat of the *Turks* Empire. Besides thefe moreover, he conquered *Nicea*, and got *Nicomedia*: all which were before Chriſtian Cities and Regions. And yet all this could not make the Chriſtian Princes in *Grecia* to ceaſe their civil Wars, and to joyn and accord among themſelves; Such debate and variance, was then between *Cantacuzenus* on the *Greeks* part, and *Paleologus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. By reaſon whereof, the *Turks* aid was ſent for out of *Aſia* to help our Chriſtians one to kill another, and at length to get all thoſe parts of *Europe* from them both. Who if they had, according to their profeſſion, ſo well joyned in Brotherly Unity, as they did in cruel hoſtility diſſent, neither had *Orchanes* ſo prevailed in getting *Pruſia* from the *Grecians*, neither had the *Turks* ſo ſoon preſumed into *Europe* as afterward they did. *Orchanes* after theſe victories, when he had reigned two and twenty years, was ſtrucken, ſome ſay, with a Dart in the ſhoulder, at the Siege of *Pruſia*. The opinion of other is, that he fighting againſt the *Tartarians*, where he loſt a great part of his Army, was there alſo ſlain himſelf, *Anno* 1349.

Civil War among the *Greeians*.

By the diſcord of Chriſtians the *Turks* increaſe.

Amurathes *the third after* Ottomannus.

THE *Greek* writers do hold that *Orchanes* had two Sons *Solimannus* and *Amurathes*. Of which two, firſt *Solimannus* reigned, albeit not long. After him followed *Amurathes*, who after that *Aſia* now was ſubdued by his predeceſſors, fought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade *Europe*. To whoſe ambitious purpoſe the Domeſtical Wars of the Chriſtians gave unproſperous occaſion, which occaſion is thus declared. Certain diſcord fell between the Princes of *Greece* (whoſe Captain was *Cantacuzenus*) and *Paleologus* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon *Paleologus*, for that he was not able to make his party good with the *Greciens*, moſt unwiſely ſent for *Amurathes* to help him. Who being glad to have ſuch an occaſion offered, which he ſo long had fought, ſent to aid him 12000 *Turks* into *Thracia*: but firſt he uſed all delays he could of craftie policy, to the intent that the *Greeks* firſt ſhould waſte their ſtrength, and power upon themſelves, whereby he might be more able afterward to ſet upon them, and to accompliſh his conceived deſire.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus, Amurathes ſeeketh occaſion to invade Europe.

The *Turks* thus being called into *Europe*, by the Chriſtians, whether they taſting the ſweetneſs of the ſoil, incenſed *Amurathes* their Emperor to make Invaſion, or whether *Amurathes* of his own head thought good to uſe the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himſelf over into *Europe* with 60000 *Turks*, falling upon the *Greciens*, being waſted and ſpent with their long Wars and Battels before. The pretence of the Deviliſh *Turk* was, to aid and aſſiſt the Emperor *Paleologus*, whether he would or no, and to ſubdue ſuch as had fallen from him. The Chriſtian Ships of the *Ligurians*, for many were hired to conduct them over, taking for every Soldier a piece of Gold. *Ex Pencer & aliis.*

The firſt coming of the *Turks* into *Europe*.

The covetouſneſs of the Chriſtian brought over the *Turks*.

Thus the *Turks* Army being conveyed over by the *Grecian* Sea called *Hellеſpontus*, firſt got *Calipolis*, with other Towns and Cities bordering about the Sea, and their planting themſelves, and preparing Ships of their own for tranſporting their Munitions out of *Aſia*, advanced their power further into *Thracia*, and there won *Philippolis*, then got *Adrianopolis*, which was not far from *Conſtantinople*, and there *Amurathes* made his chief ſeat. Then began *Paleologus* the Emperor at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with *Amurathes*. When the *Turks* had expugned thus a great part of *Thracia*, they extended forth their Army unto *Myſia*, which they ſoon ſubdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the *Beſſos* and *Triballos*, they entred into *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, where they joyning Battel with *Lazarus Deſpota*, Prince of *Servia*, and with other Dukes of *Dalmatia* and *Epyrus*, won of them the Field, and put them to the worſe; where *Lazarus Deſpota* being taken, and committed to Priſon, ended his life. This *Lazarus* had a certain faithful client or ſervant, who to revenge his Maſters death, with a bold courage, although ſeeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life ſo far, that he came to the Tyrant and thruſt him through with his Dagger. This *Amurathes* reigned 23 years, and was ſlain in the year of our Lord, 1372.

Calipolis.

Thracia got-ten of the *Turks*. *Philippolis Adrianopolis.*

The *Turks* enter into *Myſia* and *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*. *Lazarus Deſpota* overcome of the *Turks*.

Example of a faithful ſervant.

{KING} *Hen.7.* Amurathes ſlain.

The death of *Amurathes*.

Bajazetes *the fourth after* Ottomannus.

THE power of the *Turks* began to increaſe in *Europe*, what time *Bajazetes*, the firſt of that name, after the death of his Father, entred the poſſeſſion of the *Turks* Kingdom. This *Bajazetes* had two Brethren, *Solimannus* and *Sauces*: which *Sauces* had his Eyes put out by his Father, for ſtriving for the Kingdom. *Solimannus* was ſlain of his Brother. Thus *Bajazetes*, beginning his Kingdom with the murther of his Brother, reduced his Imperial Seat from *Pruſia* a City of *Bithynia*, unto *Adrianople*, intending with himſelf to ſubdue both *Aſia* and *Europe* to his own power. Firſt he ſet upon the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, thinking to revenge his Fathers Death, where he gave the overthrow to *Marcus Defpota*, with all the Nobility of the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, and the put all thoſe parts under his ſubjection, unto the Fines and Borders of the *Illyrians*. All *Thracia* moreover he brought likewiſe under his yoke, only *Conſtantinople* and *Pera* excepted. That done, he invaded the realme of *Grecia*, prevailing againſt the Countries of *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, *Phocides* and *Attica*, ſpoiling and burning as he paſſed without any reſiſtance; and ſo, returning with innumerable ſpoil of the Chriſtians unto *Adrianople*, laid Siege to *Conſtantinople* the ſpace of eight years, and had expugned the ſame, but that *Paleologus*, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the *French*-men, and of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor. Who, being accompanied with a ſufficient power of *French*-men and *Germans*, came down to *Hungaria*, and toward *Servia*, againſt the *Turk*. *Bajazetes* hearing of their coming, raiſed his Siege from *Conſtantinople*, and with 60000 Horſemen came to *Nicopolis*, where he encountring with them, overthrew all the Chriſtian Army, took *John* the Captain of the *French* power Priſoner: *Sigiſmundus*, which before in the Council of *Conſtance* had burned *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, hardly eſcaped by flying. *Bajazetes*, after the Victory got, carried away Duke *John*, with five other in Bands, into *Pruſia*, where before his face he cauſed all the other Chriſtian Priſoners to be cut in pieces. Afterward the ſaid *John*, being Ranſomed with 200000 Crowns, was delivered. Some Authors refer this Story to the time of *Calepinus*, as followeth hereafter to be ſeen.

Bajazetes the fourth after Ottomannus.

Marcus Deſpota ſlain with all the Nobility of the Servians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Theſſalians, Phocides, Attica, Beotia, Boeotia, Bulgaria, Rhodope, Thracia, Aſtica, Troſſalia: with other Chriſtian Countries, conquered by the *Turk*.

Conſtantinople beſieged eight years by the Turks.

The Chriſtians overthrown of the Turks; *Sigiſmund* the Emperor put to flight.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Turk* againſt the Chriſtians.

Bajazetes the cruel Tyrant after this Victory won, and Tyranny ſhewed upon the Chriſtians, returned again to the Siege of *Conſtantinople*, fully bending himſelf to conquer and ſubdue the ſame; which thing, no doubt he had accompliſhed, but that the Providence of God had found ſuch a means, that *Tamerlanes* King of *Parthia*, with an hundred thouſand Horſemen, and ſwarms of Footmen, like a violent flood over-running *Aſia*, and preſſing upon *Syria* and *Sebaſtia*, had taken *Orthobules*, the Son of *Bajazetes*, Priſoner, and afterward ſlew him, exerciſing the like cruelty upon his Priſoners, as *Bajazetes* had done before upon the Chriſtians; inſomuch that he ſpared neither Sex nor Age of the *Turkiſh* multitude: of whom he cauſed twelve thouſand at one time to be over-ridden and trodden down under his Horſes feet. By reaſon whereof, *Bajazetes* the Tyrant was enforced to raiſe his Siege from *Conſtantinople*, and to return his power into *Aſia*; where he, near the Hill called *Stella*, pitched his Tents there to encounter with *Tamerlanes*.

Tamerlanes a Parthian ſtirred up of God, to revenge the Chriſtians.

Bajazetes taken and ſlain. Cruelty laſtly revenged with cruelty.

Bajazetes raiſeth his Siege from *Conſtantinople*.

The Fight between theſe two, was long and great on both ſides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the ſecond year after the ſlaughter of our Chriſtians at *Nicopolis* in *Pannonia*; but the Victory of this Battel fell to *Tamerlanes* at length. In the which Battel, as *Munſterus* writeth, were ſlain 200000 *Turks*. Among whom *Bajazetes* the Tyrant, having his Horſe ſlain under him, was taken Priſoner; and to make a ſpectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in Golden Fetters, and ſo being incloſed in an Iron Grate (whom before all *Grecia* could not hold) was led about and ſhewed through all *Aſia*, to be ſcorned and laught at: and moreover, was uſed inſtead of a ſtoolſtool to *Tamerlanes*, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his Horſe. Some add alſo, That he was made like a Dog to feed under *Tamerlanes* Table. The tyranny of which *Bajazetes* againſt the Chriſtians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of *Valerianus* the *Roman* Emperor above-mentioned, ſo neither was the example of his puniſhment much diſcrepant; for as *Sapores* King of the *Perſians* did with *Valerianus* in time of the Eighth Perſecution of the Primitive Church, ſo likewiſe was *Bajazetes* this Perſecutor worthily handled by *Tamerlanes* King of the *Parthians*, as in manner above-ſaid.

Bajazetes overcome of *Tamerlanes* in *Pontus*.

King of *Parthians*.

The laſt band of God upon a cruel Perſecutor.

Tamerlanes after this Conqueſt paſſed with his Army into *Meſopotamia*, to *Egypt*, and all *Syria*, where he victoriouſly ſubduing the Cities and Munitions of the *Turks*, at length alſo conquered *Damaſcus*. In his Sieges his manner was, the firſt day to go all in White attire, the ſecond day in Red, the third day in Black, ſignifying thereby Mercy the firſt day, to them that yielded; the ſecond day the Sword; the third day fire and aſhes. At laſt, after great Victories, and Spoils gotten of the *Turks*, he returned into his Country again, and there died, *Anno* 1402.

The great victories of *Tamerlanes* in *Aſia*.

Bajazetes made for a block for *Tamerlanes* to get upon his Horſe.

The overthrow of *Sigiſmund*, fighting againſt the *Turk*.

Sebaſt. Munſterus ſtib. 4. *Coſmograph.*

Tamerlanes *Victory in* Aſia. Calepinus, Orchanes, Mahumetes, *their Valour.* 839

Sab. Munſterus, writing of this *Tamerlanes*, Recordeth that he had in his Army 20000 Men: and that he overcame the *Parthians*, *Scythians*, *Hiberians*, *Albans*, *Perſians*, *Medes*, and Conquered all *Meſopotamia*: and after he had alſo ſubdued *Armenia*, paſſing over the River *Euphrates* with Six hundred thouſand Footmen, and Four hundred thouſand Horſemen, he Invaded all *Aſia Minor*, Conquering and ſubduing from the Flood *Tanais* unto *Nilus* in *Egypt*, and was called *Terror Orbis*, the Terror of the World. He left behind him two Sons, who, falling in diſcord for their Poſſeſſions, loſt all again that their Father got.

Tanais the uttermoſt Flood in the Northſide; and *Nilus* the uttermoſt Flood in the South-ſide of *Aſia*. A generation of Vipers.

In the mean time *Bajazetes*, in the ſecond year of his Captivity, died, leaving behind him divers Sons, *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the eldeſt, *Muſſumanes*, *Moſes*, *Celebinus*, or *Calepinus*, *Jeſus* the younger; *Muſtaphas* and *Hali*; of whom, firſt *Jeſus* the eldeſt was overcome and ſlain of *Muſſumanes*, which *Muſſumanes* afterward was delivered to *Moſes* his Brother, and by him was ſlain likewiſe; which *Moſes* had alſo the like end by his Brother *Calepinus*, having his Neck broken with a Bow-ſtring, which was then the uſual manner among the *Turks* in killing their Brethren. The ſame *Calepinus* ſparing only the life of *Muſtaphas* his other Brother, condemned him to perpetual Priſon. *Jeſus* the younger was Baptiſed, and ſhortly after departed at *Conſtantinople*. In theſe ſuch diſcords and diviſions among the *Turks*, what occaſions were given to the Chriſtians to have recovered again of the *Turks* that they had loſt, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private Wars otherwiſe occupied with themſelves?

Calepinus *the Fifth after* Ottomannus.

Calepinus or *Celebinus*, was the Son of *Bajazetes*, and of four Brethren the eldeſt; who being all taken Captives of the *Parthians*, he only eſcaped and obtained his Fathers Kingdom. This *Calepinus* encouraged by the ſloth and negligence of the Princes of *Europe*, and by the diſcord of the *Greciens* amongſt themſelves and other Nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the *Bulgarians*, *Servians*, and *Macedonians*, even to the time of *Sigiſmundus*. Which *Sigiſmundus* ſeeing now *Bajazetes* to be overcome and taken of *Tamerlanes*, and the power of the *Turks* weakned in *Europe*, and having ſuch occaſion offered him, as it were from Heaven, to deſtroy and utterly to root out, not only out of *Aſia*, but alſo all *Europe*, that barbarous Nation, and cruel Enemies to the Name and Religion of Chriſt: and alſo to revenge the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his Army in Fighting before with *Bajazetes* at *Nicopolis* a City in *Myſia*; with great Power made War againſt *Calepinus* at *Colombatium* a Town in *Servia*, as is alſo before-mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little ſucceſs as he did before againſt *Bajazetes* his Father. For in that Battel were ſlain of the Chriſtians to the number of Twenty thouſand, and the reſt utterly diſcomfited, the King himſelf eſcaping ſo hardly, that he entred not again into his Kingdom for the ſpace of Eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under *Bajazetes*; otherſome refer this Battel to *Amurathes*; but howſoever it was, moſt pernicious was it to the Chriſtians. He Reigned but Six years and died very young, *Anno* 1404.

Calepinus the fifth after Ottomannus.

Some Record this conflict to be after the time of this *Turk*.

Orchanes *and* Moſes *his Uncle, the Sixth after* Ottomannus.

AFter the Captivity of *Bajazetes* above-mentioned, making no mention at all of *Calepinus*, only make mention of the Sons of *Bajazetes*, and of the contention among them, until the time of *Mahumetes*. The *Latin* Stories writing of the Children of *Bajazetes* and of their ſucceſſion, do not therein agree, ſome affirming, That *Bajazetes* had two Sons, *Orchanes*, ſurnamed *Calepinus*, and *Mahumetes* his Brother, which within two years flew the ſaid *Calepinus*, and entred his Dominion. Other attribute to *Bajazetes* more Sons, as is above-rehearſed. Some again do give to *Bajazetes* only theſe two Sons, *Celebinus* and *Muſtaphas*; and hold that *Calepinus* or *Celebinus* had two Sons; to wit, *Orchanes* and *Mahumetes*; and add moreover, That the ſaid *Orchanes*, being ſomewhat young, was ſlain of his Uncle *Moſes*, who governed but two years. For *Mahumetes*, to revenge his Brothers death, ſlew *Moſes*, and invaded his Dominion. The *Greek* Stories make no mention at all of *Orchanes*.

Orchanes and *Moſes* his Uncle, Diverſity in Hiſtories.

Tyranny between Uncle and Nephew.

Moſes the Uncle ſlaughtered with much like.

Mahumetes *the Seventh after* Ottomannus.

THIS *Mahumetes*, whether he was the Son of *Bajazetes*, or elſe of *Calepinus*, converted to himſelf alone the Kingdom, or tyranny rather of the murdering *Turks*. Who afflicted the Chriſtians with ſore Wars within *Europe*, eſpecially the Country called *Wallachia*, lying not far from the Flood *Danubius*, between *Hungary* and *Thracia*. From thence he removed into *Aſia*, where he recovered divers parts in *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Licia*, which before *Tamerlanes* had alienated from the *Turks*. This *Mahumetes* planted his Chief Imperial Seat in *Adrianople* not far from *Conſtantinople*, within the Country of *Thracia*. In ſome Writers the conflict between *Sigiſmund* and the great *Turk*, wherein the Chriſtians were ſo diſcomfited, is referred rather to this *Mahumetes*, than to *Calepinus*; of which conflict mention is above made in the Story of *Sigiſmundus*. This *Mahumetes* Reigned, as ſome ſay, fourteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 1419. Othes affirm ſeventeen years.

Mahumetes the ſeventh after Ottomannus.

Wallachia aſſaulted by *Mahumetes*.

The *Turk* beat at *Adrianopolis*.

Amurathes *the Second, Eighth after* Ottomannus.

Amurathes as *Philelphus* ſaith, was the Son of *Celebinus* as *Laonicus Chalcondiles* teſtifieth, of *Mahumetes*: whoſe Son ſoever he was, a wretched Tyrant he was, and permitted as a ſcourge of God, to correct the ſins of the Chriſtians. In the ſtory of *Bajazetes* mention was made before of *Muſtaphas* his Son, who was condemned to perpetual Priſon by *Calepinus* his Brother. This *Muſtaphas* eſcaping out of his Brothers Priſon, was conveyed to the *Greciens*, where he remained long in cuſtody, till at length they underſtanding the purpoſe of *Amurathes*, ſet him up with ſufficient Habiliments and Furniture of War, to Fight againſt the ſaid *Amurathes* his Nephew. But in concluſion he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his Enemy, and had his neck broke with a Bow-ſtring, after the manner of the *Turkiſh* execution.

Amurathes the Eighth after Ottomannus.

Muſtaphas murdered by *Amurath* ſet upon his Nephews.

The *Greciens* then terrified with this ſiniſter adverſity, required truce of the *Turk*; but when that would not be granted, they procured unto them *Muſtaphas*, the other Brother to *Amurathes*, being of the age of 13 years; who, likewiſe being Armed of the *Greciens*, got the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, from *Amurathes* his Brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the ſame City, and brought to *Amurathes*; who cauſed him likewiſe to raiſe of the ſame Whip, as the other *Muſtaphas* had done before. *Amurathes*, being now out of all fear and doubt of Brethren and Kinſfolk to riſe againſt him, converted all his power

The *Turk* murthereth his Brothers.

Amurathes ſet againſt the *Greeks*.

Turks subdued to the Turk.

power against the *Grecians*: and first ranging throughout *Thracia*, where divers Cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the Emperor of *Constantinople*, from thence he fet forward to the Noble and Famous City *Thessalonica*, being then under the league and protection of the *Venetians*. This *Thessalonica* is a City in *Greece*, bordering upon *Macedonia*, to the Citizens whereof Saint *Paul* writeth, forethewing unto them, in his fecond Epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of our Lord, 2 *Thes.* 2. By the which Apostate or defection what the holy Apostle doth mean, this story of the Turks may eafily declare. After *Thessalonica* was subdued, *Phocis* with all the Country about *Athens*, *Beotia* likewise, *Aetolia*, *Acarnania*, with all the Region beyond *Peloponnesus*, unto the Coast of *Corinth*, to whom Saint *Paul* also wrote other two Epistles, were brought in bondage and slavery unto the *Turk*.

The Thessalonick subdued.

The defection of S. Paul declared, 2 Thes. 2.

Joannes Castriotus, Croia given to the Turk. The 3. Son of Castriotus Hostages with the Turk, Georgius Scanderbeg, Alexander the Great.

In *Epirus*, and in that quarter that adjoyneth to *Macedonia* named *Albania*, Reigned then one *Joannes Castriotus*; who, perceiving himself too weak to match with the Turks power, made with the *Turk* this convention, that he fhould have *Croia*, a Famous City in *Greecia*, and alfo gave to him his three Sons for hoftages, to wit, *Constantinus*, *Reposius*, and *Georgius*.

In this *George* fuch towardnefs of noble courage, fuch vigor of mind, and ftrength of body fingularly did appear, that the *Turk* caufed him more freely to be inftructed after the Turkifh Religion and manner in his own Court: where he being trained up, did fo fhoot up as well in feats of activity, as in ftrength of body, that he excelled all his equals; infomuch that he was named *Scanderbeius*, which foundeth as much as *Alexander Magnus*.

After this *Alexander* was grown up to mature ripenefs of age, and was well trained up in feats of War, he was fent out by the *Turk*, to War againft *Caramannus* of *Cilicia*, the Turks enemy. In which expedition he efped himfelf moft manfully, fighting hand to hand, firft with a footman of *Scythia*, then with an Horfeman of *Perfia*, being challenged by them both to encounter, firft with the one, after with the other; whom he fo valiantly overthrew that he wan great renown with the *Turk*: In fo much that he trufting to the Turks favour, when he heard of the deceafe of his Father, durft ask of the *Turk* the grant of his Fathers Dominion to be given unto him. Which requeft although *Amurathes* the *Turk* did not deny him; yet notwithftanding, he perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, by fubtile means and policy ftipt out of the Turks Court, and came to *Epyrus* his own inheritance, where firft by forged Letters he recovered *Croia*. The other Cities of their voluntary mind yielded themfelves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of *Epyrus* and *Macedonia* (which were not fo many in number, as with good willing minds they ftuck unto him fo manfully and valiantly behaved himfelf, that againft all the puiffance both of *Amurathes*, and alfo of *Mahumetes*, he maintained his own, repulfed their violence, and put to flight their Armies many years together. But to return again to the courfe of *Amurathes* victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before figuified) againft the Eaft parts of *Europa* and *Grecia*, and had converted thus for the Dominion of *Epyrus*, he invaded *Illyricum*, (otherwife called now *Sclavonia*) containing in it *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Istria*, and *Liburnia*: which Countries after he had fpoiled and wafted, he continued his courfe to *Albania* and *Bosna*. In which Regions, when he had fubdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to *Walachia* and *Servia*, upon hope to Conquer all *Pannonia*.

The valiant Acts of Georgius Scanderbeius.

Georgius Scanderbeius fetcheth away from the Turk to his Country Croia recovered. Epyrus and Macedonia recovered from the Turk. The valiant acts of Georgius Scanderbeius againft the Turks. Illyricum or Sclavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Liburnia, Sclavonia, Bosna fpoiled and wafted by the Turk. Georgius Despota Prince of Servia.

There Reigned at the fame time in *Servia* a certain Prince named *Georgius Despota*, who made great fute to the *Turk* for Truce and Peace, promifing to give his Daughter to marriage; for by the Turks Law they marry as many wives as they lift. It was not long after *Amurathes* had married the Daughter of *Despota*, but he contrary to his league and promife, made War upon *Despota* his Father-in-law, and expelled him out of his Kingdom, taking from him divers Cities, as *Scopia*, *Novomonte*, *Sepolia*, and all *Albania*. *Georgius* himfelf fled into *Hungary*, leaving behind him his Son to defend the Town of *Sinderovia*. *Amurathes* underftanding of the flight of *Despota* his Father in law, compaffed the City of *Cinderovia* with a ftrong Siege, which when in few days had expugned, he took his Wives Brother the Son of *Despota*, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous Tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes, with a Bafon red hot fet before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in derifion in defpite of his cowardly Father. *Ex Chriftopb. Richerio Gallo, & Gafp. Peuc. & aliis.*

The Prince of Servia. An ungodly grant of a Chriftian Father to marry his Daughter to the Turk. Scopia, Novomonte, Sepolia, Albania. Despota fled into Hungary. Sinderovia.

Servia being thus won and gotten, *Amurathes*, thinking to go further into *Hungary*, befieged the City called *Belgradum*, and no doubt had alfo fuppreffed the fame, had not the Providence of God found means, that partly through flaughter of his men, partly for lack of Victual and other Forrage, he was compelled to raife his Siege and retire.

Belgradum befieged of the Turk.

In the mean time *Joannes Huniades* (of whom mention was made before:) had got great victories againft the Turkifh power, and had recovered part of *Servia*, and all *Muldavia*; againft whom *Amurathes* the *Turk*, with a mighty Army, moved into *Pannonia*. But *Huniades* with the power and aid of *Ladislaus* King of *Polonia* (but fpecially by the power of the Lord) did foon infringe the puiffance of the *Turk*, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Chriftians the greateft part of *Servia* and *Bulneria*.

Joannes Huniades Valvoda.

Five Victories of John Huniades, againft the Turk gotten in one day. The great Baffa or Duke of the Turks overthrown by Huniades.

In this Battel *Huniades* had five fundry conflicts with the Turks upon one day, and with five Victories put them to the worfe, and toward night did fo difcomfit and overthrow the great Captain of *Amurathes*, called Baffa, the Duke of *Anatolia* (which is otherwife named *Afia Minor*) that he flew of the Turks that day to the number of Thirty Thoufand. *Amurathes*, although he was not a little thereat difcouraged, yet diffembling his fear, with ftout countenance fent for *Carambanus* his principal ftay and Captain, with a new power brought out of *Afia* to affift him in his wars. This *Carambanus*, in the Downs of *Tranfylvania*, *Ladiflaus* the forefaid King of of *Polonia* (the Lord fo working) through the induftry of *Joannes Huniades*, fo received and with fuch celerity oppreffed him unprovided, that all his ftout and fturdy Army either was ftain down right, or elfe put to flight and difparkled, *Carambeius* the Captain being himfelf taken prifoner in the fame field.

The Popifh Prelates were the caufe of loling the Field.

A juft punifhment upon the Popifh Prelates for their unjuft dealing.

The Victory of Huniades againft Carambeius the great Captain of the Turks. The Great Turk brought to a great diftreis.

Julianus the Cardinal ſlain in the War and ſpoiled.

Huniades efcapeth.

These Victories of *Huniades* ſtrook no little terror to *Amurathes*, infomuch that for diſtreſs of mind he was ready to defeiroy himſelf (as ſome do write) but being confirmed by *Helibeus* Baſſa his Counſellor, he kept himſelf within the ſtraits of Mount *Rhodope*. Who then hearing that *Caramannus* invaded the ſame time the Country of *Bithynia* and *Pontus* in *Aſia*, was glad to take truce with *Ladiſlaus* and *Huniades* upon ſuch conditions as they liſted to make themſelves: which conditions were theſe, that *Amurathes* ſhould depart clearly from all the Region of *Servia*, and ſhould remove from thence all his Garriſons, which were placed in the Caſtles and Forts of the ſame: alſo he ſhould reſtore *George Deſpota* (which is to ſay) Prince of *Servia*, unto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whom he had in captivity, before them to their inheritance. *Item*, that he ſhould make no more claim nor title to the Country of *Muldavia* above mentioned, nor to that part of *Bulgravia* which he had loſt; and that he ſhould deſiſt hereafter from all wrongs and injuries againſt the Chriſtians. Upon theſe conditions the *Turk* being agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with ſolemn Oath between them confirmed.

Amurathes taketh his Voyage againſt the Grecians.

Amurathes keepeth the truce of the Chriſtians. The conditions between *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia*, and *Amurathes*.

Truce between the Chriſtians and the Turks for ten years. Amurathes returned into Aſia. The Popes diſſimulation and abſolution abuſed.

This done, *Amurathes* the Tyrant addreſſeth himſelf toward *Aſia*, to reſiſt the invaſion of *Caramannus* aforeſaid. At what time Pope *Eugenius* ſo ſoon as he heard the *Turk* to be returned into *Aſia*, ſendeth *Julianus Cæſarianus* his Cardinal (whoſe ſtory is before touched) unto *Ladiſlaus* the foreſaid King, with full diſpenſation and abſolution to break his Oath and league with the *Turk*, promiſing moreover great hope and aid, if he would go in Arms ſtoutly againſt the Tyrant.

The Popes moſt Lawleſſe to break truce.

The falſe dealing of the Italian Navy. The battel of Varna, between Ladiſlaus King of Polonia, and Amurathes.

The Popes falſe counſel pernicious to Chriſtendom.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that Peſtilent Sea of *Rome*, neither was there ever any War proſpered, which was taken in hand by the Popes Council: ſo was there never any Councel of the Pope that brought with it more detriment to Chriſtianity, than this. But the Pope belike thought, that

{KING} Hen. 7. Nothing proſpereth that is taken in hand by the Pope in ſetting on. The Pope breaketh Truce made between the Chriſtians and the Turk.

that as he might lawfully break promiſe with *John Hus*, and with other Chriſtians, ſo alſo he needed not to obſerve any League or Truce taken with the *Turk*: But it turned much otherwiſe than the Popes blind Brains imagined, as by the ſequel is to be ſeen. For *Ladiſlaus* being thus excited by the unadviſed and ſiniſter inſtigation of Pope *Eugenius*, contrary to the Truce ſtabliſhed a little before, ſet out with his Army from *Seledinus*, and ſo proceeding to *Walachia* and *Burgaria*, came to *Varna*, a Town of *Bulgary*, where he fell ſick.

It was not long but the *Turk*, having thereof intelligence, left his Wars begun with *Caramannus* in *Aſia*, and with great journeys made haſte into *Europ*, paſſing over by the Straits near to *Callipolis*, where all the *Italian* Navy ſtill looking on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlineſs, would not ſtir one Ore to ſtop the paſſage of the *Turkiſh* Army. When *Amurathes* was come to *Adrianopolis* in *Thracia*, uſing ſuch celerity as no Man looked for, within eight days he was in *Burgaria*, and there encamped himſelf againſt *Ladiſlaus*. The day of battel being ſet, the Armies joyned on both ſides. *Huniades* was himſelf there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by *Julianus* the Cardinal, and the Popes Clergy. The Fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodſhed on each ſide; inſomuch that the field did ſtand with lakes of blood. It ſeemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breaking the firſt ranks of the *Turks*. But the Prieſts and Prelates which were at the field (which had been more fit to have been in the Church) ſeeing the *Turks* to begin to flie, unskilfully left their array to purſue the Enemy, ſo that they leaving the other ſtandings of the Chriſtians naked, gave great advantage to the *Turks* with their Darts and ſhot to diſturb the Chriſtian ranges. By the which occaſion *Amurathes* inclofing the Chriſtians with his Army round about, obtained the Victory. In the which field, *Ladiſlaus* the young King of *Polony*, having his Horſe firſt killed under him, was ſtrucken down and ſlain. The Popes Biſhops flying to ſave themſelves, fell into the Marſhes, and there were deſtroyed, ſuſtaining a durty death condign to their filthy fallhood and untruth. *Julianus* the Cardinal, which with the Pope was the chief doer in breaking the League, in the way was found dead, being full of Wounds, and ſpoiled to his naked ſkin. Of the reſt of the Army that eſcaped by flying, part was drowned in the Marſhes, ſome periſhed miſerably for hunger, ſome for cold, watching and wandring in the Woods. *Huniades* hardly eſcaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being referved to the further profit and Commodity of *Chriſtendom*.

The worthy commendation of John Huniades.

This *John Huniades* the worthy Warrior was born in *Walachia*, being Earl of *Biſtice*, of all Captains that ever went againſt the *Turks* moſt famous and lingular, prudent in wit, diſcreet in Council, expert and politick in War, prompt of hand, circumſpect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almoſt no good property requiſite in a warlike Captain. Againſt two moſt mighty and fierce Tyrants, *Amurathes* and *Mahumetes*, through the Lords Might, he defended all *Pannonia*, and therefore was called the Thunderbolt and Terror of the *Turks*. Like as *Achilles* was unto the *Grecians*, ſo was he ſet up of God to be as a Wall or Bulwark of all *Europe* againſt the cruel *Turks* and Enemies of Chriſt and of his Chriſtians. Neither was there any King or Prince that ever atchieved ſuch noble Victories, either ſo many in number, or ſo profitable for the publick utility of all *Europe*, as did he, and that not only in the days of this *Amurathes*, but alſo of *Mahumetes* his ſucceſſor, as hereafter remaineth further to be ſeen. This battel of *Amurathes* againſt the Chriſtians at *Varna* in *Bulgaria*, was fought in the year of our Lord, 1404.

Amurathes by reaſon of this Victorious overthrow againſt the Chriſtians, furpriſed with no ſmall Pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the *Grecians*, where *Caſtriotus* was, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeius*. And firſt coming to *Peloponneſus*, and breaking down the Wall about the Straits of *Corinth*, encountred with the Brother of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, whom with his ſudden coming he oppreſſed, with all the *Greeks* Army, ere they were provided. *Paleologus* the Emperor after that, did build up the Wall again, but at the *Turks* bidding he was compelled to undo it again: which Wall afterwards the *Venetians* did repair. After the demolition of the Wall, *Amurathes* entring into * *Peloponneſus* took divers Towns and Cities, as *Scyone*, and *Patris*; and moreover made all the parts of *Theſſalia* and *Achaia* Tributaries unto them.

* *Peloponneſus ſo Syrnetus, Patris, with all the parts of Theſſalia and Achaia, brought under the Turk.*

The next year after this battel of *Amurathes* fought againſt the Chriſtians at *Varna*, the *Turk* being now about the parts of *Grecia*, purpoſed to bend all his force and main againſt the Country of *Epyrus* belonging to *Georgius Caſtriotus Scanderbeius*. Of this *Scanderbeius* mention was made before, how he was brought up in the *Turks* Court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtilly he conveyed himſelf, and came to the poſſeſſion of his own patrimony of *Epyrus*. * Which *Epyrus* this noble and victorious *Scanderbeius* (whom the Lord alſo had raiſed up the ſame time with *Huniades*, to bridle the furyy of the *Turks*) valiantly defended againſt all the power of *Amurathes*; inſomuch that he diſcomfited and vanquiſhed ſeven of the moſt expert Baſſaes or Dukes of the *Ottoman* Emperor, one after another, with all their Armies of moſt picked and choſen Souldiers, diſlodged them of their Tents, and expulſed them utterly out of all *Epyrus*. Alſo when *Amurathes* himſelf with his whole puiſſance had invironed about the City of *Croja*, with cruel ſiege and ordinance out of meaſure, yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Scanderbeius* (through the power and bleſſing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulſed him from the ſiege.

The Tirk ſubdueth Theſſalonica. Phocis, Beotia, Aetolia, Acarnania, Corinth, Peloponneſus. The Epiſtles of Paul to the Theſſalonians.

Tirk ſubdueth Epyrus. Croia recovered. Epyrus and Macedonia recovered from the Turk. The valiant acts of Georgius Scanderbeius againſt the Turks. Illyricum or Sclavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Iſtria, Liburnia, Sclavonia, Boſna ſpoiled and waſted by the Turk. Georgius Deſpota Prince of Servia. An ungodly grant of a Chriſtian Father to marry his Daughter to the Turk. Scopia, Novomonte, Sepolia, Albania. Deſpota fled into Hungary. Sinderovia.

Amurathes renounced his Dominion, and made himſelf a Turkiſh Monk.

After this diſcomfiture, the ſaying is, that *Amurathes*, to keep his Vow made before, after his Victory at *Varna*, gave himſelf unto a religious Order, living a contemplative life with certain other Prieſts joyned unto him, in the Forreſt of *Birlymia*, renouncing the government of his Realm to the hands of *Haly*, one of the *Turks* alſo be not without their ſundry Sects of Religion, no more than we Chriſtians are without our Friers and Monks.)

In the mean time while *Amurathes* this *Turkiſh* Tyrant was cloyſtered up in his Monkiſh Religion, *Joannes Huniades* in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and *Caſtriotus Scanderbeius* in *Grecia*, kept a great ſtir againſt the *Turks*. By reaſon whereof *Amurathes* was taken again from his Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and brought again into the field: For firſt *Huniades* had refcued the whole Country of *Hungaria*, and had propulſed moreover all the might of the *Turks* far from *Servia*. And although the peeviſh practice of *Georgius* Prince of *Servia* had oftentimes diſcloſed his Councils unto the *Turks*, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet notwithſtanding (through the Lords gracious Protection) ye was preſerved and delivered by the ſaid *George* unto the *Hungarians* again, and after that manfully vanquiſhed the *Turks*, ſo that they had no reſting place about thoſe parts of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, ſo long as he lived.

Joannes Huniades ſo reported of the Turks. The Kingdom of Hungary, and Caſtriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept a great ſtir againſt the Turks. Twenty battels with the Turk, to loſe but two.

On the other ſide in *Grecia*, *Caſtriotus Scanderbeius* ſo foiled the *Turk* in defence of his Country *Epyrus* and *Macedonia*, and kept *Amurathes* ſo ſhort, that not only he was not able to win any great Town in all *Epyrus*; but alſo coming from *Epyrus* in the Straits, he was ſo intangled by *Caſtriotus*, that he was forced to give battel: In the which battel he was ſo vanquiſhed, and moſt part of his Army ſlain, that, for grief and ſorrow conceived, he falling into a raving ſickneſs, was tranſported out of his Pavillion unto *Adrianople*, and there in fury and madneſs died, after he had Reigned 34 years, which was about the year of our Lord, 1450.

Epyrus and Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

Amurathes overcome by Scanderbeius.

This *Amurathes* firſt ordained the order of the *Janizarites*. Which were the Men-children of ſuch Chriſtians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the Faith of Chriſt, wherein they were Baptized, and brought them up in *Mahumetes* Law, and exerciſed them in the ſame Feats of War as he did his own people, and after that they came to Mans eſtate, he named them *Janizari* (that is to ſay) Souldiers of a ſtrange Country, and made them to guard his perſon. They wear on their head, inſtead of an Helmet, a white Attire made of the groſſeſt ſort of Wooll, and in ſo many

Janizari among the Turk.

folds about their head that it cannot be pierced with a Sword. It hangeth down on the back with a Tail, before on the forehead it is garnished with Gold and Silver. They were wont to use Bows and Lances in the field, but now they use Dags as our Horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but Eight thousand in their Garrison, but now there be twice so many. This of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the *Turks* is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their Children pulled from the Faith of Christ wherein they were Baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous Doctrine of *Mahumet*, and so be proffered Enemies of Christ and his Church, to make War against Heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own Children born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel Enemies, and to cut our Throats with their own hands? This servitude of mind is far greater than death it self: which if our Princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel Enemy.

A lamentable slavery of Christian Mens Children under the *Turk*.

Mahumetes *Second, the ninth after* Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the ninth Turk, after Ottomannus.

Amurathes left behind him three Sons, *Mahumetes* born of the Daughter of *Despota*, Prince of *Servia*, being Twenty years of Age, the second Son called *Turcines*, the Third named *Calepinus*. This *Turcines* being an Infant, and but eighteen Months old, was Strangled at the commandment of the *Turk* by his servant *Moses*, himself being there present and beholding the horrible Murther. And when *Moses* the Executer of the murther had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his Brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Race of *Ottoman Turks*, that all the other Brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to govern the Empire. Wherefore *Moses* was commanded by the Tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the Infant. This horrible Fact when the Mother of the Child understood, the cried out, and almoft mad for sorrow, cursed the Tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his Mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the Executer of her Sons death, delivered the said *Moses* bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the Tyrant thrust him to the Heart with a Knife, and opening his side took out his Liver, and threw it to the Dogs to be devoured.

The Tyranny of Mahumetes in murthering his Brethren.

The third Son called *Calepinus*, which was but six Months old, the forefaid *Amurathes* his Father commended to the custody of *Halibassa*, one of his Nobles, who, to gratifie and please the Tyrant, betrayed the Infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he at the Tyrants commandment was strangled. Some affirm, that in stead of *Calepinus* another Child was offered unto the Tyrant, and that *Calepinus* was conveyed to *Constantinople*, and after the taking of *Constantinople* was carried to *Venice*, and then to *Rome* to Pope *Calixt*, where he was Baptized, and afterward came into *Germany* to *Frederick* the Emperor, and there was honorably entertained, and kept in *Austrich* during his life. Where note how the merciful Providence of God, whom he lift to save, can fetch out of the Divels mouth. And note moreover the forefaid *Halibassa* the betrayer of the Infant, how he escaped not unrevenged. For *Mahumet* understanding him to be a Man of great substance and riches, through forging of false Crimes, with great Torments put him to death to have his Riches: for this Tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody *Mahumet* began regiment with horrible Murther, after the example of other cursed Tyrants his Predecessors.

Halibassa Traytor to his Master. Horrible parricide of the abominable *Turk*. Gods providence can fetch out of the Divels mouth whom he lift to save. Note here Gods possibilnes, to out the betrayer of innocent blood.

Although this *Mahumet*, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian Mother, being the Daughter of *Despota* Prince of *Servia*, and by her was brought up and instructed from his Childhood in the Precepts of Christian Religion and manners, yet he soon forgetting all, gave himself to *Mahumets* Religion, and yet so, that he being addicted to neither Religion became an Atheist, believing and worthipping no God at all, but only the Goddess of good Fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of Men, which believe that God by his Providence governeth and regardeth the state of human things on Earth.

{KING Hen. 5.}

After that this *Mahumet* heard of the Victories and Conquests of other his Predecessors, and had understanding how *Bajazetes* lay eight years about *Constantinople*, and could not win it; he disprailing *Bajazetes*, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no Victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But first having a privy hatred against the City of *Athens*, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his Brethren, this murthering *Mahumet* first of all taketh his Voyage to subvert and destroy the City aforesaid, being a famous School of all good learning and discipline. Against the which City he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good Letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the Foundation thereof to stand, because that City was a good nurse and fosterer of good Arts and Sciences; wherefore he commanded the City to be raced and utterly subverted, and whereso ever any Monumets or Books could be found, he caused them to be cast into durty Sinks, and the filthiest places of the City, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirping and abolishing of all good literature; and if he understood any to lament the case, and ruine of that noble Place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Mahumet the cruel murther by the *Turks* in the City of *Constantinople*.

Mahumet set fifteth upon *Athens*.

The fury of the *Mahumet* a-gainst the City and School of *Athens*.

Thus the famous and ancient School of *Athens* being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his Army and Power into *Thracia*, where in all haste he, gathering up his Power together both by Sea and Land, with a mighty multitude compassed the City of *Constantinople* about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the year of our Lord, 1453. and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperor *Constantinus* slain. As touching the cruelty and fiercenes of the *Turks* in getting of this City, and what slaughter there was of Men, and Women, and Children, what calamity and misery was there to be seen, forsomuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to repeat the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principal Causes of the overthrow of this City; whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those Citizens, which hiding their Treasures in the Ground, would not imploy the same to the necessary defence of their City. For so I find it in the Story expressed, that when the *Turk*, after the taking of the City, had found not so much Treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the Treasures and riches to be hidden under the Ground, commanded the Earth to be digged up, and the Foundations of the Houses to be searched: where when he had found Treasures incredible. What (quoth he) how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great Riches as here is, and plenty of all things? The second cause was the absence of the Navy of the *Venetians*, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in Stories, either for that the City of *Constantinople* fifteen years before, did yield to the Bishop of *Rome*, as is before to be seen, or else because (as in some Writers it is evident) the Images were there received and maintained in their Churches, and by the *Turks* the same were destroyed.

The sir-name and taking of *Constantinople*.

Vide supra.

There causes specially noted in the winning of *Constantinople*.

Ex Thuano Ramo, lib. 3. rerum Turcicarum.

Joannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this City, amongst other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifix, being there in the high Temple of *Sophias* which Image the *Turk* took, and writing this superscription upon the head of it, *Hic est Christianorum Deus*, i. This is the God of the Christians, gave it to his Souldiers to be scorned, and commanding the said Image with a Trumpet to be carried thorow all his Army, made every Man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast (good Reader) by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous Infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having Images in our Temples, contrary to the expres

Ex Ramo. An Image of the Crucifix in Constantinople.

What offences be given to the Infidels by Images in Christian Churches.

{KING Hen. 7.}

preſs commandment of God in his Word. For if Saint *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, saith, *We know Christ now no more after the flesh*; how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind Stocks and Images set up in our Temples, serving for none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke Gods vengeance? which by the like example (I fear) may also fall upon other Cities, which such Images and Idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant *Vienna* to take heed betime, which hath been so long, and yet is in such great danger of the *Turk*, and polluted with so many Images, and plain Idolatry.

Vienna admonished.

In summa, to make the Story short, such was the cruelty of thefe *Turks* in winning the City, that when *Mahumet* had given licence to the Souldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they lifted, there was no corner in all *Constantinople*, which did not either flow with Chriſtian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abuſing of Maids, Wives, and Matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the which Citizens, some they Murthered, some they Reſted upon Spits, of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with Famine, of otherſome they put Salt into their Wounds, the more terrible to torment them, inſomuch that one of them contended with another, who could deviſe moſt ſtrange kinds of new Torments and Puniſhments, exerciſing ſuch cruelty upon them, that the place where the City was before, ſeemed now to be no City, but a Slaughter-houſe or Shambles of Chriſtian Mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body alſo of *Conſtantine* the Emperor was found; whoſe Head being brought to *Mahumet*, he commanded it to be carried upon a Spear thorow the whole City for a publick ſpectacle and deriſion to all the *Turkiſh* Army. And becauſe he would diminiſh the number of the Captives, which ſeemed to him to be very great, he never roſe from his Table, but he put every day ſome of the Nobles to death, no leſs to fill his cruel Mind with Blood, than his Body was filled with Wine; which he uſed ſo long to do as any of the Nobles of that City was left alive. And of the other ſort alſo, as the Stories do credibly report, there paſſed no day in the which he did not orderly ſlay more than three hundred Perſons, the reſidue he gave to his raſcal Souldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as *Conſtantinus* the Son of *Helena* was the firſt Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſo *Conſtantinus* the Son alſo of *Helena* was the laſt Emperor thereof.

The cruel murther by the *Turks* in winning the City, that when *Mahumet* had given licence to the Souldiers three days together,

A lamentable deſtruction of the City of *Conſtantinople*.

The bloody cruelty of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtian Captives.

Not far from the ſaid City of *Conſtantinople* there was another little City called *Pera*, and once called *Gallatia*, ſituated by the Sea ſide; who hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeeing the City ſtanding with fire, but certain of the chief Men with ſpeed to *Mahumet*, declaring unto him, that they neither had ſent any help to the City of *Conſtantinople*, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his Army: wherefore they deſired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, ſo he would be favourable unto them and ſpare them, and not to puniſh the guiltleſs with the guilty. *Mahumet*, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they ſubmitted themſelves, and that they would rather reſiſt him if they had been able, yet he received for that time the ſubmiſſion of the Meſſengers; but ſending with them his Ambaſſadors into the City, he commanded alſo his Army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the City, which although it was greatly ſuſpected and miſliked of the Citizens, yet they durſt not otherwiſe do but ſuffer them to enter: which being done, the Ambaſſador gave a ſign to the Souldiers, every Man to do whatſoever he was bidden; of whom ſome ran to the Walls, ſome to the Temples and Churches, ſome to the Streets and Houſes of the City, plucking all things down to the ground, ſacking and ranging with no leſs fury and abominable filthineſs, than they had done at *Conſtantinople* before, ſaving only that they abſtained from murther: but the ſame day Letters came from *Mahumet* to the Ambaſſador, that he would ſpare none, but deſtroy and murther all that ever were in the City; which meſſage, becauſe it ſeemed to the Ambaſſador to be too cruel, forſomuch as they had yielded themſelves, he ſtayed his hand a little until night came. In the mean time, drunken *Mahumet* coming ſomething to himſelf (whom drunkenneſs had before overcome) ſent his ſecond Letters to revoke the firſt. *Where again is to be noted the merciful Providence of God towards his people in their deſerved Plagues, by ſtaying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their Enemies, when otherwiſe the caſe ſeemeth to be paſt all remedy.*

The City of *Pera* yieldeth it ſelf for fear to the *Turk*.

Drunken *Mahumet* calls of promiſe.

Mahumet thus being in himſelf not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of *Conſtantinople*, where he had now made the Imperial Seat of the *Turkiſh* Dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more maſteries, he ſet out to the ſiege of *Belgradum*, a City of *Hungary*, lying near to the Banks of *Danubius*, thinking to have the like ſucceſs there, as he had in the winning of *Conſtantinople*, albeit, through the Lords diſpoſing, it fell out much otherwiſe. Within the City of *Belgradum*, the ſame time of the ſiege thereof, was *Joannes Humiades*, the valiant Captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a ſufficient ſtrength of picked Souldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the *Turks* Army, valiantly defended the City with great courage, and no leſs ſucceſs. In the which ſiege great diligence was beſtowed, and many of the *Turks* ſlain. Among whom alſo *Mahumet* himſelf, being ſtrucken with a Pellet under the left Arm, was fain to be carried out of the Field for half dead, and the reſt ſo put to flight, that of the *Turks* the ſame time were deſtroyed to the number, or not much under the number of forty thouſand, beſides the I-ſs of all their Ordinance, which the *Turks* in haſte of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Conſtantinopolis the Imperial Seat of the *Turk*.

The ſiege of *Belgradum* in *Hungary*. *Joan. Huniades*.

The fury of *Mahumet* againſt the City.

Forty thouſand *Turks* ſlain at the ſiege of *Belgradum*.

Hieronymus Zieglerus, writing of the ſiege of this *Belgradum*, addeth moreover, that when *Mahumet* was at the ſiege thereof, ſeeing the Town to be ſo ſmall and weak of it ſelf, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he ſtaring and faring like a mad Man, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the Walls and Towers of the Town: So that the Chriſtians within the Walls were vehemently diſtreſſed; for the Siege continued both night and day without intermiſſion. Among the reſt of the Chriſtians which defended the Town *Hieronymus Zieglerus* maketh mention of a certain *Bohemian*, much worthy of his condign commendation; Who being upon the Walls, and ſeeing a *Turk* with a Banner or Enſign of the *Turks* to be gotten up, by the ſight whereof, the whole Town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the *Turk*, and claſping him about the middle, ſpeaking to *John Capiſtranus* ſtanding below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind did caſt himſelf with that Dog (ſo he termed him) down headlong from the Wall to be ſlain with him; what ſhould become of his ſoul, and whether he might be ſaved or not? To whom when the other had anſwered, that he ſhould be ſaved without doubt, he eſtſoons tumbleth himſelf with the *Turk* down off the Wall, where by his death he ſaved the ſame time the life of all the City. *Mahumet* being ſo wounded, and in deſpair of winning the City, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himſelf, partly for fear, and partly for ſhame, was ready to kill himſelf. And thus was the Town of *Belgradum* at that time reſcued through Gods Providence, by the means of *Joannes Huniades* and this good *Bohemian*.

Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de Itinerib. Turcorum Germa. cap. 98.

The noble Act of a *Bohemian* in defence of his country.

The Town of *Belgradum* valiantly defended from the *Turk*.

This ſiege of *Belgradum* began in the year of our Lord, 1456. and endured ſix and forty days. At which ſiege were numbred of the *Turks* two hundred thouſand. Of whom more than forty thouſand (as is aforeſaid) were ſlain, where the victory fell to the Chriſtians through the proſperous ſucceſs given of God to *Joannes Huniades*, and *Capiſtranus*. Which *Huniades* not long after the ſaid victory, through the importune labour and travel in defending of the Town, was taken with a ſore ſickneſs, and thereof departed; to whoſe valiant prowels and ſingular courage, Stories do give great laud and commendation.

Two hundred thouſand *Turks* at the ſiege of *Belgradum*.

The deceaſe of *Joannes Huniades*.

Mahumetes the *Turk*, after this done in *Europe*, returned into *Aſia* to War with *Uſumcaſſanes* a *Perſian*, one of the *Turks* ſtock, with whom he had three Battels. The firſt was about the River *Euphrates*, where the *Turk* loſt Ten thouſand Men, and was put to the worſe.

The *Turks* War againſt *Uſumcaſſanes*.

In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third Battel at *Arsinga*, where through the terrible noise of the brazen pieces, the *Persian* Horses disturbed the Camp, and so was *Usumcassanes* overcome.

The Turks gain victories and against the Christians.

From thence the *Turk* reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him *Synope* and all *Paphlagonia*: Also the Kingdom of *Trapezuntine*, which he befieging both by Land and water, was from the Christians, and sent *David* the King of the same with his two Sons, and *Calus* his Uncle, unto *Constantinople*, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the *Comneni*, which were of the Kings flock, by the *Turk* were destroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1459. at which time this mischievous *Mahumet* was first saluted Emperor.

Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezuntine gotten of the *Turks*.

David Emperor of *Trapezuntine* with his two Sons, and Uncle cruelly killed of the *Turks*.

Corinthus, Mystenes, Lesbos, Lemnus subdued of the *Turks*.

Not long after, he got from the *Grecians Corinthus* and *Mitylene*, not without great flaughter of Christian men; insomuch that the whole City of *Mitylene* was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The Iles also of *Lemnus* and *Lesbos* he wan from the *Venetians*; in the which Iland of *Lesbos* is the City of *Mitylene* aforesaid.

Not far from this Ile of *Lesbos* and *Mitylene*, there is a Country in *Asia* toward the Sea side bordering next to *Europe*, called *Mysia*, or of some called *Meesia*, whereof the chief City is *Troy*. This Country *Mahumet* covetous to have it rather by policy and falshood, than by doubtful danger of War, secretly sent for the Prince thereof to come to speak with him for certain causes (as he pretended) which would concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the King of *Mysia* either for shame would not, or for fear durst not deny, he came to him as to confer upon neceffary affairs in common to them appertaining. *Mahumet*, when he had brought that to pass which he would, he caused the King to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces: and so invading the Land of *Mysia*, he exercised the like Tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

The falshood of the *Turk* against the Prince of *Mysia*.

The cruelty of the *Turk* against the King of *Mysia*.

The siege of *Chalcis* in *Euboia*.

This *Mysia* by fraud being taken and lost, *Mahumet* flyeth again toward *Europe*, where he affailed the Iland *Euboia*, otherwise called *Nigroponte*, making a Bridge of a marvelous frame over the Sea *Euripus*, to convey over his Army out of *Grecia*, and there laid his siege to the City *Chalcis*, which at length in thirty days he overcame, not without a great flaughter of his Army; who in the siege thereof, is said to have lost Forty thousand of the *Turks*.

The cruel Tyranny of the *Turk* against the City of *Chalcis*. *Ex Joanne Homo de rebus Turcicis.*

But the slaughter of the Christians was greater; for when the City was won, the Tyrant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole City, but to be put to the Sword, whosoever was above the Age of Twenty Years. This cruelty was shewed of the barbarous Tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his *Turks* were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to Forty thousand. In the fierce siege of this City it is memorable that is in Stories recorded, how that the Women of that City, seeing the Men begin to faint, and the City to lie in prefent danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the Men, went to the Walls, and there defended the City with no less trouble to the Enemy, than the Men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any Mans strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this City and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the *Venetians* Navy; who being there present, and having prosperous Wind, yet durst not, or would not adventure upon the *Turks* Bridge, which if they had done, the Iland of *Euboia* and *Chalcis* had not so soon been overmatched of the *Turks*.

The noble stratagem of women in defending that City.

Peloponnesus, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, Christian Provinces in *Grecia*, subdued of the *Turk*.

Thus all the *East* parts of *Grecia* being subdued to the *Turkish* Tyrant, with all *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Acarnania* and *Euboia*, shortly after followed also *Peloponnesus*, brought, in like subjection to the *Turk*. Within *Peloponnesus* were these Provinces contained, *Achaia*, *Messenia*, *Laconia*, *Argolica* and *Archadia*, &c. The *Venetians* in this *Peloponnesus* had great possessions, and had made up the Wall again toward the Sea side, near to the Straits of *Corinth* before mentioned, where for the more speed of the work, they had Thirty thousand Work-men to the building thereof: which, when it came to the knowledge of the *Turk*, he brait into the Country of *Peloponnesus* with an Army of Eight thousand, and first wasted the Regions of the *Coroneans*, and *Methoneans*, and making a great flaughter of the *Venetians*, in short time he brought the whole Dominion of *Peloponnesus* under his yoke and tribute.

{KING 1. Hen. 7.}

Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this *Mahumet*, gotten against the Christians both by Land and Sea: who, after he had overcone the Ile *Lesbos* above mentioned, and had cruelly slain *Nicholas Catalusius* the Prince thereof, turning his Army toward the Sea of *Pontus Euxinus*, got the Country of *Capha* from the *Genuans*. Before was declared how Truce was taken between *Georgius Scanderbeius*, and the *Turk* for ten years: which Truce being expired, *Mahumet* leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his Power to *Egypt* and *Albania*, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued. In the which Tract also he wan from the *Venetians*, *Scodra*, *Lyssion* and *Dinastrum*. Notwithstanding, when *Scanderbeius* the valiant Captain had done against the *Turk*, what in Mans strength did lie, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, seeking no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his Country as an exile, and went to *Italy*, and there being sent for by the Popes Letters, openly declared that it was not pofible otherwise to refist the furious rage of the barbarous *Turks* by the strength of any one King or Prince, unless all *Europe* with one consent should joyn their power and force together. And thus *Gregorius Scanderbeius*, a Man of puissant courage, being driven out of his Country, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemency is reported to have been such, that in fighting, against the barbarous Enemy, for very eagerness of Spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his Lips. It is testified also of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but only once with a light staff in his foot, neither ever fet against the *Turk* with more than six thousand Horsemen, and three thousand Footmen; who is said with his own hand to have slain above 2000 *Turks*, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Capha taken of the *Turk*.

The Countrell of *Scanderbeius* how to fight against the *Turk*.

A notable example of singular courage in a Captain.

The commendation of *Scanderbeius* against the *Turk*.

Neither yet was the unsatiable greedinesse of this *Turkish* Hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole World? and so passing forward towards *Europe*, he subdued all *Illyria*, slaying *Stephanus* the King of *Bosna*, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward *Matthias Corvinus*, the Son of *Huniades* afore mentioned, recovered again the faid Kingdom of *Bosna*, with many other Cities near unto *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and moreover repulfed *Mahumet* the *Turk* in his second siege of *Jaitza*, taking his Tents and munitions left behind him.

Matthias the Son of *Huniades*.

Moreover, the faid *Mahumet* passing unto *Walachia*, set upon *Dracula* the Prince thereof; which *Dracula*, although he had no greater power of Souldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the *Turk*, that he had almoft loft his whole Army, of whom a great part notwithstanding was destroyed, and many of his Ensigns taken. Into *Dalmatia* were fent two Captains of the *Turk*, who, fighting against the Provinces of the *Venetians*, made great spoil and waste about the Regions of *Stiria* and *Carinthia*; where also the *Venetian* Power was discomfited, and *Hieronymus Novel* their Captain slain. At length Truce was was taken between the *Turk* and the *Venetians*, upon this condition, that *Scodra*, *Tenarus* and *Lemnus* should be yielded unto him, and that they should pay to him yearly, Eight thousand Duckets, for the free passage of their Merchants.

Read before.

Stiria and *Carinthia* taken of the *Turk*.

After this peace concluded with the *Venetians*, *Mahumet* himself faileth over into *Asia*, sending two of his great Captains abroad to sundry places; of whom, *Mesithes* was sent against the *Rhodes* with a mighty Navy. The other called *Acomates Bassas* was sent into *Italy* to take *Rome*, and all the *Weft* Empire. Concerning the Voiage of which two Captains, this was the event, that *Mesithes*, after his great Travel, and bloody siege against the *Rhodians*, was fain to retire, at length with great shame and loss. The other Captain *Acomates* (as is said) was sent into *Italy* with a Navy of a hundred Ships, and fifteen thousand Men, who by the way sailing, got *Leucadia* (which now they call S. *Maure*) *Cephalonia* and

Rhodes befieged.

{KING 1. Hen. 7.}

Leucadia, Cephalonia, Zacynthus, Fovelona taken of the *Turk*.

and *Zacynthus*, and sailing by *Fovelona*, arrived in *Apulia*, and so passing along by the Sea side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to *Hydruntium* a City in *Calabria* in *Italy*, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all *Italy*, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all haste fled out of *Rome*. After the City of *Hydruntium* was taken, and the *Turks* placed in the same, which was the year of our Lord 1481. *Matthias Corvinus*, *Huniades* Son, was sent for by the *Italians*, to set upon the faid City, upon the refcue whereof, when *Acomates* was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand *Turks*, in the mean time news came, that *Mahumet* the great *Turk* was dead; by reason whereof, the siege brake up, and the City was delivered to the *Italians* again, and so was *Italy* delivered at that time out of that prefent peril and danger. This *Mahumet* wan from the Christians two hundred Cities, and twelve Kingdoms, and two Empires, which he joyned both together. He died in the year abovesaid, *Anno* 1481.

Hydruntium taken.

The Pope flieth for fear of the *Turk*.

Theft two Empires were Constantinople and Trapezunde.

Bajazetes *the Second, the tenth after* Ottomannus.

Mahumetes aforesaid had three Sons; of the which *Mustapha* the Eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal Lust, died before his Father. The other two were *Bajazetes* and *Demes*, otherwise called *Zizimus*. About whom great controversie arose amongst the *Turks*, which of them should succeed in their Fathers Kingdom. For neither of them was present at *Constantinople* when *Mahumetes* died; *Bajazetes* being in *Cappadocia*, and *Demes*, in *Lycaonia*, wherefore, when great diffention was among the Nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the *Janizarites*, which were the *Turks* guard, did proclaim *Bajazetes* Emperor; others, in the absence of *Bajazetes* the Father, did choose *Corchuthus* his Son. *Bajazetes* the Father coming at length from *Cappadocia*, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with Money, got the Wills of the *Janizarites*, and was made Emperor. *Demes* the other Brother being in *Lycaonia* more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented of *Bajazetes*, and excluded out of *Constantinople*. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his Kingdom, incited by some of his Friends, moved War against his Brother; who being overcome in three Battels by *Acomates*, *Bajazetes* Captain, who had got *Hydruntum* before, did flie to the great Master of the *Rhodes*, leaving in a place called *Carræ*, his Mother and two young Children, whom *Bajazetes* slew.

Of their Jemisarites, read before.

A notable example of singular courage in a Captain.

The commendation of *Scanderbeius* against the *Turk*.

Bajazetes slayeth his Brothers and Mother, and his two Nephews.

This *Demes* being with the Master of the *Rhodes*, was defired first of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, then of *Ludovicus* the second *French* King, but especially of *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, intending by him to obtain great victory against *Bajazetes*. But in conclusion, the Knights of the *Rhodes* sent him to the Bishop of *Rome*, where he being kept, and afterwards sent to *Charles* the 8th *French* King, for an Hostage of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, was poisoned by the way of *Terracina*, by the said Pope *Alexander*, as is before declared. After whose death, *Bajazetes*, to requite the foresaid *Acomates* for his good service, put him to the Halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to have his Treasure: Whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forsomuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the Religion and name of Christ.

Read before.

False Treason worthily recompenced.

Lithostomus, Moncastrum, Christian Forts subdued of the *Turk*.

Bajazetes thus being confirmed in his Tyranny, made his expedition against *Wallachia*, where he subdued two great Forts, one called *Lithostomus*, the other called *Moncastrum*. From thence he removed his Power, taking his Voiage into *Asia*, thinking to be revenged of the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, which had succoured and entertained before his Brother *Demes* against him; where he loft two great Battels, the one fought at *Adena*, the other at *Tarsa*, but especially at the field at *Tarsus*, the Army of the *Turk* took such a wound, that of an hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the *Rhodians*, although they were succourers of *Demes* aforesaid, yet *Bajazetes* (whether for fear, or for subtilty) abstained to provoke them with War, but rather entring with them the League of peace; requiring the Master of the *Rhodes* to keep his Brother safe under his custody, promising for his yearly salary, to be payed unto him every year in every Month of *August*, 45000 Duckets.

The *Turk* overthrown at *Tarsus*.

Thus *Bajazetes* being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, removed from *Asia*, and directed his Army into *Europe*, where he got *Dyrachium* near unto *Velona*, and had a great victory over the Christian Army in the Country of *Croatia*, where the *Illyrians*, *Pannonians* and *Croatians*, joyning their Powers together, encountred with the *Turk*, and lost the field, about the year of our Lord, 1493.

Dyrachium taken of the *Turk*.

From thence the *Turk* leading his Army against the *Venetians*, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the *Turk* sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailed, out of *Padua* and divers other Cities about *Dalmatia*, carried away great multitudes of Christians into Captivity, which was about the year of our Lord, 1458.

The *Turk*, a painter of the *Venetians*.

The Christians carried away captives.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500. *Bajazetes* with 150000 armed Men, entred into *Peloponnesus*; which although *Mahumet* had expugned before, yet the *Venetians* had defended *Methone*, otherwise called *Modon*, all this while against the *Turk*? Which *Methone* the *Turk* befieged with three Armies, having about the Walls five hundred great brasen Canons, whereof twenty two were most violent and hurtful, wherewith he battered the City both day and night: but the Citizens, which were within the City, committing themselves to God, defended their City as well as they could, rather chusing to die than to yield unto the *Turks* Tyranny. But the *Turk* prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain House prepared for the purpose, both Men, Women and Children; where they setting the House on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the Tyrants hands. Certain Women also, with their Children, cast themselves headlong into the Sea, by that means to avoid the *Turkish* Captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the *Methonians*, seeing five great Ships of the *Venetians* coming with Men and Victuals toward them, issued down from the Walls to the Sea side to receive them; which were all taken Captives, being above the number of a thousand: which all being tyed with long Ropes, were brought before the Tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain Nobles, whom *Cherseogles*, Son in Law to *Bajazetes*, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was *Andreas Gritto*. The City of *Coron*, and also *Pilus*, *Crisseum* yielded themselves to the Power of the *Turks*. *Crisseum*, otherwise called *Caput Sancti Galli*, was expugned by *Cherseogles*, by force of Guns.

Peloponnesus again invaded by the *Turk*.

Methone taken of the *Turk*, and cruelly destroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Crisseum yielded to the *Turk*.

These things thus atchieved, although *Bazajetes* went away Victor unto *Constantinople*, yet notwithstanding the *Venetians*, through the help of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, had won from the *Turk*, *Chephalania* an Iland very commodious for their Traffick. Also they had gotten other two Lands, *Leucas* and *Nerine*, otherwise called *Sancta Maura*, flaying all the Garrison of the *Turks*. But afterwards peace being taken between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, by the Counsel of *Andreas Gritto* aforesaid, the *Turks* so agreed, that *Leucas* and *Nericus*, the Ilands abovesaid, should be rendred unto the *Turks*, and the *Venetians* should keep still the possession of *Chephalania*.

Chephalonia, Leucas, Nericus recovered of the *Turk* by the *Venetians*.

Truce between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.

Unto this League the *Turk* did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain War against *Ismael Sophus* in *Asia*, King of *Persia*. Which *Sophus* was stirred up by Gods Providence to War with this *Bazajetes*, whereby the Christian Churches in *Europe* might have some breathing time, and freedom from the *Turks* cruel Tyranny and bloodshed. This *Sophus* was a valiant *Turk*, who with great Power and Victories had over-run a great compass of the *East* parts of *Asia*: then passing from *Assyria* into *Media*, and returning again into *Armenia*, he made War against the *Albanians*, *Hiberians*, and *Scythians*, and from thence coming into *Asia Minor*, encountred with *Corchuthus Bajazetes* Son, and afterward coming to *Bithynia*, fought with *Caragius Bassa*, *Bajazetes* Captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his Wife,

War between *Sophus* and *Bajazetes*.

Caragius the Turks Captain taketh Prisoner and slain of Zelymus.

prisoners. Afterward he was encountred by *Halibassa* another Captain of the *Turks*, whom *Techellus* one of the said *Sophus* Captains, meeting in the plain of *Galatia*, did withstand, and so by the way slew *Caragius* the Captain, and hanged him upon a Pole in the sight of *Halibassa*; which *Halibassa* shortly after was slain in War, and his Army scattered and put to flight.

Halibassa the Turks Captain slain.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods Justice and Providence, were these *Turks* kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these *Barbarians* being blaspheamous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their Impiety and Blaspherny against Christ and his Religion, whereby in the mean time some rest was given to the *Christians*.

Rest given to the *Christians* by the discord of the *Turks*.

Bajazetes partly by these Victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the *Gout*, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unweildy to the Regiment of that tumultuous Kingdom, began to have talk with his Nobles about the chusing of one to succeed him. The occasion whereof minisired much matter of inward Wars amongst the *Turks*. This *Baiezetes* had in all six Sons, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left alive; to wit, *Acomates*, *Corchutus* and *Zelymus*. *Bajazetes* himself had most mind to *Acomates*, but the chiefest of his Nobles did favour rather *Zelymus*; who through their traiterous instication, provoked him to the War against his Father: and notwithstanding that he was overcome in War, yet through intercession, he was reconciled again to his Father, and afterward proclaimed again Emperor against his Fathers will, through the help and favour of the Soudliers, entring the first beginning of his Kingdom, with the murthering of his own Father. The story whereof in some Authors is thus declared.

Zelymus made Emperor against his Fathers will.

What these *Janizaries* were, read before.

After that the *Janizaries* had perswaded with *Bajazetes*, for that he himself was unweldy, therefore he should do well to continue some Successor, and that he had assigned *Acomates* to succeed him; the *Janizaries* being offended with the said *Acomates*, because he would not inlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the Kings Palace with their privy Swords which they had under their Garments, with a mighty cry, required *Zelymus* to be appointed for their Emperor. Unto whom when *Bajazetes* had answered, That he had assigned *Acomates*, they refused him, because he was far, grosse, and unable thereunto; but needs would have *Zelymus*, which was stout and warlike, to be made Emperor: and withall they drew out their Swords, crying *Zelymus*, *Zelymus*. Then *Bajazetes* giving place to their fury, shewed himself content to give them *Zelymus*; whom the *Janizaries* receiving, brought him into the Palace unto whom *Bajazetes* his Father giving place, willed him not to be so haisty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are: and thus speaking, he religned his Imperial Throne and Seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entring into a certain Order of their Religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting *Zelymus* as Emperor. Who then taking the Rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his Nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means, and advancing his own side, with great Honours and Promotions.

The counsil of *Bajazetes* to his Son *Zelymus*.

Not long after that *Zelymus* was thus setled in his Kingdom, *Bajazetes* his Father intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his Government, first entred into his Treasure-house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his Armory, where all the spoils gotten by War were likewise wasted; then he entred into the Jewel-house, where all his Plate and Gifts sent from Kings and Princes were kept, which likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the Stable, where also he seeing his principal Horses to be lacking, fighing with himself, and crying *Vengeance upon him*, he prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into *Natolia* unto his eldest Son; and passing by an Orchard near to the Sea-side, where he had appointed to take Ship, in the mean time whilst the Ships were in furnishing, he fate down under a Tree, and began to curse his Son, and to ask Vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his Father, and was become so impious a Wretch.

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Zelymus understanding of his Fathers departure came into the Orchard where his Father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his Father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he delired not the Government of the Empire, but was contented only with the Title thereof. *O Father* (said he) *do not thus privily depart away; do not procure this shame to your Son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the Emperour indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue.* And thus uling many fair and flattering words to his Father, he commanded a Banquet with many dainty Junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poyson. Which affoon as *Bajazetes* had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last Farewel of his Son, and going out of the City accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the Streets, in the middle of his journey fell down and miserably died, in the year of our Lord, 1512. Here maist thou see, good Reader, a curled brood of this *Turkish* Generation, where the Father dieth in curling the Son, and the Son reigneth by poisoning his Father.

The dissemblings words of *Zelymus* to his Father.

Zelymus the Son poisoneth his Father.

Zelymus *the Eleventh after* Ottomanus.

Zelymus the Eleventh after *Ottomanus*.

After that this wretched *Zelymus* had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his Father, with like impiety he seeketh the destruction of his Brethren and their Children, first beginning his murther with the five Children his Nephews, which were the Sons of his three Brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two Brethren yet alive, *Acomates* and *Corchutus* with their Children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three Sons, whom the Father sent to *Zelymus* his Brother, and their Uncle, with fair and gentle words, to intreat him to be good unto their Father, offering to him their duty and service in all things honouring him also as Emperor. But cruel *Zelymus* commanded forthwith his said Nephews to be strangled. The Father hearing of the cruel murther of his Sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in Mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to *Zelymus*, and so was strangled.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Father and his Brethren.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Cosins.

Christopherus Richerius, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith, That *Zelymus*, after the death of his Brother *Corchutus*, came to *Burfia*, where he under the colour of making a great Triumph, ordained a Feast for his Friends and Kinsfolk, whereunto were called especially his Nephews, who then at the end of the Feast calling his Nephews aside (as under the pretence of conferring with them secretly about his necessary affairs) commited them to his Servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while *Acomates* his other Brother, through the help and instruction of his Mother, was kept out of the Tyrants hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged Letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that *Acomates*, to revenge the great Impiety, and subdue the tyranny of *Zelymus* his Brother, should shew himself abroad. Which if he would do, he shall find Friends enough to take his part. *Acomates* circumvented with these subtil trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for delire of the Empire, shewed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had; who, being set upon incontinent by *Zelymus* his Brother, was overcome in battel, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and grosse, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

Ex Christ. Rich.

Zelymus the Turk warreth against his Brother.

Touching the death of this *Acomates*, *Munsterus* somewhat differing from this Narration, addeth moreover, and saith, That he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all distmayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, desired the Captain, taking his Rings from his Fingers, to deliver the same to his Brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extream cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the Bath, and so to die. But *Zelymus*, being not ignorant

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ignorant of this, suborneth privy Tormentors, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet, cast him down upon the ground, and so twisting his Neck with a cord, did strangle him. This *Acomates* had two Sons, who hearing of the death of their Father, did fly for succour, the one to *Sophus* in *Persia*, and the other to the Sultan in *Egypt*.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Brother. The two Sons of *Acomates* fly from the tyranny of *Zelymus* the Turk.

By the means whereof, new occasion of War grew unto *Zelymus*, whereby he was kept in *Asia*, at home, to fight against the *Persians* and *Egyptians*: so that through the Lords Providence, *Christendom* by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the *Turks* tyranny. For otherwise the *Turk* was wholly minded, with all his Force and Puissance, to Invade the *Christians*, being in doubt whether first to begin with *Rhodes*, or whether to assault *Pannonia*, or else to set upon *Italy*, being then at great discord within it self: but this cause occupied the *Turks* mind otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the Providence of the Lord for the safeguard of his people.

The Providence of God, in stirring up occasions for his people.

Wherefore, forsomuch as the affairs and doings of this *Turk* were spent for the most part in the *Turkish* and *Heathenish* Countries: it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our *Christian* stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietnels was amongst them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. *Amurathes* the *Turks* Nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained Aid of *Sophus* the King of the *Persians*, first invaded *Cappadocia*: not long after whom followed *Ismael Sophus* the *Persian* King. By reason whereof, a great battel was fought betwixt the *Persians* and *Zelymus*, in the fields of *Armenia major*. In the which battel, *Ismael Sophus* the *Persian* King was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being carried out of the field, left the Victory to *Zelymus*: who, albeit he had an Army of 150000 men, yet in the same field lost about 30000 of his *Turks*. Which field was fought in year of our Lord, 1514. *Zelymus* after this Victory, went to *Tauricia*, the Imperial City of the *Persians*, which he, by yielding, subdued.

War between *Zelymus* and *Sophus* the *Persian* King.

In this mean time it hapned that one *Aladulus*, a King of *Armenia* the greater, was also a helper to *Ismael* against the *Turk*; whereupon *Zelymus* the *Turk* taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the *Persians*, fought against the said *Aladulus*, and in the end overcame him: and afterward being found in a Cave in a Wood, he was taken out and brought to *Zelymus*, and so beheaded: whole head, being first carried about *Asia* for a Triumph, was afterward sent to the Senate of *Venice* for a terrour unto them. The eldest Son of *Aladulus*, escaping the hands of his Pursuers, fled into *Egypt*. This battel thus fought and ended, *Zelymus* after he had divided the Kingdom of *Aladulus* into three Provinces, went to *Lycenia*, and from thence to *Europe*, there to defend the City of *Samandria*, against the *Christians* in *Hungary*, but the *Hungarians* being foon repressed by *Juno Bassa* the *Turks* Captain, great preparation began to be made by the *Turks* against the Confines of *Servia* bordering upon *Hungary*. The terrour whereof stirred up *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, and *Sigismundus* King of *Polony*, to consult together, and conjoyn their Power for defence of *Christendom*. But through new incumbrances incident, the *Turk* leaving *Europe*, made haste again into *Asia*, to renew again his Wars against the *Persians*, who had made a Vow not to give over that War before *Ismael* was overthrown.

War between *Zelymus* and *Aladulus* another *Turk*.

Precaration of War between *Zelymus* and the *Christians*.

The *Turk* called away from the *Christians*.

A *Turkish* Vow.

But before he entred that War, first he sent his Messengers to the Sultan of *Egypt*, requiring him not to intermeddle in that War: for this Sultan before had promised to assist the *Persians* against the *Turk*. The name of the Sultan which reigned then in *Egypt*, was *Campson*, set up by the *Mamaluci*. These *Mamaluci* were a certain Order amongst the *Egyptians*, much like to the *Janizaries* about the *Turk*, who being the Children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the Sultans Court, and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a *Turkish* barbarity, or rather became worse than *Turks*. This *Campson* unto the Messengers of the *Turk*, gave this Answer again, *That unless he would leave off this War against* Ismael, *and restore the Son of* Aladulus, *he would not lay down his Armour*.

Cajetbius false to his Master.

Zelymus being incensed not a little with this insolent Answer of the Sultan, leaving all other Wars aside, with great celerity advanced his Power against the Sultan. Which Sultan, partly through the falsehood of his Captain *Cajerbeius*, partly by the suddenness of the *Turks* coming, not far from the City of *Damascus*, encountred with the *Turk*, and there overthrown from his horse, being a fat and grosse body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, which was the year of our Lord, 1516.

Campson slain.

The *Mamalucs*, of whom more than a thousand in this battel were slain, flying from thence to *Memphis*, set up *Tomumbeius* in stead of *Campson*: whose Captain *Gazelles* was overcome at the City of *Gaza*, and he afterward himself driven out of *Memphis*, where a great part of the *Mamalucs* were destroyed. Then *Tomumbeius*, flying over the Flood *Nilus*, renewed his Army again; but in the end was discomfited and chased into a Marish, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin, and so being brought to *Zelymus*, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where *Campsons* treasures were: but when he would not declare, he was carried about the Town with an halter about his Neck, and hanged up upon an high Gibbet for a Spectacle to all *Egypt*; which was the year of our Lord, 1517. And thus were the two Sultans of *Egypt* destroyed with the *Mamalucs*, which there had born the Rule in *Egypt*, the space of 243 years. The Progeny of the which *Mamalucs* remaining of the Wars, the *Turk* commanded in the prifon gates of *Alexandria* to be cut in pieces. *Zelymus* from thence triumphing, departed to *Constantinople*, intending to spend the reit of his time in persecuting the *Christians*. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died after he had reigned seven years like a Beast, in the year of our Lord 1520.

Tomumbeius made Sultan of *Egypt*.

Tomumbeius executed.

A worthy destruction of the *Mamalucs* forsaking their Faith and Religion.

Note again the Providence of God.

The death of *Zelymus*.

The Reign of this *Turk* was but short in number of years: but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, which seemed more like a beast than a man: for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His Father first he poisoned, his Brethren and all his cosins he quelled, leaving none of all his Kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal Captains for small occasions he put to death, as *Mustapha*, *Calogere*, *Chendeme*, *Bostang* his Son in law, and *Juno Bassa*.

The beastly cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Kindred.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Son *Solyman*.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own Son *Solyman*, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanor of his Father: but by the means of his Mother, the gift being suspected, was given to another which was his Chamberlain, who putting on the shirt was strucken with the poison thereof, and therewithall died.

As touching this *Turk Zelymus*, by the way here may be noted how the secret Providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his *Turkish* Wars at home, while that the Reformation of Christian Religion here in *Europe*, the same time began by *Martin Luther*, might the more quietly take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this *Zelymus*, *Martin Luther* first began to write against the Popes Indulgences, which was in the year of our Lord, 1516.

A note of Gods Providence for the Reformation of Religion.

Solymannus *the Twelfth after* Ottomannus.

Solymannus the Twelfth after Ottomannus.

Solymannus the only Son of *Zelymus* succeeded after his Fathers death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the *Turkish* Government. Wherefore certain of his Nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another Emperor. In which Conspiracy especially are named *Cajerbeius* and *Gazelles*. This *Cajerbeius* was he that betrayed before *Campson* the Sultan of *Egypt* to *Zelymus*, as is aforesaid; who now also being in consultation with *Gazelles* and other about this matter, detected them also unto *Solyman*. Wherefore the said *Gazelles* and his Fellows being thus detected, were put to death by *Solyman*, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his Acts afterward did more appear.

Solymannus,

Belgradum again beſieged of the Turk, as it had before.

Solymannus, after this execution done upon the Conſpirators, taking his Voyage into *Europe*, firſt beſieged *Belgradum*; which being a City in *Hungary* was the ſtrongeſt Fort of all the *Roman* Empire, and the chief defence at that time of all *Chriſtendom*; which alſo aſſaulted before time by *Amuratbes* the Second, was valiantly defended by *Joannes Humiades*, as is above ſpecified. But there now lacked ſuch an one as *Huniades* was. For the Kingdom of *Hungary* at that time was under the government of *Ludovicus* a young King, unexpert and of a ſimple wit. Whom other Princes, and ſpecially the covetous Cleirchmen did ſo pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare Name and Title of his Kingdom, whereby, he being unfurniſhed both of men and money, was unable to match with ſuch an Enemy.

Diſſord amongſt Chriſtian Princes, what miſchief it bringeth.

Another vantage alſo the *Turks* had in beſieging *Belgrade*: For the *Chriſtian* Princes at that time were in civil diſſention and variance amongſt themſelves; and the Pope with his Churchmen alſo were to buſie in ſuppreſſing of *Luther*, and of the Goſpel then newly ſpringing, that they minded nothing elſe, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own Bellies: Which Pope if he had ſet his care (as his duty was) ſo much in ſtirring up Princes againſt the common Enemy, as he was bent to deface the Goſpel, and to perſecute the true Profeſſors thereof; ſome might have brought to paſs, not only that *Belgrade* might have been defended againſt the *Turk*, but alſo that to be recovered again which was loſt before; and moreover he might have ſtopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the Religion and Church of Chriſt; which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

The Pope to buſie againſt Luther, that he neglecteth the ruine of *Chriſtendom*.

Certes whatſoever the Pope then did, this had been his duty, ſetting all other things apart, to have had an earneſt compaſſion of ſo many miſerable and loſt Captives, which were ſain from their Faith and Religion, unto the miſery and ſlavery of the *Turk*, and thraldom of the Devil, and to have fought all means poſſible to have reduced them, as loſt ſheep, into the Fold again. Which then might ſoon have been done, if Prelates and Princes, joyning together in Chriſtian concord, had loved ſo well the public Glory of Chriſt, and Souls of Chriſtians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels.

True compaſſion lacking in the Pope.

And admit that the Pope had conceived never ſo much malice againſt *Luther*, his quarrel alſo being good; yet the publick Church ſtanding in ſuch danger, as it then did by the Invaſion of the *Turk*, Reaſon would, Nature led, Religion taught, time required, that a good Prelate, forgetting lighter matters, ſhould rather have laid his ſhoulder to the excluding of ſo great a danger, as then was imminent both to himſelf, and the univerſal Church of Chriſt: But now his quarrel being unjuſt, and the cauſe Chriſt: But now his quarrel being unjuſt, and the cauſe of *Luther* being moſt juſt and godly, what is to be ſaid or thought of ſuch a Prelate, who forbearing the *Turk*, whom in a time ſo dangerous he ought chiefly to have reſiſted, perſecuted the Truth which he ſhould ſpecially have maintained? But Chriſt of his mercy ſtand for his Church, and ſtir up zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recover that that is loſt, yet at leaſt to retain that little which is left.

The City of Belgrade won of the Turk.

Solyman therefore taking this occaſion, and uſing the commodity of time, while our Princes were thus at variance betwixt themſelves, without any reſiſtance or interruption brought his Army unto *Belgrade*, in the year of our Lord, 1521. Which City being but ſlenderly defenced, the *Turk* through his Underminers, Guns, and other Engins of War, without great difficulty, and with little loſs of his Souldiers, ſoon ſubdued and overcame.

After this Victory, *Solyman* reſting himſelf a whole year, and caſting in his mind how to make all ſure behind him, for fear of Enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpoſe if he might obtain the Iſland of *Rhodes*: for that only remained yet *Chriſtian* betwixt him and *Aſia*: wherefore the next year following, he brought his Army of 450 Ships, and 300000 Men, to the beſieging thereof. This *Rhodes* was a mighty and ſtrong Iſland, within the Sea called *Mare mediterraneum*. The Inhabitants whereof at the firſt did manfully reſiſt the *Turk*, ſparing no labour nor pains for the defence

Rhodes beſieged.

of themſelves and of all *Chriſtendom*. But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, ſeeing alſo no Aid to come from the *Chriſtians*, ſomewhat began to languiſh in themſelves. The *Turks* in the mean time caſting up two great Mountains with ſtrength of hand, two miles off from the City, like rolling Trenches carried them before them near unto the City, in the tops whereof they planted their Ordnance and Artillery, to batter the City. The Maſter of the Knights of the *Rhodes* was then one *Philippus Villadamus*, a *Frenchman*, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the City. The *Rhodians* likewiſe ſo valiantly behaved themſelves upon the Walls, that with their ſhot all the Ditches about the City were filled with the Carkaſſes of dead *Turks*. Beſides this, ſuch a diſeaſe of the *Bloody-Flux* reigned in the *Turks* Camp, that 30000 of them died thereof; and yet for all this *Solyman* would not ceaſe from his ſiege begun: who, at length by Underminers caſting down the Vamures and uttermoſt parts of the City, won ground ſtill more and more upon the *Rhodians*, and with Mortar-pieces ſo battered the houſes, that there was no free place almoſt ſtanding in all the City. And thus continued the ſiege for the ſpace of five or ſix months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the *Chriſtians*. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the advice of *Villadamus*, yielded themſelves unto the *Turk*, upon condition that he would ſpare them with life and goods; which convention the *Turk* kept with them faithfully and truly.

{KING} Hen. 7.

The eſtimate cowardlineſs of the Souldiers in *Alitenburch*.

The Caſtle of *Alitenburch* yield. ed to the *Turk*.

Neapolis beſieged of the *Turk*.

The *Turky* Army of two hundred and fifty thouſand Souldiers.

Vienna beſieged of the *Turk*.

Frederick Earl Palatine Captain in Vienna.

This *Solyman* with his great glory, and utter ſhame to all Chriſtian Princes, and alſo ruine of all *Chriſtendom*, got the noble Ile of *Rhodes*, although not without great loſs and detriment of his Army, inſomuch that at one aſſault twenty thouſand *Turks* about the Walls were ſlain with Fire, Sword, Stones, and other Engins. Whereby it may be conjectured what theſe *Rhodians* might or would have done, if ſuccour had come to them from other Chriſtian Princes as they looked for. This City was won upon *Chriſtmas-day*, *Anno* 1522.

Chriſtian Princes negligent in helping their Fellows.

Rhodes won of the *Turk*.

This Conqueſt of *Rhodes* obtained, *Solyman* the fourth year after bringeth back his Army again into *Hungary*, where he found none to reſiſt him but only *Ludovick* the young King, who being accompanied with a ſmall Army, and nothing able to match with the *Turk*, yet of a haſty raſhneſs and vain hope of victory, would needs ſet upon him; who if he had ſtaid but a little, had proſpered the better. For *Joannes Vaivoda*, being a Captain well exerciſed in *Turkiſh* Wars before, was not far off, coming with a ſufficient Power of able Souldiers. But *Paulus* the Archbiſhop of *Colocz*, a *Franciſcan-Frier*, a man more bold than wiſe, with his temerity and raſhneſs troubled all their doings. For the whole ſum of the Army of the *Hungarians*, contained in all but only four and twenty thouſand Horſemen and Footmen, who at length coming unto the battel, and being compaſſed about with a great multitude of the *Turks* Army, were brought into great diſtreſs. The *Turks* twice ſhot off their pieces againſt the *Chriſtian* Army; yet ſcarce was any *Chriſtian* touched with the ſtroke thereof: which was thought to be done of purpoſe, becauſe they were *Chriſtians* which had the ordering of the Guns, for then the ſpecial Gunners of the *Turks* were *Chriſtians*, whom for the ſame cauſe they ſpared. Then the *Turkiſh* Horſemen, coming upon the back of the *Chriſtian* Army, compaſſed them about, and by reaſon of their multitude overcharged their Horſemen. Amongſt whom was ſlain the ſame time the Archbiſhop Frier aboveſaid, with the Biſhops of *Strygone* and *Varadine*, and many other Nobles beſide. Alſo the King himſelf, being deſtitute of his neceſſary aid and ſuccour, was compelled to fly into a Mariſh, where he falling from his Horſe, being heavy laden with the Harneſs, was not able to riſe again, but there miſerably periſhed.

Chriſtian wars againſt the *Turk*, never ſped well under the guiding of Popiſh Prelates.

Chriſtians were the ſpecial Gunners to the *Turk*.

The raſh Archbiſhop ſlain.

King Ludovick periſheth in War.

Solyman the *Turk* marvelled at the fooliſhneſs of *Ludovick* the King, who with ſo ſmall an Army would preſume to encounter with ſuch a great Hoſt of two hundred thouſand. This battel in *Hungary* was fought, *Anno* 1526.

Ferdinandus of Hungary

After the deceaſe of *Ludovick*, *Ferdinandus* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, being Duke of *Auſtria* and King of *Hungary*. Then *Solyman*, ſetting contention betwixt *Joannes Vaivoda* and *Ferdinandus* for the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſped his Voyage to the City of *Buda*, which alſo

{KING} Hen. 7.

Buda, *Varadinum*, and the City called *Strygo*, *Ecclie* taken of the *Turk*.

Contention between *Ferdinandus* and *Vaivoda*.

Vaivoda flieth to the *Turks*.

Horrible examples of the *Turks* cruelty.

also in ſhort time he made to be yielded unto him upon condition that they ſhould eſcape with their lives and goods; which condition ſome ſay he kept, and ſome ſay he did not. Beſides *Buda*, divers places and munitions the ſaid *Turk*, contrary to his League made before, did ſpoil and waſte, as *Varadinum*, *Quinque Eccleſias*, and other Forts and Munitions more, bordering about the Coaſts of *Hungary*.

In the year of our Lord, 1529. *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary* aforeſaid recovered divers Holds gotten of the *Turk* before, and alſo warring againſt *Joannes Vaivoda* his Enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expulſed him out of his Kingdom. Whereupon *Vaivoda*, flying to the *Turk*, deſired his aid. The *Turk*, glad to take that occaſion, with great preparation addreſſed himſelf to return into *Hungary*, where he recovering again the City of *Buda* which *Ferdinandus* had gotten from him a little before, removed his Army into *Auſtria*, ſpoiling and deſtroying by the way all that came to his hands, ſhewing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny moſt lamentable to hear and underſtand. For of ſome he put out their Eyes, of ſome he cut off their Hands, of ſome their Ears and Noſes, and of their Children he cut off their Privy Members. The Maidens he corrupted, the Matrons had their Breaſts cut off, and ſuch as were with child were ript and their Children call into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched *Turk* perpetrated by the way coming toward *Vienna* a noble City in *Auſtria*, beſides the Captives which he took by the way and led into Servitude moſt miſerable, mounting to the number of 30000.

Among other Holds by the way as the *Turks* came, there was a Caſtle called *Altenburch*, ſtrongly by nature ſituated, and by art defenced; which Caſtle the *Turk* intending not to overpaſs, becauſe he would make all things ſure behind him, began to make his Aſſault, and lay his Ordnance againſt it. The Warders and Keepers of the Caſtle, ſo ſoon as the *Turk* began to lay ſiege againſt them, making no reſiſtance, of a womanly cowardlineſs ſent their Meſſengers to the *Turk*, to yield themſelves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual. Amongſt whom were three hundred *Bohemians*, who were commanded to follow the Hoſt, that the *Turk* by them might learn what ſtrength was in the City of *Vienna*; alſo where the King was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Of whom when the *Turk* had underſtanding how all things ſtood, and how that there were but twenty thouſand men in *Vienna* able to bear Armor, and that other Cities of *Auſtria* would ſoon yield if that were gotten, and that *Vienna* was victualled but for two months, and that the King was of late in *Boheme*; thus the *Turk* of all things being certified, having no doubt in his mind of Victory, made ſpeed toward *Vienna*; and firſt coming to *Neapolis*, a City but eight miles diſtant from *Vienna*, he required them to yield themſelves; who notwithſtanding withſtood them, and repulſed them manfully. Then the *Tugks* aſſigned a placed for the pitching of their Tents; which becauſe it ſeemed ſomething too little for ſuch a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compaſs of ſeven miles circuit. The multitude of his Army, which he there planted, is accounted of ſome to extend to 250 thouſand Souldiers. The *Turk* thus being planted, made daily excurſes over all the Country of *Auſtria*, ſpecially about the City of *Vienna*, waſting and ſpoiling with great cruelty and murther amongſt the poor *Chriſtians*.

Moreover, to make all things more ſure toward the preparation of the ſiege, Scouts were ſent abroad, and Embaſſinments were laid about the River ſide of *Danubius*, to provide that no aid nor victual ſhould be brought to *Vienna*. So it pleaſed the Providence of the Lord (who diſpoſeth all things) that three days before the coming of the *Turk*. *Fredericus* the Earl *Palatine*, which was then aſſigned by the Empire to take the charge of *Vienna*, was come down by the River of *Danubius* with 14000 and with a certain Troop of Horſemen well appointed and picked for the purpoſe. After the coming of this *Frederick*, proviſion alſo of victual was appointed to follow ſhortly after by the ſaid River of *Danubius*.

In the mean time, they which had the carriage and tranſporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the Paſſages ten miles about *Vienna* ſtopped by the *Turks*, although they knew the City to ſtand in great need of victual, yet ſeeing there was no other remedy, rather than it ſhould come to the Enemies hand, thought it beſt to ſink their Boats with their carriage, and ſo they did. Whereby albeit the *Chriſtians* wanted their reliefe, yet were the *Turks* diſappointed of their prey and purpoſe. The Captains which had the keeping of the City, which were chiefly *Fredericus* the Earl *Palatine*, *Gulielmus Rogendorfius*, and *Nicolaus* Earl of *Salme*, ſeeing themſelves ſo ſtraitned contrary to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to be diſcouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken: and ſeeing that the little City *Neapolis* (above mentioned) being eight miles diſtant from them, ſo valiantly withſtood the *Turks*, that in one day they ſuſtained ſeven grievous Aſſaults againſt all the main force of the *Turkiſh* Army; by their example and manful ſtanding being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermoſt before they would give over; and firſt plucking down all the Suburbs and Buildings without the Walls, whereby the Enemy might have any Succour, they willed all the Farmers and Inhabitants about the City to have themſelves, and to bring in their goods within the Walls. Such places as were weak within the Walls, they made ſtrong. About the Towers and Munition of the Walls they provided Rampiers and Bulwarks diſtant eighty foot one from another, to keep off the ſhot; and every man had his place and ſtanding awarded to him upon the Wall, and his office appointed what to do: but eſpecially that ſide of the City which lieth to the River of *Danubius* they fortified after the beſt wiſe; for that way only now remained for victual to be tranſported from the *Bohemians* unto them. Whereſore eight Enſigns were aſſigned to the keeping of the Bridge, and in the Plain, which was like an Iſland incloſed within the River, a ſufficient Garriſon of Horſemen were placed, lying within the gunſhot of the City, to the intent that if any grain or victual were ſent from the *Bohemians*, they might provide the ſame ſafely to be brought into the City.

Frederick Earl Palatine, *Gulielmus Rogendorfius*, *Nicolaus* Earl of *Salme*, Captains of *Vienna*.

Preparation within the City of *Vienna* againſt the *Turk*.

Proviſion made for victualling the City.

Theſe things thus being diſpoſed and ſet in order, Lord *William Rogendorff*, to aſſay the ſtrength of the *Turks*, made divers Rodes out with his Horſemen, albeit much againſt the minds of the *Auſtrians*; who, knowing the manner of the *Turks*, thought it better to ſuffer them, while either with time they might be overwearied, or for lack of victuals conſumed. Among many and fundry Skirmiſhes which the *Chriſtians* had with the *Turks*, one eſpecially was to our men unproſperous; in which certain of the Horſemen, eſpying a ſmall Troop of the *Turks* ſcattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who ſuddenly and guilefully were incloſed and circumvented by the *Turks*, before they could recover the Gates of the City, and ſo were all taken alive: Of whom three were ſent from the *Turks* into the City, to declare to the *Viennians* what ſtrength they had ſeen in the Camp of their Adverſaries, and to ſollicite them to yield their City for fear of punihment which would follow. The reſidue they reſerved to torments and puniſhment, whom in the ſight of the whole Army, and of the *Chriſtians* (which ſhould tell the ſame to the Citizens) they cauſed every man to be drawn with four Horſes apieces, and ſo to be diſmembred and pluckt aſunder.

Good counſel and experience required.

Raſh hardineſs of the *Chriſtians* in skirmiſhing with the *Turk*.

The wretched cruelty of the *Turks* againſt the *Chriſtian* Captives.

After this done, the barabrous *Turk* immediately ſent his Herald to talk with the Captains of the City, whether they would yield the City upon honeſt conditions, or elſe would abide the arbitrement of War. If they would gently ſubmit themſelves, they ſhould have all gentleneſs to them ſhewed. If they would be ſtubborn, and ſtand to their defence, he would alſo ſtand to his ſiege begun, ſo that he neither would ſpare man, woman, or child. To this the Captains anſwered again, That they were contented that *Solyman* ſhould ſtand to his ſiege begun, and do his uttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themſelves and their City ſo long as they might; the event and fall of Victory to be doubtful, and many times ſo to happen, that they which begin the War, are wearied ſooner than they which be provoked; neither that they were ſo unmindful either of themſelves, or of their Country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be *Germans*;

The meſſage of the *Turk* to the *Viennians*.

The anſwer of the *Viennians* to the *Turk*.

who

who use always first to assay the Adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their Enemies hands.

Soliymannus approcheth Vienna with three great armies.

Solyman not a little disdaining at this Answer, first burning and consuming all the Villages, Houses and places round about the City, infecting allo the Springs and Fountains which gave water into the City, and so stopping all Passages that no Relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the City, with three great Campes; sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his Captains, that if they stood in need of help of Souldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred *Bohemians* (mentioned a little before) to aid them in their defence. To whom the *Palatine* directed answer again, That they had more Souldiers in the City than they needed. As for the *Bohemians* which had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for *Vienna* stood in no great need of them.

A Messenger sent from Ferdinando to Vienna.

In the mean time a Messenger coming from *Ferdinando* was privily let in by night into the City, which brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the Enemy a while; for it would not be long, but both *Ferdinandus* and *Carolus* his Brother, with the strength of all *Germany*, would be ready to rescue them. At which Message the hearts of the Souldiers began somewhat to be cheared, and to contemn the huge multitude of the Adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before. The largeness of whose Army extended no less in compass (as is above-said) than of seven miles round about the City Walls.

The siege of Vienna beginneth.

Long it were to recite the whole Order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this History, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the *Turks*, the absence of King *Ferdinandus*, the lack of provision and victual within the City, the noise of the Guns, the violence of the shot, the terrour of the sight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that City was no mans doing, but the Arm only of the Lord God of Hosts, according to the true saying of the *Psalm. Unless the Lord do keep the City, the Watchmen watch in vain which watch to save it: Unless the Lord do build the House, the Builder striveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it.* Experience whereof in keeping this City may well appear.

The Lords Power and Providence in keeping the City of Vienna.

First, *Solyman* bending his shot and Ordnance against the City, beat down to the ground the Vamures with all the uttermost Suburbs of the City, and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the *Viennians*, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, lest the *Turk* with the same celerity and violence would have prevailed against the inward Walls, as he did in beating down the outward Vamures. And no doubt the same time the *Turk* had put the City in great hazard, had not night coming on, broken off the siege for that day.

The slaughter of the Turks about the ways of Vienna.

In the mean time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the Walls, to make all things sure against the next Assault. The next day early in the morning the *Turks* approaching the City again with a new Assault, thinking to scale the Walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the *Germans*, that unneth any ditches about the Walls could be seen for the bodies of the dead *Turks*, wherewith they were replenished; so that the *Turks* were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them which were slain. By the which Calamity the force of the Enemy was not a little abated.

The manlinesse of Captain Rogendorffius against the Turks.

It happened the same time, that a Company of the *Turks* being sped out of the City wandering out of order, the Captain *Rogendorffius* with two Legions of Horsemen issuing out of the City Gate called *Salmaria*, and so passing closely under the hills side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them; the rest being driven to take the River, whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the City again. By this Victory the Captain *Rogendorffius* began to be terrible to the *Turks*. For in the same Skirmish (as after was known) were slain of them so many, that of 5000 and 300 Horsemen and Footmen scarce 140 escaped alive.

Solyman disdaining at this repulse thought to prove another way, and so bringing his Power toward the Gate called *the Kings-Gate*, there making his Trenches and Bulwarks, planted his Ordnance, with the violence whereof the Walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the *Turk*, seeing two great breaches made in the Wall, commanded his Souldiers coverly in the dark smoke of the Gunpowder to press into the City. The like also was done at the *Scotish* Tower, whereby the City was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The *Viennians* at the first freshly began to withstand them, new Souldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage, whereby the City had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid Captains, *Rogendorffius* in the one place, and the Earl of *Salme* in the other place, manfully encouraged the Souldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out a while the violence of the *Turks*, promising that immediately they should have aid from *Ferdinandus*.

{KING} *Hen.* 7. Another Assault of the Turks against Vienna.

Another repulse of the Turks.

In the mean time the *Turks* came so thick for the greedinesse of the Victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the Walls, that had it not been for that press and throng of the great multitude of the *Turks*, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, *Vienna* that same day had been taken and utterly loft. But by the policy of the Captains giving a sign within the City, as though new Souldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the *Turks* hearts to be discomfited.

Vienna undermined by the Turks.

When *Solyman* saw his Army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by undermining to overthrow the City; in the which work specially he used the help of the *Illyrians*, of whom he had a great number in his Camp, expert in that kind of feat. These *Illyrians* beginning to break the earth at the Gate *Carinthia*, and coming near to the foundations of the *Tower*, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were skilful and expert in that kind of matter; who contrariwise undermining against them, and filling their Trenches as they went with Gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the Enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great flaking, so that the Tower did cleave asunder, and all the Underminers of the *Turks*, working in their Trenches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of eight thousand persons; informuch that yet till this day a great number of dead mens scals are found in the ground.

Another assault of the Turks against Vienna.

When *Solyman* saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy Intelligence that the Walls about the Gates of *Stubarium* were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easie entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten Garrisons of fresh Souldiers, in such sort as the Townsmen should not perceive them: who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their Ditches, and were upon the top of the Fortresses and Munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lack of Souldiers within the City, yet forsomuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie, especially at the two Gates aforesaid, from whence the Souldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a shift the Refcuers (which within the City were ready for all sudden adventures) were sent to the Walls; by whose coming, those few which kept the Enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to Surgery; and thus the said Assault continued terrible and doubtful until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the *Turks* to be slain more than 5000.

Then the Captain *Rogendorffius* commending the valiant standing of his Souldiers, misdoubting with himself (as it happned indeed) that the *Turks* would not so give over, but would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the Walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the *Turks* thinking to prevent

{KING} *Hen.* 7. The Turks again repulsed.

our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the Walls.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the City those three days following was in. During all the which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the Enemies, fighting against the City, either in our men in defending the same. For the *Turks*, besides the multitude of the great Ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of Gun-shot) they never ceased, till battering the Walls, and beating the Munitions of the City, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the *Turks*, to the scaling and climbing of the Walls, that unneth with all the Ordnance and shot of the City, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at the last the Souldiers of the *Turks*, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their Dukes and Captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the City was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and so ceased the siege for that time.

Another default of the Turks repulsed.

The Turks at variance among themselves.

After this, when *Solyman* had purposed in himself with his last and strongest siege to try against the City the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his Souldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto: the Souldiers shewed themselves much unwilling to return again from whence they were so often repulsed before; by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the *Turks* Camp. The rumor whereof when it came to *Solymans* ears, he sendeth his grand Captain to keep all the Souldiers in Order and Obedience; or if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his Commandment. Who coming to the Souldiers, shewed to them the great *Turks* Message; and to animate and incourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now without great shame give over, except so many Affaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the Victory were in their own hands. The Townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their Victuals spent; and the more to enflame their minds, he promised them not only great Thanks and Reward of their Emperor, but also the whole spoil of the City, in recompence of their travel.

The Turk and his Souldiers could not agree.

The Turk entreateth his Souldiers.

Compulsion of men serveth not where the Lord defended.

But when all this could not stir up the sturdy stomacks of the tired *Turks*, using compulsion where perswasion would not serve, he appointed a number of Horsemen to be set at their backs; whereby to inforce them either to go forward, or if they be denied, with Guns and Spears to destroy them. The *Turks* seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward except the Captain would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array thus spake unto his Fellows, saying, *Do you forsake your Faith and Allegiance, and betray the Emperor of* Constantinople *unto the* Christians *if you will; but I will discharge my duty towards the Common-wealth and my Emperor*, and with that word advanced his Ensign, making toward the City Walls. Whom when other followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain of our men upon the Walls, before it was known what they meant. Others terrified by their example gave back and left their Array, and winding themselves by-ways and under covert of hills, returned again into their Tents, and so came it to pass, that the strength of the Enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less hope every day more and more than other of obtaining the City. For besides the innumerable slaughter of *Turks* upon the Walls, the Townsmen also watching the Forrages and Purveyers of the *Turks*, as they ranged about for Victual for the Camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountred with them by that way, that of a whole Legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their Fellows alive, by means whereof the courage of the Enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvelous alteration hapned, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the *Turks* began still more to droop and to languish with dispair; so that at length

The slaughter of the Turks at Vienna.

The Turks slain.

scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light Skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to shew themselves.

The Turk beginneth to take counsel to retire.

Solyman perceiving his Souldiers thus daily to go to wracks, of whom he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of Forrage, for that the Country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his Captains and Counsellors, what remained best to be done, Of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betime to provide for himself. Which to do many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his Camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the approaching near of *Winter*. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard *Frederick Palatine* above mentioned, coming with a great Army at *Ratisbone* towards *Vienna*, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the *Turks* Forragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so enclosed in the Woods that he slew them. Whereof when *Solyman* had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the *Palatine*, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his Camp, and to retire; and first sending away his Carriage before him, he made speed himself with his Army to follow shortly after.

Solyman removeth and raiseth his siege from Vienna.

The *Viennians*, when they heard of the removing away of the *Turks*, although at the first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and also of the Order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the City after them. Wherein, albeit the prefence of the *Palatine* with his Army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they took the opportunity of the time present, and issuing out of the City, in most speedy wise set after them with their Horsemen; and first overpassing the Tents (where the *Turks* had pitched their stations or pavilions) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rereward or later end of the Army, whereof they made such havock and destruction, that (as the Author reporteth) there was never a shot of the Pursuers, nor Weapons drawn, nor stroke strucken, which light in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to do. For as the *Turks* in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their Fellows, it was easie for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet notwithstanding in long pursuits, when our men could not see the Carriage of the *Turks*, which was wont in Armies to come away behind after the Host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy waight behind them, to come betwixt them and home; they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certain Scouts, to espy and bring them word where the Enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the *Turks* Army was remaining in the Tents behind, word was sent to their Fellows in *Vienna* to issue out, and to joyn also with them against the tail of the *Turks*, which had entrenched themselves within the Camp. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest peradventure the *Turks* seeing our men to recul back, might return again upon them and help their Fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time, while part of the *Viennians* were hovering after the main Army, the rest encountred with them that were left in the Camp. Who seeing themselves overmatched, first defenced their Camp with a deep Ditch and Bulwark, to delay the time until some help might come to them from the Army. Secondly, they directed Messengers to the *Christians*, to intreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their privy Letters unto *Solyman* for speedy aid and rescue. But all the ways and passages being stopped by the *Christians*, their Letters were intercepted, and so the miserable *Turks* being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their Camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence; but in conclusion, in their desperate venture they

The Turks Camp surprised in their flight.

The privy purpose of the Turks prevented.

were

were incloſed about by our men on every ſide, and there put to the Sword and ſlain, a few only excepted, who eſcaping out very hardly by ſecret paſſages, ſhifted after the reſt of their Fellows, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their Tents was diſtributed amongſt the Souldiers, only ſuch things reſerved as might ſerve for their publick uſe and commodity of the City.

The reſt of the *Turks* Slain in the Camp.

Thus through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, *Auſtria* was delivered from the fierce and barbarous Hoſtility of the cruel *Turks*. Notwithſtanding, that neither *Ferdinandus* the King, nor the Emperor his Brother were there preſent, but only the Power of God, through the valiantneſs of the worthy *Germans*, defended that City; in defence whereof conſiſted the ſafety and deliverance (no doubt) of all theſe Weſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. For the which immortal praiſe and thanks be unto our immortal God in Chriſt our Lord, according as he hath of us moſt graciouſly and worthily deſerved. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods bleſſing goeth with the true Reformers of his Religion; and ſo much the more is it to be noted, for that the *Turks* in ſo many battels and ſieges heretofore were never ſo repulſed and foiled, as at this preſent time in encountring with the Proteſtants and Defenders of ſincere Religion. This City of *Vienna* was beſieged and delivered the year of our Lord, 1529. The Aſſaults of the *Turk* againſt the City are numbered to be twenty, and his repulſes as many. The number of his Army which he firſt brought, was 250000, whereof were reckoned to be ſlain eighty thouſand and above. During the time of his ſiege he led away out of the Country about, many Captives, Virgins and Matrons he quelled, and caſt them out naked, the Children he ſtuck upon ſtakes.

The marvellous protection of God over *Chriſtendom*.

Gods bleſſing goeth with the Maintainers of his true Worſhip and Religion.

Solyman thus put from the hope of Victory of *Vienna*, after he had breathed himſelf a while at home, the ſecond year after, which was *Anno* 1531, repairing his Hoſt, returned again into *Hungary*, with no leſs multitude than before; where firſt he got the Town called *Gunza*, being but ſlenderly kept with a ſmall Garriſon. By reaſon whereof the Townſmen and Souldiers, yielding themſelves unto the *Turks*, were conſtrained to agree upon unreaſonable conditions. *Ex Joanne Ramo.*

Ex Melc. Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.

Melchior Soiterus in his Second Book writing *De bello Pannonico*, touching the foreſaid Town of *Gunza* or *Guntiani*, differeth herein ſomething from *Ramus*, declaring how this *Gunza*, being a ſmall Town in *Hungary*, and having in it but only an hundred Souldiers (or as *Wolfgangus Drechſlerus* in his Chronicle reporteth, at the moſt but two hundred Souldiers) under the valiant Captain *Nicholaus Jureſchitz*, defended themſelves ſo manfully and wonderfully, through the notable Power of God, againſt the whole puiſſance of two hundred thouſand *Turks*, that they being notwithſtanding diſtreſſed with lack and penury of purveyance, and ſuddenly of the *Turks* invaded, yet with pure courage and promptneſs of heart ſuſtained the uttermoſt force and violence of thirteen Aſſaults of that great multitude, for the ſpace of twenty five days together.

Nicolaus Jureſchitz a valiant Captain.

Although the Narration of the Author may ſeem to ſome incredible, yet thus he writeth, That what time the great Ordnance and Battering pieces of the *Turks* were planted upon two Mountains much higher than the Town, whereby they within the Town were oppreſſed both before and behind, inſomuch that eight Enſigns of the *Turks* were already within the Town, yet by the reaſon of Women and Children, and other impotent perſons, who in the middle of the Town were congregate in an houſe together, ſuch a noiſe and clamor went up to Heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the *Turks* within the Walls, ſuppoſing a new Army of freſh Souldiers to be ſent into the Town, for ſudden fear voided the Town, and leaped down from the Walls again, (which before they had got) whom no man either purſued or reſiſted; for never a Souldier almoſt was left on the Walls, which was not either ſlain or elſe wounded with the *Turks* Ordnance. At what time through the Lords Providence it ſo hapned, that one *Ibrahimus Baſſa* near about the *Turk*, feeing both the Town to be ſmall, and the great deſtruction of the *Turks* in the ſiege thereof, and that the Captain in no caſe would yield, perſwaded ſo the *Turk*, declaring how the Town being ſo little was not worth the loſs of ſo many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulſed, great diſhonour might follow: whereby the *Turk* being perſwaded did follow his counſel, which was this; that *Nicolaus* the Chriſtian Captain being called unto him, under pledges and ſafe conduct, ſhould receive the Town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he ſhould do no violence to his Souldiers left behind and wounded, but ſhould procure ſuch means as he could for the recuring of them; and ſo he raiſing his ſiege departed. Another cauſe might be alſo, which moved him ſo ſuddenly to raiſe his ſiege, for that he heard the *Palatinate* not to be far off in purſuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the Mountains of the *Noricians*, he returned with much ſpoil of Chriſtian mens goods unto *Conſtantinople*. *Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.*

A miraculous example of the Lords protection and providence.

The *Turk* raiſeth his ſiege from Gunza.

For ſo it was provided the ſame time in *Germany*, after the Council of *Auguſt* and *Ratiſbon* (at what time the Controverſie of Religion between the *Proteſtants* and the *Papiſts* was deferred and ſet off to the next general Council) that *Charles* the Fifth and *Ferdinandus* his Brother, having underſtanding, of the *Turk* thus ranging in *Hungary*, ſhould collect of the *Germans*, *Hungarians*, and *Spaniards*, and others, an able Army of eighty thouſand Footmen, and thirty thouſand Horſemen to repulſe the Invaſions of the *Turk*. But *Solyman* having intelligence of this preparation of the *Chriſtian* Power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to eſpy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refuſed at that time to tarry their coming, and ſo, ſpeeding his return unto *Conſtantinople*, retired with much ſpoil and prey ſent before him, as is above premiſed: which was in the year of our Lord, 1532.

The Emperor *Charles* and *Ferdinandus* begin at length to reſiſt againſt the *Turk*, refuſeth to tarry for the *Chriſtian* Army.

Not long after, being the year of our Salvation, 1534. *Solyman* intending two Wars at once, firſt ſent *Conradinus Barbaroſſa* the Admiral of his Navies into *Africk*, to war againſt the King of *Tunis*; whom *Barbaroſſa* alſo diſpoſſeſſed and deprived of his Kingdom: but *Charles* the Emperor, the next year following, *Anno* 1535, reſtored the ſaid King again into his Kingdom, and delivered in peace the ſame Voyage twenty thouſand Captives out of Servitude.

The *Turk* warreth againſt the King of *Tunice*. *Tunice* won of the *Turk*, and reſtored again by *Charles* the Emperor.

The ſame time the *Turk* alſo ſent another Captain into *Hungary*, to War againſt *Voivoda*, while he himſelf taking his courſe to *Perſia*, planted his ſiege againſt the City *Taurus*, which he in ſhort ſpace ſubdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the ſame; For *Tahames* King of the *Perſians*, ſuddenly coming upon the *Turks* unprepared, flew of them twenty thouſand, and took his Cohorts, to the great ſoil and reproach of the *Turk*.

Taurus a City of *Perſia*, ſo taken of the *Turks*. Twenty thouſand *Turks* ſlain of the *Perſians*.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1537. *Solyman*, who could not be quiet at home, nor reſt in peace, returning again out of *Aſia* into *Europe* with 270 Ships, great and little, ſet upon *Corcyra*, another Iſland belonging to the *Venetians*, which he beſieged ten days, waſting and burning the Towns and Fields as he went, beſide the deſtruction of much people therein, whom partly he ſlew, partly led away Captives. From thence he ſailed to *Zacinthus* and *Cythara*, another Iſland not far from *Corcyra*, bordering near to the Coaſts of *Epyrus* and *Grecia*. Where he ſuddenly by night invading the Husbandmen in Villages and Fields, ſleeping and miſtruſting no harm, drew them out of their Houſes and Poſſeſſions, Men and Women, beſides Children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his Bondſlaves; burning moreover their Houſes, and carrying away all the Goods and Cattel being without the ſaid City of *Zacinthus* and *Cythara*. *Ex Joan. Criſpo.*

Corcyra the Iſland waſted and ſpoiled by the *Turks*.

The Iſle of *Zacinthus* and *Cythara* ſpoiled by the *Turks*.

From thence theſe Hellhounds turned their courſe to the Iſle and ſpoil of *Egina*, a rich and populous Iland, lying between *Greecia* and *Aſia*. Where firſt the *Eginians* did manfully in battel reſiſt them, and were like to have prevailed; but being wearied at length, and oppreſſed with innumerable thouſands of freſh *Turks*, which ſtill were ſent in, to reſcue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to fly unto the City of *Egina*. Which City the cruel *Turks* (or rather Devils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great Ordnance fet out of their Ships, ſubdued and caſt down to the ground; the Citizens and Inhabitants whereof the *Turk* after he had burned

Captives of the *Chriſtians* and *Turks* between the *Eginets* and the *Turks*. *Egina* taken of the *Turk*.

The Citizens of *Egina* ſlain of the *Turks*.

§ KING 3 Reg. 7. The Women of *Egina* miſerably entreated and captivated of the *Turks*.

burned their Houſes, and ranſacked their Goods, commanded to be ſlain and killed every one. The Women both noble and unnoble, with their Infants, were given to the Mariners to be abuſed, and from thence being ſhipped unto *Conſtantinople*, were led away to perpetual miſery and Slavery, which was in the Year of our Lord, 1537.

The Iſle *Paxum* and *Naxus*.

In the ſame Journy *Solyman* alſo took the Iſle in the ſaid Sea of *Eugeum*, called *Paxum*; alſo the Ille adjoyning to the ſame named *Naxus*, and made them to him Tributaries. The Duke whereof, he which wrote the ſtory both of theſe Illands aforeſaid, and alſo of the other Illands, called *Cycladæ*, and other Dukes. *Ex Joanne Criſpo, Duce Naxi, &c.*

Cycladæ ſubdued of the *Turks*. *Ex Joan. Criſpo.*

This done, *Solymannus* directed his Navy unto *Apulia*, where he ſet on Land Ten thouſand Foot-men, and 2000 Horſe-men, which ſpoiled likewiſe and waſted thoſe parts, while the Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in War and Diſſention. Furthermore, the next Year following, *Anno* 1538. great Attempts began in *Stiria*, but by the reſiſtance of the Inhabitants, the force of the barbarous *Turky* was repulſed, notwithſtanding great ſpoils of Men and Cattel were carried from thence, and the Country miſerably ſpoiled. In the which Year alſo, the *Turk* burning into *Hungary*, gat ſtarted unto the Chriſtians in *Saxia*; where, through fraudulent falſhood of the Captain *Caſſianerus* (*Wolfgangus* nameth him *Calcianus*) being (as they ſay) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worſe, *Anno* 1538.

Note, what hurt cometh by the diſſention of Chriſtian Princes. *Stiria* is a Country or Province near adjoyning to *Auſtria*.

The falſhood of the *Turks* with the Venetians.

After that the *Turky* had invaded the Iſland of *Corcyra* aboveſaid, the *Venetians*, with *Solyman* the *Turk*, had joyned Truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the *Turk* 300 thouſand Crowns, with the City *Neapolis*, and *Malvaſia*, in the borders of *Macedonia*. But within four or five Years, the *Turk*, to get a new ſtipend of the *Venetians*, brake his League, and invaded their Dominions, whereby they were enforced to enter new Conditions again with him.

Novum Caſtellum in *Dalmatia* overthrown by the *Turk* and the people ſlain.

In the Year of our Lord, 1540. the reſtleſs *Turk*, making his return toward *Hungary*, by the way paſſing by *Dalmatia*, lay againſt the Town called *Newcaſtle*, being defended by the *Spaniards*. In the which Town, becauſe they refuſed to yield themſelves, all the Inhabitants and Souldiers were put to the Sword, and ſlain every one. This *Novum Caſtellum*, or *New Caſtle*, was a ſtrong Fort of the Chriſtians, which being gone in the *Turks* power, he had great advantage over all thoſe Quarters of *Dalmatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Hungaria*. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his courſe into *Hungary*, where he planted his Power againſt the City of *Buda*.

This *Buda* was a principal City in *Hungary*, about which great Contention had been (as ye have heard before) between *Joannes Voivoda* and *Ferdinandus*. By reaſon whereof the *Turk* occaſioned by *Voivoda*, came into *Hungary*, and delivered the City of *Voivoda*. This *Voivoda* living not long after, left behind him a Son, whom being an Infant, he committed to the Government of one *Georgius Monachus*, who, being left Tutor unto the Infant, reduced all *Tranſylvania*, *Buda*, *Peſta*, with other parts of *Hungary*, which belonged to *Voivoda* before, to the ſubjection of the Child. *Ferdinandus* hearing thereof, in a great haſte and anger, levied an Army to recover his Lands in *Hungary*, and ſo laid ſiege to *Buda*. *Monachus* ſeeing his part weak, firſt ſent his Legate to *Ferdinandus*, deſiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both. Whereupon, both the Parties being agreed, the place and manner of their Convention was appointed, and alſo the day and time aſſigned. Thus the parties (according to the Agreement) conventing together with their Armies, withdrawing a little aſide, as they were entred in Communication, ſuddenly among *Ferdinandus* men hapned a Dag to be heard, which by the heat of the day (as is thought) looſing of his own accord, gave a crack. The ſound whereof coming to the Ears of *Monachus*, he ſuppoſing the ſame to have been diſcharged againſt him, in great anger drew out his Sword, bidding *Ferdinandus* avaunt with his doubling diſſimulation, ſaying, That he would never any more truſt the Promiſes of Chriſtians; and immediately upon the ſame, ſent to *Solymannus* the *Turk* for aid againſt the Chriſtians, promiſing that he would ſurrender to him

Nocum Caſtellum, or *New Caſtle*, was a ſtrong Fort of the Chriſtians, which being gone in the *Turks* power, he had great advantage over all thoſe Quarters of *Dalmatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Hungaria*.

The contention in *Hungary* between *Ferdinandus*, and *Voivoda* and his ſucceſſors.

The communication between *Monachus* and *Ferdinander*.

What hurt may come of ſelf-ſufficiency.

free poſſeſſion of *Hungary*, if he would come and vanquiſh the Army of *Ferdinandus* lying about the Siege of *Buda*. The *Turk* maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occaſion, and with a mighty Power paſſeth into *Hungary*, and eſtſoons diſcharging the Hoſt of *Ferdinandus*, and putting them off from the Siege of *Buda*, getteth the City into his own hands, commanding the ſon of *Voivoda*, with his Mother, to follow after his Carriage.

The *Turk* called again into *Hungaria* by the diſſention between *Monachus* and *Ferdinandus*.

In the Hiſtory of *Joannes Ramus*, it followeth, that when *Solyman* the *Turk* had thus prevailed againſt the City of *Buda* aforeſaid, and againſt other parts more of *Hungary*, by the aſſent of the Empire, one *Joachimus* the Duke of *Brandenburg*, Prince Elector, was aſſigned with a puiſſant Army of choſen Souldiers of all Nations, collected to recover the City of *Buda* from the *Turk*, and to deliver the other parts of Chriſtiandom from the fear of the *Turk*, *Anno* 1542. Which *Joachimus* at his firſt ſetting forth, appeared ſo Couragious and Valiant, as though he would have Conquered the whole World: but this great heat was ſo ſlacked in ſhort time by the *Turks*, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be diſcharged of the Voyage, and with ſhame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the fields no more but his own ſhame. For the Enemies having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work ſome point of Maſtery or Victory before his going, did ſet upon the Right wing of his Army (which chiefly conſiſted of *Dutchmen* of *Low Germany*) out of the which they took away with them above Five hundred ſtrong and valiant Souldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For whom it had been much better to have ſtood to their Weapon, and to have died manfully upon the *Turks*, than by yielding themſelves to be diſtripulled of Weapon and Armor, and ſo to be left to the curſed courteſie of the foul *Turky*. To whom what courteſie was ſhewed by the ſequel, did appear. For after the *Turky* had led them out of *Hungary* into their own Dominions, after a moſt horrible and beaſtly fort they did figured and mangled them, and ſo ſent them abroad through all *Grecia*, to be witneſſes of the *Turky* Victory. Their kind of puniſhment was thus. Firſt, They had their right Arm thruſt through with an Iron red hot, whereby they ſhould be unable and unmeet to all labor and warfare. Secondly, Their Heads ſlope down to the very Sculls, after the manner of our Friers and Monks, when they are newly ſhaven. Thirdly, They had all their Privy Members cut off from their Bodies, to the intent to make them unfruitful for Propagation; which wound was ſo grievous unto them, that the greateſt part of them died thereupon: the few that recovered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miſerable than death it ſelf. And this kind of Cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like ſort did cruel *Pharaoh* exerciſe his Tyranny againſt the People of God in *Egypt*; who to deſtroy the Generation of them, cauſed all the Male Children to be drowned in the River. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that ſeeing the Tyranny of this Turkiſh *Pharaoh* is come to ſuch an Extremity, the merciful Goodneſs of God will the more ſhortly ſend ſome *Moſes* or other unto us for our ſpeedy Deliverance. This was by the cruel *Turky* done, *Anno* 1542.

The *Turk* ſubdueth all Souldiers taken and carried away of the *Turky*.

The horrible puniſhments practiſed of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians.

Ex Joanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis, lib. 8.

But to return again to the City of *Buda*, from whence we have digreſſed, here is not to be pretermitted, what fallhood and what cruelty the *Turky* uſed toward the Chriſtians there after their Victory. For after that *Solyman* the *Turk*, upon yielding and ſubmiſſion of the Men of *Buda*, had given to them his promiſe of Safety and Life, within ſhort time the ſaid *Turk*, picking a Quarrel with them for ſelling *Oxen* unto the Chriſtians, and for bargaining with them, ſlew all the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City of *Buda*; like as in all other Cities wherſoever the Chriſtians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely kept his promiſe with them, neither did ever any

The falſhood of the *Turks* in keeping no promiſe with the Chriſtians.

Christians fpeed better with the *Turk*, than they which moit conftantly did refift him.

An horrible example of the deadly cruelty of the falfe Turke.

And as his Promiſe with the Magiſtrates of *Buda* was falſe and wretched; ſo his Cruelty with the Souldiers thereof, was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of *Buda*, amongſt the reſt which were ſlain, two Cohorts or Bands of Chriſtian Souldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he ſeemed at the firſt to grant Pardon of Life, he commanded to put on their Armor again; and to diſpoſe themſelves in order and Battel array, after the Warlike manner of the Chriſtians. Which when they had accomplihed readily, according to his Commandment, and he riding about the Ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain ſpace, at length he commanded them to put off their Armor again. Which done, certain of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of them he picked out, the reſidue, he commanded by his Souldiers coming behind them with Swords, to be cut in pieces and ſlain. Of the other, whom he had elected and choſen, ſome he ſet for Marks and Buts to be ſhot at; ſome he appointed to his two Sons, for them to ſlaſh with their Swords and try their ſtrength, which of them could give the deeper Wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the moſt Blood might follow out of their Chriſtian Bodies. *Ex Epiſt. Mart. Stellæ de ſucceſſibus Turcarum.*

Ex Epiſt. Mart. Stellæ, de ſucceſſibus Turcarum, &c.

After the winning of *Buda*, the *Turk* purpoſing not ſo to ceaſe, before he had ſubdued and brought under his obedience all *Hungary*; proceeding further with his Army, firſt, brought under a ſtrong Hold of the Chriſtians, named *Peſthum* or *Peſta*, where a great number of Chriſtian Souldiers partly were ſlain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

The Caſtle of *Walpo* woth of the *Turke*.

Then he came to another Caſtle called *Walpo*, ſituate in the Confines of *Boſnia*, *Croatia*, and *Hungary*. Which Fort or Caſtle he beſieged three months, while no reſcue or aid was ſent unto them, neither from *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, nor from any other Chriſtian Prince or Princes. Whereupon at length the Fort was given up to the *Turk*; but more through the falſe treachery, or cowardly heart of the Souldiers than of the Captain. Whereas is to be noted an Example not unworthy of memory.

A notable example of Captains Judgments fighting upon themſelves, which mean ſtand favour with the *Turk*, and gave him to *Solyman*. But ſee how the Juſtice of God, ſometimes by the hand of the Enemy, diſpoſeth the end of things to the rewarding of Virtue and puniſhing of Vice. For where they thought to ſave themſelves by the danger of the faithful Captain, the Event turned clean contrary; ſo that the Turk was to the Captain bountiful and very liberal, and the Souldiers, notwithſtanding that they had all yielded themſelves, yet were all put to death, and commanded pitioully to be ſlain. *Ex Joan. Marino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria ſucceſſibus, &c.*

For when the cowardly Souldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs ſurrender themſelves and the place unto the *Turk*, contrary to the mind of the Captain, which in no caſe would agree to their yielding; they thinking to fhoot toward the innocent.

The City of five Churches, ſo yielded to the *Turke*.

There is in *Hungary* another Town, bearing the name of Five-Churches, called *Quinque-eccleſienſes*, which being partly ſpoiled before, as is above-mentioned, which now through the loſs of *Walpo*, and by the hugeneſs of the *Turkey* Army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thouſand fighting Men) ſo diſcouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the Biſhop and chief Nobles of the Town, fled before the Jeopardy: the reſt of the Commons, which were partly prevented by the ſudden coming of the *Turke* partly for poverty could not avoid, ſent their Meſſengers to the *Turk*, to yield and ſurrender the Town, upon promiſe of life, unto his hands. Whoſe promiſe how firm it ſtood, the ſtory leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this *Quinque-eccleſienſis*, never a *Turk* durſt enter the City, *Anno* 1543. *Ex Joan. Martino Stella, & aliis.*

The Biſhop leaveth his Flock in the bryers.

Sexfina, a Town in *Hungary* ſpoiled of the *Turk*.

The next Fort or Hold gotten by the *Turky* in *Hungary*, was *Sexfina*. The Town at the firſt Invaſion of the *Turky* was won, ſack'd, and fired. The Caſtle within the Town did ſomething hold out for a time, and firſt requiring truce for fourteen days, to ſee what aid ſhould be ſent unto them, to deliberate upon the Conditions that ſhould be propoſed unto them, after the fourteen days expired, they truſting to the ſituation and munition of the place, which was very ſtrong, began for a certain ſpace ſtoutly to put back the Enemy. But afterward, ſeeing their Walls to be battered, their Foundations to ſhake (for the *Turk*, had ſet twelve thouſand Underminers under the Ditches of the Caſtle) and their ſtrength to diminiſh, and miſdoubting themſelves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themſelves, upon condition to eſcape with Life and Goods. Which condition of ſaving their Goods was the loſing of their Lives, eſpecially of the richer ſort. For the *Turky* perceiving by that condition, that they were of Wealth and Subſtance, omitting the inferior or baſer ſort, fell upon the Wealthy men for their Riches, and ſlew them every one, *Anno* 1543. *Ibid.*

} KING *Hen.* 7. §

Covetouſneſs of worldly goods is the deſtruction of many a man.

The Turk ; keepeth no promiſe.

In the which his Hiſtory, this is alſo to be noted, that during the time while the Caſtle of *Soclofia* was beſieged, the Villages and Pages round about the ſame, came of their own accord, ſubmitting and yielding themſelves unto the *Turk*, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kind of Victual and Forrage into the *Turky* Camp. Which done, *Solyman* the *Turk* commanded all the Headmen of the Pages to appear before him, which humbly obeyed and came. Then the *Turk* warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his Inferior Retinue and Houſhold Servants. Which when they had with like diligence alſo according to his Commandment accomplihed, the *Turk* immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole Army to be ſlain, and ſo was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the Bloody Cruelty of the *Turk*, the more Courage it may miniſter to our Men the more conſtantly to withſtand him. *Ex Martino Stella.*

Example what conſtancy by Chriſtian men is to the Turk.

Strigonium, a City in Hungary, beſieged of the Turk.

Another ſtrong Town there is in *Hungary*, named *Strigonium*, diſtant from *Buda* abovefaid, the ſpace of five Dutch Miles, againſt the which the *Turky* made great preparation of Ordnance, and all other Inſtruments of Artillery neceſſary for the Siege thereof. Which City in like manner began alſo to be compaſſed and incloſed by the *Turky*, before it could be ſufficiently prepared and garniſhed of our Men, but that the Archbiſhop only of *Strigon* privily conveyed unto them two hundred Oxen. Such was then the negligence of *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, which ſo ſlenderly looked unto the neceſſary defence of his Towns and Cities. Moreover, ſuch was the Diſcord then of Chriſtian Kings and Princes, which in their Civil Diſſention and Wars were ſo occupied and hot in needleſs Quarrels, that they had neither leiſure nor remembrance to help in time there where true need required. Which ſlender care, and cold zeal of the Chriſtian Rulers, not in tendring the publick Cauſe, while they contended in private Triffles, hath cauſed the *Turk* to come ſo far as he hath; and yet farther is like, unleſs the mercy of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief Captains within the City, was *Martinus Laſcanus*, a *Spaniard*.

Negligence of Chriſtian Princes in publick defence.

The *Turky* in the beginning of the Siege, began firſt to attempt the Citizens with fair words, and accuſtomed promiſes, to yield and gently to ſubmit themſelves. But they not ignorant of the *Turky* promiſes, wiſely refuſed, and manfully ſtood ſo long as they could to the defence of their City; now and then ſkirmiſhing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; ſometime with their ſhot diſturbing their munitions, and breaking the Wheels of their Guns, *&c.*

Three ſpecial helps of the Turks in winning Forts and Cities.

Three ſpecial means the *Turky* uſe in winning great Forts and Cities; great multitude of Souldiers, great Ordnance and Morrar Pieces; the third is by Undermining. All which here in the Siege of this City lacked not. This Siege continued vehement a certain ſpace; in which the *Strigonians* had born out four ſtrong Aſſaults, and ſlew many thouſands of the *Turky*, till at length the *Turky* either departing away, or elſe ſeeming to depart unto *Buda*, the people at laſt being ſo perſwaded and made to believe of ſome chief Rulers of the City (peradventure not of the trueſt men) the Citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and ſinging *Te Deum*, as though the City had been free from all danger, ſuddenly (by whoſe counſel it is unknown) conveyed themſelves all out of the City,

} KING *Hen.* 7. §

The Citizens gentleſh flie the City.

City, 300 Horſemen alſo paſſed over the River and departed. The *Italians* which were under *Franciſcus Salamanca* a Spaniſh Captain, hardly could be perſwaded by him to abide, which were in all ſcarce 600.

Within three days after, Three hundred German Souldiers, with two Ships laden with Shot, Powder, and Artillery, were privily let into the Town; ſo that of our men in all there were ſcarce 1300 Souldiers. Who ſeeing the ſmall quantity of their number, burning and caſting down the Town and Suburbs, took them to the Caſtle; from whence they beat off the *Turky* valiantly with their Ordnance a good ſpace, and with Wild-fire deſtroyed great Companies of them, till at laſt they feeing their Walls to fall them, and the whole Caſtle to ſhake by Undermining, but eſpecially by the working of a certain Italian ſurnamed *Presbyter*, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or fallhood, ſecretly unknown to the reſt of the Souldiers, accompanyed with two other, conveyed himſelf down from the Walls, and being brought into the Tents of the next Captain or Baſſa of the *Turky*, there in the name of all his Fellows convented with the *Turky*, to give up to them the Caſtle; whereupon the *Turky* were bid to ceaſe the ſhooting. This Italian ſhortly after, with two other *Turky*, was ſent back to *Salamanca* his Captain, with the *Turky* Meſſage. The going out of this Italian being privy to the reſidue of his Fellows, contrary to the Laws and Diſcipline of War, although it ſeem'd to come of his own head: yet forſomuch as the other Souldiers were not ſo ſure, but rather ſuſpected leſt the other Italians his Country-men had been in ſome part of conſent therein, and would take his part; they neither durſt offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well adviſe with themſelves what was beſt to do, for fear of privy Confederacy within themſelves.

The Town of *Strigoni*. um deſtroyed after the flying of the Citizens and the Caſtle defended.

An *Italian* fear in yielding the Caſtle of *Strigonium* to the Turk.

A Turkiſh truce taken with the Chriſtians, they not knowing thereof.

Thus, while *Laſcanus* the chief Captain of the Chriſtians aforeſaid, with his Fellow-Souldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who giving a Sign both to the Chriſtians and the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was againſt all Law of War to fight after Peace and Truce taken: our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward Tower. The *Turky* in the mean time had got into the Caſtle, and occupied all the utter parts. Then was *Salamanca*, by the conſent of the reſt, ſent out to the *Turk*, who there being ſtayed that night; the next morrow the *Turky* Bull or Warrant was ſent into the Caſtle, permitting free liberty to the Chriſtians to depart with Bag and Baggage: who now being ready to depart, firſt were commanded by the *Turky*, compaſſing them round about, to caſt from them their Dags, Lances, Bartelaxes, into the Trench. Then coming to the Gate to go out, their Swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but preſent death.

The falſe Turke never true in promiſe.

At laſt, when they were come a little further, other were ſent to them to diſcharge them of their Helmets, their Targets, Curets, and whatſoever piece of Harneſs was about them: whereupon great fear came upon them, leſt ſome great cruelty ſhould be ſhewed upon them. *Solyman*, after he had long deliberated with himſelf, whether to kill them or not; at laſt, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives: but before they ſhould be diſmiſſed, he firſt cauſed them, in deriſion of Chriſtianity, to be baited with ſcorns and mocks throughout all the Turkiſh Army; and ſo the next day commanded them, being ſtript of their Coats and Apparel, to be reduced again into the Caſtle by Companies, ſetting over them certain *Turky* with Cudgels and Bats to lay upon their backs and ſides, cauſing them to bary the dead Carkaſſes, and to gather up the rubbiſh broken down from the Caſtle-walls, and to ſcour the Ditches: which done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an Interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take Horſe and Armor to ſerve him in his Wars; which Condition, divers for fear were contented to take, feeing no other remedy to avoid preſent death. Some, neither by menacing words, nor for any fear of death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, which ſtood ſtoutly in refuſing thereof, were preſently ſlain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and Catalogue of Martyrs.

The miſerable affliction of our Chriſtian Souldiers taken at *Strigonium*.

Holy Souldiers and Martyrs ſlain of the Turks for their faithful Religion.

Of the aforeſaid Chriſtians, part were carried over the River *Danubius*, not without great villany, and contumely moſt deſpightful. For ſome had their Wives taken from them, and carried away, ſome had their Wives raviſhed before their face; and ſuch as made or ſhewed any reſiſtance thereat, had their Wives before them caſt into the River and drowned; alſo their Infants and young Children, being appointed by the *Turky* to the abominable Order of the Janizarites, mentioned before, their Parents not conſenting thereunto, were precipitate and thrown into the River and drowned. All which things are teſtified by *John Martinus Stella*, in his Epiſtles in Print extant, written to his two Brethren, *Wil-liam* and *Michael*, *&c.* which *Martin Stella* moreover addeth and affirmeth this, That he himſelf, being the ſame time at *Vienna*, did ſee one of the foreſaid Wives, who being held faſt by the hair of the Head; yet notwithſtanding having her Hair pluckt off, caſt her ſelf into the River *Danubius*, for the ſingular love to her Husband, and ſo ſwam to the Ship where he was. And thus this miſerable company of *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians* mixt together, macerate with labors, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours and ſorrow conſumed, came at length to *Selsinda*.

Ex Joan. Mart. Stella in Epiſt. ad Fratres.

When the tidings thereof was noiſed at *Vienna*, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hearts were moved and vexed diverſly. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their City, ſhewing themſelves ſo daſtardly and cowardly. Others thought again, that mercy was to be ſhewed unto them, and commended their Fact, for that they being ſo few, and unfurniſhed of aid, neither able to match by any means with ſuch an innumerable multitude of the *Turky*, kept themſelves till better time might ſerve them. But howſoever the matter was to be thought of, the Captains brought the poor remnant of that ruful company unto *Poſſidonium*, where the ſaid Captains were laid faſt, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable ſtory of *Strigonium*.

Divers opinions of the Viennians touching their miſerable affliced Souldiers.

The *Turk* proceeding in his Victories conducted his Army next unto *Tath*, and to the parts lying near about *Comaron*. This *Tath* was alſo a ſtrong Hold in *Hungary*, wherein were placed certain Garriſons, partly of the *Germans*, partly of the *Italians*. The Chieftain of the *Italians* was one *Annibal Taſſo*, conſtitute by *Philippus Tornelius*. This *Taſſo* was a Man well expert in Proweſs of War, but of a filthy corrupt Life, and alſo a fowl Swearer, and horrible Blaſphemer of God and his Saints. To make the ſtory ſhort, this Fort of *Tath*, before any Siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the *Turky*; upon what conditions, or by whoſe means, the Author theweth not. Thus much he ſheweth, That the ſaid *Annibal* ſhortly upon the ſame, returning into *Italy*, was commanded by *Tornelius* aforeſaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Tath ſubdued of the Turks.

Vilenyſs hath never ſuccours under a wicked Captain and Swearer.

After the *Turky* had ſubverted and deſtroyed the Fort of *Tath*, they turned their Power againſt *Alba*, ſurnamed *Regalis*, for that the Kings of *Hungary* have been of late always wont there to be Crowned and Buried. This *Alba* is a little well compacted City in *Hungary*, having on the one ſide a Marſh fomewhat foggiſh or fenny, which made the Town leſs affaultable. But near to the ſame was a Wood, from the which the *Turky* every day with fix hundred Carts brought ſuch matter of Wood, and Trees felled for the ſame purpoſe, in the Marſh, that within leſs than twelve days, they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the Townſmen thought never could be gone upon, but only in the hard Froſts of winter. At the firſt beginning of the Siege, there ſtood a little without the Munitions, in the front of the City, a certain Church or Monaſtery, which the Citizens pretending to maintain and keep againſt the *Turky*, had privily conveyed light matter eaſily to take flame, with Powder in ſecret places thereof, and had hid alſo Fire withal: which done, they (as againſt their wills being driven back) withdrew themſelves within the Munitions, waiting the occaſions when this Fire would take. Thus the *Turky* having the poſſeſſion of the Church, ſuddenly the Fire coming to the Powder, raiſed up the Church, and made a great ſcatter and ſlaughter among the barbarous *Turky*.

Alba Regalis beſieged and won of the Turks.

The Turke device in filling up the Marſhy

A ſtrata-gem of the Chriſtians againſt the Turks.

This was not so soon espied of them within the Town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom, divers of their Nobles also the same time were slain, and one Bassa an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those Gunners which the French King is said to have sent to the Turk a little before. Which if it be true, let the Christian Reader judge what is to be thought of those Christian Princes, which not only forsaking the common cause of Christs Church, joyned League with the *Turk*, but also sent him Gunners to set forward his Wars to the destruction of Christs People, and to the shedding of thir blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shew mine Author; if it be, then let the Pope see and mark well how this Title of *Christianissimus* can well agree with such doings.

A note touching the French King that sent him.

Ex Epist. Tom. Navis. Stella ad Fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria incisiones.

But to let this matter sleep, although the *Turks* (as ye heard) had won the Fen with their Policy and Industry against the City of *Alba*, yet all this while the *Albanes* were nothing inferior to their Enemies, through the valiant help and couragious indeavor of *Ottavianus Strozzi*, a Captain of *Millain*. By whose prudent Counsel and constant standing, the bulie Enterprizes of the *Turky* did little prevail a long time, till at length suddenly arose a thick Fog or Mist upon the City, whereas round about besides the Sun did shine bright. Some said it came by Art Magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the Fen or Marish, being so prested down with Mens feet, and other matter laid upon it.

The outward Walls got by the Turks.

The *Turky* using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret wise approaching the Walls, had got up to a certain Fortress where the *Germans* were, before our Men could well perceive them: where they prested in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the Christian Souldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their Lives, did what valiant Men in cases of such extremity were able to do; yet being over-matched by the multitude of the *Turks*, and the suddenness of their coming, gave back, seeking to retire unto the inward Walls. Which when their other Fellows did see to refuse, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the City. There was between the outward Walls or Vamures, and inward Gate of the City, a strait or narrow Passage, cast up in the manner of a Bank or Causeway, ditched on both sides; which Passage or Ingress hapned the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poor Souldiers were forced to cast themselves into the Ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the City, where many of them sticking in the Mud were drowned, some pressing upon another; many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were received into the City; but the chief Captains and Warders of the Town were there slain.

A miserable Slaughter of Christian Souldiers.

The Citizens being destitute of their principal Captains and Warriers, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the Citizens were distract in divers and doubtful Sentences, the Magistrates minding to stand to the *Turky* gentlenesse, sent out one of their Heads unto the *Turk*, who in the name of them all should surrender to him the City, and become unto him Tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of Life and Goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish Faith and Assurance: first, the Souldiers which were left within the City, putting off their Armor, were discharged and sent away: who being but only 300 left of four Enfigns of *Italians*, and of 1000 *Germans*, by the way were laid for by the *Tartarians* for hope of their spoil; so that they scattering afunder one one way, and another another to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best. Of whom, some wandring in Woods and Marishes fainted for Famine; some were taken and slain by the *Hungarians*; a few, with bare and empty withered Bodies, more like Ghosts than Men, escaped and came to *Vienna*. And this besel upon the Souldiers.

Art never paid Civil courtesies stand to the Turky gentleness.

Now understand what happened to the yielding Citizens. So in the Story it followeth, That when the *Turk* had entred the Town, and had visited the Sepulchre of the Kings, for three or four days he pretended much Clemency toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of *Ferdinandus* their King, and to deliver them from the servitude of the *Germans*. On the fourth day, all the Chief and Head men of the City were commanded to appear before the *Turk*, in a Plain not far from the City, where the condemned Persons before were wont to be Executed, as though they should come to swear unto the *Turk*. At this commandment of the *Turk*, when the Citizens in great number, and in their best Attire were assembled; the *Turk*, contrary to his Faith and Promise, commanded suddainly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the Citizens of *Alba*.

{KING} *Hen.* 7. 5.

The cruelty of the Turks against the Christians. What it is to yield to the *Turk*, & to stick to his promise. The Citizens of *Alba* destroyed of the *Turky*.

In the mean time, during the Siege of *Alba*, the *Hungarians* meeting sometimes with the Horsemen of the *Tartarians*, which were sent out to stop their Victuals from the City, slew of them at one bickering, three thousand *Turky*. In which story is also reported and mentioned of mine Author, an horrible sight and example of Misery, concerning a certain Captain (a Christian belike) who coming unto *Vienna*, was found to have in his Scrip or Satchel the half of a young Child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, *Anno* 1543. *Ibid.*

Half of a young child found in the satchel of a Captive coming from the *Turky*.

Next after this, was expugned the Castle of *Pappa* by the *Turks*. Let the Castle now of *Pappa* take heed, left one day it follow after.

The Castle of Pappa won by the *Turky*.

The like fidelity the *Turky* also kept with the Fort of *Wiziegradum*, and the Souldiers thereof. This *Wiziegradum*, is situate in the mid-way between *Buda* and *Strigonium*. Of the which Fort or Castle, the highest Tower so mounteth upon the Hill, that unlesse it be for Famine or lack of Water, they have not to dread any Enemy. Notwithstanding to it hapned, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher Tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of Life and Goods, to yield themselves. But the Devilish *Turky* keeping no Faith nor Promise, slew them every one: only *Petrus Amandus* the Captain of the Place, excepted: who privily was conveyed by the Captain of the *Turky* out of the slaughter, *Anno* 1544.

Wiziegradum got and inforced of the *Turks*. The false dealing and cruelty of the *Turky* against the Christians.

To these moreover, may be added the winning of *Novum Castellum* in *Dalmatia*, where he slew all that were within, both Souldiers and other, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the *Turk*, whether they yielded to him or not, never feared the People and Flock of Christ.

Novum Castellum in *Dalmatia* won by the *Turky*.

As the false and cruel *Turk* was thus raging in *Hungary*, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and might easily then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that *Charles* the Emperor, and *Francisous* the French King, were at the same time in War and Hostility, and also other Christian Princes; as *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick* against *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*; also Princes and Rulers were contending among themselves: Behold the gracious Providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly as with a snatle reined this ravging Beast, and brought him out of *Europe* into his own Country again, by occasion of the *Persians*, who were then in great preparation of War against the *Turks*, and had invaded his Dominion. By reason whereof the *Turks* were kept there occupied, fighting with the *Persians* a long continuance. Which Wars at length being atchieved and finished (wherein the said *Turk* lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks); he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed *Hungarians*, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian Princes to return again into *Europe*, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his Dominion. Wherein when he had levied an Army incredible of such a multitude of *Turks*, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his People. As the *Turk* was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a Pestilence through all the *Turky* Army and

The divorce of Christian Princes within themselves. The *Turk*, occasioned out of Europe into Asia.

The revolt-dence of God for his Christians.

Another example of Gods Providence for his.

Do-

{KING} *Hen.* 7. 5.

Dominions, reaching from *Bythinia*, and from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, and also to *Hungary*, that all the Turks possessions seemed almost nothing else, but as an heap of dead Corses, whereby his Voyage for that time was stopt, and he almoft compelled to seek a new Army.

Besides this Plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any War, other lets also and domestical Calamities, through Gods providence, hapned unto *Solymanus*, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians, especially touching his eldest Son *Mustapha*.

This *Mustapha* being hated, and partly feared of *Rustanne* the chief Councellor about the Turk, and of *Rosa* the Turks Concubine and after his Wife, was divers times complained of to his Father, accused, and at length so brought into suspition and displeasure of the Turks, by them aforesaid, that in conclusion, his Father caused him to be sent for to his Pavilion, where six Turks with Visors were appointed to put him to death: who coming upon him, put (after their manner) a small Cord or Bow-string full of knots about his Neck, and so throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his Father, with the twitch thereof throtled and strangled him to death, his Father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which Fact being perpetrate, afterward when the Turk would have given to another Son of his and of *Rosa*, called *Granger*, the Treasures, Horse, Armor, Ornaments, and the Province of *Mustapha* his Brother: *Granger* crying out for sorrow of his Brothers death: Fy of thee, faith he to his Father, thou implous and wretched Dog, Traytor, Murtherer, I cannot call thee Father, take the Treasures, the Horse and Armor of *Mustapha* to thy self: and with that, taking out his Dagger, thrust it thorow his own body. And thus was *Solyman* Murtherer and Parricide of his own Sons: which was the year of our Lord, 1552.

Solyman the *Turk* murdereth *Mustapha* his own Son.

Wherein notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this *Mustapha*, as he was couragious and greatly expert and exercised in all practise of War, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the Blood of Christians: wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God for the happy taking away of this *Mustapha*. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby minifted unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these fore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks afore recited, now after this *Solyman* intenderh some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and releafe us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now, by taking away thefe young Imps of this implous Generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us: The Lord therefore be glorified and praised. *Amen.*

The loving providence of our Lord for his Christians.

Good hope and hand to be conceived of the Christians.

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain Writing out of *Germany*, certifying us of such News and Victory of late atchieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power and tyranny against us. Which News are these: That after the Turkish Tyrant had besieged, with an Army of 30000 Men, the famous and strong Town and Castle of *Jula* in *Hungary*, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river *Danubius*, which City had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults: God through his great Mercy and Goodness so comforted the said Town of *Jula*, and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest Prayers, that the Turk, with all his Host, was driven back by the hands of the General, called *Karetphim Lasław*, and his valiant Company: who not only defended the said Town, but also constrained the Turks to retire to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for the which, the everlasting God be praised for ever.

Good news of the *Turky* lately repulsed by the Christians.

Christian captives released and taken from the *Turky*.

Boo *Turky* Bula.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the foresaid General did see his Advantage, with Captain *George*, and other Horse-men of the *Silesians* and *Hungarians*, they set on the Rereward of the Turks and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their Artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to fly into a Marish Ground, and to break the wheels of the reft of their Artillery to save themselves, and therewith they got a very rich Booty, refcuing besides, and taking from the Turks, a great number of Christian Prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God, for the prosperous succes given to *Magotzeby* the valiant Captain of *Erla*, who making toward the Turks and encountring with the *Tartarians*, slew of them about eight hundred.

Not long after this it hapned, through the like providence of our God, a Turkish Captain called *Begon*, accompanied with a thousand fresh Horsemen, came newly out of Turky, to go toward the City named *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, or *Finffenkyrchen*, with whom the Earl of *Serin* by the way did encounter, and in the night setting upon him, killed the Captain, and took eight Camels, and eight Mules laden with Treasure, and also got two red Guidons, with a whole great piece of rich Cloth of Gold, and with another fair and strange Jewel. The Horse of this forefaid Turkish Captain was betraped and decked most richly. The Saddle whereof had the Pommel and back part covered over with Plate of fine Arabick Gold, and the reft of the Saddle, beside the sitting place, was plated with Silver very fair gilded. The sides of the Saddle was covered with purple Velvet; the Trappers and Beidle befet with little Turkises and Rubies; which Horse was sent to *Vienna* unto the Emperor *Maximilian* for a Present.

A great Captain of the *Turky* slain, and his treasure taken.

Although the Earl would very fain have saved the Captain, not knowing what he was, yet the *Janizaries* laboring to carry away their Captain, so stifly defended themselves, that the Earl with his Company, was constrained to kill both them and their Captain. From whom the said Earl of *Serin* the same time got fifteen thousand *Turkish* and *Hungarian* Ducates; which mony was brought for the payment of the *Turkish* Souldiers in the Town aforesaid of *Finffenkyrchen*, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater Goodnefs to be hoped for hereafter, through the Grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian Rulers and Potentates, first the Church-men and Prelates for their parts, then the Civil Powers and Princes for their parts, with-holding their affections a little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of Peace put in their minds to do. Amen. Or otherwise, if it will so please the Lord that the *Turk* come further upon us, so as he hath begun for our punishment and caitigation, his Grace then give to the Flock of his poor Christians constancy of Faith, patience in Suffering, and amendment of Life. For so I understand by publick fame, although uncertainly rumored by the voice of some, that the *Turkes* power of late, this present year of our Lord, 1566. hath pierced the parts of *Apulia* within *Italy*, wasting and burning the space of an hundred miles toward *Naples*. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the *Turk* having thus fet in his foot, and feeling the sweetnefs of *Italy*, will not so ceafe before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into *Italy*, that he will display his Banners within the Walls of *Rome*, and do with old *Rome* the like, as *Mahumet* his great Grandfather did with new *Rome*, the City of *Constantinople*, and as the *Persians* did with *Babylon*.

The Turks piercing into Italy.

Conjectures why it is to be feared that the Turk shall get Rome.

The causes why we have so to judge, be divers: first, That the See of *Rome* hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much Blood; and therefore it may seem not uncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be loft with Blood again, according to the verdict of the Gofpel: *He that striketh with the Sword, shall perish with the Sword*, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, where it is written, *That great Babylon shall fall, and be made an habitation of Devils, and a Den of unclean Spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean Birds: the fall whereof shall be like a mill-stone in the Sea*, that is, *which shall not rise again.* And this to come before the Day of Judgment, the Text of the said Chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, shewing, *That the Kings of the Earth, and the Merchants which had to do with the whorish City, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said City flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation*, &c. What City this is, called *Great Babylon*,

which like a Millstone shall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean Spirits and Beasts; let the Reader consider. This is certain and plain by these her Kings and Merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her Burning, that the destruction of this City (what City soever it be) shall be seen here in Earth before the coming of the Lords judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding and bewailing of her Merchants. By the which, Merchants and Kings of the Earth, peradventure may be signified the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat Doctors, and other Obedientiaries of the Romish See, who at the coming of the *Turks*, will not adventure their Lives for their Church, but will flye the City (no doubt) and stand afar off from danger; and when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears the City of *Rome* to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel *Turks*, the sight whereof shall seem to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and fair City of *Rome*, the tall Castle of Saint *Angel*, the mighty See, (where they were wont to fish out such riches, Dignities, Treasures and Pleasure) so to burn before their Eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made an habitation of Devils and unclean Spirits, that is, of *Turks* and Heathen *Sultans*, and barbarous *Saracens*, &c. This (I say) peradventure may be the meaning of that Prophetical place of the *Apocalyps*; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my guess what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifest. For mystical Prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

The Prophesies of the 18 chapter of the *Apocalyps* expounded.

Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of *Paulus Jovius*, who writing of the subversion of *Rhodes*, which was as ye heard, *Anno* 1522. upon *Christmas* day, saith, That it chanced suddenly the same day in *Rome*, that as Pope *Hadrian* the sixth, was entring into the Church to his Service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the Chappel door, which was of Marble, immediately as the Pope was entring, fell down, and flew certain of his Guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruine of *Rome* was not long after to follow the losse of *Rhodes*.

The third cause. *Ex Paulo Jovio.*

The fourth cause. *Ex Joan. Aventino Annal. lib. 8. f. 570. de Prophetiis.*

The fourth cause I borrow out of *Joannes Aventinus*, who in his third Book alleaging the names, but not the words of *Hildegardis*, *Brigit*, and other Prophetical Men, hath these words; *Si vera sunt carmina & vaticinia, D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorum. qui ea quæ nostro ævo completa videmus longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt, Ægyptiporcelis Colonia, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt, Ægyptiporcelis Colonia, ultimus volumen, Turcarum caput erit, &c.* that is, If the Sayings and Prophecies of *Hildegard*, of *Brigit*, and of other Prophetical Persons be true, which being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished; the Town of *Colen*, will-we nill-we, must needs be the head City of the *Turk*; &c.

And this I writ, not as one pronouncing against the City of *Rome* what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to pass (as I pray God it do not) then shall the Pope well understand, whether his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering Glozes upon the same, have brought him.

A Counsel to the Bishop of *Rome*, if he be wise.

Wherefore my counsel is to the Pope, and all his Popish maintainers and upholders, to humble themselves, and to agree with their Brethren better, letting all contention fall; lest that while the Bishop of *Rome* shall strive to be the highest of all other Bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the Bishop of *Rome* shall be found the lowest of all other Bishops, or peradventure no Bishop at all.

Whereunto also another cause may be added, taken out of *Jeronymus Savanarola*, who Prophesieth, that one shall come over the *Alpes* like unto *Cyrus*, and destroy *Italy*. Whereof see more before.

Ex Paulo Jovio.

This *Solymannus*, if he be yet alive, hath now raigned forty six years, who began the same year in the which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth was Crowned, which was, *Anno* 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1556. This *Solyman*, by one of his Concubines, had his eldest Son called *Mustapha*. By another Concubine called *Rosa*, he had four Sons, *Mahumet*, *Bajazetes*, *Zelymus*, and *Gianger*. Of the which Sons, *Mustapha* and *Gianger* were slain (as ye heard before) by the means of their own Father. And thus much concerning the wretched Tyranny of the *Turks*, out of the Authors hereunder written.

{KING 1. Hist. 7.}

The Authors of the *Turky* Stories.

Authors of the Turks Stories.

Laconicus Chalcondyla.
Nicolaus Ebovius Epist. Sagauntinus.
Joannes Ramus.
Andreas a Lucerna.
Wolfgangus Dedolfterus.
Joan. Crispus.
Joan. Faber.
Ludovicus Vives.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mitylenus Archiepisc.
Sabellicus.
Isidorus Ruthenus.
Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Jovius.
Joan. Martinus Stella.
Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Nicolaus a Moffen Burgundus.
Schaf. Munsterus.
Baptista Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

A notice touching the miserable Persecution, Slaughter and Captivity of the Christians under the Turks.

Persecution under the Turks.

HItherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamentable Persecutions of these later days, wrought by the *Turky* against the People and Servants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad; the knowledge and reading wherof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be, which sadly deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of Life, full of pleasure and solace in this present World, when indeed it is nothing less testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who rightly defining his Kingdom, teacheth us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World, premonishing us also before, That in this World we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace.* Examples hereof in all parts of this History through all Ages, are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our Eyes to the first Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, during the first three hundred years after Christ: or whether we consider the later three hundred years in this last Age of the Church, wherein the poor Flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed and devoured, that it is hard to say, whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the Infidel Emperors of *Rome* in the Primitive Age of the Church, or else these barbarous *Turky* in these our later times of the Church now present.

Comparison between the perfecutions of the Primitive Church and of the later Church.

Thus from time to time the Church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this Earth; what for the Heathen Emperors on the one side; what for the proud Pope on the other side; on the third side, what for the barbarous *Turk*: for these are and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital Enemies of the Church of Christ, signified in the *Apocalyps*, *by the Beast, the false Lamb, and the false Prophet, from whom went out three foul Spirits like Frogs, to gather together all the Kings of the Earth to the Battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty.* Apoc. 16. The cruelty and malice of these Enemies against Christs People hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in Cruelty of Persecution, it is hard to say; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly Tyranny of the *Turks*, especially above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any Age, or read of in any Story. Insomuch, that there is neither History so perfect, nor Writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable Tyranny of the *Turks*, is able to express or comprehend the horrible Examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish

Three special enemies of Christs Church.

Apoc. 16. The cruelty of the Turk out of Christ.

{KING 1. Hist. 7.} Turkish Tyrants upon poor Christian mens bodies, within the compass of these later Three hundred years. Wherein although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet to give to the Reader some general guess or view thereof; let us first perpend and consider what Dominions and Empires, how many Countries, Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, strong Holds, and Forts, these *Turks* have surprized and won from the Christians. In all which Victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, That there is almost no place which the *Turky* ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the Inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such Captivity and Slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that Death almost had been to them more tolerable.

Two things to be noted in the *Turks*, how many Victories they have got, and how cruelly they have used their Victories.

Like as in the time of the first Persecutions of the *Roman* Emperors, the Saying was, That no man could step with his feet in all *Rome*, but should tread upon a Martyr: So here may be said, That almost there is not a Town, City or Village in all *Asia*, *Grecia*, also in a great part of *Europa* and *Africa*, whose Streets have not flowed with the Blood of the Christians, whom the cruel *Turks* have murdered. Of whom are to be seen in Histories, heaps of Souldiers slain, of Men and Women cut in pieces, of Children sticked upon Poles and Stakes, whom these detestable *Turks* most spitefully (and that in the sight of their Parents) use to gore to death; some they drag at their Horse tails, and famish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their Arms and Legs to four Horses; otherwhile they make Marks to shoot at; upon some they try their Swords how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their Horses: Women with Child they spare not, but rip their Bodies, and cast the Infants into the Fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promises their is no truth, so in their Victories there is no sense of Manhood or Mercy in them, but they make havock of all.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scod. expugnat. lib. 2.

So the Citizens of *Croja*, after they had yielded and were all promised their Lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In *Mysia*, after the King had given himself to the *Turky* hand, having promise of life, *Mahumet* the *Turk*, slew him with his own hands. The Princes of *Rasia* had both their Eyes put out, with Basons red hot set before them. *Theodosia*, otherwise called *Capha*, was also furrendred to the *Turk*, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet contrary to the League, the Citizens were put to the Sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of *Lesbos*, what a number of young Men and Children were put upon sharp flakes and poles, and so thrust thorow? At the winning of the City of *Buda*, what tyranny was shewed and exercised against the poor Christians which had yielded themselves, and against the two Dukes, *Christopher Bissores*, and *Joannes Tranbinger*, contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the *Turk*, is to be seen in the Story of *Melchior Soiterus*, *De bello Pannonico*.

Ex Michael. Soiter lib. 1. de bello Pannonico, fol. 515.

Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach. Decan. Eccl. Magunt.

The like also is to be read in the Story of *Bernardus de Breydenbach*, who writing of the taking of *Hydruntum*, a City in *Apulia*, fetcheth of the miserable slaughter of the young Men there slain, of old Men troden under the Horse feet, of Matrons and Virgins ravished, of Women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the Priests in the Churches slain, and of the Arch-Bishop of that City, who being an aged Man, and holding the Crosse in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden Saw, &c. The same *Bernardus*, also writing of the overthrow of *Negropontus*, otherwise called *Chalcides*, *Anno* 1471. describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised, where the *Turk*, after his promise given before to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the Youth of *Italy* to be pricked upon sharp flakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, otherwhile to be cut in sunder in the midst, and otherwhile with other kinds of Torments to be put to death: insomuch, that all the streets and ways of *Chalcides*, did flow with the Blood of them which were there slain. In which History the foresaid Writer recordeth one memorable Example of Maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The Story is told of the Pretors Daughter of that City, who being the only Daughter of her Father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular Beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to *Mahumet* the *Turk* to be his Concubine. But the denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be slain and murdered, and so dyed she a Martyr, keeping both her Faith and her Body undefiled unto Christ her Spouse. *Ibid.*

The superstitious use of the material cross.

Vide supra. Ex Bernard. Breydenb.

A notable example of maidenly chastity.

Vide supra. The miserable fulfilling of Christian mens blood by the wretched *Turky*.

The like cruelty also was shewed upon them which kept the Castle, and afterward yielding themselves upon hope of the *Turky* promise, were slain every one. What should I speak of the miserable slaughter of *Methone*, and the Citizens thereof dwelling in *Peloponnesus*? who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the *Turky* hands, set the Barn on fire where they were gathered together, Men, Women and Children; some Women also with child, voluntarily cast themselves into the Sea, rather then they would sustain the *Turky* captivity.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the World, both in *Asia*, in *Africa*, but especially in *Europe*. Who is able to recite the innumerable Societies and Companies of the *Greciane* Martyr'd by the *Turky* Sword in *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, *Epyrus*, and all *Peloponnesus*? besides the Island of *Rhodes*, and other Islands and Cyclades adjacent in the Sea about, numbred to two and fifty; of the which also *Patmos* was one, where Saint *John* being banished, wrote his *Revelations*. Where did ever the *Turky* set any Foot, but the Blood of Christians there, without pity or measure, went to wrack? and what Place or Province is there almost through the World, where the *Turky* either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In *Thracia*, and through all the Coasts of *Danubius*, in *Bulgaria*, *Dalmatia*, in *Scrvia*, *Transilvania*, *Bosna* in *Hungaria*, also in *Austria*, what havock hath been made by them of Christian mens Bodies, it will rue any Christian heart to remember. At the Siege of *Moldavia*, at the winning of *Buda*, of *Pesta*, of *Alba*, of *Walpo*, *Strigonium*, *Soclosia*, *Tathe*, *Wisigradum*, *Novum Castellum* in *Dalmatia*, *Belgradum*, *Varadinum*, *Quinque Ecclesiæ*: also at the Battel of *Vienna*, where *Ladislaus* King of *Polony*, with all his Army almost, through the rashness of the Popes Cardinal, were slain: At the winning moreover of *Xabiacchus*, *Lyssus*, *Dynastrum*: At the Siege of *Gunza*, and of the faithful Town *Scorad*, where the number of the Shot against their Walls, at the Siege thereof, were reckoned to Two thousand five hundred thirty nine. Likewise at the Siege of *Vienna*, where all the Christian Captives were brought before the whole Army and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with Horses: but especially at the winning of *Constantinople*, above mentioned; also at *Croja* and *Methone*, what beastly cruelty was shewed, it is unspeakable. For as in *Constantinople*, *Mahumet* the drunken *Turk*, never rose from Dinner, but he caused every day, for his disport, Three hundred Christian Captives of the Nobles of that City to be slain before his face: so in *Methone*, after that his Captain *Omares* had sent unto him at *Constantinople*, five hundred Prisoners of the Christians, the cruel Tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be thrown out into the Fields.

A brief recital of divers Towns and Isles of the *Turk* in *Europe*.

The cruelty of the *Turk* against the Citizens of *Constantinople*. *Vide supra.*

The cruelty of the *Turk* against the Prisoners of *Methone*. *Ex Leonico* the cruel Tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder.

Leonicus Chalcondylas writing of the same Story, addeth moreover, a prodigious Narration (if it be true) of a brute Ox, which being in the Fields, and seeing the Carcases of the dead Bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature: and afterwards coming to the Quarters of one of the dead Bodies lying in the Field, first took up the one half, and then coming again, took up likewise the other half, and so (as he could) joyned them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute Ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to *Mahumet*, he commanded the Quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the Beast will come again, who failed not (as the Author re-

Turcicis. lib. 10. A strange and prodigious work-master of a brute Beast toward a dead Christian Body.

cordeth)

recorderth) but in like fort as before, taking the fragments of the dead Corps, laid them again together. It followeth more in the Author, how that *Maumet*, being advanced at the strange wonder of the Ox, commanded the Quarters of the Christian Mans body to be interred, and the Ox to be brought to his House, and much made of. Some faid it to be the body of a *Venetian*; some affirmed, that he was an *Illyrian*: but whatsoever he was, certain it is, That the *Turk* himself was much more Bestial than was the brute Ox; which being a Beast, shewed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another. Ex *Leonic. Chalcondyla.*

The Bishop, with the Citizens of *Methone* slain of the *Turk.*

To this Cruelty add moreover, That beside these five hundred *Methonians* thus destroyed at *Constantinople*, in the said City of *Methone*, all the Towns-men also were slain by the forcefaid Captain *Omares*, and among them their Bishop likewise was put to death. Ex *Andr. de Lacunna, & ex Wolfg. & aliis.*

Ex *Andrea de Lacunna & aliis.*

Ex *Turner Servia, instructore ad regem Hen. 8.*

John Faber, in his Oration made before King *Henry* the Eighth, at the appointment of King *Ferdinandus*, and declaring therein the miserable Cruelty of the *Turks* toward all Christians, as also toward the Bishops and Ministers of the Church, testifieth, how that in *Mitylene*, in *Constantinople*, and *Trapezunda*, what Bishops and Arch-bishops, or other Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons the *Turks* could find, they brought them out of the City into the Fields, there to be slain like Oxen and Calves. The same *Faber* also writing of the Battel of *Solymon* in *Hungary*, where *Ludovicus* the King of *Hungary* was overthrown, declareth, That eight Bishops in the same Field were slain. And moreover, when the Arch-bishop of *Strigon*, and *Paulus* the Arch-bishop of *Colocestris* were found dead, *Solyman* caused them to be taken up, and to be Beheaded and chopt in small pieces. *Anno* 1526.

The cruelty of the *Turk* in Europe.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the *Turks* in *Eubœa*, where the said *Faber* testifieth, That innumerable people were sticked and gored upon flakes, divers were thrust thorow with a hot Iron, Children and Infants not yet weaned from the Mother, were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst? Ex *Johan. Fabro, & aliis.*

The Prince of *Servia* slain, and slain of the *Turk.*

But never did Country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly Tyranny of the *Turks*, than did *Rascia*, called *Mysia Inferior*, and now *Servia*. Where (as writeth *Wolfgangus Drechsterus*) the Prince of the same Country being sent for, under fair pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the *Turk*, after he was come of his own Gentleness, thinking no harm, was Apprehended, and wretchedly and falsly put to Death, and his Skin flain off, his Brother and Sister brought to *Constantinople* for a Triumph, and all the Nobles of his Country (as *Faber* addeth) had their Eyes put out, *&c.*

Let never Christian Prince trust the *Turk.*

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed Caitiffs, it may seem that Satan the Old Dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the Butchers of all Christian People, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the Name and Religion of Christ, that they degenerating from the nature of Men to Devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the Primitive Age of the Church, and in the time of *Diocletian* and *Maximilian*, when the Devil saw that he could not prevail against the Person of Christ which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his silly servants, thinking by the *Roman* Emperors utterly to extinguish the Name and Profession of Christ out from the Earth: So in this later Age of the World, Satan being let loose again, rageth by the *Turks*, thinking to make no end of murthering and killing, till he have brought (as he intendeth) the whole Church of Christ, with all the Professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a *Constantine* to vanquish proud *Maxentius*, *Moses* to drown indurate *Pharaoh*, *Cyrus* to subdue the stout *Babylonian*.

The Turks slaughter of the Devil, to resist against Christ.

The Turks are butchers of the Christians.

The miserable state of the Christians under the Turks.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian Brethren which were slain & destroyed by these blasphemous *Turky*. Now for so much as besides these aforesaid, many other were pluckt away violently from their Country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewise to intreat somewhat also concerning the cruel manner of the *Turky* handling of the said Christian Captives. And first here is to be noted, that the *Turk* never cometh into *Europe* to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his Army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great cheats. In the which chains they link them by fifty and fixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the Christian Countries; which is lawful for any of the *Turks* Army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey (whatsoever it be) be referred to the head *Turk*, that is, to the great master Thief.

KING Hen. 7.

The buying and selling of Christian captives under the *Turks.*

Of such as remain for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very few be referved alive, because little profit cometh of that age) they be sold to the use of husbandry or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their Language and Arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage, and such are called in their Tongue, *Sarai*: and the first care of the *Turky* is this, to make them deny the Christian Religion, and to be Circumcised: and after that they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their Laws, or else to learn the feats of War. Their first rudiment of War is to handle the Bow: first beginning with a weak Bow, and so as they grow in strength coming to a stronger Bow, and if they miss the Mark, they are sharply beaten; and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in War. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked *Janizaries*, that is, the Order of the *Turky* champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these *Janizaries*, see before. And if any of the forefaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any Beauty, him they so cut, that no part of that which Nature giveth to man, remaineth to be seen in all his body; whereby while the freshness of age continueth, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they serve instead of Eunuchs to wait upon Matrons, or to keep Horses and Mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchins.

Christian captives tithed of the *Turk.*

O wicked-nesse passing all misery.

Such as are young Maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. They which be of mean beauty, serve for Matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning, and such other labours; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their Christian Religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them who fall to the *Turk* by tithe.

The great danger of Christian Captives which fly out of Turkie.

O misery above all misery!

The manner and shift of our men in getting over the Sea.

The servitude of young women captives.

The other which are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take Circumcision: which if they will do, they are more favorably intreated; but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their Country, which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such coming at length to liberty will marry, they may; but then their Children remain bond to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marry. They which refuse to be Circumcised, are miserably handled; for example whereof, the Author (which giveth testimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such Captives as be expert in any manual Art or Occupation, can better shift for themselves; but contrariwise, they which have no Handicraft to live upon, are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in Learning, or be Priests or Noble-men, and such other whose tender Education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them than of the other; and therefore no cost of rayment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about bareheaded and barefoot, both Summer and Winter in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting for him in any Inn, but first he is driven forward with Whips, and if that will not serve, he is set peradventure upon some Horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the Horse upon his belly like a Calf; and if he chance to dye, they take off his garment, such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

Ex *Bartholo. Georgievic. Peregrina fide, de offitiis Mauritar. Christianorum sub Turca.*

In

KING Hen. 7.

In the way moreover, beside the common Chain which doth include them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is, because they should not harm their Leaders; for many times it hapned, that ten persons had the leading of fifty Captives; and when night came their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no House, but lay upon the ground all night.

The miserable calamity of Christian Women being in captivity under the *Turks.*

The young Women had a little more gentleness shewed, being carried in Paniers in the day time. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the filthy injuries which they suffered by their Carriers, insomuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one Sex as of the other, could not save them from the most filthy villany of the Bestial *Turks*.

The manner of Christian Captives how they are brought to Markets and sold.

When the Morning cometh, they are brought forth to the Market to to sale, where the Buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their Garments, vieweth all the Bones and Joynts of their Body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their Ground, or to pasture their Cattle, or to some other strange kind of Misery incredible to speak of: Insomuch that the Author reporteth, that he hath seen himself, certain of such Christian Captives yoked together like Horse and Oxen, and to draw the Plough. The Maid-servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any Man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow-servants, *&c.* Such as are committed to keep Beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild Fields, without house and harbor, and so changing their Pasture go from Mountain to Mountain, of whom also, beside the Office of keeping the Beasts, other handy-labor is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their Masters to put unto them.

Christians by their Captivity, put to draw in the Plough like Horses.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to flye, especially for them that are carried into *Asia* beyond the Seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about Harvest, when he may hide himself all the day-time in the Corn, or in Woods or Marishes, and find Food; and in the Night only he flyeth, and had rather be devoured of Wolves and other wild Beasts, than to return again to his Master. In their flying they use to take with them an Hatchet and Coasts, that when they come to the Sea side, they may cut down Trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so where the Sea at *Hellespontus* is narrowest, about the *Sestos* and *Abidos*, they take the Sea, sitting upon Trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the Floods, or are driven back again upon the Coasts of *Asia*, or else be devoured of wild Beasts in Woods, or perish with Hunger and Famine. If any escape over the Sea alive into *Europe*, by the way they enter into no Town, but wander upon the Mountains, following only the North-Star for their guide.

The mani-fold dangers by the way in flying.

The misery of Christian Cities and Provinces which live under the *Turks* tribute.

As touching such Towns and Provinces which are won by the *Turk*, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute: First, All the Nobility there they kill and make away, the Church-men and Clergy hardly they spare. The Churches, with the Bells and all the Furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous Religion, leaving to the Christians certain old and blind Chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of Mony given to the *Turk*. Neither be they permitted to use any open Preaching or Ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawful for any Christian to bear Office within the City or Province, nor to bear Weapon; nor to wear any Garment like to the *Turky*. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it never so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their Religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou will or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speak one word against *Mahumet*, thy punishment is Fire and Burning. And if it chance a Christian being on Horseback to meet, or pass by a *Musulman*, that is, a Turkish Priest, he must light from his Horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the *Musulman*: or if he do not, he is beaten down from his Horse with clubs and staves.

If Christians may not go like *Turks*, why should our Countrymen go like Papists? The *Turks* have their fire and faggots as well as our Papists. The Christians must light from their Horses meeting a Turkish Priest, and adore him.

Furthermore, for their Tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the *Turk*; beside the ordinary Tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every Poll within his Family a Ducket unto the *Turk*; which if the Parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their Children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go chained in Fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lye in perpetual Prison.

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the *Turky*, to take up among the Christians children whom they best like, and them to Circumcise, and to take them away as being young from the sight of their Parents to far places, to be brought up for the *Turky* Wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their Parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

Another misery most lamentable in taking away Christian children from their Parents, to serve the *Turk.*

This misery passing all other miseries, no Man is able with Tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation; what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth fear and rent asunder the woful hearts of the silly Parents at the plucking away of their Babes and Children? To see their Sons and their own Children, whom they have born and bred up to the service of Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ? to see their Babes born of Christian blood, of Christians to be made *Turky*, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again? to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous *Turky*, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherless and motherless?

O misery.

This is with tears rather than with words to be expressed.

Albeit the same Children afterward do greatly degenerate from the Faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the Gospel written of St. *John*, *In principio erat verbum, &c.* Which for a token or remembrance of their Christian Faith they carry under their Arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabick, who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging Sword of the Christians to come and deliver them out of their dolourous thraldom and captivity, according as the *Turky* themselves have a Prophefie, and greatly stand in fear of the fame. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the Chapter following.

Privy Gospellers in *Turky.*

An old Prophefie of the *Turks* touching the Sword of the Christians.

¶ And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian Brethren under the cruel Tyranny and Captivity of the *Turky*, passing all other Captivities that ever have been to Gods people, either under *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, or under *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Babylon*, or under *Antiochus* in the time of the *Maccabees*. Under the which Captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his Spouse the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this Misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian Guides and Leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our Guiders and Rulers, or else better Guides and Rulers to his Flock.

Necessary for many causes that the troubles of the Church be known.

And these Troubles and Afflictions of our Christian Brethren suffered by the *Turky*, I thought good and profitable for our Country People here of *England* to know, for so much as by the ignorance of these, and such like Histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen being far off from these Countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their Grievances, and to pray for them whose Troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we not considering the miserable state of either, are the less grateful to God, when any Tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little Cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it never so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our Country for the Lords Cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own Country, and only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel with the

the great crosses whereunto the Churches of Christ commonly in other places abroad are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget our selves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our Adversity, and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other Brethren abroad in other Nations, as by this prefent story here prefixed may appear.

NOw consequently remaineth, as I have shewed hitherto what Tyranny hath been used of the *Turky* against Christs People, so to declare likewise how far this Tyranny of the *Turky* hath extended and spread it self, describing as in a Table, to the Christian Reader, what Lands, Countries and Kingdoms the *Turky* have won and got from Christiandom; to the intent, that when Christian Princes shall behold the greatnes of the *Turky* Dominions spread almost thorow all the World, and how little a part of Christianity remaineth behind, they may thereby understand the better how it is time now for them to bestir them, if ever they think to do any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious Draught, as in a brief Table, of such Countries, Kingdoms and Dominions, got from us by the *Turky*: We will first begin with *Asia*, describing what Tracts, Countries, Cities and Churches the *Turk* hath surprized, and violently pluckt away from the Society of Christian Dominions, taking only such as be most principal, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to Discourse all and singular such Places by name, as the *Turk* hath under his Subjection.

The Greatnes of the *Turky* Dominions declared.

The World being divided commonly into three parts, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; *Asia* is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the other, and is divided into two Portions, the one called *Asia Major*; the other called *Asia Minor*. And although the Empire of the *Turk* extendeth unto them both; yet especially his Dominion standeth in the other *Asia*, which is called *Asia Minor*, which reacheth from the Coasts of *Europa* unto *Armenia Major*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, and comprehendeth these Regions and Cities following.

KING 3. Itin. 7. 5.

The Division of *Asia Minor*, called *Cheronesus*, with the particular Countries and Cities belonging to the same.

Countries.		Cities.
Pontus.	*Acts* 2.	*Nicea.*
		Chalcedon.
		Heraclea.
		Prusa or *Bursa.*
Bythinia.	*Acts* 26.	*Nicomedia.*
		Apamea.

Apamea is a City in Bithynia, also another in Mesopotamia. Apamea Byblos also a City in Syria. Bithynia, and another also in Frygia.

¶ *Natolia*, or *Anatolia*, containeth divers Countries, with their Cities, as followeth.

		Cizicus.
		Parium.
		Lampsacus.
		Dardanum.
		Callipolis.
		Abydus.
Phrygia Minor.	*Acts* 2.	*Alexandria* or *Troas.* *Acts* 16.
Troas.	*Acts* 20	*Ilium.*
		Assos. *Acts* 20.
		Scepsis.
Mysia Minor.	*Acts* 16.	*Adramittium.* *Acts* 27.
		Herrapolis. *Col.* 4.
Phrygia Major.	*Acts* 2.	*Petate.*
		Apollonia.
		Myrina.
		Phocæa.
Lydia.	*Isai.* 66.	*Smyrna.* *Apoc.* 2.
		Erythræ.
Æolis.		*Laodicia.* *Apoc.* 3.
		Carura.
		Thyatira. *Apoc.* 2.
Ionia.		*Philadelphia.* *Apoc.* 3.
		Pergamus. *Apoc.* 2.
		Cuma.
Caria.	1 *Mach.* 15.	*Ephesus.* *Apoc.* 2.
		Sardis. *Apoc.* 3.
		Halicarnassus. 1 *Mach.* 15.
Doris.		
		Miletus. *Acts* 20.

At Caunus certain Band with a company of Lepers before their Idolatrous God daily begged an Almesquise in the City, wherein the God dwelt, with all his Sacraments, were dual. Read out Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 16. & Do. Epiphan. cap. 16.

Countries.		Cities.
¶ Thus far reacheth the compass of *Natolia.*		
Lycia.	*Acts* 27.	*Colossæ.* *Col.* 1.
		Patara. *Acts* 21.
		Pinara.
		Xanthus.
		Andriacæ.
		Myra. *Acts* 13.
Galatia, vel Gallogrecia.	*Acts* 16.	*Ancyræ.*
		Gordium.
		Tharma.
Paphlagonia.		*Pessinus.*
		Amisus.
		Sinope.
		Corambit.
Pamphilia.	*Acts* 2.	*Perga.* *Acts* 13.
		Attalia. *Acts* 14.
		Aspendus.
		Phaselis. *Macch.* 15.
Pisidia.	*Acts.*	*Trapesus.*
		Temisseyra.
Cappadocia.		*Comana Pontica.*
		Amasia vel Eupatoria.
		Masa vel Cæsarea. Here Basilius Magnus was Bishop.
		Nazianium.
		Here *Gregorius Nazianzenus* was Bishop.
		Comana Cappadocia.
		Miletena.
Armenia Minor.		*Nicopolis.*
		Leandis.
		Claudiopolis.
		Julipolis.
		Iharsus. *Acts* 22. The Country where St. Paul was born.
		Coricus. Coricus is also in the Isle of Creta.
Cilicia.		*Solimunis, vel Trajanopolis.*
		Issus, vel Jasassa.
		Augusta. *Acts* 27.
		Iconium. *Acts* 14.
		Lystra. *Acts* 16.
		Derbe. *Acts* 14.
Laconia.		*Antiochia Pisidiæ.* *Acts* 11.

¶ *Syria*

Countries.		Cities.
¶ *Syria* comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities; as followeth.		
Syria.	*Acts* 15.	*Jerosalyma.* *Acts* 1.
		Cæsarea Stratonis. *Acts* 8.
		Bethleem. *Matth.* 2.
		Emaus. *Mark* 1.
		Jericho. *Matth.* 20.
Palestina Judea.		*Joppe*, or *Japho.* *Josh.* 15.
		Japhoth. *Acts* 9.
		Tyberias. *John* 6.
		Accaron. *Josh.* 13.
		Azotus. *Acts* 8.
		Ascalon. *Judic.* 2.
Chanaan.		*Gaza.* *Acts* 8.
		Bersabee. *Josh.* 19.
		Antipatris. *Acts* 23.
		Asdrom. *Acts* 9.
Samaria.	*Acts*	*Bethania.* *Mark* 11.
		Lydda. *Acts* 9.
Galilea.	*Matth.* 3.	*Nazareth.* *Matth.* 4.
		Capernaum. *Matth.* 4.
		Cana. *John* 2.
		Tyrus. *Luke* 6.
Phœnicia.	*Acts* 11.	*Sydon, vel Sichem.* *Luke* 6.
		Ptolomais. *Acts* 21.
		Cæsarea Philippi. *Matth.* 16.
		Damascus. *Gal.* 1.
Damascenes		*Philadelphia.* *Apoc.* 1.
		Buthis, vel Pellas.
Cœlosyria.		* *Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theophilis.* *Acts* 11.
Cassiotis.		*Samosata.*
Comagena.		*Antiochia, sub Tauro*
		Alexandria apud Issum.
		* *Nicopolis.*
		Gephyra.
Seleucis.		*Gindarus.*
		* *Seleucia.* *Acts* 13.
		Imma.
Laodicene.		* *Laodicea.* *Col.* 2.
		Paradisus
		Jabruda.
		Nazamma.
Apamene.		*Apamia.*
		Besamma, vel Bersabee.
Idumæa.	*Mark* 3.	*Esdreyla.*
		Massa.

* Antiochia apud Orontem, chief City in Syria, where the Disciples of Christ were first named Christians, Acts 11. Also a City in Pisidia, and a City in Macedonia, mentioned in the Epistle of Saint Paul to Titus, c. 1. Likewise, It is a City in Syria Acts another in Pamphylia, another in Phrygia, another in Cilicia, and in Mesopotamia also called Cressium Laodicea, and in Phœnicia near to Cesarea Philippi. Laodiceas also is the chief City in Phrygia Pacatiana, in which Sardes, Acts 18 & Rom. 16.

¶ Thus far reacheth the Compass of *Syria.*

Arabia.	*Gal.* 1. 4.	*Petræa*, or *Nabatæa.*
		Felix. { *Panchaia.* *Sabæa.*
		Deserta.
Mesopotamia	*Psal.* 59.	*Carræ*, or *Charan*, where *Abraham* dwelt. *Acts* 7.
		Seleucia.
		* *Edessa*, which is now called *Orpha*, and in the story of *Tobias*, called *Rages.*
		Bible.
Babylonia.	*Dan.* 3.	*Babylon, vel Baldach.* *Alt.* 7.
		Orchoa, vel Vrchoa, vel *Hur Chaldæorum*, where *Abraham* was born. *Gen.* 11. 15.
		Patarve.
		Azara.
Sarmatia.		*Gernsa. S. Georgius.*
		Sinda.
		Dioscurias vel Sebastia, which is now called *Sujan.*
Colchis.		*Phasis.*
		Lubium.
		Artanissa.
Iberia.		*Armachica.*
		Getara, vel Gangara.
Albania.		*Chabala.*

In the Country of *Babylonia*, is also a certain Region appointed for Philosophers and Astronomers, called *Chaldæa.* *Jer.* 50.

* In 850. reigned King Abgarus, mentioned in Eusebius, c. 1. 13. another in 1100. reigned King Abgarus, according to Sozomen after his death. Edessa in Chaldæa, where Abgarus our mighty Prince of Osroena was after discovered, and confuted by Zosimus Historicus.

Countries.		Cities.
Armenia.	*Gen.* 8.	*Armenia major* is divided from *Armenia minor* by the River *Euphrates.* This *Armenia major* and *minor*, this day be both under the *Turks.*

¶ And thus far reacheth the compass of *Asia minor*, with the Countries and Provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the Faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the *Turky.*

¶ The Iflands belonging to the Regions of *Asia minor* aforesaid, gotten by the *Turk.*

Thinias.			*Bithynia.*
Tenedos.			*Troas.*
Chios	*Acts* 20.		*Lydia.*
Patmos.	*Apoch.* 1.		
Possidium.			*Æolis.*
Samos.	*Acts.* 20.		*Ionia.*
Trogolium.	*Acts* 20.		
Cnidus.	*Acts.* 27.		*Doris.*
Coos, Conn.	*Acts* 21.		*Doria.*
Carpathus.			*Dorist.*
Rhodus.	*Act.* 21.		*Lycia.*
Cyprus.	*Acts* 11.		

Islands belonging to Asia minor.

This Cyprus being as part of the Isle of Cilicia, is called Cyprus Cilicia, Act. 27. 4. Cyprus Salaminia, Act. 13. 5. Cyprus Paphia, Act. 13. 6. Cyprus Amathusia, Act. 21. 3. Cyprus Curium, Act. 27. 7. Cyprus Ceraunia, Act. 27. 4. Cyprus Solia, Act. 27. 7. Cyprus Citium, Act. 27. 12. Cyprus Lapithia, Act. 27. 8. Cyprus Amochostia, Act. 13

¶ A description of the Countries and Cities in *Europe*, which were before Christened, and now are subdued and subject to the *Turk*.

Countries.		Cities.	
		Europa.	
		Constantinopolis, or *Bizantium.*	
Thracia.		*Pera.*	
		Adrianopolis.	
		Trajanopolis.	
		Caliopis.	
		Sestus.	
		Apollonia.	
Samothracia.	*Acts* 16	*Thessalonica.*	Acts. 17.
		Philippi.	Acts. 16.
Græcia.	Acts 20	*Dom trixt.*	
		Neapolis.	Act. 16.
Macedonia.	Rom. 15.	*Amphipolis.*	Act. 17.
		Apollonia Mygdonia.	Acts 17.
		Berrhæa.	Acts 17.
Thessalia.			
Epyrus.			
Chaonia.		*Ambracia.*	
		Actium.	
		Troma.	
		Azelia.	
		Acarnanon.	
Thresprotia.		*Argos.*	
Amphilochia.		*Ithacus.*	
		Ombalsamon.	
Ambracchia.		*Athene.*	
Achaia.	Rom. 15.	*Marathon.*	
Attica.		*Thebe.*	
Bœtia.		*Delphos.*	
Phocis.		*Egrie.*	
		Chalydon.	
Ætolia.		*Lacris.*	
		Naupactus.	
		Corinthus.	Act. 17.
Peloponnesus.		*Mycena.*	
		Tegea.	
Corinthia.		*Argos.*	
Argia.		*Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta.*	2 Mach. 5.
		Ebidaurus.	
		Helice.	
		Lerna.	
Laconia.		*Lutrum.*	
		Marinum.	
		Mycene.	
Messenia.		*Megalipolis.*	
		Nisea.	
Elis.		*Naaplea.*	
		Olympia.	
Sicyon.		*Sicyon.*	
Arcadia.		*Argyra.*	

¶ Islands bordering about *Græcia*, won likewise by the *Turk* from the Christians.

Countries.		Cities.	
		Cholcis.	
		Charistus.	
		Corinthus.	
		Gerestus.	
Eubœa, or *Nigropontus.*		*Pulebri Portus.*	Act. 27.
		Lesbea.	Acts 27.
Creta.	Acts 17.	*Phœnice.*	Acts 17.

¶ As I was writing hereof, a certain found of lamentable News was brought unto us, how the *Turk*, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the Emperor *Maximilian* out of Christendom, hath now of late, this present year 1566. got the Town of *Gyula* about *Transylvania*, after they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible Assaults, destroying in the same most cruelly many thousand of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certainty, we will refer the story thereof to further Information.

Countries.		Cities.	
Salmone.	Acts 27.		
Claudo.	Acts 27		
Cyclades.	Insulæ 53	*Salamis.*	
		Delus.	1 Mach. 15.
Cephalenia.		*Vide supra.*	
Zacynthus, or *Zanthus.*			
Lemnos.			
Ithaca.			
Samos.	Acts 20.	*Vide supra.*	
Coreyra.			
Cercica.			

¶ After the *Turk* had subdued *Thracia* and *Græcia*, proceeding further into *Europe*, he invaded other Regions and Cities, which also he added to his Dition; as,

	Rhetiaria.	
	Nestus.	
	Ulpianum.	
	Scupi.	
	Sigindunum, or *Singet.*	
Mysia superior.	*Tribullorum. Oscus.*	
	Tirista.	
Mysia Inferior.	*Axium*, or *Chilia.*	
	Labacus, Metropolis.	
Dalmatia.	2 Tim. 4.	
	Epidaurus, or *Ragusium.*	
Carinthia.	*Milea*, or *Meleda.*	
	Senia, or *Segna.*	
Corvatia.	*Enona*, or *Hona.*	
	Fadra, or *Zara.*	
Croatia.	*Sebenica.*	
	Stridon, where Saint *Jerome* was born.	
Istria.	*Quinque Ecclesiæ.*	
	Fattiæ, Metropolis.	
Bosnia.	*Bulgaria*, was won of *Bajazetes* the *Turk* from the Crown of *Hungary*, through the unprosperous War of *Sigismundus*, at the field of *Nicopolis*, Anno 1395.	
Bulgaria.	This *Sigismundus*, was the Burner of *John Hus*, and the Persecutor of his Doctrine.	
Wallachia.	*Tergovistus*, or *Tervist.*	
	Huniad; where *Joannes Huniades* was born.	
	Hermonstat.	
	Cronstat.	
Transylvania, or *Septem castra.*	*Saltesburg.*	
	Alba Julia, or *Weissenburge.*	
	Gyula.	
Servia.	*Samandria.*	
	Columbitz.	
Rascia.	*Walpo. Vid. Sup.*	
	Novogradum.	
Moldavia.	*Varna.*	
	Buda, or *Ofen.*	
Hungaria.	*Alba regalis.*	
	Belgradum, or *Taurinum.*	
	Strigonium.	
	Varadinum.	
Austria.	*Neapolis.* } *Major.*	
	Pystum. } *Minor.*	

The

KING Hen. 7.

The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures considered, touching the coming up and final ruine and destruction of this wicked Kingdom of the TURK, *with the Revelations and foreshewings also of other Authors concerning the same.*

Prophecies confidered for the beginning and falling of the Turks Kingdom.

FOrsomuch as you have hitherto sufficiently heard to what quantity and largeness the Dominion of the *Turks* hath increased, and do understand what cruel tyranny these wretched miscreants have and do daily practice most heinously wheresoever they come against the feavants and professors of Christ; it shall not be unprofitable but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what Prophecies the holy Spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned us before of these heavy Persecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the government and constitution of times and states of Monarchies and Policies fall not to us by blind chance, but be administred and allotted unto us from above; so it is not to be suppofed, that such a great alteration and mutation of Kingdoms, such a terrible and general Persecution of Gods people almost through all *Christendom*, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and gendred by these *Turks*, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purpoles as his divine wisdom doth best know. For the better evidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see to our great comfort how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be sharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by mans working only, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

Two things to be considered in the time and order of the Old Testament. The Scriptures, and the people.

And first to begin with the time of the Old Testament, let us seriously advise and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein contained, but also let us consider the whole state, order and regiment of that people; the Church I mean of the *Israelites*. For although the Scriptures and Prophets of the Old Testament were properly sent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done, or that should be done in that Commonwealth, of which Prophets *John Baptist* was the last and made an end, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, saying, the Law and Prophets be unto the time of *John. &c.* Yet notwithstanding the said people of that Old Testament beareth a lively image and resemblance of the Universal Church which should follow, planted by the Son of God through the whole earth. So that as the Prophets of God speaking to them from the Mouth and Word of God, prophefied what should come to pass in that people; so likewise the whole course and History of those *Israelites* exemplifieth and beareth a prophetical Image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the Universal Church of God dispersed through the World, planted in Christ Jesus his Son, according as *Philip Melanthon*, gravely gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*.

Phil. Melan. in Dan. Prophet.

Gen. 4.

As first the History of godly *Abel* slain by wicked *Cain*, what doth it import or prophesie, but the condition of the people and servants of God, which commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part which belongeth not to God?

The like may be said also of *Isaac* and *Ismael*; of *Jacob* and *Esau*. Of whom those two which were the children of promise, and belonged to the Election of God, were persecuted in this world of the other which were rejected. Where moreover is to be noted concerning *Ismael*, that of his Stock after the flesh came the *Saracens*, which Sect the *Turks* do now profess and maintain. And as *Ismael* had but 12 Sons; so it were to be wished of God, that this *Solyman*, which is the 12th of the *Turkish* Generation, may be the laft. But of this better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The Saracens come of *Ismael*. Relembiance between the twelve Sons of *Ismael*, and the 12 Ottoman *Turks*. 4 Reg. 17.

Furthermore, of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, the sacred History so reporteth, that after they had a long season continued together by the space of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatry and transgression of their forefathers Ten Tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the *Gentiles* an hundred and thirty years before the Captivity of *Babylon*; so that but two Tribes only remained free, and they also at last, after an hundred and thirty years, were captived under the *Babylonians* for a certain time. No otherwise hath it happned with the Church of Christ almoft in the Universal World, of which Church the greatest part, both in *Asia*, in *Africa*, and almoft in *Europe*) where the holy Apostles so laboured and travelled) we see now to be difparkled among the *Turks*, and their Candlesticks removed (the Lord of his great grace reduce them again, *Amen.*) So that of twelve parts of *Christendom*, which was once planted in Christ, scarce two parts remain clear, and they how long they shall so continue the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the *Turks*, yet have they been so beaten with the Pope, that they had been better almoft to have been in the *Turks* hands.

The old Church of the *Israelites* to be set as a representation or Image of the publick Church of Christ Jesus.

Again, After the said *Israelites* returned, being restored of *Cyrus*, let us consider well their story, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the time of the *Macchabees*, and we shall see a lively representation of these our days expressed in that Prophetical People, according as St. *Paul* writing of them sheweth how all things happned to them in Figures; that is, the actions and doings of that one Nation, be as Figures and Types of greater matters, what shall happen in these later times of the whole Church universally in Christ collected.

1 Cor. 10

So the transmigration and deliverance again of those two Tribes, declareth to us the affliction of Christs Church for sin; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Sons sake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appear.

The Church of the Jews a figure of Christs Church.

Again, The continuance of the Law first given by *Moses* unto the destruction of the said people by *Titus*, amounteth to 1564 years; so we counting the age of the New Testament, and reckoning from the day of our Redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number.

Ex Phil. Melanct. in Dan. cap 9.

The times and years of the old Church, compared with the new.

Likewise, In counting the years from their deliverance out of Captivity to the end of their diffolution, we find 564 years, during which year as the Church of the *Jews* was not governed under the authority of Kings, but the High Priests took all the power and authority to themselves; so we Christians, for the space especially of these later 564 years, what have we seen and felt, but only the juridiction and domination of the Pope and High Priests playing the *Rex* in all Countries, and ruling the whole? whereby, by the count of the years, it is to be thought the day of the Lords coming not to be far off.

The rule and domination of the Bishops in the *Jews* Common-wealth, and our Prelates compared.

Furthermore, in those later years of the *Jews* Kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people sustained 300 years together, but chiefly, the last 166 years before the coming of Christ, by *Antiochus* and his fellows, the History of the *Macchabees* can report. Wherein we have also notoriously to understand the miserable vexations and persecutions of Christian Churches in these later ends of the World by Antichrist. For by *Antiochus* Antichrist (no doubt) is figured and represented. This *Antiochus* surnamed *Magnus*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Son, came of the Stock of *Selenchies Nicanor*; much like as the *Mahumets*, the *Turk*, and *Solymannus* came of the stock of *Ottomannus*. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, That like as of the said *Selencus* issued Twelve *Syrian* Kings one after another of that generation, which reigned over the *Israelites* with much severity and tyranny; so of this Devilish Generation of *Ottomannus* have come Twelve *Turkish* Tyrants, whereof this *Solyman* is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the last. And

Antiochus beareth a figure of Antichrist.

The Family of Antiochus.

The Family of the Turks.

as the two laſt *Antiochi*, being Sons of the two Brethren, did fight together for the Kingdom, and in fighting were both ſlain, and ſhortly after the Kingdom fell to the *Romans*; ſo the Lord grant for Chriſts ſake, that the bloudy brood of this old *Solyman*, (which has reigned now ſix and forty years) may ſo fight together, and periſh in their own bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a final end for ever, Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appear to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more upon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the Reader, to ſet before his eyes, in Table-wiſe the Catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian Families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the Twelve *Syrian* Kings, then of the Twelve *Ottomanni*, in like number and order.

{KING Lib.7.}

A Compariſon between the *Syrians* and the *Turks*.

The *Syrians*.

Reckonings between the Syrian Kings, and the Turks.

I. *SELEUCUS*. 32

II. *Antiochus Soter*. 19

III. *Antiochus Theos*, who killed *Bernice* his Mother-in-Law, and his young Brother. 15

IV. *Seleucus Callinicus*, with *Antiochus Hierax* his Brother, which two Brethren warred one againſt the other. 20

V. *Antiochus Magnus*. 36

VI. *Seleucus Philopator*. 12

VII. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or rather *Epimanes*.

VIII. *Antiochus Eupator*.

IX. *Demetrius* Brother of *Epiphanes*, who killed *Eupator* his Couſin.

X. *Demetrius Nicanor*, whom *Antiochus Sedetes* his Brother expulſed from his Kingdom.

XI. *Antiochus, Sedetes*. Theſe two laſt being Brethren had two Sons.

XII. *Antiochus Griphus*; and *Antiochus Cizicenus*. Theſe two, ſtriving together for the Kingdom, were both ſlain, and ſo not long after, the Kingdom of *Syria* came to the hands of *Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, and ſo being taken from him came to the *Romans* in the time of *Pompeius*.

The *Turks*.

I. *OTTOMANNUS*. 28

II. *Orchanes*, he ſlew his two Brethren. 22

III. *Amurathes*, he put out the eyes of *Sauces* his own Son. 23

IV. *Bajazetes*, he ſlew *Solymannus* his Brother.

V. *Calepinus*, The *Greek* ſtories made no mention of this *Calepinus*, the *Latine* ſtories ſay that *Calepinus* and *Orchanes* were both one, and that he was ſlain by *Mahumetes* his Brother. 6

VI. *Orchanes*, whom *Moſes* his Uncle did ſlay.

VII. *Mahumetes* 1. He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his Brother. 14

VIII. *Amurathes* 2. He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his Brother. 34

IX. *Mahumetes* 2. He ſlew his two Brethren *Turcinus* an infant, and *Calepinus*. 37

X. *Bajazetes* 2. He warred againſt his Brother *Demes*, which *Demes* was afterward poyſoned by Pope *Alexander* 6th. 33

XI. *Zelymus*, He poyſoned *Bajazetes* his Father, and his two Brethren *Acomates* and *Corcutus*, with all their Children, his own Couſins. 7

XII. *Solymannus*, He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his own Son, and was alſo the death of *Gianger* his ſecond Son. 46

Theſe two peſtilent Families and Generations, riſing out (doubtleſs) from the bottomleſs Pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ; ſo in manner of their doings and wicked abominations they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the People and Church of Chriſt, both murtherers and parricides of their own Brethren and Kindred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole World. Wherein we have all to learn and note, by the way, the terrible anger of Almighty God againſt ſin, and wickedneſs of men.

Furthermore, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of times, and to mark how things be diſpoſed by the marvellous operation of Gods Providence, ſhall find the times alſo of theſe two adverſaries in much like ſort to concur and agree. For in conſidering with our ſelves both the Teſtaments and Churches of God, the firſt of the *Jews*, the ſecond of the Chriſtians; look what time had the *Syrian* Kings to rage then in *Jeruſalem*, the ſame proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the *Turks* to murther the Chriſtians; ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the Book of *Maccabees* may appear, *Antiochus Epiphanes* was about the 191 year before the Paſſion of our Saviour, and day of our Redemption; ſo now calling the ſame number from this preſent year backward, we ſhall find it to be about the ſame year and time, when *Bajazetes*, the fourth *Turk* after *Ottoman*, began to remove his Imperial ſeat from *Burſa* in *Bithynia* to *Adrianople* in *Europe*, which is a City of *Thracia*. In which year and time began all the miſchief in *Europe*, as is to be ſeen before, and this was the year of our Lord 1375. Unto the which year if we add 191. it maketh 1566. according to the Prophecy of the *Apocalyps*, Chapter 20. where it is prophecied of *Gog* and *Magog*, that they ſhall compaſs about the Tents of the Saints, and the welbeloved City, by the which welbeloved City is meant (no doubt) *Europa*; and this was in the year aboveſaid 1375. Although touching the preciſe points of years and times, it is not for us greatly to be requiſite therein; but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may help to knowledge, I would not with negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of *Antiochus* and his fellows.

The time of Antichriſt examined by Prophecies.

One Antichriſt prefigured another.

Apoc. 20.

Now what cruelty this *Antiochus* exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*; where we read that this *Antiochus* in the 8th year of his Reign, in his ſecond coming to *Jeruſalem*, firſt gave forth in commandment, that all the *Jews* ſhould relinquith the Law of *Moſes*, and worſhip the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, which he ſet up in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. The Books of *Moſes* and of the Prophets he burned. He ſet Garriſons of Soldiers to ward the Idol. In the City of *Jeruſalem* he cauſed the Feaſts and Revels of *Bacchus* to be kept, full of all filth and wickedneſs. Old Men Women and Virgins, ſuch as would not leave the Law of *Moſes*, with cruel torments he murthered. The Mothers that would not circumciſe their Children, he ſlew. The Children that were circumciſed he hanged up by the necks. The Temple he ſpoiled and waſted. The Altar of God, and Candleſtick of Gold, with the other ornaments and Furniture of the Temple, partly he caſt out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the Law of God he cauſed them to offer and to eat Swines fleſh. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leave their law, or to loſe their lives. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruel torments, he put to death a godly Mother with her ſeven Sons, ſending his cruel Proclamations through the whole Land, that whoſoever kept the obſervances of the Sabbath, and other Rites of the Law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof the City of *Jeruſalem* was left void and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number that were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the King, and became enemies unto their Brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miſery could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſeen. Of the tyranny of this *Antiochus* it is hiſtoried at large in the Book of *Maccabees*; and *Daniel* prophecying before of the ſame, declareth that the people of the *Jews* deſerved no leſs for their ſins and tranſgreſſions.

{KING 1. Mac. 1. Hiſt. 7. Dan. 9.}

Antiochus a figure of the Turk.

By conſent of all Writers, this *Antiochus* beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to follow in the later end of the World, and is already come, and worketh what he can againſt us. Although, as Saint *John* ſaith, there have been, and be many Antichriſts, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are Forerunners; yet to ſpeak of the head and principal Antichriſt, and great enemy of Chriſts Church, he is come in the later end of the world, at what time ſhall be ſuch tribulation as never was ſeen before; whereby is meant (no doubt) the *Turk*, prefigured by this *Antiochus*. By this Antichriſt I do alſo mean all ſuch, which following the ſame Doctrine of the *Turks*, think to be ſaved by their works and demerits, and not by their Faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profeſſion elſe ſoever they be; eſpecially if they uſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth, *&c.*

Ex Lyra in Gloſſ. ordin. c. 1 Macch.

The name of Antichriſt, what it containeth.

Of the tyranny of this *Antiochus* aforeſaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the later times, both of the *Jews* Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let us hear and conſider the words of *Daniel* in the 11th Chapter, and alſo in his 7th Chapter, prophecying of the ſame as followeth:

Dan. 11. *He ſhall return and fret againſt the holy Covenant; ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall even return and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy Covenant. And arms ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily Sacrifice, and they ſhall ſet up the abominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly break the Covenant ſhall flatter with him deceitfully; but the people that do know their God ſhall prevail and proſper. And they that underſtand among the people ſhall inſtruct many; yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captivity and by ſpoil many days.*

Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little help, but many ſhall cleave unto them feignedly. And ſome of them of underſtanding ſhall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out; for there is a time appointed. And the King ſhall do what him liſt; he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnifie himſelf againſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſper till the wrath be accompliſhed, for the determination is made. Neither ſhall he reguard the God of his Fathers, nor the deſires of women, nor care for any God; for he ſhall magnifie himſelf above all. But in his place ſhall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his Fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and with ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſant things.

Thus ſhall he do in the holds of Mauzzim *with a ſtrange God, whom he ſhall acknowledge; he ſhall increaſe his glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain. And at the end of time ſhall the King of the South puſh at him, and the King of the North ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind, with Chariots, and with Horſemen, and with many Ships, and he ſhall enter into the Countrys, and ſhall overflow and paſs through. He ſhall enter alſo into a pleaſant land, and many Countries ſhall be overthrown; but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even* Edom *and* Moab, *and the chief of the children of* Ammon. *He ſhall ſtretch forth his hands alſo upon the Countrys, and the land of* Egypt *ſhall not eſcape, but he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of* Egypt, *and of the* Lybians, *and of the black* Moors *where he ſhall paſs. But he tidings out of the* Eaſt *and the* North *ſhall trouble him; and therefore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and root out many. And he ſhall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious and holy Mountain, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him.*

To this place of *Daniel* above prefaced, might alſo be added the Prophecy of the ſaid *Daniel* written in the 7th Chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he entreating of his Viſion of four Beaſts (which ſignifie the four Monarchies) and ſpeaking now of the fourth Monarchy, hath theſe words: Dan. 7.

After this, I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold the fourth beaſt was grim and horrible, and marvellous ſtrong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue under his feet; and it was unlike the other Beaſts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I conſidered the horns, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the firſt horns plucked away. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking proſumptuous things, and ſeemed more ſtout than the other. Which horn alſo (when I looked on) made battel with the Saints, and prevailed againſt them; until the old aged came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the higheſt, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints ſhould have the Kingdom.

Thus have you heard the plain words of *Daniel*. In the which as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the coming of *Antichriſt* the great adverſary, toward the later end of the *Jews*; ſo by the ſame *Antiochus* is figured alſo to us the great adverſary of Chriſt, which is the *Turk*.

Although ſome there be notwithſtanding, which with great learning and judgment do apply this place of *Daniel* above recited, not to the *Turk*, but rather to the Pope, and that for ſix or ſeven ſpecial cauſes herein touched and noted. Vide Rodul. Gualt. de Antichriſto.

The firſt is this, That the wicked tranſgreſſors of the Covenant ſhall joyn with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the Tabernacle of ſtrength, and take away the perpetual ſacrifice, and bring in the abomination of deſolation. The firſt note.

The ſecond note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people ſhall teach many, and that they ſhall fall upon the ſword, into fire and captivity, and ſhall be baniſhed, whereby they ſhall be tryed, choſen, and made bright and pure, *&c.* All which (ſay they) is not among the *Turks* to be ſeen, but only in the Popes Church; where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are ſlain and burned, and go to wrack, *&c.* Where likewiſe it followeth, that they ſhall be holpen againſt Antichriſt, and that many falſe brethren ſhould joyn unto them diſſemblingly, *&c.* To this they alledge, that the Chriſtians have no ſuch help againſt the *Turk*, whereunto ſuch falſe brethren ſhould joyn themſelves, as is and hath been commonly ſeen among the Chriſtians againſt the Pope, from time to time, almoſt in all Countries; as in *Germany* by the Proteſtants, and free Cities; in *England* in King *Henry*'s time by the Lord *Cromwel*, and afterward by King *Edward*, and now by Queen *Elizabeth*; in *Scotland* by the godly Nobility; in *France*, by the Queen of *Navar* and her Son; and alſo by the Prince of *Condy* and the worthy Admiral, and his two brethren, and many others; in *Flanders*, by them whom the Regent called Beggers; ſo as was in the time of the *Macchabees*, againſt *Antiochus*. The 2d note. Helps of the Chriſtians againſt the Pope.

Thirdly, That the King ſhall exalt himſelf above all that hath the name of God, and ſhall lift up his mouth to ſpeak preſumptuouſly againſt God. The 3d note.

Fourthly, That he careth not for the deſires of women; which may ſeem to note how the Popes Doctrine ſhall forbid the honeſt and lawful marriage in Church-men. The 4th note.

The fifth ſpecialty which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet ſaying, *Neither ſhall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor any God; but Mauzzim inſtead of him ſhall ſet up his God Mauzzim, and ſhall worſ-* The 5th note. the Popes God.

worship him with silver and gold, and precious stone, &c. which they do apply to the Pope, setting up his God of bread, and worshipping him with glittering golden ornaments, and most solemn service.

The sixth Note.

Sixthly, It followeth, *and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall divide unto them lands and possessions, &c.* meaning that the Pope having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, shall indue his Cardinals, Prelates, his flattering Doctors, with Friers Monks and Priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great priviledges, liberties, revenues and possessions. And thus I say, some there be which apply this Prophecy of the seventh and eleventh Chapters of *Daniel* unto the Bishop of *Rome*. Whom although I take to be an extream Persecutor of Christs Church; yet I judge rather those two Chapters of *Daniel* concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great destroyer of the pleasant Land and glorious holy Mountain, to mean first *Antiochus*, and by him secondly to mean the great Antichrist, the *Turk*; who hath now set already the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas, according to the Prophecies of *Daniel*, as is above-said.

The seventh and 11th. Chapters of Daniel mean the great Anti-christ, the Turk.

Ezek. chap. 38. 39. Gog and Magog.

Over and besides these Prophecies above alledged, there may be added also the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, *cap.* 39. speaking of *Gog* and *Magog*; which as it may be applied to the oppression of the *Jews* under the heathen multitude, which stopped the building of the City, and under the *Syrian* Kings, &c. yet in the same also are expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christs Church in these later times, under the *Saracens* and the *Turks*, &c.

The Prophesies of the New Testament concerning the Turk. 2 Thess. 2.

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the Prophesies of the New Testament, and mark the words of St. *Paul*, writing to the *Thessalonians*, which then were Christened, and now either are *Turkish*, or under the *Turk*, which words be these, *Be ye not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as sent from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked man be revealed, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, and is extolled above all power, and that which is called God; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, boasting himself to be God, &c.* Although this defection and departing may have a double understanding, as well of the Popes fect (which is gone and departed from the free justification by faith only in Christ through the promise of Grace) as of the *Turks*; yet leaving a while to speak of the Pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the *Turk*, we will chiefly apply it to him; in whom so apply it doth agree, that unless this great defection from faith in so many Churches had hapned by the *Turk*, it had been hard to understand the Apostles mind, which now by the History of these *Turks* is eatie and evident to be known, considering what a ruin hath hapned to the Church of Christ by these miserable *Turks*, what Empires, Nations, Kingdoms, Countries, Towns and Cities be removed from the Name and profession of Christ, how many thousands, and infinite multitudes of Christian men and children, in *Asia*, in *Africk*, and in *Europe*, are carried away from Christs Church to *Mahumets* Religion, some to serve for the *Turks* Guard among the *Janizaries*, some for Soldiers, some for Miners, some for Gunners, to fight and war against the Christians; so that the most part of all the Churches, planted once by the Apostles, are now degenerated into *Turks*, only a small handful of Christians reserved yet in these West parts of *Europe*, of the which small residue what shall also become shortly, except Christ himself do help, Christ only himself doth know. How great this defection hath been, spoken of by St. *Paul*, thou mayest see (gentle Reader) in the Table above described.

The defection in time of Anti-christ declared.

Vide supra.

Notwithstanding this Text of the holy Apostle (as I aforesaid) may be verified also with no less reason upon the Bishop of *Rome*, than upon the *Turk*, but for that he is a man of sin, that is, his seat and City is a great maintainer of wickedness, and also for that he is an adversary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Christ.

The place of Saint Paul, a Text applied to the Pope.

Thirdly, For that he sitteth in the Temple of God, and so did not *Mahumet*.

Fourthly, Because he is an exalter of himself, and sitteth more like a god than a man in *Rome*, whereof see more in the Book set forth in *English*, called, *The Contestations of the Popes*.

{KING Hen. 7.}

Fifthly, For that he seduceth, and hath seduced by his Apostatie the most part of all Christendom from the Doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation, which is not to be justified freely before God only by our Faith in Christ his well beloved Son, (unto the which Faith the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our salvation only, and to no other thing) but hath taught us to work our salvation by an infinite number of other things. Insomuch that he bindeth the necessity of our salvation also to this, that we must believe (if we will be saved) and receive him to be the Vicar of Christ in earth, &c.

Ex Bonifacio Carrensy.

But to return again unto the *Turks*, among all the Prophecies both of the Old Testament and of the New, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian Kingdom of the *Turks*, better than doth the *Revelation* of Saint *John*, whose words let us weigh and consider. Who in the *Apocalyps*, 9. where he speaketh of opening the Seventh and last Seal, (which signifieth the last age of the world) and there writing of the Seven Trumpets of the Seven Angels, at the sounding of the Sixth Angel saith, *Loose the four Angels which are bound in the great River Euphrates. And the four Angels were loosed, which were ready both day, and hour, and month, and year, to slay the third part of men. And the number of Horsemen were twenty thousand times ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision horses, and them that sat on them, having fiery Habergions, and of Jacinth-stone, and of Brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouths went forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone; of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouths, &c.*

Apoc. 9.

By the Seventh Seal is meant the seventh and last Age of the World, which last Age of the World is from Christ to the Judgment and Resurrection of the Dead.

The Seven Trumpets of the Seven Angels in the Apocalyps expounded.

By the Seven Angels with their Seven Trumpets is signified the Seven Plagues that come in this seventh and last Age of the World.

By the Sixth Trumpet of the sixth Angel is meant the sixth Plague coming last and next before the Plague of the great Judgment-day, which sixth Plague is here described to come by the East Kings, that is, by the *Turks*, as followeth to be seen.

The sixth Trumpet.

Loosing of the Angels upon the river Euphrates.

By loosing the Angels which had rule of the great River *Euphrates*, is signified the letting out of the East Kings, that is, the *Turks* out of *Scythia*, *Tartaria*, *Persia*, and out of *Arabia*, by whom the third part of Christendom shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to pass.

Apoc. 9.

It followeth in the Prophecy, *Their power shall be in their mouths, and in their tayls. For their tayls shall be like Serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt, &c.* Meaning that these *Turks* with the words of their mouths shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword, to them that will not yield unto them, and in the end, when the Christians shall yield unto them, trusting to their promises, they like Serpents shall deceive them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the story of the *Turks* above past.

Ex Bonifac. 8. Extra. de Majorit. & obed.

The second reason. {Anno 1553}

The Four Beasts in the Apocal. meant the four Monarchies.

Apoc. 16

The like Prophecy also, after the like words and sense, is to be seen and read in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, where Saint *John* entreating of seven Cups filled with the wrath of the Living God, given to the hands of seven Angels, by one of the four Beasts (that is, in the time of one of the four Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of *Rome*) speaketh likewise of the sixth Angel, *which poured his vial of Gods wrath upon the great River Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the Kings of the East should be prepared, &c.*

By the sixth Angel with the sixth Vial is meant, as before the last Plague save one that shall come upon the Christians. By the Kings of the East are meant the *Saracens*,

{KING Hen. 7.}

Saracens, and twelve *Ottoman Turks*. By drying up the River of *Euphrates*, is signified the way of these *Turks* to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the East to the West parts of the World, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the Text. *And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, for they are the spirits of devils, doing wonders, to go unto the Kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battel against the day of the great God omnipotent, &c.* And it followeth shortly after, *And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armagedon, that is, a trap or train of destruction.* And immediately it followeth in the same place, *And the seventh Angel poured out his Vial in the air, and a mighty voice came from Heaven, out of the Throne, saying, factum est, it is done or finished, &c.* Whereby it is to be understood, that toward the last consummation of the World great force shall be seen, and a mighty Army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the People and Saints of the highest, and then cometh the consummation, with *factum est, &c.*

The Kings of the East, Loyling up of Euphrates. Isaiah.

Apoc. 9.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the sixth Angel doth pour out his Vial, doth exhort all the faithful saying, *Behold, I come like a thief in the night. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness, &c.*

Idem. An exhortation of the Holy Ghost to the faithful.

Nicholas de Lyra, and *Paulus* Bishop of *Burdens*, and *Matthias Dorinke* writing upon the 13th Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, and expounding the mystery of the second Beast rising out of the earth, having the horns of a Lamb, &c. do apply the same to *Mahumet* and the *Turks*, with a solemn Declaration made upon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seem to have some appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that *Mahumet* and the *Turk* be pestilent and picked enemies of Christ our Lord, and most bitter Persecutors of his Church; yet as touching the proper and natural meaning of the Apostle in that place, speaking of the false Lamb, &c. it we consider well all the circumstances of that Beast, and mark the consequence of the Text, both of that which goth before and followeth after, we must needs grant, that *Nicholas de Lyra* with his fellows, and with all such like of the Popes School that follow that School, be deceived, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned Lamb must necessarily be applied only to the Bishop of *Rome*, and none other, which is to be proved by six principal causes or arguments.

Apoc. 13. The Prophecy of Apoc. 13. discussed.

The Beast having horns like the Lamb, must needs mean the Pope.

The first reason.

The first is, for that this Beast is described to bear the horns of a Lamb; By the which Lamb no doubt, is meant Christ. By the horns of the Lamb is signified the outward shew or resemblance of Christ our Saviour; which shew or resemblance can have no relation to *Mahumet*, for that he taketh himself to be above Christ, and Christ as an excellent Prophet of God sitting at his feet. Wherefore seeing *Mahumet* cometh neither as equal to Christ, nor as Vicar under Christ, this Prophecy cannot agree to him, but only to him which openly in plain words protesteth, that all Christs Lambs and Sheep not singularly, but universally through the whole world, are committed to him as Vicar of Christ, and successor of *Peter*, and that all men must confess the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christs flocp, &c. Wherein it is safie to see where the pretensed horns of the Lamb do grow.

The second Argument, *And he spake like the Dragon, &c.* A Lambs Horns and the Mouth of a Dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any person, either *Turk* or other (if we judge truly) so lively, as in the Bishop of *Rome*. When thou heareth him call himself *The Apostolical Bishop, The Vicar of Christ, The Successor of* Peter, *The Servant of Gods Servants, &c.* Thou seest in him the two Horns of a Lamb, and wouldst think him to be a Lamb in deed, and such a one as would wash your feet for humility; but hear him speak, and you shall find him a Dragon. See and read the Epistle of Pope *Martin* the Fifth above mentioned, charging, commanding, and threatning Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls with their Shires, Counties and Universities of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages, and other places. See the answer of Pope *Urban* the second, and his message to King *William Rufus*. Behold the works and doings of Pope *Innocent* against King *John*.

Vide supra.

The Pope hath the horns of a Lamb, but the mouth of a Dragon.

Note also the answer of another Pope to the King of *England*, which for the price of the Kings Head would not grant unto him the investing of his Bishops. Mark well the words and doings of Pope *Hildebrand* against the Emperor *Henry* the fourth; also of Pope *Alexander* the second, trading upon the neck of *Fredericus Barbarossa*, not to make a Lamb treading upon a Dragon, but like a Dragon treading upon a Lamb; so that his own Verse might be turned upon himself, *Tanquam aspis & basiliscus super oviculum ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum.* Confider moreover the behaviour, manner, condition, and property almoft of all the Popes which have been these fix hundred years, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous than their own doings and words can speak and give teftimony againft themtelves.

The third reason.

It followeth moreover in the fame Prophecy of the *Apocalyps* for the third Argument, *And he doth all the power of the first Beast presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to honour the first Beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured. &c.*

This two deaths in the 13th chap. of the Apocalyps expounded.

In this Prophecy two things are to be noted; firft, what the firft Beaft is, whofe power the fecond Beaft doth execute. Secondly, what this fecond Beaft is which fo doth exercife his power in his tight. The firft of thefe Beafts in the *Apocalyps* defcribed, having feven heads and ten horns, muft needs fignifie the City of *Rome*, which may eafily be proved by two demonftrations. Firft, by the expofition of the 17 Chapter of the fame *Apocalyps*, where is declared and defcribed the faid Beaft to ftand of feven Hills, and to contain ten Kings, having the whole power of the Dragon given; and alfo the fame City to be named *The Whore of Babylon, drunken with the bloud of the Saints*. All which properties joyned together, can agree in no wife but only to the Heathen Empire of *Rome*, which City at that time of writing thefe Prophecies had the government of the whole world. The fecond demonftration or evidence may be reduced out of the Months affigned to this Beaft, *Apoc.* 13. For fo it is written, that this Beaft had power to make, that is, to work his malice againft Chrifts people forty two months, which months counted by Sabbaths of years, (that is, every month for feven years) maketh up the juft number of thofe years, in which the Primitive Church was under the terrible Perfecutions of the Heathen Emperors of *Rome*, as is afore fpecified.

A defcription of the City and Monarchy of Rome.

The defcription of the Beaft with the 2 Horns of the Lamb, Apoc. 13.

Which thing thus ftanding, proved and confeffed, that the firft Beaft muft needs fignifie the Empire and City of *Rome*, then muft it neceffarily follow that the fecond Beaft with the Lambs Horns, muft fignifie the Bifhop and Pope of the fame City of *Rome*. The reafon whereof is evident and apparent by that which followeth in the Prophecy, where it is declared, that the fecond Beaft, having two Horns of a Lamb, received and exercifed all the power of the firft Beaft, before or in the fight of the faid Beaft, which cannot be verified either in the *Turks* or in any other, but only in the Pope of *Rome*, who (as you fee) receiveth, ufurpeth and deriveth to himfelf all the power of that City and Monarchy of *Rome*; infomuch that he faith, that when *Conftantine* or *Ludovicus* yielded unto him the rule and Kingdom of that City, he gave him but his own, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

The Pope having all the rule and power of Rome.

And this authority or power over all the Empire of *Rome* he worketh not in *Afia*, or in *Conftantinople* as the *Turk* doth, but in the fight of the Beaft which gave him the power, that is, in the City of *Rome* it felf, which is the firft Beaft here in this Prophecy of the *Apocalyps* defcribed.

The fourth reason.

Fourthly, It followeth more, *And he caufeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worfhip and honour the firft Beaft, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c.* The interpretation of this part, as alfo of all the other

parts of the same Chapter, standeth upon the definition of the first Beast; for it being granted, as cannot be denied, that the first Beast signifieth the City and Empire of *Rome*; it must consequently follow, that the Bishop (whom we call the Pope), of the said City of *Rome*, must be understood by the second Beast, forsomuch as neither *Turk* nor any other, but only the Bishop of *Rome* hath holden up the estimation and dignity of that City, which began to be in ruine and decay by the *Vandalians*, *Gothi*, *Herulians* and *Lombards*, about the year of our Lord 456, but afterward by the Bishop of *Rome* the pristine state and honour of that City revived again, and flourished in as great veneration as ever it did before. And that is it which the Holy Ghost seemeth here to mean of the first Beast, saying, *That he had a wound of the Beast, and was cured.* For lo it followeth.

The 5th reason.

Fifthly, *And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and lived. And it was given to him to give life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speak, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed; forcing all persons, both little and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand, and in their foreheads, and that none might buy or sell, but they which had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, &c.*

Rome almost dead.

By giving life to the image of the beast, and making it to speak, is to be presupposed that the beast was at a near point of death, and lay speechless before, insomuch that the City of *Rome* began to lose and change his name, and was called a while *Odacria*, of *Odacer* King of the *Herulians*, which by dint of sword surprised the *Romans*; and yet notwithstanding, by the means of this *Roman* Prelate, the said City of *Rome*, which was then ready to give up the ghost, recovered his majesty and strength again, that it is hard to say, whether *Rome* did ever ruffle and rage in his tyranny before, in the time of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Diocletian*, and other Emperors more tragically, than it hath done under the Pope; or whether that *Rome* had all Kings, Queens Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all subjects more under obedience and subjection, when the Emperors reigned, or now in the reign of the Pope. And therefore it is said not without cause of the Holy Ghost, *That it is given to him, to give life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slain which would not worship the image of the beast, &c.* As for example hereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of Christian Men, Women and Children in all Countries hath been put to fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what havock hath been made of Christian bloud about the pretheminence and majority of the See of *Rome*; what Churches and Countries, both *Greeks* and *Latines*, have been excommunicated; what Kings have been depofed, and Emperors stripped from their Imperial Seat, and all becaufe they would not stoop and bend to the Image of the Beast, that is, to the Majesty and Title of *Rome*, advanced up so highly now by the Bishop thereof, as it was never higher before in the Reign of *Nero* or *Diocletian*. Wherefore taking the first Beast to signifie the Empire of *Rome*, which cannot be denied, it is plain, that the second Beast must necessarily be applied to the Pope and not to the *Turk*, forasmuch as the *Turk* seeketh nothing less than the advancement of that Empire, but rather striveth against it to pluck it down.

To give life to the Image of the beast.

The Image of Rome speaketh again as cruelly as ever it did.

Et faciet ut occidat quicunque adorauerit imaginem bestiæ. Apoc. 13.

The 6th reason. The number of the name of the Beast difcussed. 666.

a. The number of 7 thousand letters in Greek, wanteth a the full number of 666.

The fixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the Beast, expreft by the Holy Ghoft in the same Prophefie, by the Letters χξϛ. In which letters, although there lieth great darknefs and difficulty to be underftood, yet certain ancient Fathers which were Difciples and hearers of them which heard St. *John* himfelf, as *Irenæus* and other, do expound the faid Letters conjecturally, to contain the name of the Beast, and to be the name of a man under this word ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ: Whereas elfe, no other name lightly of any perfon, either in *Greek* or *Latine*, will agree to the fame, fave only the forefaid named *time*, will agree to the fame, fave only the forefaid named ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ. Although fome later Writers, giving their conjectures upon the fame, do find the name of *Lateranus* in *Hebrew* Letters to anfwer to the fame number. Some feign other names, as ἀντεμῶ or τῶτων, made words, which fignifie nothing, as *Diclus*, or *Ludnuic*, by *Roman* Letters, &c. But of all names properly fignifying any man, none cometh fo near to the number of this Myftery, (if it go by order of Letters (as doth the word ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ aforefaid. And thus much by the way, and occafion of *Nicholaus de Lyra*, *Paulus Burgen*, *Matthias Dorinkus*, the Author of *Fortalilium fidei*, and other Commentaries more of the fame Faction; who writing upon this thirteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, and not confidering the circumftances thereof, both are deceived themfelves, and deceive many other, applying that to the *Turk*, which cannot otherwife be verified, but only upon the Pope, as may appear fufficiently by the premifes. Not that I write this of any mood or malice, either to the City of *Rome*, or to the perfon of the Bifhop as being Gods creature; but being occafioned here to entreat of the Prophecies againft the *Turks*, I would with the Readers not to be deceived, but rightly to underftand the fimple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof, being bolted out, it may be the better known what Prophecies directly make againft thefe *Turks*, what otherwife.

{KING 1 *Hist.* 7.} {KING 1 *Hist.* 7.} *Nichol. de Lyra*, and other Popish Writers, deceived in the 13th Chapter of *Apoc.*

In the which Prophecies againft the *Turks*, now to proceed, let us come to the 20th Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, wherein the holy Scripture feemeth plainly and directly to notifie the faid *Turks*. The words of the Prophecy be thefe.

And I saw an Angel descending from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he took the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satanas, and bound him up for a thousand years, and cast him into the pit, and sealed him up, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand years were expired; and after that he must be let loose for a little while, &c. Apoc. 20.

And it followeth after, *And when the thousand years shall be compleat, Satanas shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of* Gog *and* Magog, *to assemble them to battel, whose number is like to the sands of the Sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tents of the Saints, and the welbeloved Cities, &c.*

To the perfect underftanding of this Prophecy, three things are neceffary to be known. Firft, what is meant by binding up, and looting out of Satan as the old Dragon. Secondly, at what time and year firft he was chained up and fealed for a thoufand years. Thirdly, at what year and time thefe thoufand years did end, when as he fhould be looled out again for a little feafon. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecy may eafily be underftood directly to be meant of the *Turk*. Albeit Anagogically fome part thereof may alfo be referred not unproperly unto the Pope, as is above notified.

The binding and loosing out of Satan explained by things to be noted in this Prophecy.

What is meant by binding up of Satan.

Firft, by binding and looling of *Satanas* feemeth to be meant the ceafing and ftaying of the cruel and horrible Perfecution of the Heathen Emperors of *Rome* againft the true Chriftians, as is to be feen in *The Ten firft Perfecutions in the Primitive Church* above defcribed in the former part of thefe *Acts and Monuments*, in the which moft bloudy Perfecutions, *Satanas* the Devil then raged without all meafure, till the time it pleafed Almighty God to ftop this old Serpent, and to tie him fhorter. And thus have you to underftand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thoufand years; whereby is fignified, that the Perfecution againft the Chriftians ftirred up by the Beaft (that is, in the Empire of *Rome*, through the inftigation of Satan) fhall not always continue, but fhall break up after a certain time, and fhall ceafe for a thoufand years, *&c.*

The time of binding up of Satan.

Now at what time and year this Perfecution, that is, the fury and rage of Satan fhould ceafe, is alfo declared in the *Apocalyps* before; where in the 11 and 13 Chapters we read, that the Beaft aforen mentioned fhall have power to work his malice and mifchief the fpace of 42 months, and no more, and then that Satan fhould be locked up for a thoufand years. The computation of which months, being counted by Sabbaths of years (after the example of the fixty nine Weeks of *Daniel*, Chapter 11.) it doth bring us to the juft year and time, when that terrible Perfecution in the Primitive Church fhould end, and fo it did.

{KING 1 *Hist.* 7.} did. For, give to every month a Sabbath of years, that is, reckon every month for feven years, and that maketh 294 years, which was the full time between the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*, (under whom Chrift fuffered) and the death of *Maxentius* the laft Perfecutor of the Primitive Church in *Europe*, fubdued by *Conftantinus*, as may appear by the calculating the years, months and days between the faid year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the later end of *Maxentius*; and fo have you the fupputation of the year and time when Satan was firft bound up, after he had raged in the Primitive Church two and forty months. Which months, as is faid, being counted by Sabbaths of years, after the ufual manner of the Scripture, amount to 294 years; and fo much was the full time between the Paffion of our Lord, which was in the 18th year of *Tiberius*, unto the laft year of *Maxentius*.

Supputation of years between the beginning and ceasing of the persecutions in the Primitive Church.

Vide supra.

The Pope proved to be that 2d Beast mentioned in the *Apoc.* 13

And here by the way cometh a note to be obferved, That forfomuch as by the number of thefe 42 months fpecified in the *Apocalyps*, the Empire of *Rome* muft neceffarily be confeffed to be the firft Beaft; therefore it muft by like neceffity follow, the Bifhop of *Rome* to be the fecond beaft, with the two Horns of the Lamb, for that he only hath and doth caufe the faid Empire of *Rome* to revive and to be magnified, and fo doth not the *Turk*, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherefore let every Chriftian man be wife, and beware betime how he taketh the mark of the Beaft, left peradventure it follow many of him, that he drink of that terrible Cup of wrath mentioned, *Apoc. chap.* 14.

Et hic liber an vine hæ Dei *Apo.* 14.

The 3d part of the Prophecy for the loosing out of Satan

Thirdly, It remaineth to be difcuffed touching the third point in this forefaid Prophefie, that as we have found out (through the help of Chrift) the year and time of Satans binding, fo we fearch out likewife the time and feafon of his loofing out, which by the teftimony of Scripture was approved to be a thoufand years after his binding up, and rightly according to the time appointed it came to paft. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the Paffion of our Lord 294 years, and add thereto a thoufand years, it mounteth to 1294; which was the very year when *Ottomannus* the firft *Turk* began his Reign, which was the firft fpring and Wellhead of all thefe woful calamities that the Church of Chrift hath felt both in *Afia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, almoft thefe 300 years paft. For fo we find in Chronicles, that the Kingdom of the *Turks* being firft divided into four Families, *Anno* 1280. at length the Family of *Ottomannus* prevailed, and thereupon came thefe whom we now call *Turks*, which was about the fame time when Pope *Boniface* the 8th was Bifhop of *Rome*.

The beginning of the Turks Progress.

The time of Transubstantiation. The time of the Turks.

Where by the way, this is again to be noted, that after the decree of Tranfubftantiation was enacted in the Council of *Lateran* by Pope *Innocent* the third, the year of our Lord 1251, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1260, was ftirred up the Power and Arms of the *Oguzians*, and of *Orthogules* Father of *Ottomannus*, who about the year of our Lord 1294, began firft to vex the Chriftians about *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and fo beginning his Kingdom, *Anno* 1300, reigned 28 years, as is afore mentioned.

Ex Lonicer. Chalcondyle lib. 1.

Mention was made before of *Ezekiel* prophefying againft *Gog*, whofe words divers Expofitors do apply againft the *Turk*, and are thefe, *Thou fhalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horfes, a great and a mighty army, and thou fhalt come up againft my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the Land. Thou fhalt be in the later days, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the Heathen may know me, when I fhall be fanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus faith the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whom I have fpoken in the old time by the hand of my fervants the Prophets of Israel, that prophefied in thofe days and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the fame time alfo when Gog fhall come againft the Land of Israel, faith the Lord God, my wrath fhall arife in mine anger, for in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I fpoken it. Surely at that time there fhall be a great fhaking in the land of Israel, fo that the fifhes of the fea, the fowls of the heaven, the beafts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth fhall tremble at my prefence; the mountains fhall be overthrown; the ftars fhall fall, and every man fhall fall to the ground, &c.*

The Prophecy of Ezek. 38.

The Prophecies of Methodius, Hildegardis, *and other concerning the Reign and Ruine of the* Turks.

Methodius Prophetius.

UNTO thefe teftimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us add alfo the Prophetical Revelations of *Methodius*, *Hildegardis*, *Sibylla*, and others. This *Methodius* is thought of fome to be the fame *Methodius* of whom *Hieron* and *Suidas* make mention; which was Bifhop firft of *Olympus* in *Licia*, then of *Tyrus*, and fuffered Martyrdom in the laft Perfecution of the Primitive Church under *Diocleſian*. Unto whom alſo *Trithemius* attributeth the Book entituled *De quatuor noviſſimis temporibus*. But that cannot be, forafmuch as the faid *Methodius* doth cite and alledge the Maſter of Sentences, namely, in his fecond Book, and fixth Diſtinction, which Maſter of Sentences followed more than a thoufand year after Chrift; befides certain other fabulous matters contained in the fame Book. Albeit, becauſe he fpeaketh there of many things concerning the ſtate of the Church under Antichriſt, and the Reformation of Religion, as ſeemeth rightly to come to paſs, and more is like to follow, I thought not to deſraud the Reader thereof, leaving the credit of the Author to his Arbitrement, to eſtem and judge of him as he feeth cauſe. Among divers other places of *Methodius*, prophecying of the later time, theſe words do follow. *After that the children of Iſhmael had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and immerable multitude, in the deſart aforeſaid, they came out of the Wilderneſs of Araby, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the Kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promiſe, and the land was filled with them. And after 70 Weeks, and half of their power wherewith they have ſubdued all the Kingdomſ of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, ſeeing themſelves ſo to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things, &c.* And afterward it followeth of the ſame matter in this ſort.

The Book of Methodius miſtaken.

The Propheſies of Methodius concerning the Turks.

It ſhall come to paſs that the ſaid Seed of Iſhmael ſhall iſſue out and obtain the whole World, with the Regions thereof, in the entring of Iconce, from the Land of Egypt unto Ethiopia *and from the Flood* Euphrates *unto* India; *and from the River* Tygris *to the entring of* Nabaot, *the Kingdom of* Jonithus, *the Son of* Noah; *and from the North unto* Rome *and* Illyricum, Egypt *and* Theſſalonica, *and* Albania, *and ſo forth to the Sea* Ponticum, *which divideth the ſaid Kingdoms from* Germany *and* France; *and their yoke ſhall be double upon the necks of all Nations and Gentiles; neither ſhall there be Nation or Kingdom under Heaven, which ſhall be able to ſtand againſt them in Battel, until the number of eight weeks of years, &c.*

Eight weeks of years, counting every week for a ſab. bath of years, that every day for a year, cometh to 56 years. Theſe ſtand or aſcertain of time concerning the coming of the Saracens.

* Briefly, as in a groſs ſumm, this ſhall ſuffice, to admonith the Reader touching the meaning and method of *Methodius* Prophecies, which *Methodius*, firſt deſcribing the long and tedious afflictions of Chriſts Church, maketh mention of the Seed of *Iſhmael*, which coming out of the parts and Deſerts of *Araby*, ſhall deſtroy (ſaith he) and vanquiſh the whole earth. *So that the Chriſtians ſhall be given of God to the hands of the filthy* Barbarians, *to be ſlain, polluted, and captived*; Perſia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt, *the Eaſt parts*, Aſia, Spain, *all* Grecia, France, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia. *The* Romans *alſo ſhall be ſlain and put to flight: alſo the ſtands of the Seat ſhall be brought to deſolation and to captivity, and put to the ſword. The whole tribulation of the Chriſtians ſhall be without mercy or meaſure; the ranſom of Gold and Silver and other exactions intolerable, but eſpecially the dwellers of* Egypt *and* Syria *ſhall be moſt in the affliction of thoſe times: And* Jeruſalem *ſhall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four Winds which are under Heaven. So that Beaſts alſo, and Fowls, and Fiſh in the water, and the waters of the Sea ſhall be to them obedient. Cities and Towns, which were before full of people, ſhall be laid waſte. Women with child ſhall be ript; their children ſticked, Infants taken from their Mothers, and caſt in the Streets, and none ſhall bury them. The rulers and ſage of the People ſhall be ſlain, and thrown out to the Beaſts. Churches ſhall be ſpoiled; the Prieſts deſtroyed; Virgins deſtroired, and*

Chriſtians plagued by the Saracens.

ment

men compelled to sell their children, and the coming of them shall be chastisement without mercy, and with them shall go their four plagues, Captivity, Destruction, Perdition, and Desolation: with much more, which for brevity I overpass. *And this affliction, saith he, shall last eight weeks. or Sabbaths of years*, which I take to signifie eight hundred years, &c.

The second state or alteration of the Christians relieved of their plagues and tribulations

Secondly, After these terrible Plagues thus described by *Methodius* upon the Christians, which he saith shall fall upon them for their wicked abominations recited in the first and second Chapter of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*; the said *Methodius* afterward in this great distress of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declareth and speaketh of a certain King of the *Greeks* or *Romans*, which shall restore peace again to the Christians. In which peace they shall reedifie the Cities and Mansions again; the Priests shall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the King of the *Romans* dwell in the City of *Hierusalem* a week or Sabbath, and a half of times, &c.

Christians abusing Gods benefits.

The third alteration by the coming of the Turks.

Thirdly, During the time of this peace the said *Methodius* saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and careless life; and then according to the words of the Apostle, saying, *When they shall say, Peace, peace, sudden destruction shall fall upon them*: Then (saith he) *shall be opened the Gates of the North, and the beastly people shall break in, which King Alexander the Great did close up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord God, that he would bind up that bestial and execrable people, left with their filthy and detestable pollutions they should come out and pollute the holy Land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commanded them to be inclosed within two mountains in the North parts, to the deepness of twelve cubits*, (which signifieth peradventure 1200 years) *so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come unto them, until the time of the Lord appointed, which are* (saith he) *the later times, and then according to the Prophecy of* Ezechiel, *in the latter time of the consummation of the world, God and Magog out from the North shall come forth into the land of Israel, and shall work all this mischief against Christians above recited. And then* (saith *Methodius*, proceeding in his Prophesies) *shall the King of the Romans after he hath reigned in* Jerusalem *a Sabbath of times, and a half, that is*, (saith *Methodius*) *ten years and a half, take the Crown from his head, and yield it up to the Cross in* Golgotha *where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the Cross with the Crown shall be taken into Heaven, which shall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.*

The reign of Christian Kings in *Hierusalem* lasted 88 years. ann. 1187. By this resigning up the Crown to the Crucifix in Golgotha, is signified the ceasing of the Christians in *Hierusalem* till the coming of Christ. By the Tribe of *Dan*, and the City *Coreyaim*, *Bethsaida*, and *Capernaum*, to signifie Gods great vocation upon Antichrist.

Fourthly, It followeth then moreover in the Prophesies of *Methodius*, which declareth that when the week or Sabbath, and half week of times shall end, and when the King of *Romans* shall give up his Crown in *Jerusalem*, and die, *Then immediately shall Antichrist the son of perdition begin to appear, and be born in* Jewry, *of the Tribe of* Dan, *whereof also came* Judas Iscariot, *and he shall be born* (saith *Methodius*) in Chorofaim, *and shall be bred in* Bethsaida, *and shall reign in* Capernaum; to the which three Cities, Christ the Lord gave his third Vae. *And when great tribulation shall encrease and multiply in the days of this Antichrist, and all Lordship and Dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithful and dear servants*, Enoch *and* Hely, *to reprove and detect the false seducing and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men; so that the people seeing themselves vainly beguiled and seduced by this son of perdition, coming out of the Temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leave and flie from him, and join themselves to the said two holy Prophets. Which son of perdition and Antichrist seeing his proceedings so to be reproved, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two Prophets of God. And then shall appear* (saith *Methodius*) *the sign of the coming of the Son of Man, and he shall come in the clouds of Heavenly glory, and shall destroy the enemy with the spirit of his mouth*, &c.

The destruction of Antichrist.

INTERPRETATION.

{KING Hen. 7.}

The interpretation.

TO these Prophesies and testimonies of *Methodius*, what credit is to be given, I leave it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his Prophesies go by such order of times as is set and disposed in his Book; he seemeth to describe unto us four principal states and alterations of times to come.

The first state and alteration is by *Mahumet* and the *Saracens*, which be the off-spring and Sons of *Ismael*, coming out of *Arabie* in the time of *Heraclius* Emperor of *Constantinople*, Ann. 630, which rebelling against *Heraclius* increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians both in *Asia* and *Africa*, and also in many places in *Europe*, especially in *Spain* and *Italy*.

The coming of the Saracens.

The second state and alteration he prophesieth to come by the *Turk*, which first coming out of the far parts of *Scythia*, that is, out of the North, first overcame the *Saracens*, subdued the *Persians*, and afterward joyning together with the *Saracens*, conquered the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, about the year of our Lord 1187, then subdued *Syria* and most part of *Asia*, &c. And these be they which *Methodius* seemeth to mean of, speaking of the vile and miserable people cloſed up of the Lord God, at the intercession of *Alexander* the great Captain in the North, between two mountains the deepneſs of twelve cubits, left that filthy corrupt Nation should pollute the earth with their wickednes. Whereby are meant these *Turks*, which coming out from the uttermoſt parts of the North, that is, out of *Scythia*, and the Mountains of *Caucasus*, or elſe *Imaus*, were with-holden and kept back of Almighty God for Christs cauſe, that they might not harm his Church a long ſpace, during the time of twelve hundred years; yea, and then the ſins of the Christians ſo deſerving, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the Church; who now joyning together with the *Saracens*, have wrought and daily do work, all theſe grievances againſt our Chriſtian Brethren; as we ſee this day is come to paſs, and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

The coming of the Turks.

Scythia juxta Caucaſum

Victory of the Christians got against the *Saracens*. *Ex Vasco Tyreo.*

The City of *Hierusalem* recovered by the Christians from the *Saracens*. *Hieronymus* ſaith poſſeſſed of the Chriſtians 88 years. *Hieruſalem* won from the Chriſtians by the *Turks*, Ann. 1187.

Moreover, in the mean space, between the reign of the *Saracens* and the *Turks*, where *Methodius* ſpeaketh of the reign of *Romans*, which ſhould reſtore quietneſs to the Church, and ſhould reign in *Hieruſalem* a Sabbath of times, and half a Sabbath; thereby ſeemeth to be underſtood the Voyage of Chriſtian Princes out of the Weſt-parts of *Europe*, under *Gofridus* Duke of *Lotharing*, and his two Brethren, and many other Chriſtian Princes, with 300000 Footmen, and 100000 Horſemen; who fighting againſt the *Saracens*, recovered again from them the City of *Hieruſalem*, in the year of our Lord 1099, which City before had been in their poſſeſſion the term of 490 years. After which Victory got, firſt *Gofridus*, then *Baldwinus* his Brother, and other after them, to the number of nine Chriſtian Kings reigned in *Jeruſalem* the ſpace of eighty eight years, and after that through the diſcord of the Chriſtians not agreeing amongſt themſelves, both *Hieruſalem* and *Syria*, with other parts of *Aſia* beſides, were ſubdued and won of the *Turks*, which to this day they keep ſtill. And this was in the year of our Lord 1187.

The neareſt of the Lords judgment.

About which year and time (as followeth in *Methodius*) when the City of *Hieruſalem* ſhall be won of the *Turks*, then ſhall Antichriſt begin to be born of the Tribe of *Dan*, of whom came *Judas Iſcariot*, and ſhall be born in *Chorazaim*, and bred in *Bethſaida*, and reign in *Capernaum*; meaning that this Antichriſt or ſon of perdition ſhall be full of Gods malediction, noted by *Judas Iſcariot*, and theſe three Cities againſt whom were ſpoken thrice *Vae* of the Lord.

The coming and marks of Antichriſt deſcribed.

And here is moreover to be noted, that *Methodius* ſaith not that Antichriſt ſhall be born among the *Saracens* or *Turks*, but among the people of God, and of the Tribe of *Iſrael*. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichriſt ſhall not come of the *Saracens*, nor *Turks*, but ſhall come up among the Chriſtians, and (ſaith *Methodius*) *ſhall ſeem to come out of the Temple, to deceive many*, &c. Whereby the Pope may ſeem, rather than the *Saracen* or the *Turk*, to be deſcribed, forſomuch as the Pope being elected, nouriſhed and reigning in the midſt of Gods people at *Rome*, ſitteth in the Temple, and very place of Chriſt, and (no doubt) deceiveth many, &c.

The Prophecie of Hildegardis and Brigit of the Turks.

Ex Aventin. Lib. 3. Annalium. A Carvatto England.

Ex Brigitta, Lib. 4. c. 57.

And

{KING Hen. 7.}

The time of Antichriſt.

Petrus Lombardus. Gratianus. Innocent. 3. Tranſubſtantiation. The firſt Perſecution by the Church of *Rome*. *Dominick*. Friar *Francis*. *Ex Antonin. part 3. tit. 19 cap. 8.*

The Orders of Friers begun.

And now to come to the time aſſigned of *Methodius*, here is to be added alſo, that which we read in *Antoninus*, *Par.* 3. that about this ſaid preſent time, a certain Biſhop of *Florence* preached that Antichriſt was then coming. But the Pope commanded him to keep ſilence, and to ſpeak no more thereof. Now why the Pope ſo did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichriſt, I refer it to them which lift to make more upon the matter. This is certain, that about this time here aſſigned by *Methodius*, came *Petrus Lombardus*, *Gratianus*, and Pope *Innocent* the Third, the firſt Authors and Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation. At which time alſo began the firſt Perſecution by the Church of *Rome* againſt the *Albigenſes* or *Waldenſes*, about *Tolous*, *Biturges*, and *Avinion*. Of whom 17000 the ſame time were ſlain, by the Popes Croſſed Soldiers. Among whom Frier *Dominick* was then the chiefeſt doer. About which time alſo was Frier *Francis*, of which two came the two Orders of Begging Friers: all which began much about one time together, *Ann.* 1215, which were near within twenty years after the Kingdom of the Chriſtians was taken of the *Turks*, according to the Prophecie aboveſaid.

The Pope exalting himſelf above Kings and Emperors.

It followeth moreover in *Methodius*, *That in his time all Lordſhip and Domination ſhall ceaſe and give over, &c.* The verity whereof we ſee now accompliſhed in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double Sword and Triple Crown doth come, there all Secular power muſt give place, both Emperors, Kings and Princes muſt ſtoop.

Notes of Antichriſt.

So King *John* yielded up his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate, and was in his hands five days, *An.* 1217.

Childerick the *French* King had his Crown taken from him, and given to *Pepin*, Ann. 747.

Henry the Fourth Emperor, was forced to ſubmit himſelf and his Scepter to Pope *Hildebrand*, Ann. 1077.

Fredericus Barbaroſſa Emperor, in St. *Marks* Church in *Venice*, was faln to lay down his neck under Pope *Alexanders* feet, *Ann.* 1277. Which *Frederick* alſo before was faln to hold the Stirrop to Pope *Adrian*, &c.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, named *Franciſcus Dandulus*? who being ſent to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, was made to lye under the Popes Table like a Dog, and gather up the Crumbs, mentioned in *Sabell. Ænn. 9. Lib. 7.*

Henry the Third being Emperor, had his Diadem firſt ſet on with the feet of the Pope, and afterward ſtroken off from his head with the Popes foot again.

And what ſhall I ſpeak more hereof? when as *Carolus Magnus* ſubmitted himſelf ſo low to kiſs the feet of Pope *Leo*, Ann. 800.

It followeth then in the Prophecy of *Methodius*, *That in the tribulation of thoſe days ſhall be ſent from God two ſpecial Prophets*, Enoch *and* Hely, *to reprove and diſcloſe the fraudulent falſhood of Antichriſt, and that many ſeeing his deluſion, ſhall forſake him, and follow them: Whereat Antichriſt being grieved, ſhall kill them*, &c.

Enoch and Hely.

John Huſs and Hierome of Prague. *Vid. in prima Tom. operum Joan. Huſ.*

Ex Antonino Hieronym. of Prague & Teuphet and Martyr.

We never read yet in any ſtory of any ſuch two Prophets to be ſent either to the *Saracens*, or to the *Turks*: whereas againſt the Pope we read *John Huſs*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, two learned Martyrs and Prophets of God to have been ſent, and to have reproved and deſcribed the Anatomy of Antichriſt, and at laſt to have been burned for their labour. And what Prophet can ſpeak more plainly, either *Enoch* or *Hely*, than did *Hieronme* of *Prague*, prophecying of the coming of *Martin Luther*, an hundred years after him? when the Pope and his fellows ſhould anſwer to God and to him. The time we ſee came juſt. Now let the Pope ſee with his fellows, what anſwer they can make.

The true Plate of *Hus* and *Jerome*, among the *Bohemians*.



The Prophecies of Brigit againſt Rome

It followeth further in *Methodius*, concluding his Prophetie, *And then* (ſaith he) *ſhall appear the coming of the ſon of man in the clouds of Heaven, with celeſtial glory*, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of theſe two notable Prophets, with many other thouſands burned alſo ſince their time by the Biſhop of *Rome*, it is to be thought that the coming of Chriſts judgment in the clouds, is not far off. *Veni cito Domine, Amen.*

And thus much touching *Methodius*, of whoſe Prophefies, how much or how little is to be eſteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the Reader. For me it ſhall ſuffice ſimply to have recited his words, as I find them in his Book contained; noting this by the way, that of this Book of *Methodius*, *De noviſſimis temporibus*, neither *Hieronme* in his Catalogue, nor *Suidas*, nor yet *Aventinus* in the place where he intreateth purpoſely of ſuch Prophelies, maketh any mention. As touching *Hildegardis* and *Brigit*, and other whom the *French* call *Bardi*, for their Songs and Prophetical Reliks, ſufficient hath been alledged before out of *Aventinus*: who in his third Book of *Chronicles*, writing of the teſtimonies of *Hildegard*, *Brigit* and *Bardi*, ſeemeth to ground upon them, *That the Turks, whether we will or not, ſhall have their Imperial ſeat at Colen*; and I pray God that it come not to paſs, that the *Turk* do give ſome attempt againſt *England* by the Seas, before that he come to *Colen* by land.

The Prophecies of Sibylla and Hildegardis.

Ex Erythræa Sibylla in Nazilegrabo Lincolnienſi ſcriptuli ſcripta.

Prophecies of Sibylla of Chriſt.

Brevity cauſeth me to cut off many teſtimonies and revelations of theſe above ſaid, or elſe I could here rehearſe the Prophetical words of *Brigit*, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 57. concerning the City and Church of *Rome*, which as the ſaith, *muſt be purged and ſcoured with three things, to wit, with ſharp ſword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that City, as one that removeth plants out of one place unto another: and finally that the City of* Rome *ſhall ſuſtain the ſentence, as if a Judg ſhould command the skin to be ſlain off, the blood to be drawn from the fleſh to be cut in ſmall pieces, and the bones thereof to be broken, ſo that all the marrow may be quiſed from the ſame*, &c. But for brevity I let *Brigit* paſs, and will declare ſomething out of *Erythrea Sibylla*, in her Book of Prophecies ſtanding in St. *Georges* Church in *Venice*; where the prophecying many thing of the Birth of Chriſt under *Auguſtus*, and of the Birth of *John Baptiſt*, and of Baptiſm, of the Apoſtles, of the Converſion of the Gentiles, and of *Conſtantinus*, &c. hath theſe words, *After that the peaceable Bull ſhall conclude all the climes of the world under tributs, in thoſe days a heavenly Lamb ſhall come: and the days ſhall come, when the power of the flowing ſtream ſhall be magnified in water, and the Lion the Monarch ſhall be converted to the Lamb, which ſhall ſhine to all men, & ſubvert Kingdoms.*

Prophecies of Sibylla of Chriſt.

Moreover ſaith *Sibylla*, *In the later age God ſhall be humbled, and the Divine off-ſpring ſhall be abuſed, and Deity ſhall be joyned with Humanity, the Lamb ſhall lye in Hay, and God and man ſhall be bred up under a Maidens attendance, ſigns and wonders ſhall go before amongſt the circumciſed*, &c. Alſo, *An aged woman ſhall conceive a child, having*

having knowledg of things to come. The world shall marvel at Bootes (the Star) which shall be a leader to his birth. He having thirty two feet, and six thumbs, shall chuse himself out of fishers and abjects, the number of Twelve, and one Devil, not with sword nor with battel, &c. afterward this followeth moreover in *Sibylla*, saying, * *The bealth of the Lamb lying shall be clothed with a few spoils of the Lion. Black shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the City of Æneas, and Kings, but in the Book of the Fishes: In dejection and poverty he shall conquer riches, and shall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he shall rise up, and be changed, he shall live and reign, and all these things shall be consummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made: at last he shall judge both good and evil, &c.* And thus much briefly collected out of *Sibylla Erythrea*, concerning Christ our Lord.

* The Lamb lying, that is, the Church, without travel shall be maintained with some livelihood or goodness of the chief rulers.

Furthermore touching the state and course of the Church, and of Antichrist, it followeth in the said *Sibylla*, saying, *Then shall four winged Beasts rise up in testimony, they shall sound out with Trumpets the name of the Lamb, sowing righteousness, and the Law irreprehensible. Against which Law the Beast shall gain-stand, and the abomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marvellous Star shall rise, having the Image of the four Beasts, and shall be in a marvellous multitude; he shall bring light to the Greeks, and shall illustrate the world. The Lake of the silver shall bring the name of the Lamb with power into the City of Æneas, unto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the City of Æneas the Star joyned shall loose such as were bound of the Devil, and thereof he shall rejoyce and glory, and glorious shall be his end, &c.*

By these 4 Beasts is meant the 4 Monarchies of the World, that is, the multitude of all the Kingdom of the Gentiles, as in the Apocal. By the City of Æneas is meant Rome.

After this *Sibylla* writing (as it seemeth) of Antichrist, importeth these words, *And it shall come to pass, that an horrible Beast shall come out of the East, whose roaring shall be heard to Africk, to the people of Carthage, which hath seven heads, and scepters innumerable, feet 663. He shall gainstand the Lamb, to blaspheme his Testament, encreasing the waters of the Dragon. The Kings and Princes of the world he shall burn in intolerable sweat, and they shall not diminish his feet. And then two stars like to the first star shall arise against the beast, and shall not prevail, till the abomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummate.* And again speaking of the same matter he inferreth these words of the foresaid two stars above mentioned. *And toward the later days two bright stars shall arise, raising up men lying dead in their sins, being like to the first star, having the face of the four Beasts, which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the Dragon, testifying (or preaching) the name and law of the Lamb, the destruction of abomination and judgment, and shall diminish his waters, but they shall be weakned in the bread of afflictions, and they shall rise again in stronger force, &c.*

The Prophecy of Sibylla of Antichrist. The 663 feet do mean the years of his reign.

These two stars seem to mean Enoch and Elias, who shall resist the beast, and be put to death by the Power of their Doctrine and again more strongly than before.

And shortly after, the said *Sibylla* speaking of the later judgment to come, declared how all the abominations of sins shall come before the Lamb; and that terrible fire shall fall from Heaven, which shall consume all earthly things created unto the top of Heaven, *&c.*

Ex libro cui titulus, vitus Ecclesiæ.

And thus much out of *Sibylla*, touching her Prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alledged of a certain Catholick *Remish* Writer, in his Book intituled *Onus Ecclesiæ*, excerpted, as he saith, out of the Library of St. *George* in the City of *Venice*.

Philip Melanthon in his Preface upon *Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus*, writing of the origine and manners of the *Turks*, alledged a certain Prophecy of *Hiltenus*, mentioned hereafter, which foretold that the *Turks* should bear rule in *Italy* and in *Germany*, *Anno* 1600.

{KING Hts.7.}

Now it remaineth, in conclusion of these Prophecies of the *Turks*, something to say of the *Turks* own Prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own Kingdom, whose prophetical Prognostication, being taken out of their own Language, and their own Books, I thought here to insert, as I find it alledged in the Book of the foresaid *Bartholomæus Georgienitz*, as followeth:

A *Turkish* Prophecy in the *Persian* tongue, of the Reign and Ruine of the *Turk*.

Padisshahmoz. ghelur, Ciaforum memleketi alur, kenzul almai alur, Kapzeiler; iediy ladegh Gyaur kelechi eskmasse, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: enfi iapar, baghi diker babesai bagblar, oplikezi olur, outchi yldensora Hristianon Kelecei eschar, ol Turchi getestine tus oburc.

The same in *Latine*.

Imperator noster veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum usque annum Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, usque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & post duodecimum annum, apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaqua versum in fugam aget.

By the Prince of the Gentiles, the Turk, do here mean the Kingdoms and Dominions of the Christians, whom they call Gentiles, because they are not circumcised after their manner.

The same in English.

OUR Emperor shall come; he shall get the Kingdom of the *Gentiles* Prince; also he shall take the red Apple, and shall bring it under his subjection; and if the sword of the Christians shall not rise unto the seventh year, he shall have dominion over them unto the twelfth year. He shall build Houses, plant Vineyards, shall hedge about his Orchards, shall procreate Children; and after the 12th year shall appear the sword of the Christians, which shall put the *Turk* to flight every where.

They which make declaration of this *Turkish* Prophecy, do expound this 12th year to signifie the 12th year after the winning of *Constantinople*; which *Constantinople*, say they, is meant by the red Apple; and after that twelve year, say they, shall rise the sword of the Christians, &c. And this Prophecy being written and translated out of the *Persian* Tongue, with this Exposition upon the same, it is to be found in the Book of *Bartholomæus Georgienitz*. Albeit, concerning the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true which is there spoken of the 12th year after the winning of *Constantinople*, being now 100 years since the winning thereof.

The Exposition of the Turky Prophecy, by Bartbol. Georgienitz.

Wherefore it may rather seem probable, that by the 7th and 12th year of the *Turks*, this to be the meaning, that if the 7th of the *Ottoman Turks* do escape the sword of the Christians, they shall continue, build and plant, *&c.* until the 12th *Turk*, which is this *Solymannus*, and then after that shall rise the Christians sword, which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all Quarters. And this Exposition may seem to accord with the place of *Genesis*; wherein is written of *Ismael*, that he had twelve Sons, and no more: So that this *Solymannus* being the 12th *Turk* after *Ottomannus*, may (by the grace of Christ) be the last; whom we heard credibly to be reported, at the Printing hereof, to be dead. But howsoever this Prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their own Oracles, that at length they shall be overcome by the Christians.

Another Exposition. Gen. 25.

{KING Hts.7.}

A Table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks *and* Tartarians, *for the better explaining of the Story above prefixed.*

The Saracens begin their reign.

Anno 632, began the Kingdom of the *Saracens* or *Arabians*, after the death of *Mahumet* the first King-leader of the mischief, which *Saracens* reigning in *Babylon* over *Persia* and *Asia*, continued about } 198 Years.

Anno 667, *Jerusalem* was taken of the *Saracens*. These *Saracens* after they had subdued *Ormisda* King of *Persia*, set up to themselves a new Kingdom, calling their chief Prince *Califba*, which signifieth a General Lord; and under him *Seriphes*, that is an under Prince; and again under him their *Soldan*; which is a ruler of Captains; under the which *Soldans* all the Provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space above said of } 198 years.

The Egyptian Saracens, or Sultans.

Ann. 703. The *Egyptians* being weary of their subjection under the *Romans*, called for help of the *Saracen Califba*; and so calling off the *Romans*, submitted themselves to the Law of the *Saracens*, and had also their *Califba*, and their *Babylon* called *Cairus*, where their *Califba* continued unto *Saraco* or *Syracinus* } 447 years.

The Saracens Kingdom ceaseth

Ann. 810, *Mauginetus*, or *Muchumetus* the chief Sultan of *Persia*, being at variance with *Imbraell* the Sultan of *Babylon*, sent for the aid of the *Turks* out of *Scythia*: by whom when he had got the victory against the *Babylonians*, the said *Turks* shortly after conquered the *Persians*, and subdued their Country within the space of } 320 years.

Ann. 830, The *Saracens* being expulsed out of *Asia* by the *Turks*, wandred about *Africk*, *Spain* and *Italy*, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.

The Turky Kingdom beginneth.

Ann. 850, The *Turks* after they had expulsed the *Saracens* out of *Asia*, began to reign in *Asia*, in *Persia*, and in *Arabia*, and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the *Tartarians*, the space of } 192 years.

Ann. 1009, The *Turks* wan the City of *Hierusalem* from the *Saracens*, which City the Sultan of *Egypt* wan again from the *Turks* shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of *Gotfridus*.

Ann. 1051, Began the first King of the *Turks*, called *Zaduke*, to reign in *Asia*, and joyned League with *Califba* of *Egypt*, and there reigned till the conquest of *Gotfridus* and the Christians the space of } 46 years.

Ann. 1078, *Solymannus* Nephew to *Affusalem* the *Turkish* King in *Asia*, otherwise called *Turquinia*, subdued *Cappadocia*, which had continued now the space of } 500 years.

Ann. 1099, *Gotfridus Bulion*, Duke of *Lotharing* a Christian Prince, taking his Voyage into *Asia* with 700000 Christian Soldiers, first got the City of *Nicea* against the Sultan of the *Turks*; then *Lycaonia*, *Silicia*, *Syria*; afterward *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagena*: then *Antiochia*. Ann. 1098. and the next year recovered *Jerusalem*, being then in the hands of the *Saracens*, which they a little before had won from the *Turks*, as is aforesaid. After this *Gotfridus* succeeded eight Christian Kings, which kept the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* and *Asia*, both from the *Turks* and *Saracens*, the space of } 88 years.

Ann. 1100. The *Georgians*, which be a people of *Armenia* the greater, vanquished the *Turks* out of the Kingdom of *Persia*, after they had cut their King in pieces. Whereby the *Turks* flying to *Cappadocia*, there remained under *Solomon*, and joyned themselves to the Soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in *Asia minor*, called now *Turquinia*.

Anno 1170, When *Almericus* the Seventh King of *Hierusalem* after *Gotfridus* had overcome the *Califba*, or Sultan of *Egypt*, the Sultan being overcome, called for the help of *Saracen* the Sultan of *Syria*. This *Saracen* after he had expulsed the Christians out of *Egypt*, turned his power against the Sultan of *Egypt*, and vanquished him, took to himself the Kingdom of *Egypt*: which Kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the *Tartarians*, and the *Mamaluches* about the space of } 88 years.

Anno 1187, *Saladinus* the Nephew of *Saracen* the Sultan of *Egypt*, perceiving the distention among the Christian States of *Palestina*, got *Antioch*, where he slew *Raymundus* the Prince with his own hands: Then got *Tiberias*: From thence he went to *Accon*, where he took *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, and Master of the *Templars*, prisoners; for whose ransom the *Turk* had *Ascalon* yielded up to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued *Jerusalem*, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of } 88 years.

Anno 1189, *Frederick* the Emperor, *Philip* the *French* King, *Richard* King of England made their Voyage into *Asia*, where *Frederick*, washing in a River at *Cilicia*, died. In this voyage at the siege of *Accon*, *Saladinus* wan the field of men, of whom 60000 were slain in the chase. *Accon* at length was got of the Christians. King *Richard* got *Cyprus*. The two Kings fell at strife. *Philip* retired home without any good doing. King *Richard* laid siege to *Jerusalem*, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to *Vienna* in *Austria*, after he had taken truce before with the Soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the Popes sending out against the *Turks*.

Ann. 1215, There was another Council holden at *Rome* by Pope *Innocent* the third, where was Enacted a new Article of our Faith for Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine to be turned into the Body and Blood of our Saviour. In this Council also great excitation was made by the Pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lords, Knights, Bishops and Prelates, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all *Asia* and *India*.

Transubstantiation.

An. 1219, The Christians after eighteen months siege, got a certain Town in *Egypt*, called *Damiata*, or *Elipolis*, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian Army of the Popes sending went about to besiege the City *Cairus*, or *Babylon*, the Sultan through his Libral train so intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of *Nilus*, that they were constrained to render again the City of *Damiata*, with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Soldans hand, and glad so with their lives to pass

pass forward to *Tyre*. Anno 1221.

In the mean time the *Egyptian Turk* caused the City of *Jerusalem* to be rased, that it should serve to no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voyage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albeit *Fredericus* the Second Emperor was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and perfecution of the Bishop of *Rome* against him; whereby he was inforced to take truce with the Sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last City of all belonging to the Christians, which was *Ptolomais*, or *Akers*, was also taken from them by the Sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all *Asia*.

Vid. supra.

An. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of *Asia* by the *Sultans* and *Turks*, yet the faid *Turks* and *Sultans* did not long enjoy their victory. For ettsoons the Lord stirred up against them the *Tartarians*, who breaking into *Asia* by the Ports of *Caspius* subdued divers parts of *Asia*, namely about *Comana*, *Colchos*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, &c. These *Tartarians* as they had got many Captives in their wars; so for gain they used to ship them over customably to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to be sold; which servants and captives *Melechsala* the great Sultan was glad to buy to serve him in his wars. Which captives and servants after they had continued a certain space in *Egypt*, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said *Melechsala*, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they flew him, and took to themselves the name and Kingdom of the Sultan. And thus ceased the stock of *Saracen* and *Saladinus* aforementioned, which continued in *Egypt*, about the space, as is said, of

Tartarians. *Terra Caspia.*

Saladinus stock in Egypt ceaseth.

An. 1240. After the death of *Melechsala*, the Army of these foresaid Rascals and captives set up to themselves a King of their own company, whom they called *Turquemenins*. Who to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy Christian mens children, taken young from their parents, and the mothers lap; whom they used so to bring up, to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in *Mahumets* Law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called *Mamalucchi*. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be King but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made Knights or Horsemen, but only the Children of Christians which should deny Christ before, called *Mamalucchi*. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither *Saracens* nor *Jews* should be admitted. *Item*, that the succession thereof should not descend to the children and off-spring of these *Mamalucchi*. Also that the succession of the Crown should not descend to the children of the foresaid Sultan, but should go by voice and election. The *Tartarians* with *Turquemenins* their King, about this time obtained *Turquia*, that is, *Asia minor*, from the *Turks*, and within two years after, prevailing against the *Turks*, expelled them from their Kingdom, and so continued these *Mamalucchi* reigning over *Egypt*, and a great part of *Asia*, till the time of *Tomumbeius* their last King, which was destroyed and hanged at the Gates of *Memphis*, by *Zelymus* the *Turk*, Father to this *Selymnnus*, as in his History is declared. These *Mamalucchi* continued the space of

Mamalucchi in Egypt.

Vid. supra.

260 years.

Ann. 1245. These *Tartarians* ranging through the Countries of the *Georgians*, and all *Armenia*, came as far as *Iconium*, which was then the Imperial City of the *Turks*.

{KING Hen. 7.}

Ann. 1289. The Soldan of *Egypt* and *Babylon* got from the Christians *Tripola*, *Tyrus*, *Sidon*, and *Berithus* in *Syria*.

Ann. 1291. Lastly, *Ptolomais*, which also is called *Akers*, was supprised by the said Soldan, raced and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain. And this was the last City which the Christians had in *Asia*. So that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all *Asia*. Thus the *Egyptian* Soldans and the *Tartarians* reigned and ranged over the most part of *Asia* above the *Turks*, till the reign of *Ottomannus* the Great *Turk*, about the space of

80 years.

¶ And thus have ye the whole discourse of the *Turkish* story, with their Names, Countries, Towns, Dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished: Which otherwise in most Authors and Writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, the *Sultans* or *Soldans*, *Mamalucches*, or *Janizaritis*; what is their *Calipha*, their *Seriphes*, their *Sultan*, or *Bassas*; in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which in this present Table manifestly to thine eye may appear.

100 years.

¶ Wherein this thou hast moreover (gentle Reader) to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the Bishop of *Rome* all this season, from the first beginning of the *Turks* reign, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling upon Christian Princes and subjects to take the Cross, and to war against the *Turks*; whereupon so many great voyages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many Battels fought against the *Turk* and *Soldan* for winning the holy Cross: and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that Bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord: insomuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in *Asia*, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in *Europe* against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the Bishops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and as the Gospel saith, He that hath eyes to see, let him see. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the Bishop of *Rome*, to stir men up to that business; so on the Princes behalf there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expences, no supportation of charges, no furniture or ablement of war; only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easie to be reformed, as it may be quickly confuted. For what man beholding the life of us Christians, will greatly marvel why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the *Turks*? And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this aforesaid: which to make plain and evident, in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere Doctrine of Christian Faith, delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of *Rome*; or if the Bishop of *Rome* would yet reclaim his impure Idolatry and prophanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God stedfast alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of Gods grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this Faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition; and also soon would, or yet will bring down the pride of that proud *Holofernes*. But otherwise, if the Bishop of *Rome* will not gently give place to the mild voice of Gods word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the *Turk* whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the *Turk* and the Pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods Testament shall flourishe and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckily forward in most places.

A

Why the Pope cannot prevail against the Turks.

God offended with Idolatry & wrong faith of Christ.

{KING Hen. 7.}

A Prayer against the Turks.

A Prayer against the Turks.

O Eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, just, gracious, and wise only, in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate our selves, desiring thine Omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor Creatures and Servants; relieve thy Church, increase our Faith, and confound our enemies: and as th'u hast grown thine only begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name; so incline the obedience of our Faith to thy promise in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and prophane inventions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant (we beseech thee) to thy Church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of Salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed: Reform thy Church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we seeing our own weakness, may put off our selves, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy Church again the decayed Faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of Christian life. And forgive our wretched Idolatry and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked manifold ways thy delivered indignation against us. For our Hearts have been full of Idols, our Temples full of Images, our ways full of Hypocrisie: thy Sacraments prophaned, and thy religion turned to superstition because the Lanthorn of thy Word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like Sons not of Sarah, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens have risen up against us. Many hard and straight ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that sweeteth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in Barks of our own building, but have not kept within the Ark only of thy promise, and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed Temple, and therefore we have not been heard. We have pleased and filled, but without thy favor, and therefore this unlucky ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the Boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the ground-work is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise, the East wind visiteth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, having a shew of wisdom, but not a holding the head, where lyeth all our strength, and therefore these Philistin Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joynt again. And finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to his perfect and natural head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other. For him only hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone: Forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy welbeloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fullness; him only we confess and knowledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee (O Lord God of hosts) grant to thy Church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rable of Antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their Kingdom, that the Kingdom of thy Son so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy Salvation, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

Psal. 119. Gal. 4. Wisd. 5. Isai. 55. Gen. 6. Jud. 14. Jer. 12. Luke 6. Colos. 2.

{Ann. 1500} IN this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the *Saracens* and *Turks* against the Christians, thou hast to understand (good Reader) and behold the image of a terrible Antichrist evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, Prophesied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the *Turk* with the Pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and judge, that the *Turk* is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, which do only write the History, and the Acts of them both. Wherefore after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to reenter again there where we left, in describing the domestical troubles and persecutions here at home under the Bishop of *Rome*; after the burning of *Bathram* in Norfolk above declared. I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the *Tower*, intituled *Polichron*, (although I find not his name in the said Chronicle expressed) which suffered the pains of burning in *Smithfield*, about the same time, which was the year of our Lord, 1500. *Ex Polychron*

A question whether is the greater Antichrist the Turk or the Pope.

Robert and an old man Martyrs. *Vide supra. Ex scripto Tolchronic.*

This aged Father I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old Papers and Records of *William Cary* Citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ) wherein is thus testified, That on the 20th day of *July*, *Anno* 1500, upon the day of Saint *Margaret*, there was an old man burned in *Smithfield* for an Heretick, and the same person upon the 10th day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the *Lollards* Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a Cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foresaid Papers of ancient records aforementioned, furthermore declared, how in the year above prenoted, which was *An.* 1499. In the time of one *Percival*, many were taken for Heretics in *Kent*, and at *Paul's* Cross they bear Fagots and were abjured, and shortly after the same year there went thirteen *Lollards* afore the Procession in *Paul's*, and there were of them eight women and a young Lad, and the Lads Mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bear Fagots on their necks afore the Procession.

Divers Heretics men bearing Fagots.

William Tylsworth *Martyr.*

FOrsomuch as the world is come now to such a morality and peevish infertibility in these contentions and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be to circumspectly written and buried, but that we live in danger of one Sycophant or another, which never will credit there, where they lift not to like: neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their fiction, or not to serve the humor wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who by evidence of truth and witness will be satisfied, that in the Town of *Amersham* be yet alive both men and women, which can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named *William Page*, an aged Father and yet alive, witness to the same. Also another named *Agnes Wellerly* Widow, being about the age of an hundred years, yet living and witness hereof: these in the days of King *Henry* the seventh, *Anno* 1505, in the Diocess of

William Tylsworth Martyr.

Lincoln in *Buckinghamshire* (*William Smith* being Bishop of the same Diocese) one *William Tylsworth* was burned in *Amersham*, in a Close called *Stanley*, about sixty years ago. At which time one *Joan Clerk*, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said *William Tylsworth* and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear Father: and at the same time her husband *John Clerk* did penance at her Fathers burning, and bear a Faggot, as did also.

The daughter compelled to set fire to her Father.

Robert Bartlet.
Richard Bartlet.
John Bartlet.
Thomas Harding, and his Wife.
Henry Harding.
Richard Harding.
Robert Harding.
John Millent, and his Wife.
William White.
John Mumbe, and his Wife.
Richard Bennet.
Roger Bennet.
John Fip.
William Grinder.
Thomas Homes.
Tomand Dermon.
William Scrivener.
John Scrivener.
Thomas Chase.
John Cracher.

All these bear Faggots, and ... ard were compelled to wear certain ... l went abroad to certain Towns to do ... nance, as to *Buckingham*, *Aleshury*, and other Towns more. And also divers of these men were afterward burned in the Cheek, as *William Page*, which at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a Faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the foresaid *Agnes Wotherly* testifieth, that at the burning of this *William Tylsworth*, were 60 and above, that were put to bear Faggots for their Penance, of whom divers were injoyned to bear and wear Faggots at *Lincoln* the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another, *&c.* In which number was also one *Robert Bartlet* a rich man, who for his professions sake was put out of his Farm and Goods, and was condemned to be kept in the Monastry of *Ashryge*, where he wear on his right sleeve a square piece of Cloath, the space of seven years together.

{KING Hen.7.} *Amersham* men bearing Faggots.

It followeth moreover in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of *William Tylsworth* (as the *Amersham* men do say) or the next day after) as recordeth the foresaid *Agnes*) was one Father *Roberts* burned at *Buckingham*. He was a Miller, and dwelled at *Missenden*: And at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear Faggots, and to do such Penance as the wicked *Pharisees* did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, was burned at *Amersham*, *Thomas Bernard* a Husband man, and *James Mordon*, a laborer

Father Roberts Martyr.

The Burning of James Mordon & Thomas Bernard.



they two were burned both at one Fire, and there was *William Littlepage* (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right Cheek, and Father *Rogers*, and Father *Rever*, *alias Reive*, which after was burned. This Father *Rogers* was in the Bishops Prison 14 weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger and irons: that after his coming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as can testifie divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right Cheek, and bear Faggots the same time. The cause was that they would talk against Superstition and Idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the Cheek was this: their necks were tyed fast to a post or stay with Towels, and their hands holden fast that they might not stir, and so the Iron being hot, was put to their Cheeks, and thus bear they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

Father Reive Martyr.

Men of *Amersham* burn in the Cheek for Gods word

The cruel handling of Thomas Chase *of* Amersham, *wickedly strangled and martyred in the Bishops Prison at* Wooburn, *under* William Smith *Bishop of* Lincoln.

AMong these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospel and Word of Christ, one *Thomas Chase* of *Amersham*, was one of them that

{KING Hen.7.} that was thus cruelly handled: Which *Thomas Chase* by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly sober and honest behaviour, whose vertuous doings do yet remain in memory, and could not abide Idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the blind Bishop, being at that time at *Wooburn* in the County of *Buckingham*, and as it is written *Acts* 12. that wicked *Herod* did vex certain of the congregation, and killed *James* the Brother of *John* with the Sword; and because he saw that it pleased the *Jews*, &c. he proceeded farther, and had this same *Thomas Chase* before him, asking him, many questions touching the *Romish Religion*, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes, but what answer this godly man *Thomas Chase* made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christs true Religion and Gospel, and to the extirpation of Idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisie, for that the said *Thomas Chase* was commanded to be put in the Bishops Prison, called *little ease*, in the Bishops house at *Wooburn*, which Prison had not been ministred unto him, had not his answers been found and upright. There *Thomas Chase* lay bound most painfully with Chains, Gyves, Manicles and Irons, oftentimes fore pined with hunger, where the Bishops Alms was daily brought unto him by his Chaplains: Which Alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, flouting and mockings. All which cruelty the godly Martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembring and having respect to Christs promises. *Matth.* 5. *Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnes sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*: and as followeth, *Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you*, &c. When the Bishop with his band of Shavelings, perceived that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christs true Religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministred unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death. left there should be a tumult or an uproare among the people. And as *Richard Hun* shortly after was hanged or strangled in *Lollards Tower*, about the year of our Lord, 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and prest to death this said *Thomas Chase* in Prison, which most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in Prison.

The Chase brought before the Bishop.

The Chase condemned to the Bishops Prison at Wooburn called little Ease.

A worthy Alms of a Bishop. The perfect patience and constancy of The Chase.

The Chase cruelly Murthered in the Bishops Prison.

After that these stinging Vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murthered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murther withall: at last to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody Butchers most slanderously caused it by their Ministers to be buried abroad, that the foresaid *Thomas Chase* had hanged himself in Prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the Prison was such, that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manicles and Irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, insomuch that they confessed that his blood-balke was broken by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy Catholicks had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly Martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the Wood called *Norlandwood*, in the High-way betwixt *Wooburn* and little *Marlow*, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: And thus commonly are innocent men laid up by these Clerkly Clergy men. But be that is effectually true of himself hath promised at one time or at another, to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true Word. No secret, saith he, is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be known clearly. Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy Name therefore for ever and ever. *Amen.*

The Chase falsly slandered to hang himself.

God bringeth to light the secret murthers of the Papists. *Matth.* 10. *Luk.* 12.

Thomas Harding being one of this company, thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the Town of *Aversham*, for the truth of the Gospel, after his Abjuration and Penance done, was again fought for, and brought to the Fire in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth and under D. *Longland* then Bishop of *Lincoln*, succeeding after Cardinal *Wolsey*. Of whose death and Martyrdom we shall likwise record (Christ willing and granting) in order when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

After the Martyrdom of these two, I read also of one *Thomas Noris*, who likewise for the same cause, that is for the Profession of Christs Gospel, was condemned by the Bishop, and burnt at *Norwich*, the last day of *March*, *Anno* 1507.

Th. Noris Martyr. {Anno 1507}

In the next year following, which was *An.* 1508, in the consistory of *London*, was convented *Elizabeth Sampson*, of the Parish of *Aldermanbury*, upon certain Articles, and specially for speaking against Pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at *Wilsdon*, at *Stanings*, at *Crome*, at *Walsingham*, and the Image of Saint *Savior* of *Barmondsey*, and against the Sacrament of the Altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words; that our Lady of *Wilsdon* was but a burnt arse elf, and a burnt arse flock; and if she might have holpen men and women which go to her on Pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our Lady of *Wilsdon*, or our Lady of *Crome*; for the one is but a burnt arse flock, and the other is but a Poppet: and better it were for the people to give their Alms at home to poor people, than to go on Pilgrimages. Also she called the Image of S. *Saviour*, Sim Saviour with kit lips, and that she said she could make as good bread, as that which the Priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in Heaven and in Earth at one time. For these and certain other Articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master *William Horsey*, Chancellor, the day and year above written. *Ex Regist. Lond.*

Elizabeth Sampson. {Anno 1508}

¶ *Laurence Gheast.*

LAmentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which have been slain by the rigour of the Popes Clergy, for the true maintaining of Christs cause, and of his Sacraments. Whose memory being registred in the book of Life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and Martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christs quarrel.

Laurence Gheast Martyr.

In the Catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of *Laurence Gheast*, who was burned in *Salisbury* for the matter of the Sacrament, in the days of King *Henry* the Seventh: He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which the Bishop and the Clese were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in Prison the space of two years. This *Laurence* had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they thinking to expugne and perswade his mind, by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his Children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his forefaid seven Children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him Religion overcoming nature, made him constancy to remain unmoveable, in such sort, as when his wife exhort and desired him to favour himself, he again began to desire her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his Salvation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself to follow Christ. As he was in burning one of the Bishops men threw a firebrand at his face. Whereat the Brother of *Laurence* standing by, ran at him with his Dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise staid.

Laurence Gheast two years in Prison at Salisbury.

Laurence would not be turned by his Wife nor Children.

Laurence died a Martyr.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one *William Russel*, an aged man dwelling of late in *Coleman-street*, who was there present the same time at the burning of *Laurence*, and was also himself buried in the Cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose Daughter is yet living: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one *Richard Web*, ser-

Witness to the story.

vant sometime to M. *Latymer*, who sojourning in the house of the said *William Russel*, heard him many times declare the same.

A notable story of a faithful woman burned in *Cheaping-Sadbury.*

A Faithfull Woman burned.

But amongst all the examples of God, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth. I cannot tell if ever were any Martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of Gods mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly Woman put to death in *Cheaping-Sadbury*, about the same time, under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh.

The constancy of which blessed Woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the Bishops Chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all Papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may, *Amen.* The name of the Town where she was Martyred, was, as is said, *Cheaping-Sadbury.* The name of the Woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called Doctor *Whittington.* The time of her burning was in the Reign and time of King *Henry* the Seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present History brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the forefaid Kings Reign: so that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and providence, that this forefaid example should not lye hid and unremembred, but come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

D. Whittington Chancellor a persecutor.

A faithful Christian woman and Martyr, burned at *Cheaping-Sadbury.*

After this godly woman, and manly Martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched Chancellor above named, Doctor *Whittington*, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the Papists then called Heresie, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her Martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the Town and Country about (as the manner is in such times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the foresaid Doctor *Whittington* the Chancellor, there present to see the Execution done. Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the Fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her Conscience clear and unreprovable in the day of the Lord. The Sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed Martyr. It hapned in the mean time, that as the Catholick Executioners were busie in flaying this silly Lamb at the Towns side, a certain Butcher was as busie within the Town slaying of a Bull; which Bull he had fast bound in Ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the Butcher (belike not so skilful in his Art of killing Beasts, as the Papists be in murdering Christians) as he was lifting his Axe to strike the Bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smit, I know not: this was certain that the Bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the Ropes, and brake loose from the Butcher into the Street, the very same time as the people were coming in great presse from the burning. Who seeing the Bull coming towards them, and suppoling him to be wild (as it was no other like) gave way for the Beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the Bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the Chancellor was. Against whom the Bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his Horns, and taking him upon the pansch, gored him thorow and thorow, and so killed him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his Horns all the Street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

A contention between Butchery and the Popes anathering ministers.

A rare and special example of the just punishment of God upon a persecutor *D. Whittington* slain of a Bull.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to Gods only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of Gods mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched Chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty?

Now for the credit of this story left I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justifie, therefore to stop such cavelling mouths, I will discharge my self with authority I trust sufficient, that is, with the witness of him which both was a Papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the Woman, whose name was *Rowland Webb*: which *Rowland*, dwelling then in *Cheaping-Sadbury*, had a son named *Richard Webb*, servant sometime to Master *Latimer*, who also induring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Unto the which *Richard Webb*, being now aged, then young, the foresaid *Rowland* his Father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of Heresie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the story of the Bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testifie. This *Richard Webb* is yet living, a witness of his own Fathers words and testimony, which I trust may satisfie all indifferent Readers, except only such as think no truth to be believed, but that only which is in their Portues.

Witness to the story.

Verses touching the same Thomas Hatcherus.

Ira legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, ut pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia nota est,
Ut delinquentæ ira severa premat.
Sæpe sit ut fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpe sit ut pœnis obruat ira novis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextræ subjecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbitrio bruta, hominesque suo.
Carnificis taurus lætando cornuger illus
Excitans, fractis fœne repente fugit.
Forte viam qua turba frequens confluxerat ante,
Fœminea ut cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ait, fertur qua confertissima turba;
Læsus at extanta solus & unus erat.
Solus & unus erat, rapidos qui missit in ignes,
Et miseræ parvum sparsit ovile Dei.
Et quasi consulto fertur, præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit, prosterit hunc pedibus,
Ille jacet, madido fœdatur sanguine corpus.
Ersuta perque vias viscera sparsa jacent,
Quis non a Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri, non repetendo tremat?
Ultio terribilis comitatur justa procellas,
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the state of the Church. Wherein isto be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within our selves, by the Bishop of *Rome* and his retinue. Where also it is to be noted in the days and Reign of this King *Henry* the Seventh, how mightily the working of Gods Gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in *England*, as by these stories above past may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the Church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to intreat of the state likewise of the Common-wealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the Church. Where the Church is quietly and modestly governed,

The state of the Common-wealth commonly following the state of the Church.

{KING Hen. 7.} verned, and the flock of Christ defended by Godly Princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody Wolves; the succes of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the Princes long continue through Gods preservation, in prosperous rest and tranquility. Contrariwise, where either the Church of Christ through the negligence of Princes, or through their setting on, the poor members of Christ be persecuted and devoured; shortly after ensueth some just recompence of the Lord upon those

The duty of Princes to defend their subjects from the slaughter of the Church of *Rome.*

Princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the Commonwealth, which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other Countries far off, or else of our own Country near at home.

And here not to wander in our story farther than to *France* only, let us a little behold the example of King *Charles* the eighth, who living in this Kings time, dyed also not long before him. This *Charles* is commended of *Philippus Commineus*, to be a moderate, valiant and victorious Prince, adorned with many special vertues to a Prince appertaining. And yet the same King, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christs Church, neither did use his authority, nor took his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the Bishop and Clergy of *Rome* when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the Counsel of most of his Nobles) he took his journey into *Italy*, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lords doing, to the intent he would have the Church and Clergy

He commendeth *Philippus Commineus*, *De bello Neapolitano, lib.* 3.

of *Rome* reformed by the Princes Sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said *Philip Commineus*, *Lib.* 3. *de bello Neapolit.* writing in this wife.

The Prophesie of Savanarola.

There was (saith he) *in the City of* Florence *the same time a Dominick Friar, named* Hieronymus Savanarola *(of whom mention was made before) a man of a right godly and approved life: Who in the said City of* Florence *preached and Prophesied long before, that the French King should come with an Army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the Tyrants of* Italy, *and none should withstand him. He should also come to the City of* Pise *and the state of* Florence *should be altered; all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiastical state of the Church must be redressed Per vim armorum. i. by the Sword or force of Arms. Many things also he Prophesied of the* Venetians, *and of the French King, saying, that the King with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender: for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his Office, in amending the state of the Church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass (saith he) and that shortly, that some incommodity or detriment should happen to the King: or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would shew mercy unto him,* &c. And this the said *Hieronymus* declared before to *Commineus*, one of the Kings Counselors, which was the writer of the Story, and required him to signifie the same unto the King; which so did, and he moreover, himself coming to the prefence of the King declared no less.

Vide Phil. Comineum de bello Neapol. lib. 5.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but easily accompanied with a small power entred into *Italy*; where first he came to *Asta*, then to *Genoa*, and to *Pisa*, from thence proceeded to *Florence*, which also he obtained, displacing there *Petrus Medices* the Duke, who had ufed great Tyranny upon the Subjects. From thence he removed toward *Rome*, where a great part of the City Wall, at the coming of the French King fell down.

Afterward, when the King was entred into the City, and the Pope (who then took part with *Alphonsus* King of *Neapolis* against the French King) had immured himself within the mount of *Adrian*, the Wall of the Castle fell down of it self: whereby when the King was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his Captains to invade the Pope, and to depose him, and to reform the Church of *Rome* (which he might then easily have done, as it had pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so opportunely of God, moved not the King to do his duty, and to help the poor Church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into *France* from *Neapolis*, either the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at *Amboise*, as he was looking on them that played at Tennis, and that in the flinking-pit place in all the Castle, where he fell down and died within 12 houres, according to the forewarning of *Hieronymus*, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his Sons death, and of his own, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498. *Ex Philip. Comineo, lib.* 5.

De bello Neapol. lib. 3.

Like examples we have many here also in this our Realm of *England*. So long as King *John* kept out of the Realm the Popes authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his Nobles: but so soon as he brought the Realm under tribute and subjection to that foraign Bishop, God stirred up his Nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Examples of Kings of *England*, which were blessed of God with long prosperity being enemies to the Bishops of *Rome.*

Of all the Kings of *England*, from *William* the Conquerer to this King *Henry* the Seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than King *Henry* the Second, K. *Henry* the third, King *Edward* the first, King *Edward* the third, of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding *Thomas Becket* and Pope *Alexander* the Third, is sufficiently before comprehended.

Augustus Reigned 56 years.

The second, which was Son of King *John*, albeit through the wretchedness of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the Popes usurped jurisdiction out of the Realm, yet his will was good: at last he so defended and provided for his Subjects, that they took no great wrong at the Popes hands; who Reigned one year longer than *Augustus Cæsar*, which hath not commonly been seen in any Prince.

The third, which was King *Edward* the First, so vigilantly behaved himself for the publick commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foraign power and hotility both of the *Scots* (then our enemies, now our friends) and also from the Bishop of *Rome*; taking part with them against us, as may appear above. Furthermore of the same King, and of his worthy Nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stood in denyal of the Popes Subsidies, and also how the said King secluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop *Pecham*, for standing with the Pope, read before.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

Now as touching King *Edward* the Third, how little he regarded, how Princely he with his Nobles likewise resisted the Popes reservations and provisions, how he bridled the Archbishop *John Stratford*, and rejected the vain authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, both in defence of his Subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the Realm of *France*, read before.

Vide supra. What difference between moderate Princes, and them that were perfect tutors.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the duty of Princes, I note and observe by examples of Histories, that such Princes as have most defended the Church of Christ committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the Bishop of *Rome*, have not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicity: whereas contrariwise, they which either themselves have been persecutors of Christs members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foraign Tyranny and injuries, have lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had; as may appear by King *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, King *Henry* the Sixth, &c. who because either negligently they have suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting laws to be made and so much Christian blood injuriously to be devoured; therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either

they were depofed, or if they flourifhed for a while, yet they did not long continue, almoft not half the time of the other Kings before named.

And therefore, as the ftate of the Commonwealth doth commonly follow the ftate of the Church, as ye heard before; fo it had been to be wifhed, that this King *Henry 7th* being otherwife a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the untemperate rage of the Popes Clergy fo much to have their wills over the poor flock of Chrift, as then they had; according as by thefe perfecutions above mentioned may appear. The which King *Henry* the Seventh, albeit he had a fufficient continuance, who had now Reigned 24 years, yet notwithftanding here cometh the fame thing to be noted, whereof I fpake before; That when the Church of Chrift beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wrack through mifforder and negligence, the State of the Commonwealth cannot there long endure without fome alteration, and ftroke of Gods correction. But howfoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the ftory: that after the burning and vexing of thefe poor fervants of Chrift above recited, when the perfecution began now in the Church to be hot, God calleth away the King, the fame year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had Reigned the term of 24 years: Who if he had adjoyned a little more pitiful refpect, in protecting Chrifts poor members from the rage of the Popes Tyranny, to his other great vertues of fingular wifdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; fo much had he been comparable with the beft of thofe Princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was fupplied moft luckily (I bleaked be the Lord) by his pofterity fucceeding after him. Of whom in the next Volumn following (Chrift thereunto affifting us) we have to fpecifie more at large.

The death of King Henry.

Country men perfecuted.

Among many other things incident in the Reign of this King *Henry* the Seventh, I have overpaffed the Hiftory of certain godly perfons perfecuted in the Diocefs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, as we find them in the Regifters of the Diocefs recorded, here following.

The year of our Lord, 1485, *March* the 9th, amongft divers and fundry othe good men in *Coventry*, thefe nine here under named, were examined before *John* Bifhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* in Saint *Michaels* Church, upon thefe Articles following in order.

J. Blomfield.

Irft, *John Blomfton* was openly and publickly infamed, accufed, reported and appeached, that he was a very Heretick, becaufe he had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to Saint *Peter* in the Church of God, by our Saviour Jefus Chrift immediately, did not ftit or paffe from him, to remain with his fucceffors.

The power of Peter fticketh not to his fucceffors.

Item, That there was as much vertue in an herb, as in the Image of the Virgin *Mary*.

Purgatory denyed.

Item, That Prayer and Alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death, he goeth either to Heaven or Hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Item, That it was foolifhnefs to go on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of *Dancaffer*, *Walfingham*, or of the Tower of the City of *Coventry*: for a man might as well worfhip the bleffed Virgin by the fire fide in the Kitchin, as in the aforefaid places, and as well might a man worfhip the Bleffed Virgin, when he feeth his Mother and Sifter, as in vifiting the Images, becaufe they be no more but dead ftocks and ftones.

Images not to be worfhipped.

Item, That he faid in Englifh with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all fuch Horfon Prieftis, for they have great envy that a poor man fhould get his living among them.

Richard Higham.

Richard Higham of the fame City was accufed, &c. to be a very Heretick, becaufe he did hold that a Chriftian man being at the point of death, fhould renounce all his own works good and ill, and fubmit him to the mercy of God.

Item, That it was fondnefs to worfhip the Images of our Lady of *Tower* in the forefaid City, or of other Saints, for they are but ftocks and ftones.

Images referre rather to be burned than to be worfhipped.

Item, That if the Image of our Lady of *Tower* were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, That it were better to deal many unto poor folks, than to offer to the Image of Chrift and other Saints which are but dead ftocks and ftones.

{KING Hen. 7.} Robert Crowther.

Robert Crowther of the fame City was accufed, that he was an Heretick, becaufe he did hold, that whofo receiveth the Sacrament of the Altar in deadly fin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but Bread and Wine.

Item, That neither Bifhop, nor Prieft, or Curates of Churches, have power in the Market of Penance to bind and loofe.

Item, That Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of *Tower* is foolifhnefs; for it is but a ftock or a ftone.

Against Pilgrimage.

John Smith.

John Smith was accufed to be a very Heretick, becaufe he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lords Prayer, and the Creed in Englifh, if he might for thefe falfe Prieftis.

The Lords Prayer to be in Englifh.

Item, That who fo believed as the Church men did believe, believe ill: and that a man had need to frequent the Schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right Faith.

Item, That no Prieft hath power to abfolve a man in the Market of Penance, from his fins.

Roger Brown.

Roger *Brown* of the fame City, was alfo accufed to be an Heretick, becaufe he did hold that no man ought to worfhip the Image of our Lady of *Walfingham*, nor the blood of Chrift at *Hailes*, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatfoever he would ask.

Against Pilgrimage.

Item, That he held not up his hand, nor looked up, at the elevation of the Eucharift.

Item, That he promifed one to fhew him certain books of Herefie, if he would fwear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

Item, That he did eat flefh in *Lent*, and was taken with the manner.

Flefh eating in Lent.

Item, If any man were not fhriven in his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confeffed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he fhould pafs to joy without Purgatory: And if he were confeffed of any fin, and were enjoyned only to fay for Penance one *Pater-Nofter*, if he thought he fhould have any punifhment in Purgatory for that fin, he would never be confeffed for any fin.

Against Purgatory and confeffion Auricular.

Item, Becaufe he faid all is loft that is given to Prieftis.

Item, That there was no Purgatory, that would pardon all fins, without confeffion and fatisfaction.

Againft confeffion and fatisfaction. Tho. Butler.

Thomas Butler of the fame City was likewife openly accufed to be a very Heretick, becaufe he did hold that there were but two ways, that is to fay, to Heaven and to Hell.

Againft Purgatory.

Item, That no faithful man fhould abide any pain after the death of Chrift, for any fin, becaufe Chrift dyed for our fins.

Item, That there was no Purgatory; for every man immediately after death paffeth either to Heaven or Hell.

Againft Merits.

Item, That whofoever departeth in the faith of Chrift, and the Church, howfoever he hath lived, fhall be faved.

Item, That Prayers and Pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchafe Heaven.

John Falks.

John Falks was accufed to be a very Heretick, becaufe he did affirm, That it was a foolifh thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, faying, Her head fhall be hoar or I offer to her: What is it but a block? If it could fpeak to me, I would give it an half peny worth of Ale.

Againft Images.

Item, That when the Prieft carrieth to the fick the Body of Chrift, why carrieth he not alfo the Blood of Chrift?

Item, That he did eat Cow-milk upon the firft Sunday of *Lent*.

Item, That as concerning the Sacrament of Penance and Abfolution, no Prieft hath power to abfoil any Man from his fins, when as he cannot make one Hair of his Head.

It is Herefie to fay a ftone is a ftone, and a block is a block.

Item, That the Image of our Lady was but a Stone or a Block.

R. Hilmin.

Richard *Hilmin* was accufed that he was a very Heretick, becaufe he did fay and maintain, That it was better to part with Mony to the Poor, than to give Tithes

{KING Hen. 7.}

Tithes to Prieſts, or to offer to the Images of our Lady; and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, than to the Images of God painted.

Item, That he had the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel and the Creed in *Engliſh*, and another Book did he fee and had, which contained the Epiſtles and Goſpels in *Engliſh*, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be ſaved.

Scripture in Engliſh.

Item, That no Prieſt ſpeaketh better in the Pulpit than that Book.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is but Bread and that the Prieſts make it to blind the people.

Item, That a Prieſt whiles he is at Maſs, is a Prieſt; and after one Maſs done, till the beginning of another Maſs, he is no more than a Lay-man, and hath no more power than a meer Lay-man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were aſſoiled and put to Penance.

Margery Goyt.

IN the year of our Lord 1488, the third of *April*, *Margery Goyt*, Wife of *James Goyt* of *Auborn*, was brought before the foreſaid *John* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who was there accuſed that ſhe ſaid, That that which the Prieſts lift over their heads at *Maſs*, was not the True and very Body of Chriſt: For if it were ſo, the Prieſts could not break it ſo lightly into four parts, and ſwallow it as they do: for the Lords Body hath Fleſh and Bones, ſo hath not that which the Prieſts receive.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, That Prieſts buying forty Cakes for a half peny, and ſhewing them to the people, and ſaying, That of every of them they make the Body of Chriſt, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themſelves.

Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make Man, how can it be that Man ſhould be able to make God?

¶ This Woman alſo was conſtrained to recant, and ſo was ſhe affoiled and did Penance.

Thus much I thought good here to inſert, touching theſe foreſaid Men of *Coventry*, eſpecially for this purpoſe, becauſe our cavilling adverſaries be wont to object againſt us the newneſs of Chriſts old and ancient Religion. To the intent therefore they may ſee this Doctrine, not to be ſo new as they report, I wiſh they would conſider both the Time and Articles here objected againſt theſe foreſaid perſons, as is above-premiſed.

I ſhould alſo in the ſame Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, have induced that ſtory of *Johannes Picus* Earl of *Miranadula*, the mention of whoſe name partly is touched before. This *Picus* Earl of *Mirandula*, being but a young Man, was ſo excellently witted, and ſo ſingularly learned in all Sciences and in all Tongues, both *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabe*, that coming to *Rome* booted and ſpurred, he ſet up 90 Concluſions, to diſpute in the ſame with any in all Chriſtendom, whoſoever would come againſt him. Of which Concluſions divers were touching the matter of the Sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all *Rome*, nor in *Europe*, that openly would diſpute with him, privily and in corners certain of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers and Friers, by the Pope appointed, conſulted together to enquire upon his Concluſions, whereupon they did articulate againſt him for ſuſpition of Herefie. And thus the unlearned Clergy of *Rome* privily circumvented and entangled this learned Earl in their ſnares of Herefie, againſt whom they durſt never openly diſpute. He died being of the age of 32 years, of ſuch wit and towardneſs, as is hard to ſay, whether ever *Italy* bred up a better. In his ſickneſs *Charles* the Eighth, then *French* King, moved with the fame of his Learning, came to viſit him. The Furniture of his Books coſt him 7000 *Florens*. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a Coul, to go about and Preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His ſtory, requireth a long tractation, which if place do ſerve, we will not peradventure forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope *Innocent*, and *Alexander* the ſixth he had much vexation.

Picus Mirandula.

The names of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury *in this ſixth Book contained.*

62	*John Stratford.*	8
63	*John Kempe.*	3
64	*Thomas Bouchier.*	33
65	*John Morton.*	14
66	*Thomas Langhton.*	
67	*Henry Dene.*	2
	Guliel. Warham.	28

This Thomas Langhton was elected Archbiſhop; but died before he was conſecrated.

Here endeth the Sixth Book, and the Firſt Tome.

A brief note of Eccleſiaſtical Laws Ordained by Ancient Kings in this Realm.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws ordained by ancient Kings of this Realm.

FOrſomuch as it is, and hath been a perſuaſion long gendred in the heads of many, that the Biſhops of *Rome* be the univerſal heads of the whole Militant Church of Chriſt in Earth, and have always ſo continued from the beginning of the Primitive time; and that no Prince, King nor Emperor in his own Realm hath any intereſt to intermeddle with matters and Laws Eccleſiaſtical, but only the ſaid Biſhops of *Rome*: to refel and remove that Opinion out of the heads of all *Engliſh*-men, as a thing moſt falſe, and contrary both to Hiſtories of Time, and examples of ancient Kings and Governors of this Realm, I thought to fill up a little end of Paper here left, with ſome ſuch brief rehearſal of Laws deviſed and appointed by Kings and Rulers of this Land, for the ordering of the Church, and cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, to the intent that all the World may ſee that the Government of Chriſts Church here in Earth under Chriſt hath not depended only of the Pope from ancient time, but hath been rather directed by ſuch Kings and Princes as God here had placed under him to govern the people of this Realm of *England*, as followeth here in this preſent Table to be noted.

A brief recapitulation of Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Laws, by ſundry Kings of this Realm Ordained, for Government of the Church, before the Conqueſt.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Inas, *or* Ina.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Inas.

1. FIrſt, King *Inas*, who Reigned in this Land the year of our Lord 712, commanded the Miniſters ſhould frame their converſation of life according to the Laws prefcribed.

2. That Infants ſhould be Baptized within 30 days.

3. *Item*, That no Man Lay or Spiritual, Free or Bond, ſhould labour on the Sunday.

4. *Item*, He eſtabliſhed immunity of Churches, and Sanctuary. Alſo he took order for the true payment of the Church-duties, and of the firſt fruits of all that was ſown to be paid at the day of St. *Martin*.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Alured, *or* Alfred.

King Alured's Laws.

1 KIng *Alured* after he had ordained divers judicial punifhments for violating the Holy Precepts of God commanded by *Moſes*, he alſo confirmed and enlarged the priviledge of Sanctuary; he laid double pain upon ſuch as committed offences in the Solemnities of certain Feaſts; Alſo againſt them that committed Sacrilege.

2. He made a Law againſt Prieſts committing Murther.

3. Alſo he made a Law againſt Whoredom, Adultery and Fornication.

4. He

4. He appointed days of Faſting and ceaſing from Labour.

5. *Item*, He ſet order for making and keeping Vows.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Edward *the Elder, and* Gythrum *the* Dane *King.*

King Edward's Laws.

1. FIrſt, They agreed upon the Sanctuary; they forbad *Gentiliſm* and *Paganiſm*; they laid puniſhment upon the Clergy committing Theft, Perjury, or Murther, Fornication, or any capital crime.

2. They puniſhed Prieſts, that pretermitted their Office in pronouncing Feſtival, or Faſting-days.

3. They made a Law againſt all Labour, Buying and Selling upon the Sabbath; alſo for keeping of Feaſts.

Item, For no Execution to be done on the Sunday. Alſo againſt Witches and Sorcerers, *&c.*

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Ethelſtane.

King Ethelſtane's Laws.

1. KIng *Ethelſtane*, who Reigned the year of our Lord 924, commanded that every Village of his own ſhould give a monthly Corody to a poor perſon.

2. That fifty *Pſalms* ſhould be ſung daily in the Church, for the King, *&c.*

3. He alſo Ordained puniſhment for Witches and Sorcerers, *&c.*

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Edmund.

King Edmund's Laws.

1. AFter King *Ethelſtane* followed King *Edmund* about the year of our Lord 940, who eſtabliſhed and provided Laws againſt the unchaſte living of Churchmen.

2. *Item*, He made Laws concerning Tithes, with firſt Fruits of every Mans Crop, and Alms-mony duly to be paid.

3. *Item*, He Enacted, That Biſhops of their own proper charges ſhould repair Churches, and ſhould alſo admoniſh the King for the furniſhing of the ſame.

4. For Perjury alſo, and for Fighting within the Church, he ſet Laws and Pains.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Edgar.

King Edgar's Laws.

1. KIng *Edgar*, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord 959, amongſt other Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, Ordained, That the Sunday ſhould be kept Holy from Saturday at noon till Monday in the morning.

2. *Item*, He Ordained and Decreed concerning Liberties and Freedoms of the Church; for Tithes alſo, and firſt Fruits of Corn, and paying of *Peter*-pence.

3. *Item*, For Holy-days and Faſting-days.

4. *Item*, That Aſſemblies or Synods ſhould be kept twice every year, whereat as well the Biſhop of the Diocels ſhould be preſent, as the Civil Magiſtrate.

When Kings of England came firſt under the Popes ſubjection.

And thus ſtood the Government of this Realm of England *all the time before the Conqueſt, till Pope* Hildebrand, *through the ſetting on of the* Saxons, *began firſt to bring the Emperor (which was* Henry 4th*) under foot. Then followed the ſubduing of other Emperors, Kings, and Subjects after that; as namely here in* England, *when* Lanfrancus, Anſelmus, *and* Becket, *went to complain of their Kings, and Governors, then brought they the Popes Judicial Authority firſt from* Rome *over this Land, both over Kings and Subjects; which ever ſince hath continued, till theſe later years. Albeit the ſaid Kings of this Realm of* England *being prudent Princes, and ſeeing right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe* Romiſh *Biſhops, did what they could to ſhake off the yoke of their Supremacy, as appeareth by the Laws and Acts of their Parliaments, both in King* Edward *the Third's time, King* Richard *the Second, and King* Henry *the Fourth, above in their Parliament Notes ſpecified; yet for fear of other Foreign Princes, and the blind Opinion of their Subjects, ſuch was then the calamity of that time, that neither they could nor durſt compaſs that which fain they would; till at laſt the time of their Iniquity being compleat, through the Lords wonderful working, their Pride had a fall, as in the Volume enſuing (the Lord ſo granting) ſhall by proceſs of Hiſtory be declared.*

King Ethelrede, Anno 979.

{KING *Ethr.* 7.}

KIng *Ethelrede* alſo, which ſucceeded after *Edgar* and *Edward*, appointed divers Laws for publick Regiment, whereof we find but few touching matters Eccleſiaſtical, for Tithes, Lights, Feaſts and nothing elſe, and therefore we paſs further to the Laws of *Canutus*.

King Ethelrede's Laws.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King Canutus.

King Canute's Laws.

Canutus the *Dane* King began to Reign in this Land in the year of our Lord 1016. The ſaid *Canutus* (as *Ethelrede* had done before) divided his Laws into Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal.

1. That Eccleſiaſtical perſons being accuſed of Fighting, Murder, or any other offence, ſhould purge themſelves thereof.

2. That Prieſts ſhould be degraded for Perjury, and put in Sureties of good behaviour.

3. He prayeth Prieſts, that they will live chaſt, and commanded other Religious.

4. He limited the Degrees of Marriage.

5. *Item*, He command Celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noon till Monday morning as *Edgar* had done before, forbidding Markets, Huntings, Labours, and Courtkeepings during the ſaid ſpace.

6. He Ordained each Chriſtian Man to come to the Houſel thrice yearly at the leaſt; That they ſearch and injure after Gods Law, and his Commandements.

7. That every Chriſtian Man underſtand the points of his Faith, and that at leaſt he learn perfectly the Lords Prayer and the Creed; and that whoſoever cannot, the ſame ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, and ſhall not be received to undertake for others in Baptiſm.

8. That Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould do their Duties; that they cry out and warn their Flocks when the Woolf cometh.

9. That at the Court of every Shire the Biſhop of the Diocels ſhall be preſent with the Sheriff, and that the one ſhall teach them Gods Law, and the other Mans Law, as ye heard in King *Edgar*'s Laws before.

Kings of England before the Conqueſt Governors as well in Caules Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal

Many other Laws, both Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, beſides theſe were enacted by theſe and other Kings here in *England* before the Conqueſt, but theſe be ſufficient to give the underſtanding Reader to conſider, how the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, all this while, extended not ſo far to preſcribe Laws for Government of the Church, but that Kings and Princes of the Realm, as they be now, ſo were then full Governors here under Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, both in directing Orders, inſtituting Laws, in calling of Synods, and alſo in conferring Biſhopricks and Benefices, without any leave of the *Romiſh* Biſhops. Thus *Odo*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwold*, *Ethelwold*, *Adelmus*, and *Lanfrancus*, although they ſet their Palls afterward from *Rome*, yet were they made Biſhops and Archbiſhops by Kings only, not by Popes.

The

The Proud Primacy of Popes described in order of their rising up from faithfull Bishops & martyrs to 6

Variety of Tortures exercised on Christians.



Constantine the Emperor embracing Christian Bishops.



Bishops of Rome advanced by Emperors



Pope Celestine Crowning Henry 6. Emperor with his foot.



Henry 4 Emperor waiting 3 dayes & nights in frost & snow for absolution. de Pont. Greg.



King John offering his Crown to Pandulphus the Popes Legate.



King Henry 2. kissing the knee of the Popes Legate.



Frederick 1. Emperor, holding ye Popes stirrup on ye wrong side



The Pope riding, the Emperor holding his Bridle, Kings walking before him.



Place this in Vol. I. between page 884 and p. 885.

...nstantine the Emperor embracing Christian Bishops



Bishops of Rome advanced by Emperors



An Emperor kissing the Popes feet.



...4 Emperor waiting 3 dayes & nights in frost & snow for admittance



King Iohn offering his Crown to Pandulphus the Popes Legate.



Henry 4 Emperor surrendering his Crown to the Pope



...erick 1. Emperor holding ye Popes stirrup on ye wrong side



The Pope riding, the Emperor holding his Bridle, Kings walking before him



The Pope carried on mens shoulders & Emperors & Kings walking before



Place this in Vol. I. between page 884 and p. 885.

{KING Hen. 7.}

The proud Primacy of Popes described, in order of their rising up by little and little, from faithful Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and Governors over Kings and Kingdoms, exalting themselves in the Temple of God, above all that is called God, &c. 2 Thessal. 2.

The Martyrdom of good Bishops under wicked Emperors in the Primitive Church.

IN the Description of the Primitive Church hath been (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eyes the grievous afflictions and forceful torments, which through Gods secret sufferance fell upon the True Saints and Members of Christs Church in that time, especially upon the good Bishops, Ministers and Teachers of the Flock, of whom some were Scourged, some Beheaded, some Crucified, some Burned, some their Eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which days of woful calamity continued (as is forethewed) near the space of Three hundred years. During which time the Dear Spouse and Elect Church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present World, but in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the Cross passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented and martyred every where, who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the Enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalms and Hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers, and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the farther off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirm and rejoyce their Souls. And though their Possessions and Riches in this World were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with Heavenly Gifts and Treasures from above an hundred fold. Then was True Religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection received, and in the True Image of the Church, not in outward shew pretensed, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the Name and Fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, Zeal ardent, Prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no Pride in the Church, nor leisure to seek Riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the Devil, author of all Dissention. Briefly, the whole Church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this World, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of Gods favour and supportation.

The true Riches of the Church described.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

AFter this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the Saints and Servants of his Son, to release their Captivity; to release their misery, and to bind up the old Dragon the Devil, which so long vexed them, whereby the Church began to aspire to some more liberty: and the Bishops which before were as abjects, utterly contemned of Emperors, through the Providence of God (which disposeth all things in his time after his own Will) began now of Emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperors grew more in Devotion, so the Bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter Masters, but rather half Emperors with Emperors.

After this, in process of time, as Riches and Worldly wealth crept into the Clergy, and that the Devil had poured his Venom into the Church (as the Voice was heard the same time over *Constantinople*) so true Humility began to decay, and Pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the Ivy doth with the Oak-tree, which first beginning with a goodly green shew, imbraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his Root fast in his Bark, till at last it both stifleth the Stock, and killeth the Branches, and so cometh to be a Nest for Owls and all unclean Birds. Not unlike therefore it was said of *Augustine*, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*; that is, Religion begat Riches, and the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all other in the Church of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the same. For after that the Church of *Rome*, through favour of Emperors was indued with Lands, Donations, Possessions and Patrimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the smack of Wealth, Ease and Prosperity, began to swell in Pomp and Pride; the more they flourished in this World, the more Gods Holy Spirit forsook them, till at last the said Bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the Ground, and were persecuted a long time, every Man treading upon them in this World, now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of Emperors, and to bring the heads of Kings and Princes under their Girdle. And not only that, but furthermore through Pride and Riches, they were so far gone from all Religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God (whom we call Antichrist) prophecied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the Temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we read in the Epistle of *Paul*, 2 *Thess.* 2. where he saith, *We beseech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddainly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition, that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God*, &c.

The Spiritual Riches of the Church turned to Worldly Riches. *Ex Hist. Sozom. Discipuli.* Look Rev. 3. and in his book of the profession of Penitence.

The great adversary called Antichrist, described by St. Paul, 2 Thess. 2.

By which words of St. *Paul*, we have divers things to understand: First, That the day of the Lords coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, The Apostle giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, To shew what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although *Herod*, *Annas*, and *Caiaphas*, the High Priests and *Pharisees*, *Tertullus*, *Alexander* the Coppersmith, *Elymas* and *Simon Magus*, and *Nero* the Emperor, in *Paul*'s time were great adversaries: yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as should be like to Priest, King or Emperor, but such as far exceeding the state of all Kings, Priests and Emperors, should be the Prince of Priests, should make Kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of Emperors, and make them to kiss his feet: Moreover, where the Apostle saith, That he shall sit in the Temple of God; thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the Pope in the City only of *Rome*, but the Authority and Jurisdiction of his See exalted in the whole Universal Church, equal with God himself. For let Men give to the Pope that which he in his Laws, Decrees, and in his Pontifical requireth, and what difference is there between God and the Pope? If God set Laws and Ordinances, so doth he. If God have his Creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of Gods

A declaration of St. Paul's words.

Th. Bod. disputing Blasphemies with Gods

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Commandments are punished, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the Pope alſo hath his, yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundred. God hath inſtituted but a Vocatie, he hath an hundred. God hath inſtituted but a few Holy-days; for Gods one, he hath inſtituted forty. And if the Holy-day that God hath appointed be *ſimplex*, the Feaſt that the Pope appointeth, is *duplex & triplex*. Chriſt is the Head of the Church; ſo is the Pope. Chriſt giveth influence to his Body; ſo doth the Pope. Chriſt forgiveth ſin; the Pope doth no leſs. Chriſt expelleth evil ſpirits by his Power; ſo pretendeth the Pope by his Holy Water. Furthermore, where Chriſt went bare-foot upon the bare Ground, he with his Golden Shooes is carried on Mens Shoulders. And where Chriſt was called *Sanctus Sanctorum*; he is called *Sanctorum Sanctiſſimus*. Chriſt never practiſed but only the Spiritual Sword; he claimeth both Spiritual and Temporal. Chriſt bought the Church; he both buyeth and ſelleth the Church. And if it be neceſſary to believe Chriſt to be the Saviour of the World; ſo it is neceſſary to believe the Pope to be the head of the Church. Chriſt paid Tribute unto *Ceſar*; he maketh *Ceſar* pay Tribute unto him. Finally, the Crown of Chriſt was of ſharp Thorn; the Pope hath three Crowns of Gold upon his head, ſo far exceeding Chriſt the Son of God in glory of this World, as Chriſt exceedeth him in the Glory of Heaven. The image and patern of whoſe intolerable Pride and Exaltation, according as St. *Paul* doth deſcribe him in his Epiſtle aforeſaid, we have here ſet forth, not only in theſe Tables to be ſeen, and by his own Facts to be noted, but alſo in his own Words and Regiſters, Clementines, Extravagants, and Pontificals expreſſed, as in order (the Lord willing) ſhall follow.

The exaltation of Popes above Kings and Emperors, out of Hiſtories.

John Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſubdued by the Biſhop of Rome.

FIrſt, after that *Italy* and the City of *Rome* were overrun by the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, ſo that the Seat of the Empire was removed to *Conſtantinople*, then began *Joannes Patriarch of Conſtantinople* to put forth himſelf, and would needs be called Univerſall Biſhop of the World; but the Biſhop of *Rome* in no caſe would ſuffer that, and ſtopped it. After this came the Emperors Deputy, and Exarch of *Ravenna* to rule *Italy*, but the Biſhop of *Rome* through aid of the King of *Lombards*, ſoon quailed him.

The Emperors Lieutenant of Ravenna diſcharged by the Lombards and Romans Biſhops.

Not long after, about the year of our Lord 500, came *Phocas* the murderer, who ſlew the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, his Maſter *Mauritius* and his Children. By which *Phocas* the Biſhops of *Rome* aſpired firſt to their preheminence, to be counted the head Biſhops over the whole Church, and ſo together with the *Lombards* began to rule the City of *Rome*. Afterwards when the *Lombards* would not yield unto him, in accomplihing his ambitious deſire, but would needs require of the Biſhop the ſaid City of *Rome*; he ſtirred up *Pipinus*, but firſt depoſed *Childericus* the King of *France*, and ſo thrulling him into an Abby, ſet up in his place *Pipinus* and his Son *Carolus Magnus* to put down the ſaid King of *Lombards* called *Aiſtulphus*. And ſo he tranſlated the Empire from *Conſtantinople* into *France*, dividing the ſpoil between him and them; ſo that the Kings of *France* had all the Poſſeſſions and Lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receive of them the quiet Poſſeſſion of the City of *Rome*, with ſuch Donations and Lordſhips, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. *Peter's* Patrimony, which they falſly aſcribe to that Donation of *Conſtantinus* the great.

Boniface the Third obtained of Phocas to be called Univerſall Biſhop. Pope Zacharias pulleth down Childerick the French King, and ſetteth Pepine Ins his place.

Pipinus and Carolus Magnus ſet up by Pope Zachary.

How the Biſhops of Rome came firſt to be the head Biſhops of the Church.

Donations of Conſtantinus, Pipinus and others falſe and forged.

It followeth then in proceſs of time, after the days of *Pipinus*, *Carolus* and *Ludovicus* (who had indued theſe Biſhops of *Rome*, called now Popes, with large Poſſeſſions) when the Kings of *France* were not ſo appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them againſt the Princes of *Italy*, who began then to pinch the ſaid Biſhops for their wrongful uſurped Goods, they practiſed with the *Germans* to reduce the Empire to *Otho*, firſt of that name, Duke of *Spain*, referring the Election thereof to ſeven Princes Electors of *Germany*, which was about *An.* 1002. notwithſtanding, reſerving ſtill in his hands the Negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietneſs and ſecurity, and ſo did for a good ſpace.

Pope Zacharias depoſeth the King of France, and ſetteth up Pepine. An. 750.

Pope Adrian I. ſetteth up Charles the Great. An. 774.

Pope Leo III. ſetteth up Lewis the Godly. An. 814.

Pope Gregory IV. ſetteth up Lewis and Lothar his Son. An. 833.

Pope Nicholas I. ſetteth up Charles the Bald. An. 858.

Pope Adrian II. ſetteth up Charles the Bald. An. 867.

Pope John VIII. ſetteth up Charles the Bald. An. 876.

Pope Formoſus ſetteth up Arnulphus. An. 891.

Pope Sergius III. ſetteth up Lambert. An. 898.

Pope Benedict IV. ſetteth up Lewis. An. 901.

Pope Leo VI. ſetteth up Conrade. An. 912.

Pope Anaſtaſius III. ſetteth up Henry Duke of Saxony. An. 913.

Pope Lando ſetteth up Otho Duke of Saxony. An. 914.

Pope John X. ſetteth up Otho. An. 915.

Pope Leo VII. ſetteth up Otho. An. 936.

Pope Stephen VIII. ſetteth up Otho. An. 939.

Pope Agapetus II. ſetteth up Otho. An. 950.

Pope John XII. ſetteth up Otho. An. 956.

Pope Benedict V. ſetteth up Otho. An. 964.

Pope John XIII. ſetteth up Otho. An. 965.

Pope Benedict VI. ſetteth up Otho. An. 973.

Pope Benedict VII. ſetteth up Otho. An. 974.

Pope John XIV. ſetteth up Otho. An. 983.

Pope John XV. ſetteth up Otho. An. 985.

Pope Gregory V. ſetteth up Otho. An. 996.

Pope Sylveſter II. ſetteth up Otho. An. 999.

At length, when ſome of theſe *German* Emperors alſo after *Otho* began a little to ſpurn againſt the ſaid Biſhops and Popes of *Rome*, ſome of them they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſing of their feet, ſome they depoſed, and placed other in their Poſſeſſions.

So was *Henry* 4th by theſe Biſhops accurſed, the Emperor himſelf forced with his Wife and Child to wait attendance upon the Popes pleaſure three days and three nights in Winter, at the Gates of *Canuſium*. Read before. Beſides all this the ſaid Pope ſo fed up *Rodulphus* to be Emperor againſt him; who being ſlain in War, then the ſaid Pope *Gregory* 7th, not reſting thus, ſtirred up his own Son *Henricus* the 5th, to Fight againſt his own natural Father, and to depoſe him, which *Henricus* the 5th alſo himſelf afterward Accuſed and Excommunicated, and the *Saxons* at laſt fet up by the Biſhops to Fight againſt him.

Pope Innocent the Third againſt K. John.

After this, the Emperors began to be ſomewhat calmed, and more quiet, ſuffering the Biſhops to Reign as they lifted, till *Frederick* the firſt, called *Barbaroſſa*, came and began to ſtir Coals againſt them. Howbeit they hampered both him and his Son *Henry* in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the Neck of *Frederick*, in the Church of *Venice*, under their Feet to tread upon; and after the ſaid Biſhops, Crowning *Henricus* his Son in the Church of St. *Peter*, ſet his Crown on his Head with their Feet, and with their Feet ſpurned it off again, to make him know that the Popes of *Rome* had power both to Crown Emperors, and Depoſe them again. Whereof read before.

Emperors brought to kiſs the Popes Feet. Henricus the Fourth, ſeventh of that name, waited at the Popes Gate Three days. Rodulphus, and at laſt his own Son ſet up to Fight againſt him. Read before. Pope Alexander the Third treadeth upon the Neck of Frederick, the Emperour. Pope Celeſtine Crowneth Henry the Fifth, Emperour, with his Foote, and with his Foot ſpurneth the Crown from his Head again.

Then followed *Philippus* Brother to *Henry* aforeſaid, whom alſo the Popes Accuſed, about the year of our Lord 1198, and ſet up *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*. But when the ſaid *Otho* began to be ſo ſaucy, to diſpoſeſs the Biſhops of their Cities and Lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beſides the Cuſhion. The like alſo fell upon *Otho* the 4th, that followed after *Philip*, who was ſuffered no longer than four years to Reign, about the year of our Lord 1209.

Henricus 3. Gregory 9. Innocent 4. againſt Fredericus 2. Emperor.

At this time *Fredericus* the Second, the Son of *Frederi-cus Barbaroſſa* above-mentioned, was but young, whom the Biſhops of *Rome* ſuppoſing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be Emperor after his Father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiving the immoderate Pomp and Pride of the *Roman* Biſhops, which he could in no caſe abide, ſo nettled them and cut their Combs, and waxed ſo ſtout againſt them, intending to extirp their Tyranny, and to reduce their pompous Riches to the ſtate and condition of the Primitive Church again, putting ſome of them to flight, and priſoning ſome of their Cardinals, that of three Popes, one after another, he was Accurſed, circumvented by Treaſon, at laſt Depoſed, and after that Poyſoned, and at laſt forſaken and died.

War raiſed by the Biſhops of Rome.

After this *Frederick* followed his Son *Conradus*, whom the forefaid Biſhops for his diſobedience ſoon diſpatched, executing againſt him in moral War the *Lawes of Thu-vin*, whereby he was at length driven into his Kingdom of *Naples*, and there deceaſed.

An Accuſation, &c.

This *Conradus* had a Son called *Conradinus*, Duke and Prince of *Suevia*. When this *Conradinus*, after the deceaſe of his Father came to enjoy his Kingdom of *Naples*, the ſaid Biſhops ſtirred up againſt him *Charles* the *French* Kings Brother, in ſuch ſort, that through craftly conveyance, both *Conradinus* which deſcended of the blood of ſo many Emperors, and alſo *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miſerable indurance, unſeeming to their ſtate, at length were both brought under the Axe by the Popes procurement, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the Imperial ſtock of *Frederick* the Firſt, ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*.

The Infelicety of Pope Boniface againſt Philip the French King.

The like as happed to *Frederick* the Emperor, had almoſt alſo fallen upon *Philip* the *French* King, by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, who, becauſe he could not have his Commodities and Revenues out of *France* after his will, ſent out his Bulls and Letters Patents to diſplace King *Philip* aforeſaid, and to poſſeſs *Albertus* King of *Romans* in his room.

And thus hitherto in Foreign Stories. Now touching our Country Princes here in *England*, to ſpeak ſomewhat likewiſe of them: did not Pope *Alexander* the Third preſumptuouſly taking upon him where he had nothing to do,

to

The Tyrannous Injuries of 8 Biſhops of Rome againſt Kings of England. Pope Alexander the Third, againſt King Henry the Second.

{KING} {*Hen.* 7.} {*Hen.* 8 & *Otho* 5 th *Germans Emperor.}*

to intermeddle with the Kings Subjects, for the death of *Becket* the rebel, albeit the King ſufficiently cleared himſelf thereof; yet notwithſtanding, did he not wrongfully bring the ſaid K. *Henry* the Second to ſuch Penance as it pleaſed him to enjoyn, and alſo violently conſtrained him to ſwear obedience to the See of *Some*? The like alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtory to happen to King *John* his Son. For when the ſaid King like a valiant Prince had held out the tyranny of thoſe Biſhops ſeven years together, were not all the Churches in *England* barred up, and his Inheritance with all his Dominions given away by Pope *Innocent* the Third, to *Ludovicus* the *French* King, and he afterward compelled to ſubmit both himſelf, and to make his whole Realm fedotary to the Biſhops of *Rome*, and moreover the King himſelf driven alſo to ſurrender his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate, and ſo continued as a private perſon five days, ſtanding at the Popes courteſie, whether to receive it again at his hands or no? And when the Nobles of the Realm roſe afterward againſt the King for the ſame, was not he then fain to ſeek and ſue to the foreſaid Pope for ſuccour, as by his own Letter, taken out of the publick Rolls, may appear?

King Hen-ry the Third kiſſing the Knee of the Popes Legate.

King *John's* ſupplication to Pope *Innocent* the Third.

Ex Rotulis patent. Decim. Regni Reg. Joannis 8.

Kings John's Supplication to Pope Innocent the Third.

REverendiſſ. *Domino ſuo & Patri Sanctiſſ.* Innocentio *Dei gratia*, Joan. *eadem gratia Rex Angliæ*, &c. *Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis devoti eſſent, antequam nos & noſtram terram Dominio veſtro ſubjacere cureſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos vero præter Deum vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, deſenſionem noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quantum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, devotius ſuppli cantes quatenus in negotiis noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius, videritis expedire, latores præſentium, &c. Teſte meipſo apud* Dour. 18. Septem. 6.

And yet all this notwithſtanding that the ſaid K. *John* did ſo yield to the Pope, he was both purſued by his Nobles, and alſo in the end was Poyſoned by a ſubject of the Popes own Religion, a Monk of *Swinſted*; as I have ſufficiently to prove, not only by *William Caxton* above in my ſtory alledged, *Pag.* 332, but alſo have teſtimony of the moſt part of Chronicles for the ſame (a few only excepted) as of *Thomas Gray* in his *French* Chronicle; alſo of an other *French* Chronicle in Meeter; of *Ramiphus Ceſtrenſis*; *Thomas Rudburn* alſo doth witneſs the ſame; ſo doth *Richard Rede*, *in novo Chronico ad tempora*, Henr. 6. The like alſo doth the Chronicle called *Eulogium Monachi Cant.* The words of *Walter Gisborn* an ancient *Hiſtoriographer*, be plain. No leſs is to be found in *Joan. Abbrev. de geſtis Scotorum, Libr.* 4. *cap.* 3. *fol.* 56. where he not only maketh mention of the Monk and of the Poyſon, but alſo of the Abbot, of his abſolution, and of the Three Monks every day ſinging for the ſaid Monks Soul. To theſe I could alſo annex divers other writers both *Engliſh* and *Latin*, without name, which witneſs that King *John* was Poyſoned; one beginning thus, *Here beginneth a Book in the Engliſh Tongue, called Brute*, &c. Another beginneth, *Becauſe this Book is made to tell what time anything, notable*, &c. The Third in *Engliſh* beginneth, *The reign of* Britain *that now is called* England, *&c.* Of *Latin* Books which have no name, one beginneth thus: *Britannia, que & Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen eſt ſortita*, &c. Another hath this beginning: *Adam pater generis humani*, &c.

William Caxton.

Thomas Gray's French Chronicle in Meeter. Ramulph. Ceſtrenſis. Thomas Rudburn. Rich. Rede. Eulogium. Walterus Gisburn. Joan. Abbr.

Writers in Engliſh and Latin without name.

Beſides this King *Henry* the Second, and K. *John* his Son, what Kings have here Reigned in *England* ſince their time, until the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth; who although they were prudent Princes, and did what they could in providing againſt the proud domination of theſe Biſhops, yet were forced at length fore againſt their wills, for fear, to ſubject themſelves, together with their ſubjects under uſurped Authority, in ſo much as ſome of them (as *Matth. Paris*, writeth by King *Henry* the Third) were fain to ſtoop and kiſs their Legates Knee.

The Image of Antichriſt, exalting himſelf in the Temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his own Decrees, Decretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c. word for word, as it is out of the ſaid Books here alledged and quoted.

Ex D. Paulo 2 Theſſ. 2.

1. FOraſmuch as it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of Salvation, for every human Creature to be ſubject unto me the Pope of *Rome*, it ſhall be therefore requiſite and neceſſary for all Men that will be ſaved, to learn and know the Dignity of my See and Excellency of my Domination, as here is ſet forth according to the truth and very words of mine own Laws, in ſtyle as followeth: 2. Firſt my Inſtitution began in the *Old Teſtament*, and was conſummate and finiſhed in the *New*, in that my Prieſthood was prefigured by *Aaron*; And other Biſhops under me were prefigured by the Sons of *Aaron*, that were under him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my Church of *Rome* hath been preferred by any General Council, but obtained the Primacy only by the Voice of the Goſpel, and the mouth of the Saviour. 4. And hath in it neither ſpot nor wrinkle, nor any ſuch like thing. 5. Wherefore as other Seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot Abſolve me: ſo have they no power to bind me or to ſtand againſt me, no more than the Axe hath power to ſtand or preſume to bow him that heweth with it, or the Saw to preſume above him that ruleth it. 6. This is the Holy and Apoſtolick Mother-Church of all other Churches of Chriſt; 7. from whoſe Rules it is not meet that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the Will of his Father, ſo muſt you do the Will of your Mother the Church, the head whereof is the Church of *Rome*. 8. And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall err from the ſaid Church, either let them be admoniſhed, or elſe their names taken, to be known who they be that ſwerve from the Cuſtoms of *Rome*. 9. Thus then foraſmuch as the holy Church of *Rome* whereof I am Governor, is ſet up to the whole World for a glaſs or example, reaſon would what thing ſoever the ſaid Church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all Men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. 10. Whereupon we ſee it now verified in this Church, that was fore-prophefied by *Jeremy*, ſaying, *Behold, I have ſet thee up over Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant*, &c. 11. Whoſo underſtandeth not the Prerogative of this my Prieſthood, let him look up to the Firmament, where he may ſee two great Lights, the Sun and the Moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; So in the Firmament of the Univerſal Church, 12. God hath ſet two great Dignities, the Authority of the Pope, and of the Emperor. Of the which two, this our Dignity is ſo much more weighties, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for Kings of the Earth; and the Laws of Men. 13. Wherefore it known to you Emperors, which know it alſo right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us; we muſt not be brought and reduced to your will. 14. For (as I ſaid) look what difference there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon, ſo great is the power of the Pope ruling over the day, that is, over the Spirituralty, above Emperors and Kings,

1. Pope Boniface. 8. Extravag. de Majorit. & obed. 2. Unam.

2. Diſtinct. 19. c. Decretis.

3. Pope Pelagius Dis. Ninth. 22. c. Quamvis.

4. Felagius, ibi.

5. Pope Nicolaus Dis. Ninth. 22. c. Inſuper.

6. Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. cap. Regula.

7. Pope Calixtus Diſt. 12. cap. Non decet.

8. Pope Innocentius Ibi. 11. cap. Ignis.

9. Pope Stephen. Dis. Ninth. 19. c. Enim vero.

10. Pope Boniface. 8. Extravag. cap. unam Sanctam. Item, Pope Jeremy 23. Extravag. cap. Super gentes.

11. Pope Innocent. 3. de. de majer. & obed. cap. Solitæ.

12. Innocentius de Majo. & obe. Solitæ.

ruling

15. *Gloss. Ibidem.* ruling over the night; that is, over the Laity. 15. Now seeing then the Earth is Seven times bigger than the Moon, and the Sun Eight times greater than the Earth; it followeth that the Popes Dignity fifty six times doth surmount the Estate of the
16. *Ibidem.* Emperors. 16. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, That *Constantine* the
17. *Innocentius Ibid.* Emperor did naught in setting the Patriarch of *Constantinople* at his feet on his left hand. 17. And although the said Emperor wrote to me, alledging the words of St. *Peter*, commanding us to submit our selves to every human Creature, as to Kings, Dukes, and other for the cause of God, &c. 1 *Pet.* 2. Yet in answering again in my Decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. *Peter* to pertain to his Subjects, and not his Successors, willing the said Emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of *Peter* had been there to debase the Order of Priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human Creature, then every *Jack* might have dominion over Prelates; which maketh against the example of Christ; setting up the Order of Priesthood to bear Dominion over Kings, according to the saying of *Jeremy*,
18. Pope *Clement.* 3. *Carmen de Interpretatio. & Romani.* *Behold, I have set thee up over Kings and Nations*, &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto *Constantine*, so now I say to all other Emperors, That they receiving of me their Approbation, Unction, Consecration, and Crown Imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads
19 Pope *Joannes Dist.* 96. *c. Sanguinem.* under me, and Sweat unto me their Allegiance. 19. For so you read in the Decree of Pope *John*, how that Princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto Bishops, and not to proceed in Judgment against the heads of Bishops.
20 Pope *Clemens.* 3. *Clement de Summa Trinit. & de regnalis & paralis.* 20. If this reverence and submission was wont to be given to Bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being Superior, not only to Kings, but Emperors? and that for two causes: First, for my Title of Succession, that I Pope of *Rome* have to the Empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in
21. Pope *Innocent* 3. *De Judiciis c. Novit.* the person of *Peter*. 21. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of Man, but of God, who by his Celestial Providence hath set me over his whole Universal Church, Master and Governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal fin of every Christian Man: 22.
22. *Ibidem.* Whereby all criminal offences, as well of Kings as all other be subject to my censure, 23. in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the Sentence given, or after shall appeal to me, it shall
23. Pope *Marcellus. conf.* 2. 9. 6. *ad Rom. nostros.* be Lawful for him so to do. 24. Neither must
24 *Innocent. Novitate.* Kings and Princes think it much to submit themselves to my Judgment; for so did *Valentinianus* the worthy Emperor, so did *Theodosius*, and also
25. *B. w Socius Mar. tyr. dist. 40. c. Si Papa.* *Carolus*. 25. Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I Pope of *Rome*, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable, or hurtful, either to my self or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable Souls by heaps to Hell, yet may no mortal Man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprove me, 26. or to say to me, *Domine cur ita facis*; that is, Sir, why do you so?
26. *Gloss in Extr. de fo. de vacant. Ad Apost. Semin.* 27. For although you read that *Balaam* was
27. Pope *Leo, conf.* 2. *q.* 7. *c. cap. Nos.* rebuked of his Asse, by the which Asse our Subjects, by *Balaam* we Prelates are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. 28. And though we read in the Scripture, that *Peter*, who received power of the
28. *Greg. 24. q.* 7. *c. Legimus.* Kingdom, and being chief of the Apostles might by vertue of his Office controul all other, was content to come and give answer before his inferiours, objecting to him his going to the *Gentiles*; yet other inferiours must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their Prelates, because that *Peter* so took it at their hands, shewing thereby rather a dispensation of Humility, than the power of his office; by the which power he might have said to them again in this wise. It becometh not Sheep, nor belonged to their office to accuse their Shepherd. 29. For else why was *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* condemned and excommunicated at *Chalcedon*? Not for any cause of his Faith, but only for that he durst stand against Pope *Leo*, and durst Excommunicate the Bishop of *Rome*: for who is he that hath Authority to accuse the Seat of St. *Peter*? 30. Albeit I am not ignorant what St. *Jerome* writeth, that *Paul* would not have reprehended *Peter*, unless he had thought himself equal unto him. 31. Yet *Jerome* must thus be expounded by my Interpretation, that this equality betwixt *Peter* and *Paul* consisteth not in like Office of Dignity, but in pareneſs of Converſation. 32. So for gave *Paul* his licenſe to preach but *Peter*, and that by the Authority of God, saying, *Separate to me Paul and Barnabas*, &c. 33. Wherefore be it known to all Men, that my Church of *Rome* is Prince and Head of all Nations, 34. the Mother of the Faith, 35. the Foundation Cardinal, whereupon all Churches do depend, as the Door doth depend by the Hinges, 36. the ſtrif of all other Seats, without all ſpot or blemiſh. 37. Lady, Miſtriſs and Inſtructer of all Churches, 38. a glaſs and a ſpeckle unto all Men, to be followed in all whatſoever ſhe obſerveth. 39. Which was never found yet to ſlide or decline from the path of Apoſtolick tradition, or to be intangled with any newneſs of Hereſie; 40. Againſt which Church of *Rome* whoſoever ſpeaketh any evil, is forthwith an Heretick, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a Witch, and an Idolater or Infidel, 42. having fulneſs of power only in her own hands in ruling, 43. deciding, abſolving, condemning, caſting out, or receiving in. 44. Albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying. 45. To the which Church of *Rome* it is Lawful to Appeal for remedy, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwiſe concluded in the General Council of *Milleviſtane*, that no Man ſhould Appeal over the Sea under pain of Excommunication, yet my Ghoſt cometh in here with an exception, *Niſi forte Romanum ſedem appellaverint*, i. Except the Appeal be to the See of *Rome*, &c. 46. By the Authority of which Church of *Rome* all Synods and Decrees of Councils ſtand confirmed. 47. And hath always full Authority in her hands to make new Laws and Decrements. And to alter Statutes, Privileges, Rights or Documents of Churches; to ſeparate things joyned, and to joyn things ſeparated upon right conſideration, either in whole or in part, either perſonally or generally. 48. Of the which Church of *Rome* I am head as a King is over his Judges, 49. the Vicar of St. *Peter*, 50. yea, not the Vicar of *Peter* properly, but the Vicar of Chriſt properly, and ſucceſſor of *Peter*, 51. Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, 52. Rector of the Univerſal Church, 53. director of the Lords Univerſal flock. 54. Chief Magiſtrate of the whole World. 54. *Cephas, i. caput*, the head and chief of the Apoſtolick Church, 55. Univerſal Pope, and Diceſan in all places empt, as well as every Biſhop is in places not empt, 56. moſt mighty Priеſt, 57. *Lex animata in terris. i.* 58. a living Law in the Earth judged to have all Laws in the cheſt of my Breſt, 59. bearing the room of no pure Man, 60. being more God and not Man, but the admiration of the World, and a middle thing betwixt both. 61. Having both Swords in my power, both of the Spiritual and Temporal Juriſdiction, 62. ſo far ſurmounting the Authority of the Emperor, that I of mine own power alone without a Council, have Authority to depoſe him, or to transfer his Kingdom, and to give a new Election as I did to *Frederick* and divers other. 63. What power then or poteſtate in all the World is comparable to me, who have Authority to bind and looſe both in Heaven and Earth? 64. That is,

is, who have power both of Heavenly things, and alſo of Temporal things, 65. To whom Emperors and Kings be more inferior, than Lead is inferior to Gold. 66. For do you not ſee the necks of great Kings and Princes bend under our knees, yea and think themſelves happy and well defenced, if they may kiſs our hands? 67. Wherefore the faucineſs of *Honorius* the Emperor is to be reprehended, and his conſtitution abolished, who with his laity would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal Order, but alſo with matters Eccleſiaſtical, and Election of the Pope. 68. But here perceaſe ſome will object the examples and words of Chriſt, ſaying, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, and where he being required to divide betwixt two Brethren their Heritage, did refuſe it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power, 69. For if *Peter*, and I in *Peter*, if we I ſay, have Power to bind and looſe in Heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have Power in Earth to looſe and to take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what elſe ſoever mortal Men may have, and to give them where he will? 70. And if we have authority over Angels, which be the Governours of Princes, what then may we do upon their inferiours and ſervants? 71. And for that you ſhall not marvel that I ſay Angels be ſubject to us, you ſhall hear what my bleſſed Clerk *Antoninus* writeth of the matter, ſaying, That our power, of *Peter* and me is greater than the Angels in four things: 1. In juriſdiction. 2. In adminiſtration of Sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. and in reward, &c. 72. And again in *Bulla Clementis*, do I not there command in my Bull the Angels of Paradiſe, to abſolve the ſoul of Man out of Purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of Paradiſe? 73. And now beſides my Heavenly power, to ſpeak of mine Earthly juriſdiction, who did firſt Tranſlate the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *Almains*, but I? 74. And not only in the Empire am I Emperor, the place being empty, but all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices have full right and power to give, to Tranſlate, and to diſpoſe after my arbitrement. 75. Did not I *Zacharias* put down *Childerick* the old King of *France*, and ſet up *Pipinus*? 76. Did not I *Gregorius* the Seventh ſet up *Robert Wyſard*, and make him King of *Sicilia* and Duke of *Capua*? &c. 77. Did not I the ſame *Gregorius* alſo ſet up *Rodulphus* againſt *Henry* the Fourth Emperor? 78. And though this *Hemricus* was an Emperor of moſt ſtout courage, who ſtood 62 times in open field againſt his Enemies, 79. yet did not I *Gregorius* bring him *coram nobis*, and make him ſtand at my Gate three days and three nights bare-foot and bare-leg, with his Wife and Child, in the deep of Winter, both in Froſt and Snow, intreating for his abſolution, and after did excommunicate him again, ſo that he was twice Excommunicated in my days? 80. Again, did not I *Paſchalis*, after *Gregory*, ſet up the Son of the ſaid *Henricus* againſt his Father in War, to poſſeſs the Empire, and to put down his Father, and ſo he did? 81. *Item*, Did not I, Pope *Alexander*, bring under *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, for the death of *Thomas Becket*, and cauſe him to go bare-foot to his Tomb at *Canterbury* with bleeding feet? 82. Did not I *Innocentius* the Third, cauſe King *John* to kneel down at the feet of *Pandulphus* my Legate, and offer up his Crown to his hands; alſo to kiſs the feet of *Stephen Langhton* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and beſides merced him in a thouſand Marks by year? 83. Did not I *Urbanus* the Second, put down *Hugo* Earl in *Italy*, diſcharging his Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to him? 84. Did not I *Paſchalis* Excommunicate alſo his Son *Henry* the 5th, and get out his of hands all his Right and Title of Elections and Donations of ſpiritual Promotions? Did not I *Gelaſius* the 2d bring the Captain of *Cintius* under, unto the kiſſing of my feet? And after *Gelaſius*, did not I *Calixtus* the 2d quail the foreſaid Emperor *Henricus* the 5th, and alſo bring in ſubjection *Gregory*, whom the ſaid Emperor had ſet up againſt me to be Pope, bringing him into *Rome* upon a Camel, his face to the Horſe tail, making him to hold the Horſe tail in his hand in ſtead of a Bridle? 85. Further, did not I *Innocentius* the 2d ſet up and make *Lotharius* to be Emperor for driving out Pope *Anacletus* out of *Rome*? 86. Did not I the ſaid *Innocentius* take the Dukedom of *Sicile* from the Empire, and make *Roger* to be King thereof, whereby afterward the Kingdom became the patrimony of Saint *Peter*? 87. Did not I *Alexander* the 3d ſuſpend all the Realm, and Churches of *England* for the Kings Marriage, *Anno* 1159? 88. But what do I ſpeak of Kings? Did not the ſaid *Alexander* bring the valiant Emperor *Frederick* the firſt to *Venice*, by reaſon of his Son *Otho* there taken priſoner, and there in Saint *Marks* Church made him fall down flat upon the ground while I ſet my foot upon his neck, ſaying the verſe of the *Pſalm*, *Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis? &c.* 89. Did not I *Adrianus* Pope, an *Engliſh*-man born, Excommunicate *Wm. King of Sicily*, and refuſe his peace, which he offered? And had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have ſtaken him out of his Kingdom of *Sicile*, and Dukedom of *Apulia*. 90. Alſo did not I the ſaid *Adrianus* Control and Correct the foreſaid *Fredericus* Emperor, for holding the left Stirrup of my Horſe, when he ſhould have holden the right? 91. And afterward did not I Excommunicate and Curſe him, for that he was ſo faucy to ſet his own name in writing before mine? 92. And although a poor Fly afterward overcame and ſtrangled me, yet I made Kings and Emperors to ſtoop. 93. Did not I *Innocentius* the 3d deject *Philippus*, Brother to *Frederick*, from the Imperial Crown, being elected without my leave, and after ſet him up again? And alſo ſet up *Otho* of *Brunſwick*, and after did Excommunicate and alſo depoſe the ſame Four years, ſetting up the *French* King to War againſt him? 94. Then was *Frederick* the 2d ſet up by me, and Reigned 37 years; and yet 5 years before he died. 95. Did not I *Honorius* interdict him, for not reſtoring certain to their poſſeſſions at my requeſt? 96. Whom alſo *Gregorius* the 9th did Excommunicate twice together, and raiſed up the *Venetians* againſt him. 97. And at length *Innocentius* ſpoiled him of his Empire; after that he cauſed him to be poiſoned, at length to be ſtrangled by one *Manfredus*, and did Excommunicate his Son *Conradus* after him, not only depriving him of his right Inheritance, but alſo cauſed him with *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria* to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I Excommunicate and depoſe all theſe Emperors in order? *Henry* the Fourth, *Hemricus* the Fifth, *Fredericus* the Firſt, *Philippus*, *Otho* the Fourth, *Fredericus* the Second, and *Conradus* his Son? 99. Did not I interdict King *Henry* the Eighth? 100. And all his Kingdom of *England*? 101. And will not his Prudence and Power prevented my practiſe, I had diſplaced him from his Kingdom alſo. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatneſs of my Power and of my Seat? 102. For by me only general Councils take their force and confirmation, 103. and the interpretation of the ſaid Councils, and of all other caſes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and ſtand to my determination. 104. By me the Works of all Writers, whatſoever they be, either be reproved or allowed. 105. Then how much more ought my Writings and Decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Inſomuch that my Letters and Epiſtles Decretal be equivalent with the general Councils, 107. And

64. Pope *Gelaſius Dist.* 96. *cap. Duo.* Pope *Gelaſius Ibidem.*

66. *Ibid. dist. Ecce cruelem Hiero. Martil.*

69. Pope *Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius* 7th *in Platina, in vita Gregorii.*

70. *Hildebrandus Ibidem.*

71. *Antoninus in 1or. tia parte Summæ majoris.*

72. *Bulla Clementis.*

73. Pope *Innocent. 3. ad hæc c. Venerabilem.*

74. *Extrav. de præbend. & dign. c. Execrabilis.*

75. Pope *Zacharius, Conf.* 15. *q. 6. c. Alius.* 76. Pope *Hildebrand, alias Gregor.* 7. *Clement. c. Pastoralis.*

77. *Ex Gesta Hildebrandi.*

78. *Baptiſta Egnatius.*

79. *Platina, Benno Numberus.*

80. *Platina, Egnatius, Benno.*

81. *Polydore Virgil. Hiſtoria gravitatis de rebus Anglorum.*

82. *Chronica vernaculo.*

83. Pope *Urbanus Conf.* 15. *q.* 6. *cap. Turonis.*

84. Pope *Paſchalis Conſtantinus Platina, Vincentius, Stella, Antoninus, Matthæus Parisiensis*, Pope *Gelaſius* 2. Pope.

85. Pope *Innocentius* 2. *Ibidem.*

86. *Nauclerus.*

87. Pope *Alexander* 3. *ex Sponſal. & matr. c. Non ab.*

88. *Nauclerus alſo Rom. pontificum.*

89. Pope *Adrian. vita. Rom. pontificum.*

90. *Ex Abreviatis.*

91. *Bulla Adriani contra Cæſarem.*

92. *Alſo Ra. pont.*

93. Pope *Innocentius* 3. *in vita & Alſo Rom. pontificum. Ex ab Ospreg.*

94. *Ex eadem.*

95. Pope *Honor.* 3. *Ex Martin.*

96. Pope *Greg.* 9. *Ex eadem.*

97. Pope *Innocent* 4. *Haremgius, Marian. Scotus de Platina.*

98. *Ex Chronic. Cornelii.*

99. *Hiſt. Angles.*

100. *Ibidem.*

101. *Ibidem.*

102. Pope *Marcellus, Dist.* 19. *c. Synodum.*

103. *Dist.* 20. *De Creatis.*

104. Pope *Nicolaus, Dist.* 19. *Et Romanus cum.*

105. *Ibidem.*

106. *Dist.* 20. *Decretales.*

107. *Symmachus* Pope *q.* 3. *Allevum.*

whereas God hath ordained all causes of Men to be judged by Men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the Pope of *Rome*, without all question of Men, unto his own judgment. 108. And therefore where all other creatures be under their Judge, only I, which in Earth am the Judge of all, can be judged of none, either of Emperor, nor the whole Clergy, nor of Kings, nor of the People. 109. For who hath power to judge upon his Judge? 110. This Judge am I, and that alone, without any other reliftance of any Council joyned to me. For I have Power upon Councils; Councils have no Power upon me. But if the Council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I luft without any Council. 111. And all for the Prehemineence of my Predecessor Bleffed Saint *Peter*, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever fhall retain. 112. Furthermore, and whereas all other Sentences and Judgments, both of Councils, Person or Persons, may and ought to be examined, 113. for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my Sentence and judgment muft ftand, 114. as given out of Heaven by the mouth of *Peter* himfelf, which no Man muft 115. break, nor retract, 116. no Man muft difpute or doubt of. 117. Yea, if my judgment, ftatute, or yoke feem fcarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of Saint *Peter* it muft be humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreover Obedience is to be given, not only to fuch Decrees fet forth by me in time of my Popedom, but alfo to fuch as I do forefee and commit to writing before I be Pope. 119. And although it be thought by fome writers, to be given to all Men to err, and to be deceived, 120. yet neither am I a pure Man. 121. And again, the Sentence of my Apoftolick Seat is always conceived with fuch moderation, is concoct and digefted with fuch patience and reverence, and delivered out with fuch gravity and deliberation, that nothing is thought in it neceffary to be altered or detracted. 122. Wherefor it is manifeft, and teftified by the voice of Holy Biffhops, that the Dignity of this my Seat is to be reverenced through the whole World, in that all the faithful fubmit themfelves to it as to the head of the whole body: 123. Whereof it is fpoken to me by the Prophet, fpeaking of the Ark: If this be humbled, whither fhall you run for fuccour, and where fhall your glory become? Seeing then this is fo, that fo holy Biffhops and Scriptures do witneſs with me, what fhall we fay then to fuch as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require Homage and Tribute of me to whom all other are fubject? 124. Againſt the firſt fort the Scripture fpeaketh, *Deus.* Thou oughteſt not to put thy Sithe into another Mans Corn. Which thing to attempt againſt me, what is it but plain Sacrilege? 125. According to my Canonifts, which thus define Sacrilege to conſift in three things: either when a Man judgeth of his Prelates judgment; or when the Holy-day is prophaned; or when reverence is not given to Laws and Canons. 126. Againſt the ſecond fort maketh the place of the Book of *Kings*, where we read the Ark of God was brought from *Gaba* to *Jeruſalem*, and in the way the Ark inclining by reaſon of the unruly Oxen, *Ozias* the *Levite* put to his hand to help, and therefore was ſtrucken of the Lord. By this Ark is ſignified the Prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of Prelates, 127. which alſo be ſignified by the Angels that *Jacob* did ſee going up and coming down the Ladder: 128. Alſo by the Prophet where he ſaith, *He bowed down the Heavens and came down, &c.* By *Ozias*, and by the unruly Oxen are meant our ſubjects. 129. Then like as *Oziae* was ſtricken for putting his hand to the Ark inclining, no more muſt Subjects rebuke their Prelates going awry. 130. Albeit, here may be anſwered again, that all be not Prelates which ſo be called; for it is not the name that maketh a Biſhop, but his life. 131. Againſt the third ſort of ſuch as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of ſecular Men, maketh the *New Teſtament*, where *Peter* was bid to give the Groat in the Fiſhes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the Fiſh; No more is the Head or Body of the Church ſubdued to Kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the exterme things of the Church. And yet not tfey neither. 132. For ſo we read in the Book of *Geneſis*, that *Pharaoh* in time of dearth ſubdued all the Land of the *Egyptians*, but yet he Miniſtred to the Prieſts, ſo that he took neither their poſſeſſions from them, nor their liberty. If then Prelates of the Church muſt be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the ſame, 133. which am the Biſhop of Biſhops, and head of Prelates? 134. For it is not to be thought that the caſe betwixt me and other Prelates; betwixt my See and other Churches, be like, 135. Although the whole Catholick and Apoſtolick Church make one Bride-chamber of Chriſt; yet the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church of *Rome* had the Prehemineince given over all other by the mouth of the Lord himſelf, ſaying to *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, &c.* 136. Thus a diſcretion and difference muſt be had in the Church as it was betwixt *Aaron* and his Children; 137. Betwixt the Seventy two Diſciples, and the Twelve Apoſtles; betwixt the other Apoſtles and *Peter*: 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there muſt be an order and difference of Degrees in the Church betwixt Power, Superior and Inferior; without which order the Univerſity of the whole cannot conſiſt. 139. For as amongſt the Angelical Creatures above in Heaven there is ſet a difference and inequality of Powers and Orders, ſome be Angels, ſome Archangels, ſome Cherubins, and Seraphins: 140. So in the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy of the Church militant in the Earth, Prieſts muſt not be equal with Biſhops, Biſhops muſt not be like in Order with Archbiſhops, with Patriarchs or Primates, 141. who contain under them three Archbiſhops, as a King containeth three Dukes under him. In the which number of Patriarchs cometh in the ſtate of 142. Cardinals or Principals, ſo called, becauſe as the Doorr turneth by his hinges, ſo the Univerſal Church ought to be ruled by them. 143. The next and higheſt Order above theſe is mine, which am Pope, differing in Power and Majority, and Honor reverential, from theſe and all other degrees of Men. 144. For the better declaration whereof, my Canoniſts make three kinds of power in Earth: *Immediata*, which is mine immediately from God; *Derivata*, which belongeth to other Inferior Prelates from me; 145. *Miniſtrala*, belonging to Emperors and Princes to Miniſter for me. For the which cauſe the annointing of Princes, and my confecration doth differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or ſhoulders, and I in the head, to ſignifie the difference of Power betwixt Princes and me. 146. This Order therefore of Prieſts, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarchs and other, as a thing moſt convenient, my Church of *Rome* hath ſet and inſtituted through all Churches, following therein, not only the example of the Angelical Army in Heaven, but alſo of the Apoſtles. 147. For amongſt them alſo there was not an uniform equality or inſtitution of one degree, 148. but a diverſity or diſtinction of Authority and Power. Albeit they were all Apoſtles together, yet it was granted notwithſtanding to *Peter* (themſelves alſo agreeing to the ſame) that he ſhould bear Dominion and Superiority over all the other Apoſtles; 149. And therefore he had his name given him *Cephas*, that is, head or beginning of the Apoſtlehood. 150. Whereupon the Order of Prieſthood firſt in the *New Teſtament* began in *Peter*, to whom it was ſaid, Thou art *Peter*, and upon thee I will build my Church, 151. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; And thou being converted confirm thy Brethren, 152. I have prayed for thee that thy faith ſhall not fail. Wherefore ſeeing ſuch power is given to *Peter*, 153. and to me in *Peter*, being his ſucceſſor, 154. who is he then in all the World that ought not to be ſubject to my Decrees which have ſuch Power in Heaven, in Hell, in Earth, with the quick and alſo the dead? 155. Commanding and granting in my Bull of Lead ſent to *Vienna*, unto all ſuch as died in their Peregrination to *Rome*, that the pain of Hell ſhould not touch them: And alſo that all ſuch as took the holy Croſs upon them ſhould every one at his requeſt, not only be delivered himſelf, but alſo deliver three or four ſouls whomſoever he would, out of Purgatory: 156. Again, having ſuch promiſe and aſſurance that my faith ſhall not fail, who then will not believe my Doctrine? For did not Chriſt himſelf firſt pray for *Peter* that his faith ſhould not fail? 157. Alſo have I not a ſure promiſe of *Pauls* own mouth, writing to my Church by theſe words; *God is my witneſs whom I ſerve in my Spirit, in the Goſpel of his Son, that without ceaſing I make mention of you always in my Prayers? Rom.* 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemn all ſuch worthily which will not obey my Decrees, to be diſpoſſeſſed of all their honour without reſtitution; 159. So all they that believe not my Doctrine, or ſtand againſt the privilege of the Church, eſpecially the Church of *Rome*, I pronounce them Hereticks: 160. And as the other before is to be called unjuſt, ſo this Man is to be called an Hereticke: 161. For why? he goeth againſt the faith, which goeth againſt her who is the Mother of Faith. 162. But here may riſe perceſe a doubt or ſcruple, that if my faith and knowledge ſtand ſo ſure by the promiſe of Chriſt, and by the continual Prayer of Saint *Paul*; whether is it true, or is it to be granted, that any other ſhould excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? 163. For look whoſe knowledge is grounded on moſt reaſon, his words ſhould ſeem to be of more authority. 164. Whereunto I anſwer and grant, that many there be, and have been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghoſt and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the: tractations of *Auguſtine*, *Jerom* and others ought to be preferred before the conſtitutions of ſevers Popes; yet I ſay in determination of cauſes, becauſe they have not the vertue and heighit of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they ftand inferior to my authority. By vertue of which authority, 165. both they themſelves be alſo ſwed for Doctors, and their Works approved, and alſo all other matters be ruled, through the Power of the Keys which is given to me immediately of Chriſt. Although I deny not but the ſame Keys be alſo committed to other Prelates, as they were to other Apoſtles beſides *Peter*, 166. yet it is one thing to have the Keys, another thing to have the uſe of the Keys. 167. Where fore here is to be noted a diſtinction of Keys, after the mind of my ſchool Doctors; one Key which is called *Clavis ordinis*, having authority to bind and looſe, but not over the perſons whom they bind and looſe, and this authority they take not immediately of Chriſt, but mediately by me the Vicar of Chriſt. The other Key is called *Clavis juriſdictionis*, which I the Vicar of Chriſt take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and looſe, but alſo Dominion over them on whom this Key is exercifed. By the juriſdiction of which Key the fulneſs of my Power is ſo great, that whereas all other are Subjects; 168. yea and Emperors themſelves ought to ſubdue their executions to me: Only I am ſubject to no Creature, 169. no not to my ſelf, except I lift, *In foro penitentiæ*, to my ghoſtly Father ſubmitting my ſelf as a ſinner, but not as Pope. So that my papal Majeſty ever remaineth unpuniſhed; Superior to all Men, 170. whom all perſons ought to obey, 171. and follow, 172. whom no Man muſt judge nor accuſe of any Crime, either of Murder, Adultery, Simony, or ſuch like: 173. No man depoſe, but I my ſelf; 174. No man can Excommunicate me, yea though I Communicate with the Excommunicate, for no Canon bindeth me. Whom no Man muſt 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church Robber, 176. And who obeyeth not me is an Heretick, and an excommunicate Perſon. 177. For like as all the *Jews* were commanded to obey the High Prieſt of the Levitical Order, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they were; ſo are all Chriſtian men more and leſs bound to obey me Chriſts Lieutenant in Earth, Concerning the obedience or diſobedience of whom ye have in *Deut.* 17. 178. Where the common *Gloſs* ſaith, That he who denieth to the High Prieſt *Obedientiam*, ſubmiſſion and Condemneth, is much as he that denieth to God his *Omnipotentiam*. Thus then it appeareth, that the greateſt of my Prieſthood, 179. began in *Melchiſedech*, was ſolemnized in *Aaron*, continued in the Children of *Aaron*, perfectionated in Chriſt, repreſented in *Peter*, exalted in the Univerſal juriſdiction, and manifeſted in *Silveſter*, &c. So that through this *Prehemineece of my Prieſthood*, having all things ſubject to me, 180. it may ſeem well verified in me that was ſpoken of Chriſt, *Pſalm* 8. *Omnia ſubjeciſti ſub pedibus ejus, Oves & Boves, & Univerſa pecora campi; Volucres cœli & piſces maris, &c.* *Thou haſt ſubdued all things under his Feet, Sheep and Oxen, and all Cattel of the Field, the Birds of Heaven, and Fiſh of the Sea,* &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by Oxen, Jews and Hereticks; by Cattel of the Field, *Pagans* be ſignified. For although as yet they be out of the uſe of my Keys of binding and looſing, yet they be not out of the juriſdiction of my Keys, but if they return I may abſolve them. 182. By Sheep and all Cattel, are meant all Chriſtian men both great and leſs, whether they be Emperors, Princes, Prelates, or other. By Birds of the Air you may underſtand the Angels and Poteſtates of Heaven, who be all ſubject to me, in that I am greater than the Angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to bind and looſe in Heaven, 183. and to give Heaven to them that fight in my Wars. 184. Laſtly, by the Fiſhes of the Sea, are ſignified the ſouls departed in pain or in Purgatory, as *Gregory* by his Prayer delivered the ſoul of *Trajanus* out of Hell, and I have Power to deliver out of Purgatory whom I pleaſe. 185. Laſtly, by the Fiſhes of the Sea are ſignified ſuch as be in Purgatory; informuch that they ſtand in need and neceſſity of other Mens help, and yet be in their journey *Viatores*, & *de foro Papæ. i.* Paſſengers and belonging to the Court of the Pope; therefore they may be relieved out of the Storehouſe of the Church, by the participation of Indulgence. And foraſmuch as ſome do object that my Pardons cannot extend to them

108. Pope Innocentius 4. v. 3. c. Nemo.
109. Ibidem.
110. Pope Boniface, 9. 3. cap. Cuncta.
111. Ibidem.
112. Anaſtaſius Bibliarch. D. 4. 3. cap. Antiqui.
113. Pope Greg. 4. 7. 3. c. Quæ.
114. Pope Agatho Diſt. 19. c. Sic enim.
115. Pope Nicholas, 9. 3. 2 Pont.
116. Pope Innocentius, An 17. 4. 2 Decret. In enumeration.
117. D. 19. cap. Saint *Peter* it muſt be humbly obeyed. 118. *Sent. Decret. 7. 7. De renunc. Romano Gloſſa.*
119. Oſt. lib. 1.
120. Gloſſa Extra. De verb. ſignif. c. Ad. 121. Pope Greg. Caus. 35. 9. 8. Suppoſitive.
122. Pope Symmachus, Caus 3 9 3. Alterum.
123. Ibidem.
124. Pope Greg. 63. 3. Scripſimus ſæ.
125. Conſ. 17. 3. 4. Sacrileg. Gloſſa.
126. 2. 9. 7. cap. Plerumque Gloſſema Gratiani. Item.
127. Ibidem.
128. Ibidem.
129. Ibidem.
130. Ibidem. Illa ita.
131. Pope Urbanus 19. 4. Tributum.
132. Ibidem. Quamvis.
133. Pope Benedict. Extra. De aut. & ſpe. poſſid. c. Sanct. 1.
134. Pope Stephanus. Diſt. 19. Innumeros.
135. Pope Pelagius Diſt. 22 Reguvit.
136. Diſt. 22. Decretis.
137. Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 19. In nova.
138. Pope Bonifacius et Greg. Diſt. 89. Ad hoc.
139. Ibidem.
140. Diſt. 89. c. Sergius.
141. Ex clariſſimo Bul. decre. 50. ſect. 3.
142. De officiis Archipresbyt. in Gloſſa.
143.
144. Ex 3. parte Summe majoris b. Antonini.
145. Pope Innocent 3. De ſacra unctione Reſ. veteſtat.
146. D. Nicholas Diſt 22. c. Omnes.
147. P. Clemens Diſt. 80. c. In illis.
148. P. Anacletus Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſanctis.
149. Ibidem. Quod vero Petrus non a Petro ſed aliunde ſortus ſit exordium docetur.
150. Diſt. 21. c. In nova.
151. Ibidem.
152. Diſt. 21. ex Decretis.
153. Pope Leo Diſt. 19. c. Ita Dominus.
154. P. Nicholaus in autenticis, diſt. 22.
155. D. Clemens in Bulla Vienne in ſeriem privilegiorum.
156. Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.
157. Pope Anacletus Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſanctis. Scripture well apply-ed and like a Clerk.
158. Pope Damaſus. 25. 6. 2. Omnia. Item Pope Greg. Diſt. 19. Nulli.
159. P. Nicolaus Diſt. 22. c. Omnes.
160. Ibidem.
161. Ibidem.
162. Diſt. 10. Decretalis.
163. Ibidem.
164. Ibidem.
165. Diſt. 19. 21 Remanetur.
166. Gabriel Biel, lib. 4. Diſt. 19. 167. Petrus de Palude.
169. Gabriel. lib. 4. Diſt. 19.
170. P. Nicholaus Diſt. c. 80. Romanorum in a Gloſſa.
171. Item 24. q. 1. Hereſi.
172. Item 24. q. 1. 80 24 q. 3.
173. Diſt. 40. cap. Inimici.
174. Sententiæ de elect. Sententiæ.
175. De penitentia, diſt. 1. c. Sarpens in Gloſſa.
176. Diſt. 19. c. Nulli.
177. Auguſt. de Ancho.
178. Gloſſa Ordinar.
179. Antoninus.
180. Antonius, Summa majoris 3. part. Diſt. 22.
181. Ibidem.
182. Ibidem.
183. 2. 3. 4. 5. Quæſtion. 184. Idem Antonius.
185. Ibidem.
Antonius Auguſt. de Ancho Tit. Part. 4.

that be departed, for that it was said to *Peter*, Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon Earth; and therefore seeing they are not upon Earth, they cannot be loosed of me: Here I answer again by my Doctors, that this word *Super terram, &c. i.* Upon the Earth, may be referred two manner of ways; First to him that is the Loofer, so that he which shall loose shall be upon the Earth; and so I grant that the Pope being dead, can loose no Man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed must be upon the Earth, or about the Earth; And so the souls in Purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the Earth, yet they are about the Earth, at least they be not in Heaven. And because oftentimes one Question may rise upon another, and the heads of Men now adays are curious, a Man hearing now that I can deliver out of Purgatory, will ask here a question, Whether I be able alfo to empty all Purgatory at once, or not? To whom my Canonist *Augustl. de Ancho.* doth answer by a triple distinction: *Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem.* First touching my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all Purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only Infants unbaptised, *In Limbo*, and Men departed only, *Cum Baptismo flaminis*, That is, with the Baptism of the Spirit, and such as have no Friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; these only excepted. For all other besides, the Pope (he saith) hath Power to release all Purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction. Albeit *Thomas Aquinas part* 4. denieth the same, forsomuch as Christ himself (he saith) when he came down, did not utterly at once release all Purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the Divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every Creature, yea, and to the Pope himself.

And to the intent I would all Men to fee and understand that I lack not witnesses moe besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole Quire of my divine Clergy brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalf in their Books, Tractations, Distinctions, Titles, Glosses, and Summaries, as by their own words here followeth. The Pope (say they) being the Vicar of Jesus Christ through the whole World, in the Head of the living God, hath that Dominion and Lordship which Christ here in Earth would not have, although he had it in *habitu*, but gave it to *Peter* in *Actu*, that is, the Universal jurisdiction both of Spiritual things, and also of Temporal, which double jurisdiction was figuried by the two swords in the Gospel, and also by the offering of the wife men, who offered not only Incense, but also Gold, to signifie not only the spiritual Dominion, but also the Temporal to belong to Christ and to his Vicar. For as we read, *The Earth is the Lords and the fulnes thereof*; as Christ saith, *All power is given to him both in Heaven and Earth:* So it is to be affirmed *inclusive*, that the Vicar of Christ hath Power on things Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal. Which he took immediately of Christ; all other take it immediately by *Peter* and the Pope. Wherefore such as say that the Pope hath Dominion only on Spiritual things in the World, and not of Temporal, may be likned to the Counsellors of the Kings of *Syria*, 3 *Reg.* 20. which said, *That the Gods of the Mountains be their Gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low Meadows and in Vallies where they have no Power, and so we shall prevail over them.* So evil Counsellors now adaies, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive Kings and Princes of the Earth; saying, Popes and Prelates be Gods of Mountains, that is, of Spiritual things only, but they be not Gods of Vallies, That is, they have no Dominion over Temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the Vallies, that is, in the Power of the Temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them. But what saith the Sentence of God to them, let us hear. Because (saith he) the *Syrians* say that the God of Mountains is their God, and not the God of Vallies, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the Majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I say, and of no Man? For whereas *Constantine* the Emperor gave to *Silvester*, enduing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before. And again whereas I have given at sundry times to *Ludovicus* the other Emperors, of my Temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of Homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to Emperors no due Obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me as to their Superior. And therefore for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the Unction on their Arm, I on the Head. And as I am Superior to them, so am I Superior to all Laws, and free from all constitutions. Which am able of my self, and by my interpretation to prefer equity not being written before the Law written; having all Laws within the cheft of my Breft, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my See shall enact, approve or disprove, all Men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the priviledge given of Christ, in the behalf of *Peter*, to the Church of *Rome*, 186. that what Country soever, Kingdom or Province, chusing to themselves Bishops and Ministers, although they agree with all other Christs faithful people in the name of Jesus, that is, in Faith and Charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ His true Son, and in the Holy Ghost, having also the same *Creed*; the same *Evangelists* and Scriptures of the Apostles: yet notwithstanding unless their Bishops and Ministers take their Origine and Ordination from this Apostolick Seat, they are to be counted not of the Church. So that succession of Faith only is not sufficient to make a Church, except the Ministers take their Ordination by them which have their succession from the Apostles. So their Faith, Supremacy, the Chair of *Peter*, Keys of Heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of *Rome*: so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and Saint *Peter* helping the Bishoprick and Diocefs of *Rome*, it shall never fall from the Faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the Bishop of that Church is good and always Holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of Saint *Peter*, Predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity, 178. yea, though he fall into Homicide or Adultery, he may sin, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the Murthers of *Sampson*, the Thefts of the *Hebrews*, the Adultery of *Jacob*, 188. And likewise, if any of his Clergy should be found embracing a Woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. Furthermore, the Pope (say they) hath all the Dignities, and all Power of all Patriarchs. In his Primacy, he is *Abel*; In Government, the Ark of *Noah*; In Patriarchdom, *Abraham*; In Order, *Melchisedec*; In Dignity, *Aaron*; In Authority, *Moses*; In Seat-Judicial, *Samuel*; In Zeal, *Helias*, In Meekneſs, *David*; In Power, *Peter*; In Unction, Christ. (Nay, thou art *Antichrist*) My Power (they say) is greater than all the Saints. For whom I Constitute, no man may Infirm: I may favour and spare whom I pleaſe, 189. to take from one and to give to another. And if I be an Enemy to any man, all men ought to eſchew that perſon forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them ſo to do. All the Earth is my Diocefs, and I the Ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all Kings upon Subjects. I am all in all, and above all, 190. ſo that God himſelf and I the Vicar of God have both one Conſiſtory, 191. and I am able to do almoſt all that God can do, *Clave non errante*. 192. *Item*, It is ſaid of me, that I have an heavenly Arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, *Subſtantialia unius applicando alteri*, and of nothing to make things to be; and of a Sentence that is nothing to make it ſtand in effect; In all things that I liſt, my will to ſtand for reaſon. For I am able by the Law to diſpenſe above the Law, and of Wrong to make Juſtice, in correcting Laws and changing them. You have heard hitherto what that Matrimony is not yet conſummate by carnal Copulation, it is but a ſmall matter for me to diſpenſe withall. *In ſumma*, if ye liſt briefly to hear the whole number of all ſuch caſes as properly do appertain to my Papal Diſpenſation, which come to the number of one and fifty Points, that no man may meddle withall but only I my ſelf alone, I will recite them firſt in *Latin*, then in *Engliſh*, as they be ſet forth in my Canonical Doctors.

Caſus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Aſteſanum de *Aſt*. Doctorem folemnem in ſumma confeſſionis, Item apud Hoſtienſem, De offic. legat. repeti & his verſibus comprehenſi.

Si ſit Catholicus, Papam non judicat ullus.
Erigit & ſubdit Cathedras; Dividit, Unit,
1. Virum terræ ſinibus, 1. degradatum, 1. Epiſcopum & alios.
Mutat vota crucis. Reſtituit. Excmit. Ad ſe
Majores cauſæ referuntur. Legitimatque.
1. Inſufficientes. 1. Intrantes religionem.
Promovet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
1. Defectum Reni vacare Regno.
Deponit, transfert, ſuppletque Renunciat illi,
Symbola, juramentum Excommunicatio à Papa factæ,
Præſul, & exemptus. Simon, Turanus, Anathema,
tum Papa quam legati.
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriuſque.
1. Solvitur Papa.
Tum neque participans: Et ſi quem ſponte ſalutat,
Quem Canon damnat, ſibi ſoli quando reſervat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Solvitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.
Collem adda.
Addas ſuſpenſam, Cauſam, cum fertur ad ipſum,
1. Addas. 1. Pluralitatem beneficiorum.
Reſcriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.
1. Impetratorem
Approbat Imperium, firmat, deponit, & ungit.
canonizat;

Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos. de aliquo facit nihil de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper.
Portat, Concedit, Legi non subjacet ulli.
l. Immediate.
Appellatur ad hunc medio fine, Judicumque
De Monacho non Monachum facit.
Est pro lege suum. Monachum revocat renuentem.
l. Incestum, &c.
Magus adulterio solvit generaliter. Arctat
l. Impedimentum matrimoniale.
Et laxat quinquè sponsis necet. Ordinat extra
l. Extra 4. tempora.
Tempora dando sacrum promotum promovet idem.
Ordinat atque dia qua consecratur & ipse.
l. Sacerdotium confert ordinum vacuum.
Veniensque locum concedit. Jureque privat.
Insignia Episcopalia concedit. l. decimis. l. Presbytero concedit Infantes ungere.
Insignit. Laico sacro donat; Chrisma ministro.
Summa sede sedet. plenusque vicarius extat.
Si sit Catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.

Cases Papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the Pope hath Power only to dispense, and none else besides, except by special Licence from him.

24. q. 1. Quæstio. First determination of doubts and questions belonging to Faith.
Extr. de transl. c. Licet. Translation of a Bishop, elect or confirmed: Likewise of Abbots exempted.
Deposition of Bishops.
The taking of resignation of Bishops.
Exemptions of Bishops, not to be under Archbishops.
9. q. 6. Quæritur, 9. q. 3. Dicitur, 16. q. 1. Veniæ. 2. q. 6. Licet. Restitution of such as be deposed from their Order.
The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own Priviledges.
Extr. de rest. ex cura oralis. 5. q. 1. temporis. 16. q. 1. Felix. 16. q. 1. Et Christi Extr. de voto, Si quis. Extr. de Statu Monachi & cum. ad. Changing of Bishopricks, or dimission of Covents, &c. New correction of Bishops Seats, or institution of new Religions.
Subjection or division of one Bishoprick under another.
Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.
Dispensation for the vow of Chastity, or of Religion, or of holy Orders.
Dispensation against a lawful Oath, or vow made.
Extr. de Juramento c. Veniens. Extr. de judiciis, c. Audi clericis. Extr. de Bigamis cap. super. Extr. de clerico non ord. ministranti. Dispensation against divers Irregularities, as in crimes greater than Adultery, and in such as be suspended for Simony.
Dispensation in receiving into Orders him that had two Wives.
Dispensing with such as being within Orders do that which is above their Order, as if a Deacon should say Mass, being not yet Priest.
Extr. de corpore vitiat. & dic. Sic. To receive into Order such as be blemished or maimed in body.
Dispensation with murther, or with such as willingly cut off any member of mans body.
Dist. 50. Mirror.
Extr. de sententia & reuerm. c. cum illorum. Dispensation to give Orders to such as have been under the sentence of the greater Curse or Excommunication.
Ibidem. Dispensation with such as being suspended with the greater Curse do minister in any holy Order.
Extr. de filiis Presbyt. c. Is qui. Dispensation with such as be unlawfully born to receive Orders or Benefices.
Dispensation for pluralities of Benefices.
Extr. de Præben. cap. de multis. Dispensation to make a man Bishop before he be thirty years old.
Extr. de elect. cap. Cum nobis. Dispensation to give Orders under age.
Extr. de arcate & qualit. generalem. The Pope only hath Power to make and call a General-Council.
Dist. 5. per tot. 9. q. 3. Per principale. De elect. cap. Venerabilem. The Pope only hath Power to deprive an Ecclesiastical Person, and give away his Benefice being not vacant.
Extr. de officio legati, c. quæremus. 9. q. 3. Alienum. Extr. de Temporibus cap. Cum in districto. The Pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicate by name.
The Pope only is able to absolve him whom his Legate doth excommunicate.

The Pope both judgeth in the causes of them that Appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may Appeal from him. {KING Hen. 7.}
Only he hath Authority to make Deacon and Priest, whom he made Subdeacon, either upon *Sundays*, or upon other Feasts.
Only the Pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the Pall. Extr. de sfa Pallii, cap. ad honorem. Extr. de elect. c. Dudum.
The Pope only dispenseth with a man, either being not within Orders, or being unworthy to be made Bishop.
He only either confirmeth or deposeth the Emperor when he is chosen. Extr. de elect. cap. Venerabilem.
A man being Excommunicate, and his Absolution referred to the Pope, none may absolve that man but the Pope alone. Trident. de confirm.
The same hath authority in any Election, before it be made, to pronounce it one, when it is made. Extr. de elect. cap. Licentia.
He doth Canonize Saints, and none else but he.
Dispensation to have many Dignities and Personages in one Church, and without charge and cure of Soul, belongeth only to the Pope. Extr. de religiosis & venerabilis Basilic. c.
To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth only to the Pope. Extr. de Prabend. cap. de multis.
To pluck a Monk out of his Cloyster both against his own will and the Abbots, pertaineth only to the Pope. Extr. Qui si sint. cap. Tanta. 9. q. 3. c. Ultimò. Extr. de sententia. & re judic. cap. in consilio.
His Sentence maketh a Law. Extr. de elect. cap. Quod sicut.
The same day in which the Pope is consecrate, he may give Orders. Extr. de præscript. Literas.
He dispenseth in degrees in Consanguinity and Affinity. Extr. de præscript. cap. ult. & de judiciis cap. Novit.
He is able to abolish Laws, *quod utrumque forum*; that is, both Civil and Canon, where danger is of the Soul.
It is in his Dispensation to give general Indulgences to certain places or persons. Thomas.
Item, To legitimate what persons soever he please, as touching Spirituralties; in all places, as touching Temporalties, as Honors, Inheritance, &c. Extr. qui sint legitimi. 2. per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude sib. 4
To erect new Religions, to approve or reprove Rules or Ordinances, and Ceremonies in the Church.
He is able to dispense with all the Precepts and Statutes of the Church. Secundum Thom. in 4. p. 9. Per principalem. Dist. 40. Si Papa.
Item, To dispense and to discharge any Subject from the bond of Allegiance, or Oath made to any manner of person.
No man may accuse him of any Crime, except of Heresie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible. Ibidem.
The same is also free from all Laws, so that he cannot incur into any sentence of Excommunication, Suspension, Irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he may well.
Finally, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple Priest, to minister the Sacrament of Confirmation to Infants; also to give lower Orders, and to hallow Churches and Virgins, &c. Dist. 32. præter hoc. Verum.
These be the cases wherein I only have power to dispense, and no man else, neither Bishop, nor Metropolitan, nor Legate, without a licence from me.

The riches and possessions of the Pope.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my Power in Earth, in Heaven, and in Purgatory, how great it is, and what is the falsness thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c. I will entreat now a little of my Riches likewise, and great Possessions, that every man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, Rents, Tythes, Tributes, my Silks, my purple Miters, Crowns, Gold, Silver, Pearls and Gems, Lands and Lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his Vicar on the Earth. For to me pertaineth first the Imperial City of *Rome*; the Palace of *Lateran*, the Kingdom of *Cicily* is proper to me, *Apulia* and *Capua* be mine. Also the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, be they not, or ought they not to be Tributaries

{KING Hen. 7.} Tributaries to me? 214. To these I adjoyn also, besides other Provinces and Countries, both in the Occident and Orient, from the *North* to the *South*, these Dominions by name, 215. as *Surrianum, Montembordon, & Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ Regnum, Parvum Mantuam, Montemfeletes, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Theriatus Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capineæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforii. Robin, Eugubin, Urbin, forum Sempronii, Gallis, & Senogallis, Anconam, Cesam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbenetam, & Tudertum, Castrum, Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Selernum, Soventi insulam, Cardinam insulam, Anciæ insulam, Territorium Cusian, Territorium præneslinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram Fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianan, Terram Camifinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum, & Suffo-* 216. Dist. 96. Constantinus. *raviam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Veretrum, Clisternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim*, with divers other more, 216. which *Constantinus* the Emperor gave unto me, not that they were not mine before he did give them. 217. For in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is afore-mentioned) but as a restitution. And that I rendred them again to *Otho*, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake. What should I speak here of my daily Revenues, of my First-fruits, Annats, Palls, Indulgences, Bulls, Confessionals, Indults and Rescripts, Testaments, Dispensations, Priviledges, Elections, Prebends, religious Houses, and such like, which come to no small mass of money? Insomuch, that for one Pall to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, which was wont to be given for ten thousand 218. *Florens*, now it is grown to twenty seven thousand *Florens*, which I received of *Jacobus* the Archbishop, not long before *Basil* Council: Besides the Fruits of other Bishopricks in *Germany*, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my Coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of *Germany*? 219. when the whole World is my Diocese, as my Canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe, 220. except they will imagine (as the *Manichees* do) two beginnings, which is false and heretical? For *Moses* & faith, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*, and not in the beginnings. 221. Wherefore as I began, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of Salvation, for every humane Creature to be subject to me.

217. Animosus. In Summa majes 3. part.
218. In lib. Gravamin nimum nationis Germanicæ. Above fifty Bishopricks in Germany. Æneas Sylvius.
219. Sext. decret. De pœnis cap. Felicibus
Glossa. liens de privilegiis, c. Austrianum. In Glossa.
220. Pope Boniface 8. Extr. de Majo. & obed. ex Unam sanctam.
221. Ibidem.

The End of the First Volume of the Book of Martyrs.